

Remapping the Sino-Japanese Dialectic: Sino-Japanese Interplay
in Linked Verse Compositions of Japan, 14th to 17th Centuries

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the juxtaposition, interaction, and integration of what Japanese authors conceived of as “Japanese” and “Chinese” elements in linked verse compositions of Japan from the 14th to 17th centuries. Through examining un- or under-explored forms of linked verse, it shows the multiple dimensions of Japanese conceptions and representations of “China” and the complexity surrounding the Sino-Japanese relationship.

A significant part of this dissertation is devoted to the discussion of Sino-Japanese interplay in *wakan renku* (linked verse in Japanese and Chinese) and *wakan haikai* (popular linked verse in Japanese and Chinese), in which verses written in vernacular Japanese and verses written in the form of classical Chinese (*kanbun*) were composed in alternating turns. In some cases, the Chinese verses comprehensively imitated precedents by Chinese authors, and they

formed a very distinctive world from the one created by the Japanese verses that generally maintained Japanese poetic traditions. These linked verse sequences thus display a juxtaposition, confrontation, and integration of two entities that vary greatly in terms of poetic topoi, idea, sentiment, and style. In many cases, however, the so-called “Chinese” verses deviated from Chinese poetic traditions. Sometimes they draw upon vernacular Japanese poetry. Sometimes individual Chinese verses build on Chinese poetry but are linked in a Japanese way. Sometimes the Chinese verses do not make sense in Chinese; they only take the form of Chinese poetry but juxtapose it with vernacularized, Japanese content. These examples show the instability and hybridity embodied by the “Chineseness.” The boundary between Japanese and Chinese verses is greatly blurred and confused. Meanwhile, these examples reveal that the Sino-Japanese relationship within literary texts produced by Japanese authors is not unidirectional: vernacular Japanese texts also exerted influence on *kanbun* texts, making them diverge from Chinese poetic traditions.

This dissertation also studies Japanese linked verse that heavily engaged with Chinese elements, focusing on compositions by the circle of Matsuo Bashō, the best-known poet in early modern Japan. On the one hand, I explore various ways Bashō’s circle appropriated Chinese literature in the “Chinese style” popular linked verse, demonstrating that their absorption of Chinese literature and thought on the spiritual level contributed to sublimating popular linked verse into a serious art. On the other hand, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate that Bashō’s reception of Chinese texts was sometimes mediated by Yamaguchi Sodō, who had profound knowledge in Chinese studies and was also a respected poet of popular linked verse. The existence of mediums between Chinese literature and Japanese reception casts doubt on a neat division of “Japan” and “China”.

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Introduction

“China,” or at least what Japanese authors conceived of as “China,” is ubiquitous in classical Japanese literature.¹ There is abundant scholarship (especially in Japanese) that scrupulously examines how a specific Japanese text imitates, draws upon, or (and) transforms Chinese sources. In English language scholarship, David Pollack and Atsuko Sakaki think beyond the “‘objective’ facts of cultural influence” and focus on the general way the notions of Japan and China were conceptualized and represented in Japanese literature, which they analyze within the framework of a Sino-Japanese dialectic.² Specifically, Pollack regards this Sino-Japanese relationship as a “dialectical relationship between the antitheses of alien form and native content.”³ Sakaki argues that “the China/Japan polarity, manifested in a variety of contrastive images, persists” from the tenth to the twentieth centuries.⁴

This dissertation also deals with the Sino-Japanese relationship as imagined in Japanese literature, but it tends to deconstruct the Sino-Japanese dialectic by presenting the multiplicity and instability embodied by the “Chineseness” and highlighting the complexity surrounding the Sino-Japanese relationship.⁵ It focuses on the genre of linked verse, a poetic form in which a

¹ In this dissertation, “classical Japanese literature” refers to literary works produced before 1868 in Japan, regardless of the language in which the text is written.

² David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986) and Atsuko Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

³ David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 6.

⁴ Atsuko Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature*, 2.

⁵ David Lurie challenges the “central opposition between ‘foreign’ Chinese elements and ‘native’ Japanese elements” from the perspective of writing systems. See David Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: early Japan and the history of writing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 323-334.

series of verses, usually composed by more than one poet, are joined in sequence. Linked verse had continuously flourished from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries in Japan and involved a wide range of participants, including aristocrats, the military, Buddhist monks, Confucian scholars, and commoners, so it provides abundant materials for us to examine the various interpretations and representations of “China” by participants from different historical, social, and literary backgrounds.

Meanwhile, linked verse served as a site of intersection between “Japan” and “China.” There are several forms of linked verse in Japan. The best known one is called *renga*, or linked verse composed exclusively in Japanese, in which 5-7-5 syllable verses and 7-7 syllable verses were composed in alternating turns. *Renga* became a popular pastime of aristocrats and the military during the medieval period (1185-1600). It achieved equality with *waka* (31-syllables Japanese poem) in the Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392), during which the first *renga* anthology, *Tsukubashū* 菟玖波集 (The Tsukuba Collection, 1357), was compiled, and the rules of *renga* were established in *Renga shinshiki* 連歌新式 (The New Rules of *Renga*, 1372). Linked verse was also composed in classical Chinese, called *renku* 聯句, the name of which is identical with its counterpart in China, *lianju* 聯句.⁶ In a *renku* sequence, each verse comprises of either five or seven kanji. During the medieval period, the development of *renku* diverged into two directions: while those composed by Zen monks modeled *lianju*, those composed by nobilities and monks from other Buddhist sects became similar to *renga*.

Renga and *renku* began to intersect with each other in the mid-Kamakura period. In the court, aristocrats attempted to compose both *renga* and *renku* in the same gatherings; in private

⁶ Some scholars think that 聯句 should be read as *rengu* in order to differentiate it with *renku* 連句. See Fukasawa Shinji 深沢真二, *Wakan no sekai* 和漢の世界 (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 2010), 14.

occasions, there were poets who were good at both. Eventually, *wa* verses, or verses composed in vernacular Japanese, and *kan* verses, or verses composed in the form of classical Chinese, were alternated in the same sequence, in a verse form known as *wakan renku* 和漢聯句 (linked verse in Japanese and Chinese), initially called *renku renga*. During the Edo period (1600-1868), *wakan haikai* (popular linked verse in Japanese and Chinese), the popularized form of *wakan renku*, were also composed.⁷

A significant part of this dissertation is devoted to the discussion of the aforementioned *wakan* linked verse, including *wakan renku* and *wakan haikai*, which provide ideal sources for the investigation of the juxtaposition, interaction, and integration of “Japan” and “China.” It is worth noting that *kan*, which in Japanese language signifies to anything related to China, represents a conceptual, imagined “Chineseness” by Japanese people, and is more comprehensive, instable, and complicated than what we say “China” in the geographical sense. For example, *kanbun* (literally, Chinese writings) in its broad sense include both writings by Chinese authors and writings in the form of Chinese language by Japanese authors. In order to differentiate the two, I use the word *kanbun* in its narrow sense to refer to the latter case (and similarly, *kanshi*, and *kan* verses refer to poetry and verses written in the form of Chinese language by Japanese poets, respectively.) Chinese writings, poetry, verses, etc only signify the content produced by Chinese authors in this dissertation. Meanwhile, I make a distinction between the Japanese conception of “Japaneseness” and “Chineseness” as reflected in their literary works and my understanding of the features that represent Japanese and Chinese

⁷ My description of the historical development of *renga*, *renku*, and *wakan renku* referred to Hasegawa Chihiro 長谷川千尋, “Wakan renku ryakushi” 和漢聯句略史, *Kyoto daigaku zō Sanetaka jihitsu Wakan renku yakuchū* 京都大学蔵実隆自筆和漢聯句譯注 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2006), 19-36, Nose Asaji 能勢朝次, *Renku to renga* 聯句と連歌 (Tokyo: Kanameshobō, 1950), and Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai*, 13-48.

literature. For the former, I use the Japanese words *wa* and *kan*, and for the latter, I use the English words “Japanese” and “Chinese.” I am aware that the words such as “Japanese” and “Chinese” are not stable signifiers and the usage of these words risks the danger of implying the existence of an essential nativism in the two cultures, but here I am not trying to claim that certain features existed exclusively in Japanese and Chinese literature in general. Instead, I consider specific cases and attribute certain things (eg. an image, theme, poetic association, device, or rhetorical conceit) to be Japanese or Chinese, according to whether precedents existed in that culture. Here, “Japan” and “China” are not antithetical to each other: they overlap with each other and are often fused, confused, and (or) made hybrid in literary texts produced in Japan.

The existence of *kanbun* literature, which involves a Sino-Japanese interaction within itself, already problematizes any attempt to polarize “Japan” and “China,” but this dissertation will further demonstrate that the Sino-Japanese relationship within *kanbun* texts, as well as the relationship between *kanbun* and *wabun* (vernacular Japanese) texts are dynamic, varying greatly depending on the author’s background, occasion, and purpose of the composition. In some cases, the *kan* verses in *wakan* linked verse comprehensively imitated precedents by Chinese authors and they formed a very distinctive world from the one created by the *wa* verses that generally maintained Japanese poetic traditions. In these *wakan* linked verse, we can thus see a juxtaposition, confrontation, and integration of two entities that exceed a simple difference at the level of language. They also vary greatly in terms of poetic topoi, idea, sentiment, and style.

In many cases, the so-called *kan* verses involve fusion and interaction of Japanese and Chinese elements within themselves. Sometimes the *kan* verses do not follow Chinese precedents but instead adopt phrases from, draw upon, or gain inspirations from vernacular

Japanese poetry or *kanshi*. Sometimes individual *kan* verses build on the content of Chinese poetry but are linked in a Japanese way. There are also examples in which although the *kan* verses duplicate the syntax of classical Chinese using only kanji, they do not make sense in Chinese and align more closely with vernacular Japanese poetry in terms of content. These cases show the complex instability and possible hybridity embodied by *kan*. They also provide examples in which *wa* and *kan* overlap with each other to some extent, and the boundary between *wa* and *kan* verses is greatly blurred and confused. The cases in which *kan* verses became assimilated to *wa* verses also suggest that the *wakan* relationship is not a unidirectional one, as commonly regarded; within literary works produced by Japanese authors, *wa* influenced and shaped *kan* as well.

Besides *wakan* linked verse, this dissertation also studies Japanese linked verse that heavily engaged with Chinese elements. On the one hand, it examines the so called “Chinese-style” popular linked verse (*kanshibunchō haikai* 漢詩文調俳諧) that briefly flourished in the early 1680s, focusing on what the “Chinese style” meant for the authors and how it contributed to the elevation of popular linked verse in Japanese into a serious art. On the other hand, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate that Japanese poets’ reception of Chinese literature and thought was sometimes mediated. Precisely because “China” existed in the background of Japanese literature from early on, and it had been repeatedly and extensively cited, imitated, drawn upon, adapted, and transformed in Japanese literary texts, sometimes it is difficult to know whether the author gained the information about “China” directly from a Chinese source, or indirectly from a Japanese source, or a *kanbun* source. This dissertation discusses a case in which the poet’s conception of “China” was influenced by another Japanese author, and his compositions were inspired by the Japanese authors’ works that draw upon Chinese sources. The existence of

mediums between Chinese literature and Japanese reception casts doubt on a neat division of “Japan” and “China.”

This dissertation comprises five chapters, discussing five different representations of “China” and accordingly, different modes of Sino-Japanese relationship. Chapter One examines *wakan renku* compositions collaborated by the elites and Zen monks during the Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392), when *wakan renku* reached its first climax. At the time, *renga* developed into a major poetic form, achieving equity with *waka*, while *renku* became a popular pastime among Gozan 五山 monks, or monks from elite state-sponsored Zen temples. *Renga* and Gozan monks’ *renku* are very different in terms of how the verses are linked and integrated: the former values change and variety, and a *renga* sequence needs to constantly move forward with new topics and develop into new directions; the latter modeled *lianju*, which has a shared topic and progresses in a similar way to poems composed individually. Then what happened when the two encountered each other? This chapter attempts to answer this question by examining *wakan renku* compositions that included participation of the two greatest contributors to the development of *wakan renku* during the early stage: Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388), the establisher of *renga* rules and one of the compilers of the first *renga* anthology, and Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325-1388), generally considered one of the two best Gozan poets. I analyze the entries in Gidō’s diary *Kūge nichiyō kufūshū* 空華日用工夫集 (Instructions on monastic life by Kūge) that recount the *wakan renku* gatherings Gidō and Yoshimoto participated together, and Yoshimoto’s comments on *wakan renku* in his treatises, followed by a close reading of a 100-verse *wakan renku* sequence that was collectively composed by 25 participants, including the best Gozan poets Gidō and Zekkai Chūshin 絶海中津, *renga* masters such as Yoshimoto and Jōa 成阿, and the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満. I show that individual *kan* verses in

the *wakan renku* sequence imitated Chinese poetry by directly taking expressions from, making allusions to, and representing similar motifs to precedents created by Chinese poets. Individual *wa* verses, on the other hand, although occasionally drawing upon Chinese sources, generally followed Japanese poetic precedents. The *wakan renku* thus exhibits a juxtaposition, integration, and even competition between Chinese and Japanese poetic traditions that vary greatly with respects to poetic topoi, idea, sentiment, and style. In terms of linking and integration, there was a compromise between *renga* and *renku*, but *renga* prevailed. Since *renga* allows symbiosis of different topics and styles, *wa* and *kan* verses are able to maintain their individuality without much need to adapt to each other. I argue that contrary to Pollack's view, the function of Chinese elements was not really to stimulate the Japanese poets to probe beneath the superficial meaning of words and concentrate more on meaning. Rather, the act of juxtaposing *wa* and *kan* verses equates "Japan" with "China," which were considered a model and standard, and thus contributed to the elevation of *renga* to a higher status.

Chapter Two continues the topic of *wakan renku*, focusing on the compositions centered in the imperial court, especially during the reigns of the Emperor Gotsuchimikado 後土御門 (1442-1500) and Emperor Gokashiwabara 後柏原 (1500-1526), when *wakan renku* enjoyed unprecedented popularity. The main participants of these gatherings were courtiers, who composed both *wa* and *kan* verses, but Zen monks were also invited to contribute *kan* verses from time to time. This chapter first analyzes records of *wakan renku* gatherings in courtiers' diaries. Then it takes a close look at two *wakan renku* sequences. One was hosted by the Emperor Gotsuchimikado in 1481 and participated by eight aristocrats (including the emperor) and two Gozan monks; the other was composed in 1510 by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537), a courtier who greatly contributed to the flourishing of the *wakan renku*, and his

second son Kin'eda 公條 (1487-1563), presumably as a practice. The *kan* verses in these sequences, although generally building on and alluding to Chinese sources, sometimes deviated from Chinese poetic traditions. There are places where the composer took advantage of a Chinese source but added a twist to it. Some *kan* verses directly draw upon *kanshi* rather than Chinese poetry, and some even gain inspirations from *waka* poems. As for the linking and integration of *wa* and *kan* verses, the sequences are completely assimilated to *renga*. Likely due to the influence of these *wakan renku* compositions in the court, which Gozan monks often participated, *renku* exclusively composed by Gozan monks developed toward the direction of *renga* in terms of linking and progression from the early 16th century. This can be clearly seen from a comparison of verses in the *Tōzan renku* 湯山聯句 (1500), a *renku* collection representative of traditional *renku* by Gozan monks, and verses in the *Jōnan renku* 城南聯句 (1538-1547), which was considered an pioneer of the “new style” *renku*.

Chapter Three turns to *wakan haikai* compositions from the 1600s to the 1680s. Through investigating five *wakan haikai* sequences that cover a wide range of eras by diverse authors, I seek to demonstrate that in the *kan* verses of these sequences, the composers parodied Chinese poetry by adopting the form, including the structure of either five or seven Chinese characters, rhyme, parallelism, and tone patterns, and juxtaposing it with vernacularized, Japanese content. This discrepancy between the form, which is associated with continental culture and usually implies a depiction of an elegant and grand world, and the content, a popularized, vernacularized, and sometimes even vulgar Japanese world, creates a sense of playfulness that is in keeping with the aesthetics of the art of *haikai* (popular linked verse). The juxtaposition between “Japan” and “China,” therefore, only remains on the level of form; the boundary between *wa* and *kan* verses

is largely blurred, and the confrontation and rivalry between Japanese and Chinese poetic traditions are dissolved.

In Chapter Four, I examine the “Chinese-style” (*kanshibunchō* 漢詩文調) *haikai*, another effort of combining Japanese and Chinese elements in *haikai*, focusing on compositions by the circle of Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉(1644-1694), who was generally considered the greatest *haikai* poet. Through analyzing examples from three *haikai* anthologies – *Jiin* 次韻 (A response, 1681), *Musashiburi* 武蔵曲 (The Musashi style, 1682) and *Minashiguri* 虚栗 (Empty chestnuts, 1683) - and the preface to *Minashiguri* written by Bashō, this chapter reveals that the “Chinese-style” was an experimental stage for Bashō’s circle before they developed a definite direction of their own style, the so-called Bashō style, and they attempted to appropriate Chinese literature in comprehensive ways. Like many other *haikai* poets, Bashō’s circle also sought novelties in linguistic forms, importing Chinese wording and expressions, and utilizing “Chinese style” orthographies. In addition, many of the “Chinese style” verses draw upon, allude to, or gain inspiration from Chinese texts on the content level. Most of them reconstruct the poetic images, ideas, and associations of the Chinese sources into a new, localized context, transforming, twisting, and even inverting the connotation of the original. The interest of these verses lies in the surprise and wit due to a disjunction between the original and the adaptation. What distinguished Bashō’s circle from other *haikai* poets, however, was their conscious effort of absorbing Chinese literature and thought on the spiritual level. Contrary to parodies of Chinese precedents, these verses are intended to inherit the central theme, overtone, or atmosphere of the original. I argue that the incorporation of Chinese ingredients on the spiritual level contributed to the establishment of the Bashō style, and also played an important role in sublimating *haikai* into a serious art.

Chapter Five aims to show that Bashō's reception of Chinese literature and thought was mediated by his friend Yamaguchi Sodō 山口素堂 (1642-1716), who had profound knowledge in Chinese studies and was also a respected *haikai* poet. An examination of the correspondences between Bashō and Sodō, in which they wrote in Japanese and *kanbun*, respectively, discloses that Sodō's writings in *kanbun* contributed to deepening Bashō's understanding of Chinese concepts and texts, and sometimes even inspired Bashō to write *haikai* verses. I also discuss the only extent *wakan haikai* sequence collaborated by the two, in which Sodō not only demonstrated how to compose *kan* verses with *haikai* spirit, but also led Bashō to eventually produce good *kan* verses. Finally, through close readings of prefaces by Sodō that reflect his views on *haikai* compositions, and a comparison between Bashō and Sodō's poetics, I argue that Sodō internalized what he received from Chinese studies in his *haikai* compositions and treatises, which further impacted Bashō's poetry and poetics, contributing to the establishment of the Bashō style.

Chapter One

Poetic Dialogue between the Elites and Zen Monks: Linked verse in Japanese and Chinese

Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392) was one of the most important time for the development of linked verse: it not only witnessed the elevation of *renga* into high art and a conspicuously increasing popularity of *renku* compositions among Gozan monks, but it was also when *wakan renku* reached its first climax. The greatest contributors to the rapid development of *wakan renku* during this period were Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325-1388) and Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388). The former is one of the two best Gozan poets (the other is Zekkai Chūshin 絶海中津) called the “twin jade” (*sōheki* 双璧) of Gozan literature. The latter participated in the compilation of the first *renga* anthology, *Tsukubashū* 菟玖波集 (The Tsukuba Collection, 1357), and established the rules of *renga* in *Renga shinshiki* 連歌新式 (The New Rules of *Renga*, 1372). As an advisor of the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1368-1394) on Chinese matters, Gidō was able to get contact with the noble and military classes, and he was especially close to Yoshimoto, who was an aristocratic advisor of the Shogun. According to Gidō’s journal, *Kūge nichiyō kufūshū* 空華日用工夫集 (Instructions on Monastic Life by Kūge), Gidō and Yoshimoto had constant social and literary communications.⁸ Yoshimoto consulted Gidō on Chinese poetry, *renku*, and *wakan renku*, and he also frequently participated in *wakan renku* compositions with Gidō. This chapter examines the Sino-Japanese interplay in *wakan renku* compositions centered around Yoshimoto and Gidō, mainly through records of *wakan renku*

⁸ *Kūge nichiyō kufūshū* is a 48-volume journal kept by Gidō (penname: Kūge), but only four volumes survive. See Kageki Hideo 蔭木英雄 annotated, *Kunchū Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū* 訓注空華日用工夫略集 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1982).

gatherings in *Kūge nichiyō kufūshū*, Yoshimoto's comments on *wakan renku* in his treatises, and a close reading of a 100-verse *wakan renku* sequence. Before turning to *wakan renku*, I will first briefly introduce *renku* composed by Zen monks, with a focus on a comparison with *renga*, especially in terms of linking and integration.

Renku by Zen monks

Renku were composed by aristocrats as early as Heian period (794-1185), but these *renku* are generally considered a different kind from what Japanese scholars call “*Zenrin renku*” 禅林聯句, or *renku* by Zen monks, which is the focus of this chapter. *Renku* by aristocrats will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Renku became a popular form of interaction among Zen monks during the medieval period (1185-1600). Gidō greatly contributed to the establishment of *renku* by Zen monks, and he left us with precious records about *renku* compositions at the time in his journal, *Kūge nichiyō kufūshū*, as well as critical comments on *renku* included in *Kūgeshū* 空華集 (Collection of Kūge's Works). *Renku* especially flourished during the Sengoku period (1467-1603). In the sections written by Kisen Shūshō 龜泉集証 (1424-1493) of the *Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録 (Daily Records at the Inryō Pavilion), a public diary kept by masters living at the Inryō Pavilion in the Shōkoku Temple, accounts related to *renku* are ubiquitous, showing that *renku* had already been incorporated into the everyday life of Gozan monks.⁹ *Tōzan renku* 湯山聯句 (Linked Verse

⁹ The *Inryōken nichiroku*, also called *Onryōken nichiroku*, comprises of 61 volumes contributed by three masters, Kikei Shinzui 季瓊真蘂 (1401?-1469), Ekishi Sōshin 益之宗箴 (1410—1487), and Kisen Shūshō. Covering years from 1435 to 1493, it provides valuable information about not only Gozan monasteries, but also the Muromachi *bakufu* at the time.

Sequence at Tōzan, 1500), a 1000-verse *renku* sequence composed by Keijo Shūrin 景徐周麟 (1440-1518) and Jushun Myōei 寿春妙永 (dates unknown) at Tōzan (the current Arima Hot Springs), is generally considered an exemplar of the genre at the time. Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良 (1501-1579) was famous for excelling in *renku*, and the two *renku* anthologies compiled by him – *Jōsei renku* 城西聯句 (West of the City Linked Verse) and *Sanzenku* 三千句 (Three Thousand Verses) – served as models for later generations.¹⁰

Regarding the linking and progression of *renku*, especially those composed during Gidō's day, we can get a glimpse from Gidō's comments in the "Preface to *Linked Verse Poetry*" 聯句詩序 included in *Kūgeshū*.

The composition of linked verse has a long history. It can be traced back to the singing and responding poems by the Emperor Shun of Yu and was carried on in the Boliang poem that included participation of the Emperor Wu of Han.¹¹ There were not so many linked verse from the Jin period (265-420) onward, although poets such as Tao Yuanming and Xie Lingyun continued to compose some.¹² When it comes to

¹⁰ This brief history of *renku* is based on Asakura Hisashi 朝倉尚, "Zenrin renku ryakushi" 禅林聯句略史, *Chūsei bungaku kenkyū* 中世文学研究 22 (1996: 8): 1-12 and Fukasawa Shinji 深沢真二, *Wakan no sekai* 和漢の世界 (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 2010), 13-48.

¹¹ The Emperor Shun of Yu was a legendary leader of ancient China. It is said that he composed songs and his minister Gao Tao 皋陶 responded to his songs. The Boliang poem is a series of verses composed at a gathering of the Emperor Wu of Han (156 -87 B.C, r. 141-87 B.C.) and twenty-five ministers and courtiers celebrating the creation of the Boliang Tower in 108 B.C. Beginning with the Emperor, each person composed a verse related to his position and their twenty-six verses comprise a sequence. This poem established a new poetic style called the Boliang style, which had a significant impact on the later *lianju* composition.

¹² Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (c.365-427), also called Tao Qian 陶潛, was a Chinese poet living in the Six Dynasties period (c. 220 - 589 CE). He is well known for his recluse poetry. Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) was a Chinese poet from the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589). He is most famous for his landscape poetry focusing on "mountains and streams."

the Tang poets Han Yu, Meng Jiao, Liu Yuxi, and Bo Juyi, they expanded and enriched linked verse, singing and responding to each other.¹³ The establishment of the genre of linked verse was thus complete. There were seven-character ones and five-character ones, regulated poems and ancient-style poems, but they were all singing and responding between hosts and guests. The verses are so well arranged that the sequences look as if they were from the hand of a single poet without losing order. In contrast, students nowadays respond with white to yellow and link wind to the moon. Therefore, their linked verse cannot form a distinctive style and are merely used to help urge drinking for a moment. How laughable!¹⁴

Gidō traces the origin of *renku* to *lianju* 聯句, linked verse composed in China. He briefly recounts the history of *lianju*, and considers the feature of best *lianju* to be well-organized “as if they were from the hand of a single poet.”¹⁵ He then criticizes the *renku* compositions by beginners in contemporary Japan, which he presents as opposite to good *lianju*: these *renku* only focus on

¹³ Han Yu (768-824) was a famous writer in the Tang Dynasty who was good at both prose and poetry. He and Meng Jiao (751-814) are generally considered to have exploited the full possibilities of linked verse in China. Bo Juyi (772-846) and Liu Yuxi (772-842) were another pair of Tang poets who actively participated in linked verse compositions.

¹⁴ Kamimura Kankō 上村觀光 ed., *Gozan bungaku zenshū* 五山文学全集, vol. 2 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1936), 766.

¹⁵ For studies on *renju*, see Fan Xinyang 范新陽, “Lun Han Yu lianju de yishu tezhi jiqi shixue moulüe” 論韓孟聯句的藝術特質及其詩學謀略, *Nanjing shida xuebao* 南京師大學報 5 (2007: 9): 134-138, He Xinsuo 何新所, “Han Meng lianjushi tanxi” 韓孟聯句詩探析, *Guizhou shehui kexue* 貴州社會科學 184. 4: 85-87, David Pollack, *Linked-Verse Poetry in China: A Study of Associative Linking in Lien- Chü Poetry with Emphasis on the Poems of Han Yü and His Circle*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Berkeley, California: University of California Berkeley, 1976), and Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶 and Zhao Xianping 趙現平. “Shi lun Han Meng lian ju shi” 試論韓孟聯句詩. *Zhou kou shi fan xue yuan xue bao* 周口師範學院學報 23. 3 (2006: 5): 1-5.

making parallels to previous verses with no concern about the unity of the whole sequence, so they do not have literary value but merely serve as a form of entertainment.

Gidō's comments reveal that in Gidō's mind, good *renku* should model *lianju*, especially in terms of how the verses are linked and integrated. "As if coming from the hand of a single poet" is the phrase used by Chinese historians and critics to describe *lianju* sequences by Han Yu and Meng Jiao, who are generally considered to have exploited full possibilities of *lianju* in China. Their *lianju* sequences usually have a shared topic and progress in a similar way to poems composed individually.

According to Fukasawa, the unity as a whole remained a feature of *renku* until the late 15th century. Related to this feature, *renku* had a tendency of placing emphasis on the present, either the present moment, place, situation, or the participants. This feature is called *tōzasei* 当座性 in Japanese, which literally means emphasis on the present setting.¹⁶ Asakura also points out that *tōzasei* is one of the two most important characteristics of *Tōzan renku*, a representation of *renku* compositions in the late 15th century.¹⁷

This concept of linking and unity, however, is very different from *renga*, which values change and variety. In every three contiguous verses of a *renga* sequence, the first and second verses are connected, but the third verse, while related to the second one, should move away from the first one and develop into a new direction. Otherwise the sequence would be considered stagnant. As a result, a variety of different topics and images, from four seasons, to plants and animals, to human activities and emotions, co-exist in a single sequence. They are organized by a

¹⁶ Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai*, 13-48.

¹⁷ Asakura Hisashi 朝倉尚, *Shōmono no sekai to Zenrin no bungaku* 抄物の世界と禅林の文学 (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 1996), 311-371.

series of complex rules called *shikimoku* 式目, which regulate the structure and progression of a sequence.¹⁸

This conspicuous distinction between *renku* and *renga* with regards to the concept of linking and unity naturally leads to the questions: what happened when the elites and Zen monks composed linked verse together? How were the *wa* and *kan* verses linked and integrated in *wakan renku*? How did the two distinctive literary traditions –*renga* and *renku* – interact with each other? These questions make *wakana renku* an especially intriguing poetic form to explore.

Wakan Renku

Before Gidō's day, his master Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275-1351) had already participated in *wakan renku* gatherings with the elites (including Yoshimoto) and other Zen monks. Pollack mentions a *wakan renku* gathering held by Musō at Saihōji Temple in Arashiyama in 1346, which included participation of Zhuxian Fanxian 竺仙梵僊 (1293-1349), a Chinese Zen monk who played a leading role in the establishment of Gozan literature, Musō, who surprisingly only composed *wa* verses, and prominent members of aristocrats and the military.¹⁹

¹⁸ There are regulations on the *kukazu* 句数, or duration of the topic. For example, spring and autumn could continue for three to five verses, while summer and spring can only run no more than three verses. There are also rules concerning the *sarikirai* 去嫌, or intermission, which are used to create distance between the same or similar themes. For example, the same season must be separated by more than five verses. Similar associated images like “tears” and “weep” were required to be separated by at least two verses. There are also *teiza* 定座 (fixed positions) for moon and flower verses.

¹⁹ David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 141.

It was not until Gidō, however, that *wakan renku* gatherings were frequently recorded. In his journal, the earliest record about *wakan renku* gatherings appears in the entry of the eighth day of the eighth month in the year 1380 (Kōryaku 2).

I went to a *wakan renku* gathering hosted at Yoshimoto's residence. I entered from the Western Gate, and toured Spring Garden, Pond Pavilion, Natural Rocks, which were beautiful beyond words.... Then Yoshimoto came out and met me at the pavilion by waters. It has been a long time since we last met, and we really enjoyed talking to each other. He led me into the Resting Palace, where we composed a 100-verse *wakan renku* sequence. At the time, the participants included Sōzan Ryōei from the Ankokuji Temple, Gyokkō Nyokon from the Tōshūn'an Temple, Kishi Reiho from the Dairyū'an Temple, and Yoshimoto's son Tadahide Bonshō as a servant.²⁰

1380 was the year when Gidō returned to Kyoto and started serving as the head abbot of Kenninji Temple. He reconnected with Yoshimoto, and their frequent communications from this year can be seen from the journal. According to Pollack's statistics, "Yoshimoto's name appears about thirty times in those parts of the diary still extant, and twenty-three of these entries are concerned with *wakan renku*."²¹ The following is one of the entries that record a *wakan renku* gathering in detail.

Having received the order from the Shogun Yoshimitsu, I went to the Saihōji Temple for an Autumn-leaves viewing gathering. Among the participants, those from the aristocratic and military classes included the

²⁰ Asakura Hisashi, "Zenrin renku ryakushi," 4. I also made reference to Kageki Hideo, *Kunchū Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū*, 213.

²¹ David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 141-142.

regent Yoshimoto, the middle counselor Sanjōnishi Kintoki, the middle counselor Madenokōji Tsugufusa, Hino Motoyasu and his brother Motoyori, and the Shogunal deputies Shiba Yoshimasa and his brother Yoshitane; Zen monks were Taisei Sōi, Bussen Shūkaku, Jorin Myōsa, and the abbot of the Saihōji Temple Meihaku Shūzen. The expense for today's memorial service will be paid off by the Shogunal deputies. As for the seating arrangement, I was ordered by the shogun to serve as the chief in place of the National Master Shun'oku Myōha, who usually faces Taisei; Yoshimoto faces the shogun; all the other participants, monks and secular people, took their seats in due order. The National Master did not come due to minor illness.

After having snacks, we went to the Fuji room and talked about the Way there. The shogun entered the corner of the late master Musō Soseki's study where Musō used to take a rest. Viewing the late master's belongings one by one, the shogun was deeply moved and showed his admiration. After dinner, we returned to the Fuji room to talk with each other and compose a *wakan renku* sequence. The opening verse by the regent Yoshimoto reads: "Pine trees are like vertical threads/and horizontal threads are red leaves—/beautiful brocade." The Shogun ordered me to compose the responding verse. I said: "autumn rain pours like threads." When we were about to complete half of the sequence, the shogun suddenly summoned the deputies, requesting them to remain seated, and led me to the Chosei room. He himself changed his robes to *kāşāya* and went to Shitōan hut alone, sitting in Zen meditation with doors shut....When it reached the time of Four Drums, the regent and some others came back.²² We resumed our *wakan renku* compositions and completed a 100 verse sequence....²³

As we can see, the *wakan renku* composition was not the primary purpose of the gathering but rather a pastime. It was not completed continuously but was interrupted by Zen activities. In

²² The time of Four Drums corresponds to 1-3 am.

²³ Asakura Hisashi, "Zenrin renku ryakushi," 5. I also made reference to Kageki Hideo, *Kunchū Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū*, 285-286.

between the *wakan renku* compositions, the shogun Yoshimitsu went to seated meditation alone, and after that he asked Gidō about Musō Soseki and showed his admiration for the late master (this part is omitted in the above citation). Although Yoshimitsu clearly had interest in and frequently sponsored and hosted *wakan renku* compositions, as can be seen in other entries of the journal, for him, *wakan renku* was most likely a by-product of his Zen activities. This is probably why many *wakan renku* sequences recorded in the journal were produced in Zen monasteries. As for the literary aspect of *wakan renku*, Yoshimoto and Gidō played leading roles in the *wa* and *kan* sides, respectively, as proved by the fact that they composed the first *wa* and *kan* verses, even though their social status was lower than Yoshimitsu.

While the journal mentions *wakan renku* many times, in most cases, it only provides information on the circumstances under which *wakan renku* were composed but does not record verses like the above entry. The one that records the most verses is the entry of the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh month in the year 1384 (Shitoku 4), which includes nine verses of a 100-verse sequence composed by Yoshimoto, Gidō, Fumyō, and Taisei.²⁴ There is also no existing critical comments of Gidō on *wakan renku*, so we could gain little information about *wakan renku* as a genre from his end. Luckily, Yoshimoto talks about *wakan renku* in several of his treatises on *renga*, including *Gekimōshō* 擊蒙抄 (1358), *Tsukuba mondō* 筑波問答 (after 1357, before 1372), and *Kyūshū mondō* 九州問答 (?).

²⁴ This sequence is analyzed in detail in David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 143-147.

The style of *wakan renku* should be a little different from ordinary *renga*. At the present time, people often draw upon “poems to sing” and “music bureau songs.”²⁵ In the case of *renga*, the verses should be forceful with overtones. After all, the only way is to re-create the flavor of poems by Li Bo, Du Fu, Su Shi, and Huang Tingjian in *wa* verses. However, there is a knack in this re-creation. That is, one should acquire the “heart” instead of adopting the words. He should select the words that are appropriate. What an unskillful person composes is no more than a slavish copy of the Chinese poems. One should pay special attention to avoid this kind of mistakes.

- *Gekimōshō*²⁶

In *renga*, both Chinese writings and mundane affairs have become sources for poetic associations, so one cannot be qualified to serve as a judge without broad knowledge and training. Nowadays, it is common to see poetic associations based on “poems to sing” and “music bureau songs.” Speaking of drawing on Chinese writings, since *The Book of Odes* served as a source of reference even for ancient poetry, it is no wonder that it provides poetic associations of interest. Good associations also exist in the names of plants and animals included in *The Book of Odes*. There are many things to adopt from ancient poetry, but if one does not even learn the ancient matters of our own country, how possible does he know about those of other countries. For *wakan renku*, the “heart” of this kind of ancient poetry is especially of interest. It is said that one should mostly link by “heart” and avoid directly adopting words in *wakan renku*.

- *Tsukuba mondō*²⁷

²⁵ “Poems to sing,” or *rōei* 朗詠, refers to the verses that were used for singing in Japan. *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 (Japanese and Chinese poems to sing, ca. 1017-1021) is the first and most famous collection of this genre, comprising of verses taken from Chinese and Japanese poems and *kanshi*. “Music bureau songs” (*yuefu* 樂府), a poetic form in Chinese poetry, refers to songs composed in a folk song style.

²⁶ Okami Masao 岡見正雄 ed, *Yoshimoto renga ronshū* 良基連歌論集, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1952), 52-53.

²⁷ Kidō Saizō 木藤才藏 and Imoto Nōichi 井本農一, ed., *Renga ronshū, Haironshū* 連歌論集・俳論集 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1985), 91. David Pollack also translates this passage in *The Fracture of Meaning*, 148.

As is generally known, *The Book of Odes* serves as a model for Chinese poetry. The preface to *The Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, starting from the section about the six principles, also constantly takes *The Book of Odes* for a model. Moreover, the names of plants and animals can be learned from the *The Book of Odes*. Therefore, the collection should be the very best source for poetic associations. It is of special interest to *wakan renku*. Besides *The Book of Odes*, the collection *Poems of Three Styles*, the poems by Li Bo and Du Fu, and verses by Su Shi and Huang Tingjian are all of interest to *wakan renku*. When adopting words from Chinese poems, one should choose subtle and profound ones and avoid vulgar ones. In *wakan renku*, it is also common to adopt the heart but abandon the words. When linking *wa* verses to *kan* verses in *wakan renku*, one should abandon the word associations but instead link by heart.

- *Kyūshū mondō*²⁸

All three passages touch on the Sino-Japanese interplay in *wakan renku*. The passage in *Gekimōshō* focuses on the *wa* verses in *wakan renku*, which Yoshimoto claims often re-create the precedents created by Chinese authors. In *Tsukuba mondō*, Yoshimoto talks about the linking between *wa* and *kan* verses. Then in *Kyūshū mondō*, which was completed during his late years, Yoshimoto reiterates what he has claimed in *Gekimōshō* and *Tsukuba mondō*. It is obvious that the key words in all three comments are “words” and “heart,” and Yoshimoto prefers the latter to the former. Yoshimoto’s advocacy of “heart” and the rejection of “words” can be unfolded into two dimensions. First, when drawing upon Chinese texts, *wa* verses should inherit the “heart,” or more specifically, meaning and connotation, instead of adopting the words of the original. Even if adopting the words, one should only use the ones that are subtle and profound. By receiving

²⁸ Okami Masao 岡見正雄 ed, *Yoshimoto renga ronshū* 良基連歌論集, vol.2, 180. David Pollack also translates this passage in *The Fracture of Meaning*, 149.

Chinese texts in this way, the *wa* verses in *wakan renku* are able to acquire depth and elegance, which, in Yoshimoto's view, were lacked in ordinary *renga* of his day.²⁹

Second, the verses in *wakan renku* should be linked by heart (*kokorozuke*) rather than by word associations (*kotobazuke*). In *Renri hishō* 連理秘抄 (ca. 1349), Yoshimoto explains *kokorozuke* as the link that “abandons word associations based on logic or established in literary precedents, and only relies on heart.”³⁰ In other words, when linking in the method of *kokorozuke*, one should think beyond verbal level, digesting the true meaning of the previous verse as a whole and adding a new verse that is connected to the previous one on the level of content. Pollack thinks that the experiment with *kokoro* was a remedy for the problem with *kotoba*, which was caused by “the apparently irreconcilable differences between Chinese poetic diction on the one hand and the *kotoba* or diction considered permissible in Japanese poetry.”³¹ According to Pollack, Yoshimoto “felt that if one probed beneath the superficial level of ‘words,’ one would discover the ‘heart’ or realm of underlying ideation from which they came, a realm in which essential similarities became clear as apparent differences disappeared. If one were then to match one’s *kokoro* to that which informed a line of Chinese poetry, one’s own *kotoba* would necessarily ‘harmonize’ with it and at the same time be made more profound by the effort.”³²

²⁹ Yoshimoto thinks that the *renga* poetry in his day “merely toy with ‘blossoms,’ sport with “wind,” and show not the least refinement or elegance.” This statement is from *Tsukuba mondō* in *Renga ronshū, haironshū*, 81 and the English translation is by David Pollack included in *The Fracture of Meaning*, 148.

³⁰ *Renga ronshū, haironshū*, 50.

³¹ David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 155.

³² Ibid.

As Pollack admits, however, the above was no more than “the goal of what Yoshimoto called ‘linking by heart’ (*kokorozuke*).”³³ It remains to ask, in reality, whether the participants, including Yoshimoto himself, were able to accomplish the goal, which does not seem to be an easy task, especially considering that two languages and cultures were involved, and the verses had to be composed impromptu. Pollack did not have access to a complete sequence of *wakan renku* at the time, and his analysis was solely based on Yoshimoto’s treatises and the nine verses included in Gidō’s journal. Recently, a 100-verse sequence that included participation of Yoshimoto and Gidō is transcribed and annotated by Japanese and Chinese scholars at the Kyoto University.³⁴ This serves as the perfect source for us to examine the Sino-Japanese interplay in *wakan renku*. Through a close reading of this sequence as follows, we will not only be able to probe whether Yoshimoto’s ideal was put into practice and whether his statements about the composition of *wa* verses and the linking between *wa* and *kan* verses reflect the reality at the time, but we can also gain insight into the composition of *kan* verses that was not brought up in Yoshimoto’s treatises.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Kyoto daigaku kokubungaku kenkyūshitsu 京都大学国文学研究室 and Kyoto daigaku chūgoku bungaku kenkyūshitsu 京都大学中国文学研究室.ed. *Yoshimoto, Zekkai, Yoshimitsu nado ichiza Wakan renku yakuchū* 良基・絶海・義満等一座・和漢聯句訳注 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2009).

“When Blowing Dew”: A 100-Verse *Wakan Renku* Sequence by Gidō, Yoshimoto, Zekkai,
Yoshimitsu and 21 Other Participants³⁵

This sequence is a collaborative effort of 25 people.³⁶ Among the participants, there were *renga* masters such as Yoshimoto and Jōa 成阿 (dates unknown); Gozan monks including Gidō and Zekkai, the “twin jade” of Gozan literature; other elites including the shogun Yoshimitsu. It is a precious record of interactions among Zen monks, aristocrats, and the military, and the participation of the shogun, the best *renga* masters and greatest *kanshi* poets at the time makes it even more intriguing. There is no information on the date or place in the manuscript, but it was most likely composed at Tojiin in 1386.³⁷ It includes 100 verses, the standard length for *wakan renku* at the time, comprising of 41 *wa* verses and 59 *kan* verses. Generally, *wa* verses were composed by nobilities and the military, and *kan* verses were composed by Zen monks, but Yoshimoto and Ribōjō 裏坊城 contributed both.

The *kan* verses in this sequence, even when following *wa* verses, generally imitated Chinese poetry and maintain Chinese poetic traditions, as shown in the following two pairs of verses, in both of which a *kan* verse is added to a *wa* verse.

1. 露ふけば 玉に声あり松の風

Yoshimoto

When blowing dew,

Tsuyu fukeba

³⁵ The sequence does not have an official title. I follow the tradition and use the first five syllabus 露ふけば (when blowing dew) as the title.

³⁶ Two of the verses lack authorship, so there could be 26 or 27 participants.

³⁷ Yoshimoto, Zekkai, Yoshimitsu nado ichiza *Wakan renku yakuchū*, 28-31.

there is a voice in the jewels— *tama ni koe ari*
 wind in the pines *matsu no kaze*

2. 山静葉鳴秋 (山は静かにして葉秋を鳴らす) Zekkai³⁸

the mountain is tranquil, *yama wa shizuka ni shite*
 leaves rustle in autumn *aki o narasu*

In verse 1, the word *tama* 玉 (jewel) is a metaphor of dew drops. When the wind blows dew on the pine branches, it gives the jewel-like drops a voice. Although dew drops do not make sound themselves, as they look like jewels, they give people the illusion that they jingle when touching each other, just as jewels do. This description of the imaginary sound of dew can be seen in a *waka* poem by Fujiwara no Kinpira 藤原公衡 (1158-1193) – “When the autumn wind / blows the dew / forming on reed leaves / there is a voice in the jewels – / sky at dusk” 秋風の荻の葉結ぶ露吹けば玉に声ある夕暮の空.³⁹ In the *wakan renku* sequence, the voice of jewels is likely an allusion to the two lines of Bo Juyi’s poem, in which he uses the phrase *jinyusheng* 金玉聲, sound of gold and jewels, to praise his friend Yuan Jujing 元居敬’s writings.⁴⁰ This verse thus

³⁸ All of the verses cited in this chapter are from *Yoshimoto, Zekkai, Yoshimitsu nado ichiza Wakan renku yakuchū* and the number corresponds to the verses’ position in the sequence. My analysis of the verses referred to the detailed annotations included in this edition. All translations are my own unless noted otherwise. I do not capitalize the first letter of each verse except for the first verse, since I consider each verse a continuation of the previous verse rather than a fresh new start. I do not include a period in the end of each verse except for the last verse, since I also consider each verse a preparation for the succeeding verse rather than an ending. When translating the verses, I attempt to keep them simple, concise, and sometimes ambiguous and fragmentary in order to maintain the feeling and aesthetics of the original.

³⁹ This poem is from *Kinhira hyakushu* 公衡百首 included in *Shinpen kokka taikan henshū iinkai* 『新編国歌大観』編集委員会, *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観, vol. 10 (Tokyo, Kadokawa shoten, 2003), 135.

⁴⁰ “Your bequeathed writings, thirty scrolls in all, scroll after scroll filled with sounds of gongs and jade stones!” 遺文三十軸，軸軸金玉聲. This poem is included in the *Wakan rōei shū* 和漢朗詠集 (Japanese and Chinese Poems

contains a sense of salutation, like an opening verse in a *renga* sequence, implying that the participants will compose good verses. Meanwhile, pine is a symbol of an elevated mind. As a metaphor of the participants, it also serves a gratulatory purpose.

Verse 2 is connected with verse 1 through the word association between “wind in the pines” (*matsukaze* 松風) and “mountain.”⁴¹ Meanwhile, the scenery extends from the pine trees to the whole mountain. The wind in verse 1 now makes falling leaves rustle, and the mountain is so quiet that even the gentle rustling can be heard clearly. This way of representing the tranquility by depicting a sound is very common in Chinese poetry, and one example is Wang Wei 王維 (699-761)’s verse “The mountain is tranquil /the spring becomes even louder” 山靜泉逾響, which also starts from the phrase 山靜 (The mountain is tranquil).⁴² The second half of Verse 2 also has a Chinese precedent, which is “Leaves of Chinese parasol tree rustle in autumn” 梧葉鳴秋 by the Zen monk Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185-1269).⁴³

19. うす霧の山あらはるる月出て

Shūhon 秀本

to Sing). See Nakano Mitsutoshi, Jinbō Kazuya, Maeda Ai 中野三敏, 神保五彌, 前田愛, ed., *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000), 21. The English translation is from J. Thomas Rimer and Jonathan Chaves, trans., *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997), 144.

⁴¹ Unless otherwise noted, the word associations mentioned in this dissertation are based on the *renga* manual *Renju gappekishū* 連珠合璧集 (1476). See Ichijō Kanera 一條兼良, *Renju gappekishū* in *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* 続群書類従, vol. 17 (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1934).

⁴² This verse is from the poem “Zeng Dongyue jiaoliangshi” 贈東嶽焦煉師 included in *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩, vol. 127. *Quan Tang shi* text is available online on *National Library of China* at <http://wenjin.nlc.cn/zjtj/zjtj/qts.html> (accessed on August 2, 2017). In this dissertation, for all of the verses from the *Quan Tang shi*, I use the text on the *National Library of China*.

