From the Editors' Desk  編纂者から

EMJ Renewals, Call for Proposals, EMJNet at the AAS 2004 (with abstracts of presentations)

Articles 論文

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration In Haikai: Chōmu, Buson, Issa</td>
<td>Cheryl Crowley</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration in the &quot;Back to Bashō&quot; Movement: The Susuki Mitsu Sequence of Buson's Yahantei School</td>
<td>Cheryl Crowley</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration of Buson and Kitō in Their Cultural Production</td>
<td>Toshiko Yokota</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Evening Banter of Two Tanu-ki: Reading the Tobi Hiyoro Sequence</td>
<td>Scot Hislop</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating with the Ancients: Issues of Collaboration and Canonization in the Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō</td>
<td>Scott A. Lineberger</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Editors

Philip C. Brown                    Ohio State University
Lawrence Marceau                 University of Delaware

Editorial Board

Sumie Jones                      Indiana University
Ronald Toby                    University of Illinois

For subscription information, please see end page.

The editors welcome preliminary inquiries about manuscripts for publication in *Early Modern Japan*. Please send queries to Philip Brown, *Early Modern Japan*, Department of History, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210 USA or, via e-mail to brown.113@osu.edu. All scholarly articles are sent to referees for review.

Books for review and inquiries regarding book reviews should be sent to Lawrence Marceau, Review Editor, *Early Modern Japan*, Foreign Languages & Literatures, Smith Hall 326, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716-2550. E-mail correspondence may be sent to lmarceau@udel.edu.

Subscribers wishing to review books are encouraged to specify their interests on the subscriber information form at the end of this volume.

The Early Modern Japan Network maintains a web site at http://emjnet.history.ohio-state.edu/.

We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the East Asian Studies Program at the Ohio State University.
EMJ Renewals: Since EMJ first began publication we have endeavored to keep our subscription charge reasonable; in order to do that we have benefited from financial support from universities (most recently, The Ohio State University) and we rely solely on volunteers who get no administrative support or release time. Finally, we have kept costs low, limiting mailings, for example.

In this vein I would again like to call readers attention to the mailing labels on the envelope in which you receive EMJ. Each subscriber’s renewal date is clearly indicated on the label, and marked in red for the last issue. Please note this date and plan to send renewal checks accordingly. This notification procedure saves us considerable time as well as money. Thanks for your cooperation!

Call for Proposals for the Thematic Issues of EMJ and the 2005 Meeting of the Early Modern Japan Network. The editors are in discussion with several people regarding proposals for thematic issues of EMJ, but we wish to again express our interest in working with readers to develop such projects. If you have an interesting idea, please 1) indentify a well-defined theme and potential contributors, and 2) a guest editor who can manage contributions, assure their submission to referees and timely preparation for copy editing and publication. Contact Philip Brown at Department of History, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus OH 43210 or at brown.113@osu.edu.

Proposals for next year’s EMJNet’s meeting in conjunction with the AAS annual meeting need to be submitted by September 15, 2004. Contact Philip Brown at Department of History, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus OH 43210 or at brown.113@osu.edu.

As always, we continue subscribers and readers to submit materials for publication with EMJ. Scholarly articles are routinely sent out to colleagues to be refereed, but in addition to the traditional scholarly publications we have published a variety of other kinds of work in the past: translations of documents, essays on early modern Japan studies in different countries (France and Russia, with others recently solicited), articles on teaching and the use of computers in Japanese studies and research. We seek a broad array of materials that go beyond what scholarly journals ordinarily publish but still clearly serve the development of early modern Japanese studies.

EMJnet at the AAS: This year’s EMJ Annual Meeting will be held on Thursday, March 4, in the Pacific Salon 4 & 5 (Level 2), 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. This year’s presentations will focus on the theme of “Mapping Early Modern Japan.” Two presentations, one by Marcia Yonemoto, University of Colorado, and the other by Peter D. Shapinsky, University of Michigan, will form the core of the meeting. Abstracts for both papers follow.

(Interested members please note that a related panel #162 will be presented, “GIS in Historical-Geographical Analysis: Case Studies from Japan and Vietnam [Sponsored by Early Modern Japan Network]” with two papers on Japan, “Mapping Settlement Patterns and Characteristics around Edo in the 1800s using a Geographic Information System (GIS),” presented by Loren Siebert, University of Akron Koichi Watanabe, National Institute of Japanese Literature, and Arable as Commons: Land Reallocation and the National Environment in Early Modern Japan,” presented by Philip C. Brown, The Ohio State University; Saturday, March 6, 5 – 7 p.m., Terrace Salon 2.)

EMJNet Annual Meeting Paper Abstracts:

“Silence Without Secrecy? What is Left Unsaid in Early Modern Japanese Maps”

Marcia Yonemoto
University of Colorado at Boulder

In a seminal 1988 essay, J.B. Harley observed that early modern European governments practiced two primary forms of cartographic censorship. The first and most obvious tactic was to keep cartographic information secret for purposes of military defense. The second and more ambiguous strategy was to ignore, suppress, or otherwise fail to represent on the map information that did not
reinforce reigning social and political values. Harley’s larger argument, common in much of his work, was to draw attention to the “silent” and “secret” ideological and discursive functions of maps.

Mapmaking in the Tokugawa period provides a compelling opportunity to explore Harley’s assertions in the early modern Japanese context. Maps of various types were produced and widely circulated in Tokugawa Japan. In terms of administrative mapmaking, between the early seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the shogunate mapped the archipelago more completely and systematically than had any government before it, conducting five separate provincial mapmaking projects and compiling from them four maps of all of Japan. But administrative maps constituted only a small percentage of total map production; most maps from the early modern period that survive today were commercially printed and published. This paper proposes that while maps in early modern Japan were only rarely kept secret, for a variety of reasons they were silent about issues that might challenge or contradict the political or social order. The paper will address several instances of “cartographic silence,” and will suggest how they might be interpreted.