⁴³ This verse is from *Xutang heshang yulu* 虛堂和尚語錄, which is available online on *Scripta Sinica* at <http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm> (accessed on July 17, 2017).

mountains in faint fog	<i>usugiri no</i>
show up	<i>yama arawaruru</i>
as the moon comes out	<i>tsuki idete</i>

20. 簾懸白玉鉤 (簾は懸く白玉の鉤) Tenshaku 天錫

blinds are hung	<i>sudare wa kaku</i>
on a hook of white jade	<i>hakugyoku no kō</i>

The interest of verse 19 lies in the juxtaposition of two images that have contrasting functions — the fog that hides the mountain and the moon that uncovers the mountain by its light. This kind of juxtaposition can be seen in a *waka* poem by the Prince Masanari 雅成親王 (1200-1255) included in the *Shoku Kokinshū* 続古今集 (The Sequel to the *Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*) – “The treetop/ shows up high/ as the moon enters/ thick river fog/ at the distant mountain foot” 月のいる木すゑはたかく／あらはれて河霧ふかきをちの山もと, although in this poem, the moon lights up the treetop rather than the mountain.⁴⁴

Verse 20 is linked to verse 19 through the word association between mountain and blinds, which is included in *Renju gappekishū* but originally came from Bo Juyi’s verse “Pushing aside the blinds, I gaze upon the snow of Xianglu peak” 香爐峰雪撥簾看.⁴⁵ Moreover, the moon is associated with the hook, since a crescent moon is often compared to a hook in Chinese poetry.

⁴⁴ This verse is the 435th verse in the *Shoku Kokin wakashū*, which is available online on *Full Text Database Selection from Early Japanese Books* at <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~selection/fulltext/21textpagelist> (accessed on July 17, 2017).

⁴⁵ This verse is from the poem “Chongti” 重題 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol.439. The English translation is by Ivan Morris included in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 284.

Verse 20 itself is very similar to the verse by the Tang poet Ding Xianzhi 丁仙芝 (705-763) – “Blinds are hung on a hook of white jade” 簾垂白玉鉤, only using a different word to express the meaning of “to hang.”⁴⁶ When reading together with the previous verse, however, the hook here turns from a real one to an imaginary one: when the protagonist looks outside from the inside of the house, the crescent moon looks like a white-jade hook that hangs the blinds.

In the above two examples, the *kan* verses directly employ images and phrases from, make allusions to, and represent similar motifs to Chinese poetry. Even though they succeed a *wa* verse, they are able to maintain Chinese poetic traditions in terms of diction, theme, poetic association, and style.

When analyzing the nine *wakan renku* verses included in Gidō’s journal, Pollack uses the following verse as an example of the efforts of Japanese authors to “adapt Chinese forms to the exigencies of Japanese signification.”⁴⁷

鞋香草欲匂 (鞋香しき草匂はんと欲す)

Gidō

the sandals are fragrant,

kutsu kanbashiki

the grasses will become aromatic

*kusa niowan to hossu*⁴⁸

⁴⁶ This verse is from the poem “Changning gongzhu jiushanchi” 長寧公主舊山池 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 114.

⁴⁷ David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 145.

⁴⁸ Kageki Hideo, *Kunchū Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū*, 324.

Pollack's statement is based on the fact that this verse uses the character 匂 (fragrant), which, according to Kanjigen 漢字源, was made by Japanese people based on the Chinese character 勻 (even). The content of this verse, however, still builds on a Chinese source. Pollack translates this verse as "Our sandals with fragrant grasses will soon be redolent," which accords with the annotation for this verse included in *Kūge nichiyō kufūshū*.⁴⁹ I, however, agree with Nose Asaji, who thinks that both the fragrance of sandals and grasses are caused by the blossoms, which appear in the previous verse by Yoshimitsu – "the cherry blossoms, / when they scatter, / will conceal the mountain path" 散るころの花や山路を隠すらむ.⁵⁰ Although not mentioned in the previous studies, I believe this verse, especially considering its relation to the preceding one, builds on the lines by the monk Shi Keshi 釋可士 – "my straw hat is heavy/ due to the snow from the sky of the Wu region; my sandals are fragrant/ thanks to the blossoms on the ground of the Chu region" 笠重吳天雪，鞋香楚地花.⁵¹ It is even clearer that the participants had this poem in mind when we read the succeeding verse by Yoshimoto, who composed on snow.

This verse is the only one out of the three existing *kan* verses in the same sequence that utilizes a non-Chinese word, but as we do not have access to the complete sequence, the frequency of the usage of non-Chinese words or expressions in this particular sequence remains unknown. In the sequence of our focus, however, except for verse 79 – planting chrysanthemum, the aura of Tao Yuanming permeates (栽菊陶魂馥) – in which the combination of the words 魂

⁴⁹ David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 143.

⁵⁰ Nose Asaji 能勢朝次, *Renku to renga* 聯句と連歌 (Tokyo: Kanameshobō, 1950), 157.

⁵¹ The two lines by Shi Keshi is included in Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, et al., *Quan Song shi* 全宋詩, vol. 4 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1995), 2633.

(literally, soul) and 馥 (fragrant) is not common in Chinese poetry, all the other *kan* verses closely follow precedents created by Chinese poets in every aspect, sometimes so close that they somewhat lack creativity. It is highly likely that the slight deviation from Chinese language in the unnumbered verse was on the spur of the moment rather than a constant effort. Contrary to Pollack's claim that "for all that the Gozan monks conceived of their world as a 'Chinese' one, the scene in the poetic near-distance is often conspicuously un-Chinese: no city walls, no loft-storied buildings no wail of barbarous Tartar flute or screech of monkeys in river gorges," Chinese images, diction, and poetic traditions are well preserved in the *kan* verses by Gozan monks, at least in this sequence, as will also be demonstrated in later examples.

In the two verse-pairs analyzed earlier, in which a *kan* verse succeeds a *wa* verse, *wa* and *kan* verses largely maintain Japanese and Chinese poetic traditions, respectively. They are linked through both word associations and content correlation. Then what happens when a *wa* verse is added to a *kan* verse? If we recall, Yoshimoto claims in his treatises that *wa* verses, when drawing upon Chinese sources, should adopt the heart, as opposed to the words. Moreover, the linking of *wa* verses to *kan* verses should be based on "heart" rather than "words." Is this the case here?

When examining the *wa* verses that immediately follow a *kan* verse, it is intriguing to see that among all 21 of these verses, 13 of them were composed by Yoshimoto, while the distribution of composers of *kan* verses are much more even. Yoshimoto composed 15 *wa* verses in total. 13 of them were added to a *kan* verse, and 7 of them were sandwiched by *kan* verses. From verses 20 to 39, all the verses are *kan* except for verses 23, 29, 35, and 39, where Yoshimoto contributed a *wa* verse to break the dominance of *kan*. Takeshima Kazuki thinks that it was Yoshimoto's conscious effort to heavily involve in adding *wa* verses to *kan* verses, and

clearly, Yoshimoto was much better at this than anyone else. Takeshima also claims that the insertion of Yoshimoto's *wa* verses in consecutive *kan* verses played a role in preventing the sequence from falling into stagnation.⁵²

The *wa* verses that succeed a *kan* verse, in some cases, build on Chinese sources. Verses 76-77 is such an example.

76. 空帳北山丘 (空帳 北山の丘)	Chintei 椿庭
an empty curtain—	<i>kūchō</i>
in the hill of the North Mountain	<i>Kitayama no oka</i>
77. 月になく夜さむの猿の声すみて	Yoshimoto
crying toward the moon	<i>tsuki ni naku</i>
on a cold night,	<i>yo samu no saru no</i>
the gibbon's voice is clear	<i>koe sumite</i>

Verse 76 alludes to the famous prose piece “Proclamation on North Mountain” (*Beishan yiwen* 北山移文) written by Kong Zhigui 孔稚珪 (447-501), which criticizes Zhou Yong 周顒 (?-493) for pretending to seclude at Zhongshan (also known as North Mountain).⁵³ The “empty curtain” comes from the line “The curtain is empty, Crane expresses his resentment at night” 蕙帳空兮夜鶴怨, a description of the scenery at Zhongshan after Zhou left for an official post. The next line

⁵² Yoshimoto, *Zekkai, Yoshimitsu nado ichiza, Wakan renku yakuchū*, 233.

⁵³ “Beishan yiwen” is included in Hu Kejia 胡克家, ed., *Wenxuan Li Shan zhu* 文選李善註 (Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1970).

in the same couplet – “The hermit has already left, Gibbon cries shockingly at dawn” 山人去今
 曉猿 – continues the scenery in the desolate mountain but turns its focus from crane to gibbon.
 This is probably why Yoshimoto composed on gibbon’s cries in verse 77. When viewed
 independently, verse 77 greatly overlaps with the lines by Xie Guan 謝觀, “Down the gorges of
 Szechwan, deep with autumn --/ at the fifth watch of night, the grieving gibbon screams at the
 moon!” 巴峽秋深, 五夜之哀猿叫月, which is included in the *Wakan rōeishū*.⁵⁴ I think this verse
 is a perfect example of what Yoshimoto called “adopting the heart:” it recreates the scenery and
 atmosphere of the Chinese verse but does not use the exact same words.

In the following verse pair, the *wa* verse takes advantage of a Chinese story rather than a
 Chinese poem.

73. 雖堯唯苦此 (堯と雖も唯だ此れを苦しむ)	Gidō
even the Emperor Yao	<i>Gyō to iedomo</i>
was solicitous about this	<i>tada kore o kurushimu</i>
74. 鳥のくさぎる民のつくり田	Yishimoto
birds are weeding	<i>tori no kusagiru</i>
the paddy field created by people	<i>tami no ta</i>

Verse 73 is based on Confucius’s conversation with Zi Gong about the Emperor Yao (2377-2259
 BC), a legendary Chinese emperor extolled for his benevolence and diligence, included in the
Analects. Zi Gong asked, “If a man extensively bestows bounties to his people and is able to

⁵⁴ *Wakan rōeishū*, 242. The English translation is from *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*, 138.

assist the masses, what do you think of him? Can we call him virtuous?” The Confucius said: “Why do we only call him virtuous? He must be a sage! Even the emperors Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this.”⁵⁵

Verse 74 turns to the Emperor Shun, who was the successor of the Emperor Yao, and is also mentioned in the above citation. According to *Ershisi xiao* 二十四孝 (The Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety), Shun was devoted to his father, step-mother, and step-brother even though they were mean to him and even tried to kill him. Moved by Shun’s filial piety, elephants came to help with the plough and birds came to help weed the field. The emperor Yao was also impressed by Shun’s filial piety, so he married both of his daughters to Shun and gave the throne to him. When linked with this verse, the Emperor Yao’s concern in the previous verse seems to be whom his successor should be. This verse provides the reason why Shun was chosen. As noted in the annotation of the sequence, the word *kusagiru* (to weed), a Japanese counterpart of the Chinese word *yun* 耘 from the Chinese source, is not commonly used in *waka* or *renga*. Not to mention that the content of the verse is based on a Chinese source and thus is not typical in vernacular Japanese poetry. This shows that compared to *waka* and *renga*, more freedom is allowed in the *wa* verses of *wakan renku*. It is also evident that this *wa* verse adopts both words and meaning from the Chinese source. Another similar example is verse 57, in which the image of persimmon (*kaki*), generally considered too vulgar for traditional Japanese poetry, gains elegance through an allusion to a Chinese story. By relating to Chinese literature and culture, the images, dictions, and content that were not appropriate in traditional Japanese poetry were

⁵⁵ 子貢曰：「如有博施於民而能濟眾，何如？可謂仁乎？」子曰：「何事於仁，必也聖乎！堯舜其猶病諸。」
The text is available online on *Chinese Text Project* at <http://ctext.org/analects/yong-ye/zhs#n1250> (accessed on May 5, 2017).

elevated and thus became acceptable in *wa* verses and harmony with other *wa* and *kan* verses in the same sequence.

Countrary to the three above discussed *wa* verses that build on Chinese texts, most *wa* verses in this sequence, even when they follow a *kan* verse, do not diverge from Japanese poetic traditions, as shown in verses 38-39.

38. 如雲別後愁 (雲の如し別後の愁)	Gykkō
as thick as clouds	<i>kumo no gotoshi</i>
the sorrow after parting	<i>betsugo no urei</i>
39. さしもうき風さへ花のなごりにて	Yoshimoto
even the wind I loathed so much	<i>sashi mo uki</i>
becomes a remembrance	<i>kaze sae hana no</i>
of the cherry blossoms	<i>nagori nite</i>

Comparing sorrow to clouds is typical in Chinese poetry, and verse 38 specifically describes the sorrow after parting. Verse 39 then reveals what kind of parting it is: the protagonist feels nostalgic about cherry blossoms that have gone. Now even the wind, which originally annoyed him for having scattered the blossoms, becomes part of the memory of the blossoms. Interpreting the wind as a remembrance of cherry blossoms can be seen in many *waka* and *renga*. One example is a *waka* poem included in *Sin Senzaishū* 新千載集 (1359) – “speaking of remembrance/ that arouses nostalgia/ the sound of wind blowing/ is the very memento/ of cherry

blossoms” さそはれし名残ときけは吹風の/音こそ花のかたみなりけれ.⁵⁶ In addition to being connected on the level of content, verses 38 and 39 are also linked through two sets of word associations. One is clouds and cherry blossoms, which is based on the idea that cherry blossoms on the distant mountains look like clouds. In addition, according to *Renju gappekishū*, the feeling of parting (*wakaregokoro* 別心) leads to the words “sorrow (*uki*)” and “remembrance (*nagori*).”

As we have seen, even though Yoshimoto advocated that when linking *wa* and *kan* verses, one “should abandon the word associations but instead link by heart,” the linking in this sequence still heavily relies on word associations. Different from Pollack’s assumption that linking by words would have been difficult in *wakan renku* due to the difference between Chinese and Japanese poetry in diction, it actually worked well, both in adding a *wa* verse to a *kan* verse, and vice versa. The word associations are mostly from *renga* manuals and in some cases are based on Chinese literary precedents. Zen monks were surprisingly proficient in the word associations in *renga* (in fact, some contiguous *kan* verses are even linked by word associations included in *renga* manuals). On the other hand, aristocrats and the military knew the Chinese precedents well, either through original Chinese texts, or through second-hand information from materials edited, compiled, or created by Japanese authors.

Linking by words in most cases is accompanied by linking by heart, or content link. It is likely that the composers started from word associations, which should have already been memorized in their head and thus were much easier to resort to in an impromptu situation, and

⁵⁶ This poem is the 164th poem in *Shin Senzaishū* 新千載集, which is available online on *Full-Text Database of Selection from Early Japanese Books* at <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~selectionfulltext/21textpagelist> (accessed on August 1st, 2017).

then worked the word(s) into a verse that is related to the meaning of the previous verse as well. Purely linking by heart without word associations was a challenging task, even for Yoshimoto, but it is not entirely absent in this sequence, as shown in verses 51-52.

51. 旅寓春云老 (旅寓 春 云に老ゆ)

Kyokkō 玉崗

at the travelling lodge, *ryogū haru*

the spring grows old *koko ni oyu*

52. うらやましきは かへるかりがね

Yoshimoto

how I envy you — *urayamashiki wa*

the wild geese returning home *kaeru karigane*

Verse 51 depicts a traveler's lament about the imminent passing of spring at a temporary lodging: the spring is drawing to a close, but he is still on the road. The expression of "the spring grows old" 春老 is present in the Tang poet Cen Shen 岑参 (c.715-770)'s lines "At the north of the Wei River, the spring has already grown old / At the west of the Yellow River, I have not returned home yet" 渭北春已老，河西人未歸, which also associates the passing of spring with a nostalgia for home.⁵⁷ Verse 52 continues this sentiment of longing for one's home by directly adopting the lower verse of a poem Genji composed during his exile at Suma in *The Tale of Genji*: "In which spring can I go and see my home? /How I envy you – the wild geese returning

⁵⁷ These two lines are from the poem "Hexi chunmu yi Qin zhong" 河西春暮憶秦中 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 200.

home” 故郷をいつれの春か行きて見ん／羨ましきは帰る雁がね.⁵⁸ Perhaps verse 51

reminded Yoshimoto of the upper verse of the poem, so he cited the lower verse as a response.

Rather than linking through associations between two words, the two verses are linked by the same atmosphere of homesickness. When adding this verse, Yoshimoto concentrated on linking by heart but did not expend energy in conceiving of a new verse.

The two linking techniques, word link and content link, were common in both *renga* and *renku*, so there does not exist a conflict here, in terms of how the consecutive verses are linked. Nonetheless, as discussed earlier, when it comes to the progression and integration of the whole sequence, *renga* and *renku* are very different. In this regard, this sequence is closer to *renga*. Images from all four seasons, to the depictions of scenery, animals, and human emotions all appear in this one sequence, which constantly moves forward, developing into new directions. Below is an example of three consecutive verses that progress in a *renga* way.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 48. 木の間の月はみねのあけぼの | Michisato 通郷 |
| the moon glimpsed through the trees | <i>ko no ma no tsuki wa</i> |
| on the peak at dawn | <i>mine no akebono</i> |
| 49. 秋窗人獨倚 (秋窓人独り倚る) | Zekkai |
| in autumn, someone | <i>shūsō</i> |
| leans on a window alone | <i>hito hitori yoru</i> |
| 50. 暮店客何投 (暮店客何くにか投ぜん) | Chintei |
| at dusk, where | <i>boten</i> |

⁵⁸ Abe Akio 阿部秋生, ed., *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 21 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 215.

will the traveler stay?

kyaku izuku ni ka tōzen

Verse 48 depicts the moon that appears on the peak of the mountain. The speaker glimpses it through the trees. Then in the next verse, the lens turns to the speaker, and we see a lonely person leaning on a window. In medieval Japanese poetry, a moon seen from the window is often associated with reclusion, so when reading verses 48 and 49 together, the protagonist is supposedly a recluse. But when linked to verse 50, the person in verse 49 is likely a woman longing for her husband who is travelling. She is wondering where he is and whether he has found a place to stay tonight. This flip of identity is very common in *renga*. It is one of the most important ways to develop the sequence into a new direction, usually in an unexpected way.

Even when *wa* verse is not involved, *kan* verses are often linked in a *renga* way, as shown in the following three consecutive *kan* verses.

14. 禅餘数暁籌 (禅余 暁籌を数ふ)

Kūkoku 空谷

in spare moments from meditation,

Zen 'yo

a monk calculates the time until daybreak

gyōchū o kazou

15. 天香衣自染 (天香 衣自ら染む)

Gyokkō 玉崗

heavenly scent

tenkō

naturally perfumes his robes

koromo onozukara shimu

16. 郷信涙難収 (郷信涙収め難し)

Chintei

reading a letter from home,

kyōshin

he couldn't restrain his tears

namida osamegatashi

These three verses all directly take images and phrases from Chinese poetry, not to mention that verse 15 is almost the same as a line by Zeng Zhao 曾肇 (1047-1107) – “Heavenly scent naturally perfumes his robes” 天香自染衣, only changing the order of the words.⁵⁹ The progression of the verses, however, is nothing like *lianju* or *renku*. In verse 14, a monk uses a water clock to calculate the time and see whether it is already daybreak. The “heavenly scent” in verse 15 refers to the fragrance of flowers in the Chinese original, but here when linked to the previous verse, it represents the incense at the temple, which naturally perfumes the monk’s robes. Verse 16 does not continue the setting of a temple but portrays a lonely traveler who misses his home. When connected to verse 16, the “heavenly scent” now becomes the incense in the court rather than temple. The traveler is recalling the good memories of being at home, serving in the court, where his robes are scented by the incense. Again, we see this change of meaning and flip of identity, which contribute to the moving forward of the sequence.

Although the sequence mostly progresses as *renga*, there remain some traces of *renku*. For example, one of the features of this sequence is an increased amount of salutation compared to a *renga* sequence. In *renga*, the opening verse is supposed to be about the present moment and usually involve greetings. The second verse, usually composed by the host, is sometimes a response to the first one. And the sequence generally ends with an auspicious image in the last verse, which in some cases serves as a salutation. All the other verses are rarely related to the present. In contrast, as mentioned earlier, *renku* composed by Zen monks often placed emphasis

⁵⁹ Zeng Zhao’s verse is from *Quan Song shi*, vol. 18, 11889.

on the present (*tōzasei*). The increased amount of salutation in this sequence is likely related to this feature of *renku*.⁶⁰ The following are some examples of salutation.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 7. 今ことに かしこき人は 世に出て | Yoshimitsu |
| now in particular, | <i>ima kotoni</i> |
| sages come out | <i>kashikoki hito wa</i> |
| into the world | <i>yo ni dete</i> |
| 8. 聖功皆可謳 (聖功皆謳ふべし) | Gidō |
| imperial achievements | <i>seikō</i> |
| are all laudable | <i>mina utaubeshi</i> |
| 9. 商霖民慰望 (商霖民望みを慰す) | Taisei 大清 |
| like a timely rain, the minister | <i>shōrin</i> |
| satisfies people's wishes | <i>tami nozomi o isu</i> |
| 10. 舟のやすきもただかぢのまま | Yoshimoto |
| the boat sails with ease, | <i>fune no yasuki mo</i> |
| simply following the rudder | <i>tada kaji no mama</i> |

Verse 7 is the shogun's praise of the other participants for playing important roles in society. It is a self-recognition as well, since the fact that sages are willing to serve the country instead of secluding from the world reflects the country's peacefulness and the leader's achievements.

⁶⁰ When analyzing the nine *wakan renku* verses included in Gidō's journal, Pollack points out that "it is striking that not only is the first link typically gratulatory, but also the eighth and ninth as well." See David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning*, 144.

As a response, Gido in turn implicitly praised the shogun's efforts by applauding imperial achievements in verse 8. Taisei then turned to eulogize the regent Yoshimoto in the next verse. Comparing a worthy minister to a timely rain comes from a Chinese legend recorded in the *Shangshu* 尚书 (The Book of Documents), in which the Emperor Gaozong in the Shang period says to the prime minister, "If the country suffers great drought, I will use you as continuous heavy rain."⁶¹ In response, Yoshimoto composed on a boat sailing with ease. This is because in the same Chinese legend, immediately before the emperor says the above words, he says: "If I cross a big river, I will use you as a boat."⁶² Yoshimoto ingeniously used this image of boat and humbly responded to Taisei, implying that he is merely following the Way, assisting the emperor, just as the boat follows the rudder. This series of verses is like a dialogue among the shogun, the regent, and Zen monks, and it has strong political implications. The dialogic and political aspects make them align closer to *renku* than *renga*. Besides these four consecutive verses, verses 58 and 100 also contain a sense of salutation.

58. 山里なれやをつるしばぐり

Morotsuna 師綱

inside the mountain –

sanri nareya

falling chestnuts

otsuru shibaguri

Like verse 2, this verse also represents the tranquility through a sound – the sound of falling chestnuts accentuates the quietness of the mountain. The implied meaning of the chestnuts here is revealed when the verse is read with the previous one, in which Yoshimoto composed on a

⁶¹ 若歲大旱，用汝作霖雨。The text is available online on *Chinese Text Project* at <http://ctext.org/shang-shu/charge-to-yue-i/zh> (accessed on August 2, 2017).

⁶² 若濟巨川，用汝作舟楫。Ibid.

persimmon leaf based on a Chinese story. In Japanese poetry, *kaki no moto* (literally the root of persimmon) and *kuri no moto* (literally the root of chestnuts) refer to courtly and nonstandard poetry, respectively. Responding with an image of chestnuts, Morotsuna's verse conveys a hidden, humble message to Yoshimoto: "Compared to your elegant, paradigmatic verses, I am casually composing unorthodox, humorous verses."

100. 蔭涼在九州 (蔭涼九州にあり)

Tenshaku

coolness under the shade *inryō*
 extends all over the country. *kyūshū ni ari*

Inryō originally means the coolness under the trees, but in *Linjilu* 臨濟錄 (The Record of Linji's Teachings), a Buddhism text that records the teachings of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (?-866), Linji is compared to a big tree that devotes himself to helping people in the world, and *inryō* (*vinliang* in Chinese) is used to refer to the comfort he brings to people.⁶³ Here, the word is used in the same sense as in the Buddhist text. On the one hand, it serves as a compliment to the shogun, suggesting that the country is prosperous and people are happy under his governance. On the other hand, it has Buddhist connotation, implying that Buddhist teachings has brought comfort to people all over the world.⁶⁴

⁶³ Linji Yixuan was the founder of the Linji (Rinzai in Japanese) school of Zen during the Tang Dynasty.

⁶⁴ For more explanations on the *inryō*, please see the annotations for this verse in *Yoshimoto, Zekkai, Yoshimitsu nado ichiza, Wakan renku yakuchū*, 217-219.

Besides increased amount of salutation, there is also more stagnation compared to a normal *renga* sequence. The following four contiguous verses, which are all *kan* verses, progress in a similar way to *renku* rather than *renga*.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| 3. 西閣宜新月 (西閣 新月に宜し) | | Gidō |
| the pavilion in the west, | <i>seikaku</i> | |
| perfect for crescent moon viewing | <i>shingetsu ni yoshi</i> | |
| 4. 南榮俯碧流 (南榮 碧流を俯す) | | Dokuhō 独芳 |
| the curved edges in the south | <i>nan'ei</i> | |
| overlooks a turquoise stream | <i>hekiryū o fusu</i> ⁶⁵ | |
| 5. 白雲簷下宿 (白雲簷下に宿る) | | Mukyū 無求 |
| white clouds | <i>hakuun</i> | |
| take shelter under the eaves | <i>enka ni yadoru</i> | |
| 6. 緑竹檻前脩 (緑竹檻前に脩し) | | Tenshaku |
| green bamboo | <i>ryokuchiku</i> | |
| flourishes before the handrails | <i>kanzen ni nagashi</i> | |

Verse 3 first talks about the pavilion in the west, which in Chinese poetry is famous as Du Fu's residence in Kuizhou. Here, the pavilion is perhaps an actual building known by the participants as much as an imaginary existence in the literary works. Parallel to verse 3, Verse 4 turns to the eaves on the southern side, where a turquoise stream comes into sight. Verse 5, likely adapted

⁶⁵ In traditional Asian architect, the edge of roofs is curved upwards. The "curved edges" refers to the edges of eaves.

from the two lines by Li Bo –“White clouds comes from the Southern Mountain, and takes
shelters under my eaves” 白雲南山來，就我簷下宿, supplements the image of eaves with white
clouds hanging under them.⁶⁶ Verse 6 then extends the scenery to the front of the residence,
where green bamboo flourishes. Like a gradually unfolded illustrated handscroll, this series of
verses each portrays part of a landscape and together complete a picture with a focus on
residence. This way of progression is more like *lianju* or *renku* than *renga*, which is closer to
montage. The following is another example in which the progression is considered stagnant in a
renga sequence.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 69. 長安天咫尺 (長安天は咫尺) | Gidō |
| in Chang'an – | <i>Chōan</i> |
| heaven is so close | <i>ten wa shiseki</i> |
| 70. その名雲井といふは九重 | Yoshimoto |
| called “residence of clouds,” | <i>sono na kumoi to</i> |
| it has “nine layers” | <i>iu wa kokonoe</i> |
| 71. 大うちにもものつかさの定りて | Morotsuna |
| in the Palace Compound too, | <i>ōuchi nimo</i> |
| the appointment of officials | <i>monotsukasa no</i> |
| is determined | <i>sadamarite</i> |
| 72. 楓宸拜冕旒 (楓宸冕旒を拝す) | Gyokkō |
| in the Palace surrounded by maple trees, <i>fūshin</i> | |

⁶⁶ This verse is from the poem “Xun Yangzijigong gan qiu zuo” 尋陽紫極宮感秋作 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 183.

ministers are bowing to the emperor *benryū o haisu*

73. 雖堯唯苦此（堯と雖も、唯だ此れを苦しむ）

Gidō

even the Emperor Yao

Gyō to iedomo

concerned about this

tada kore o kurushimu

74. 鳥のくさぎる民のつくり田

Nijō

the birds are weeding –

tori no kusagiru

the paddy field created by people

tami no tsukurita

In verse 69, heaven is a metaphor of emperor (literally the son of heaven in Chinese). In Chang'an, the capital of China in the Tang period, one is very close to the emperor. Considering that the sequence was composed in Kyoto, the capital of Japan at the time, here Chang'an likely refers to Kyoto, and Gidō is saying that the participants are close to the emperor. It is also possible that rather than talking about all the participants, Gidō specifically refers to Yoshimoto or/and Yoshimitsu, who were close to the emperor not only in terms of distance, but also in terms of relationship. It is worth noting that when composing a *kan* verse, Gidō avoided using a Japanese word, in this case, a Japanese place name, but instead utilized a Chinese counterpart. Like in verse 3 discussed earlier, the imaginary, distant image and the actual, present object coincide in this verse, which is not rare in *renku* or *kan* verses of *wakan renku*.

In verse 70, both *kumoi* 雲井 (residence of clouds) and *kokonoe* 九重 (nine layers) refer to imperial palace, but the former is a native Japanese expression and the latter is the vernacular Japanese reading of a Chinese word. Using this word play, Yoshimoto successfully integrated the Japanese and Chinese worlds in one verse, inheriting the Chinese atmosphere of the previous verse in Japanese language. Before this verse, the combination of the words *kumoi* and *kokonoe*

appeared in a *waka* poem by the Emperor Godaigo (1288-1339, reign. 1318-1339) – “Cherry blossoms in spring / at the “residence of clouds” / with “nine layers”/ how can ladies-in-waiting / pick them in autumn?” 九重の雲みの春の桜花／秋の宮人いかておるらむ.⁶⁷ Having served the Emperor Godaigo until he was sixteen, Yoshimoto perhaps used this verse to commemorate the emperor.

Verse 71 then uses *ōuchi* (Palace Compound), another word that expresses the meaning of imperial palace. Repetition of the image in the previous verse alone is considered stagnant in *renga*, not to mention that verse 72 again composes on the imperial palace. Even after that, the sequence continues to stay on the topics related to emperor and imperial palace until verse 74. Verse 73 specifies that the emperor who is having an audience with the officials in the previous verse is the Emperor Yao, then verse 74 talks about the Emperor Shun, the successor of the Emperor Yao. As analyzed earlier in this chapter, when linked to verse 74, the Emperor Yao’s concern turns to whom his successor should be, and verse 74 provides the reason why Shun was chosen. The reversed causal relationship between two consecutive verses is very common in *renga*, but staying on similar topics for as long as six verses would never have been allowed in *renga*. The progression of this series of verses is in tune with *renku* by Zen monks, in which all verses are centered around a topic.

Takeshima Kazuki examines this sequence according to *renga* rules and discovers that the sequence does not accord with the rules in many cases. For example, in *renga*, spring and autumn should continue for three to five verses, respectively, but in this sequence, there are several places where spring or autumn only lasts for two verses before it changes to another

⁶⁷ This poem is the 116th poem in *Shin Senzaishū* 新千載集, which is available online on *Full-Text Database of Selection from Early Japanese Books* at <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~selectionfulltext/21textpagelist> (accessed on August 1st, 2017).

season or a verse with no seasonal words. There are also several examples in which *rinne* 輪廻 (transmigration) or *tōrinne* 遠輪廻 (distant transmigration) occurs. *Rinne*, a term originally coming from Buddhism, refers to the case that in consecutive three verses, the third one is too close to the first one in terms of diction, image, or theme. *Tōrinne*, on the other hand, occurs when the same poetic idea is utilized more than once in the same sequence. Both *rinne* and *tōrinne* should be avoided in *renga*, which values change and variety.⁶⁸ The inconsistency with *renga* rules shows that *wa* and *kan* sides were still in the process of negotiating and compromising with each other and the rules for *wakan renku* had not been established at the time yet. Nevertheless, as shown earlier, there was already a tendency that *renga* wins over *renku* in terms of progression and integration.

Conclusion

Wakan renku is where *wa* and *kan* align, interact, and unify with each other. In the case of *wakan renku* composed by Zen monks and the elites during the Nanbokuchō period, the *kan* verses, mostly composed by Zen monks who were well versed in Chinese poetry, imitate precedents created by Chinese poets in every aspect, from diction, theme, to technique of expression and poetic association. On the other hand, the *wa* verses, despite occasionally incorporating Chinese elements (diction, theme, image, poetic association from Chinese sources) when immediately following a *kan* verse, largely maintain Japanese poetic traditions established

⁶⁸ Takeshima Kazuki 竹島一希, “Yoshimoto, Zekkai, Yoshimitsu nado ichiza wakan renku ni tsuite” 良基・絶海・義満等一座和漢聯句について, *Yoshimoto, Zekkai, Yoshimitsu nado ichiza wakan renku yakuchū* 良基・絶海・義満等一座和漢聯句譯注 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2009), 226-227.

in *waka* and *renga*. In their *wakan renku*, therefore, we can see a juxtaposition, integration, and even competition of two entities that exceed a simple difference at the level of language – they also vary greatly in terms of poetic topoi, idea, sentiment, and style.

The linking of such two distinctive entities seems to be a highly demanding task but was actually pulled off by the participants in the *wakan renku* sequence in discussion. The participants were familiar with both Japanese and Chinese sources, freely wandering in the two different worlds. They linked consecutive verses, no matter whether *wa* or *kan*, or a hybrid of the two, through word association or content correlation, or in most cases, a combination of both linking techniques. Contrary to what Pollack assumed and what Yoshimoto claimed, the linking by heart was not dominant and the linking by words were far from being abandoned. In most cases, consecutive verses are still linked by word associations included in *renga* manuals or established in Chinese literary precedents; purely linking by heart without word association was rarely accomplished, even by Yoshimoto himself. Word associations, which can be relatively easily mastered through memorization, remained an important basis for linking and a handy starting point of looking for inspirations when adding a verse. Linking by heart without word association, which requires a deeper understanding of the previous verse and a stronger ability of improvisation, was more of a conceptual ideal than a common practice at the day. In fact, Yoshimoto's emphasis on "heart" was not limited to linking in *wakan renku*, but he also stressed the importance of adopting the "heart" instead of words of ancient poetry, including both Japanese and Chinese poetry, in *renga* in general. I believe that the concept of "heart" provided an expedient means for Yoshimoto to connect *renga*, which originally was merely a pastime, with more developed, respected, and sophisticated poetic forms on a deeper level. In this way, *renga* was able to gain profoundness and refinement that were needed in the elevation of *renga*.

to a serious art. The function of Chinese elements was not really to stimulate the Japanese poets to probe beneath the superficial meaning of words and concentrate more on meaning, as Pollack claims. Rather, the act of juxtaposing *wa* with *kan* equates the two, and thus contributed to elevating *renga* to a higher status. “Linking by heart” instead of “linking by words,” although not so much achieved than advocated in Yoshimoto’s day, continued to be emphasized by *renga* masters in later generations, and was finally theorized and accomplished by Shinkei 心敬 (1406-1475).

Regarding the progression of the *wakan renku* sequence, there is a compromise between *renga* and *renku*, but *renga* prevails. While there exist traces of *renku*, including an increased degree of salutation and several places of stagnation that would not be normally allowed in *renga*, in most cases, the sequence proceeds in a *renga* way with constant topic changes and developments into new directions. Different from *renku*, *renga* originally allows symbiosis of different topics and styles, so the linking and integration in a *renga* way made it possible that individual *wa* and *kan* verses basically maintained Japanese and Chinese poetic traditions, respectively, without much need to adapt to each other. This sequence was composed during the initial stage of the development of *wakan renku*, and specific rules for *wakan renku* had yet to be officially established. About 70 years later, Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402-1481), a grandson of Yoshimoto, codified rules of *wakan renku* in the *Wakanhen* 和漢編, or *wakan* section, of *Renga shogakushō* 連歌初学抄 (by 1456), generally adopting *renga* rules that regulate the linking and progression, only with more freedom.⁶⁹ When this sequence was composed, *renga*

⁶⁹ Like *renga*, a 100-verse *wakan renku* sequence is usually written on four sheets of paper with front and back sides. The first eight verses and the last eight verses are written on the front side of the first sheet, and the back side of the last sheet, respectively; and all other sides of sheets contain fourteen verses each. The number of consecutive *wa* verses cannot exceed five, and the same goes for *kan* verses, except that when the sixth verse is a parallel to the

was also in the process of growing from a pastime to a serious art. The juxtaposition of *renga* verses with Chinese poetic traditions, which were considered the standard and model, contributed to elevating *renga* into a serious art.

fifth, it is acceptable. Usually, there are fifty *kan* verses and fifty *wa* verses in a sequence. All the *kan* verses in the positions of even numbers rhyme with each other, and when they have another *kan* verse before them, they are parallel to the previous verse. In *renga*, the number of the occurrence of the images of flower and moon are regulated, but in *wakan renku*, only the image of flower is required to appear. It should appear four times, twice in *kan* verses and twice in *wa* verses. A more detailed explanation about the rules in *wakan renku* can be seen in Hasegawa Chihiro 長谷川千尋, “Wakan renku ryakushi” 和漢聯句略史, *Kyoto daigaku zō Sanetaka jihitsu Wakan renku yakuchū* 京都大学蔵実隆自筆和漢聯句譯注 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2006), 31-34.

Chapter Two

Approaching Japanese Linked Verse: Linked Verse in Japanese and Chinese in the Court

This chapter examines *wakan renku* compositions centered around the imperial court, especially during the reigns of the emperors Go-Tsuchimikado 御土御門 (reign 1464-1500) and Go-Kashiwabara 御柏原 (reign 1500-1526), when *wakan renku* enjoyed unprecedented popularity. Whereas in *wakan renku* gatherings discussed in Chapter One, the elites and Zen monks were generally responsible for *wa* and *kan* verses, respectively; in *wakan renku* compositions centered in the court, courtiers played the dominate role, composing both *wa* and *kan* verses. For courtiers, Chinese studies constituted an important part of their education, and the ability of writing in *kanbun* was necessary for their political career. *Renku* had been a means of their entertainment since the Heian period, but their *renku* were very different from the *renku* by Zen monks, especially in the ways of linking and integrating. It is not difficult to imagine, then, that their *wakan renku*, which is basically a combination of *renga* and *renku*, were also distinctive and worth a separate exploration. To these *wakan renku* gatherings, Zen monks were invited from time to time to contribute *kan* verses, although they were no longer the major contributor of the *kan* side. Likely due to the influence of these *wakan renku* gatherings, Gozan monks' own *renku* developed toward the direction of *renga* in the 16th century.

This chapter will first provide a brief history of *renku* and *wakan renku* composed in the court. Then it will investigate the Sino-Japanese interplay in these *wakan renku* sequences, through analysis of courtiers' diaries and close reading of two sequences. Lastly, it will reveal the change in *renku* composed exclusively by Gozan monks after the flourishing of *wakan renku* in the court, elaborating how these *renku* show influence of *renga*.

*Renku and Wakan Renku in the Court*⁷⁰

The earliest existing record of *renku* was “Kōjin renku” 後人聯句 (Linked Verse by a Descendent) included in *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (Fond Recollections of Poetry, 751), two verses that were added as a response to the two verses composed by the Prince Ōtsu 大津皇子 (663-686) after the Prince died. During the Heian period, *renku* were composed as a form of entertainment or game in aristocrats’ gatherings. From the limited, fragmentary surviving examples, *renku* at the time were witty and humorous, which were nothing like *lianju* or the *renku* composed by Gozan monks discussed in Chapter One.⁷¹

Renku continued to be composed in the court during the medieval period. According to *Ōtaku fukatsushō* 王沢不渴抄 (completed during 1264-1274), a guide book for *kanbun* and *kanshi* writings, *renku* at the time had some rules that are similar to *renga*. For example, the opening verse is related to the present moment. For nouns, the same character can be used no more than three times in the same side of the sheet of paper. What is most relevant to *renga* is that *rinne*, which refers to the cases in which a verse is too similar to the verse that comes before its previous verse in terms of diction, image, or theme, should also be avoided in *renku*. The

⁷⁰ This brief history of *renku* and *wakan renku* referred to Hasegawa Chihiro 長谷川千尋, “Wakan renku ryakushi” 和漢聯句略史, *Kyoto daigaku zō Sanetaka jihitsu Wakan renku yakuchū* 京都大学蔵実隆自筆和漢聯句譯注 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2006), 19-34, Nose Asaji 能勢朝次, *Renku to renga* 聯句と連歌 (Tokyo: Kanameshobō, 1950), Fukasawa Shinji 深沢真二, *Wakan no sekai* 和漢の世界 (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 2010), 13-48, and Koyama Junko 小山順子, “Wakan renku: Go-Tsuchimikado tennō no uchichi gokai o megutte” 和漢聯句—御土御門天皇の内々御会をめぐって, *Ajia yūgaku* アジア遊学 155 (2012: 7): 70-75.

⁷¹ For detailed information about *renku* compositions during the Heian period, see Nose Asaji, *Renku to renga*, 55-67 and Yanagisawa Ryōichi 柳沢良一, “Heian jidai no renku no shiteki tenkai” 平安時代の聯句の史的展開, *Chūko bungaku* 中古文学 16 (1975: 9): 10-21.

book also gives examples of *renku* verses, from which Nose Asaji comes to the conclusion that *renku* placed emphasis on making parallels.⁷²

The reign of the Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado was when various forms of poetry, including *waka*, *renga*, *renku*, and *wakan renku*, all underwent a significant development and great flourishing. After the Ōnin war (1467-1477), the court was declining politically and economically, and the emperor threw himself into literary activities. The emperor frequently held and participated in poetic gatherings, and all of the above mentioned poetic forms had their own monthly events. The inward monthly *renku* gatherings (*uchiuchi no tsukinami renku gokai* 内々の月次聯句御会) had been held from 1481 (Bunmei 13), but they were replaced by inward *wakan renku* gatherings in 1485, which continued through the reign of Go-Kashiwabara. *Wakan renku* was extremely popular in the court at the time, sometimes composed even more frequently than *renga*. Besides the inward ones, outward *wakan renku* gatherings (*tozama wakan renku gokai* 外様和漢聯句御会) had also been held on a monthly basis from 1481 to 1497, and unscheduled ones were not rare. Whereas the outward gatherings were held only among nobilities, especially the emperor and the middle ranked nobles who were on duty in the court (*kobanshū* 小番衆); the inward ones were less formal and thus allowed participation of Zen monks. In addition to the standard 100-verse sequence, a variety of different forms were also experimented.⁷³ For instance, a 1000-verse sequence was completed in three days in 1484. The aristocrats also composed two 100-verse sequences simultaneously, likely a competition for

⁷² Nose Asaji, *Renku to renga*, 134.

⁷³ For more information on the different forms of *wakan renku* experimented at the time, see Asakura Hisashi 朝倉尚, “Renku rengakai no keitai” 聯句連歌会の形態, *Renga to sono shūhen* 連歌とその周辺 (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Chūsei Bungei Kenkyūkai, 1967), 211-237.

speed and quality. Moreover, the emperor Go-Tsuchimikado sometimes set extra rules, such as fusing a story, either Japanese or Chinese, in each verse, or including famous places or people's names in each *wa* verse. Outside the court, the nobles also frequently practiced *wakan renku* in preparation for the courtly events, and some even held monthly *wakan renku* gatherings at their own residence.

As *wakan renku* flourished among the aristocrats, its rules were further improved and specialized. To the rules elaborated in the *wakan* section of *Renga shogakushō*, the emperor Go-Tsuchimikado further added seven items recorded as *Wakan shinshiki tsuika* 和漢新式追加 (An Addition to the New Rules of *Wakan Renku*). Tokudaiji Saneatsu 徳大寺実淳 (1445-1533) finalized the rules in *Kanwa hōshiki* 漢和法式 (*Rules of Wakan Renku*, 1498), synthesizing the existing rules and experts' opinions.

Diary Entries about *Wakan Renku* Gatherings

Wakan renku gatherings at the time were recorded in the diaries of courtiers, from which we can get a glimpse of *wakan renku* gatherings in the court. For example, the following is an entry for the 2nd day of the 7th month in 1481 from the *Jūrin'in naifuki* 十輪院内府記 (Diary of the Inner Minister at the Jūrin'in Temple), which was kept by the Inner Minister (*naidaijin* 内大臣) Nakanoin Michihide 中院通秀 (?-1494).

I paid a visit to the imperial palace around noon and participated in an outward *wakan renku* gathering at the Kurodo Residence. The emperor was sitting in the Western room facing south. The regent and the Minister of the Left (Konoe Masaie 近衛政家), former Minister of the Right (Koga Michihiro 久我通

博), Minister of the Right (Saionji Sanetō 西園寺実遠), Inner Minister (Tokudaiji Saneatsu 徳大寺実淳), etc were sitting in the Eastern Room from north to south facing west. In the room that is lower than the emperor's room, I, Provisional Governor (Hamuro Noritada 葉室教忠), the Inspector Kanroji Chikanaga 甘露寺親長, the Middle Counsellor Nakamikado Nobutane 中御門中納言宣胤 were sitting from north to south facing east. The Senior Counsellor Utsuyama Takakiyo 海住山高清, the Middle Counsellor Sanjōnishi Sanetake, and the advisor on the Council of State Anegakōji Mototsuna 姉小路基綱, etc were sitting from west to east facing north. As I was late, I sat behind the ministers in the Eastern Room at first, but later I accepted Kanroji's warm invitation and sat in the Western Room. The scribe was the Middle Counsellor Kajūji Tsuneshige 勧修寺経茂. He was sitting in the center, facing the emperor in the north. The regent composed the opening verse – the wind going through/ a leave of a paulownia tree – /sound of autumn. The second verse – outside the window at noon/ the heat is still weak, was composed by the emperor, who consulted Sanjōnishi, me, and others. The following verses are:

in the faint fog/ mountains can be seen/ above the bamboo fence	– Saionji
the distant shadow/ of the moon in between clouds	– Koga
hearing the cooing of wild geese/ whose letter is he entrusted	– me
sending a bird on an errand/ he reports the happiness of the guest	– Utsuyama

When 50 verses were completed, Yamashina Tokikuni 山科言国 brought the emperor's sake cup, and Sanjōnishi stood up to accompany the emperor at lunch. Many others stood up and returned to the inner room. The ministers and I were sitting in front of the emperor. The food was further sent to Yamashina, Shirakawa Sukeuji 白川資氏, Kanroji Motonaga 甘露寺元長, Sugawara no Arikazu 菅原在数, etc. The ministers used tableware with four holes, while I used tableware with three holes. After the emperor finished eating, the rice was then divided and sent to us. The sake was also passed on to us. Upon

completing 100 verses, the emperor further urged us to drink. We didn't stand up and received the apportioned sake in front of the emperor. In total, I composed nine verses. The emperor contributed 13 verses. The regent, ministers of left and right, and former minister of right each composed 9 to 10 verses. The inner minister composed 7 verses or so. Utsuyama counted the number of verses everyone composed. The gathering was dismissed while it was still hot. It was around 8 or 9 pm.⁷⁴

This entry elaborates the seating arrangement of an outward *wakan renku* gathering in the court, as shown in Graph 1 below.⁷⁵ The gathering was held in the Kurodo Residence, which includes four rooms. The emperor and the ministers were sitting in the upper rooms, with the emperor in the west and ministers in the east facing the emperor. All other participants were sitting in the lower room on the west side. This reflects that the seating position of *wakan renku* participants was determined by their rank. It is also worth noting that the emperor composed the most verses, and the ministers came second. According to Komori Takahiro, who examines all of the 112 *renga* sequences that included the participation of the Emperor Gotsuchimikado in *Renga Sōmokuroku* 連歌総目録 (Catalogue of *Renga*), it is likely that there existed an unwritten rule, which is, no one should compose more verses than the emperor. (The number of verses by other participants, however, were not necessarily related to their rank.)⁷⁶ This unwritten rule should

⁷⁴ Nakanoin Michihide 中院通秀, *Jūrin'in naifuki* 十輪院内府記 (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1972), 67.

⁷⁵ Graph 1 is based on the graph included in Komori Takahiro 小森崇弘, *Sengokuki kinri to kuge shakai no bunkashi: Gotsuchimikado tennōki o chūshin ni* 戦国期禁裏と公家社会の文化史: 後土御門天皇期を中心に, (Komori Takahiro kun chosho kankō iinkai, 2010), 183.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 188-190.

Graph 1: Seating Positions of the *Wakan Renku* Gathering at the Kurodo Residence on the 2nd
day of the 7th month of 1481⁷⁷

<p><u>The Upper Room in the West</u></p> <p>The Emperor ↓</p>	<p><u>The Upper Room in the East</u></p> <p>← Regent (Konoe Masaie)</p> <p>← Former Minister of the Right (Koga Michihiro)</p> <p>← Minister of the Right (Saionji Sanetō)</p> <p>← Inner Minister (Tokudaiji Saneatsu)</p>
<p><u>The Lower Room in the West</u></p> <p>Nakanoin Michihide → (first rank at the time)</p> <p>Provisional Governor → (Hamuro Noritada)</p> <p>Inspector → (Kanroji Chikanaga)</p> <p>Middle Counsellor → (Nakamikado Nobutane)</p> <p>↑ ↑ ↑ Senior Counsellor Middle Counsellor Advisor (Utsuyama Takakiyo) (Sanjōnishi Sanetake) (Anegakōji Mototsuna)</p>	<p><u>The Lower Room in the East</u></p>

have applied to other linked verse gatherings in the court as well. In fact, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三
条西実隆 (1455-1537), who involved in the compilation of the *renga* collection *Shinsen*

⁷⁷ In Komori's graph, the Minister of the Right is placed above the former Minister of the Right.

Tsukubashū 新撰菟玖波集 (The New Tsukuba Collection, 1495) and the codification of *wakan renku* rules in *Kanwa hōshiki*, recorded in his diary *Sanetaka kōki* 実隆公記 (Sanetaka's Public Diary) that in the *wakan renku* gathering on the 10th day of the 8th month of 1490, he composed three more verses than the emperor, who had a stomachache on that day. Sanjōnishi states that his action was supercilious and unacceptable. Despite the fact that linked verse is generally considered an art of *za* 座, which implies an equal relationship among participants who share time and space together, paradoxically, the linked verse (including *wakan renku*) in the court was an emperor-centered activity that clearly showed and reinforced the hierarchical relationship among participants through seating arrangements and number of verses one composes.

The following paragraph, which comes from the entry for the 10th day of the 8th month of 1479 in *Jūrin'in naifuki*, records an unscheduled inward *wakan renku* gathering.

At noon, I received a letter from Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, which says: "There is some business that needs to be taken care of for a good reason. Please come to the imperial palace as soon as possible." I did not wait for my carriage and hurried to the palace on foot. Then I was told we were going to compose a *wakan renku* sequence. Besides Sanjōnishi, who served as the scribe, the participants only included Ranpa Keishi 蘭坡景蒔, Kanshūji Norihide 勧修寺教秀, and Ganshū 元修. We only finished 50 verses.⁷⁸

From this entry, we can see that linked verse compositions in the court were more than a supplementary activity for a banquet or religious event and the like; rather, it had become an important part of courtiers' political life: sometimes the emperor requested the presence of

⁷⁸ Nakanoin Michihide, *Jūrin'in naifuki*, 21.

courtiers in the court solely for the purpose of composing *wakan renku*. In addition to the scheduled monthly events, the emperor sometimes decided to hold a *wakan renku* gathering on the spur of the moment, and the courtiers were thus suddenly called in to the court. On the day recorded in the above entry, the emperor had two Zen monks as guests, and he further gathered three courtiers to compose *wakan renku* together. They only composed 50 verses, and according to the diary, they finished the other half of the sequence on the 13th day.

The emperor's immense interest in *wakan renku* sometimes troubled courtiers, who were summoned to the court to accompany *wakan renku* compositions from time to time. According to *Sanetaka Kōki*, on the 7th day of the 9th month of 1480, Sanjōnishi was summoned to participate a *wakan renku* gathering, but he reported that it would be difficult for him since he had sent his hakama for re-dyeing. The emperor insisted that Sanjōnishi should come. Sanjōnishi then had to borrow a hakama from other courtiers but could not find a fit one. In the end, he borrowed one that is for elder people, although he was only at his 20s. When he finally arrived at the court, other participants had already finished the first eight verses.⁷⁹ This record also reflects that courtiers at the time were not easy financially.

Like Gidō's accounts of *wakan renku* compositions in his journal, these diaries of courtiers also only record the situation in which *wakan renku* were composed. The Sino-Japanese interplay in *wakan renku* cannot be fully understood without examination of complete *wakan renku* sequences. The following section will focus on two sequences. One (Sequence A thereafter) was an outward *kanwa renku* sequence composed in 1482 by the emperor, six courtiers including

⁷⁹ Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三條西実隆, *Sanetaka kōki* 実隆公記, vol.1, pt.2 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho ruijūkanseikai, 1979), 361-362.

Sanjōnishi, and two Gozan monks, Shūzan Tōki 宗山等貴 (1464-1526) and Gekkō Genshū 月江元修.⁸⁰ The other (Sequence B thereafter) was a *wakan renku* sequence composed in 1510 by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka and his son Kin'eda, likely a practice for the courtly events.⁸¹

Individual *Wa* and *Kan* Verses in *Wakan Renku* Compositions in the Court

In most cases, the *kan* verses in these two sequences are similar to those discussed in Chapter One, which imitate Chinese poetry. For example, the following two verses directly take words, images, or (and) themes from Chinese sources.

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. 畋獵昔非羆 (畋獵昔羆に非ず) | Genshū (A, 52) ⁸² |
| in ancient times, when going out hunting | <i>denryō</i> |
| what he got was not brown bears | <i>mukashi hi ni arazu</i> |
| 2. 鵲啼唐欲晚 (鵲啼きて唐晚れんと欲す) | Sanetaka (B, 53) |
| cuckoo cries pathetically, | <i>hototogisu nakite</i> |
| the Tang Dynasty is coming to an end. | <i>Tō kurentosu</i> |

⁸⁰ *Kanwa renku* specifically refers to a sequence that begins with a *kan* verse. Different from *wakan renku*, which only requires that the *kan* verses in the position of even numbers rhyme with each other, *kanwa renku* requires all of the verses in the position of even numbers, no matter *wa* or *kan*, rhyme with each other. This sequence is transcribed and meticulously annotated by Japanese and Chinese scholars at Kyoto University in *Bunmei jūyōnen sangatsu nijūrokunichi kanwa hyakuin yakuchū* 文明十四年三月二十六日漢和百韻譯注 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2007). My reading of the verses is based on the annotation unless otherwise noted.

⁸¹ This sequence is transcribed and meticulously annotated by Japanese and Chinese scholars in Kyoto University in *Bunmei jūyōnen sangatsu nijūrokunichi Kanwa hyakuin yakuchū* 京都大学蔵実隆自筆和漢聯句譯注 (Tokyo: Rinsen shoten, 2006). My reading of the verses is based on the annotation unless otherwise noted.

⁸² I number all of the verses cited in this chapter. The number does not correspond to their position in the sequence. After each verse, I provide the sequence number (A or B) and verse number.

Verse 1 is based on a story about the King Wen of Zhou recorded in *Shiji* 史記. One day, before the king went to hunting, a fortune-teller told him that instead of getting animals such as dragon, yellow dragon without horn, tiger, or brown bear, the king will get an advisor. As prophesied, the king met Jiang Ziya, who became his advisor and eventually assisted his son, the King of Wu, in overthrowing the Shang Dynasty and establishing the Zhou Dynasty.⁸³ The verse is almost identical with a verse by Du Fu – “In old times, when going out hunting / what he got was not bear” 畋獵舊非熊, only changing the word 舊 (old times) to 昔 (ancient times), and 熊 (bear) to 羆 (brown bear).⁸⁴ Du Fu uses this story to describe the close relationship between the Emperor Xuanzong of Tang and his general Ge Shuhan, which he compares to that between the king and Jiang Ziya.

Verse 2 alludes to the poem “Dujian xing” 杜鵑行 (Ballad on the Cuckoo), in which Du Fu describes the pathetic cries of a cuckoo, a metaphor for the Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, whose indulgence in sexual desire and neglect of state affairs caused the decay of the Tang Dynasty.⁸⁵ According to Ueki Hisayuki, cuckoo is depicted differently in Chinese and Japanese poetry. He summarizes the six following typical images of cuckoo in Chinese poetry: a cuckoo that pathetically cries while spitting blood, red rhododendrons (杜鵑花, literally, flower of cuckoo in Chinese), cries of cuckoo that arouse nostalgia for home, a cuckoo that cries due to lament for the

⁸³ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, vol. 5 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 1477-1478.

⁸⁴ Du Fu’s verse is from the poem “Touzeng geshu kaifu ershi yun” 投贈哥舒開府二十韻 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 224.

⁸⁵ “Dujian xing” is included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 219.

passing spring, a cuckoo that is associated with parting, and cuckoo's cries that signal the pain of losing one's country. These are very different from the depictions of the bird in *waka*, in which cuckoo often serves as a symbol for summer, and sometimes its calls intensify the feeling of love.⁸⁶

Verse 2 apparently accords with Chinese poetic tradition.

Some *kan* verses, however, diverged from Chinese poetic traditions. For example, the following verse, although drawing upon a Chinese verse, added a twist to the source material.

3. 毎愁銀櫛低る (愁ふる毎に銀櫛低る) Sanetaka (B, 24)

whenever in sorrow *ureuru gotoni*

her silver ornament comb droops *ginshitsu taru*

“Silver ornament comb droops” 銀櫛低 comes from the two lines by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101) – “The iron cap of the hermit in the mountains falls when he is drunk, / the silver ornament comb of the lady near the stream droops when she laughs.” 山人醉後鐵冠落，溪女笑時銀櫛低。⁸⁷ In the Chinese original, the lady's ornament comb droops because she laughs so hard that the comb slips out of place. Verse 3, however, makes a case in which the lady's ornament comb also droops when she feels sad and lowers her head. It turns the somewhat humorous portrait of a lady into a scene that is filled with melancholy. The twisting of Chinese sources is often seen in *haikai*, as will be

⁸⁶ Ueki Hisayuki 植木久行, “Hototogisu no uta” ほととぎすのうた, *Hikaku bungaku nenshi* 比較文学年誌 15 (1979): 13-43.

⁸⁷ Su Shi's lines are from the poem “Yu Qianling diao tongnian yawengting” 於潛令刁同年野翁亭 included in *Quan Song shi*, vol. 14, 9176.

discussed in detail in Chapter Four, but here it operates in an opposite direction to *haikai*, whose verses generally transform an originally serious theme into something funny or witty.

The following is another example which directly takes phrases from Chinese sources but expresses a different sentiment from the original.

4. 帰思放鷗切 (帰思鷗を放ちて切なり) Minamoto no Tominaka 源富仲 (A, 85)

the nostalgia for home becomes even more intense *kishi*

after releasing the white pheasant *kiji o hanachite setsunari*

This verse is based on the two lines by the Tang poet Yong Tao 雍陶 (805-?)– “When the autumn comes and the moon appears, you will become even more nostalgic for home. I stand up, open the cage, and release the white pheasant.” 秋來見月多歸思，自起開籠放白鷗。⁸⁸ Yong Tao’s poem is a response to his friend Sun Mingfu’s poem, which expresses Sun’s nostalgia for his home while serving as an official. Yong Tao understands that Sun does not fit in the officialdom and wants to return to the free, peaceful, rural life in his hometown, just like Tao Yuanming. Thinking that his white pheasant suffers from the same pain of feeling constraint, Yong releases it. Building on the Chinese poem, verse 4 expresses the same feeling of nostalgia, but when linked to the previous verse, which is about one’s feeling tired of country life, verse 4 depicts a courtier who is eager to return his home in the capital. This is a complete contrast to the protagonist in the Chinese poem, who wants to escape from the complicated, restrained political life and returns to secluded, country

⁸⁸ The two lines are from the poem “He Sun Mingfu huai jiu shan” 和孫明府懷舊山 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 518.

living. As noted in the annotation of the sequence, this contrast is generally consistent with the different conceptions of nostalgia in *waka* and Chinese poetry. In the former, capital is generally depicted as a place one desires and wants to return, and countryside is unfavorable. In the latter, however, one often wants to escape from the capital or big cities and instead return or seclude to the countryside. Verse 4, while taking advantage of a Chinese source, expresses sentiment that is similar to *waka* rather than Chinese poetry.

Verse 5 also aligns more closely with *waka* than Chinese poetry. In this case, it utilizes poetic images and associations in *waka*.

5. 除松花一樣 (松を除いて花一樣)

Emperor (A, 65)

except for the pines

matsu o nozoite

all of the plants are blooming

hana ichiyō

Although individual words are all from Chinese language and the verse makes sense in Chinese, the juxtaposition and contrast between flowers in full bloom and pines that are not blooming can rarely be seen in Chinese poetry but are common in *waka*. One example is a *waka* included in the *Shin Gosenshū* 新後撰集: “When I gaze far off, there are mists in the gaps between the pines – cherry blossoms that look like white clouds in the small fields of a distant village” 見わたせは松のたえまにかすみけり／遠里小野の花の白雲.⁸⁹ What is interesting and new here is that in

⁸⁹ This poem is the 77th poem in *Shin Gosenshū* 新千載集, which is available online on *Full-Text Database of Selection from Early Japanese Books* at <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~selectionfulltext/21textpagelist> (accessed on August 1st, 2017).

contrast to the image of “cherry blossoms in the gaps between the pines” 松間花, a common theme in *waka*, the pine is featured with cherry blossoms in the background.

There are also cases in which a *kan* verse takes advantage of *kanshi* sources, as shown in verses 6 and 7.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 6. 講罷僧鐘暮 (講罷みて僧鐘暮る) | Shūzan (A, 91) |
| the lecture comes to an end | <i>kō yamite</i> |
| as the temple bell sounds at dusk | <i>sōshō kuru</i> |
| 7. 打乱倚坂竹 (打ち乱る坂に倚る竹) | Genshū (A, 45) |
| swaying aimlessly — | <i>uchimidaru</i> |
| bamboo along the slope | <i>saka ni yoru take</i> |

The examples that similarly depict the sound of temple bell at dusk are abundant in both *waka* and Chinese poems. The word combination 僧鐘 (literally, monk and bell) cannot be found in Chinese writings, but it is not difficult to infer intuitively that it refers to the bell in a temple. According to the annotation of this verse, this word appears in the two lines by Zekkai – “In various mountains, the temple bells sound infrequently after the disturbance. In the place I used to practice Buddhism, the tree in front of the tower still stands alone after many years. 諸峯亂後僧鐘少，舊業年深塔樹孤。⁹⁰

⁹⁰ *Bunmei jūyōnen sangatsu nijūrokunichi kanwa renku hyakuin*, 183.

In verse 7, the phrase 打乱 does not exist in classical Chinese. The two Chinese characters were used to represent the Japanese word *uchimidaru* うちみだる, in which *uchi* serves as a prefix to emphasize the verb *midaru* (to be in disorder) that comes after it. The Chinese character 打 was used here not due to its meaning (to beat), but due to its sound *uchi*.⁹¹ As pointed out by the annotation of this verse, this usage of the phrase 打乱 can be seen in a line of a *kanshi* included in *Shinsen Manyōshū* 新撰万葉集 (The New Collection of Myriad Leaves), which includes *waka* and *kanshi* in pairs – “Blowing aimlessly, the wind in early autumn is tired of calming down.” 打乱緒秋風収倦.⁹²

The above examples show that some *kan* verses in the *wakan renku* composed in the court, although not the majority, deviated from Chinese poetic traditions, in terms of poetic images, associations, themes, and sentiments. *Wa* verses, on the other hand, all follow Japanese poetic traditions except for the following two verses, both from Sequence A.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 8. みさほにのぼる日こそ遅けれ | Sanetaka (A, 18) |
| the sun rises as high as three poles, | <i>misao ni noboru</i> |
| it is getting late | <i>hi koso osokere</i> |
| 9. さは辺の鶴やそらを窺 | Emperor (A, 80) |
| the crane by the marsh | <i>sawabe no tsuru ya</i> |
| is peeping the sky | <i>sora o ukagau</i> |

⁹¹ For more information about Japanese writing system, and the ways Japanese poets utilized Chinese characters to represent Japanese language, please see Chapter Three.

⁹² *Shinsen Manyōshū* is a two-volume private poetic collection, including a preface dated the 25th day of the ninth month of 893 in the first volume, and a preface dated the 21st day of the eighth month of 913 in the second volume.

In verse 8, the word *misao* is the Japanese *kun* reading of the Chinese word 三竿, which literally refers to three bamboo poles. In Chinese poetry, it is often combined with the image of sun rising (for example, 日出三竿, literally, the sun rises as high as three bamboo poles) to imply that it is getting late in the day. The annotation of the sequence explains the combination of the words 日 and 遲 as “the spring days are unhurried and calm,” without giving the sources for this interpretation. I think this word combination is embedded with two layers of meanings, due to the fact that 日 can refer to both sun and day and 遲 can mean both “to be late” and “to be slow.” On the one hand, the verse is like an explanation of the Chinese word 三竿, stating that the sun has risen very high and it is getting late. Meanwhile, the combination of the words 日 and 遲 likely alludes to 春日遲遲, a verse from the *Book of Odes* that describes the spring days as long and leisurely.⁹³

Verse 9 includes the word *ukagau* 窺, which is rarely used in *waka* or *renga*. It describes the crane’s action of watching the sky with curiosity and admiration. We understand why when we read the previous *kan* verse, which portrays a flying immortal. The crane is not satisfied with the marsh it is surrounded; it peeps the flying immortal, yearning for a life in the sky, a symbol for the fairyland. This association between crane and fairyland is very typical in Daoism. Verse 9 inherits the celestial atmosphere of the preceding *kan* verse, displaying a scene that is closely related to Daoism in Japanese language. It uses the uncommonly used word 窺, probably in order to satisfy the requirement for rhyme in *kanwa renku*, which is that all of the verses in the even

⁹³ The text of the *Book of Odes* is available on the Chinese Text Project (<http://ctext.org/book-of-poetry/odes-of-bin/zh>, accessed on July 15, 2017).

position, no matter *wa* or *kan*, need to rhyme with each other. This rule sets limitations on the last word of the *wa* verses on even positions, and sometimes it leads to unusual wording or (and) content in *wa* verses. This is probably why both examples of *wa* verses not following Japanese poetic traditions are from Sequence A and in even positions.

Linking and Progression of *Wakan Renku* Sequences

When it comes to linking, consecutive verses are also connected by word link or (and) content link, as in *wakan renku* discussed in Chapter One. The following is one example.

10. ふけばいかなる秋風の色 Kin'eda (B, 28)

when the autumn wind blows *fukeba ikanaru*

what color is it? *akikaze no iro*

11. 住すててあれまくおしき故郷に Kin'eda (B, 29)

my home will become dilapidated *sumisutete*

after I leave *aremaku oshiki*

how regrettable! *furusato ni*

Verse 10 is based on a *waka* by Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 – “When the wind blows in the autumn, what color is it? It pierces to my bone and arouses the feeling of pathos” 秋吹くはいか

なる色の風なれば身にしむばかりあはれなるらん.⁹⁴ Because the autumn wind “pierces to one’s bone” 身にしむ, which can also mean “dyes one’s body,” it is thought to have a color.

Rather than an abstract color, however, the color of autumn wind in verse 10 is a specific one, as its previous verse is about red leaves.

Verse 11 is linked to verse 10 through the word association between “autumn wind” (*akikaze* 秋風) and “home” (*furusato* 故郷). This association is originated from a Chinese story about Zhang Han 張翰.⁹⁵ He originally came from the state of Wu, but later served as an official in the Xijin Dynasty, which overthrew the state of Wu. One day, the autumn wind reminded Zhang Han of some local food in his hometown. He became nostalgic, deciding to resign his post and return home. The poetic association between autumn wind and home can be seen in *kanshi* as well. One famous example is the two lines by Minamoto no Tamenori 源為憲 (?-1011) included in *Shinsen rōeishū* 新撰朗詠集 – “Thinking of my mom at home, my tears flow in the autumn wind. Having no one at the motel, my soul stays in the evening rain.” 故郷有母秋風涙、旅館無人暮雨魂.⁹⁶ Likely influenced by *kanshi*, in *waka*, autumn wind and home were also poetically associated and there even existed a poetic theme (*kadai* 歌題) called autumn wind at home. In this case, although the poetic association is rooted in a Chinese source, it had already been received and adapted in *kanshi* and *waka*. It is difficult to know, then, which source

⁹⁴ Kawamura Teruo 川村晃生, Kashiwagi Yoshio 柏木由夫, and Kudō Shigenori 工藤重矩, *Kin'yō wakashu. Shika wakashū* 金葉和歌集・詞花和歌集 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 94.

⁹⁵ This story is included in the “Shijian” 識鑑 section of *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, which is available online on *Chinese Text Project* at <http://ctext.org/shi-shuo-xin-yu/shi-jian/zh> (accessed on August 2, 2017).

⁹⁶ The text is from Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed., *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1930-1936), 337.

Kin'eda directly referred to, and whether the association was perceived as a Japanese or Chinese element by Kin'eda himself and the other participants.

In some cases, it is clearer that the composer referred to *kanshi*, since the poetic association was not common in Chinese poetry but had precedents in *kanshi*. For example, one of the poetic associations used to link verses 12-13 is based on a *kanshi* poem.

12. 松高撐老月 (松高くして老月を撐ふ) Sanetaka (A, 7)

the pines are tall *matsu wa takakushite*

propping up the waning moon *rōgetsu o sasau*

13. みぎはによする秋のさざ漪 Kanshūji (A, 8)

rolling in the edge of water – *migiwa ni yosuru*

ripples in the autumn *akino sazanami*

These two verses are linked through two word associations. The first is “the pines are tall” (松高) and “autumn,” which is established in the two lines of a *kanshi* poem by Minamoto no Fusaakira 源英明 (?-939) included in the *Wakan rōeishū* – “The pool is chilly, the water has nothing of the dog days of summer; the pines are tall, the wind has a sound that conjures autumn 池冷水無三伏夏、松高風有一声秋.”⁹⁷ The other association is between pine and things related to water, as recorded in the *renga* manual *Zuiyōshū* 随葉集. The two verses constitute a picture of an autumn scene in which a pine tree stands near the edge of water.

⁹⁷ *Wakan rōeishū*, 98. The English translation is from *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*, 65.

It is interesting to note that parallelism, a common way of linking consecutive verses in *lianju* and *renku*, is used even when adding a *wa* verse to a *kan* verse. Verses 13 and 14 are such an example.

14. 鉤簾山似笑 (簾を鉤くれば山笑ふが似し) Shūzan (A, 47)

I hook up the curtain and look out, *sudare o kakureba*
the mountains look as if they were smiling *yama warau ga gotoshi*

15. 市人とよむさとぞ卑き Emperor (A, 48)

merchants are shouting loud, *ichibito toyomu*
the village is such a vulgar place *sato zo iyashiki*

The phrase *goulian* 鉤簾 (hooking up the curtain) in verse 14 can be seen in the two lines by Du Fu – “With grey hair, I wander in this mundane world. Hooking up the curtain, I alone could not fall asleep.” 皓首江湖客，鉤簾獨未眠。⁹⁸ As for the idea that mountains look as if they were smiling, a famous example from a Chinese source is a depiction of mountains in four seasons in *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致 (The Lofty Message of Forest and Streams, a treatise on landscape painting by Guo Xi 郭熙 (1020-1090)) as follows – “In spring, mountains are peaceful and seductive as if smiling; in summer, they are lush and green as if dripping; in autumn, they are bright and clear as if wearing makeup; in winter, they are dark and gloomy as if sleeping.” 春山

⁹⁸ The two lines are from “Zhou yue dui Yijinsi” 舟月對驛近寺 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 232.

澹冶而如笑，夏山蒼翠而如滴，秋山明淨而如粧，冬山慘淡而如睡。⁹⁹ “Mountains in spring look as if they were smiling” also serves as a poetic topic (*shidai* 詩題) in *kanshi* by Gozan monks. It is difficult to know whether Shūzan directly referred to Chinese or *kanshi* source.

Added to the visual image of peaceful landscape in verse 14 is the aural description of noisy human’s activities in verse 15. Whereas the protagonist who hooks up the curtain is likely a courtier, the ones that shout aloud are townsmen. Moreover, “mountains” and “village,” “smiling” and “shouting” make perfect parallel to each other. This way of making contrasts (vision vs. sound, peaceful vs. noisy, aristocrats vs. townsmen) and parallelism is common in the composition of couplets in Chinese poetry and *kanshi*. It is also utilized in the linking of two consecutive verses in *wakan renku*, often between two *kan* verses. Verses 14 and 15 provide an example in which even verses in different languages are able to make a couplet, not in terms of form, but in terms of words and content.

As for the progression of the sequence, since both of the two sequences were completed after the rules for *wakan renku* were established in *Renga shogakushō*, it is not surprising that both sequences generally follow the rules. In the following, I will introduce the *wakan renku* rules that were finalized in the *Kanwa hōshiki*, based on a summarization by Hasegawa Chihito.¹⁰⁰

Generally, except for rhyme, parallelism, and tone patterns that are required for *kan* verses, the rules of *wakan renku* is very similar to *renga*, only with greater freedom. Like *renga*, a *wakan renku* sequence is usually written on four sheets of paper with front and back sides. The first eight verses and the last eight verses are written on the front side of the first sheet, and the back side of

⁹⁹ Guo Xi 郭熙, *Linzhi gaoyuan* 林泉高致 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2016).

¹⁰⁰ Hasegawa Chihiro 長谷川千尋, “Wakan renku ryakushi” 和漢聯句略史, *Kyoto daigaku zō Sanetaka jihitsu Wakan renku yakuchū* 京都大学蔵実隆自筆和漢聯句譯注 (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2006), 31-34.

the last sheet, respectively; and all other sides of sheets contain fourteen verses each. Consecutive *wa* verses cannot exceed five, and the same goes for *kan* verses, except that when the sixth verse is a parallel to the fifth, it is acceptable. Usually, there are fifty *wa* verses and fifty *kan* verses in a 100-verse sequence (two to three verses difference is allowed). All of the *kan* verses in the positions of even numbers rhyme with each other, and when they have another *kan* verse before them, they are parallel to the previous verse. In *renga*, the number of the occurrence of the images of flower and moon are regulated, but in *wakan renku*, only the image of flower is required to appear. It should appear four times, twice in *wa* verses and twice in *kan* verses.

Like *renga*, *wakan renku* also has a series of rules ensuring progress and variety of a sequence, which can be generally divided into three categories. First, there are rules that limit the number of times certain images or words (usually the ones that are considered too “heavy” or striking) occur in a sequence. For example, firefly can only appear once, and “old” can only occur twice, once in a *wa* verse and once in a *kan* verse. Second, there are regulations concerning *kukazu* 句数, or the duration of certain topics. For example, spring and autumn could continue for three to five verses; summer and winter verses could run as many as three verses, but after the third verse, they usually go in shorter runs. Last, *kusari* 句去, or intermission, is used to create distance between the same topics. For instance, the same season must be separated by more than seven verses; verses with the same topic such as god, Buddhism, love, and travel are required to be separated by at least five verses. The following charts, adapted from the ones included in “Wakan renku ryakushi,” show the specific rules about *kukazu* and *kusari*.

Chart 1. *Kukazu*: duration of certain topics

◎ Least number allowed ○ Most number allowed

■ Categories not marked in *Kanwa hōshi* but present in *renga* rules

As Many As Five	Spring				Autumn			Love		
	◎ ◎ ◎ ○ ○				◎ ◎ ◎ ○ ○			◎ ◎ ○ ○ ○		
	Summer	Winter	Gods	Buddhism	Emotion	Travel	Mountain	Water	Residence	Nighttime
	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○	◎ ○ ○
	As Many As Three									
As Many As Two	Light	Time	Human	Rising things (meteorological)	Falling things (meteorological)	Famous place	Animal	Plant	Clothes	
	◎ ○	◎ ○	◎ ○	◎ ○	◎ ○	◎ ○	◎ ○	◎ ○	◎ ○	
	■ ■									

Chart 2. *Kusari*: distance between similar themes (categories that do not have sub-categories)

Human	Rising things	Falling things	Light	
			2	Light
		2		Falling things
	2			Rising things
2				Human

Clothes	Residence	Water	Mountain	
			3	Mountain
		3		Water
	3			Residence
3				Clothes

Travel	Emotion	Love	Budd- hism	Gods	
				5	Gods
			5		Budd- hism
		5			Love
	5				Emotion
5					Travel

Winter	Autumn	Summer	Spring	
			7	Spring
		7		Summer
	7			Autumn
7				Winter

Chart 3. *Kusari*: distance between similar themes (sub-categories)

Time			
Evening	Morning	Night	
		3	Night
2	3		Morning
3	2		Evening

Famous Place			
Residen- ce	Water	Moun- tain	
		3	Moun- tain
	3		Water
			Residen- ce

Animal			
Insect	Bird	Beast	
2	2	3	Beast
2	3	2	Bird
3	2	2	Insect

Plant			
Grass	Tree	Bamboo	
2	2		Bamboo
2	3	2	Tree
3	2	2	Grass

Both of the sequences in discussion generally follow the *wakan renku* rules with a few exceptions. Sequence A includes 7 verses (verses 6, 9, 67, 74, 76, 83, 94) that break the rules in *Kanwa hōshiki*. Interestingly, all of the violations are about intermission. For example, verse 6 uses the word 日 that already appears in verse 2, but there supposed to be at least five verses between the two verses that both use 日. Verses 5 and 9 both include words that are related to travel, but the topic of travel should be separated by at least five verses. Out of the seven breakages of the rules, only one of them was made by Gozan monks. This shows that Gozan monks made great efforts to follow the rules, although they may not be as familiar with the *renga* rules as the aristocrats. In Sequence B, there are only two places that do not accord with the *wakan renku* rules. Verses 46-49 all concern time, but the topic of time should not last for more than two verses. Moreover, verses 59-61 are all about plants, but verses regarding plants should only run as many as two. The fact that Sequence B is more faithful to the rules in *Kanwa hōshiki* than Sequence A is perhaps because Sequence A was composed when the rules were still in the process of being added, revised, and detailed and had yet to be finalized in *Kanwa hōshiki*. Moreover, Sequence B was composed by father and son in private as a practice, so it is likely that they had more time and chance to think over and revise. Sequence A, on the other hand, were composed by many participants in public. It must have been more difficult to keep tracking what others have composed, and the verses, although being discussed and revised sometimes, were composed in a more impromptu situation. Even though Sequence A violated the rules more often than Sequence B, it was still within acceptable range. After all, linked verse is an improvised creation, and even a *renga* sequence occasionally breaks the rules, not to mention *wakan renku*, which would have been more difficult due to the involvement of two languages and cultures.

Renku by Zen Monks after the 1500s

As discussed above, verses in *wakan renku* centered around court nobles are linked and integrated in a similar way to *renga*. Even when Zen monks participated in these gatherings, they cooperatively followed the rules that were adapted from *renga* rules by nobles. If we recall, *renku* exclusively composed by Gozan monks modeled after *lianju* and were very different from *renga* in terms of linking and progression. As revealed by Asakura Hisashi, even for *Tōzan renku* 湯山聯句 (Linked Verse Sequence at Tōzan, 1500), an exemplar of the genre at the time, *tōzasei*, or emphasis on the present, was still one of the two most important characteristics.¹⁰¹ This tendency of aligning more closely with *lianju* than *renga* started to change, however, after the 1500s, as can be known from the comments on the *renku* compositions at the time in *Renku shiki* 聯句式 (The Style of *Renku*, 1784) as follows.

In the past, Mr. Keijo composed *Linked Verse Sequence at Tōzan*, which was still similar to *pailü*.¹⁰² When it comes to the masters Sakugen and Kōshin, they began to create a novel style, which was followed by later generations.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Asakura Hisashi 朝倉尚, *Shōmono no sekai to Zenrin no bungaku* 抄物の世界と禅林の文学 (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 1996).

¹⁰² *Pailü* 排律 is a form of Chinese poetry. It refers to regulated poems that include more than six verses.

¹⁰³ Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai*, 44.

Renku by people from the past were like poems *composed* individually. They are different from contemporary *renku*. The style and form of contemporary *renku* were established by the masters Kōshin and Sakugen.¹⁰⁴

According to *Renku shiki*, *Tōzan renku*, a representative of *renku* in the traditional style, is similar to long poems composed by individuals. In other words, *Tōzan renku* modeled after *lianju*, which, ideally, look as if they were composed by a single hand. *Renku* composed by Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良 (1501-1579) and Kōshin Shōtō 江心承董 (?-?), however, were very different from *Tōzan renku*. These two masters compiled the *renku* collection *Jōsei renku* 城西聯句 (West of the City Linked Verse), which includes 90 sequences composed by them before Sakugen set out to the Ming Dynasty as a mission in 1538. When Sakugen returned to Japan, he presented this collection to the court. *Jōsei renku* set a standard for the future *renku* compositions, and its style was imitated and inherited by later generations.

Then what is this “new style”? *Renku shiki* further explains as follows.

The opening verse expresses emotions concerning the present setting. So does the second verse. The third one often talks about things in the current season. From then on the sequence develops into new directions unrelated to the present moment. Each pair of verses comprises of a verse without a rhyme and a verse with a rhyme. Each verse with a rhyme needs to make a parallel to its previous verse but talk about a different topic. Each verse without a rhyme should be related to its previous verse but turn to other topics. The links continue like this and often stop at the 50th pair. As for the last pair, the first verse often

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

appraises the elegant poetic gathering, and the second verse responds with a calm content so that the sequence ends peacefully.¹⁰⁵

For the *renku* sequences included in *Jōsei renku*, *tōzasei* is no longer a feature. Only the first two or three verses and the last two verses are about the present. Each verse is related to the previous verse but at the same time it should not repeat the content or continue the same topic. Rather, it should move into a new direction. It is not difficult to imagine, then, that various kinds of images and topics co-exist in the same sequence. This way of linking and progression is similar to *renga*, which values change and variety.

The difference between *Tōzan renku* and *Jōsei renku* in terms of linking and progression can be clearly seen when we put together the first eight verses of a sequence from each collection.

16. (1) 始入温泉寺 (始めて温泉寺に入る)

I entered the Onsenji Temple

Hajimete

for the first time

Onsenji ni iru

(2) 一湯自二名 (一湯自り二名)

two names

ichiyu yori

for one hot spring

nimei

(3) 也勝驪岫水 (也驪岫水に勝る)

it surpasses

mata Rishūsui

¹⁰⁵ Ono no Kitarō 小野機太郎, “Gozan shisō no renku” 五山詩僧の聯句, *Hattori sensei koki shukuga kinen ronbunshū* 服部先生古稀祝賀記念論文集 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1936), 200.

the hot spring in Lishan *ni masaru*

(4) 十載我三行 (十載我三行)

I came here three times *jūsai*

for the last ten years *ware sankō*

(5) 熟面山環屋 (熟面山屋を環る)

familiar mountains *jukumen*

enclose my room *yama ya o meguru*

(6) 壮図郡築城 (壮図郡城を築く)

with an ambitious plan *sōto*

the magistrate built castles here *gun shiro o kizuku*

(7) 捲簾雲走馬 (簾を捲き雲の走馬)

I look far while rolling up the curtain – *sudare o maki*

horses are running on clouds *kumo no sōba*

(8) 煮薬昼流鶯 (薬を煮昼の流鶯)

I look out while boiling medicine – *kusuri o ni*

bush warblers are flying around at noon *hiru no ryūō*¹⁰⁶

17. (1) 温問寒梅早 (温問寒梅早し)

a visit with warm feelings – *onmon*

plums are blooming early in winter *kanbai hayashi*

(2) 旧交秋葉稀 (旧交秋葉稀し)

¹⁰⁶ These verses are transcribed and analyzed in Asakura Hisashi, “Zenrin renku no tōzasei” 禅林聯句の当座性, *Kokubungakukō* 国文学攷 101 (1984: 03):10-22.

- a friend from the past – *kyūkō*
 autumn leaves rarely remain *akiba usushi*
- (3) 湘西鐘送月 (湘西鐘月を送る)
 in the west of the Xiang River *Shōsei*
 the morning bell sends off the moon *kane tsuki o okuru*
- (4) 趙北壁聯輝 (趙北壁輝きを聯ぬ)
 in the north of the state of Zhao *Chōhoku*
 the jade shines all around *heki kagayaki o tsuranu*
- (5) 鷗境無治乱 (鷗境治乱無し)
 in the world of gull *ōyō*
 exists no war *chiran nachi*
- (6) 翰林奈是非 (翰林いかんぞ是非)
 in the world of literati *kanrin*
 why so many disputes *ikanzo shihi*
- (7) 當冬山課睡 (冬に當り山課睡)
 in winter *fuyu ni Atari*
 the mountains take a nap *yama kasui*
- (8) 在夏暑行威 (夏に在り暑行威)
 in summer *natsu ni ari*
 heat gains the power *sho gyōi*¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ These verses are transcribed but not analyzed in *Wakan no sekai*, 43.

Examples 16 and 17 are from *Tōzan renku* and *Jōsei renku*, respectively. 16 was composed when Keijo and Jushun went to Tōzan for a hot-spring cure. It is like a travel account with all of the verses related to the setting. Verse (1) begins with the participant's entering of the Onsen Temple, the main site of Tōzan. Verses (2) and (3) then talk about the hot spring in Tōzan, comparing it to the Huaqing Pool at the Mt. Lishang, where Yang Guifei took a bath as depicted in the *Changhen ge* 長恨歌 (The Song of Everlasting Sorrow, 809). After verse (4) confesses one participant's three visits to the site, verses (5) describes the scenery there that is already familiar to the participant. Verses (6) through (8) continue the scenic portrayal while fusing the participants' own actions. At the time, Keijo was sick and one of the reasons he went to Tōzan was to recover from the disease. Boiling medicine is likely a realistic depiction of him. This series of verses constitute a consistent story focusing on the participants' travel at Tōzan. This way of linking verses reminds us of *Chengnan lianju* 城南聯句 (South of the City Linked Verse) by Han Yu and Meng Jiao, an exemplar of linked verse in China.¹⁰⁸

Verses in 17, on the other hand, do not have a shared topic but instead cover all different kinds of seasons, topics, and themes. Verses (1) and (2) are the participant's greetings to each other, and they reveal that the sequence was composed in winter, when plum blossoms already appeared and trees almost became bare. From verse (3), the sequence moves away from the setting of the composition, constantly changing topics. From an autumn scene in a region of China to the story of returning the Heshi Jade intact to the state of Zhao, from a contrast between

¹⁰⁸ A translation and analysis of *Chengnan lianju* is included in David Pollack, *Linked-Verse Poetry in China: A Study of Associative Linking in Lien- Chü Poetry with Emphasis on the Poems of Han Yü and His Circle*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1976.

the peaceful world of gull and the world of literati full of disputes, to depictions of winter and summer scenes, this sequence is a hodgepodge without a focus. Although it does not strictly follow specific *renga* rules, the basic concept of linking and unity, especially the emphasis on change and variety, is the same as *renga*.

Conclusion

During the reign of the Emperor Gotsuchimikado, who was obsessed with literary activities, all poetic forms underwent rapid development and great flourishing. *Wakan renku* was no exception. Different from the *wakan renku* discussed in Chapter One, in which aristocrats, the military, and Gozan monks played equally important roles, *wakan renku* in the court were led, or in many cases even exclusively composed, by aristocrats, for whom *wakan renku* already became part of their political life and reflected their social status. Compared to Gozan monks, whose expertise was Chinese studies, aristocrats, while having knowledge in Chinese poetry and ability of writing in *kanbun*, generally were equally, if not more, proficient in vernacular Japanese poetry. It is natural, then, that elements of vernacular Japanese poetry, Chinese poetry, and *kanshi* interacted with each other in their mind, consciously or unconsciously. Interestingly, it seems that they intentionally kept *wa* and *kan* verses discrete, since in most cases, their *wa* and *kan* verses build on precedents in Japanese and Chinese poetry, respectively, without interfering each other. But there appeared cases in which *kan* verses diverged from Chinese poetic traditions. Some take advantage of a Chinese source but add a twist to it. Some directly build on *kanshi* rather than Chinese poems. There are even *kan* verses that align more closely with *waka* than Chinese poetry. These cases cannot be found in *wakan renku* discussed in Chapter One, the *kan* verses of which are always faithful to Chinese sources.

Unlike the *renku* composed by Gozan monks, which modeled after *lianju*, *renku* composed by aristocrats were nothing like *lianju* from the beginning and developed toward the direction of *renga* in terms of linking and progression during the medieval period. It is no wonder that the verses in their *wakan renku*, a poetic form combining *renku* and *renga*, are linked and integrated in a similar way to *renga*. *Wakan renku* rules that were adapted from *renga* rules regulating the structure and progression of the sequence were established and finalized by 1500.

Gozan monks were sometimes invited to these *wakan renku* gatherings in the court, although they were only allowed to participate the private ones rather than the public ones. They made great efforts to adapt themselves to this different kind of linking and progression, and they were able to follow the rules in general. After the 1500s, there was a conspicuous change in the *renku* exclusively composed by Gozan monks. Whereas the traditional ones, represented by *Tōzan renku*, resemble long poems composed by individuals, the “new-style” *renku*, pioneered by *Jōsei renku*, shared the same principles regarding linking and integration with *renga*, namely, preference for change and variety and prevention from repetition and stagnation. The fact that this change occurred after the flourishing of *wakan renku* in the court during the reign of the Emperor Gotsuchimikado makes it logical to infer that the *renku* by Gozan monks were influenced by *renga* in the process of being juxtaposed and integrated with *renga* in *wakan renku*. Although the *wakan* relationship in Japanese literature is often perceived as a one-way relationship, this chapter provides an excellent example in which *wa* exerted influence on *kan*.

Chapter Three

Hybridity, Visuality, and Play: Popular Linked Verse in Japanese and Chinese before the 1680s

Chinese studies amassed considerable prestige during the Edo period, as the Tokugawa government adopted Neo-Confucianism as its political and educational focal point. Certainly for the elites mastery of Chinese studies was a necessity. But even among commoners and samurai the study of Chinese gained substantial popularity. In this trend, not only *renku* and *wakan renku* had been continuously composed by elites, Zen monks, and Confucian scholars, but the *wakan* practice also entered the realm of *haikai* (popular linked verse), the popularized form of *renga* favored by commoners and the most widely composed poetic form during the time.¹⁰⁹ *Haikai* poets experimented with various forms of combining *wa* and *kan*, and this chapter explores one of these efforts: *wakan haikai* 和漢俳諧 (popular linked verse in Japanese and Chinese).¹¹⁰

As its name suggests, *wakan haikai* refers to popular linked verse in which *wa* and *kan* verses are composed in alternating turns. Like *wakan renku*, *wakan haikai* also provided a way for the encounter of *wa* and *kan*, including juxtaposition and interaction of Japanese and Chinese elements, and also communications between *haikai* and *kanshi* poets. *Wakan haikai* had been composed throughout the Edo period, but of interest here will be those compositions prior to the Genroku era (1688-1704), when *haikai* were mostly considered word games. Since the genre of *wakan haikai* is completely new ground in English language scholarship, this chapter will first provide a brief history of the genre. Then it will investigate the interplay and integration of *wa*

¹⁰⁹ In this dissertation, I use the word “*haikai*” in its narrow sense, which refers to *haikai no renga* 俳諧の連歌, or popular linked verse.

¹¹⁰ *Wakan haikai* in its broad sense includes both *wakan haikai* in its narrow sense, which begins with a *wa* verse, and *kanwa haikai*, which begins with a *kan* verse. In this chapter, I use the word in its broad sense.

and *kan*, with comparisons to *wakan renku*, aiming to present a different attitude of Japanese authors toward *kan*, and to illuminate new dynamics between *wa* and *kan* in Japanese literary texts. Meanwhile, it will situate *wakan haikai* in the broader context of *haikai* compositions and parody literature in general. While most scholarships on *haikai* focus on compositions by Bashō's school during the Genroku era, which are generally considered the zenith of *haikai*, this study traces back to the starting point of the development of this genre, exploring the fundamental but still not fully answered questions, such as, how the concept of *haikai* was originally perceived by the poets, and what kinds of approaches did they resort to in order to achieve *haikai* effects.

A Brief History of *Wakan Haikai*¹¹¹

Early in 1486 (Bunmei 18), the Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado 後土御門 (1442–1500, r. 1464–1500), the famous poet and scholar Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537), and eight other participants composed a linked verse sequence in Japanese and Chinese that embodied some playfulness and vulgarity, the features that are often associated with *haikai*. This sequence, titled *Wakan kyōku* 和漢狂句 (Crazy verses in Japanese and Chinese), is considered the earliest known *wakan haikai* sequence by some scholars.¹¹² Not until the Edo period,

¹¹¹ This history of *wakan haikai* is based on Ogata Tsutomu 尾形 仵, “Wakan renku, kanwa renku” 和漢聯句・漢和聯句, *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学：解釈と鑑賞 20.5 (1955: 4): 1-5 and Fukasawa Shinji 深沢真二, *Wakan no sekai: wakan renku no kisoteki kenkyū* 和漢の世界：和漢聯句の基礎的研究 (Osaka: Seibundō Shuppan, 2010).

¹¹² The categorizations of *wakan renku* and *wakan haikai* are not always clear-cut. Many sequences lack titles, and even when they have a title, they do not necessarily use the term *wakan renku* or *wakan haikai*. In historical and literary records, authors did not always use these two terms to refer to the genres either. For example, *wakan renku* are often referred to as *renku renga* in diary entries and poetic treatises. Here, the title of the sequence *Wakan kyōku* implies that it is not an orthodox *wakan renku*. Ogata Tsutomu thinks that it belongs to *wakan haikai*. Fukasawa

however, did *wakan haikai* earn a place as a unique poetic form. The first high point of *wakan haikai* compositions was roughly from the 1620s to the 1670s, when the Teimon 貞門 school dominated the *haikai* world.¹¹³ Many *haikai* poets from the Teimon school belonged to the elite class. Not only were they well acquainted with *kanshi* themselves, but they also had close ties with *kanshi* poets, Confucian scholars, and Buddhist monks. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine that *wakan haikai* became a form of social interactions and literary entertainment at their gatherings.¹¹⁴ The earliest extant *wakan haikai* sequence in the Edo period, for instance, was composed when the *haikai* poet Saitō Tokugen 齊藤徳元 (1559–1647) welcomed Sankō 三江 (dates unknown), the abbot of Kenninji Temple 建仁寺. Among the Teimon *haikai* poets, Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624–1705) and Nonoguchi Ryūho 野々口立圃 (1595–1669) are said to have favored *wakan haikai* most: both of them participated in multiple *wakan haikai* compositions with Buddhist monks and other *haikai* poets; Ryūho also devoted a section to *wakan haikai* in *Hanaigusa* はなひ草 (1636), the first publication of *haikai* rules.

Wakan haikai briefly lost its popularity during the 1670s, as the Teimon school was supplanted by the Danrin school, centered on Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因 (1605–1682). The 1680s witnessed the flourishing of the so-called “Chinese-style” (*kanshibunchō* 漢詩文調) *haikai*, which appropriated Chinese literature in comprehensive ways. Likely due to this

Shinji, however, considers this sequence a *wakan renku* sequence that embodies some features of *haikai*. See Ogata Tsutomu, *Wakan renku, kanwa renku*, 4 and Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai: wakan renku no kisoteki kenkyū*, 110.