“Japanese Portolan Charts and Hybrid Nautical Technologies”

Peter D. Shapinsky
University of Michigan

Extant records of premodern Japanese navigational techniques and nautical maps are scanty before the sixteenth century when, with the European encounter, Japanese explored methods of navigation and cartography such as the portolan chart. One of the dominant contemporaneous European cartographical methods, portolan charts reflect a distinctly nautical reality—they define oceanic space with inscriptions of coastlines overlaid with an intersecting series of rhumb lines that trace the compass directions. Lacking standardization, portolan charts were less universal systems for organizing nautical information than a patchwork of local navigational information that could be applied anywhere coastlines and compasses were known. Concomitantly, successful navigation required that portolan charts — themselves hybrid creations — be used in conjunction with a shifting amalgam of devices, belief systems, and location-specific experiential knowledge.

Born out of the interconnectivities in the cosmopolitan world of maritime East Asia, Japanese portolan charts record the hybrid possibilities embedded in the process of encounter, negotiation, and translation between heterogeneous European navigational practices dependent on local knowledge and experience, and the local knowledge, and practice of Japanese seafarers. I will explore Japanese portolan charts within the context of Japanese seafaring in East Asia by reading Japanese portolan charts together with a contemporaneous navigational manual, the Genna kōkaisho. This text contains the lessons and experiences of a Japanese mariner who learned European navigational practices sailing under a Portuguese pilot on a Bakufu-licensed trading ship. These analyses reveal the process of navigational technological transfer and development and highlight the interconnected, syncretic nature of the hybrid navigational practices that characterized this period of Japan’s interaction with Europe and East Asia.

Collaboration in Haikai: Chômu, Buson, Issa: An Introduction

© Cheryl Crowley, Emory University

It is common, especially for specialists outside the field of literature, to imagine poetic composition as the product of a single author. That impression is understandable; after all, collections of poetry are assembled, edited, and published in the name of specific individuals. We may also be aware that creation of poetry could be part of a social event – a form of competition. Yet we seldom, if ever, consider the possibility that collaboration extended beyond that which might be implicit in a spontaneous competition.

The essays published here show a variety of ways in which collaboration in haikai poetry extended well beyond the realm of social event or competition.

Cheryl Crowley explores the collaborative verse form *haikai no renga* (haikai linked verse) as an integral part of the mid-eighteenth-century’s "Back to Bashô" movement. In this movement, *haikai* poets, most notably Yosa Buson and his Yahantei school, argued for a rejection of commercialized practices which characterized contemporary *haikai* and a return to the ideals of Bashô. The members of the "Back to Bashô" movement made linked verse a cornerstone of their efforts to imitate Bashô and a foundation of their poetic practice. For them linked verse composition was an act of resistance to the more popular trends of the day, a marker of solidarity among poets of different schools who shared the same goals, and was central to their efforts to reclaim *haikai* from the status of a game and return it to the standards set for it by Bashô. Professor Crowley discusses the Yahantei school linked verse composition, *Susuki mitsu* (Having seen miscanthus) from *Kono hotori* (Around here, 1773). This competition was highly representative of the new style of linked verse that emerged during this period, and it shows how the practice of linked verse composition became a way to reify the ideals of the "Back to Bashô" movement.

Toshiko Yokota explores collaboration in the context of a competition among poetry schools for prestige. As the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu notes, those who are engaged in cultural production attempt to advance their positions in the cultural field, competing for cultural legitimacy. No author produces his works alone – he creates them as part of social space, a space that comprises various fields of struggle. In the case of the poet-painter, Yosa Buson, friends and students in his *haikai* group also participated in his literary and artistic production, competing and collaborating for advancement of their position within the field.

In particular, Professor Yokota focuses on Buson's relationship with his student Takai Kitô (1741-89) to show the ways that they accumulated cultural capital and promoted shared aesthetic values. Buson and Kitô collaborated in producing linked verse – still an important genre during this period. Kitô also collaborated with Buson in helping to promote his teacher's paintings. The analysis of Buson's two-fold practice as a poet-painter indicates that his *haikai* network overlapped with his painting network and that he collaborated with his student-patrons in both fields. In the case of his leading student, Takai Kitô, their collaboration is evident in (a) Buson's giving Kitô opportunities to edit the group's anthologies, (b) Buson's writing prefaces for Kitô's works, (c) Buson's composing *haikai* linked verse with Kitô and (d) Kitô's role as a middleman to support Buson's practice as a painter, and show that the two reciprocated and enhanced their economic, cultural, and symbolic capital through their collaboration.

The *haikai no renga* (haikai style linked verse) sequences of Kobayashi Issa (1763–1827) are the focus of Scot Hislop's essay. These poems have not received much scholarly attention even though they formed an important part of Issa's poetic practice. There are some 250 sequences extant in which he participated. Many of the best of these were composed in a comparatively elegant style with poets like Natsume Seibi (1749–1816). Here Mr. Hislop examines the *Tôbi hiyoro* sequence composed in 1815 by Issa and Kawahara Ippyô (1771–1840), the poet who most resembled Issa in terms of style of composition and choice of topics. In this sequence, Issa and Ippyô collaborated in seeking new poetic space outside the confines of
the increasingly clichéd Shōfū style (the style produced by An’ei and Tenmei [1772–1789] period poets). He examines some of the techniques they used in this collaboration and will argue that their joint efforts constituted a viable alternative to the stylized sequences of their contemporaries.

Finally Scott Lineberger takes up the Illustrated Biography of Bashō the Elder (Bashō-ō ekotoba den), completed in 1792 and presented to Gichūji Temple, where Bashō is buried. It was the first complete biography of Bashō, tracing his life from his early years in Iga, through his numerous journeys and concluding with a remarkably detailed record of his final days. The creative force behind this scroll was the Kyoto literati monk Goshōan Chōmu. The work consists of three scrolls including paintings by Kano Shōei alternated with a text handwritten by Chōmu. The text portrays Bashō as a poet who was inspired by a profound understanding the Buddhist concept of impermanence to conduct a life of poverty and wandering. While this interpretation is only loosely based on fact, it fundamentally influenced the subsequent reception of Bashō’s work and his canonization.

Lineberger analyzes the unusual collaborative effort that led to the creation of this scroll. As a picture scroll, this text embodies the synergy produced by the collaboration between writers and painters. Moreover, while Chōmu compiled the text, he should not be described as the author, because the text is based almost entirely on Bashō’s journals and the writings of his disciples. A close reading and analysis reveals that Chōmu skillfully weaves together the fictional writings of Bashō with the biographical writings of Bashō’s disciples and a few words of his own, creating a remarkable collaboration with poets who lived a century earlier.
Collaboration in the "Back to Bashō" Movement: The Susuki Mitsu Sequence of Buson's Yahantei School

© Cheryl Crowley, Emory University

Renewed interest in the collaborative form hai-kai no renga 誹諧の連歌 was an integral part of the mid-eighteenth century "Back to Bashō" movement, in which Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1783) and his associates condemned the commercialized practices that characterized contemporary haikai and argued for a return to the ideals of Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694). After the death of Bashō, who had made ga 雅, or elegance, central to his poetry, game-like forms came to rival linked verse and hokku composition in popularity. Buson and his colleagues in the "Back to Bashō" movement opposed this trend. In their efforts to imitate Bashō, they made linked verse a cornerstone of their practice.

In this paper, I will discuss one of the Buson school's verse sequences, Susuki mitsu 薄見つ (Seeing miscanthus), written by Buson, Takai Kitō 高井其董 (1741-1789), Wada Ranzan 和田嵐山 (d. 1773), and Miura Chora 三浦樗良 (1729-1780) in the ninth month of 1773 (Anei 2) and published shortly afterwards in the anthology Kono hotori - Ichiya shi kasen この辺り一夜四歌仙. I will argue that for Buson and his colleagues, linked verse composition was an act of resistance to the more popular trends of the day, and a marker of solidarity among poets of different schools who shared the same goals. It was central to their efforts to reclaim haikai from the status of a game and return to the standards set for it by Bashō.

Because this sequence was written in the context of the "Back to Bashō" movement, it will be helpful to begin by tracing the origins of the movement and explaining the process by which it came to shape the haikai of the mid- to late eighteenth century. The "Back to Bashō" movement lasted roughly from the 1730s to the 1790s. In addition to Buson, Chora, and Kitō, other major "Back to Bashō" poets were Tan Taigi 炭太祇 (1709-1771), Katō Kyōtai 加藤暁台 (1732-1792), Chōmu 蝶夢 (1732-1795), Kaya Shirao 加代白雄 (1738-1791), and Hori Bakusui 堀麦水 (1718-1783).¹ The movement had followers all over the country, due in part to the itinerant habits of many of its members.

The "Back to Bashō" poets were reacting to what they saw as the degenerate state of the hai-dan in the early decades of the eighteenth century. In the first place, haikai became increasingly popular, and a variety of different factions competed to attract the growing numbers of students. Older, long-established groups like the Teimon 貞門 and Danrin 談林 schools continued to attract followers. Also, Bashō's disciples formed schools of their own, collectively called the Shōmon 蕉門. And finally, there was a growing number of other groups not affiliated with either the Teimon, Danrin, or Bashō traditions.

Furthermore, the Shōmon itself divided into two major factions, the urban and the rural. The urban school chose to emulate the style of Bashō's early career, favoring a style that was close to that of the Danrin school in its emphasis on complexity of language and humor. The rural faction – further divided into the Mino and Ise schools – made Bashō's late work their model, and aimed to produce verse in the light or karumi 雲雨 style of his later years. Both the urban and rural schools claimed to preserve Bashō's authentic teachings, of which there were multiple, competing versions.

In addition to the proliferation of factions, another important change took place: verse styles that had originated in the Genroku period achieved new prominence. Haikai as practiced by Bashō mainly takes two forms, linked verse and hokku 発句. However, a wide range of other varieties developed, collectively termed zappai 雑宜, or miscellaneous haikai. One such variety was called maekuzuke 前句付, where a haikai verse marker or tenja 点者 set a verse (maeku 前句) and his – or, occasionally, her – disciples would write a link-

ing verse or tsukeku 付句 to match with it. The tenja 会人 would then rate the students' efforts with points. Verse scoring had been used by medieval renga masters to help students practice. However, in this period, the score became an end in itself. For many practitioners, haikai was less a kind of literary self-expression than an amusing diversion, and it eventually became a form of gambling. This kind of haikai was immensely popular in the fifty or so years after Bashō's death.