¹¹³ Teimon is the *haikai* school that was founded by Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571–1653). It flourished from the 1620s to the 1670s but survived until the end of the Edo period.

¹¹⁴ Generally, *haikai* poets composed *wa* verses; *kanshi* poets, Confucian scholars, and Buddhist monks were responsible for *kan* verses. Nonetheless, cases in which a person contributed both *wa* and *kan* verses are not scarce.

unprecedented predilection for the incorporation of Chinese elements in *haikai* poetry, *wakan haikai* revived during this time. Even those who did not compose *kanshi* attempted to contribute *kan* verses in *wakan haikai*. And the enthusiasm led to the publication of dictionaries specific to *wakan haikai* such as *Mingoshū wago tairui* 眠寤集和語対類 (1682). During this time, most *wakan haikai* sequences were published in regions unaffiliated with the strongholds of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. The renaissance of *wakan haikai* in the Kyoto region did not take place until the Genroku era.

Based on the above brief history of *wakan haikai* before the Genroku era, I selected the following sequences as the subject of my examination. All of these sequences have not been annotated before, and Sequences (A) and (E) have not been transcribed before.

(A) The 100-verse sequence “Shirafuji” 白藤, or “White Wisteria,” composed in 1638

(Kan’ei 15) by *haikai* poets Ryūho and Ezaki Yoshikazu 江崎幸和 (?-1644), and Zen monks Sosetsu 祖蘊 and Suigetsu 推月.¹¹⁵ It is included in the collection *Haikai kakidome* 俳諧書留 (Record of Popular Linked Verse).¹¹⁶

(B) The 100-verse sequence “Tsuki hana” 月花, or “Moon and Flowers,” composed solo by

Higo Sanseki 肥後山石 (dates unknown), graded by Kigin, and included in the *Haikai*

¹¹⁵ Sosetsu 祖蘊 and Suigetsu 推月 are two Zen monks that are not well known, so there is no record of their dates or pronunciation of their names. Since they are Zen monks, I used the most common *on* reading of kanji to represent their names in English.

¹¹⁶ All sequences lack official titles. I followed the tradition of taking a key word from the first verse as a title. For this particular sequence, I used the facsimile of the manuscript included in Nakamura Shunjō 中村俊定, *Haikai shi no shomondai* 俳諧史の諸問題 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1970), 442-447.

dokuginshū 俳諧独吟集 (Collection of Solo sequences of popular Linked Verse)

published in 1664 (Kanbun 6).¹¹⁷

(C) The 100-verse sequence “Nanagaeri” 七返, or “Elixir,” composed by Kigin and Sanboku

散木¹¹⁸ and included in the collection *Haikai chirizuka* 俳諧塵塚 (Collection of

“Meaningless” Popular Linked Verse) published in 1670 (Kanbun 12).¹¹⁹

(D) The 100-verse sequence “Sugimura” 杉村, or “Cedar Village,” composed by Ryūho and

Bokusetsu 木屑¹²⁰ and also included in the *Haikai chirizuka* 俳諧塵塚.¹²¹

(E) The 36-verse sequence “Ume arite” 梅ありて, or “Plum Blossoms,” composed by

Chōwa 調和 and Suizan 水斬¹²² and included in *Haikai issei* 俳諧一星 (One Star

Popular Linked Verse) compiled by Chōwa 調和 in 1683 (Tenna 3).¹²³

(A), (C), and (D) are sequences that included the participation of Ryūho and Kigin, the two *haikai* poets from the Teimon school who favored *wakan haikai* most. (B) is a solo sequence

¹¹⁷ I used the facsimile of the manuscript included in *Haikai dokuginshū* 俳諧独吟集 (Tenri, Nara: Tenri University publisher, 1994), 168-176. I also consulted the typeset version included in *Teimon haikaishū* 貞門俳諧集, v. 1 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970), 569-571.

¹¹⁸ Sanboku is another Zen monk whose name and dates are unknown.

¹¹⁹ I used the typeset version included in *Teimon haikaishū*, 603-604.

¹²⁰ Bokusetsu is also a Zen monk whose name and dates are unknown.

¹²¹ I used the typeset version included in *Teimon haikaishū*, 605-606.

¹²² Suizan is likely to be a local *haikai* poet. His name and dates are unknown.

¹²³ I used the the digital version of the manuscript available online through *Waseda kotenseki sōgō dētabēsu* 早稲田古典籍データベース. http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko18/bunko18_00096/index.html.

(*dokugin* 独吟) by the Zen monk Sanseki, and Kigin served as the grader for the sequence. (E) was composed by *haikai* poets from provinces. By examining sequences that cover a wide range of periods by diverse authors, I hope to demonstrate the complex nature of *wakan haikai* compositions during the time. I will focus on their shared characteristics while drawing attention to those aspects specific to each.

A Blurred Boundary between *Wa* and *Kan* Verses

One of the most striking features common to each of the five sequences is that the distinction between *wa* and *kan* verses – once so conspicuous in traditional *wakan renku* – is largely blurred and confused. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, in *wakan renku*, individual *wa* and *kan* verses generally follow the *renga* and *kanshi* traditions respectively, two traditions that are very distinct from each other. Conversely, the five *wakan haikai* sequences in discussion departed from, inverted, and even poked fun at the poetic traditions preserved in *waka*, *renga*, and *kanshi*. This irreverence is not surprising, since the genre of *haikai* is all about breaking traditions. When the *wa* and *kan* verses broke free of restrictions from traditional Japanese and Chinese poetry, respectively, they both opened up to the possibility of reflecting the contemporary world in a freer way, and they became more compatible with each other than they had been in *wakan renku*.

To be specific, in the case of *wa* verses, poets used diction beyond the vernacular Japanese words that had become expected in *waka* and *renga*, a vocabulary that had been drawn from what had appeared in imperial *waka* anthologies such as *Kokinshū* (Collection of ancient and modern poems, ca. 905) and *Shinkokinshū* (New collection of ancient and modern poems, ca. 1205). In fact, the first explicit definition of *haikai*, as given by Teitoku, clearly states that a *haikai* verse needs *haikai* word(s), referring to *kango* 漢語 (Sinitic words) and *zokugo* 俗語

(vernacular words), which had been prohibited in *waka* and *renga*. In our sequences, Sinitic words such as *kōbai* 紅梅 (red plum blossoms) occasionally appear, and Japanese colloquial words such as *achira* あちら (there) are abundant.¹²⁴ In addition, in the *wa* verses of *wakan haikai*, poetic images and associations are not necessarily related to precedents created by earlier literary works, which were so important for *waka* and *renga*. The freedom allowed in *haikai* made it possible for the poets to describe the immediate, contemporary, and mundane world in colloquial language as opposed to the virtual, ideal, and elegant world created in traditional Japanese poetry. Even when verses included allusions to precedents, there was usually a twist, or a juxtaposition of the tradition and the contemporary. In general, *wa* verses in *wakan haikai* accord with the style of the *haikai* composed exclusively in vernacular Japanese during the same time period.

The *kan* verses, on the other hand, deviated from *kanshi* traditions and became similar to *wa* verses in many respects. Although some rules from *kanshi* are generally maintained, such as rhyme, parallelism, and tone patterns, the *kan* verses include many Japanese vernacular words such as *chōdo* 丁度 (exactly), and even vulgar words such as *yatsu* 奴 (chap).¹²⁵ Moreover, the images and themes appearing in *kan* verses are often placed into Japanese rather than Chinese contexts. An apparent example is sequence D, which alone contains nine Japanese proper names that carry literary and cultural weight. They include Sumiyoshi 住吉, Yodogawa 淀川, Kumano 熊野 and Usui 臼井, which are names of either literarily or historically important places; Aoi no ue, 葵上, Hashihime 橋姫, and Utsusemi 空蟬, which are names of characters in *The Tale of*

¹²⁴ *Kōbai* is in verse 4 of sequence C, and *achira* is in verse 7 of sequence D.

¹²⁵ *Chōdo* is in verse 49 of sequence A, and *yatsu* is in verse 14 of sequence B.

Genji (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, ca. 1008); Yamanba 山姥, a character in the *nō* play *Yamanba* (Mountain hag), and Fujiwara 藤原, the most powerful clan during the Heian period. Below is one example.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>1. 薄絹空蟬蛻 (薄絹は空蟬の蛻)^{もぬけ}</p> <p>a layer of thin silk—</p> <p>the shell of the “Empty Locust”</p> | <p>木屑 (Bokusetsu), (D)¹²⁶</p> <p><i>Usuginu wa</i></p> <p><i>Utsusemi no monuke</i></p> | <p>V.1</p> <p>薄
絹
空
蟬
蛻</p> <p>モヌケ</p> |
|---|--|--|

This verse compares a layer of thin silk to a locust’s empty shell. This simile is from the “Utsusemi” chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, where, in order to escape from Genji’s pursuit, a lady slipped from her room in a panic, leaving her thin, silk outer robe behind. Genji took the robe home, and sent her a poem, in which he compared her to a locust that sloughs off its shell. The lady is thus referred to as Utsusemi, which literally means an empty locust. With this allusion in mind, here the “Empty Locust” serves as a metaphor for the lady Utsusemi, and the layer of thin silk specifically refers to the robe she left behind. This verse, though written exclusively in *kanji*, directly employs images and phrases from a Japanese source and embeds a Japanese story. It is not an exaggeration to say that this is a verse that has Japanese sentiments but is disguised in the form of Chinese language.

¹²⁶ I number all verses cited in this chapter. The number does not correspond to the verses’ position in the sequence. For each verse, I provide the five-kanji form, followed by a transcription into classical Japanese. In the original, the verses are written vertically with some of the readings included in *katakana* on the right side. In order to keep consistent with English texts in my dissertation, I transcribe the verses horizontally here. I provide only readings that are given in the original. Sometimes the author does not give a full reading of the kanji but only provides one or two *katakana* to give a hint for the reading. In these cases, I provide a full reading based on my understanding. I include the name of the composer and the sequence number after each verse.

In the other four sequences, there are fewer Japanese proper names in the *kan* verses, but there are many cases in which the verses draw upon Japanese sources, or reflect the lives of Japanese people, including commoners and prostitutes.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 2. 火廻紙燭泯 (火廻し、紙燭 ^{きゆ} 泯る) | 散木 (Sanboku), (C) |
| game of passing on light— | <i>himawashi</i> |
| the paper candle goes out | <i>shisoku kiyuru</i> |
| 3. 露情黥是命 (露 ^{なさけ} の情、黥 ^{いれぼくろ} 是 ^{これい} 命 ^{のち}) | 山石 (Sanseki), (B) |
| an affection as transient as dew— | <i>tsuyu no nasake</i> |
| a tattoo pledging lifelong love | <i>irebokuro kore inochi</i> |
| 4. 我思深草少 (我が思 ^{しょう} ひ深草の少) | Sanseki, (B) |
| my longings are deep— | <i>wagaomoi</i> |
| the Captain of Deep Grass | <i>Fukakusa no shō</i> |
| 5. 物怪大森長 (物の怪 ^け 、大森 ^{なが} の長) | Sanseki, (B) |
| the possessed spirit— | <i>mononoke</i> |
| in big deep forest | <i>ōmori no naga</i> |

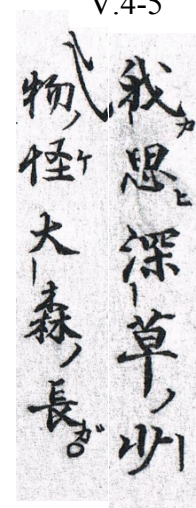
V.3



V.2



V.4-5



Verse 2 refers to *himawashi* 火廻し, a game usually played by children in Japan. Players sit in a circle and say related words in turn according to whatever rule agreed upon in advance. (In most cases, the rule is to say a word starting with the last syllable of the word given by the previous

player.) At the same time, players pass an incense stick or some other type of burning implement to their neighbor each time they finish their turn. Whoever is holding the item when the light goes out loses the game. As we can see, not only is the *kanji* combination 火廻 not a Sinitic word and thus does not make sense in classical Chinese, the verse, describing a game that is specific to Japan, is not related to Chinese literature or culture in terms of content.

Verse 3 is another one that refers to a Japanese rather than Chinese cultural context. It depicts a typical scene in Edo-era pleasure quarters, where courtesans sometimes tattooed themselves to demonstrate loyalty and devotion to their clients. They often inscribed the client's name on their skin followed by the *kanji inochi* 命 (life), implying that their love for the client endures as long as their lives.¹²⁷ This verse reveals the ironic nature of this phenomenon by juxtaposing two contrasting images: a temporary relationship between courtesan and client, which is as transient as dew, and a tattoo symbolizing the pledge of eternal love. In reality, the pledge tattoo was in many cases little more than a tactic to curry favor with the client, and sometimes courtesans erased the existing tattoo or covered it with a new one. No matter whether the pledge was genuine or not, this verse resembles Japanese *haikai* in its use of ironic juxtapositions, and focus on the pleasure quarters in Edo Japan.

Japanese contexts also provide the basis for linkage between two contiguous *kan* verses, as shown in verses 4 and 5. Here, the allusion is to the *nō* play *Stupa Komachi* (Sotoba Komachi 卒塔婆小町), which is based on a legend about Captain Fukakusa, who is said to have pursued Ono no Komachi 小野小町. According to the legend, Komachi claimed that she would meet the

¹²⁷ See Okitsu Kaname 興津要, *Edo senryū sansaku* 江戸川柳散策 (Tokyo: Jiji tsūshinsha, 1989), 164.

Captain only after he came and slept on her carriage-shaft bench for a hundred consecutive nights.¹²⁸ He unfortunately died on the ninety-ninth night, unable to fulfill his quest. In verse 4, the first half (*waga omoi fukaku*), “my longings are deep,” pivots into the name of Fukakusa no Shōshō (the Captain of Deep Grass), which starts with the word “deep” (*fukaku*) in Japanese. This alludes to a line in the play—“Of all the many men who were interested in Komachi, the one who had the deepest longings was the Captain of Deep Grass of the fourth rank”—where the pivot on the word “deep” (*fukaku*) also occurs.¹²⁹ Verse 5 is a word-to-word parallel to verse 4 if we only interpret both verses literally, but what really connects the two verses is the word association between “the Captain of Deep Grass” and “spirit possession” (*mononoke* 物の怪). Again, this association refers to *Stupa Komachi*, where Komachi is possessed by the spirit (*mononoke*) of the Captain, who bears an intense grudge against her.

The *kan* verses in these five sequences adopt Japanese vernacular words, utilize images and themes from Japanese sources, and describe lives of contemporary Japanese people to such an extent that they are more closely aligned with *haikai* than with *kanshi*. Ogata Tsutomu points out that the departure from *kanshi* traditions can already be seen in *kanshi* collections such as *Kyōunshū* 狂雲集 (Collection of crazy clouds, 1481) by Ikkyū 一休 (1395–1481) and *Nanpo bunshū* 南浦文集 (Collection of Nanpo’s works, 1625) by Nanpo Bunshi 南浦文之 (1555–1620), which include poems that feature *kyōshi* 狂詩 (crazy poems). The *kyōtei* 狂体 (crazy

¹²⁸ The word “carriage-shaft bench” is borrowed from Herschel Miller’s English translation of the play. According to Miller, “a carriage-shaft bench was a stool used for getting into and out of an ox-drawn carriage and also a stand on which to rest the shafts of the carriage.” See the translation included in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 936-952.

¹²⁹ Itō Masayoshi 伊藤正義, ed., *Yōkyokushū* 謡曲集, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1983), 259.

style) *renku* that challenged *renku* traditions had also been composed since the late Muromachi period.¹³⁰ These “crazy style” *kanshi* and *renku* may have influenced the *kan* verses in *wakan haikai* in terms of breaking off *kanshi* and *renku* restrictions; some of these poems are also somewhat Japanized in terms of diction, expression, and style. Nevertheless, when composed in conjunction with *wa* verses, the *kan* verses in *wakan haikai* were even more highly Japanized.

There are variations among the five sequences in terms of how and to what extent the *kan* verses are assimilated. Sequences A and D, which both involved the participation of Ryūho, are the most conservative. Although the *kan* verses in these two sequences constantly allude to Japanese sources and adopt images and poetic associations from *renga*, they do not make conspicuous use of vernacular words and vulgar images. Correspondingly, the *wa* verses also maintain *renga* traditions to some extent. In contrast, both *wa* and *kan* verses are extremely vernacularized in sequences B and E, while sequence C stands in between the two extremes.

The differences in content and style, however, do not change the fact that one way or another a Japanese flavor was added to the *kan* verses in all five sequences. It is not difficult to appreciate, then, that the boundary between *wa* and *kan* verses that had been so evident in *wakan renku* is blurred to a large extent here. Fukasawa Shinji, who investigates all of the seven extant *wakan haikai* sequences that were completed during the Kan’ei era (1624–1644) from the perspective of rhyme, comes to the same conclusion.¹³¹ He claims that the dissolution of the

¹³⁰ Ogata Tsutomu, “Wakan renku, kanwa renku,” 4.

¹³¹ Fukasawa takes advantage of the rhyme dictionaries used for *wakan renku* compositions. When a *wakan renku* sequence starts with a *wa* verse, only the *kan* verses in the even number positions need to rhyme with each other. If a sequence starts with a *kan* verse, then both *wa* and *kan* verses in the even number positions need to rhyme. Therefore, rhyme dictionaries for both *wa* and *kan* verses were necessary. Fukasawa uses these dictionaries to determine whether the *wa* and *kan* verses in *wakan haikai* follow traditions of *renga* and *kanbun* literature, respectively. He looks up the rhymes of the *wakan haikai* sequences in the rhyme dictionaries to see whether the rhymes were used in the same way as the examples in the dictionaries. He comes to the conclusion that many verses,

confrontation between *wa* and *kan* verses is one of the important factors that constitute the *haikai* aspect of *wakan haikai*.¹³²

Wakan Haikai as a Distinctive Poetic Form

Due to the Japanization of *kan* verses within *wakan haikai*, the distinction between *wa* and *kan* verses loses relevance in content and style. Unlike in traditional *wakan renku*, therefore, the interest of linked verse no longer lies in the juxtaposition and interaction of two distinctly different *wa* and *kan* verses. Then why was it meaningful to compose *kan* verses along with *wa* verses in *haikai*? What is the point of *wakan haikai*?

Ogata gives two reasons to explain the importance of this particular poetic form. First, *wakan haikai* provides a way for *haikai* poets and those who have greater expertise in Chinese literature to communicate with each other and to enjoy composing linked verse together. Second, *wakan haikai* added a new flavor to linked verse exclusively in Japanese and was thus especially attractive to *haikai* poets who were pursuing freshness and distinctiveness in *haikai* at the time.¹³³ He emphasizes that both points apply to the case of *wakan renku* as well.¹³⁴

Rather than refuting Ogata's arguments, here I intend to stress what is special about *wakan haikai* – especially those composed before the Genroku era – focusing on their differences

especially *kan* verses, do not follow traditions any more, and the contrast between *wa* and *kan* verses is dissolved. See Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai: wakan renku no kisoteki kenkyū*, 102–126.

¹³² Ibid, 118–122.

¹³³ Ogata does not elaborate on the “new flavor,” or “peculiar interest” (*besshu no kyōmi* 別種の興味). See Ogata Tsutomu, “Wakan haikai shikō” 和漢俳諧史考, *Renga haikai kenkyū* 連歌俳諧研究 2 (1952): 11–12.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

from *wakan renku*. In response to Ogata's first point, it is true that both *wakan renku* and *wakan haikai* made it possible for poets composing in Japanese and those specializing in Chinese studies and *kanshi* to interact socially and artistically. Nevertheless, in the former case, *wa* and *kan* verses each make adjustments to accommodate each other while keeping the individuality and characteristics of their own. Therefore, the balance between *wa* and *kan* is well maintained. In *wakan haikai*, this balance breaks down. The *kan* elements remain mostly on the level of form, but are largely lost on the level of content and aesthetic style. Rather than *haikai* and *kanshi* poets learning from each other, it is more like a process of *kanshi* poets learning how to express Japanese content and sentiments in the form of Chinese language. The fact that, in sequence (B), the *renga* and *haikai* poet Kigin served as a grader for Sanseki, a Zen monk, may suggest a hierarchical relationship between *wa* and *kan*.

As for the second point, while I generally agree with Ogata as regards to new flavor, I argue that in terms of bringing in peculiar interest, the function of the Chinese elements in *wakan haikai* operates in an opposite direction to what occurs in *wakan renku*. In *wakan renku*, the *kan* verses represent the high and grand poetry, which supplement and sometimes even influence the often private and sentimental *wa* verses. In *wakan haikai*, however, the *kan* verses offer lower-order expressions by parodying Chinese and standard *kanshi* verses.

The parodic nature of *wakan haikai* is in keeping with the literary trend at the time. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, popular literary genres such as *kana zōshi* 仮名草子 (kana booklets) and *ehon* 絵本 (picture books) frequently parodied traditional literature. They usually adopted the forms and narratives of classical works but endowed them with vulgar and contemporary content. For example, the "Preface to young men of old and new" (*Kokin wakashū no jo* 古今若衆序, 1589) is a parody that closely imitates the wording of the *kana* preface to the

Kokinshū 古今集, turning the first extended formulation of Japanese poetics into a depiction of the world of homoerotic relationships.¹³⁵ Similarly, *haikai* also emphasized word play, often parodying classical works such as *The Tale of Genji* and *Shin kokinshū*.¹³⁶

Unlike these parodies, however, *wakan haikai* does not turn its comedic aim at a specific text. Rather it appeals to the kind of “general parody” that Simon Dentith describes as one that “includes any cultural practice which provides a relatively polemical allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice.”¹³⁷ In the case of *wakan haikai*, the *kan* verses parody the entire body of traditional *kanshi* poetry as a genre. They imitate the form of *kanshi* verses, including the structure of either five or seven Chinese characters, rhyme, parallelism, and tone patterns, but ignore the poetic topoi, association, and style of *kanshi* poetry in most cases. This disjunction between the form, a prestigious poetic genre that usually implies an engagement with

¹³⁵ “Preface to Young Men of Old and New” was written by Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽斎 (1534-1610). The original text is included in Ishikawa Iwao 石川巖, ed., *Nanpa chinsho ōrai* 軟派珍書往來 (Tokyo: Bungei shiryō kenkyūkai, 1928), 24-28. The translation of the title, the dates, and the content of the work are from Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 254.

¹³⁶ An example of parody in *haikai* is a verse composed by Nishiyama Sōin (1605–1682). It is translated and analyzed by Peipei Qiu in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 176 as follows.

<i>nagamu tote</i>	Gazing at
<i>hana ni mo itashi</i>	the cherry blossoms
<i>kubi no hone</i>	I cricked my neck

“Sōin here alludes to a noted Saigyō poem in the *Shinkokinshū* (1205; Spring 2, no. 126): “Thinking to gaze at them, I grew extremely close to the cherry blossoms, making the parting ever so painful (*nagamu tote hana ni mo itaku narenureba chiru wakare koso kanashikarikere*).” He then explodes the serious tone and content of the foundation poem: “[T]he classical word *itashi* (extremely) becomes the *haikai* vernacular word *itashi* (it hurts), and the sorrow of parting with the short-lived cherry blossoms is replaced by the neck pain resulting from gazing up at the cherry blossoms for too long.”

¹³⁷ Simon Dentith, *Parody* (London, England: Routledge, 2000), 9.

continental culture and a depiction of an elegant and grand world, and the content, a popularized, vernacularized, and sometimes even vulgar Japanese world, creates a sense of playfulness that is aimed in parody and also essential to the art of *haikai*.

Kanji as a Vehicle for Visual Textuality

Interestingly, this parody is greatly dependent on the Japanese writing system, which involves a hybridity of Japanese and Chinese elements within itself, and allows a separation between the signifier (*kanji*) and the signified (the content they represent). The Japanese writing system is a combination of *kanji*, characters mostly imported from China, and *kana*, which are used to represent sounds in the Japanese language.¹³⁸ Most *kanji* have multiple readings. Some of them are based on how the *kanji* character was pronounced by Chinese people when it was first introduced to Japan. This kind of reading, called *on* 音 reading in Japanese, is often used in *kanji* compounds that have Chinese origins. Some of the readings are vernacular Japanese readings, or *kun* 訓 readings, assigned to *kanji*, usually based on the *kanji*'s meaning. The *kanji* compounds that have *kun* readings rarely have Chinese origins and thus often do not carry the same meaning in Chinese, if they have meaning at all. Take the *kanji* compound 火廻 in verse 2, for example. Although the *kanji* 火 and 廻 respectively mean fire or light and circling in Chinese, and thus are assigned the Japanese reading *hi* and *mawashi*, *himawashi* is a native Japanese word referring to a Japanese game, and the *kanji* compound 火廻 does not exist in Chinese. When the *kanji* compounds like this are put in a *kanshi* verse, they resemble Sinitic words on the surface, but are

¹³⁸ Before *kana* were invented approximately in the ninth century, *kanji* were used to represent both sound and meaning in Japanese language.

able to signify Japanese content. This made it convenient for *haikai* poets to express Japanese content in the form of a *kanshi* verse.

What is more intriguing about the Japanese writing system is that while the readings for *kanji* are regulated somewhat, they are not absolutely static. In a certain context, one can assign a Japanese reading to a *kanji* or a *kanji* compound and can also create *kanji* compounds or even *kanji* to represent a Japanese word. Since this system allows a relatively open relationship between form (*kanji*) and content (Japanese readings), it leaves room for authorial creativity. *Wakan haikai* poets took advantage of this fluidity and experimented with ways to create the playfulness and freshness that mark the features of *haikai* in general. In the following, I will show how *wakan haikai* poets utilized the discrepancy between *kanji* and unorthodox Japanese readings for word play, mostly in *kan* verses, and how the verses achieved a visual textuality that would not exist without the presence of *kanji*.

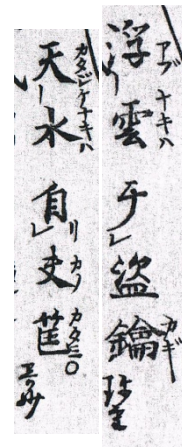
The ways in which *kanji* were employed by *wakan haikai* poets may be divided into three categories: logograms, phonograms, and pictograms. “Logograms” refer to the cases in which *kanji* are used to represent meaning. *kanji* serve as logograms in the Japanese language even today, but in *wakan haikai*, the poets sometimes ignored the *kanji*’s standard readings and gave it a new one, creating an unexpected and surprising effect. These unconventional Japanese readings based on meaning are also referred to as *gikun* 義訓 (sometimes 戯訓, which implies playfulness). The most common approach is to assign the reading of a Japanese vernacular word to an existing Chinese word. This can be seen in all five sequences. In some cases, the Chinese word had already been imported to Japan by that time and thus had conventional readings, as seen in the following examples.

6. 花詠虚丁度 (花の詠は ^{うっかりちやうど} 虚 丁度) 推月 (Suigetsu), (A)
- composing on cherry blossoms, *hana no ei wa*
being offhand is just right *ukkari chōdo*
7. 浮雲于盗鑰 (浮雲は盗みに ^{あぶなき} 鑰 ^{かぎ}) Sanseki, (B)
- what is as insecure as floating clouds *abunaki wa*
is to give a thief the key *nusumi ni kagi*
8. 天水自夫筐 (天 水 は 夫 筐 自 ^{かたじけなき} ^{かのかたみより}) Sanseki, (B)
- what is as precious as heavenly water *katajikenaki wa*
is an unreliable memento *kano katami yori*

V.6



V.7-8



In verse 6, the original meaning of the *kanji* 虚, with an *on*-reading of *kyo* and a *kun*-reading of *munashi*, is empty and void. The poet ingeniously made a connection between the *kanji* and the Japanese *giseigo* (onomatopoeia) *ukkari*, which is used to describe a person's state of inattentiveness. Here, when given the Japanese reading, the *kanji* specifically refers to an empty mind; the Japanese word *ukkari*, which originally has a negative tone, is turned to describe a perfect state for composing poems on cherry blossoms. Since his emotions for cherry blossoms are pure and natural, a poet needs only to follow his heart without paying excessive attention or making a conscious effort. *Wakan haikai* poets clearly favored assigning *kanji* and *kanji* compounds to Japanese *giseigo* and *gitaigo* 擬態語 (mimetic words), since it can be seen in all five sequences except for sequence D.

Verses 7 and 8 are a couplet in the same sequence. The *kanji* compound 浮雲 in verse 7 literally means “floating clouds” and can serve as a metaphor for insecure and unreliable things. Although commonly read either *ukigumo* (*kun*-reading) or *fuun* (*on*-reading) in Japanese, it is given the reading *abunaki* (being insecure), which resonates with the connotation of the *kanji* compound. In verse 8, the *kanji* compound 天水, originally referring to water from the sky or heaven, is given the reading *katajikenaki* to describe things that are welcome and precious, which are attributes of heavenly water. It must be noted that the literal and original meaning that the *kanji* compounds carry do not completely disappear. The composer of verse 8 clearly took the literal meaning of 浮雲 (floating clouds) and linked it to 天水, which can refer to rain. Meanwhile, the meaning of verse 8 is not complete without the literal meaning of 天水. 水 (water) is connected to 筐 (basket) by the phrase 筐の水 (*katami no mizu*, literally, water in a basket), which refers to unreliable things since water will leak out when put in a basket. Because of this association, this verse implies that what is precious, perhaps referring to a memento due to the pun of “basket” on “memento” (both are read *katami* in Japanese), is not necessarily what we can rely on. This further relates to the previous verse, which also describes an unreliable thing. As we can see from verses 7 and 8, through giving another reading to an existing Chinese word, the poet made the word carry a double meaning and thus was able to convey more information in a short five-character verse. Furthermore, the multiple layers of the word open more possibilities for the succeeding verse, which needs to be linked to this one but have a new development.

There are also cases when new words, usually rare and difficult ones, were imported from Chinese to represent Japanese vernacular words. The following couplet, verses 9 and 10, is such an example.

9. 倥侗奴者獭 (倥侗な奴者獭)
の ら やつ はいぬ

Sanseki, (B)

V.9-10

the benighted chap

nora na

is a dog

yatsu wa inu

10. 咽山椒寤辟 (山椒に咽て寤て辟つ)
さんせう むせ さめ むねう

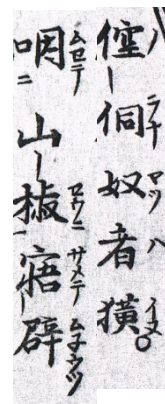
Sanseki, (B)

choked by Japanese pepper in dream,

sanshō ni musete

he beats his chest when waking up

samete mune utsu



倥侗 in verse 9 is a *kanji* compound that in classical Chinese signifies the unenlightened. *Nora*, the Japanese reading assigned to it, has all varieties of negative meanings including lazy, dissipated, blackguardly, which all make sense here. In Akita dialect, *nora* also means foolish, which is very close to the connotation of the Chinese word. This verse connects the Chinese word, which would not have been very familiar to a Japanese audience, to the extremely vulgar Japanese word *yatsu* (chap), and further associates it with dog (*inu*), an image that was not elegant enough for traditional Japanese poetry, and that can be linked to *nora* because of the Japanese vernacular word *norainu* (stray dog). Verse 10 continues the topic of “foolish chap” and gives an example of what he might do. It describes a rather comical scene in which a person dreams of choking on pepper and wakes up beating his chest for real. The word 寤辟 in classical Chinese denotes the act of beating one’s chest after waking up and connotes the sorrow one feels for a particularly grave situation. While the meaning of chest beating remains, here the action is caused by the humorous confusion between dream and reality instead of by the conscious awareness of a troubling situation. In these two verses, the rare words borrowed from Chinese language bring a freshness and uniqueness, making the verses embody the *haikai* spirit.

Meanwhile, the gap between the literary and unfamiliar Chinese words, and the vulgar, everyday, and somewhat funny images linked to these words, increases the degree of surprise and wit, the effect of which is also produced by the word play and temporal delay, respectively.

Not only were existing Chinese words utilized, but new *kanji* compounds were also created, as shown in the following examples.

11. 酔塚草眩僵 (塚草に酔て 眩 僵る)

Sanseki, (B)

V.12 V11

intoxicated by tobacco,

tabako ni yoite

he feels giddy and falls to the ground

memawashi taoru

12. 抛相掬占手 (相掬に抛へて手を占る)

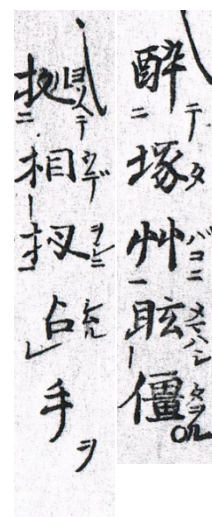
Sanseki, (B)

on the pretext of arm-wrestling,

udeoshi ni yosoete

he holds her hand

te o shimuru



In verse 11, the Chinese characters 塚 and 草, meaning mound and grass respectively, are combined to represent tobacco, which is none other than a mound of dried grass. Similarly, the Japanese word *udeoshi* (arm-wrestling) is inscribed in the combination of 相 (mutually) and 掬 (to cross). This *kanji* combination vividly describes the gesture of hands when doing arm-wrestling. In these cases, the associations between the *kanji* compounds and Japanese readings are not meant to puzzle the reader, since the readings for these compounds are written in *katakana* on their right side. Neither are the words meant to offer a deep or allusive poetic moment. Rather, they create a witty effect in a light tone which is sought after in *haikai* compositions.

Besides logograms, *wakan haikai* poets also utilized *kanji* as phonograms to allow for word play, as seen in the following couplet.

13. 空看鳶白々 (空^{そら}看^みして鳶^{とび}白^{しろ}々)

祖蔭 (Sosetsu), (A)

V.13-14

there, look at the sky!

sora mishite

a kite keeps staring

tobi jirojiro

14. 穴悪鼠緋々 (穴^{あな}悪^{にく}し。鼠^{ねずみ}緋^{くろ}々)

推月 (Suigetsu), (A)

oh, how hateful!

ana nikushi

the mouse is so black

nezumi kuroguro

In verse 13, the *kanji* 白 (white) is assigned to inscribe the mimetic word *jirojiro* (staring) due to its *kun* reading *shiro*. The meaning of the Chinese character, however, was clearly taken by the composer of the succeeding verse, since he used the word *kuroguro*, or jet black, to make a parallel. In verse 14, although the meaning of the *kanji* 穴 (hole) is not completely irrelevant, due to its close association with the word *nezumi* (mouse), the verse does not make sense without taking the sound *ana* from the *kanji* and interpreting it as an exclamation, which I translated as “oh!” here. The phrase *sora mishite* 空看して is the most versatile. If we take the original meaning of the *kanji* 空 (sky), the phrase means “look at the sky!”¹³⁹ If we consider *sorami* as a compound, then it means “to watch absentmindedly,” which makes an interesting juxtaposition to the word *jirojiro* (to stare intently). When we put verses 13 and 14 together and think of the

¹³⁹ Here, the verb *misu* is the honorific form of *miru* (to look at).

parallelism between them, we discover that the word *sora* also contains the sense of an exclamation. We can see that the *kanji*'s ability to express both sound and meaning makes it possible to operate with a double or even triple meaning. *Haikai* poets skillfully employed the versatility of the *kanji*, or *kanji* compound, for word play.

The above two ways of utilizing *kanji* to represent Japanese readings, one to use a *kanji*'s meaning, and the other to use a *kanji*'s sound, were not new at the time. Before the *kana* system replaced *kanji*'s function of inscribing sounds, *kanji*, as a writing system borrowed from China, originally served as both logograms and phonograms. This usage of *kanji* is most representative in the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (A collection of myriad leaves, ca. 785), the earliest extant poetry anthology in Japanese. Unlike the *kanji* in *wakan haikai*, the Japanese readings for the *kanji* are not marked in the *Man'yōshū*, so it is difficult for modern readers to recognize and comprehend the reading and the meaning of *Man'yōshū* poems, which are entirely inscribed in *kanji*. Thomas LaMarre calls these poems “rebus-like,” and demonstrates how *kanji* in the *Man'yōshū* could represent double meanings due to their dual functions. He states that the “two grammars intertwine. The rebus is the site of intersection... These rebus-like moments introduce so much play between inscription and vocalization.”¹⁴⁰

In the case of *wakan haikai*, since the readings for the *kanji* were marked on the manuscript in most cases, the verses are not really rebus-like. Nonetheless, there is also much play between inscription and vocalization. As shown in the above examples, some *kanji* or *kanji* compounds carry double meanings, sometimes due to the *kanji*'s dual function to represent both sound and meaning, and sometimes due to the gap between the *kanji*'s regulated meaning and the

¹⁴⁰ Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2000), 25.

unconventionally assigned reading. These examples were also experiments, not for finding different approaches to inscribe Japanese language per se, but for discovering new vehicles for word play in *haikai*, during the early stage of *haikai* development.

In addition to reviving the archaic means of inscribing Japanese language, namely, using Chinese characters as logograms and phonograms, *wakan haikai* poets also resorted to a much more ancient way of creating Chinese characters in China—pictograms, which convey meaning through pictorial resemblance to a physical object. In the following couplet, the poet appropriated existing Chinese characters that I call “visually-represented *kanji*.” These characters are originally logograms, but now they are re-presented as pictograms, visually representing certain Japanese words.

15. 碁粘之取次 (碁の粘、之取次)
してう やまみちしどろもどろ

Sanseki, (B)

V.15-16

ladder in Go—

go no shichō,

mountain path is in disorder

*Yamamichi shidoromodoro*¹⁴¹

16. 鎗裸乃周章 (鎗裸、乃周章)
やりぬきみ つえつきあわてふためく

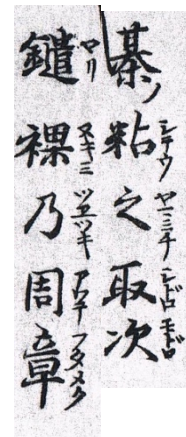
Sanseki, (B)

a naked spear!

yari nukimi,

the man with a cane panics

tsuetsuki awatefutameku



¹⁴¹ Ladder is a term in the game of Go to refer to a basic sequence of moves in which an attacker pursues a group in a zig-zag pattern across the board. When there are no intervening stones, the group will hit the edge of the board and be captured.

The orthography in these two verses is diverse and complicated. The readings for 粘, 取次, 裸, 周章 are all *gikun*, but what is most unique is the use of the *kanji* 之 and 乃. The *kanji* 之 has a variety of meanings: it could serve as the particle *no*, the pronoun *kore*, a verb meaning “to go,” and so on. Nevertheless, none of these meanings works here. Rather, it is given the Japanese reading of *yamamichi* to represent mountain path, simply due to the shape of the *kanji*, especially in handwriting, which resembles a switchback. The mountain path here is a metaphor for the shape of the ladder, which is a terminology in the game of Go, referring to the case when one player pursues the other in a zig-zag pattern across the board. The ladder could make a player win if used in a proper way, but it is a risky strategy if employed unskillfully. Verse 15 depicts the latter case. The person uses the ladder, only to find that he has trapped himself and is thus in danger of losing the game.

The *kanji* 乃 is also recast as a pictogram, to represent a person who relies on a cane for walking. He knows that a conflict is about to break out when he sees the spear is unsheathed. He wants to get away in order to avoid getting hurt, but, being hobbled, he cannot run fast enough, and he knows it. That is why he panics. This verse is linked to the previous one in that both describe an intense moment and in both cases, the person is trying to avoid a threat. The two verses are perfectly parallel to each other, even in the ways they use *kanji* to represent Japanese words.

Among the five *wakan haikai* sequences under consideration here, these two verses are the only ones to employ visually-represented *kanji*. The comment next to the verses, presumably

by the grader Kigin, states that the paring of the *kanji* 之 and 乃 is distinctive.¹⁴² This suggests that visually-represented *kanji* were rare, even in *wakan haikai* during that time.

The most distinctive feature of the writing system in *wakan haikai* is the pictorial symbols that I call “neo-pictogram *kanji*.” Mostly appearing in *kan* verses, these symbols are presumably equivalent to *kanji*, and are given Japanese readings in *katakana* on the right side in most cases.¹⁴³ Calling them *kiji* 奇字 (eccentric characters), Fukasawa points out that they are not found in earlier *wakan haikai* sequences; they began to appear during the Kanbun era (1661-1673), and were especially prominent in *haikai* books published in the provinces.¹⁴⁴ Of the five sequences I examined, only sequences B and E have neo-pictogram *kanji*. Sequences C and D were likely composed during the Kanbun era, but show no evidence of the “neo-pictogram.” This lack is perhaps due to the fact that both sequences included the participation of Kigin and Ryūho, respectively, who were relatively conservative.¹⁴⁵ Neo-pictogram *kanji* were apparently too innovative for them. The following are examples of neo-pictogram *kanji*.

¹⁴² 之乃対異哉. *Haikai dokugin shū*, 168.

¹⁴³ In the five sequences, only one *wa* verse (verse 2 in sequence E) includes two neo-pictogram *kanji*.

¹⁴⁴ Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai: wakan renku no kisoteki kenkyū*, 169–176.

¹⁴⁵ Both sequence C and D are included in *Haikai chirizuka*, which was published in the twelfth year of Kanbun era (1670), but the dates when the sequences are composed are unknown.

17.

曲輪くるり舞汐 (曲輪とうずの舞ふは汐)
whirlpools churn and churn –


when the tide changes

Sanseki, (B)
kururi to

uzu no mau wa shio

V.19 V.18 V.17

18. 蝌作かいるこ潺湲 (蝌はせせらきを作して 潺湲の湲)¹⁴⁶ 水斬 (Suizan)

tadpoles produce 

kairuko wa  o sakushite

in whirlpools of a stream

sesseraki no sen

19. 梅有こ春意 (梅有りてこ春の意す)¹⁴⁷

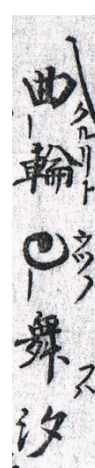
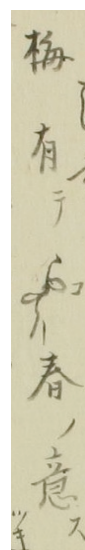
Suizan, (E)


Plum blossoms –

ume arite

the feeling of warm spring


koharu no isu




Verse 17 is very straightforward. The poet used a graph that resembles whirlpools and gave a reading of *uzu* (whirlpool) on the right side. 曲輪 is assigned an unconventional reading of *kururi to* (to express the state of churning), another mimetic word. In verse 18, the picture  appears, but no reading was assigned to it, leaving room for open interpretation. From its shape and the context of the verse, the graph should be a pictogram for a tadpole. Perhaps because the

¹⁴⁶ This verse is also from the *haikai* collection *Haikai issei*, but it is not in sequence (E). It is in page 3.

¹⁴⁷ Fukasawa shinji also transcribes this verse in *Wakan no sekai: wakan renku no kisoteki kenkyū*, 174. He thinks the reading for the graph is *yu* rather than *ko*, but he does not provide a translation or an explanation for the verse.

word 蛭 with the reading of *kaeruko* is already used, and  is only needed for its shape here, the poet felt unnecessary to give a reading to it. Verse 19 includes a picture as well, but it

functions as a combination of neo-pictogram and phonogram.  is a pictorial resemblance to a child. The pictogram, however, was not used for its meaning, but for its sound *ko*, the *kun*-reading of the word “child.” The sound *ko* and the kanji 春 makes a Japanese word *koharu* 小春, referring to the spring-like warm weather in early winter, usually the 10th month in the lunar calendar. Here, people feel warm and pleasant when seeing beautiful plum blossoms, and thus have the illusion of being in warm spring.

This way of representing *kanji* by pictograms was widely used in *hanjimon* 判じ物, a game designed to guess the meaning of a given pictogram popular during the Edo period.¹⁴⁸ It is difficult to tell whether the game influenced the *haikai*, or vice versa, or if any influence existed at all. This similarity to a game, however, shows the game-like purpose and nature of this use of *kanji* in *wakan haikai*. It is the playfulness and uniqueness that attracted *haikai* poets to use *kanji* in this way in the first place.

Conclusion

For most of the seventeenth century, *haikai* was generally perceived as a word game, and *haikai* composers constantly made use of puns. In the case of *wakan haikai*, word play did not rely on homophones, but instead lay in textuality created on the visual plane. Although the vocal aspect

¹⁴⁸ For more information on *hanjimon*, please see Ono Mitsuyasu 小野恭靖, “Kotoba asobi no rekishi to hanjimon” ことば遊びの歴史と判じ物, *Osaka kyōiku daigaku kiyō Jinbun kagaku* 大阪教育大学紀要, 人文科学 48.2 (2000:1): 109–116.

is often emphasized in the study of *haikai* and poetry in general, *wakan haikai* provides an example in which visuality played a vital role in conveying multilayered meanings and creating poetic effects. This study also reveals that in addition to oral communications, transcription also constituted a significant part in the process of *haikai* compositions, at least for *wakan haikai*.

As we have seen, the word play in *wakan haikai* is heavily dependent on the Japanese writing system, in which not only are *kanji* versatile—they can serve as logograms, phonograms, and/or pictograms—but the Japanese reading of a specific *kanji* is not absolutely static and is sometimes arbitrarily determined by the poet. The discrepancy between *kanji* and unconventionally assigned Japanese readings creates an unexpected, humorous, and witty effect that fits perfectly in the world of *haikai*. Moreover, this writing system makes it possible for multiple layers of meanings to be embedded in one *kanji* or *kanji* compound. A short five-*kanji* verse, then, can convey more information, and can also open more possibilities for the succeeding verse. This again accords with the spirit of *haikai*, which values change and variety.

The separation between form (*kanji*) and content (Japanese readings) is also convenient for *wakan haikai* poets, as it permits the parody of Chinese poetry and *kanshi*. In the *kan* verses, poets adopted the form of Chinese language, but juxtaposed it with vernacularized, Japanese content. The parody in *wakan haikai* was not usually a satirical or critical imitation, as is often the case when the technique is used in other genres, but rather aimed at the playfulness that was essential to the art of *haikai*. The *kan* verses involved so much play between vocalization and visuality, the domestic and the foreign, the low (often vernacularized and sometimes even vulgar content) and the high (a prestigious poetic form associated with the world of elegance), and all in all, Japaneseness and Chineseness. Unlike in *wakan renku*, where a Sino-Japanese dialectic lies in the interaction and rivalry between *wa* verses representing Japanese poetic traditions and *kan*

verses imitating Chinese poetry; in *wakan haikai*, the Japanese and Chinese components intersect within *kan* verses—Chinese elements remain mostly on the level of form, and Japanese elements penetrate on the levels of content and aesthetic style. Therefore, in *wakan haikai*, the boundary between *wa* and *kan* verses evident in *wakan renku* is largely blurred; there is hardly confrontation between *wa* and *kan* verses, or between Japanese and Chinese poetic traditions any more. This unbalanced relationship between Japaneseness and Chineseness is not necessarily an expression of disrespect to traditional Chinese poetry or *kanshi*, but it does reflect a different attitude toward Chinese elements. In *wakan haikai*, Chinese elements no longer functioned as the authority, model, or standard for Japanese literature as in many literary works. Instead, the form of Chinese poetry was utilized to achieve a playful effect that suited the needs of *haikai* compositions.