Thus, in the first half of the eighteenth century a new community of haikai practitioners emerged: those who played the game, and the tenja, who earned a living by deciding the scores. In trying to please their teachers and earn the most points, competitive poet-players ignored the finer details of linking technique that was of critical importance in composing sequences, and interest in linked verse composition itself began to decline.2

Some members of the haikai community, particularly those who felt some affinity with Bashō, resisted this development. A new trend began to emerge with the publication of the collection Go-shikizumi 五色墨 (Five colors of ink, 1731) that criticized the low standards of the haikai of the day.3 Over the next decade a loose affiliation of poets who actively sought a return to Bashō started to coalesce. The earliest phase of this movement began at the time of the fiftieth anniversary of Bashō's death in 1744, which was marked by the compilation and publication or re-publication of Bashō's important works by Shō-mon-affiliated poets. Discontent grew during the middle years of the eighteenth century. Seeking to turn back what they saw as a trend towards the simplification and vulgarization of the genre, Buson, Kitō, and their colleagues looked for a source of authority to provide a standard. Since so many of them came from schools that traced their lineages back to Bashō, not surprisingly, Bashō was the one to whom they turned.4

Buson and his disciples and associates generally sought to imitate haikai practices of the previous generation instead of pandering to currently popular tastes. During his early years in Kyoto, for example, Buson led a haikai study group called Sankaisha, 三果社 whose purpose was to practice writing on dai 題 or poetic topics that had fallen out of use in his day. As the decades passed, many of the activities of his school, Yahantei 夜半亭, were planned to commemorate the anniversaries of Bashō's death. One such example was the 1773 publication of Akegarasu 明鳥 (Dawn Crow) – an anthology compiled by Kitō – which, like the title's reference to the calling of crows at sunrise, was supposed to serve as a wake-up call to poets to return to the teachings of Bashō. This was followed by Zoku akegarasu 続明鳥 in 1774, also compiled by Kitō, who envisioned it as a latter-day answer to Bashō's seminal verse collection Sarumino 猿蓑 (Monkey's straw raincoat, 1691).5 In 1776, Buson and others even undertook to rebuild the Bashō-an 芭蕉庵, a hermitage built by Konpuku-ji 金福時 priest Tesshū 鉄舟 (d. 1698), a disciple of Bashō. Buson and his colleagues used it for haikai gatherings for several years.6

The "Back to Bashō" poets viewed linked verse composition as another way to recapture the glamour and elegance of Bashō school haikai. Composing a kasen 歌仙, or thirty-six link sequence, required much more discipline, experience and knowledge of the classical literary tradition than did maekuzuke. Buson himself preferred composing hokku to linked verse, which may have been because he was a perfectionist who was uneasy with surrendering so much control of his work to others.7 Nevertheless, his linked verse output was prodigious—over 100 of his sequences are extant. Buson and his associates tended to favor the kasen in imitation of Bashō, who preferred this form. Gathered in the place of composition,

2 Satō Katsuaki 佐藤勝明 et al, Renku no sekai 連句の世界 (Shintensha, 1997), pp. 89-90.
3 Ibid, pp. 95-96.
4 Konishi, p. 150.
5 Ōiso Yoshio 大磯義雄, Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村, (Ôfusha, 1975), pp. 69-72.
7 Yamashita Kazumi 山下一海, Buson no sekai 蕪村の世界 (Yûhikaku, 1982), p. 156.
the participants were able to enact the ideals of Bashō as a living practice.

The four Kono hotori sequences were highly representative of the linked verse of Buson's school. Buson's contributions in particular show a strong interest in classical Japanese and Chinese literature and history, something that is common in the hokku of his mature period. Often the links are distant in comparison to those composed by Bashō and his disciples, and the shikimoku 式目 (rules of linked verse) standards are not so strictly followed. For example, in three cases moon and flower verses appear out of their appointed positions in the Susuki mitsu sequence. Also, one participant, the ailing Ranzan, drops out after two rounds and does not re-appear until the very end, contributing only three of the thirty-six verses.

Susuki mitsu brought together four dissimilar voices. Ranzan's haikai teacher was Renshi, one of the Goshikizumi poets. Chora grew up in Ise, and studied with disciples of Bakurin, a leader of a rural Bashō school. Chora was a successful haikai master with numerous students, although he had a reputation for being irresponsible and profligate in his ways. He spent several years in Kyoto in the early part of the 1770s, and his work frequently appears in sequences composed by Buson and his colleagues around this time. Buson's first haikai teacher was Hayano Hajin 早野巴人 (1676-1742), who had studied with Bashō's Edo disciple Takarai Kikaku 宝井其角 (1661-1707). Kitō's father had also been a student of Hajin. Kitō was Buson's closest disciple and was so thoroughly trusted and admired by Buson that he eventually succeeded Buson in the leadership of the Yahantei school. Kitō edited several of the collections in the Buson shichibu shū 蕪村七部集, and was perhaps even more zealous than Buson in championing the ideals of Bashō.

The four sequences of Kono hotori were composed under unusual circumstances, as Buson's preface to the collection notes. Chora was visiting Kitō, and they decided to join Buson in paying a sick-call to Ranzan, who was at that point extremely ill. In fact, Ranzan died shortly afterwards. Ranzan was very poor – the small house in Aburakōji 油小路 to which he was confined was filthy and neglected. Ranzan wrapped his head in a zukin 頭巾 rather than greet his visitors showing how matted and disheveled his hair had become. His bedding was old, and half-eaten food and unwashed dishes were piled up around his sick-bed.

Still, the visit of the three poets brought him cheer. First they tried to amuse him by telling him horror stories in imitation of the Chinese poet and painter, Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101), who had a taste for the grotesque. Thoroughly delighted, Ranzan proposed that they compose shigin 四吟 (a linked verse sequence composed by four people), and before the end of the evening they had completed four. Buson was immensely pleased with the results of this small gathering. He quickly wrote a preface to accompany the four sequences and took the manuscript to the printer Kitsusendō 椭仙堂, where it was published shortly afterward.

The first of the four Kono hotori sequences is Susuki mitsu (Having seen miscanthus). I will discuss several links that suggest the general nature of the whole. A translation of the entire sequence is included in the appendix.