Chapter Four

From Form to Spirit: Infusing Chinese Elements in Japanese Popular Linked Verse

This chapter examines another effort of combining Japanese and Chinese elements in the genre of *haikai* – the so-called *kanshibunchō* 漢詩文調 (“Chinese style”) *haikai*, which became the craze during the early 1680s, especially the Tenna era (1681-1684).¹⁴⁹ Before this time, the *haikai* world had been dominated by the Teimon School and Danrin School, successively. Although the two schools consented to the humorous and witty nature of the art of *haikai*, the former emphasized on the inclusion of *haikai* words (vernacular words and sinified words) while maintaining poetic traditions preserved in *waka* and *renga* to a large extent, and the latter aspired to creating an unconstrained, illusory, and sometimes even absurd world that inverts traditions and conventions. The free and bold Danrin style attracted many *haikai* poets who had become weary of the relatively conservative and gradually stereotyped Teimon style and also commoners who had less knowledge of or affinity to classical literature, and thus earned tremendous popularity during the 1670s. Nevertheless, this fever did not last too long before it came to a dead end, and the “Chinese style” emerged as an endeavor to break the impasse. Ebara Taizō 額原退藏 thinks that the rise of the “Chinese style” was originated from the anxiety to restore the “literariness” that was eventually lost in the Danrin style.¹⁵⁰ Kon Eizō 今榮藏 further claims that

¹⁴⁹ *Kanshibunchō* literally means a style that imitates Chinese poetry and prose. Haruo Shirane translates it to “Chinese-style” in *Traces of Dreams*, 60, and I use his translation. The “Chinese style” is also called *Tennachō* 天和調 (Tenna style), since it mainly flourished during the Tenna era, and *Minashigurichō* 虚栗調 (style of *Empty Chestnuts*), since the anthology *Empty Chestnuts* is generally considered a representative of this particular style.

¹⁵⁰ Ebara Taizō 額原退藏, *Bashō kōza: hokku hen* 芭蕉講座・発句編, vol. 1 (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1943), 19-27.

since *haikai* poets had already recognized the limitations of Teimon and Danrin styles, both of which relied on Japanese literary classics (*waka*, *renga*, *The Tale of Genji*, and *nō* plays) for “literariness,” it was natural for them to resort to Chinese literature.¹⁵¹

Then, what are the features of the “Chinese style” *haikai*? How should we situate it in the history of *haikai* development? And what role, if any, did it play in the establishment of the so-called Bashō style (*shōfū*), which is generally considered the zenith of *haikai*?¹⁵² Scholars have varying, and sometimes even contradictory opinions toward these issues. For example, Kon Eizō asserts that the “Chinese style” *haikai* was still in the stage of seeking novelties on superficial levels; there was essentially no improvements in terms of literary awareness, and in that sense, it did not surpass Danrin style *haikai* and was no more than a transitional product in *haikai* history.¹⁵³ Conversely, Satō Katsuaki 佐藤勝明 states that Bashō had already developed an awareness to revolutionize *haikai* during the Tenna era; the “Chinese style” *haikai* verses composed by Bashō’s circle “informed the birth of the new Bashō style” and should not be considered mere transitional works.¹⁵⁴ There are also seemingly discrepant comments with regard to aesthetic style. While many scholars summarize the major themes of Bashō’s *haikai*

¹⁵¹ Kon Eizō 今栄蔵, *Shoki haikai kara Bashō jidai e* 初期俳諧から芭蕉時代へ (Tokyo, Kasama Shoin 2002), 350-356.

¹⁵² The “Bashō style” does not refer to the personal style of Bashō, but rather the style that characterizes *haikai* by Bashō’s school as a whole. Bashō himself engaged with Teimon, Danrin, Chinese, and *renga* styles, successively, en route to the formation of the Bashō style. In this dissertation, Bashō’s *haikai* also refers to *haikai* by Bashō’s school as a collaborative effort rather than *haikai* compositions of Bashō himself.

¹⁵³ Kon Eizō, *Shoki haikai kara Bashō jidai e*, 223.

¹⁵⁴ Sato Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyoto haidan* 芭蕉と京都俳壇 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2006), 319.

during this time as poverty, reclusion, and desolate beauty, it also has been noted that there frequently appear verses representing a flamboyant and sensual world.¹⁵⁵

I think these contradictions and incongruities result from the fact that the so-called “Chinese style” originally did not direct to a single, specific, or immutable style. Despite its misleading name, the concept of the “Chinese style” *haikai* signified a series of attempts of different groups to infuse Chinese elements in *haikai* during the early 1680s, for the purpose of improving the stagnant Teimon and Danrin *haikai*. Even if we only focus on the works of one group –Bashō’s circle — it is difficult to summarize them to one pattern or one style.¹⁵⁶ I argue that for Bashō’s circle, the “Chinese style” was an experimental stage, and a definite direction for their style has yet to be established: they were hospitable to a wide range of Chinese texts with diverse styles and a variety of approaches of appropriating Chinese literature. This chapter examines the multi-dimensional incorporations of *kan* elements in *haikai* by Bashō’s circle, and accordingly, the various styles their *haikai* verses embody. In doing so, it will also become clear which aspect(s) of Chinese literature, if any, contributed to the formation of the Bashō style. This chapter focuses on *A Response to the Seven-hundred and Fifty Verses* (Jiin 次韻, 1681), *Musashi*

¹⁵⁵ Haruo Shirane, for example, states: “Each *haikai* group attempted to develop its own set of identifiable poet images and motifs. For Bashō’s circle, at least during the Tenna era, it became the themes of ‘poverty’ (*hin*), ‘impoverished dwelling’ (*hinkyō*), coldness, loneliness, social failure –topics found in the Taoist *Chuang-tzu* and in Chinese recluse poetry, particularly that of Tu Fu and Su Tung-p’o.” See Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 66. Ishikawa Shinkō 石川真弘, on the other hand, points out the frequent occurrences of verses with a flamboyant (*en* 艶) style in “Tennaki no shōfū haikai” 天和期の蕉風俳諧, *Shōfū ronkō* 蕉風論考 (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1990), 1-18.

¹⁵⁶ I use the term “Bashō’s circle” because at the time, Bashō’s school was still in the process of forming, and some of the poets in discussion, such as Sodō and Senshūn, are Bashō’s friends rather than disciples.

Style (*Musashiburi* 武蔵曲, 1682), and *Empty Chestnuts* (*Minashiguri* 虚栗, 1683), three *haikai* anthologies that include “Chinese style” verses and involve participation of Bashō’s circle.¹⁵⁷

Creating Visual Impact

When reading the three *haikai* anthologies, one can hardly ignore the frequent appearance of orthographies that are unconventional for vernacular Japanese texts but remind us of *kanbun* writings and Japanese *kundoku* reading of classical Chinese texts. Most “Chinese style” verses can be identified through this kind of visual observation, and I refer to these verses as “visually-recognizable Chinese style *haikai*.” Unlike the *kan* verses in *wakan haikai*, which are uniformly transcribed in five-kanji, the “visually-recognizable Chinese style” verses have no fixed patterns of transcription, as shown in the following examples.

¹⁵⁷ *Jiin* is a *haikai* collection compiled by Bashō. It includes two 100-verse sequences, one 50-verse sequence, and an extra 4-verse sequence. All of the sequences are participated by Bashō, Kikaku 其角 (1661-1707), Yōsui 揚水, and Saimaro 才丸. These verses were intended to succeed the *Seven-hundred and Fifty Verses* (*Nanahyaku gojū in* 七百五十韻, 1681) composed by a group of eight Kyoto *haikai* poets who were closely associated with Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624-1705). *Musashiburi* collects *haikai* verses composed when the compiler Chiharu 千春, who was from Kyoto, went to Edo to communicate with Bashō and *haikai* poets surrounding him. It includes *hokku* arranged by four seasons, and also a *kasen* (36-verse sequences) and a 100-verse sequence. Although the compiler on paper is Chiharu, Kikaku is also said to have played an important role in the process of compilation. See the entry of *Musashiburi* in Ogata Tsutomo 尾形隼, ed., *Haibungaku daijiten* 俳文学大辞典 (Tokyo, Kadogawa Shoten, 1995). *Minashiguri* is a *haikai* anthology that collects verses by Bashō’s school. The compiler is Kikaku, and a preface by Bashō is included. It is arranged by four seasons, and each section contains both *hokku* and 36-verse sequences. For base texts, I use the typeset version included in Tomiya Toyotaka 小宮豊隆, ed., *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* 校本芭蕉全集, vol.3 (Tokyo, Kadokawa Shoten, 1962-1969) for *Jiin*, and the typeset version included in Katsumine Shinpū 勝峰晋風, ed., *Nihon haisho taikai* 日本俳書大系, vol.3 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1928) for *Musashiburi* and *Minashiguri*. *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* also provides a typeset text and annotation for the linked verse sequences that includes participation of Bashō in *Musashiburi* and *Minashiguri*, and I consulted the annotations. I also consulted the annotations in Abe Masami 阿部正美, ed., *Bashō renkushō* 芭蕉連句抄, vol.3 (Tokyo, Meiji Shoin, 1989) for *Jiin* and the linked verse sequences that include participation of Bashō in *Musashiburi* and *Minashiguri*.

1. 煤掃之礼用於鯨之脯 (煤掃の礼に鯨の脯を用ゆ) Kikaku¹⁵⁸

for the ritual of

susuhaku no

“Year-End House Cleaning,”

rei ni kujira no

whale jerky is used

*hojishi o mochiyu*¹⁵⁹

2. 無情人秋の蟬

Ranran 嵐蘭¹⁶⁰

a heartless person ---

nasake nakaran hito

shell of a locust in autumn

*akino nukegara*¹⁶¹

3. 卑シ山路に錢とらせきる

Kikaku¹⁶²

he gives all his money

iyashi Sanro ni

to the lowly grass cutter named Sanro

*zeni torasekiru*¹⁶³

煤掃之礼用於鯨之脯
スス ハクノ ニ ユ
無情人秋の蟬
カラシ 無 レ 情人 秋の 蟬 スケガラ
卑シ山路に錢とらせきる
イ ヤ シ サ ン ロ ぜ に

¹⁵⁸ Jiin in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 192. For verses 1-7, I provide how the verses were transcribed in the original text on the right side.

¹⁵⁹ *Susuhaki* 煤掃, literally “cleaning up soot,” refers to the custom of thoroughly cleaning the house in preparation for the New Year in Japan. During the Edo period, this was generally done on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month in aristocratic and samurai families, usually accompanied by ritual events. It also became popular among commoners. Here the reading for the kanji combination 煤掃 is given as *susuhaku* instead of the more common reading *susuhaki*. According to the annotation in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, the composer intentionally used the *kun*-reading of the two kanji in order to imitate the *kanbun* style.

¹⁶⁰ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 10.

¹⁶¹ We do not realize that the locust only has its shell left until we see that the kanji 蟬, usually read *semi* with the meaning of locust, is given a reading of *nukegara*, meaning “shell.” The shell of a locust alludes to Utsusemi in *The Tale of Genji*, a female character who leaves the outer layer of her robe in order to escape from Genji and is thus compared to an empty locust (Please see the detail of the story in the explanation for verse 1 of Chapter Three.) This image of Utsusemi resonates with “a heartless person.”

¹⁶² Jiin in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 188.

¹⁶³ According to a legend, when the Emperor Yōmei 用明 (a legendary emperor in the late 6th century whose story is recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*) was a prince, he once visited the residence of Mano no Chōja 真野長者 located in the province of Bungo (modern Oita prefecture) in order to woo his beautiful daughter. He pretended to be a grass-cutter and called himself Sanro. The story is recounted in the *kōwakamai* 幸若舞 titled “Eboshiori” 烏帽子折.

4. 盞ヲ漕ゲ芋を餌にして月ヲ釣ン

Gyō'un 暁雲¹⁶⁴

they catch the full moon

sakazuki o koge

with taros as bait

imo o esa ni shite

while rowing sake cups

*tsuki o tsuran*¹⁶⁵

5. 朝タ枕に。とどめ。をどろく

Saimaro 才丸¹⁶⁶

he wakes up in the morning,

ashita makura ni

only to find it to be left on the pillow

*todome odoroku*¹⁶⁷

6. 灯火をくらく幽霊を世に反ス也

Kikaku¹⁶⁸

turn off the light

tomoshihi o

so that the ghost come

kuraku yūrei o

to this world

*yo ni kaesu nari*¹⁶⁹

の 灯 火 を く ら く 幽 霊 を 世 に 反 ス 也	い 朝 枕 に 。 と ど め 。 を ど ろ く	ハ 盞 ヲ 漕 ゲ 芋 を 餌 に し て 月 ヲ 釣 ン
---	---	---

¹⁶⁴ Musashiburi in *Nihon haisho taikēi*, 5.¹⁶⁵ The poet describes a moon-viewing party using the terms that are usually associated with fishing, a seemingly completely unrelated activity. The *sake* cups that go gaily around are like moving boats; the moon is comparable to fish in the sense that both are the goal of the activity. Taros usually serve as votive offerings in moon-viewing parties on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in lunar calendar. Therefore, it is like a bait, which seduces the moon god to come.¹⁶⁶ Jiin in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 187.¹⁶⁷ Tomiya Toyotaka says in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* that the *todome* specifically refers to the scent of eaglewood left on the pillow. In my understanding, the verse calls for open interpretation as to what is left on the pillow. When linked to the previous verse, which reads “the robe/ he took off and left/ why don’t you say a word?” (*nugiokishi kosode yo nan to mono iwanu* 脱置し小袖よ何と物いはぬ), what is left on the pillow is likely to be the robe.¹⁶⁸ Jiin in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 183.¹⁶⁹ As Tomiya points out in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, this verse alludes to *A Hundred Tales* (*Hyaku monogatari* 百物語), in which people light 100 lamps and tell ghost stories. They turn off one light after each story is finished, and it is believed that the ghost will appear after all the lights go off.

7. 日を額にうつ富士の棟上ゲ

Bashō¹⁷⁰

the Mt. Fuji suddenly rises up,

hi o gaku ni utsu

so high that the sun rests on its forehead

*fuji no muneage*¹⁷¹

へ
日
を
額
に
う
つ
富
士
の
棟
上
ムネ
ゲ

The above verses represent several typical ways of transcriptions in the “Chinese style.” They all include part(s), although varying in length, that imitate *kanbun* writings or Japanese *kundoku* reading of Chinese texts from the aspect of orthography. Verse 1 is entirely written in *kanbun*, which is rare in “Chinese style” *haikai*. It is worth noting that Kikaku apparently was not so good at *kanbun* writings, since he misused the word 於 here.¹⁷² Verses 2 and 3 each contains a phrase that is transcribed in *kanbun*, with Japanese readings in *katakana* on the right side, and diacritical marks including return maker (*kaeriten* 返り点) and combination marker (an *on*-reading combination marker in this case.)

Different from the preceding examples, verse 4 resembles a *kundoku* reading of a Chinese or *kanbun* text. While the second line *imo o esa ni shite* is written in kanji and hiragana like most *haikai* verses, the rest has particles written in *katakana* and *okurigana* shrunk to the right in

¹⁷⁰ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 9.

¹⁷¹ Perhaps because the previous verse depicts a dream, this verse represents a surreal world in which the Mt. Fuji is built like a house. It soon reaches so high that it looks as if the sun was located on its forehead.

¹⁷² It should be either 煤掃之礼用鯨脯 (*susubaku no rei ni kujira no hojishi o mochiyu*) or 鯨脯用於煤掃之礼 (*susubaku no rei ni oite kujira no hojishi o mochiyu*).

katakana, which are similar to transcriptions of *kanbun* writings. It also includes the structure of “object+を,” which Satō Katsuaki considers to be influenced by *kanbun* writings.¹⁷³

In the case of verse 5, the period marker is conspicuous. It appears not only in this verse but also in several other verses in the same anthology. Tsukagoshi Yoshiyuki indicates that the use of the period marker is likely to be inspired by Japanese annotations of Chinese texts, in which period markers also appear in the middle of a sentence.¹⁷⁴ Another sign of “Chinese style” is the word *ashita* (morning), in which the last syllable is put on the right side in *katakana*. In *kanbun* writings, the last one or several syllables of a word are sometimes provided in *katakana* on the right side of the kanji in order to give a hint on reading, especially when the kanji has more than one readings. In this case, the kanji 朝 can be read as either *asa* or *ashita*, and this is perhaps why *katakana* “*ta*” is provided here.

Both verse 6 and verse 7 contain a word in which the *okurigana* is transcribed in the *kanbun* fashion.¹⁷⁵ Verse 6 also includes a Chinese word 也, a particle used frequently in Chinese and *kanbun* texts. In spite of the fact that the proportion of “Chinese style” transcription is low in these two verses, the incorporation of an unconventional style of transcription still brings freshness to the *haikai* verse, just like in other examples. In fact, most “Chinese style”

¹⁷³ Satō points out that the appearance of “を” is much more frequent in “Chinese style” *haikai* than in Teimon, Danrin *haikai*, and *waka*. Unlike in modern Japanese, where を is generally necessary to mark the direct object, in classical Japanese, direct object marker is not obligatory, and the function of を is usually limited to emphasizing the object. In *kanbun* writings, however, を is generally included as a direct object marker in *katakana* on the right side. Satō thinks that this explains why there are so many を in the “Chinese style” *haikai*. See Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyoto haidan*, 274-293.

¹⁷⁴ Tsukagoshi Yoshiyuki 塚越義幸, “Kanshibunchō no buntai” 漢詩文調の文体, *Edo bungaku* 江戸文学 37 (2007:10): 20.

¹⁷⁵ *Okurigana* refers to the *kana* that follows the kanji stem.

verses in these three anthologies only have one or two places embedded with “Chinese style” transcription.

As we can see, the above examples are not bound up with Chinese or *kanbun* literature in terms of content, motif, or atmosphere, although not all “visually-recognizable Chinese style” verses are like this. These examples only imitate Chinese and *kanbun* texts from the aspect of orthography, and the mixture of this kind of transcription in the genre of *haikai* leads to an unconventional and somewhat bizarre style that is generally considered to be “stiff” (*kikkutsu* 詰屈) by Japanese scholars. This effect of strangeness and novelty, however, is originally what the poets intended to achieve through the “Chinese style.” As noted by Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, the “Chinese style” was a new approach that places emphasis on orthography, fostering visual imagery. The *haikai* spirit is thus obtained through visuality instead of vocality, a focus of the so-called “*nō* play style” (*yōkyokuchō* 謡曲調) *haikai* favored by the Danrin School.¹⁷⁶

Jiamari 字余り, or excessive syllables, is considered to be one of features of “Chinese style” *haikai* by many scholars. In a regular *haikai* sequence, 5-7-5 syllable verses and 7-7 syllable verses are alternated. If a verse has more syllables than regulated, it is called *jiamari*. *Jiamari* is very common in the three anthologies, and among the above seven examples, verses 1, 2, 4, 6 are all *jiamari*. Nonetheless, I think *jiamari* is a by-product of “Chinese style” *haikai* rather than a characteristic. “Chinese style” challenged what had been commonly considered a “normal” transcription of *haikai*. Under this tendency to free itself from a restrained, orthodox conception of *haikai*, especially on the level of form, it is only natural that the poets became less

¹⁷⁶ The “*nō* play style” *haikai* refers to the verses that draw upon on texts of famous *nō* plays. Inui argues that these verses evoke people’s memories of the *nō* plays, the texts of which are often remembered with corresponding melodies. See Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, “Yōkyokuchō to kanshibunchō” 謡曲調と漢詩文調, *Renga haikai kenkyū* 連歌俳諧研究 45 (1973): 6-10.

concerned about the number of syllables of a line. It is perhaps more proper to say that *jiamari* became a fashion, in the trend of breaking the norm and tradition.

In addition to orthography, *haikai* poets also parodied wording and ways of expressions of Chinese and *kanbun* texts, as seen below.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 8. 梧桐の夕孺子を抱イテ | 似春 (Jishun) ¹⁷⁷ |
| in the evening, under a Chinese parasol tree, | <i>gotō no yū</i> |
| she holds a child in her arms | <i>jushi o idaite</i> |
| 9. 風の愛三線の記を和らげて | 卜尺 (Bokuseki) ¹⁷⁸ |
| the affection of the wind | <i>kaze no ai</i> |
| makes the shamisen song | <i>shamisen no ki o</i> |
| become softer ¹⁷⁹ | <i>yawaragete</i> |
| 10. 文盲な金持ちは金ヲ以テ鳴ル | 李下 (Rika) ¹⁸⁰ |
| a wealthy man with no literacy | <i>monmō na</i> |
| depends on money | <i>kanemochi wa kane o</i> |
| to make a name for himself | <i>motte naru</i> |

¹⁷⁷ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 8.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ The meaning of this verse is ambiguous. The annotation in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* explains this verse as “the sound of the wind is as soft as a shamisen song.” Another explanation given by Abe Masami in *Bashō renkushō* is that “the wind blows softly and livens up the shamisen song.” In my opinion, what actually happens is that the sound of the shamisen song becomes weaker due to the wind, but it feels as if the affection of the wind calmed down the shamisen song.

¹⁸⁰ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 39.

In verse 8, Jishun deliberately employed Chinese words 梧桐 (*wutong*, *gotō* in Japanese) and 孺子 (*ruzi*, *jushi* in Japanese) to replace *aogiri* (Chinese parasol tree) and *kodomo* (child), the vernacular Japanese words with the same meaning, respectively, that were more commonly used in Japanese poetry. Verse 9 imports the word 記 (*ji*, *ki* in Japanese), which is often used in the title of Chinese and *kanbun* texts to indicate that it is a record or narrative, combining it with the word *shamisen*, to refer to a song played by *shamisen*. Verse 10 incorporates the Chinese expression “以+Noun+Verb” (by means of), although transcribed in the Japanese *kundoku* reading. All these verses do not really take up China-related topics, and their contents are completely independent of Chinese literature and culture, but the poets chose to infuse Chinese ways of expressions in them, again with the purpose of exploring newness and freshness. Like the previous examples, which make use of the “Chinese style” transcriptions, they also imitate Chinese and *kanbun* texts only on the level of form, so I call both of them “formal Chinese style” verses.

At the time, uniqueness and distinctiveness were the main pursuit of most *haikai* poets. They had explored various approaches, one of which was to parody other genres in *haikai*. The Danrin School is well-known for its parody of *nō* plays and *The Tale of Genji*, and even in the anthologies in discussion, there are parodies of other genres besides Chinese and *kanbun* writings. For instance, a verse that is presumably composed by Bashō is deliberately attributed to “an unknown author” (*yomibito shirazu* 詠み人知らず), a phrase often appearing in imperial *waka* anthologies when the name of the author is uncertain or intentionally hidden for some reason. There are also verses that imitate the foreword (*kotobagaki* 詞書) of a *kyōka* 狂歌

poem.¹⁸¹ Although this kind of examples is not scarce, the parody of Chinese and *kanbun* writings is best known for this period, since it was most prominent.

The “formal Chinese style” verses are similar to the *kan* verses in *wakan haikai*, which are discussed in Chapter Three, in the sense that both adopt Chinese elements on the level of form but maintain Japanese elements on the level of content, achieving a humorous effect in the disproportion and inconsistency between form and content. The ones that include “Chinese style” transcriptions are especially relevant since they also take advantage of orthography and depend on visual textuality in creating *haikai* effects. Like *wakan haikai*, in which *wa* and *kan* verses are alternated, “Chinese style” verse are also accompanied by “Japanese style” verses. Although the three anthologies are generally considered to represent the “Chinese style” *haikai*, they in fact include juxtapositions of “Chinese style” and “Japanese style.”

Infusing an Alien World

Traditional Japanese poetry, including *waka* and *renga*, is generally insulated from Chinese words and content, which haunt almost all the other literary genres. In *haikai*, however, as Teitoku included Sinitic words as part of *haikai* words in the early 17th century, Chinese elements were no longer cut off from vernacular Japanese poetry. Tenna era especially witnessed an influx of *kan* in the genre of *haikai*. Besides imitation of Chinese and *kanbun* texts on the level of form, incorporation of Chinese content –such as adoption of China-specific images and topics, utilization of Chinese poetic associations, and allusions to Chinese texts – are abundant in the “Chinese style” *haikai* anthologies. The world of China provided a treasure-house full of

¹⁸¹ Verse 19 in the second 100-verse sequence of *Jiin. Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 190.

materials, ideas, and inspirations to *haikai* poets, who were eager to jump out of the restrictions in traditional Japanese poetry and blaze new trails in *haikai*.

The ways in which Chinese elements are incorporated vary. An extreme example is a direct quotation from a Chinese text, as shown below.

11. 有朋自遠方来

千之 (Senshi)¹⁸²

a friend managed

tomo tōhō yori

to come from afar

koreru koto ari

This phrase is from the very first section of *The Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), which reads: “The Master said, ‘Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application? Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters? Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?’ (子曰：「學而時習之，不亦說乎？有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎？人不知而不慍，不亦君子乎？」)”¹⁸³ Except for giving a Japanese transcription that slightly modifies the nuance of the original Chinese text, Senshi copied the phrase as it is from the Chinese text, responding to the previous verse composed by himself – “he practices kendo/ in a forest of empty valley/ from time to time” (*Kenjutsu o*

¹⁸² Minashiguri in *Nihon haisho taiki*, 24. The Japanese transcription Senshi gave is likely to be based on the version by Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657) – *tomo, tōhō yori kitaru ari* 朋遠方より来たる有り, which is a bit different from the more well-known version by Gotō Shizan 後藤芝山 (1721~1782) – *tomo ari tōhō yori kitaru* 朋あり遠方より来る. The meanings of the two versions are not essentially different, but the former emphasizes the existence of this kind of action (a friend coming from afar), while the latter emphasizes the existence of the person (a friend). Senshi further revised Razan’s version by changing the verb “to come” (*kitaru*) to its potential form, stressing that the friend was able to come from afar.

¹⁸³ The text is available on *Chinese Text Project* at <http://ctext.org/analects/xue-er/zh> (accessed on August 2, 2017). The English translation is by James Legge in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 137.

kodama ni narau yoriyori wa 剣術を虚谷に習ふ時は. Apparently, the act of constantly practicing kendo in previous verse reminds Senshi of the first sentence of the *The Analects*, and he thus directly adopted part of the second sentence as the added verse. Although the verse itself is a clone, its originality lies in its linking of a famous Chinese quote to a *haikai* verse, broadening the range of available sources for *haikai* compositions. As extreme as this example is, there are many cases in which the poets resorted to Chinese texts when establishing linkage between two contiguous verses. The following are two pairs of such examples.

12. 孤村遥に悲風夫を恨ムかと

昨雲 (Saku'un)

媒酒旗に咲を進ムル

言水 (Gonsui)¹⁸⁴

alone in a village afar,

koson harukani

is she resentment at her husband

hifū otto o

in moaning wind?

uramu kato

pimps promote girls who sell smiles

nakadachi shuki ni

under the banner of a tavern

emi o susumuru

13. 夜ヲ離レ蟻の漏より旅立て

Bokuseki

槐のかくるる迄に帰り見しはや

Jishun¹⁸⁵

as the day breaks,

yo o hanare

¹⁸⁴ *Musashiburi in Nihon koten taikē*, 8.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

he departs on a journey	<i>ari no mori yori</i>
from the ant tunnel	<i>tabidachite</i>
he keeps looking back	<i>enju no kakururu made ni</i>
until the pagoda tree becomes invisible	<i>kaerimishi waya</i>

The two verses in example 12 are linked through the word association between “wind” and “banner of a tavern,” which originates from the first two lines of the poem “Spring in South of the Yangtze” (*Jiangnan chun* 江南春) by Du Mu 杜牧 (803-853) – “For a thousand miles orioles singing, green reflected against the red; Streamside villages, mountain outposts, aleshop banners flapping in the wind” (*Qianli ying ti lv ying hong, shuicun shanguo jiuqi feng* 千里鶯啼綠映紅，水村山郭酒旗風).¹⁸⁶ Neither of the verses, however, focuses on landscape description, which is the main concern of the Chinese poem. The previous verse depicts a woman waiting in wind for her husband who has not returned yet. The image of the wind leads to the banner of a tavern, but unlike in the Chinese poem, where the two images appear in the same scenery, they are associated with two contrasting scenes here: a waiting woman in a desolate village and a bustling tavern with pimps and prostitutes, which the husband may be visiting. Gonsui used the Chinese poem as a starting point when looking for new poetic associations, but he recreated a scene about the banner of a tavern that explains why the husband has not returned yet, constructing a content link to the previous verse.

¹⁸⁶ This poem is included in the *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 522. The English translation is by David Knechtges from the section on Du Mu in the course packet for Chinese 471 at University of Washington Seattle.

In the example 13, the scene of a person staying overnight near an ant tunnel is associated with the image of a pagoda tree due to a Tang legend “Nanke taishou zhuan” 南柯太守傳 (Tale of the Governor of Southern Branch) by Li Gongzuo 李公佐 (fl. 802-819). The protagonist in the story often drinks with friends under a pagoda tree. One day, he is drunk and falls asleep. In his dream, he enters a kingdom in the pagoda tree, marrying the king’s daughter and enjoying a splendor life as a high-ranking courtier. Nevertheless, he is defeated in a battle and is eventually sent back to his hometown in disgrace. He suddenly wakes up when arriving at home, only to find later that a colony of ants under the pagoda tree resembles the kingdom he has seen in the dream.¹⁸⁷ This story intends to represent the impermanence of life, but this motif is apparently not inherited in either of the *haikai* verses here. Like in the example 12, the Chinese text merely serves as a resource to provide a word association for linking the two consecutive verses. The added verse in fact develops a new association, between the image of a pagoda tree, and a *waka* poem in the *Great Mirror* (*Ōkagami* 大鏡) – “As I go/ I keep looking back/ until I cannot see/ the top of the tree/ at your residence” (*kimi ga sumu yado no kozue o yukuyuku to kakururu made mo kaerimishi waya* 君が住む宿の梢をゆくゆくとかくるるまでにかえり見しはや.)¹⁸⁸ This poem was addressed by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) to his wife when he departed into exile, expressing his unwillingness to leave his family behind. Jishun directly cited a part of the poem but specified that the tree is a pagoda tree. The verse seamlessly connects the image from a Chinese story and a poem in a Japanese text, and meanwhile leaves room for the

¹⁸⁷ I consulted the section of “Tang Dynasty Story” in the course packet for Chinese 471 at University of Washington Seattle for the translation of the title and the plot of the story.

¹⁸⁸ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 34, 76. This association is pointed out in the annotation of the verse in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 215.

succeeding verse, which can create its own explanation on why the person cares so much about the pagoda tree.

There are also verses that adopt China-related topics, which rarely appear in vernacular Japanese poetry.

14. 昏鳶に乗て仙界に飛

Gyō'un

秦の代は隣の町と戦ひし

Kikaku¹⁸⁹

he rides on the kite

shien ni notte

and flies to the wonderland

senkai ni tobu

the state of Qin

shin no yo wa

once fought against

tonari no machi to

the adjacent towns

tatakaishi

The previous verse is based on a legend about Lu Ban 魯班, who is a famous craftsman in the Chunqiu period (770BC-476BC). He is said to have made a kite, which he relied on to fly to the adjacent rivalry state and obtain useful information for his own state. This verse is inspired by the story, only changing the setting to a celestial world, also a Chinese theme. Then the added verse depicts the historical background in which the Lu Ban story is situated. The Qin here does not refer to the Qin dynasty (221BC-206BC), during which China was unified, but instead refers to the state of Qin during the Chunqiu period, when the country was in chaos and various states

¹⁸⁹ Musashiburi in *Nihon haisho taikēi*, 8.

constantly fought with each other. Through importing China-specific images and topics, the verses emanate a feeling of exoticism, and the blending of these verses into the ones with Japanese themes further brings new possibilities into the art of *haikai*.

In most cases, however, the “Chinese style” verses are not directly about China, but instead allude to Chinese texts, incorporating relevant images and content into a new, localized context. More often than not, *haikai* poets utilized the literal meaning of the Chinese sources, transforming, twisting, and even inverting their connotation.

15. 見ぐるしき艶書をやくや柴枳

Ranran¹⁹⁰

are they burning

migurushiki

embarrassing love letters?

ensho o yaku ya

red leaves as firewood

shibamomiji

16. 白親仁紅葉村に送賀

Tōsei¹⁹¹

the old man with gray hair

shiroki oyaji

sends his son to marry into a family

kōyōson ni

in the village of Red Leaves

muko o okuru

17. 嘲りに黄金は小紫ヲ鋳る

Kikaku¹⁹²

to vent his anger,

azakeri ni

he uses gold to cast

ōgon wa

¹⁹⁰ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 19.

¹⁹¹ *Jiin* in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 185.

¹⁹² *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 41.

a statue of Komurasaki

Komurasaki o iru

18. 鷺の足雉脛長く継添て

Tōsei¹⁹³

We add the legs of the pheasant

sagi no ashi

to the feet of the egret

kiji hagi nagaku

to make them longer

tsugisoete

Verse 15 alludes to a line of a Chinese poem composed by Bo Juyi when he sent off his friend

Wang Zhifu 王質夫- “In a forest, we burn red leaves to warm sake up” 林間暖酒燒紅葉.¹⁹⁴

Although in both verses, the red leaves are used to make a fire, the elegant and leisurely world of Chinese literati represented in the Chinese original was turned into a contemporary scene that involves an intense, romantic relationship. The person is burning love letters, most likely the ones he exchanged with prostitutes, as recorded in “The Great Mirror of the Erotic Way” (*Shikidō kagami* 色道大鏡, ca. 1678).

Verse 16 also involves the image of “red leaves,” but it is associated with “an old man with grey hair” here. This association can be traced back to a poem by Huang Tingjian, which says “His grey hair faces red leaves. How to prevent them from falling down?” 白頭對紅葉，奈此搖落何。¹⁹⁵ Huang’s poem expresses his feeling aggrieved about the frustrated life of his friend Huang Jie 黃介, who was talented but did not succeed in court. The images of Huang Jie’s grey

¹⁹³ This verse is from *Jiin*. The text in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 182 is *azakeri zo ōgon wa Komurasaki o iru* 嘲りそ黄金は小紫ヲ鑄る. I followed the transcription in Abe Masafumi, *Bashō renkushō*, 389.

¹⁹⁴ This line is from the poem “Song Wangshiba guishan, ji ti Xianyou” 送王十八歸山，寄題仙遊寺 included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 437.

¹⁹⁵ This poem is included in *Quan Song shi*, vol. 18, 11350.

hair and falling red leaves constitute a colorful picture, and resonate each other. “How to prevent them from falling down?” is Huang Jie’s question about the red leaves, but also about his own situation, since he has become old but still has not fulfilled his political ambition yet. This political implication, however, completely disappears in the Japanese verse, which deals with common people’s life. The “red leaves” becomes the name of a village, and the old man similarly has a complicated feeling toward the “red leaves,” since his son will not only marry a girl from this place, but will also be adopted into the bride’s family.

The source text for verse 17 is the two lines from the poem titled “Likou” 蠡口 by Zheng Xie 鄭獬 – “Based on who made the greatest contribution to conquering the state of Wu, all the gold should be used to cast a statue of Xi shi” 若論破吳功第一，黃金只合鑄西施。¹⁹⁶ Xi Shi is a well-known Chinese beauty who was sent to the King of Wu from the King of Yue as part of his revenge plan. The king of Wu was enchanted with Xi Shi as expected, and his indulgence in sensual pleasure and his neglect of state affairs eventually led to the defeat of the state of Wu to the state of Yue. The poet apparently thinks that Xi Shi was the most important factor that caused the downfall of the state of Wu, and consequently, the state of Yue should build a golden statue of her as a reward. In the Japanese verse, a golden statue is also cast, but for Komurasaki, a famous courtesan in Yoshiwara whose story is featured in various literary texts, including *Life of An Amorous Man* (Kōshoku ichidai otoko 好色一代男, 1682). The verse is not based on existing stories about her, but rather re-creates a post-battle situation that is similar to the Chinese source. The real battle in history, however, is re-contextualized into a bidding war in Japanese pleasure quarters, where two men compete with each other in ransoming Komurasaki. Unlike in the

¹⁹⁶ These two lines are from the poem “Chao Fanli” 嘲范蠡 included in *Quan Song shi*, vol. 10, 6685.

Chinese poem, it is the defeated side who builds a golden statue, since he could not acquire the real person. The statue that symbolizes political contribution in the Chinese poem becomes a means to show off one's wealth and to console himself.

Verse 18 is the opening verse of the collection *Jiin*, which was intended to succeed the *Seven-hundred and Fifty Verses* (*Nanahyaku gojū in* 七百五十韻) composed earlier so that they together make a thousand verses (*sen'in* 千韻). Bashō compared this collection and the “Seven-hundred and Fifty Verses” to the legs of egret and pheasant, respectively, claiming that their attempt to add verses to the existing verses is like attaching the legs of pheasant to the feet of egret. This idea is likely to be inspired by the allegory in the “Webbed Toes” (*Pianmu* 駢拇) section of the *Zhuangzi*, which states “The long is not redundant, the short is not insufficient. Therefore, although the duck's legs are short, it would worry him if they are extended; although the crane's legs are long, it would hurt him if they are cut off. In conclusion, what is long by nature should not be cut off, and what is short by nature should not be extended. There is no need to worry about them.” 長者不為有餘，短者不為不足。是故鳬脰虽短，續之則憂；鶴脰虽長，斷之則悲。故性長非所斷，性短非所續，無所去憂也。¹⁹⁷ Bashō composed on a similar pair of animals – egret and pheasant, which also have long and short legs, respectively. Building on the Chinese text that indicates the nonsense of extending the short, the *haikai* verse depicts an even more absurd action – to extend the long by attaching the short. Although the original insists on the equality between the long and the short, this verse implies the superiority of the long, humbly claiming that *Jiin* would make an unworthy continuation of the great *Nanahyaku gojū in*.

¹⁹⁷ The text is available online on *Chinese Text Project* at <http://ctext.org/zhuangzi/webbed-toes/zh> (accessed on August 2, 2017).

There remain debates on whether Bashō had grasped and consciously built on the philosophical thought expressed in the original text, namely, the importance of obeying the laws of nature without altering the original form of things.¹⁹⁸ In any case, Bashō transformed a didactic and philosophical text into a social greeting that pays tribute to the predecessors and simultaneously shows modesty.

All of the above four verses represent the case in which *haikai* verses allude to Chinese sources. When introducing allusion as one of the forms of interliterary reception in his book “Theory of Literary Comparatistics,” Ďurišin states that “it as a rule does not imply a highly developed form of relationship, but merely a single instance of evoking association with a specific component of the original. The signficatory functionality of this form of reception on the semantic level of the work lies in the preparation of the reader’s realization of the background of the literary tradition against which he should appreciate the specific artistic context. This functionality of literary allusion contains its symbolic quality in relation to the semiotic background of the work. The nature of this symbolism is determined by that of the correlating of the allusion with the whole context of the recipient aesthetic structure. For literary allusion can be employed as an expression of identification of the author with the meaning of the quoted element, or on the contrary can express the distancing of the author from its original meaning.”¹⁹⁹ Our examples belong to the latter case. Although the Chinese original and the Japanese verses share some poetic images, associations, and even ideas, they are very different in

¹⁹⁸ Hirota Jirō 広田二郎 asserts that Bashō’s verse represents the philosophical thought of the original, but Abe Masafumi thinks that Bashō had not yet reached the point of absorbing the connotation of the original at the time. See Abe Masafumi, *Bashō renkushō*, 45. I am inclined to agree with Abe.

¹⁹⁹ Jessie Kocmanová, trans., Dionýz Ďurišin, *Theory of Literary Comparatistics* (Bratislava: Veda, Pub. House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1984), 171-172.

terms of central theme and main message. The political implication or philosophical depth in the Chinese texts are often replaced by depictions of common people's lives, or events associated with pleasure quarters. The interest of this kind of adaptation lies in the contrast between the foreign and the local, the traditional and the contemporary, the elegant and the vulgar. The bigger the contrast is, the more effective the *haikai* verses are. In this sense, they are essentially the same as the parody of Classical texts (both Japanese and Chinese) in the Danrin *haikai*, which also achieve *haikai* effect in the astonishing gap between source texts and *haikai* verses.²⁰⁰

It is worth noting that among the “Chinese style” verses that allude to Chinese texts, there already appeared some, although not many, that deal with impoverishment, oldness, reclusion, and desolation, the themes that became main stream in *haikai* of Bashō's school during the late 1680s. Most of them are from *Minashiguri*, and below is one of examples.

19. 沓は花貧重し笠はさん俵

Bashō²⁰¹

my shoes stepping on blossoms –	<i>kutsu wa hana</i>
the cap of rice container is my straw hat,	<i>hin omoshi kasa wa</i>
how poor I am!	<i>sandawara</i>

This verse is based on two lines from the poem “Sending off a monk” (*Song seng* 送僧) by the monk Shike 釋可士 – “my straw hat is heavy/ due to snow from the sky of the Wu region; my

²⁰⁰ An example of such Danrin *haikai* verse can be found in the footnote 136 of Chapter Three.

²⁰¹ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taiki*, 41.

sandals are fragrant/ due to blossoms on the ground of the Chu region” 笠重吳天雪，鞋香楚地花。²⁰² The original represents the pleasure wandering monks take in visiting various places and discovering the beauty of nature. They enjoy the wandering life, immersing themselves in nature and living in harmony with it. Bashō preserved the image of “shoes stepping on blossoms” but added a twist to the image of “snow on straw hat.” The hat here is not a real one but a substitute by a cap of a rice container, and what is heavy is not the hat but the degree of poverty. The verse thus becomes a somewhat humorous depiction of a blossom-viewing by a poor person. The poverty, however, does not have a negative impact on the person’s mood to enjoy cherry blossoms. Even though he could not afford a real straw hat, he is able to find a substitute, and the beauty of nature is no less. Kikaku, who composed the succeeding verse, actually saw the visage of Bashō in this poor person, since he added a verse directly related to Bashō – “Look! the master Bashō / is playing with the butterfly” (芭蕉あるじの蝶フタフタ丁見よ).²⁰³

Like the previous examples in this section, verse 19 also alludes to a Chinese text, altering the connotation and mood of the original. It also seeks *haikai* spirit in the vernacularization of the traditional and the parody of existing texts, like many Danrin *haikai* verses. Nevertheless, its dealing with the theme of poverty resonates with many Chinese recluse poetry, and its positive attitude toward poverty, although not common in *haikai* at the time, was prophetic of the future direction of Bashō’s *haikai*.

²⁰² The poem is included in *Quan Song shi*, vol. 4, 2633.

²⁰³ Ibid. The butterfly alludes to the story in the “On Equality of Things” (*Qiwu lun* 奇物論) section of the *Zhuangzi*, in which Zhuangzi dreams the he becomes a butterfly. When he wakes up, he wonders whether he becomes a butterfly in his dream, or the butterfly becomes him in the dream of the butterfly. Here Kikaku implies Bashō’s deep interest in the *Zhuangzi*.

Absorbing Poetic Essence of Chinese Literature

The reception of Chinese literature in “Chinese style” *haikai* does not stop at the level of form or content. Verses that inherit spirit of Chinese texts start to appear in *Jiin*, and show a steady increase from *Jiin* to *Musashiburi* to *Minashiguri*. The fact that it was a conscious effort of Bashō’s school at the time can be seen in the preface of *Minagushi*, which was written by Bashō.

The book called “Chestnuts” has four flavors. Some verses taste like liquor with spirit of Li Bo and Du Fu’s poetry, and some savor of porridge with essence of Hanshan’s songs. It is not surprising that these verses look deep and sound distant. Moreover, the aesthetics of *wabi* (beauty in poverty) and *fūga* (elegance) represented in this collection are exceptional. They are achieved through visiting Saigyō’s residence in a hill, and picking up the chestnuts that are damaged by insects and thus cold-shouldered by common people.²⁰⁴ Meanwhile, all kinds of emotions concerning love can be found here. The ancient beauty Xi Shi’s face hidden behind her hanging sleeves is turned to the image of Komurasaki, whose statue is also built in gold. The lady-in-waiting at the Shangyang Palace does not dress up so that the hangers in her bedroom become covered by ivies.²⁰⁵ As for low status people, there are depictions of a girl who is brought up with great care and always clings to her parents, and intense fight between mother-

²⁰⁴ Saigyō’s poetry collection is titled *Sankashū* 山家集, which literally means “a collection about a residence in a hill.” Therefore, “visiting Saigyō’s residence in a hill” implies that the verses draw upon on Saigyō’s poems.

²⁰⁵ Bashō gave two examples of love verses from the collection, both of which are adaptations of Chinese texts. The first is the verse 17 discussed in this chapter. The second is “dew on sleeves/ the hangers become covered by ivies” (*tsuyu wa sode/ ikō ni tsuta no kakaru made* 露は袖衣桁に蔦のかかる迄) composed by Kikaku. This verse is based on Bo Juyi’s poem “A Lady with Grey Hair at the Shangyang Palace” (Shangyang baifaren 上陽白髮人), which depicts the miserable life of a lady-in-waiting who was neglected by the Emperor Xuanzong of Tang due to Yang Guifei’s monopoly of the emperor’s love. Bearing the source story in mind, Kikaku created a scene that exteriorizes the life of being neglected: the lady does not dress up and her tears wet her sleeves.

in-law and daughter-in-law. The homosexual affairs related to *chigo* in temples and young men in Kabuki Theater are not absent as well.²⁰⁶ We transformed Bo Juyi's poetry into Japanese versions, attempting to provide a guide for *haikai* beginners. The expressions in this collection are effective, and they unify the fictional and the real. The poets refined verses in the treasure tripod and polished wordings in the dragon spring.²⁰⁷ The collection is certainly not a treasure for others yet. Nevertheless, you should cherish it and protect it from thieves, since its value will be recognized soon.²⁰⁸

Scholars have different opinions about what the “four flavors” refers to. Many think that the “four flavors” are four kinds of poetry represented by works of Li Bo and Du Fu as a group, Hanshan, Saigyō, and Bo Juyi, respectively.²⁰⁹ I agree with Satō Katsuaki, who claims that the “four flavors” refers to four distinctive features of the verses in this collection.²¹⁰ The first feature is “deep” and “distant,” which is a result of learning from the essence of Li Bo, Du Fu, and Hanshan's poetry. This shows that Bashō's circle attempted to attain sophistication and

²⁰⁶ *Chigo* (literally, children) refers to “adolescent males who were given room, board, and education in exchange for their companionship and sexual services, which they were obliged to provide to high-ranking clerics or elite courtiers.” See Paul Atkins, “Chigo in the Medieval Japanese Imagination,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67.3 (2008: 8): 947–970.

²⁰⁷ “Treasure tripod” alludes to the section of “Biography of Five Emperors” (*Wudi benji* 五帝本紀) in *Shiji* 史記, which states: “The Emperor Huang made three treasure tripods, in the shape of sky, earth and human being, respectively.” “Dragon Spring” alludes to the “Jin Taikang ji” 晉太康記 section of *Hou hanshu* 後漢書, which states, “There is a dragon spring in the county of Nanxiping. If you temper swords there, they will become especially sharp.”

²⁰⁸ The base text is from *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku taikai*, vol. 71, 177–178. I also consulted its annotation. A detailed analysis of the preface can be found in Sato Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyoto haidan*, 231–251.

²⁰⁹ See *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, 178, Shida Gishū 志田義秀, *Oku no hosomichi*, *Bashō*, *Buson* 奥の細道・芭蕉・蕪村 (Tokyo: Shūbunkan, 1946), 254, and Shiraishi Teizō 白石悌三, and Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, *Bashō monogatari: Shōfū no hito to shi no zentaizō o saguru* 芭蕉物語: 蕉風の人と詩の全体像をさぐる (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1977), 48.