8 It was expected that verses 17 and 35 refer to blossoms (hana 花), and 5, 14, and 29 refer to the moon (tsuki 月). In Susuki mitsu, only verse 35 conforms to this convention. Verse 14 is a blossom verse instead of a moon verse, and the moon verse is delayed until 16. The third moon verse is also delayed, occurring at number 30. Furthermore, the first moon verse is at 3 rather than 5, although this is not uncommon in kasen whose hokku refer to autumn. Teruoka Yasutaka 暁峻康隆 and Kawashima Tsuyu 川島つゆ, eds., Buson, Issa 蕪村・一茶, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系, vol. 58 (Iwanami Shoten, 1961), pp. 206-213.

9 Ibid, p. 34.


typically given to the highest-ranking guest. In this case, the honor fell to Buson.

1. 薄見つ萩やなからん此辺り
susuki mitsu hagi ya nakaran ya kono hotori (Buson)

having seen miscanthus –
surely there is also bush clover around here

The season word here is hagi (bush clover). Having noticed miscanthus, a plant evocative of the pleasant sadness of autumn, near Ranzan's house, Buson expects that there should also be bush clover, another plant associated with autumn melancholy, nearby. In his commentary on the sequence, the modern scholar Nakamura Yukihiko suggests two possibilities for this pair of images: the miscanthus represents the refined sensibility of Ranzan, and the bush clover the more flamboyant energy of Chora. According to this interpretation, in addition to making the conventional greeting to his host, Buson also makes a nod to the out-of-town guest Chora, acknowledging the dynamic vitality of his poetic style. Alternatively, kono hotori (around here) may refer to the Kyoto haikai community, and the bush clover to the Yahantei school flowering within it.13

Chora composed the waki, or second verse. The waki was conventionally written by the host in grateful response to the main guest's hokku, but as an especially welcome visitor, he was given a singular honor here.

2. 風より起る秋の夕に
kaze yori okoru aki no yûbe ni (Chora)14

beginning with the wind
on an evening in autumn

Chora's verse recalls the waka by Kokinshû poet Fujiwara no Toshiyuki 藤原敏行 (d. 901) that describes a chilly blast that brings an awareness of autumn:

秋立つ日よめる
あききぬにてはさやかに見えぬども
風のをとにぞおどろかれぬる
aki tatsu hi yomeru
aki kinu to me ni wa sayaka ni mienu domo
kaze no oto ni zo odorokarenuru15

Composed on the day autumn began

that autumn has come is not obvious to the eye, rather,
I was surprised by the sound of the wind

(Kokinshû 169)

Chora's waki, linked with Buson's, is an assertion of his solidarity with the Yahantei school's efforts to create a new poetic style emulating Bashô's. The verse refers not just to a meteorological phenomenon, but is also a declaration of the four poets' awakening to the lofty-minded elegance of Bashô-school haikai.16

The next two verses are fairly ordinary, but Chora and Buson follow them with links that are very characteristic of the Buson school and "Back to Bashô" poets in general in their evocation of the classical past.

3. 舟たへて宿とるのみの二日月
fune taete yado toru nomi no futsukazuki (Kitô)17

missed the boat;

---

13 Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, Kono hotori ichiya kased 此ほとり一夜四歌仙 (Kadokawa Shoten, 1980), p. 35.
14 Ibid. p. 206.
16 Nakamura, p. 37.
17 Teruoka and Kawashima, p. 206.
nothing to do but find a place to stay for the night—
early eighth-month moon

4. 紀行の模様一歩一変
kikō no moyō ippo ippen (Ranzan)\(^{18}\)
journeys follow this pattern: something new with each step
Chora and Buson respond with:

5. 貫之が娘おさなき頃なれや
Tsuraiyuki ga musume osonaki goro nare ya (Chora)\(^{19}\)
Tsuraiyuki’s daughter— when she was just a little girl—

6. 半蔀おもく雨のふれゝば
hajitomi omoku ame no furereba (Buson)\(^{20}\)
the half-panel shutters are heavy when rain is falling

Chora picks up on Ranzan’s somewhat vague, platitudinous verse about travel and recasts it into a more elevated situation – the death of the provincial governor’s daughter mentioned in Ki no Tsurayuki’s 紀貫之 (868-945) Tosa niki 土佐日記 (ca. 935). Buson then adds a link using an archaic word, hajitomi, the wooden blinds of an aristocratic Heian residence. He juxtaposes hajitomi with a synesthetic image, the dull, grim feeling of heavy rain. Linked with the previous verse, it suggests a scene of Tsuraiyuki’s daughter closing the heavy shutters against a cold, dreary downpour, compounding the sense of grief and loss.\(^{21}\)

Elsewhere, Buson responds to plain, untextured verses by adding links that allude to historical figures, such as in this example:

18. 五尺の劔打おふせたり
goshaku no tsurugi uchi ousetari (Chora)
the five-foot sword, thoroughly tempered

19. 満仲の多田の移徒日和よき
Manjū no Tada no watamashi hiyori yoki (Buson)
the weather was fine on the day Michinaka moved to Tada

Minamoto no Michinaka 源満仲 (913-997), a descendant of the Seiwa Minamoto 清和源 family, was a military commander during the second half of the tenth century. He moved to Tada in Settsu province after an illustrious career. Because of his outstanding service, two great swords were made for him by a famous blacksmith. Buson picks up on this detail to make the link.\(^{22}\)

In other places Buson’s taste for creating an historical or monogatari-like atmosphere is also evident, such as in this series of links that begins with Kitō’s evocation of an erotic scene.