²¹⁰ Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyoto haidan*, 234–235.

subtleness that was lack in preceding *haikai*, through connecting with Chinese classics on a spiritual level. The second refers to *wabi* and *fūga*, qualities Bashō claimed to have inherited from Saigyō's works. *Wabi* is an aesthetic that appreciates the simple, the austere, the poor, and the solitude. As Inoue points out, it is also a reflection of Bashō's life style –his positive attitude toward a poor life and his resolution to live as a recluse.²¹¹ *Fūga* (elegance), on the other hand, is a poetic ideal advocated by Bashō, especially in later years. In Shirane's words, it refers to "cultural practice of the highest order."²¹² According to *Sanzōshi* 三冊子 (Three Pamphlets, 1702), "Chinese poetry, *waka*, *renga*, and *haikai* are all *fūga*."²¹³ This preface is actually where Bashō first used this term. It is a starting point of Bashō's endeavor to sublimate *haikai* into a status equal to traditional poetic forms. Although Bashō only gave the name of Saigyō, he is a representative of a larger poetic tradition, both Japanese and Chinese, that crystallizes the two aesthetic ideals. Bashō emphasized that *wabi* and *fūga* are achieved through picking up "chestnuts that are damaged by insects and thus cold-shouldered by human beings," a metaphor for images and poetic associations ignored by predecessors. This is where the title of the collection "Empty Chestnuts" comes from, and it is an application of Daoist thoughts in *Zhuangzi*, which constantly demonstrates the worth of the useless. This method is exactly what the mature Bashō style is well known for: discovering the poetic truth that is shared with traditional poetic forms in the vernacular and the vulgar, the fields that were despised in traditional poetry.

²¹¹ Inoue Toshiyuki 井上敏幸, "Shōfū no kakuritsu to tenkai" 蕉風の確立と展開, *Iwanami kōza: Nihon bungakushi* 岩波講座 日本文学史, vol. 8, 81-118.

²¹² Haruo, Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 258.

²¹³ Ibid. *Sanzōshi* is a poetic treatise that records Bashō's teachings on *haikai* compositions. The author is Hattori Dohō 服部土芳 (1657-1730).

Another feature of this collection is the frequent and diverse depictions of love. Bashō gave examples that draw upon Chinese sources, and also indicated the wide range of topics that *haikai* can embrace – even emotions of low-ranking people and homosexual relationships are not excluded. He confessed that many of the verses transpose poems by Chinese poets such as Bo Juyi into a Japanese context, setting good examples for *haikai* learners. The last flavor is about expressions, which Bashō described as “shaking” and “unification of the fictional and the real,” phrases that are taken from *Zhuangzi yanzhai kouyi jiaozhu* 莊子瞻齋校註, an annotated text of the *Zhuangzi*.²¹⁴ The word “shaking” (*zhendong* 震動, *shindō* in Japanese) is used in the “Fati” of the original, describing the strong impact of Buddhist texts, and similarly, the *Zhuangzi*, on people’s mind.²¹⁵ Bashō borrowed this word to praise the effectiveness of the expressions. The relationship between “the fictional” 虛 and “the real” 實 is perceived as fluid and relative in the original, but in this preface, Bashō ignored the philosophical overtone but instead applied the two concepts to literary creation, emphasizing a perfect fusion of the fictional and the real. This again reflects a conscious revision of the Danrin *haikai*, which favored exaggeration, falsehood, and absurdity that divorced from the reality.²¹⁶

This preface provides invaluable materials for examining Bashō’s perception of *haikai* during the stage of “Chinese style,” especially around 1683, when *Minashiguri* was compiled. We can feel Bashō’s obsession with Chinese literature and thought at the time, and his eagerness to rectify the inclination of focusing on frivolity and fabrication in the Danrin *haikai*. It is evident

²¹⁴ See Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyoto haidan*, 245-246.

²¹⁵ “Fati” 發題 is an explanation of the motivation and the main purpose of a text.

²¹⁶ Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyoto haidan*, 245-246.

that Bashō's reception of Chinese literature is not restricted to one poet, school, or style. Kanda Hideo categorizes the Chinese texts that influenced Bashō into two groups: those having been read in Japan since the Heian period, and those transmitted to Japan by Gozan monks.²¹⁷ This preface coincides with his speculation: Bo Juyi's poetry is a favorite of the Heian aristocrats; Li Bo, Du Fu, and Hanshan's writings, and the *Zhuangzi* had not been widely read in Japan until Gozan monks transmitted and introduced them to Japanese audience. Not only are the two groups of works so different from each other, even the works in the same group, taking Li Bo, Du Fu, and Hanshan for instance, have distinctive styles. Bashō was not interested in one particular style at the time, and the features he attributed to each group of works are rather abstract and not exclusive. Depth, elegance, and an integration of the fictional and the real are indeed what these Chinese texts all have in common, and these are the characteristics that appealed to Bashō's circle and are regarded by them to be the essence of Chinese literature. Bashō resorted to these texts as remedies to rescue *haikai* from lacking content or profundity, aspiring to create *haikai* that absorb poetic essence of, and share motifs, conception, and spirit with, these Chinese poetic forerunners.²¹⁸

The preface, however, reflects no more than an ideal Bashō had in mind at the time. Was it put into practice? Was there a discrepancy between the ideal and the reality? In previous sections, we have seen many examples that connect with Chinese texts merely on the level of form or (and) content, and they constitute a considerable part of "Chinese-style" verses in the three anthologies. Nevertheless, it is also true that the effort of leaning from Chinese texts on a

²¹⁷ Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫, "Bashō to Chūgoku bungaku," *Bashō* 芭蕉 in *Nihon koten kanshō kōza* 日本古典鑑賞講座, vol.18 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 417-428.

²¹⁸ When I talk about the spirit of Chinese texts and the essence of Chinese literature here, I refer to what Bashō and his circle conceived of them as or at least what they claimed them to be rather than what they really are.

spiritual level increased from *Ji'in* to *Musashiburi*, and reached its peak in *Minashiguri*. An obvious example is the two verses below, which follow two lines of a Chinese poem included as a foreword at the beginning of the sequence “A floating world buoyed up by cherry blossoms” (*Hana ni ukiyo* 花はうきよ) in *Minashiguri*.

20. 憂方知酒聖，貧始覺錢神。

花にうき世我酒白く食黒し

Bashō

眠ヲ盡ス陽炎の瘦
カゲボシ

嵐雪 (Ransetsu)²¹⁹

Only when he feels sad does one know the “saint of sake,”

(*Ureetewa masani sake no hijiri o shiri*)

Only when he becomes poor does one realize the “god of wealth.”²²⁰

(*hinsureba hajimete zeni no kami o oboeru*)

In a floating world buoyed up by cherry blossoms,

Hana ni ukiyo

I drink white (unstrained) sake

wagasake shiroku

and eat black (unpolished) rice

meshi kuroshi

sleeping as much as he wishes –

nemuri o tsukusu

shadow of his slim body under the dazzling sunshine

kageboshi no yase

²¹⁹ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 18-19.

²²⁰ The “saint of sake” and the “gold of wealth” are personifications of sake and wealth, respectively, emphasizing on their power and value. This forward is from Bo Juyi’s poem “Ten Verses Composed during My Exile in the South” (Jiangnan zheju shiyun 江南謫居十韻), which laments his frustrated and impoverished life in *Jiangzhou*, where he was exiled to.

Including Chinese or *kan* verses as a forward seems to have been a fashion at the time, since all three *kasen* that include participation of Bashō in *Minashiguri* begin in this way. In this particular case, Bo Juyi's verses set a tone for the sequence. The opening verse does not directly take images from or adapt content of the Chinese poem, but instead takes over its connotation by creating new poetic scenes. Bashō made use of the dual meaning of the word *ukiyo* to create a contrast between the protagonist, who lives a sad life (*ukiyo*, 憂き世), and people living in the so-called floating world (*ukiyo*, 浮世), or a cheerful pleasure-seeking world. This contrast is further externalized by the juxtaposition of a colorful scene of a bustling cherry blossom viewing, and a black-and-white portrayal of a person having his simple and cheap meal alone. This way of intensifying the feeling of sadness and loneliness through a contrast to a lively and fun world is similar to the two lines of another Bo Juyi's poem - "while you are enjoying lives in the blooming season under the brocade curtains in the Palace Library, I am staying at a grass hut in the Mountain Lu on a rainy night" 蘭省花時錦帳下, 廬山雨夜草庵中, which he sent to his friend during his exile.²²¹ Although the parallel between "white sake" and "black rice" is likely to be influenced by Chinese poetry as well, what essentially connects Bashō's verse and Bo Juyi's poem is their representation of a poor and lonely life that is isolated from the outside world. The difference between the two is that while this kind of life was enforced on the speaker due to political failure in Bo's verse, the protagonist in Bashō's verse voluntarily chose this anti-social way of living, in other words, reclusion.²²² The benefit of this lifestyle is illustrated in the

²²¹ Bo Juyi's two lines are included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 440.

²²² This is an example of the gap between the original motif of a Chinese poem and what Bashō conceived of or interpreted (intentionally or unconsciously) as the motif of the work. Bo Juyi's poem laments the political failure of the speaker, but Bashō ignored the political implication and only inherited the theme of austere and impoverished life. Disappearance of political nuance is fairly common in Bashō's transformations of Chinese texts, and I will not reiterate it for later examples.

second verse of the sequence, which is likely an imaginary portrayal of Bashō's real life, serving as a salutation from Ransetsu to Bashō. Unlike workers or officials, who live a regular life, the protagonist can sleep as much as he wants. Despite his lack of wealth, which is reflected in his slim body, he enjoys his leisurely life. These two consecutive verses thus manifest a paradox of the life of a recluse: materially restrained and scanty, but spiritually free and fulfilling. Both the two sides of the coin are constantly represented in the "Chinese style" verses dealing with the theme of reclusion, which was particularly favored by Bashō. The following two hokku are both composed by Bashō shortly after he secluded to Fukagawa, outskirt of Edo.

21. 深川冬夜の感

櫓の聲波ヲうつて腸氷ル夜やなみだ²²³

My feeling on a winter night at Fukagawa: *Fukagawa fuyu no yo no kan*

Sound of skulls echoes in waves; *ro no koe name o*

my intestines feel freezing -- *utte hara kōru*

a night filled with tears *yoru ya namida*

22. 芭蕉野分して盥に雨をきく夜哉²²⁴

the banana tree in the storm -- *bashō nowaki shite*

a night when I listen to *tarai ni ame o*

the rain dripping on my washbasin *kiku yo kana*

These two verses are presented in a confessional style, inviting us to read them as reflections of Bashō's real life, although as some scholars point out, this difficult and lonely life in a humble

²²³ *Musashiburi in Nihon haisho taiki*, 6.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, 5.

hut might only exist in “poetic imagination.”²²⁵ The setting of the first verse is winter night, which is an extremely tough time for those who cannot afford warm clothes, heating equipment, or well-insulated house. Situated in a desolate place, the hut is so quiet that the protagonist can hear the sound of skulls hitting the waves, which makes him feel even colder. The second verse changes the setting to a rainy night, another situation in which poor people feel keenly the difficulty of their lives, especially if the rain is leaking through the roof. A sound is again used to intensify the tranquility and isolation of the neighborhood. This approach of “utilizing something moving to represent something static” (yi dong xie jing) 以動寫靜 is fairly common in Chinese poetry.²²⁶

What is the purpose, then, of creating a persona that lives such a seemingly miserable life? The preface of the second *hokku* provides a hint. It says: “The old man Du Fu composed a poem about his thatched hut being destroyed by wind.”²²⁷ Then Mr. Su Dongpo (1037-1101) was touched by this verse and also composed a verse on his residence’s leaking.²²⁸ I was able to

²²⁵ Scholars have disagreements on whether these verses are reflections of Bashō’s real life. Tanaka Yoshinobu 田中善信, for examples, claims that this kind of verses appeared immediately after Bashō secluded to Fukagawa, and they are Bashō’s laments on the difficult life that he was not used to yet. See Tanaka Yoshinobu, *Bashō tensei no kiseki* 芭蕉転生の軌跡 (Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobō, 1996), 139-152. Shirane, on the other hand, states “Later audiences were to look back on Bashō as a cultural hero, as recluse and traveler who had freed himself of the bonds of Tokugawa feudal society, but it was a freedom attained primarily in the poetic imagination.” Shiraishi Teizō even says that “Bashō’s grass hut existed only in the ‘communal imagination’ of the Bashō’s circle.” See both Shirane’s statement and translation of Shiraishi’s words in Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 67.

²²⁶ One example is “The forest feels more tranquil when cicadas chirp; the mountain becomes more secluded when birds sing” 蟬噪林逾靜，鳥鳴山更幽, two lines from the poem “Entering the Rouye Stream” (*Ru Ruoyexi* 入若耶溪) by Wang Ji 王籍.

²²⁷ This refers to Du Fu’s poem “Song of My Thatched Hut Being Destroyed by Autumn Wind” (*Maowu wei qiufeng suo po ge* 茅屋為秋風所破歌, 761)

²²⁸ This refers to Su Dongpo’s poem “A Reply to Zhu Guangting’s Favor of Rain” (*Ciyun Zhuguang ting xi yu*) 次韻朱光庭喜雨.

understand the rain in their worlds, by listening to the sound on leaves of my banana tree, when I slept alone in my grass hut.”²²⁹ This preface reveals that the speaker was able to spiritually communicate with Chinese ancients and discover poetic truth in his life of seclusion. At the time, Bashō was unsatisfied with the gradually commercialized *haikai* in big cities, and also realized the limitations of Danrin *haikai*. The reason why he retreated to Fukagawa is likely that he wanted to distance himself from the realistic, material world, and attempted to seek poetic essence in a tranquil, isolated environment. There, he was able to immerse himself in a fictional, literary world of *fūga* (elegance) created by predecessors, and meanwhile experience in some extent what are represented in those literary works, especially recluse literature, in real life.²³⁰ On the one hand, his understanding of recluse literature was deepened to a completely different level. On the other hand, inspired by precedence, he was able to discover new poetic images, associations, and ideas, and further re-create a world that connects with recluse literature, both Chinese and Japanese, on the spiritual level. Just as the preface of *Minashiguri* suggests, *wabi* and *fūga* are closely associated with each other for Bashō. A life of *wabi*, whether in reality or literary imagination, serves as a passport to the world of *fūga* as represented in classical literature.

The theme of reclusion is not only expressed in the way of self-portrayal, but is also fused in scenic depiction, as shown in the following *hokku*.

²²⁹ *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* 1: 68.

²³⁰ As mentioned earlier, it is not clear to what extent Bashō actually led an austere life, but it is a fact that he moved from the center of Edo to Fukagawa in 1680.

クハノミ
23. 榎 や花なき蝶の世捨酒

Bashō²³¹

A mulberry –	<i>kuwa no mi ya</i>
world-abandoning sake	<i>hana naki chō no</i>
for the butterfly who has lost blossoms	<i>yosutezake</i>

On the surface, this verse focuses on a butterfly that stays on a mulberry. Since the spring has passed, only the fruit is left, and the butterfly has no blossoms to take honey from. In the speaker's eyes, the butterfly looks sad and lonely, as if it were a recluse who has retired from the world, and the fruit functions as its consolation alcohol. The scenic depiction reflects no more than a personal, imaginary view of the speaker, who projected his own feelings on to the butterfly. This exemplifies the “fusion of scene and feelings” 景情融合, a commonly used method by Chinese poets including Du Fu. The verse thus transcends a mere scenic portrayal but also connotes a meaning. It gains a profundity and also seamlessly integrates the fictional and the real, both of the qualities stressed by Bashō in his preface to *Minashiguri*.

In the three “Chinese style” *haikai* anthologies, the recluse theme is frequently merged with the concept of *fūkyō* 風狂 (transcendental madness), which describes a state of being abnormal or eccentric, in the sense that the person transcends worldly norms. Peipei Qiu asserts that Bashō's *fūkyō*, which she translates as “poetic eccentricity,” “celebrates the ‘poor,’ the ‘solitude,’ the ‘useless,’ the idle,’ and the ‘unrestrained’.” “It poses an eccentric stance based on the negation of worldly values – a stance explicitly similar to that of the carefree wandering in

²³¹ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taiki*, 27.

the *Zhuangzi*.²³² There is no denying that the *Zhuangzi* had an indispensable influence on Bashō's *haikai* in general, and the carefree spirit of the *Zhuangzi* and the concept of *fūkyō* have a lot in common. Nonetheless, a thorough understanding of the *fūkyō* in Bashō's *haikai* cannot be obtained without considering how the word *fūkyō* (*fengkuang* in Chinese) was originally used in Chinese. Yokozawa Saburō 横沢三郎 discusses the usage of *fengkuang* in three Chinese texts: *Xu xianzhuan* 續仙傳, *Han Yu shi* 韓愈詩, and *Shantang sikao* 山堂肆考 (1595). He states that in the former two cases, the word refers to a state of being crazy in the sense that the person deviates from worldly norms. In the last text, the word is used to describe Hanshan, a Zen monk whose name is mentioned by Bashō in the preface to *Minashiguri*. According to Yokozawa, the word means that Hanshan is a person whose behaviors are so eccentric that he is not easy to get along.²³³ I disagree with this negative nuance in his explanation about *fengkuang* in the last case. Besides Hanshan, the word has also been associated with several other Zen monks, such as Puhua 普化 and Jigong 濟公 (1133-1209).²³⁴ The eccentric behaviors of these Zen monks are often considered not a violation of Buddhist precepts but rather a representation of a high-dimensional enlightenment. Their *fūkyō* thus implies that they have grasped the essence of

²³² Peipei Qiu, *Bashō and the Dao*, 64-65.

²³³ Yokozawa Saburō, *Haikai no kenkyū* 俳諧の研究 (Tokyo, Kadogawa Shoten, 1967), 24.

²³⁴ In "A Eulogy of the Monk Puhua" (*Puhua heshang zan* 普化和尚讚), the author Shi Huiyuan 釋慧遠 used *fengkuang* to describe Puhua. Jigong is depicted as *fengkuang* in "A Record of the Lingyin Temple" (*Lingyinsi zhi* 靈隱寺志).

Buddhism on a spiritual level and are no longer restrained by formal regulations. Among these monks, Hanshan is most relevant to Bashō and deserves a more detailed introduction.²³⁵

Hanshan lived in the Tang period, and his life is full of mysteries and paradoxes.²³⁶ He is generally known to be an eccentric recluse who wandered around and did not stick at trifles. Many of his behaviors did not comply with Buddhist discipline, but he was considered by Buddhist monks of later generations as a recantation of a bodhisattva.²³⁷ A considerable amount of his poems deal with the theme of reclusion. They are not restricted by formal regulations, and vernacular and even colloquial words are conspicuous. Nevertheless, he considered his poems to be “refined.”²³⁸ Perhaps due to the unconventional and vernacular nature, his poems remained outside the main stream of classical Chinese literature before the Qing period. In contrast, they gained tremendous popularity in Japan after being transmitted by Gozan monks during the 11th century.²³⁹ The “transcendental madness” exemplified by Hanshan and his poems was also inherited by some Japanese poets. One of the best-known examples is Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394~1481), a Zen monk who is famous for his unconventional behaviors and his free-style

²³⁵ For a systematic study on Hanshan, see Paul Rouzer, *On Cold Mountain: A Buddhist Reading of the Hanshan Poems* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017).

²³⁶ Not much is known about his life, and there are even doubts about the existence of him as a real person. See Qu Hong 區鉷 and Hu Anjiang 胡安江, “Hanshan shi zai riben de chuanbu yu jieshou” 寒山詩在日本的傳佈與接受, *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu* 外國文學研究 (2007: 3): 153.

²³⁷ See Su Ziqin 蘇自勤, “Hanshan qiren qishi” 寒山其人其詩, *Wenshi zazhi* 文史雜誌 (1991: 5): 20.

²³⁸ Hanshan said: “My poems should be considered to be refined” (*Wo shi he dianya* 我詩合典雅). See Ibid, 21.

²³⁹ Hu Anjian, “Hanshan shi zai riben de chuanbu yu jieshou”, 151-152. As a side information, Hanshan and his poems also gained popularity in the U.S. under the trend of “Beat generation literature,” especially fascinated by Gary Snyder. See Chen Minzhen 陳民鎮, “Hanshan shi zai riben, meiguo de liubo” 寒山詩在日本、美国的流播, *Shanxi shida xuebao: shehui kexue ban* 陝西師大學報, 社會科學版 (2009: 9): 129-131.

poems usually categorized as *kyōshi* 狂詩 (crazy poems). Many of Bashō's *haikai* verses are also labeled as representations of *fūkyō*, and Ogata Tsutomu even calls the period of 1684-1699 “a season of *fūkyō*.”²⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the spirit of *fūkyō* can already be seen in “Chinese style” verses as follows.

24. 禅小僧とうふに月の詩ヲ刻ム

Bashō²⁴¹

a young Zen monk

Zen kozō

inscribes a moon verse

tofu ni tsuki no

on a piece of tofu

shi o kizamu

25. 月兮月兮西瓜に劍ヲ曲カナデケル

Kikaku²⁴²

is it because of the moon?

tsuki nareya tsuki nareya

he brandishes a sword

suika ni tsurugi o

toward a watermelon

kanadekeru

In both verses, the exaggeration, absurdity, and the somewhat funny effect show traces of Danrin *haikai*, which had still haunted Bashō and his disciples at the time. Nevertheless, the verses do not stop at the level of inviting laughter or creating the novel and the strange, but further embody an absolute, whole-hearted, and sometimes even excessive pursuit of elegance (*fūga*). The Zen

²⁴⁰ Ogata Tsutomu, “Fūkyō no kisetsu” 風狂の季節, *Haiku kōza* 俳句講座 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1959), vol. 1: 189.

²⁴¹ *Jiin in Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 269.

²⁴² *Minashiguri in Nihon haisho taikēi*, 22.

monk in verse 24 is so fascinated with the moon verse that he even inscribes it on his food. In verse 25, the cause of the protagonist's unconventional action is his being carried away by the moon, a symbol of elegance in both Chinese and Japanese traditions. These eccentric behaviors resulted from an infatuation with *fūga* is what characterizes Bashō's *fūkyō*. Compared to Hanshan and Ikkyū, Bashō's *fūkyō* has less Buddhist nuance, but it shares with the other two a rejection of what are worldly considered "normal," and a deeper understanding, of the aesthetics of *fūga* in Bashō's case, and of Buddhist doctrine in the other two cases.

In all of the three anthologies of "Chinese style" *haikai*, there exist verses that demonstrate Bashō's *fūkyō*, but many of them have not completely departed from Danrin *haikai*, as in verses 24-25, especially in terms of the manner of representation. Verses 20-23 also essentially represent a world of *fūkyō*, although they have a more serious tone, and the "madness" here is explicitly and specifically linked to *wabi*, a life style that goes against worldly values, and reclusion, a complete abandoning of the mundane world. This kind of verses inherit the spirit of Chinese and Japanese recluse poetry, and they are portentous of the future direction of Bashō's *haikai*. Nonetheless, they had not yet dominated in the "Chinese style" *haikai*: most of them were composed by Bashō himself, and even Bashō had not settled on this one style during the time.²⁴³

Although scholars often emphasize the significance of *wabi*-aesthetics and recluse theme in the "Chinese style" *haikai*, there actually co-exist verses that have a very different, if not opposite, style. If we say the verses with a recluse theme are like landscape ink paintings, then these verses resemble colorful portrayals of court ladies (*shin'nyō* 仕女圖). With flamboyant

²⁴³ Another poet who secluded in real life and had a close affinity with the recluse theme is Yamaguchi Sodō, who will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

images and mostly love-related topics, they exhibit a world of *en* 艶 (literally, colorful and flowery), an aesthetic that is of significance in both Chinese and Japanese classical poetry. Some scholars consider these verses no more than a reflection of real lives of Kikaku and Ransetsu, both of whom had indulged themselves in dissipation.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, this alone could not explain the frequent occurrences of this kind of style, and many other poets including Bashō composed in this vein.

26. 梅柳さぞ若衆哉女かな Bashō²⁴⁵

Plum blossoms and willow leaves -	<i>ume yanagi</i>
they are just like beautiful young men	<i>sazo wakashu kana</i>
and pretty women	<i>onna kana</i>

27. 花芙蓉美女湯あがりて立りけり Sodō²⁴⁶

Like a rose,	<i>hana fuyō</i>
the beauty just finishes taking bath	<i>bijo yu agarite</i>
and stands up	<i>tachirikeri</i>

28. 我や来ぬひと夜よし原天川 Ransetsu²⁴⁷

I did come	<i>ware ya kinu</i>
to spend an amazing night at Yoshiwara	<i>hitoyo yoshiwara</i>

²⁴⁴ See Ishikawa Shinkō, “Tenna ki no shōfū haikai,” 14.

²⁴⁵ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 4.

²⁴⁶ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 28.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 30.

during the Tanabata Festival	<i>ama no kawa</i>	
29. 名盛や作恋五郎花さだめ		Kikaku ²⁴⁸
at the height of his fame,	<i>nazakari ya</i>	
the Dandified and Amorous Fifth Son	<i>date koi Gorō</i>	
appraises various flowers ²⁴⁹	<i>hana sadame</i>	

Both Bashō and Sodō had already retired from the world at the time, and both of them are celebrated for their recluse poems. Verses 26 and 27, however, represent a very different world. Verse 26 is a depiction of landscape, but the comparison of plum blossoms and willow leaves to male and female beauties, which insinuates male and female prostitutes, reflects the viewer's inner self. When comparing this verse with verse 23, it is clear that the two speakers have very different attitudes toward life—one senses a world-abandoning tendency in the butterfly, and the other sees amorousness in flowers. It is worth noting that this verse is not an accident for Bashō, and he was actually very proud of this verse, since he included it as one of the seven representative verses of the time (spring in 1682), in his letter to his disciple Bokuin 木因 (1646-1725).²⁵⁰ Unlike verse 26, verse 27 is a direct portrayal of a beauty. It captures one of the sexiest moments of a woman, and is imbued with an amorous atmosphere. Verses 28 and 29 both involve pleasure quarters, and the scenes are very much like the ones in *kōshokumono* 好色物

²⁴⁸ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikē*, 4.

²⁴⁹ The “Dandified and Amorous Fifth Son” is a literal translation of Datekoi Gorō 作恋五郎, the nickname given to the man. The word Datekoi has dual meanings: the Japanese reading *date* describes a dandy, and the assigned kanji compound is a temporarily made word, presumably meaning “to make romantic relationships.” Gorō is a common Japanese name, usually given to the fifth son of the family.

²⁵⁰ Three of the seven verses are composed by Bashō. In the letter, the verse is transcribed as 梅柳嚙若衆哉女哉. See Ishikawa Shinkō, “Tenna ki no shōfū haikai,” 1 and Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyoto haidan*, 24-25.

(amorous stories), such as *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 (Life of an Amorous Men, 1682).

In verse 28, the Tanabata, a date when the separated couple Niulang 牛郎 and Zhinü 織女 can meet in a Chinese legend, becomes an excuse for the protagonist to spend a night with his lover in Yoshiwara. In verse 29, the man has earned a reputation as a great lover, and he is showing his connoisseurship, in flowers on the surface, and in courtesans, which is implied.

About these *en* verses, Ishikawa Shinkō thinks that on the one hand, they accord with the current of the time. Beauty portrayals (*bijinga* 美人画) by Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1619-1694) were popular at the time, and Saikaku's *Life of an Amorous Man* was published in 1682. On the other hand, he emphasizes that the main source of these creations should be traced back to the *en* (*yan* in Chinese) poems in China. He gives examples to show how the *en* verses build on, allude to, and gain inspiration from Chinese poems.²⁵¹

I generally agree with Ishikawa. If we see the above examples, comparing flowers to a beauty in verse 26 has precedence in Chinese poetry; verse 27 reminds us of the scene in “Song of Everlasting Sorrow” 長恨歌 that Yang Guifei takes bath before she spends the first night with the emperor and a maid helps her to stand up after taking the bath. What I want to add to Ishikawa's argument about Chinese influence is that the function of Chinese poetry is not limited to providing materials and poetic ideas (not all the *en* verses are adaptations of Chinese poems), and the subject of this influence is not limited to the amorous poems, or any certain number of Chinese texts. I believe what is behind these *en haikai* verses is a desire to pursue the spirit of *fengliu* 風流 (*fūryū* in Japanese), which was so important to ancient Chinese literati, in the respects of both their personal lives and their literary productions.

²⁵¹ Ishikawa Shinkō, “Tennaki no shōfū haikai,” 1-20.

According to Konishi, an ideal life for a Chinese courtier is to comply with Confucianism in public and behave in a *fengliu* manner in private. Chinese *fengliu* “signified an idealized sphere of worldly pleasures and was symbolized by four components: zither, poetry, wine, and singing-girls.” The fourth component “became the focus of intense consciousness with the Tang period.” Nevertheless, only when accompanied with a witty, poetic refinement does sexual pleasure become associated with *fengliu*. Konishi argues that during what he calls “Early Middle Ages” (roughly corresponding with the Heian period), *fengliu* had been well incorporated into aristocratic life in Japan: “the leading principles of the Early Middle Ages, *miyabi* and amorousness, are both equivalent to the Chinese principle of *feng-liu*.” He further points out that *fengliu* is closely associated with *en*, another term incorporated from China and what he calls “the highest aesthetic ideal” for Japanese during the period.²⁵²

What Konishi analyzes is how *fengliu* and *yan* were received and adapted by Japanese aristocrats during the Heian period, but as we can see, the spirit of *fengliu*, accommodated into an Edo context this time, is also inherited in the *en* verses by Bashō’s school. Beneath the

²⁵² “Konishi Jin’ichi, Earl Roy Miner, trans., *A History of Japanese Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), vol.2, 129-139. Chen Yan 陳炎 also has a similar view that the quality of *fengliu* can often be seen in the elegant writings of Tang literati. Yue Hong points out that the usage of the term *fengliu* in the romantic sense did not appear until the ninth century. “During the Liu Song period (420-479), for example, *fengliu* was associated with certain Eastern Jin (317-420) elites who were characterized by a nonconformist spirit and unrestrained demeanor.” “By the ninth century, the term *fengliu* came to refer to the romantic relationships between literati and demimondaine. A literatus’ *fengliu* image was closely related to his frequent visits to the entertainment quarters, his affairs with courtesans, and his fondness for composing romantic poems and stories.” See Chen Yan, “Bu shang liufa shang fengliu” 不尚禮法尚風流, *Zibo xueyuan xuebao* 淄博學院學報 51 (1999: 20): 31-33 and Yue Hong, *The Discourse of Romantic Love in Ninth Century Tang China*, PhD dissertation (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2010). Peipei Qiu argues that “Ikkyū’s *furyū* places fundamental emphasis on unconventionality, or transcending the worldly by being unconventional.” See “Aesthetic of Unconventionality: Fūryū in Ikkyū’s Poetry,” *Japanese Language and Literature* 35.2 (2001: 1): 135-156.

depictions of physical attractions and sensual pleasures in these verses is a representation of refinement, which essentially distinguishes these verses from love verses in Danrin's *haikai*. When Bashō commented on the love verses in the *Minashiguri*, many of which are what I call *en* verses, he brought up Bo Juyi's poetry as a model. It is not a coincidence that Bo Juyi was considered the representative of the Chinese *fengliu* by Heian aristocrats.

When we understand the *en* verses in the framework of *fengliu*, it becomes more reasonable that they can be in harmony with the *wabi* verses in the same sequence or anthology. Although *en* and *wabi* are two distinctive aesthetics that reflect two seemingly contradictory life styles—one is to enjoy worldly pleasures, especially sensual pleasures, and the other is to abandon worldly attachments—they are unified by a motivation to discover poetic refinement in life. *Fūryū* and *fūkyō*, the personas often associated with the two aesthetics, respectively, also share an elegant nature. In both cases, behaviors that are not considered appropriate for common people—love affairs in the former, and eccentric behaviors in the latter—are glorified as a representation of a deeper understanding of elegance.

As we have seen, in their attempt to absorb the essence of Chinese poetry, Bashō's circle not only modeled after Chinese recluse poetry, but also composed *en* verses that incorporate the spirit of *fengliu*. Both the concept of *fengliu* and the recluse theme had already been well received by Japanese authors before Bashō's time: *fengliu* was well fused in lives of Japanese aristocrats and also their literary works, especially during the Heian period; Chinese recluse poetry also had an influential impact on many of literary works during the medieval Japan. Through re-creating verses in these two veins, Bashō's circle was able to connect with not only Chinese poetic traditions, but also Japanese precedents, on a spiritual level. As Bashō explicitly

stated in later years, *fūga* (elegance, or refinement) is the shared characteristics of these Chinese and Japanese models, and thus became a standard for Bashō's school to follow.

Conclusion

According to Kon Eizō, “Chinese style” *haikai* arose in Kyoto at first, and *Comfortable Voice* (*Anraku no koe* 安楽音, 1681) is the earliest extant *haikai* anthology that includes “Chinese style” verses.²⁵³ This incorporation of Chinese elements soon became a fashion in the *haikai* world, and Bashō's circle, which was based in Edo, also followed the trend. At the time, Bashō had already realized the limitations of the Danrin *haikai*, and the “Chinese style” emerged as a possibility to infuse new blood, and to restore the literariness that was eventually lost in the Danrin *haikai*. It was an experimental stage for Bashō's school before they developed a definite direction of their own style, and their “Chinese style” verses indeed present a diversity, no matter in aesthetic styles, or in the ways the Chinese elements are blended.

The fusion of Chinese ingredients in their verses starts from the level of form. Not only are Chinese wordings and expressions imported, but the orthographies of *kanbun* texts and Japanese *kundoku* reading of Chinese texts are also utilized. These are attempts to seek novelties in linguistic forms, and to create a humorous effect in the juxtaposition of the alien components and a Japanese context. They are similar to the *kan* verses in *wakan haikai*, which also take advantage of orthography and rely on visual textuality in achieving *haikai* effects. Many of the “Chinese style” verses also draw upon, allude to, or gain inspiration from Chinese texts on the content level. Most of them reconstruct the poetic images, ideas, and associations of the Chinese

²⁵³ Kon Eizō, “Danrin haikaishi” 談林俳諧史, *Haiku kōza* 俳句講座, 56.

sources into a new, localized context, transforming, twisting, and even inverting the connotation of the original. These verses are essentially not so different from the parody of classical texts in the Danrin *haikai*, since in both cases, the interest lies in the humor and wit due to a disjunction between the original and the adaptation.

Among the manifold endeavors of Bashō's circle to infuse Chinese elements, the highlight is their conscious effort of absorbing the spirit of Chinese literary texts, which distinguishes them from other poets who also composed "Chinese style" *haikai*. Despite his interests in a wide range of Chinese texts with different styles, Bashō regarded their shared characteristics to be profundity and elegance (*fūga*), which, for him, were remedies to rescue *haikai* from lacking depth or losing literariness, and weapons to sublimate *haikai* to a serious art. Bashō's circle especially favored recluse poetry and amorous verses, which are associated with the concept of *fengkuang* and the spirit of *fengliu*, respectively. The two themes seem to contradict with each other, but they are unified by a pursuit of elegance. The recluse theme along with the *wabi* aesthetics, which appreciates the impoverished, the austere, and the solitude, eventually became the main stream in Bashō's *haikai* during the late 1680s, the time when the so called Bashō style had already matured.

Đurišin categorized the forms of interliterary reception into integrating forms and differentiating forms. In the former, "the prevalent element among the constituents involved is that of identification." "In other words, interliterary items of information participate in the construction of the recipient literary structure in their positive significance." In the latter, "the prevalent endeavor is to stress the distinction, to take up a negative attitude towards the nature of the received side."²⁵⁴ As we have seen, the "Chinese style" *haikai* by Bashō's circle involves

²⁵⁴ Dionýz Đurišin, *Theory of Literary Comparatistics*, 166.

both of the two kinds of reception. On the one hand, in some cases, Chinese elements – form or (and) content – are brought in as antithetical, or at least alien, to Japanese elements, and the symbiosis, contrast, and integration of the two distinctive constituents lead to humorous and witty effects that are especially sought after in the early stage of *haikai* development. On the other hand, the *haikai* poets looked up to Chinese literature as a model and standard, attempting to identify their works with the older, highly-developed literature and culture. The authority of Chinese literature assisted in elevating *haikai* into a serious art. Nonetheless, only when the genre of *haikai* divorced from imitation, adaptation, and allusion of Chinese literature on superficial levels – that is to say, on the levels of form and content – and creatively integrated the spirit and essence of Chinese literature into Japanese contemporary reality and aesthetics, did it thoroughly assimilate the “Chinese spirit” and evolve to a form with high literary values that is a representative of national literature.²⁵⁵ This process was not fully completed until the late 1680s. In the early 1680s, the recluse theme and *wabi*-aesthetics had not yet dominated Bashō’s *haikai*, and traces of Danrin *haikai* –such as exaggeration, absurdity, and comic effect –still remain, even in the recluse verses. Moreover, the reception of Chinese literature on the spiritual level is often combined with a mixture of “Chinese style” orthographies, or (and) appropriation of Chinese content. It is no wonder Bashō admitted that many verses in *Minashiguri* have limitations when he reflected on these compositions in his letter to Hanzan in 1685.²⁵⁶ Without the brain storm in this transitional period, however, Bashō’s school would not have been able to discover the treasures in Chinese literature that contributed to the evolution of their *haikai* to the

²⁵⁵ Here, “the essence and spirit of Chinese literature” and “Chinese spirit” refer to what they are conceived of and interpreted as by Bashō’s circle.

²⁵⁶ Abe Masami, “Tennachō no jidai” 天和調の時代, *Senshū jinbun ronshū* 専修人文論集 44 (1989: 9): 30.

next level. Meanwhile, the realization in the significance of the spirit of poetry laid a foundation for the linking technique called *nioizuke* 匂付 (link by connotation or atmosphere), another hallmark of Bashō's *haikai*.

Chapter Five

Mediating Between Chinese Studies and Bashō: Yamaguchi Sodō and his Interactions with Bashō

Bashō is generally known to have been deeply influenced by Chinese literature and thought. His obsession with Chinese literature and his appropriation of Chinese sources in the “Chinese style” *haikai* during the early 1680s have been discussed in Chapter Four. There remain questions, however, as to the process of his reception of continental literature and culture. For example, to what extent did he understand Chinese language? Was his knowledge of Chinese studies gained through reading Chinese sources in the original, or in other forms, such as translation, Japanese commentary, manual, or quotation and mention of Chinese texts in Japanese works? Did his reception of Chinese literature benefit from taking lessons from or communicate with other people? In a word, was Bashō’s contact with Chinese literature and culture direct or mediated?

There are certainly no simple answers to these questions, and it is almost impossible to restore a complete and thorough picture with regard to the procedure of Bashō’s reception of Chinese literature. This chapter aims to provide clues and cast light on these questions through investigating Bashō’s interactions with Yamaguchi Sodō, who not only constantly discussed with Bashō on Chinese matters but also composed a *wakan haikai* sequence together with Bashō. Since Sodō is not familiar to English readers, this chapter begins with an introduction of Sodō as an important literary figure. Then it discusses Bashō and Sodō’s personal and literary interactions as preserved in literary records, including their activities as *haikai* poets, and also their correspondence in which Sodō wrote in *kanbun*. Moreover, the *wakan haikai* sequence

composed by the two poets will be scrutinized. It serves as a good example of the juxtaposition and interplay between *wa* and *kan* verses, and meanwhile provides precious materials for us to examine Bashō's ability of composing in *kanbun*, and the two poets' communications on China-related topics. Based on these records of their interactions, and also a comparison of their poetics, this chapter seeks to demonstrate the important role Sodō played in the establishment of the so-called Bashō style.

*Yamaguchi Sodō*²⁵⁷

Sodō was born as the eldest son of the Yamaguchi family in Kai Province (modern Yamanashi Prefecture) in 1642 (Kan'ei 19). His first name was Nobuaki 信章, and his *zi* 字 (style name) includes Shishin 子晋 and Kōshō 公商. Although his family was extremely wealthy, Sodō gave up the headship, changed his name to Kanbei 勘兵衛 and went to Edo (modern Tokyo) to study, perhaps when he was about twenty years old.²⁵⁸ According to the topography of Kai Province, Sodō studied in Edo under Hayashi Shunsai 林春斎 (1618-1680, also called Hayashi Gahō 林鷺峯), the third son of the famous Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657) and a well-known Confucian scholar himself. Sodō also went to Kyoto.

²⁵⁷ Ogino Kiyoshi 荻野清's "Yamaguchi Sodō no kenkyū jō" 山口素堂の研究 上, *Kokugo kokubun* 国語国文 2-1 (1932: 1): 118-138 and "Yamaguchi Sodō no kenkyū ge" 山口素堂の研究 下, *Kokugo kokubun* 国語国文 2-2 (1932: 2): 56-79 are generally regarded to be the standard study on Sodō. Huang Dongyuan 黄東遠 summarizes the study on Sodō's life since Ogino's articles in "Yamaguchi Sodō nenpu kōshō" 山口素堂年譜考証, *Gengo buka kenkyūjo kiyō* 言語文化研究所紀要 9 (2004:3): 35-51. This section of recounting Sodō's life is based on these three articles unless otherwise noted. I will explain when Ogino and Huang have disagreements.

²⁵⁸ Ogino states that the specific year when Sodō went to Edo is not clear, but it is likely that he was around twenty years old. Huang confirms that the specific year is still unclear when his article was published.

There he studied calligraphy, *waka*, and *haikai* from the prestigious Jimyōin 持明院 family, Shimizudani 清水谷 family, and Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624-1705), respectively.²⁵⁹

The existing earliest poetic work of Sodō is the five *hokku* 発句 under the name of Yamaguchi Nobuaki included in the *haikai* collection *Ise odori* 伊勢踊 (Ise Dance, 1668).²⁶⁰ These verses show characteristics of Teimon style. In 1674, Sodō went to Kyoto, and Kigin hosted a welcome party for him. The 100-verse sequence composed in this occasion was collected in the *Nijukkai shū* 廿会集 (1676) compiled by Kigin. In 1675, Sodō participated in a 100-verse *haikai* composition with other poets including Bashō to welcome Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因 (1605-1682), the central figure of the Danrin School. This was the starting point of his frequent interactions with Bashō, and also a turning point in his *haikai* career. From this year to 1678, he had been fascinated with the Danrin-style and had never been more productive in his life. Below is one of his most famous *haikai* verses, which was composed during this time.

before my eyes, green leaves;	<i>me ni wa aoba</i> 目には青葉
mountain cuckoo;	<i>yama hototogisu</i> 山ほととぎす
the first bonito	<i>hatsukatsuo</i> はつ鰯 ²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō nenpu kōshō,” 36. Ogino has doubts about Sodō being a disciple of Kigin. He thinks that the materials supporting the master-disciple relationship of the two are insufficient. See Ogino Kiyoshi, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kenkyū jō,” 130.

²⁶⁰ *Hokku* refers to the opening verse of a linked verse sequence.

²⁶¹ The text is from an annotated version of *Tokutoku no kuawase* とくとくの句合 included in Bashō and Sodō, 159. This verse was composed in Kamakura, where bonito is a famous product. By juxtaposing the three objects, this verse makes readers feel the early summer in Kamakura through three senses: seeing the green leaves, hearing

Sodō took the name of Raisetsu 来雪 in 1678. In the same year, he travelled to Nagasaki, a dream place for literati at the time, and returned to Edo the next year. Within the two years since his return, he rarely composed verses. Ogino thinks that this was a transitional period when Sodō had realized the limitations of the Danrin-style and was preparing to head to a new direction.²⁶² Sometime between 1679 and 1681, Sodō moved to the vicinity of the Shinobazu pond (不忍池) to live as a recluse.²⁶³ Before that, he served as an official, but his title and the dates when he started and resigned the post are unknown. He first used the name of Sodō in the *haikai* collection *Haimakura* 誹枕 (1680), for which he was invited to write a preface for the first time. Several years after that, he further moved to Atake 阿武 of the Katsushika 葛飾 Ward.²⁶⁴ He fully enjoyed the quiet and peaceful life far from the mundane world in his hut, where he planted lotus in the pond and built a chrysanthemum garden. This new home was close to Bashō's hut in Fukagawa 深川, which made it possible for him to communicate with Bashō and his disciples more frequently. Even after his retirement, he had been active in the *haikai* world for a while. Besides composing *haikai* verses, he also served as judges in *haikai* compositions, and wrote prefaces for *haikai* collections per request. His *haikai* during this period

the song of mountain cuckoo, and eating the earliest bonito in season. It describes everyday life in a light tone, which is a typical Danrin-style.

²⁶² Ogino Kiyoshi, "Yamaguchi Sodō no kenkyū jō," 131.

²⁶³ The Shinobazu pond is located in the southwest of the Ueno Park in modern Tokyo.

²⁶⁴ Ogino thinks it was around 1685-1686. Huang thinks it was sometime between 1685 and 1687.

concentrated on creating a world of seclusion and elegance (*fūga* 風雅), as shown in the following verse included in the *haikai* collection *Musashiburi* 武蔵曲 (1682).

In the best season for bonito --	<i>katsuo no toki</i> 鰯の時
I am eating tofu at my hut	<i>yado wa amayo no</i> 宿は雨夜の
on a rainy night	<i>tōfu kana</i> と う ふ 哉 ²⁶⁵

Sodō's enthusiasm for *haikai*, however, seems to have gradually faded from 1691 (Genroku 4), as the amount of *haikai* verses he composed decreased remarkably. After Bashō's death in 1694, Sodō was further cut off from the outside world: he rarely participated in *haikai* gatherings, and most of his *haikai* verses were not for social purposes but rather personal. His relatively indifferent attitude toward *haikai*, however, did not prevent people from inviting him to write prefaces or postscripts for their *haikai* books. Even after 1694, he wrote more than ten prefaces and postscripts. This reflects that he had still been well regarded and highly respected in the *haikai* world.

²⁶⁵ This verse builds on the two lines of the poem Bo Juyi (772-846) sent to his friend while staying at his grass hut in the Mountain Lu after his exile – “while you are enjoying lives in the blooming season under the brocade curtains in the Palace Library, I am staying at a grass hut in the Mountain Lu on a rainy night.” Like Bo Juyi, Sodō also highlighted his poor and solitary life through making a contrast to others – in his case, those living in the mundane world who are enjoying the delicious bonitos. This verse is in the so-called “Chinese style” – it not only adopts the Chinese particle 哉 and borrows images and phrases from the Chinese poem, but also connects with the original on the spiritual level, re-creating a world of poverty and loneliness that reflects his own life. The text is from Bashō to Sodō, 219, and my interpretation also consulted the annotation of this verse.

In 1695, Sodō's mother passed away.²⁶⁶ Following her dying wish, he temporarily returned to Kai province and went to the Mountain Minobu 身延山. His works related to this journey, including six *kanshi*, seven *waka*, seven *hokku*, and also prose, were collected in *Journey to a Mountain in the Kai Province (Kaizan kikō 甲山紀行)*.²⁶⁷ In the next year, he returned to Kai province again, and this time he had supervised flood prevention works conducted at River Nigori 濁川 for about two months at request of Sakurai Masayoshi 桜井政能 (1649-1731).

During his last years, Sodō had financial difficulties, probably because his hut frequently suffered from fire, and his family also declined. His passion for travelling, however, did not vanish. He went to pilgrimages six times in the last eight years, visiting various places, and Kyoto seemed to be his favorite. He selected his own *haikai* verses and compiled a collection titled *Tokutoku no kuai* とく とくの句合, putting verses with similar topics in pairs to compete with each other and judging which one is the winner by himself.²⁶⁸ This collection was not published until 1735, but it was likely to be compiled in his 70s. In 1716, Sodō died in his hut at the age of 75, and was buried in the Kannōji 感応寺 Temple.

Although the above narration about Sodō's life may give an impression that Sodō's main literary pursuit was in the field of *haikai*, he was far more than a *haikai* poet. He had broad interest in *waka*, *nō*, calligraphy, tea ceremony, and flower arrangement, and what most

²⁶⁶ Ogino thinks that Sodō's mother passed away in 1690. Nevertheless, there is a record showing that Sodō invited friends to celebrate his mother's birthday in 1692, and Sodō's friend Chikudō presented a *kanshi* to Sodō's mother's tomb in 1695. See Huang Dongyuan, "Yamaguchi Sodō nenpu kōshō," 41.

²⁶⁷ This travelogue is included in *Sodō kashū* 素堂家集 (1721) compiled by Sodō's disciple Shikō 子光 (?-?).

²⁶⁸ An annotated typeset version of the collection is included in Kusumoto Mutsuo 楠元六男, *Bashō to Sodō* 芭蕉と素堂 (Tokyo: Chikurinsha, 2013).

distinguishes him from other *haikai* poets, including Bashō, are his accomplishments in Chinese studies and his ability of writing excellent poems and essays in *kanbun*. Unfortunately, many of Sodō's *kanbun* works are not dated, so it is difficult to incorporate them in the narration about his life. Sodō did not compile a *kanshi* collection by himself, but his disciple Shikō 子光 (dates unknown) collected both his Japanese and *kanbun* works in the anthology *Sodō kashū* 素堂家集 (A Private Collection of Sodō's works, 1721).²⁶⁹ According to Huang Dongyuan's statistics, there are 59 extant *kanbun* works by Sodō.²⁷⁰ Nearly half of them are related to reclusion; nature and travelling are also Sodō's favorite topics. Huang annotates the *kanbun* works and summarizes three main features of Sodō's *kanbun* works: frequent engagement with reclusion, word play in some works, and emphasis on morality.²⁷¹ Besides his solo works, Sodō also composed *kan* verses in linked verse gatherings. In 1689, he contributed a *kan* verse to the 8-verse *wakan haikai* sequence composed at Sakaori no miya in honor of Yamato Takeru, who is said to have stayed at Sakori no miya on his return journey from expedition. In 1692, he collaborated with Bashō in a 100-verse *wakan haikai* sequence. I will discuss this sequence in detail in a later section.

²⁶⁹ A typeset version of *Sodō kashū* is included in Itō Shōu 伊藤松宇 and Tsunoda Chikuryō 角田竹涼, ed., *Haisho shūran* 俳書集覽, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Shōu Chikurei Bunko, 1926).

²⁷⁰ 59 works include 57 works included in two different manuscript versions of *Sodō kashū* and two works included in other manuscripts. See Huang Dongyuan, "Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun" 山口素堂の漢詩文, *Wakan hikaku bungaku* 和漢比較文学 33 (2004: 8): 16.

²⁷¹ Huang Dongyuan, "Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun no tokushoku ni tsuite" 山口素堂の漢詩文の特色について, *Nihongo to nihon bungaku* 日本語と日本文学 39 (2004: 9): 33-47 summarizes the features of the works and also annotated half of them. The other half are annotated in Huang Dongyuan, "Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun goshaku" 山口素堂の漢詩文語釈, *Nihon bunka kenkyū* 日本文化研究 15 (2004): 83-104. Nieda Tadashi 仁枝忠 also annotates Sodō's 56 *kanshi* in "Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi" 山口素堂の漢詩, *Tsuyama kōgyō kōtō senmon gakkō kiyō* 津山工業高等専門学校紀要 13 (1976: 2): 96-130.

Not only did Sodō write in *kanbun*, he also had close ties with Confucian scholars. As mentioned above, he was introduced to the world of Chinese studies by Hayashi Shunsai. This gave him the license to contact with the Hayashi family, the most prestigious family of Chinese studies at the time. He was particularly close to Hitomi Chikudō 人見竹洞 (c. 1638-1696), a Confucian official who was also a disciple of the Hayashi family. There are various literary records showing their interactions, including Chikudō's visits to Sodō's hut, Sodō's receiving a koto from Chikudō as a gift, Chikudō's sending a poem to Sodō mourning his mother, and Chikudō's writing an essay about Sodō's ink stone.²⁷² Due to his close relationships to both Confucian scholars and *haikai* poets, Sodō was able to serve as a bridge between the two groups. Meanwhile, his background in Chinese studies and *kanshi* had great impact on his *haikai* compositions, enabling him to develop distinctive poetic sentiments from other *haikai* poets and bring freshness and sophistication into the *haikai* world.

Sodō and Bashō as Haikai Buddies

A contemporary of Bashō, Sodō's trajectory of *haikai* career overlapped with Bashō's in many respects. Only two years older than Bashō, Sodō also started from the Teimon-style in his youth, and had a time when he devoted himself to the Danrin-style. Like Bashō, he became a recluse in his 30s, and had sought for a world of solitude and elegance ever since in both real and literary worlds. Both of them loved travelling, and considered it a way of obtaining poetic

²⁷² For Sodō's interactions with Chikudō, see Ōba Takuya 大庭 卓也, "Yamaguchi Sodō to Edo no jusha o megutte" 山口素堂と江戸の儒者をめぐって, *Renga haikai kenkyū* 連歌俳諧研究 106 (2004-2): 1-10 and Hori Nobuo 堀信夫, "Sodō to Edo no jusha" 素堂と江戸の儒者, *Haibungei no kenkyū* 俳文芸の研究 (1983): 116-138.

inspiration and discovering poetic truth. With so many similarities, it is not surprising that the two had deep bond with each other: not only were they close friends in personal lives, but they also collaborated in, shared thoughts about, and influenced each other on poetic writings. This section summarizes their interactions as preserved in literary records, focusing on their activities as *haikai* poets.

The earliest existing record of Bashō and Sodō's interaction is the 100-verse sequence composed when they welcomed Sōin with other *haikai* poets in 1675 (Enpō 3). Both of them became enthusiastic devotees of the Danrin-style advocated by Sōin, as seen from the two 100-verse sequences composed by Bashō and Sodō the next year, especially the opening verses included below.

To these plum blossoms –	<i>kono ume ni</i>	此梅に
even a cow would present	<i>ushi mo hatsune to</i>	牛も初音と
his first song (like bush warblers)	<i>nakitsubeshi</i>	鳴つべし ²⁷³

--Tōsei (桃青)²⁷⁴

²⁷³ In *waka* and *renga*, plum blossoms are often associated with the first song of bush warbler, since both of them are signs of the beginning of spring. Here, instead of bush warbler, Bashō used the image of a cow, which rarely appears in traditional poetry, to juxtapose with the image of plum blossoms. The two images are connected by the famous scholar Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), who is said to have favored plum blossoms and have been saved by a cow. In Tenmangū, which enshrined Michizane as the god of scholarship, plum blossoms were planted and a statue of a cow was also built. When considering the circumstances in which the verse was composed, the plum blossoms here are also a metaphor of Sōin, who used “the old man of plum” (*ume okina* 梅翁) as one of his *haikai* names. Then, the verse turns to a praise of Sōin's Danrin-style: even I, who is as dull as a cow, can appreciate the beauty of the Danrin-style, let alone others.

²⁷⁴ Tōsei 桃青 is Bashō's first *haikai* name.

Breeze of plum blossoms	<i>ume no kaze</i> 梅の風
has permeated through	<i>haikaikoku ni</i> 俳諧国に
the world of linked verse	<i>sakamunari</i> さかむなり ²⁷⁵

--Nobuaki (信章)²⁷⁶

Bashō and Sodō continued to explore the Danrin-style in the late 1670s. They both participated in the contest of opening verse, *Roppyakuban haikai hokkuawase* 六百番俳諧発句合 (1677), hosted by Naitō Fūko 内藤風虎 (1619-1685), and they completed three 100-verse sequences with Shintoku 信徳 (1633-1698), which were compiled into the *haikai* collection *Edo sangin* 江戸三吟 (1678) by Shintoku.

In the early 1680s, Bashō and Sodō took part in several *haikai* compositions together. Among the verses they composed during the time, the most famous one is perhaps the following opening verse, which is well known to represent the beginning of the so-called Bashō style (*shōfū* 蕉風). Sodō composed the second verse of the sequence, in response to Bashō's opening verse.

Crows resting	<i>kareeda ni</i> かれ朶に
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²⁷⁵ This verse is a more straightforward eulogy of the Danrin-style. Like Bashō's verse, the plum blossoms are again a metaphor of Sōin, and accordingly, the "breeze of plum blossoms" refers to the trend of the Danrin-style.

²⁷⁶ These two verses are from *Edo ryōgin shū* 江戸両吟集 (1676), which is included in Katsumine Shinpū 勝峯晋風, ed., *Bashō ichidai shū* 芭蕉一代集 in *Nihon haisho taikai* 日本俳書大系, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nihon haisho taikai kankōkai, 1926.)

on a withered branch -- *u no tomaritaru ya* 鳥のとまりたるや

evening in autumn *aki no kure* 秋の暮²⁷⁷

--Bashō

he returns with a hoe on shoulder *kuwa katage iku* 鍬かたげ行く

to the distant village in mist *kiri no tōzato* 霧の遠里²⁷⁸

--Sodō

Not only did Bashō and Sodō collaborate in *haikai* compositions, but they also had frequent personal communications with each other in private settings, especially after Sodō moved to his dwelling at Katsushika Ward, which was close to Bashō's hut. In 1683, Sodō wrote an essay to collect donations for rebuilding Bashō's hut that suffered from a fire. In 1684, Bashō departed on his first journey, which was recorded in his travel diary *Nozarashi kikō* 野ざらし紀行 (Skeleton in the Fields, 1685-1687). Sodō wrote a preface for this diary, where he compared his relationship with Bashō to that of Boya and Zhong Ziqi, two Chinese historical figures that

²⁷⁷ Bashō's verse was first included in the *Azuma nikki* 東日記 (1681) compiled by Ikenishi Gonsui 池西言水 (1650-1722). When later collected in *Arano* (1689), one of the seven major *haikai* collections of Bashō's school, the verse was revised to: *kreedani /u no tomarikeri /aki no kure*. See Yamazaki Tōkichirō 山崎藤吉, *Bashō Zenden* 芭蕉全伝 (Tokyo: Kensetsusha Shuppanbu, 1942), 63-64. The English translation is by Haruo Shirane included in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2002), 183. When interpreting this verse, Shirane states: "because crow perched on a withered branch was a popular subject in Chinese ink painting, Bashō's hokku juxtaposes a medieval *waka* topic with a Chinese painting motif, causing the two in montage fashion."

²⁷⁸ The two verses are linked on two levels. On the content level, the first verse can be interpreted as a scene viewed by the peasant in the second verse on his way home. Meanwhile, the desolate atmosphere is well represented in both verses.

are famous for their friendship.²⁷⁹ While waiting for Bashō's return, Sodō composed the following verse, which was included in *Tokutoku no kuawase*.

I composed this poem when Bashō has been to pilgrimage and has not returned for a long time,

When will I see	<i>itsuka hana ni</i> いつか花に
the small carriage besides flowers,	<i>oguruma to mimu</i> 小車と見む
or the brown overcoat?	<i>cha no haori</i> 茶の羽織 ²⁸⁰

In 1686, a group of *haikai* poets, including Bashō and Sodō, gathered at Bashō's hut and collaborated in a verse contest (*kuawase* 句合). They collected *haikai* verses about frogs, arranged them in pairs, and judged which verse is better for each pair. These verses were later compiled into *Kawazu awase* 蛙合 (Contest of Frog Verses, 1686) by Bashō's disciple Senka 仙

²⁷⁹ The story about Boya and Zhong Ziqi is recorded in the “Tang wen” 湯問 section of *Liezi* 列子 (dates unknown), and also in the “Benwei” 本位 section of *Lüshi Chunqiu* 吕氏春秋 (ca. BC. 239). According to the *Lüshi Chunqiu* version, Boya is a skillful lute player, and Ziqi is good at listening to music. Ziqi can always figure out the meaning Boya's music attempts to express. After Ziqi's death, Boya no longer plays lute, since no one would understand his music like Ziqi. In the preface, Sodō compares Bashō to Boya, and himself to Ziqi. For the content of the preface, see Fukumoto Ichirō 復本一郎, “Yinshi Sodō no in no ishiki” 隠士素堂の「隠」の意識, *Bungaku* 文学 2.1 (2001:1): 98.

²⁸⁰ The “small carriage besides flowers” alludes to a verse by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086): “I have looked over from the high tower in the forest for a long time, but the small carriage still hasn't come, and I can only see flowers. *Linjian gaoge wang yi jiu, hua wai xiaochē you weilai* 林間高閣望已久，花外小車猶未來. Sima Guang is a famous historian, scholar, and chancellor of Song China. He composed the verse when he was waiting for Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077). Here Sodō sympathized with Guang's anxiety in waiting, and he hoped to see Bashō, who liked to wear a brown overcoat, as soon as possible. The text and my interpretation are based on Kusumoto Mutsuo, *Bashō to Sodō*, 140-143.

化. The following frog verse by Bashō, arguably his most famous verse, was put in the first of this series of verses. Sodō's verse was included in the second pair.

an old pond --	<i>furuike ya</i> 古池や
a frog leaps in,	<i>kawazu tobikomu</i> 蛙飛こむ
the sound of water	<i>mizu no oto</i> 水のおと ²⁸¹

--Bashō

the frogs' voice	<i>ame no kawazu</i>	雨の蛙
that becomes loud in rain	<i>kowadaka ni naru mo</i>	声高になるも
is also touching	<i>aware nari</i>	哀也 ²⁸²

--Sodō

1688 is another year in which Bashō and Sodō had frequent interactions.²⁸³ Sodō again sent Bashō a verse immediately after Bashō returned from his journey recorded in the *Journey to*

²⁸¹ The English translation is by Haruo Shirane included in Haruo Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*, 183.

²⁸² Abe Kimio, 阿部喜三男 et al., *Shōmon haikaishū* 蕉門俳諧集, vol.1, in *Koten haibungaku taikai* 古典俳文学大系 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972), 54. Building on the poem (*Shin Kokinshū* 1477) by Fujiwara no Tadayoshi 藤原忠良 (1164-1225) – “If the time is right, even this is touching – the voice of frogs in small fields at dusk (折にあえばこれもさすがにあわれなり／小田の蛙の夕暮れのこえ),” this verse captures another moment when frogs' voice is touching.

²⁸³ The interactions in 1688 are mentioned in Takahashi Hiromichi 高橋弘道, “Yamaguchi Sodō: Bashō to no kanren o chūshin ni” 山口素堂--芭蕉との関連を中心に, *Bungaku kenkyū* 文学研究 30 (1969): 35.

Sarashina (*Sarashina kikō* 更科紀行, 1688-1689). In the same year, Sodō hosted a chrysanthemum-viewing party, and Bashō was among those who were invited. Three days later, Bashō returned the favor and hosted a moon-viewing party in his hut. These two events are recorded in *Sodōtei tōka kiku* 素堂亭十日菊 (Chrysanthemum-viewing at Sodō's Hut in the 10th Day, 1688) and *Bashō jūsanya no ki* 芭蕉庵十三夜の記 (A Record of a Party at Bashō's Hut on the Night of the 13th Day, 1688).²⁸⁴

In 1689, Bashō went to the pilgrimage that was commemorated in his travel diary *Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 (Narrow Road to the Deep North, 1694). On his departure, Sodō composed a poem about Matsushima, which was mentioned by Bashō in the Matsushima section of the *Narrow Road to the Deep North*.²⁸⁵ While waiting his return, Sodō again wrote about Bashō and composed a verse that alludes to what Bashō composed during the moon-viewing party.²⁸⁶ Bashō, on the other hand, mentioned that he missed Sodō and asked Sora to give Sodō his best wishes in his letters to Sora.²⁸⁷ In 1692, Sodō invited Bashō to his mother's birthday party; they, together with other *haikai* poets, each composed a verse about the seven spring herbs mentioned

²⁸⁴ A version of the two texts are included in Ōiso Yoshio 大磯義雄, “Bashō to sono shūhen no shiryō” 芭蕉とその周辺の資料, *Bashō to shōmon haijin* 芭蕉と蕉門俳人 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1997), 58-63.

²⁸⁵ *Narrow Road to the Deep North* only mentions that Sodō composed a poem about Matsushima but does not give the content of the poem. Baba Kinkō 馬場錦江 (1801-1860)'s commentary to *Narrow Road to the Deep North* gives the *kanshi* Sodō composed and indicates that its source is *Sodō kashū*. See Baba Kinkō 馬場錦江, *Oku no hosomichi tsūkai* 奥の細道通解 (Tokyo: Kōgyokudōshoten, 1925), 80. Nevertheless, the existing versions of *Sodō kashū* do not include the poem Kinkō mentions. Since the authenticity of the poem is in doubt, I do not count it as one of Sodō's *kanbun* works. It is also not included in the 59 *kanbun* works Huang collected and annotated in his articles.

²⁸⁶ This poem is included in *Sonofukuro* (其袋, 1690). See Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō nenpu kōshō,” 35-51.

²⁸⁷ See Kon Eizō 今栄蔵, *Bashō nenpu taisei* 芭蕉年譜大成 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1994), 265.

in Yamanoue Okura's poem.²⁸⁸ The two also collected verses about moon, and compiled them into *Bashōan mikkatsuki nikki* 芭蕉庵三日月日記 (A Diary of Crescent Moon) together. This is the collection that includes the *wakan haikai* composed by the two.²⁸⁹

In 1694, Bashō passed away. Sodō was so mournful that he broke the strings of his koto.²⁹⁰ He transplanted the banana tree –a symbol of Bashō, to his own residence. He constantly composed verses in memory of Bashō, sometimes participating in *haikai* compositions conducted as memorial services for Bashō, sometimes offering his verses to Bashō's tomb.²⁹¹ The “Six Objects in Bashō's Hut” (*Bashōan rokubutsu* 芭蕉庵六物) he wrote in the seventh anniversary of Bashō's death is especially touching. It includes the following verse in which he compared Bashō to chrysanthemum, and himself to daffodils, expressing his sadness and loneliness after losing Bashō.²⁹²

feeling cold this side

kiku ni hanare 菊にはなれ

after separating from chrysanthemum –

katawara samushi かたはら寒し

daffodils

suisenka 水仙花

²⁸⁸ Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō nenpu kōshō,” 41.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ As mentioned before, Sodō once compared his relationship with Bashō to that of Boya and Zhong Ziqi. Bo Ya is said to have broken the strings of his koto after Ziqi's death and have never played koto again, since only Ziqi understands his music. Here Sodō imitated what Bo Ya did. Ibid, 42.

²⁹¹ Ibid, 42-44.

²⁹² See Ogino Kiyoshi, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kenkyū ge,” 56.

As seen above, Bashō and Sodō not merely shared many important moments of life as good friends, but also grew up together as *haikai* poets. It is only natural that they learned from and had impact on each other on *haikai* compositions. What Bashō most benefited from Sodō seems to be Sodō's profound erudition on Chinese studies, as can be seen from their correspondences in which Sodō wrote in *kanbun*.

Sodō's *Kanshi* in Correspondence with Bashō

It is interesting to note that in Bashō and Sodō's poetic exchanges, while Bashō always wrote in the form of *haikai*, Sodō sometimes wrote in *kanbun*. Among the 59 extant *kanbun* writings by Sodō, six of them were written in communication with Bashō. The five dated ones were completed between 1686 and 1687, a transitional period when the mature style of Bashō's school was forming. The only undated one is an ode (賛, *zan* in Chinese, and *san* in Japanese) appearing on Bashō's painting *Arakida Moritake zō* 荒木田守武像 (A Portrayal of Arakida Moritake). It reads,

The one-thousand-verse sequence by Arakida Moritake,
 Its humorous style has no parallel now or in the past.
 Later generations, to pick up the ears of paddy left by him,
 became sparrows and entered the forest of humorous linked verse.

(*arakida no chimachi no gin* 荒木田千町吟

kokkei no fū wa kokin ni kantari 滑稽風冠古今

gogaku ochibo o hirowangatame 後學為拾落穂

inasuzume to narite hairin ni iramu 成稻雀入俳林)²⁹³

This poem is not an orthodox *kanshi*. As Huang points out, the phrase *chimachi no gin* (literally, “a song of thousand pages,” which refers to the one-thousand-verse sequence here) is a Japanese-made expression, and it is used here due to the association between the word *chimachi* (a thousand *chō*) and *ta* (field), the last character of the name Arakida²⁹⁴. The latter two verses are rather prosaic, and the comparison of the *haikai* poets of later generations to the sparrows picking up the ears of paddy causes a humorous effect that is often featured in *haikai*.²⁹⁵ Moreover, the chain of thought, from “field” to “fallen ears”, then to “sparrows picking up ears,” and finally to “forest” (rin 林), reminds us of the linking technique of lexical association in *haikai* compositions.²⁹⁶ Since the poem embodies characteristics that are often associated with *haikai*, I call this poem a *haikai*-style *kanshi*.

Another *haikai*-style *kanshi* by Sodō is the poem known as “An Inscription for the Gourd” (*Hisago no mei* 瓢の銘). This poem was composed in 1686 at request of Bashō, who received a gourd from his disciple and used it as a rice container. Sodō wrote:

²⁹³ The text included in Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun,” 21 is different from the one included in Nieda Tadashi 仁枝忠, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi,” 102. I used Huang’s version except for changing the word 葉 (leaves) to 穂 (ears of paddy), since “ears of paddy” makes more sense in the context. Arakida Moritake (1473-1548) is a famous *renga* poet. The one-thousand-verse sequence composed solo by him is famous for its humorous style, and is generally regarded to have established a standard for the rules of *haikai*.

²⁹⁴ *Chō* is a unit of area. It equals to approximately 109 meters plus.

²⁹⁵ See Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun,” 21.

²⁹⁶ Nieda points out that “field” and “fallen ears,” “fallen ears” and “sparrows on the field,” “sparrows” and “forest” are *engo* 縁語 (semantically related words). See Nieda Tadashi, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi,” 102.

This one gourd is even heavier than the Mountain Tai,

I joke, calling it the Mountain Qi by myself.

Do not learn from the Mountain Shouyang,

There is a Mountain of Rice Grains inside this.

(*Ippyō wa Taizan yori mo omoku* 一瓢岱山重

Mizukara waratte Kizan to shōsu 自笑称箕山

Shuyōzan ni narau koto nakare 莫習首陽山

Kono naka ni Hankazan ari 這中飯顚山)²⁹⁷

This *kanshi* is abnormal in many respects. What first catches one's eyes is likely the fact that each line ends with the same word "mountain" (*shan* 山). This is very rare in *kanshi* and Chinese poetry, since normally the rhymes used in the same poem should be different. Although "poems using the same rhyme" (*duyun* 獨韻) as a particular poetic form existed in Chinese poetry, it was mostly adopted in *ci* 詞 rather than *shi* 詩. Here, the poem uses the form of "five-syllable- quatrain" (*wujue* 五絕), one of the most common forms of *shi*, but has the same word not only in the rhymes, but also at the end of the third line, which does not need to rhyme. In this way, Sodō deliberately broke the rules, perhaps to achieve a freshness, just as *haikai* poets challenged traditional Japanese poetry.²⁹⁸ Furthermore, the first line parodies the well-known

²⁹⁷ The text is from Huang Dongyuan, *Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun*, 19.

²⁹⁸ One example in which *haikai* poets challenged the form of *haikai* is *jiamari* 字余り -- a verse having more syllables than a standard verse, which comprises of 17 syllables in the pattern of 5-7-5. Both Bashō and Sodō frequently wrote *jiamari* verses, especially in their early years. For instance, the poem mentioned above "on a withered branch, a crow is resting -- evening of autumn (*kareeda ni /u no tomaritaru ya /aki no kure*)" -- comprises of 5-8-5 syllables.

lines from “Bao Ren Shaoqing shu” 報任少卿書 by the famous Han historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145BC-86BC): “Everyone has a death. Some (of the deaths) are heavier than the Mountain Tai, while some are lighter than a goose feather.” Sodō’s poem replaces “a death” with “a gourd,” turning a serious topic into an object of people’s everyday lives. The last line also uses a technique common in *haikai*: a play on the word *Hankazan* 飯顆山 (*Fankeshan* in Chinese), which is the name of a legendary Chinese mountain, and also literally means a mountain of rice grains, referring to the content in the gourd.²⁹⁹

Although written in a humorous and playful fashion like *haikai*, this poem is embedded with several Chinese stories, and also conveys serious messages through allusions to Chinese sources. It links Bashō’s gourd to four mountains in China, all of which are more than a place name. The Mountain Tai has political and religious significance, since it had been the major place where emperors held their grand ceremony of worship of heaven (*fengchan* 封禪), and it is regarded as a sacred site in Daoism. There are also many well-known literary works associated with it, since it is a favorite site of many literati, such as Mencius (BC. 372-289) and Du Fu (712-770). Claiming that Bashō’s gourd is even heavier than this literally and culturally heavy mountain, Sodō emphasized the importance of this gourd to Bashō, in an exaggerated manner. He then compared this gourd to the Mountain Qi, the place where the Chinese legendary figures Chao Fu 巢父 and Xu You 許由 are said to have retreated to, when they refused to succeed to the crown from the legendary Emperor Yao. According to the story “A Gourd of Xu You” (Xu You yipiao 許由一瓢) included in Mengqiu 蒙求, when Xu You lived in the Mountain Qi as a

²⁹⁹ My interpretation of the poem made reference to Huang and Nieda’s annotations of the poem in Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun,” 19-20 and Nieda Tadashi, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi,” 100.

recluse, someone gave him a gourd to drink water. He first hung it on the river after using it, but he found the sound of the gourd being blown by wind is annoying, so he threw it away.³⁰⁰ It is likely that Sodō obtained the inspiration of linking the gourd to the Mountain Qi from this story. The third mountain is Mountain Shouyang, the place where Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 retreated to and later starved themselves to death in order to show their loyalty to the King Zhou of Shang. Here Sodō alluded to this story about morality, but made an interesting twist by saying to Bashō: “although you are also a virtuous recluse, please do not starve yourself to death.” The last Mountain, the Mountain Fanke, is where Du Fu used to live. Li Bo 李白 (701-762) once composed a poem: “When I met Du Fu on the top of the Mountain Fanke, it was noon and he wore a straw hat. I asked him why he became so skinny after our last separation. ‘It is perhaps because I have suffered from composing poetry recently’.”³⁰¹ Li Bo claims that he is teasing Du Fu by giving the poem a title of “Sending to Du Fu for Fun” (*Xi zeng Du Fu* 戲贈杜甫), but he in fact successfully highlights Du Fu’s devotion to poetry in a humorous way. Then we realize that Sodō’s poem is perhaps an imitation of Li Bo’s. Although the poem is full of humor and playfulness, by associating Bashō’s gourd with the Chinese mountains, it links Bashō, the possessor of the gourd, to the Chinese literati and recluses in the stories concerning the mountains, implying that Bashō is a recluse who cares nothing about fame or wealth, enjoys his simple and poor life, and devotes himself to poetry.

³⁰⁰ Nida points out the relation between the gourd and the Mountain Qi in “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi,” 100-101. The story of Xu You can be seen in Hayakawa Mitsusaburō 早川光三郎, *Mōgyū* 蒙求 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1973), 146.

³⁰¹ 飯顆山頭逢杜甫，頂戴笠子日卓午。借問別來太瘦生，總為以前做詩苦。 The poem is included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 185.

Bashō was clearly impressed and inspired by this poem, since he wrote an essay entitled “The Gourd of Four Mountains” (*Shizan no hisago* 四山の瓢, 1686), in which he included a Japanese transcription and explanation of Sodō’s *kanshi*, and also a *haikai* verse of his own in the end:

All I have	<i>mono hitotsu</i> 物のひとつ
is a gourd that is light	<i>hisago wa karoki</i> 瓢はかるき
--this is my life	<i>wagayo kana</i> 我よかな ³⁰²

If Sodō’s *kanshi* represents Bashō’s simple and poor life through the gourd in a sophisticated and allusive way, then Bashō’s verse expresses a similar motif through the same object in a concise, direct, but equally effective manner. It starts by saying that the only valuable object Bashō has is this gourd. Even this gourd, however, is light, since it has little rice in it. Bashō does not feel pathetic about himself, but instead, he accepts that “this is my life,” suggesting that he is detached from material things and enjoys his poor and secluded life. This is an excellent example in which Bashō re-created what is expressed in Sodō’s *kanshi* in the *haikai* fashion.

Similar to “An Inscription for the Gourd,” the series of three *kanshi* Sodō composed for Bashō in 1687 also adopted the form of “using the same rhyme.” They were sent to Bashō as a farewell gift, along with a *haikai* verse and the head cloth Sodō purchased in Nagasaki, when

³⁰² Bashō changed the last word of the third line in Sodō’s poem from “mountain” (*yama*) to “to be hungry” (*ga* 餓), perhaps because this line is not supposed to rhyme with other lines. See original text in Imoto Nōichi 井本農一.ed., *Matsuo Bashō shū* 松尾芭蕉集 2 in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 71, 200.

Bashō departed on the journey commemorated in *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文 (*Backpack Notes*). In this journey, Bashō first returned to his birthplace in Iga province, and then travelled along the Inland Sea. Knowing that Bashō would return to his birthplace, Sodō wrote:

1. You departed from Bashō's hut; do not make your birthplace the last stop.

Where there are many old friends, there is your home.

You will eat in the wind and rest in the dew, then why will you toil?

There exists a "Not-Even-Anything Village" in your heart by nature.

(*kimi shōan o sarite sato ni tomaru koto nakare* 君去蕉庵莫止郷

Kojin ōki tokoro sunawachi sato to nasu 故人多処即成郷

Fūshokuroshuku ani i o rōsen ya 風飡露宿豈勞意

Kyōji moto yori mukayūkyō 胸次素無何有郷)³⁰³

2. You entrusted yourself to a tattered hat and skinny cane.

At the farewell party, you looked back with nostalgia.

³⁰³ The phrase "Not-Even-Anything Village" (*Mukayūkyō* 無何有郷) is borrowed from the "Free and Easy Wandering" (*Xiaoyaoyou* 逍遙游) section of *Zhuangzi* (莊子). The original text says: "Now you have this big tree and you're distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it? Axes will never shorten its life, nothing can ever harm it. If there's no use for it, how can it come to grief of pain?" (The English translation is from Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 35.) This "Not-Even-Anything Village" refers to a utopia of "inaction" (無為, *wuwei* in Chinese, and *mui* in Japanese), an important Daoist concept which refers to the action that is not based on any purposeful striving or motives for gain (See Burton Watson, *Zhuangzi: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 6). In this poem, by saying "there exists a 'Not-Even-Anything Village' in your heart," Sodō means that Bashō has already achieved the status of "inaction": travelling for him is to wander, enjoying nature as it is. This is why Bashō loves travelling and does not mind "eating in the wind and resting in the dew," a Chinese expression used to describe the difficulties in travelling.

Poplar and willow, now I have no reason to snap your braches,³⁰⁴

But in spring, please sway your green twigs and welcome the old man Bashō.

(*jakuryū sōkyō ni isshin o kisu* 弱笠瘦筇寄一身)

rien kaishushite ginmi o nayamasu 離筵回首惱吟身

kahen no yōryū oru ni yoshi nashi 河辺楊柳無由折

hayaku suijō o ugokashite rōshin o mukae 早動翠條迎老身)

3. The *yin* month is called *yang* month, and also quasi-spring.³⁰⁵

But then why does quasi-spring resemble the real warm spring?

That is because we are holding sake cups filled with “warm spring,”

and singing the song of farewell that describes a spring scene.³⁰⁶

(*Yingetsu wa yō to shōshi mata koharu* 陰月称陽又小春)

Koharu mata nande yōshun ni nitaramu ya 小春又那似陽春

Sakazuki o agureba hiri ni yōshun ari 拳盃皮裏陽春在

³⁰⁴ In Chinese tradition, people often snap a willow twig and use it as a farewell gift. But since it is winter now, no leaves are left, and it is not appropriate to give a willow twig as a gift any more.

³⁰⁵ The tenth month in lunar calendar is called both *yin* month (*yinyue* 陰月) and *yang* month (*yangyue* 陽月) in Chinese. It is also referred to as quasi-spring (小春, *xiaochun* in Chinese, and *koharu* in Japanese), since the weather in the tenth month is often warm and spring-like.

³⁰⁶ There is a play on the word *yōshun* (陽春). Its original meaning is spring with good weather, but it is also a name of sake. Meanwhile, it includes the first and last words of the phrase “*Yōkan ikkyoku no haru*” 陽関一曲春 (literally, the spring described in the song of the Yang Barrier), which alludes to Wang Wei 王維 (ca.701-761)’s poem: “Morning rain dampens the dust in City Wei, the inn looks even more greenish with the color of willow. I suggest you to drink one more cup of sake, since there is no friend once you go west and pass the Yang Barrier.” (渭城朝雨浥輕塵，客舍青青柳色新。勸君更進一杯酒，西出陽關無故人). Sōdō is saying that because we are drinking the sake named “warm spring” and singing the song, the tenth month feels like real warm spring.

Tame ni tonau yōkan ikkyoku no haru 為唱陽関一曲春)³⁰⁷

All three *kanshi* adopt the six-syllable form rather than the more common five-syllable or seven-syllable forms, and they use the same rhyme in each poem. Their unusualness, however, is not limited to the level of form. Huang points out the playfulness in the second and third poems. He claims that the second poem builds on Chinese farewell poems in which willow twig is often given as a farewell gift, but it achieves a playful effect by saying that “there are no green twigs for me to snap since it is winter.”³⁰⁸ I think what is more interesting is that Sodō inverted the function of willow twigs from sending off a friend to welcoming a friend. This way of inversion is a common technique in *haikai* composition. Moreover, the third poem involves word play from the beginning to the end. It starts with a witty observation that *yin* and *yang*, the two words that have opposite meanings, are used to represent the same month. Then it blurs the line between “quasi-spring” (*koharu* 小春) and “real spring” (*yōshun* 陽春) by playing on the word “real spring” (*yōshun*). This *kanshi* is full of wit, humor, and playfulness that are attributes of *haikai* poems.

Although Huang does not mention the first poem, I in fact think that this poem is the most intriguing among the three. Contrary to the common idea that people should go back to their birthplace to meet old friends, Sodō suggested that Bashō should not stay at his birthplace for long but instead go travelling to other places to meet friends. This way of thinking was actually inspired by Bashō’s words “Others’ homes are my home,” as Sodō mentioned in the

³⁰⁷ The text is from Nieda Tadashi, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi,” 26-27.

³⁰⁸ Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun,” 21.

preface to the three poems.³⁰⁹ In the latter half of the poem, however, Sodō used a Daoist concept to explain Bashō's words: since everywhere is a "Not-Even-Anything Village," in other words, a utopia of "inaction," for Bashō, there is no difference between "others' home" and "my home". In this way, Sodō's poem serves as a bridge between Bashō's thought and the Daoist concept of "inaction," elevating Bashō's words into the height of Daoist philosophy.

Another interesting interactions between Bashō and Sodō are a series of discussions on bagworms (*minomushi* 蓑虫, literally, worms wearing straw-raincoat). According to *Sodō kashū*, the beginning of the conversation is a verse Sodō composed in Bashō's hut when Bashō returned from the journey of *Backpack Notes*: "the bagworm, while I am thinking about it, appears under the eaves."³¹⁰ On the same day, with Bashō's accompany, Sodō returned to his residence, and saw a bagworm in the garden. He then composed: "I met with a bagworm again, what a day!"³¹¹ While it is possible that Sodō really saw bagworms, it is generally regarded that the bagworm serves as a metaphor of Bashō.³¹² Then the first verse shows Sodō's happiness of reuniting with Bashō, and the second verse expresses Sodō's excitement of being able to meet with Bashō twice in a day.

³⁰⁹ 他郷即吾郷. See Nieda Tadashi, "Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi," 26.

³¹⁰ *Minomushi ya /omoishi hodo no/hisasi yori* 蓑虫やおもひしほどの底より. Itō Shōu and Tsunoda Chikuryō, *Haisho shūran* 6: 173.

³¹¹ *Minomushi ni/futatabi ainu/nan no hi zo* みのむしにふたたびあいぬ何の日ぞ. Ibid.

³¹² See Fukumoto Ichirō, "Inshi Sodō no 'in' no ishiki," 102 and Huang Dongyuan, "*Minomushi setsu ni okeru* 'minomushi' no imi" 『蓑虫説』における「蓑虫」の意味, *Nihongo to Nihon bungaku* 日本語と日本文学 32 (2001: 2): 43.

Bashō clearly liked this new “nickname,” since he later invited Sodō to his hut by sending the verse “Come to my grass hut, to listen to the voice of the bagworm.”³¹³ In response to Bashō’s verse, Sodō wrote an essay, which can be divided into eight parts, with each part beginning with the phrase “bagworm, bagworm” (*minomushi, minomushi*). The essay is written in Japanese, except for the last part, which is a *kanshi*.³¹⁴ The essay begins with the image of bagworms as described in the *Makura no sōshi* (Pillow Book, ca. 1005) –bagworms who are abandoned by their parents and thus cry “dad, dad” in a faint voice.³¹⁵ Sodō then gave a new interpretation to the voice of “dad, dad,” by comparing bagworms to Shun 舜, the Chinese legendary emperor who is said to have been filial to his father and step-mother no matter how badly they had been treating him. The pathetically charming (*aware*) voice of bagworms thus turns to a representation of filial piety. Sodō again ingeniously linked classical Japanese literature to Chinese literature and culture, adding freshness and depth to the established Japanese image.

The second to fourth parts highlight the “inactive” features of bagworms, discussing their inability, quietness, and small-size (invisibility), respectively. They explain the benefits of being inactive, just as the parables in *Zhuangzi* emphasize the significance of “inaction.” The fifth part uses several negative examples as a contrast to bagworms, including the parable of Mantis

³¹³ *Minomushi no/ ne o kikini koyo/ sō no an* 蓑むしのねを聞に来よ草の庵. Itō Shōu and Tsunoda Chikuryō, *Haisho shūran* 6: 173.

³¹⁴ The text of this essay is not included in *Sodō kashū*. I used the text included in “*Minomushi setsu ni okeru* ‘minomushi’ no imi,” 43-44. The *kanshi* is also included in Nieda Tadashi, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi,” 100, but it is very different from the version included in Huang’s article. For the meaning of the text, I consulted both Huang and Nieda’s articles.

³¹⁵ Although bagworms do not actually have voice, they are often described as a voiced insect in classical Japanese literature due to the influence of *Makura no sōshi*.

attempting to stop a carriage in *Zhuangzi*. Then it compares a bagworm who is pulling silk to a fisherman fishing in rain. This comparison has been made in a *kanshi* titled “Bagworm” by Hayashi Razan, but Sodō further brought in the Chinese story of Jiang Ziya, a recluse who was discovered by the King Wen of Zhou while fishing, making an explicit connection between bagworms and recluse. He then stated “in the past, high-ranking courtiers could not compare with those with a straw-raincoat (referring to recluses but also implying bagworms) in terms of taste (*fūryū* 風流).”³¹⁶

The following parts six and seven return to the images of bagworms in classical Japanese poetry, focusing on bagworms’ relation to love and nature. Then the prose part ends with: “after the trees withered, do the bagworms learn from locusts (who take off their shell and then leave), or do they abandon both shell and body?”³¹⁷ Huang points out that this ending is similar to that of anecdotes about immortals collected in “Biography of Various Immortals” (*Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳) and “Complete Biography of Various Immortals” (*Liexian quanzhuan* 列仙全傳); and the discussion of the disappearing of bagworms points to the “immortals of decomposing bodies” (*shijie xian* 屍解仙), a kind of immortals whose spirit comes out of their bodies after mastering the theurgy (some of them leave the complete body, and some of them leave only the skin).³¹⁸ This suggests that Sodō considered bagworms not only as recluses, but also as immortals.

At the end of the essay, there is a *kanshi*:

³¹⁶ 駟馬の事ハ、むかし一簞の風流に及はず。Huang Dongyuan, “*Minomushi setsu ni okeru ‘minomushi’ no imi*,” 44.

³¹⁷ やや古枯の後はうつせみに身を習ふや、からも身もともにすつるや。Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid, 47.

Bagworms, bagworms,
 I meet them in the garden by accident.
 They are calm, even though soaking in the rain;
 They are carefree, as if riding on the wind.
 They drink white dew to satisfy their mouths;
 They wear green moss to cover their bodies.
 The heaven accepts their request, allowing them to seclude;
 I sympathize with them, calling them “Mr. Bagworms.”
 They can escape from being pecked by birds;
 They can avoid being taken by boy attendants.
 They take off their straw-raincoat and leave.
 Who will know the outcome of them?

(*minomushi minomushi* 蓑虫々々, *tamatama enchū ni au* 適逢園中.

shōyōtoshite ame ni hitau 從容浸雨, *hyōzentoshite kaze ni jōzu* 飄然乘風.

hakuro kuchi ni amannji 白露甘口, *seitai mi o ōu* 青苔掩躬.

ten yurushite in to nasu 天許作隱, *ware wa awaremi okina to yobu* 我憐呼翁.

yachō ni tsuibamaruru wo osame 諫啄野鳥, *iewarawa ni harawaruru o seisu* 制拂家童.

kyūi o dasshite saru 脱舊衣去, *ta ga sono owari o shiran* 誰識其終.)

As Huang suggests, the form of the poem imitates the *zan* 贊 (inscriptions) included in the end of each section of “Biography of Various Immortals,” which also comprises of four-syllable verses, and summarizes the prose writings preceding them. This poem particularly emphasizes the Daoist implications of the prose. The verses “they are calm, even though soaking in the rain; they are carefree, as if riding on the wind; they drink white dew to satisfy their mouths; they wear

green moss to cover their bodies” reiterate bagworms’ qualities of being quiet and small, which are associated with the Daoist concept of “inaction.”³¹⁹ Meanwhile, they reflect that bagworms live in harmony with nature, or *zaohua* 造化 (*zōka* in Japanese) in Daoist words. Then in the verse “the heaven accepts their request, allowing them to be recluses,” Sodō explicitly made a linkage between bagworms and recluses, and he emphasized that the reclusion of bagworms again complies with the creative (*zaohua*). He not only admired them, but also sympathized with them, since he himself yearned for the life of seclusion as well. The fact that he respectfully called them “Mr.” (*okina* 翁, literally, old man) is perhaps the clearest hint that bagworm is a metaphor of Bashō, since Sodō also called Bashō “Mr.” Due to the bagworms’ “inaction” and reclusion, “they can escape from being pecked by birds” and “they can avoid being taken by boy attendants.” In the end, “they take off their straw-raincoat and leave. Who will know the outcome of them?” This again imitates the ending of anecdotes of immortals in “Biography of Various Immortals” and “Complete Biography of Various Immortals,” which had been used as materials for Daoist teachings.

As we can see, through portrayal of bagworms, this essay, especially the *kanshi*, elucidates Daoist concepts. Meanwhile, since the bagworm is a metaphor of Bashō, it can be read as a tribute to Bashō’s life style as an “inactive” recluse and even immortal. Bashō was amazed by this essay, as we can see from the “Epilogue to ‘On Bagworms’” (*Minomushi setsu no batsu* 蓑虫説跋) he wrote as a response in 1689.

³¹⁹ In the prose, while stating the benefit of being small, it says: “if they obtain even one leaf, they can use it to cover the body; if they obtain one drop of water, they can use it to moisten the body.” わづかに一葉うれば其身をおほひ、一滴をうれば其身をうるほす。Here “they drink white dew to satisfy their mouths; they wear green moss to cover their bodies” rephrases the prose.

When I shut myself in my grass hut and felt lonely, I happened to compose a verse about bagworm. My friend Mr. Sodō sympathized with me and thus wrote a poem and prose. His poem is like making brocade into clothes, and his prose is like rolling jewel beads. When read carefully, it is as witty as “Encountering Sorrow” (*Li sao* 離騷). Meanwhile, it has novelty of Su Shi’s works and the individuality of Huang Tingjian’s writings. At the beginning, the discussion about the filial piety of Shun and Zeng Shen 曾參 is to teach us a lesson. The admiration of bagworms’ inability is to remind us of the spirit of *Zhuangzi*. The joke about the jewel beetle in the end is to dissuade us from indulging in sensual desire. Except for Mr. Sodō, who else can understand the heart of bagworms? It is said that “If you serenely contemplate myriad things, you will find that they are all accomplished on their own.” I finally understand the meaning of this verse through reading Sodō’s essay. Since ancient times, most writers, they either devoted themselves to rhetoric but neglected content, or paid attention to content but lacked taste. This essay is different. One will not only be amazed by its rhetoric, but also be inspired by its content...³²⁰

Bashō clearly had the highest praise of Sodō’s writing. He also admitted that Sodō’s essay had deepened his understanding of Chinese poetry and philosophy. Hirota Saburō points out that the “Epilogue to ‘On Bagworms’” was a turning point for Bashō in terms of his reception of *Zhuangzi*. Before this work, the reception was limited to the adoption of diction, phrases, and stories. Nonetheless, from this work, the reception turned from formal level to spiritual level. Bashō’s *haikai*, instead of directly citing from *Zhuangzi*, embodied Daoist

³²⁰ Komiya Toyotaka 小宮豊隆, *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* 校本芭蕉全集, vol.6 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1962): 338. The remaining talks about Chōko’s painting based on Sodō’s essay, and I omit it since it is not directly related to Sodō.

concepts such as “inaction” and “self-accomplishment” in its own manner.³²¹ Fukumono Ichirō also claims that Bashō began to discuss the concept of “inability” in his essays such as *Genjūan ki* 幻住庵記 (1690) and *Bashō o utsusu kotoba* 芭蕉を移す詞 (1692) after reading Sodō’s essay.³²² Huang even asserts that Bashō’s understanding of *Zhuangzi*, especially the concept of inaction, must have been influenced by Sodō.³²³

In any case, from the *kanshi* discussed in this section, there is no doubt that Sodō was capable of freely wandering around the worlds of Chinese, *kanbun*, and Japanese literature. Not only do his writings copiously cite from and allude to sources in the three languages, but they also link Chinese and Japanese sources in an innovative and inspiring way. On the one hand, Sodō brought novelty and profundity into existing Japanese images, stories, and thought. On the other hand, his *kanshi* are often planted with the aura of *haikai*, which is why I call them *haikai*-style *kanshi*. It is worth noting that although the *kanshi* he exchanged with Bashō are often in the *haikai*-style, most of his other *kanshi* are more serious and comply with *kanshi* traditions.³²⁴ This suggests that he consciously adopted *haikai* elements in these *kanshi*, making them more accessible to *haikai* poets. Just like Sodō who served as a bridge between Chinese scholars and *haikai* poets, his *haikai*-style *kanbun* works also served as a medium between Chinese literature and *haikai* poetry. They in some cases assisted Bashō to comprehend the essence of Chinese

³²¹ Hirota Jirō 広田二郎, “Bashō no shisō, sakufū no tenkai to Sōshi” 芭蕉の思想・作風の展開と『莊子』, *Otaru Shōka daigaku jinbun kenkyū* 小樽商科大学人文研究 13 (1956-10): 51-78.

³²² Fukumoto Ichirō, “Inshi Sodō no ‘in’ no ishiki,” 103.

³²³ See Huang Dongyuan, *Yamaguchi Sodō no kenkyū: Bashō to no kōryū o chūshin ni* 山口素堂の研究：芭蕉との交流を中心に, PhD Dissertation, Chikuba University, 2005.

³²⁴ Huang examines the aspect of word play in Sodō’s *kanshi* in Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshibun,” 16-29. Out of 59 *kanbun* works, only seven of them involve word play.

literature and thought, especially Daoist concepts, and sometimes inspired Bashō to compose *haikai* verses that connect with Chinese literary precedents on spiritual level.

A Poetic Dialogue between *Wa* and *Kan*: “Sunlight on Gable”

The most intriguing interaction between Bashō and Sodō is perhaps their collaboration in the *wakan haikai* sequence “Sunlight on Gable” (*Hafuguchi ni* 破風口に).³²⁵ This 36-verse sequence (*kasen* 歌仙) was composed by the two in 1692 (Genroku 5), and was included in the end of the *haikai* anthology *Diary of Crescent Moon*.³²⁶ This anthology mainly contains the *hokku* regarding moon that Bashō collected from his friends and disciples when he transplanted the banana tree (*bashō*) to his third hut in 1692. The *hokku*, and a preface by Sodō were transcribed in Bashō’s handwriting, and the *wakan haikai* sequence was transcribed by Sodō.³²⁷

This sequence was completed in the Genroku era, when *wakan haikai* enjoyed an unprecedented flowering. Collections of *wakan haikai* sequences, including *Haikai ōminato* 俳諧大湊 (1691), *Irifune* 入船, *Nibanbune* 二番船, *Sanbanbune* 三番船 (1698), were compiled in succession by Takada Kōsa 高田幸佐.³²⁸ Rules of *wakan haikai* compositions began to be

³²⁵ The sequence does not have an official title, but in Japanese scholarship, it is known as “*Hafuguchi ni*,” which is the first line (first five syllables) of the sequence. Here I use the first line of the English translation I made as the title, which corresponds to the first nine syllables (*hafuguchi ni hikage ya*) of the sequence.