20. 灯を持つる女麗し
hi o mochi izuru onna uruwashi (Kitō)
the grace of a woman going out with a lamp to light her way

Chora’s tsukeku continues this theme, bringing the focus to the contrast of white snow on the woman’s long black hair:

\(^{18}\) Ibid, 206.
\(^{19}\) Ibid, 207.
\(^{20}\) Ibid, 207.
\(^{21}\) Nakamura, p. 42.
\(^{22}\) Teruoka, p. 73.
27. 黒髪にちらちらかかる夜の雪

*kurokami ni chirachira kakaru yoru no yuki* (Chora)

scattered
on black hair
night snow

Buson's link is:

28. うたへに負ヶて所領追るゝ

*utae ni makete shoryō owaruru* (Buson)

having lost the lawsuit
she is chased out of the territory

This link changes the mood abruptly. The reason for the scene of snow falling on someone's uncovered head is recast into a medieval context, of a plaintiff suddenly run out of the territory after the failure of a lawsuit. In his commentary on the sequence, Teruoka Yasutaka argues that the link may be trying to suggest *Izayoi niki* 十六夜日記 (1279), in which Abutsu-ni 阿仏尼 (d. 1283) describes her journey to Kamakura to plead for her son's right to inherit his father's property.²³

As an examination of this sequence from *Kono hotori* shows, the "Back to Bashō" movement poets were not trying to imitate the style of Ba-shō's linked verse. Rather, they aimed to emulate his attitude of seriousness towards the genre. Buson himself makes this plain in a letter he wrote to Katō Kyōtai which he sent along with a copy of *Kono hotori* soon after it was published:

> In my haikai, I do not dare try to directly imitate the style (*gofū* 語風) of Elder Bashō, but only to follow my heart (*kokoro* 心), taking pleasure in changing my tastes (*fūchō* 風調) from day to day; in the same way as the physician Bianque 扁鵲, I change my manner (*kikaku* 気格) to conform to the standards of each setting.

²³ Ibid, p. 76.

Here Buson refers to the Chinese physician Bianque, described as an exemplary figure in *Meng-qiū* 蒙求 (Beginner's guide, early 8th c.). When Bianque found himself in Handan, where the people venerated women, he became a specialist in women's health; in Loyang, where they respected the elderly, he changed his specialty to geriatrics; in Qin, where they cherished children, he became a pediatrician—tailoring his practice to suit the conditions of the place in which he found himself.²⁴

In other words, Buson acknowledges the futility and indeed the inappropriate-ness of attempting to slavishly copy Bashō's style. However, he does make a particular point of the fact that he is actually following Bashō's example in a much more authentic way, by staying in accord with the spirit of Bashō's style but remaining in touch with the times. Indeed, this is exactly what Bashō himself suggested in the haikai prose passage *Kyōriku ribetsu no kotoba* 許六離別ノ詞 (Words of valediction to Kyoriku), "Do not seek the traces of the ancients, instead, seek what they sought."²⁵

The "Back to Bashō" movement as a whole was itself a collaboration: the dialogue of the voices of diverse individuals seeking to renew haikai by bringing it back to an idealized past. As the example of *Susuki mitsu* shows, linked verse composition was part of this effort. Despite the fact that the poets involved belonged to different lineages, resistance to the spread of tentori haikai brought them together. In composing linked verse sequences such as *Susuki mitsu*, they put into practice their ideal of making a return not to the style, but to the spirit of Bashō.


APPENDIX

Susuki mitsu (Seeing miscanthus)

1. 薄見つ萩やなからん此辺り

susuki mitsu hagi ya nakaran kono hotori
seeing miscanthus—
surely there is also bush clover around here

Buson

2. 風より起る秋の夕に

kaze yori okiru aki no yūbe ni
beginning with the wind
on an evening in autumn

Chora

3. 舟たへて宿るのみの二日月

fune taete yado toru nomi no futsukazuki
missed the boat—
nothing to do but find a place to stay for the night—
early eighth-month moon

Kitō

4. 紀行の模様一歩一変

kikō no moyō ippo ippen
journeys follow this pattern:
something new with each step

Ranzan

5. 賞之が娘おさなき頃なれや

Tsurayuki ga musume osanaki goro nare ya
Tsurayuki's daughter—
when she was just
a little girl—

Chora

6. 半蔀おもく雨のふれいば

hajitomi omoku ame no furereba
the half-panel shutters are heavy
when rain is falling

Buson

7. さよ更て弓弦鳴せる御なやみ

sayofukete yuzuru naraseru onnayami
night deepens
bowstrings are sounded
to lessen his lordship's distress

Ranzan

8. 我もいそじの春秋をしる

ware mo isoji no shunjū o shiru
I, too, have known fifty
springs and autumns

Kitō

9. 汝にも頭巾着せうぞ古火桶

nanji ni mo zukin kishō zo furuhibachi
you too,
should wear a hood
old brazier

Buson
10. 愛せし蓮は枯てあとなき
aiseshi hasu wa karete ato naki
the beloved lotuses
are withered and gone
Chora

11. 小鳥来てやよ鴬のなつかしき
kotori kite ya yo uguisu no natsukashiki
come, little birds!
— the uguisu’s charm
Kitō

12. さかづきさせば逃る県女
sakazuki saseba nigeru agatame
when you bring out the wine cups, she runs away
country woman
Ranzan

13. 若き身の常陸介に補せられて
wakaki mi no Hitachi no suke ni hoserarete
although young the Hitachi vassal is appointed to a post
Buson

14. 八重のさくらの落花一片
yae no sakura no rakka ippen
multi-layered cherry blossoms scatter one petal at a time
Kitō

15. 矢を負し男鹿来て伏す霞む夜に
ya o oishi ojika kite fusu kasumu yo ni
on a misty night when a deer, pierced by an arrow lays himself down
Chora

16. 春もおくある月の山寺
haru mo oku aru tsuki no yamadera
spring grows deep in a moonlit mountain temple
Buson

17. 大瓶の酒はいつしか酢になりぬ
ōbin no sake wa itsushi ka su ni narinu
the wine in the big jug in an instant turned to vinegar
Kitō

18. 五尺の釘打おふせたり
goshaku no tsurugi uchi ősetari
the five-foot sword thoroughly tempered
Chora

19. 満仲の多田の移徒日和よき
Manjū no Tada no watamashi hiyori yoki
the weather was fine on the day Michinaka moved to Tada
Buson
20. 若葉が末に沖の白雲
wakaba ga sue ni oki ni shirakumo
in the tips of the branches of young leaves
white clouds in the offing

Kitō

21. 松が枝は藤の紫咲のこり
matsuga e wa fuji no murasaki sakinokori
in the pines
the purple of wisteria
blooms late

Chora

22. 念仏申て死ぬばかり也
nembutsu mō te shinubakari nari
chanting the holy name
at the point of death

Buson

23. 我山に御幸のむかししのばれて
waga yama ni miyuki no mukashi shinobarete
imperial processions
came to our temple—
longing for the past

Kitō

24. 逃たる鶴の待どかへらず
nigetaru tsuru no matedo kaerazu
waiting for the cranes that flew away,
but they do not return

Chora

25. 銭なく壁上に詩を題しけり
zeni naku hekiyō ni shi o dai shikeri
without a coin to buy paper
writing poems
on the wall

Buson

26. 灯を持出る女麗し
hi o mochi izuru onna uruwashi
the grace of a woman
going out with a lamp to light her way

Kitō

27. 黒髪にちらちらかかる夜の雪
kurokami ni chirachira kakaru yoru no yuki
scattered
on black hair
night snow

Chora

28. うたへに負ヶて所領追るゝ
uta e ni makete shoryō owaruru
having lost the lawsuit
she is chased out of the territory

Buson

29. 日やけ田もことしは稲の立伸し
hi yake ta mo kotoshi wa ine no tachinobishi
even in fields burnt by drought
this year
the plants are ripening

Kitō
30. 祭の膳を並べたる月
matsuri no zen o narabetaru tsuki
the month when festival trays are laid out
Chora

31. 小商人秋うれしさに飛歩き
ko akindo aki ureshisani tobiaruki
a somewhat prosperous merchant, overjoyed by autumn walks at a fast pace
Buson

32. 相傘せうと嫗にたはれて
aigasashō to uba ni tawarete
let's share an umbrella—he teases an elderly lady
Kitō

33. いにしへも今もかはらぬ恋種や
inshie mo ima mo kawaranu koigusa ya
in ancient times just as now love flourishes
Chora

34. 何物語ぞ秘めて見せざる
nani monogatari zo himete misezaru
what romance novel is this? she hides it from view
Buson

35. 象潟の花おもひやる夕間暮
Kisagata no hana omoiyaru yūmagure
thinking fondly on Kisagata's cherry blossoms in the darkening dusk
Ranzan
Collaboration of Buson and Kitō in Their Cultural Production

© Toshiko Yokota, California State University, Los Angeles

Introduction

Although casual readers do not generally think of authors and poets as competitors, according to a French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, the creation of literature and art are part of social space, a realm that includes various fields of struggle. For example, a literary field is positioned in the field of power and is constituted of institutions, social relations and socially constituted individuals whom he calls agents, and groups of agents who share values and beliefs and therefore act in concert. Agents’ positions within a field are determined by their access to economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital. As authors, composers, performers and craftsmen, these agents are engaged in cultural production attempt to advance their positions in the cultural field, and compete for cultural legitimacy. Bourdieu, thus, defines the cultural field as a site of struggles among agents for the various forms of capital at stake.1

When we examine the cultural production of poet-painter Yosa Buson (1716-1783) through the lens of Bourdieu’s model, we see that friends and students of Buson’s haikai group also participated in his literary and artistic production, competing as his partners against members of other haikai groups and collaborating for advancement of their own position within the literary field of the time.

To accurately depict the struggles among haikai poets in the literary field of eighteenth-century Japan, it is really necessary to analyze the cultural production of both Buson and poets in other haikai groups of his time. However, in this study I will limit my discussion largely to Buson’s relationship with his leading student, Takai Kitō (1741-89), and examine various aspects of their collaboration to show how and why they accumulated various kinds of capital, and exemplify the way in which they used their haikai verse to promote shared aesthetic values.

The analysis of Buson’s two-fold practice as a poet-painter will show that his haikai network overlapped with that of his painting and that he collaborated with his student-patrons in both fields. For instance, Buson and Kitō collaborated in producing haikai linked-verse. The surviving one hundred twelve sequences of haikai linked verse in which Buson participated reveal that this was an important poetic genre that required collaboration of the participants for their success in cultural competition.2 Kitō and Buson’s other haikai students also contributed to Buson’s artistic production by promoting the sales of his painting.

Below, I will discuss the significance of (a) Buson’s giving Kitō opportunities to edit the group’s anthologies, (b) Buson’s work writing prefaces for Kitō’s publications, (c) Kitō’s role as a middleman in support of Buson’s practice as a painter and (d) Buson’s composing haikai linked verse with Kitō.