³²⁶ The sequence itself is not dated, but it is generally regarded to be composed in 1692, the year when the anthology was published. See Huang Dongyuan, “Yamaguchi Sodō nenpu kōshō,” 41.

³²⁷ I used the facsimile of the manuscript included in the *Bashō zenzufu* 芭蕉全図譜 as the base text, and consulted the typeset version and annotation included in Fukazawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai*, 380-431.

³²⁸ Specific dates of publication of *Irifune* and *Nibanbune* are unknown. The dates of Takeda Kōsa is also unknown.

elaborated not only in the above collections, but also in manuals of *haikai* in general, such as *Haikai hashiradate* 俳諧柱立 (1690), *Haikai banjo warawa* 俳諧番状童 (1691), *Haikai chōhō surihiuchi* 俳諧重寶摺火打 (1692), *Haikai shinshiki* 俳諧新式 (1698), and etc.³²⁹ This indicates that *wakan haikai* compositions were no longer restricted to certain authors, groups, or *haikai* schools, but they became more widely known, specifically studied, and commonly practiced during the time.

As Fukasawa Shinji points out, *wakan haikai* underwent a major change of style during the Genroku era. Unlike *wakan haikai* in pre-Genroku era, which significantly departed from the traditional *wakan renku* and heavily engaged with visual orthographic word play, *wakan haikai* during the Genroku era had a tendency to return to the *wakan renku* traditions. The *wa* verses generally adopted the *renga*-style that was popular starting from the mid-1680s. *Kan* verses, on the other hand, were closer to traditional *renku* than the *kan* verses in *wakan haikai* in pre-Genroku era. They allude to Chinese stories and literary works, and utilize common rhetorical devices in *renku* compositions such as palindrome and reduplication. Although unconventional readings for kanji still appeared, the readings were generally based on kanji's meaning; sound-based-readings and eccentric kanji almost disappeared.³³⁰ Bashō and Sodō's sequence generally conformed to the Genroku style Fukasawa summarizes. My focus here, however, is not style but the interplay between Bashō and Sodō, and also among *wa* and *kan* elements.

In the fifteen *kan* verses that Sodō composed, while topics and images related to Chinese and *kanbun* literature are not absent, Japanese vernacular words, images, and Japanese

³²⁹ See Ogata Tsutomu, "Wakan haikai shikō," 11.

³³⁰ Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai*, 176-181.

vernacular readings for kanji based on meaning equally exist. Sodō also constantly borrowed ideas, got inspirations, and alluded to Japanese sources such as *nō* plays (verse 13), anecdotes (*setsuwa*, verse 14), *The Tale of Genji* (verse 27), and Bashō's verses and prose (verse 3, 21). Most interestingly, many *kan* verses are also in *haikai*-style, like the *kanshi* he wrote to Bashō. Below are some of the examples.

2. 煮茶蠅避煙 (茶を煮れば蠅煙を避く)

when brewing tea,	<i>cha o nireba</i>
a fly escapes from the smoke	<i>hae kemuri o saku</i>

3. 合歡醒馬上 (合歡馬上に醒る)

a silk tree –	<i>gōkan</i>
he wakes up on horseback	<i>bajō ni samuru</i>

9. 契箒驅偷鼠 (箒を契て偷鼠を驅る)

carrying a broom in hand,	<i>hōki o hissagete</i>
he shoos the stealing mouse away	<i>chūso o karu</i>

In verse 2, the scene of brewing tea is a traditional and elegant image, and the depiction of the smoke rising from tea is fairly common in Chinese poetry and *kanshi*. What is novel about the verse, however, is that Sodō juxtaposed the tea with a fly, an image that is often considered too vulgar for traditional poetry. This unexpectedness caused by the unconventional juxtaposition attributes this *kan* verse a quality of *haikai*.

The silk tree (*gōkan* 合歡) in verse 3 is also called a sleeping tree in Japanese (same kanji read as *nebu*), since its leaves close during the night. Sodō took advantage of this “nickname”

and used the tree as a metaphor of a person who falls asleep on horseback, adding a sense of playfulness to this *kan* verse. The connection between a silk tree and a sleeping person is likely to be inspired by Bashō's hokku included in the *Narrow Road to the Deep North*: "In Kisakata /silk tree blossoms in rain / resemble sleeping Xi Shi" (*kisakata ya /ame ni Sei Shi ga /nebu no hana* 象潟や雨に西施が合歡の花).³³¹ Verse 3 builds on Bashō's another hokku included in his travel diary *Skeleton in the fields*: "The rose of Sharon /on the roadside/ was eaten by my horse!" (*michinonobe no mukuge wa uma ni kuwarekeri* 道のべの木槿は馬にくはれけり). With this verse in mind, we understand why the person on horseback suddenly wakes up: he sees the blossoms and wants to enjoy their beauty before they are eaten by his horse. In addition to verse 3 itself, the linkage between the man sleeping on horseback in verse 3 and the smoke of tea in verse 2 again draws upon Bashō's hokku, which is included in the same section of the *Skeleton in the fields*: "Dozing on horseback/ the dream still lingers, the moon already moves away /- the smoke of tea" (*uma ni nete /zanmu tsuki tōshi /cha no keburī* 馬に寝て残夢月遠し茶のけふ). Sodō in fact commented on this verse by Bashō in the preface he wrote for the travel diary: "Bashō's verse composed on horseback while he was at Sayo no Nakayama depicts a scene of the smoke of tea in the morning. It transfers the feeling of the Chinese poet who brings his dream to the foot of a hill and is suddenly surprised by the sound of leaves."³³² This comment indicates that Bashō's verse borrows from the Tang poet Du Mu 杜牧 (803-853)'s poem "Travelling in the Morning" (Zao Xing 早行), in which the person travelling early in the morning is only half-

³³¹ Xi Shi (西施, Sei Shi in Japanese) is one of the Four Beauties of ancient China.

³³² 又さよの中山の馬上の吟、茶の煙の朝げしき、棊に夢をおびて、葉の鳴る時驚きけん詩人の心をうつせるや。

awake and is waken by the sound of leaves.³³³ Here we see an interesting process of reception: Bashō first drew inspiration from a Chinese poem, and then the poetic association he made in his *haikai* verse was re-imported to Sodō's *kan* verse. The route of reception in this case is not in the linear direction from Chinese to *kan* and then to *wa* verse, but is detoured, from Chinese to *wa*, and then to *kan* verse.

When it comes to verse 9, it involves word play, which was no longer the primary focus but still an important technique in *haikai* during the Genroku period. Verse 9 plays on the word *chūso* 偷鼠 (stealing mouse), which is a Japanese-made kanji compound. The kanji *chū* was used here not only because it expresses the meaning of “stealing,” a characteristics of mice, but also for its sound, which represents the cry of mice in Japanese language.³³⁴

Contrary to Sodō's *kan* verses, which are assimilated to *haikai* to some extent, Bashō's *wa* verses seem to be immune to the fact that they were composed in conjunction with *kan* verses. Only verse 7- Zhang Xu /writes a running hand /while drunk (*Chōkyoku ga/ monogaki naguru/ yoi no naka* 張旭) – focuses on a Chinese calligrapher Zhang Xu and depicts his drinking and calligraphy, topics often appearing in Chinese poetry and *kanshi*. All his other *wa* verses did not take up China-related topics or draw upon on Chinese sources, and they basically retained the so-called Bashō style. This is perhaps because Bashō had already passed the stage of imitating Chinese poetry on the level of form and content. He focused on seeking for the essence of Chinese poetry in the everyday life of Japanese contemporary people. Meanwhile, he emphasized on scent link (*nioizuke*), a linking technique that links the contiguous verses by

³³³ My interpretation of the verse is based on Fukasawa Shinji's annotation on the verse included in *Wakan no sekai*, 386-387.

³³⁴ My interpretation of the verse is based on Fukasawa Shinji's annotation on the verse included in *Wakan no sekai*, 393.

atmosphere or mood. For him, his *haikai* verses naturally connect with Chinese and *kanshi* verses on the level of connotation, mood, and spirit; there is no need to deliberately compose on Chinese topics or allude to Chinese sources.

Bashō's *kan* verses, however, are worth examining. In this sequence, while for the most part Bashō and Sodō were responsible for *wa* and *kan* verses, respectively; Bashō and Sodō composed three *kan* verses and three *wa* verses, respectively, toward the end. It is not surprising that Sodō contributed *wa* verses, but since Bashō rarely wrote in *kanbun*, these three verses become extremely valuable.

24. 風飡喉早乾(風飡喉早く乾く)

eating in the wind,

fūsan

I soon feel thirsty

nodo hayaku kawaku

28. 霏浦目潜焉(霏の浦目は潜る)

at seashore in light rain,

shigure no ura

my eyes are filled with tears

me wa namidagumu

33. 鷦鷯窺水鉢(鷦鷯水鉢を窺う)

a wren is spying

shōryō

on the water pot

mizubachi o ukagau

Verse 24 is the first *kan* verse Bashō composed in this sequence, following a *wa* verse by Bashō himself. It reflects that Bashō's ability of writing *kan* verses was limited, since he messed up with the rhyme in the verse. As Fukasawa Shinji indicated, Bashō used the kanji 乾, attempting to rhyme with other rhymes ending with an "ian" sound in Chinese. Nevertheless, 乾 is a

polyphonic word, and its pronunciation changes according to meaning. While it can be read as “qian” and in that case qualifies as a rhyme here, the corresponding meanings would not fit into the context. The meaning Bashō used here – “to be dry” – corresponds to the pronunciation of “gan,” which does not meet the requirement of the rhyme.³³⁵ Moreover, the content of the verse is fairly plain compared to Bashō’s *wa* verses. He first utilized a Chinese word *fengcan* 風飧 (*fūsan* in Japanese), which literally means “to have meals in the wind” and is often used to represent the hardships during travelling in Chinese poetry and *kanshi*. Then he specified one of the difficulties in travelling – to suffer from thirsty, which can also be understood as the result caused by eating in the wind. This verse is relatively conservative; there is nothing surprised or unexpected.

Verse 28 no longer violates rules of *kan* verses. It creates a double vision (*mitate*) – a rainy seashore and a person with tears in eyes – two scenes that resonate with each other. This comparison of a shower (*shigure*) to tears is common in *renga* and *haikai*, but Bashō re-created this Japanese sentiment in the form of a *kan* verse. It also matches well with the previous verse by Sodō, which uses a *kan* verse to depict a scene in *The Tale of Genji*.

Verse 33 best represents Bashō’s skill in poetry, especially linked verse. The verse itself is a little controversial. Since a wren (*shōryō*) is also called *misosazai* in Japanese, it is often associated with miso in *haikai*. Because of this, Fukasawa thinks that *suribachi* (mortar that can be used to store miso) makes more sense than *mizubachi* (water pot) here, and he changed the word to *mizubachi* in his transcription.³³⁶ I keep what is on the original manuscript, since *mizubachi* also makes sense here. As Fukasawa himself points out, Bashō had the tendency to

³³⁵ Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai*, 410.

³³⁶ Ibid, 420-421.

not depend on word play, so it is possible that Bashō consciously avoided the pun on *miso* here. In any case, the greatness of this verse lies in the way in which it links to the previous verse composed by Sodō, which reads: “for a gateman, the gate is his whole world” (*monban wa mon shōten* 門番門小天). The *shōten* in Sodō’s verse is the place where Daoist immortals live. Here Sodō claimed that for a gateman, the gate means a whole world to him; it is like a fantasy world for the immortals. It implies that the gateman is content with his job and life, and does not desire for things beyond his reach. This virtue is advocated in the “Free and Easy Wandering” section of *Zhuangzi*. Bashō clearly apprehended the message conveyed in Sodō’s verse, since he composed on “a wren,” which alludes to the phrase: “a wren only needs one branch to build his nest” in the “Free and Easy Wandering.”³³⁷ This phrase was used by Xu You when he refused to succeed to the throne from King Yao, to expound that one should desire little and stick to his own duty. It coordinates well with Sodō’s verse. With this allusion, Bashō’s verse connects with Sodō’s verse not only because both describe a situation when one concentrates on watching something, but also due to the shared Daoist implications. This kind of linkage, which relies on shared mood and overtones rather than lexical association or logical continuation, is what Bashō was fond of and also expert at. He successfully applied his skills in *haikai* into this *kan* verse.

Fukasawa Shinji claims that this *wakan haikai* sequence was likely a practice to prepare Bashō for potential *wakan haikai* gatherings; Bashō was taking a lesson from Sodō about how to compose *kan* verses when participating *wakan haikai* compositions.³³⁸ I hold reservations about that the primary purpose of this sequence was to educate Bashō how to write *kan* verses.

³³⁷ 鷦鷯巢於深林，不過一枝。

³³⁸ Fukasawa Shinji, *Wakan no sekai*, 205-206.

Nevertheless, the gradual improvements seen in the three *kan* verses by Bashō suggest that Sodō's role in steering and inspiring Bashō to reach his full potential cannot be ignored, especially considering that the two better ones were composed in response to Sodō's verses. A purpose of the adoption of *haikai* elements in Sodō's *kan* verses, then, is likely to show to Bashō how to express motifs similar to *haikai* in the form of a *kan* verse.

Sodō's Role in the Establishment of the Bashō Style

From the numerous records of Bashō and Sodō's interactions, there is no doubt that the two had deep friendship in personal lives, and also constantly communicated with each other on the matter of poetry compositions. Since Sodō undeniably had more knowledge on Chinese studies, it is not difficult to imagine that Bashō must have consulted him on Chinese literature and culture. A passage in *Sanzōshi*, a poetic treatise recording Bashō's teachings by his disciple Dohō 土芳 (1657-1730), reveals Bashō's respect for and reliance on Sodō about Chinese poetry: "When a Zen monk asked about his thoughts on Chinese poetry, the master (Bashō) said: 'About Chinese poetry, the recluse Sodō was well known for being knowledgeable and passionate. He always says: 'as for Chinese poetry, I love the ones composed by recluses, which are elegant and thus satisfying.'"³³⁹ It is generally accepted that one of important factors that made Bashō to diverge from the playful Danrin-style and eventually elevate *haikai* into a serious art is his reception of Chinese literature. Then it is safe to say that this process of establishing Bashō's

³³⁹ *Renga ronshū, Nōgaku ronshū, Haironshū* 連歌論集・能楽論集・俳論集 in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 88 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2001): 642.

own style involved Sodō's contribution. But the questions are, what specifically did Bashō receive from Sodō? In what aspects did Sodō have influence on Bashō?

In previous discussions, we have seen examples of Bashō and Sodō communicating with each other on Daoism, especially *Zhuangzi*, a text that greatly contributed to the formation and development of Bashō's *haikai* style.³⁴⁰ Moreover, Nonomura Katsuhide 野々村勝英 points out that Bashō's reception of Du Fu's poetry was mediated through Sodō.³⁴¹ He argues that although Du Fu had been understood as a poet who was concerned about his country and cherished the people (*youguo aimin* 憂国愛民) in Song China and by Japanese Confucian scholars in Edo Japan, Bashō's reception of Du Fu lacked the political implication as seen in his verses below.

<i>Retrospecting the Old Man Du Fu</i>	<i>Rōto o omou</i> 憶老杜
My beard is blowing the wind,	<i>higekaze o fuite</i> 髭風ヲ吹て
who is the man	<i>boshū tanzuru wa</i> 暮秋嘆ズルハ
that laments the late autumn? ³⁴²	<i>ta ga ko zo</i> 誰ガ子ゾ

This verse alludes to the lines in Du Fu's poem titled "Baiducheng zuigao lou" 白帝城最高楼 (The Highest Tower in the Baidi City) – "Who is the man that leans on the cane and

³⁴⁰ Bashō's reception of *Zhuangzi* is systematically examined in Peipei Qiu, *Bashō and the Dao: the Zhuangzi and the Transformations of Haikai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005).

³⁴¹ Nonomura Katsuhide 野々村勝英 "Shōfū no injatachi" 蕉風の隠者たち in *Shōfū sanmyaku* 蕉風山脈 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 209-219.

³⁴² Instead of saying that the wind blows his beard, Bashō deliberately inverted the subject and object, creating a sense of playfulness. The text is from Ogata Tsutomu, *Shōfū sanmyaku*, 216.

laments about the world? I burst out crying tears of blood while turning my hoary head” 杖藜嘆世者誰子？泣血迸空回白頭。³⁴³ In Du Fu’s poem, the person, who is presumably Du Fu himself, laments about the chaotic and declining Tang Dynasty during the time. He is so worried that he cries tears of blood and his hair has turned gray. In Bashō’s verse, however, what the person (Bashō himself) laments turns to the lonely and desolate atmosphere of late autumn. Another example where Bashō transformed Du Fu’s poem is as follows.³⁴⁴

The old man Du Fu composed a poem about his thatched hut being destroyed by wind.³⁴⁵ Then Mr. Su Dongpo (1037-1101) was touched by this verse and also composed a verse on his residence’s leaking.³⁴⁶ I was able to understand the rain in their worlds, by listening to the sound on leaves of my banana tree, when I slept alone in my grass hut.

the banana tree in the storm --	<i>bashō nowaki shite</i> 芭蕉野分して
a night when I listen to	<i>tarai ni ame o</i> 盥に雨を
the rain dripping on my washbasin	<i>kiku yo kana</i> きく夜哉 ³⁴⁷

³⁴³ The poem is included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 229.

³⁴⁴ This example is also given in Ogata Tsutomu, *Shōfū sanmyaku*, 216.

³⁴⁵ This refers to Du Fu’s poem “Song of My Thatched Hut Being Destroyed by Autumn Wind” (*Maowu wei qiufeng suo po ge* 茅屋為秋風所破歌, 761)

³⁴⁶ This refers to Su Dongpo’s poem “Ciyun Zhuguang ting xi yu” 次韻朱光庭喜雨.

³⁴⁷ *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* 1: 68.

This verse has been discussed as an example of Bashō's reception of Chinese recluse poetry in Chapter Four. It represents the same themes of the impoverished and the lonely as Du Fu's poem, but it differs from the original in the purpose of representing such themes. In Du Fu's case, he felt helpless about the situation and further grieved over the difficult lives of people in the country of disturbance. His sympathy for the people and consciousness for the country's welfare are clearly shown in the well-known lines: "How to obtain thousands of spacious rooms, so that all the poor people will be provided shelters and become happy?" 安得廣廈千萬間，大庇天下寒士俱歡顏. In contrast to Du Fu's strong political and social concern, Bashō sought aesthetic beauty in the same event. He discovered the beauty of poverty and loneliness (*wabi*) in the rain and the leaking hut, and also felt connected to Chinese literati such as Du Fu and Su Dongpo, as a recluse who led a poor and simple life.

This gap between Du Fu's original and Bashō's transformations cannot solely be explained by cultural differences, for the Confucian scholars in Edo Japan also emphasized on Du Fu's political and social awareness. Ogata thinks that this difference in reception, for one thing, is related to their social status. Unlike the Confucian scholars, Bashō had no political aspirations and thus had no interest in any political aspect of the poems. Instead, he focused on shared emotions of all human-beings: sadness, loneliness, etc. Furthermore, Ogata points out that we should take Sodō's influence into consideration, since Sodō's reception of Du Fu, as seen below, is also not political.³⁴⁸

I remember Du Fu's poem (about his revisit to a bridge.)

³⁴⁸ Ogata Tsutomu, *Shōfū sanmyaku*, 209-219.

(Like him), when I crossed the bridge once again,
 Four mountains are floating on the sea;
 The solitary moon is hanging on pine braches.
 We had a great conversation while looking at each other;
 We composed poems while walking, with our shadows following us.
 We met by chance in the mundane world,
 For me, travelling is life.³⁴⁹

This *kanshi* was composed with Du Fu's poem "Revisit" (*hou you* 后游) in mind. Du Fu's poem also portrays his second visit to a bridge. As suggested by the last two lines – "Because of (this beautiful scene), the guest's sorrow has been completely soothed. If I abandon this place, where then should I go?" 客愁全為減，捨此復何之. Although the poem describes a beautiful place on the surface, it in fact suggests that enjoying scenery was a way for Du Fu to escape from the cruel reality. Due to the disorder in the central plains, he had been moving around and had no fixed places to live. For him, while beautiful sceneries could temporarily pacify his sorrow, travelling was ultimately a painful experience, and revisit symbolizes his unstable and pathetic wandering life. Sodō, however, was proud of being a wanderer and claimed that travelling is his life style. He completely enjoyed his second visit, since he was able to make a new friend, with whom he can talk about life and also exchanged poems. This erasing of political implications, and the inversion of an undesired experience to a favorable one, are similar to Bashō's

³⁴⁹ 記得杜翁句，天柱再渡時。四山浮海水，孤月挂松枝。清話眼相對，吟行影亦隨。人間萍水會，旅泊是生涯。 This poem was composed for Mr. Minakami, a person Sodō met by chance when he revisited a bridge in the city of Miyatsu. See Nieda Tadashi, "Yamaguchi Sodō no kanshi," 109-110.

adaptations. Therefore, Ogata believes that Sodō's attitude toward Du Fu's poetry and his way of adaptations must have influenced Bashō.³⁵⁰

Kanda Hideo categorizes the Chinese texts that Bashō had read into two groups. One is the texts that had been read in Japan since the Heian Period – for instance, *Boshi wenji* 白氏文集 and *Mengqiu* 蒙求. He thinks that Bashō perhaps learned these texts from Kitamura Kigin, who is said to be his teacher in early years. The other is the texts transmitted to Japan by Gozan monks. Kanda argues that Sodō likely introduced these texts, such as *Zhuangzi* and poems by Du Fu, Su Dongpo, and Huang Shangu, to Bashō.³⁵¹ He admits, however, that this argument is based solely on speculation; there is no actual evidence except that Sodō seemed to have entered the world of Chinese literature earlier than Bashō.³⁵²

Although it is certainly meaningful to examine what specific texts Sodō introduced to, discussed with, or interpreted to Bashō, I believe the most valuable thing Sodō offered was the distinguished and profound understanding of *haikai* as a poetic art he gained under influence of Chinese literature and thought. We can get a glimpse of Sodō's views on *haikai* compositions from the preface he contributed to the *haikai* collection *Haimakura* (1680), the first preface he ever wrote. He stated:

³⁵⁰ Ogata Tsutomu, *Shōfū sanmyaku* 蕉風山脈, 209-219.

³⁵¹ Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫, “Bashō to Chūgoku bungaku” 芭蕉と中国文学, *Bashō* 芭蕉 in *Nihon koten kanshō kōza* 日本古典鑑賞講座, vol.18 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 417-428.

³⁵² Ibid, 422.

I heard that Sima Qian in Han China made his way into the Five Famous Mountains three times in order to construct *Records of the Grand Historian* (Shiji 史記, ca. 91 BC). Poets like Du Fu and Li Bo also travelled to the Mountain Lu and wandered around the Lake Dongting. In our country, there were the priest Saigyō in ancient times, and Sōgi and Shōhaku in the recent past. They did not only stay at the morning glory hut or the peony garden, but also went to live in hills and fields, sympathizing with the snipe and lamenting about the bamboo flute. Aren't these all feelings that should be expressed in *haikai* compositions as well?³⁵³

In this passage, Sodō suggested that in order to get inspiration for *haikai* compositions, one should go travelling and encounter nature. This accords with Bashō's enthusiasm for travelling: Bashō constantly made pilgrimages to literally and culturally important places, for the sake of exploring the truth of poetic art. More importantly, this passage reveals Sodō's tendency to seek for artistic essence of *haikai* in Chinese writings and traditional Japanese poetry including *waka* and *renga*. He emphasized on expressing human emotions, which he thought is of importance to both traditional poetry and *haikai*. When the preface was written, Danrin-style was at its peak; most *haikai* poets were immersed in excessive word play and parody, paying less attention to the content of poetry. Sodō was a pioneer in stressing the significance of expressing feelings in *haikai*, foreseeing the future direction of *haikai* compositions, namely, Bashō's *haikai* that looked into traditional poetry in search of poetic essence.

If the above preface only suggestively shows Sodō's embryonic thoughts, the preface he wrote for *Zoku minashiguri* (1687) reveals a more explicit, mature theory on *haikai* compositions. I translate the most important part below.

³⁵³ *Danrin haikai shū* 談林俳諧集 in *Nihon haisho taiki*, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Nihon haisho taiki kankōkai, 1926), 419.

The compositions on wind and moon do not cease, and yet the gist is not the same gist as before.³⁵⁴

Someone once said: “If you attempt to catch wind and pick up shadow, you should practice the Way.”

This is too profound and thus difficult to understand. Sometimes people come and compose crazy verses in contemporary style. These verses are either depictions of concrete objects such as wind and clouds, or creation of such cliché images as shadow of the moonlight reflected on water. In some cases, the verses imitate the style of ancient times. Although some of them are not pretentious, they solely focus on the sceneries themselves but lack expressions of human emotions. As the ancients used to say: “one should incorporate feelings in the depiction of scenery.” Take a Chinese poem as an example: “Butterflies, fluttering among flowers, in and out; Dragonflies, skimming the surface of water, flying slowly.”³⁵⁵ Here the point is that the butterflies and dragonflies have their own places, but the poet Du Fu was far away from home and thus felt uneasy. This is truly a poem that incorporates feelings in scenic depiction. Japanese songs should also be like this. I also heard that both Chinese and Japanese poems are portrayals of feelings. Some of the examples include “A ferry in the wilds, no one there - / the boat crosses by itself” and “The moon is just about to fall /Into the hills of Awaji.”³⁵⁶ In order to portray feelings, however, a poet needs to rack his brains, sometimes reducing the actual size of China’s land or moving Yoshino to

³⁵⁴ This verse is an adaptation of the opening line in “An Account of a Ten-Foot-Square Hut” (*Hōjōki*, 1212): “The current of the flowing river does not cease, and yet the water is not the same water as before.” (The English translation is by Anthony H. Chambers from Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginning to 1600*, 624).

³⁵⁵ This is from the second poem of a series of two poems entitled “Qu Jiang” 曲江 by Du Fu.

³⁵⁶ The first quotation is from Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737-792)’s poem “West Stream at Chuzhou” (*Chuzhou xijian* 滁州西澗): “Alone I cherish the hidden plants /that glow beside the stream, /Above which the yellow oriole /sings deep within the trees. /Spring’s high water, bearing rain, /comes swiftly with evening. /A ferry in the wilds, no one there - / the boat crosses by itself” (獨憐幽草澗邊生，上有黃鸝深樹鳴。春潮帶雨晚來急，野渡無人舟自橫). The English translation is by Steven Owen in *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High Tang* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1981), 316. The second citation is from a *waka* composed by Minamoto Yorimasa: “At Sumiyoshi /Through a clearing in the pine grove /Oh behold how /The moon is just about to fall /Into the hills of Awaji” 住吉の松の木まより見渡せば月落ちかかる淡路島やま. The English translation is by Hilda Katō in “The Mumyōshō,” *Monumenta Nipponia* 23. 3/4: 382.

the Mountain Hakusan. In some cases, a poet may make a not-so-beautiful lady smile, or make a flower that already faded become fragrant.

There exist temporary flowers and ultimate flowers. Temporary flowers are like playing with prostitutes, and ultimate flowers resemble the feeling of sleeping with my wife. People all tend to turn to temporary flowers and become lukewarm to ultimate flowers. Even those so-called masters, while understanding the essence of poetry, are prone to follow popular trends, concentrating on embellishing language and stories. According to a visitor, he heard the following words from an old man: “The nests that grebes build on water now float and now sink, but they are never destroyed by wind or waves. We should learn from them and stand firmly for our convictions.” I nodded with a smiley face. Although I may sound judgmental, I still want to add that a good example is Qu Yuan, who never forgot his home country. When I was young, I liked composing crazy verses. Even now I am still not completely over them, occasionally trying my hand at them. Precisely because of this, I spared no time expounding the significance of ultimate flowers. Haven't you read Zhuangzi's book, which states “he who speaks does not know.” Since I do not know, I am speaking my opinions here.³⁵⁷

Like the previous preface, this preface also attempts to seek for the essence of *haikai* poetry in Chinese poetry and *waka*. It criticizes both the “contemporary style,” referring to the Danrin-style, and “ancient” *haikai*, referring to *haikai* composed by Teimon poets, for their lack of emotions (*nasake*). In contrast to previous *haikai* compositions that focused on word play and parody, Sodō advocated learning the inner spirit of traditional poetry instead of merely imitating the form. As for what specifically Sodō received from traditional poetry, he first discussed the “unification of scene and feeling” (*keijō icchi* 景情一致). This technique is often referred to as

³⁵⁷ Abe Kimio 阿部喜三男, Abe Masami 阿部正美, and Ōiso Yoshio 大磯義雄, ed., *Shōmon haikai shū* 蕉門俳諧集 1 in *Koten haibungaku taikai* 古典俳文学大系 6 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972), 68-69.

jingqing jiaorong 景情交融 (communion of feeling and scene) in Chinese poetic criticism. Li Zehou uses the western concept of “empathy” to explain *jingqing jiaorong*. He states that it “can be said to consist of the melding of the appreciating (or creating) self with the appreciated (or created) object. The appearance or action of the object calls forth my mental and emotional activity, which is subsequently dissolved in the full concentration of my faculties in the process of appreciation or creation, so that it is eventually replaced by the features and actions of the object, resulting in the unity of my own subjective emotions with the objective form. This is the fusion of feeling and scene, the unity of self and object, which is so sought after in Chinese art and literature.”³⁵⁸

In Chinese literary history, Du Fu is generally regarded to be one of Chinese poets who were most skilled at “communion of feeling and scene.”³⁵⁹ When explaining this technique, Sodō also started with Du Fu’s poem as an example and suggested that Japanese poetry should also be like this. He then cited the phrase that “poems and songs are portrays of feelings,” further emphasizing the significance of expressing emotions in poetry, which was lack in earlier *haikai*. This time he gave two examples – one is a Chinese poem, and the other is a *waka*. He implied that *haikai* should learn from both Chinese poetry and *waka*, and depart from the focus on superficial forms.

In the Japanese side, the use of the technique of “unification of scene and feeling” is often considered one of the characteristics of the mature style of Bashō’s *haikai*. According to

³⁵⁸ Li, Zehou, Maija Bell Samei, tran., *The Chinese Aesthetic Tradition* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010), 152-153.

³⁵⁹ Zhan Hanglun 詹杭倫. *Zhongguo wen xue shen mei ming ti yan jiu* 中國文學審美命題研究 (Xianggang: Xianggang da xue chu ban she, 2010), 162.

Nihon daihyakka zensho 日本大百科全書, “The feature of the Bashō style is that the opening verse represents an implied *shiori*, and the linked verses contain high-dimensional linking that are based on shared overtones.”³⁶⁰ Specifically, Bashō’s *haikai* produced descriptive expressions that emphasize on the vividness of images, and valued the atmosphere called *sabi* that is created in the inter-reflection between images.³⁶¹ Moreover, in order to yield expressions that *fuse scene* and *feeling*, it advocated the spirit of *makoto*, which is derived from the unification between the author and the subject of the poem.”³⁶² In Japanese scholarship, this unification of scene and feeling in Bashō’s *haikai* is generally considered to have been influenced by Du Fu’s poetry.³⁶³ Nevertheless, considering that Sodō’s discussion on the relationship between scene and feeling predated the establishment of the Bashō style, the inspiration Bashō gained directly from Sodō – not only from this preface, but also from their constant communications in everyday lives – cannot be ignored.

In the last part of the preface, Sodō discussed temporary flowers and ultimate flowers, which are metaphors for two different styles of *haikai* – one is the *haikai* that follow the current trend but will eventually become obsolete, and the other is the *haikai* that embody the essence of poetry and thus could endure the test of time. Through metaphors, citations and Chinese story, Sodō demonstrated the importance of sticking to the latter while admitting that it is easy to be

³⁶⁰ *Shiori* is an “emotional overtone” that “suggested a sensitivity toward a weak or delicate object, particularly a feeling of pathos (*aware*).” See Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 78.

³⁶¹ *Sabi* “implied a sense of quiet, meditative loneliness.” Ibid.

³⁶² See the entry of *shōfū* 蕉風 in *Nihon daihyakka zensho* 日本大百科全書 available on JapanKnowledge.com.

³⁶³ See Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, “Bashō and Toho” 芭蕉と杜甫, *Haikai to kanbugaku* 俳諧と漢文学 in *Wakan hikaku bungaku sōsho*, vol. 16 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1994), 25-46 and Ōta Seikyū 太田青丘, *Bashō to Toho* 芭蕉と杜甫 (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppanyoku 1971), 175-189.

attracted to the former. This set of two contrasting concepts reminds us of Bashō's poetic ideal of "unchanging and changing" (*fueki ryūkō* 不易流行). Although Bashō himself did not elaborate this concept, his disciples recorded his teachings on it in various treatises such as *Kyoraishō* 去来抄 (ca. 1704), *Sanzōshi* and *Sanchū mondō* 山中問答 (1850 or 1862). It is said that Bashō developed this notion during his journey of *Narrow Road to the Interior* in 1689 (two years later than Sodō's preface.)³⁶⁴ The real meaning of this notion remains ambiguous, since there are confusions among various interpretations in different treatises. On the one hand, Kyorai stated in *Kyoraishō*:

The Master said that some *haikai* styles remain unchanging for thousands of years while other are fluid with the passing of time. Although these two are spoken of as opposite sides, they are one at the base. "They are one at the base" means that both are based on the sincerity of poetry (*fūga no makoto*). If one does not understand the unchanging, his poetry has no base; if one does not learn the fluid, his poetry has no novelty. He who truly understands the fluid will never stop moving forward. He who excels at a transitory fashion can only have his verse meet a momentary taste; once the fashion changes, he becomes stagnated.³⁶⁵

On the other hand, Dohō explained the concept that he called *fueki* and *henka* (change) in *Sanzōshi*.

³⁶⁴ Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 263.

³⁶⁵ This translation is by Peipei Qiu in *Bashō and the Dao*, 136.

Bashō's poetry has both the eternal unchanging and the momentary ever-changing. These two aspects become one at the base, which is the truth of poetic art. If one does not understand the unchanging, one cannot truly understand Bashō's haikai. The unchanging does not depend on the new or the old and is unrelated to change or trends; it is firmly anchored in the truth of poetic art.³⁶⁶

As Peipei Qiu points out, while Kyorai thought the *fueki* and *ryūkō* are two different styles, Dohō saw them as two essential aspects of Bashō's poetry. Nonetheless, "both assume that a binary construction resides in poetic creation consisting of something constant and something fluid, and that the binary aspects are unitarily based on the "sincerity of poetry."³⁶⁷

The concept of *fueki ryūkō*, as many scholars point out, was not invented by Bashō. Konishi Jin'ichi think that this slogan is based on the Chinese concept of *yi* (change) expounded in the *Yi jing* 易經 (Classic of Change), one of the five classics in Confucian teachings.³⁶⁸ Okazaki Yoshie claims that besides the study of *yi*, Neo-Confucianism also had impact on the development of this notion.³⁶⁹ Peipei Qiu further indicates that Kyorai and Dohō used the terms "inaction" and "movement," and "what is still" and "what is in motion," respectively, to explain the notion of "unchanging and changing." Both the two pairs of terms have parallels in *the Zhuangzi*.³⁷⁰ In any case, a Chinese influence on Bashō's concept is undeniable. Nevertheless,

³⁶⁶ This translation is by Haruo Shirane in *Traces of Dreams*, 264.

³⁶⁷ "Sincerity of poetry" is Qiu's translation of *fūga no makoto*. Peipei Qiu, *Bashō and the Dao*, 137.

³⁶⁸ See Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, "Fueki ryūkō setsu no genkei" 不易流行説の原型, *Kokugo kokubun* 国語国文 14-10 (1946: 1): 12.

³⁶⁹ Okazaki Yoshie 岡崎義恵, "Matsuo Bashō bungaku no honshitsu" 松尾芭蕉文学の本質, *Bashō kōza* 芭蕉講座 2 (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1983), 162.

³⁷⁰ Peipei Qiu, *Bashō and the Dao*, 138.

as we can see from Sodō's preface, Sodō put forward a similar concept of "temporary flowers and ultimate flowers" earlier than Bashō. This concept is closest to Kyorai's interpretation of Bashō's "unchanging and changing," which sees them as two different styles. Although Sodō seems to emphasize on the significance of the "ultimate flowers" while Bashō seems to have a more comprehensive theory on the paradox of the unchanging and changing, it is highly possible that Bashō gained inspiration, at least partially, directly from Sodō.

As discussed above, the two prefaces by Sodō reveal his poetics during the 1680s: he had realized the limitations of Teimon-style and Danrin-style, both of which he practiced during his earlier life, and started to seek for the essence of *haikai* in Chinese poetry, *waka*, and traditional *renga*. In order to discover the truth of poetry, he advocated going on pilgrimages and encountering with nature. In terms of technique, he suggested combining scene and feeling. And in the stylist respect, he preferred the "ultimate flowers," in other words, the verses that represent a shared spirit with traditional poetic forms. His attitude toward traditional literature, especially his emphasis on absorbing the essence of traditional poetry instead of merely imitating the form, coincides with that of Bashō as revealed in the preface Bashō wrote for *Minashiguri*, which has been discussed in Chapter Four. Additionally, his poetics shares striking overlapping with the poetic ideals of Bashō's school as represented in their slogans: "changing and unchanging," "awakening to the high, returning to the low" (*kōgo kizoku* 高悟帰俗), and "the truth of poetic art" (*fūga no makoto* 風雅の誠).³⁷¹ The consistencies in the two poets' poetics should not be

³⁷¹ The "awakening to the high," as Shirane phrases, "implied spiritual cultivation, a deepened awareness of nature and the movement of the cosmos, and a pursuit of the 'ancients,' the noted poets of the past." It shows Bashō's view that *haikai* needed "to forge bonds with the traditional arts, to draw authority and inspiration from the earlier poets of Japan and China, to find a larger philosophical or spiritual base." "The truth of poetic art" also represents Bashō's endeavor to elevate *haikai* into a status equal to traditional poetic forms. *Fūga* refers to "cultural practice of the highest order." As stated in *Sanzōshi*, "Chinese poetry, *waka*, *renga* and *haikai* are all *fūga*." *Makoto*, on the other

accidental, especially considering the fact that both prefaces by Sodō were written immediately before the establishment of the mature style of Bashō's school.

Conclusion

As Bashō's disciple Kyorai commented in *Kyoraishō*: "Sodō is an old friend of the master. He is a learned man with protean talent, and has been well known as a *haikai* poet."³⁷² Sodō's achievements in *haikai*, especially his pioneering poetics and his verses that represent a world of seclusion and elegance, were closely tied up with his profound knowledge and deep understanding of Chinese literature and thought. Bashō, through frequent interactions with Sodō, especially during the 1680s, also benefited from Sodō's erudition in Chinese studies, while he was establishing his own style. His reception of Chinese and *kanbun* literature was mediated by Sodō in various ways on multiple levels. First of all, the *haikai*-style *kanshi* Sodō wrote to Bashō often ingeniously link Chinese literature and thought to what Bashō was familiar with—for example, Bashō's gourd, Bashō's words, and also Bashō himself. They contributed to deepening Bashō's understanding of related concepts and texts, and sometimes even inspired Bashō to write *haikai* verses. In addition, Sodō collaborated with Bashō in a *wakan haikai* sequence, in which Sodō not only demonstrated how to compose *kan* verses with *haikai* spirit, but also led Bashō to eventually produce good *kan* verses. Finally, Sodō internalized what he had received from Chinese studies in his *haikai* compositions and criticism. Building on Chinese literary criticism and philosophical thought, he advocated fusing scene and feeling, and emphasized on the

hand, refers to "a truth, or higher dimension, that could be realized in or through *fūga*, through *hiakia* as poetic art, and that he believed was lacking in earlier *haikai*." See Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 255-258.

³⁷² *Renga ronshū*, *Nōgaku ronshū*, *Haironshū*, 544.

significance of adhering to eternal poetic truth in *haikai* compositions. These poetic views likely had impact on Bashō, whose poetry in maturation stage is an exemplar of fusion of scene and feeling, and who eventually established a set of similar but more systematic and comprehensive poetic ideals.

Although I attempted to demonstrate Sodō's role as a medium between Chinese studies and Bashō, I have no intention to claim that all of Bashō's knowledge about Chinese literature and culture was received from or influenced by Sodō. Besides self-learning, Bashō also had other avenues to learn or consult on Chinese texts. As mentioned before, Kigin may have introduced some Chinese texts to him. Moreover, Bashō's disciple Sokaku 其角 (1661-1707) and his friend Sentoku 沾徳 (1662-1726) had considerable knowledge in Chinese poetry as well.³⁷³ They could be another channel through which Bashō had contact with Chinese literature.

Neither do I intend to debase Bashō's achievements in *haikai* or prove that Sodō was superior to Bashō. The so-called Bashō style, although having a misleading name, originally would not have come into being without a collaborative effort of many people, including Bashō himself, his friends, and also his disciples. Precisely because Bashō was good at absorbing knowledge from various people and taking advantage of what he had learned into his own use, he was able to become the greatest *haikai* master during the time, elevating *haikai* into a serious art. Furthermore, this relationship between Bashō and Sodō was mutual: they both benefited from their interactions, and they both exerted influence on each other. We have seen examples in which Sodō's *kan* verses draw upon on Bashō's *haikai* verses. Sodō's poetic ideas were also inseparable with his communications with Bashō. In fact, most of Sodō's best *haikai* verses, the

³⁷³ About Bashō's interactions with Sentoku, please see Odaka Toshiro 小高敏郎, "Bashō to sannin no tomo" 芭蕉と三人の友, *Renga haikai kenkyū* 連歌俳諧研究 20 (1960: 10): 21-28.

ones that represent the poetic ideals he proposed in our discussion, were composed during the late 1680s. After then, especially after Bashō's death in 1694, Sodō composed few *haikai* verses except for mourning Bashō, and his perception of *haikai* turned to a rather "metaphysical one," as Ogino phrases it: he claimed in his writings that it was difficult to distinguish good *haikai* from bad ones, since style of *haikai* constantly changes.³⁷⁴ It is unlikely a coincidence that Sodō became lukewarm toward *haikai* after he lost Bashō.

³⁷⁴ For Sodō's comments on *haikai* in his writings during his later years, see Ogino Kiyoshi, "Yamaguchi Sodō no kenkyū ge," 62-66.

Conclusion

This dissertation discusses five cases that represent different kinds of “China” in linked verse compositions of Japan. In Chapter One, the *kan* verses composed by Gozan monks comprehensively imitated Chinese poetry. For many Gozan monks, Chinese studies were their main pursuit and passion, sometimes even more important than Zen practice. They were certainly better versed in Chinese poetry than vernacular Japanese poetry, and their knowledge of Chinese literature was not limited to the most famous works and authors such as *Wen Xuan*, Bo Juyi, Li Bo, Du Fu, and Su Dongpo, but they even studied and modeled *lianju*, a poetic genre that was not so influential even in Chinese literary history. In the early stage of *wakan renku* that Gozan monks composed with the elites, Gozan monks made some compromise in terms of linking and progression, especially when a *kan* verse is directly linked to a *wa* verse, but they were still trying to duplicate the poetic world created in the precedents of Chinese poetry for each individual *kan* verse, and they often kept the *lianju* way of linking in consecutive *kan* verses.

The situation changed, however, when Gozan monks got involved in the *wakan renku* gatherings centered around the courtiers, as showed in Chapter Two. In these *wakan renku* compositions, although individual *wa* and *kan* verses still largely maintain Japanese and Chinese poetic traditions in most cases, the progression of the sequence is similar to *renga*, and eventually *renga* rules were adopted with minor changes. When participating these *wakan renku* compositions, Gozan monks did not stick to the *lianju* way of linking but instead cooperated in linking the verses in a *renga* way and following the rules. Eventually, their own *renku* were assimilated to *renga* in terms of linking and integration.

In *wakan haikai* examined in Chapter Three, the *kan* verses further deviated from Chinese poetic traditions, so much that neither do they make sense in literary Chinese nor are they related to Chinese literature in terms of content. Many of the composers of *wakan haikai* belonged to the commoner class, and they had less knowledge of and affinity to Chinese literature and culture than Zen monks and aristocrats. Their *kan* verses parody Chinese poetry for word play, simply taking the form and juxtaposing it with vernacularized Japanese content. The so-called *kan* verses are thus a hybrid of Chinese form and Japanese content, the contrast of which creates a humorous effect.

Haikai poets also resorted to Chinese literature for freshness and literariness when exploiting full possibilities of *haikai*, as analyzed in Chapter Four. Bashō's circle experimented various ways of appropriating Chinese and *kanbun* literature in the so-called "Chinese style," from adopting the orthography, to taking advantage of the content, to inheriting the spirit. Like their ancestors who utilized *kan* for the elevation of *renga* into a higher status, *haikai* poets were also able to sublimate *haikai* into a serious art through an association with "China" on the spiritual level.

Chapter Five provides an example in which the Japanese reception of Chinese literature and thought was mediated through Japanese authors and works. Not only did Sodō's *kanbun* writings served as a bridge between Chinese texts and Bashō's *haikai*, but Sodō's deep understanding of poetry in general, which benefited from his eruditeness in Chinese studies, played an important role in the establishment of Bashō's poetics on *haikai*.

The above five cases can be summarized as imitative *kan*, assimilated *kan*, parodic *kan*, appropriated *kan*, and mediated *kan*, which can be used to analyze cases in other Japanese literary texts. More importantly, they demonstrate the multiple dimensions and possible hybridity

of *kan*. Although there are cases in which *kan* verses completely modeled Chinese poetry, more often than not, the so-called *kan* verses involve juxtaposition, interaction, and fusion of Japanese and Chinese elements within themselves. In some cases, *kan* verses build on the content of Chinese poetry but are linked in a Japanese way. Some *kan* verses combine Chinese form and Japanese content. And there exist examples in which Japanese and Chinese elements cannot be distinguishingly identified or neatly divided. In addition, sometimes what the Japanese authors conceived of as *kan* was a result filtered through Japanese authors or works. These examples show the complex instability embodied by *kan*, and their existence problematizes the approaches that polarize *wa* and *kan*. Meanwhile, the penetration of Japanese elements into the *kan* reveals that the Sino-Japanese relationship in Japanese literary texts is not a unidirectional one, as commonly regarded: *wa* affected and shaped *kan* as well.

This dissertation incorporates a considerable amount of discussion of texts written in *kanbun*, which are important in Japanese literary history but have not yet gained a degree of scholarly attention commensurate with its historical impact. Instead of merely examining how *kanbun* texts received native Chinese literary works, as in most previous scholarship, I focus on their interrelation with vernacular Japanese writings, demonstrating an interactive, dynamic relationship between *kanbun* literature and vernacular Japanese literature. On the one hand, *kanbun* literature in many cases served as an important medium between Chinese sources and Japanese texts; Japanese reception of Chinese texts is sometimes filtered through *kanbun* texts. On the other hand, the relationship between *kanbun* writings and vernacular Japanese literature is not one-way; Japanese texts also exerted influence on *kanbun* texts, making them diverge from Chinese literary traditions. While this dissertation focuses on poetry, in the future, I will continue

my research on the dynamic relationship between *kanbun* literature and vernacular Japanese literature, turning to genres such as essays, travel diaries, and popular fictions.

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