Collaboration with Kitō in Buson’s Practice as a Haikai Poet

One of the major practices of Buson’s haikai group, Yahantei, was to publish their New Year’s albums and haikai anthologies. Buson and Kitō actively collaborated in the process of their publication. Although the members of the Yahantei group did not directly receive economic profit from their publications, they gained symbolic capital in the form of honor and privilege by participating in cultural productions with their leader, Buson. For a small haikai group such as the Yahantei, no economic profit was ever expected from sales of New Year albums and other collections. However, they continued to publish them because publication meant proving their competence as a group in comparison with the other haikai groups

---


2 See vol. 7 of Buson zenshū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1995), pp. 187-275. Linked verse is a series of alternating long (seventeen-syllable) and short (fourteen-syllable) verses usually composed in groups of two or more poets. After one participant composes a verse, the next interprets its meaning, and composes the next.
and it solidified their position in the field. Through publication, they were connected with other groups and remained involved in symbolic struggles against other haikai groups for the purpose of gaining prominence.

The responsibility for editing all the New Year’s albums of the Yahantei group and the writing of the final manuscripts, fell on Buson, the master of the group. Only through limiting the number of his students could he manage this responsibility. In practice, this could have meant a loss of income. However, because Buson was a professional painter, he did not need to depend on haikai poetry as his source of financial support and could keep the number of his haikai students to a minimum.

While Buson edited the small albums and collections of linked-verse by himself, four of seven anthologies were edited by his leading students, most often Kitō. For example, the first of the Yahantei group anthologies, titled *Gleam of the Snow* (*Sono yukikage*), published in 1772, was edited by Kitō, with Buson providing a preface and Miyake Shōzan (1718-1801) an epilogue. *Crows of Dawn* (*Ake garasu*, 1773) and *Crows of Dawn: A Sequel* (*Zoku ake garasu*, 1776) were also edited by Kitō. *Crows of Dawn* (1773) displays the belief of Buson and his students that true Bashō-style poetry could be found only by living detached from ambition for worldly fame. In the preface, Kitō declared that the Yahantei group would support the haikai reform movement. Many poets felt that the quality of haikai had degenerated, especially after the death of Bashō, and serious poets sought to reform haikai poetry from around the time of the fiftieth memorial service for Bashō in 1743. The publication of *Crows of Dawn* signified that the Yahantei sought to position themselves in opposition to the haikai masters they viewed as frivolous because their primary goals were monetary success and fame. In contrast, Buson and his group were attempting to establish their competency as legitimate followers of Bashō.

Buson’s willingness to entrust the editing of anthologies to others was directly linked to the demands of his artistic endeavors. Buson repeatedly complained in his letters that painting for his clients took up too much time and kept him from participating in haikai sessions. Certainly he was too busy to do all the editing of the group’s anthologies, especially those which involved verses by many participants. Consequently, he left much of the editing to Kitō. Scholars argue that Buson was allowing Kitō financial rewards as a professional haikai master. In one sense, this is certainly the case, but unlike most of Buson’s students, who had their own professions and enjoyed haikai as a pastime, Kitō’s main source of income was haikai. Buson therefore gave Kitō opportunities for editing the group’s anthologies such as *Crows of Dawn: A Sequel*, the largest collection of the group.

The more Buson’s name as a poet-painter became known through his haikai publications and the sales of his paintings, the more people asked Buson to write prefaces and epilogues. Accordingly, in addition to writing prefaces for his own group’s anthologies, Buson wrote prefaces and epilogues for his acquaintances outside the group. For example, Buson’s preface for *A Study of Cutting Words* (*Ya kana shō*, 1774) by Ueda Akinari (1734-1809) shows that he had interaction with one of the most prominent writers of the time. Persons outside Yahantei benefited from the associa-

---


4 Shōzan, one of Buson’s life-long friends, studied Chinese poetry and haikai poetry, and contributed to advancing Buson’s knowledge of Chinese poetry.

5 See Ōiso Yoshio, *Yosa Buson* (Tokyo: Okitsha, 1987), pp. 54-56. Buson’s dissatisfaction with the prevailing commercialized vulgar haikai poetry was the result of the education he received from his master, Hayano Hajin, who insisted on retaining Bashō’s conception of haikai poetry as a serious art form and refused to involve himself in the frivolous haikai poetry that was then popular. Hajin studied haikai as one of the best students of Kikaku, who was a student of Bashō.


7 The anthology includes 416 verses and twelve sequences of haikai linked verse by 152 participants.
tion with Buson, and Buson, in return, was able to confirm his position as a leading poet in the field. Writing these prefaces also gave Buson opportunities to express his beliefs as a *bunjin* poet. For example, Buson wrote the preface for his group’s first anthology, *Gleam of the Snow*, that was edited by Kitō. Buson’s preface had the effect of endorsing the anthology and Kitō, the compiler, and helped Kitō to establish himself as an independent professional *haikai* master in 1773. On another occasion, Buson wrote a preface for a student, Kuroyanagi Korekoma, who compiled *Collected Verses of Shundei* (*Shundei kushū*, 1777) in memory of his deceased father Kuroyanagi Shōha (1727-1771). This preface is notable for the way it expresses Buson’s belief in “living above the mundane” (*rizoku*) in the format of a dialogue with his student-patron, Shōha.

Since Kitō first learned *haikai* with his father, Kikei, a professional *haikai* master who had studied under Hayano Hajin (1677? - 1742), he had already had knowledge of *haikai* poetry when he became a *haikai* student of Buson. Kitō was Buson’s most trusted disciple – he even commented “No one else is so talented as Kitō in our group” – and Kitō assisted him in managing Yahantei. Through editing the group’s anthologies and receiving endorsement from Buson, Kitō increased his cultural and symbolic capital that eventually led him to inherit Buson’s leadership of Yahantei and to his recognition as a *haikai* master in his own right.

### Collaboration with Kitō in Buson’s Practice as a Painter

Buson can be differentiated from other *haikai* masters in that he had another dependable income. As a professional painter he had the option of limiting the number of his *haikai* students, relieving him of the obligation to mark his students’ verses in exchange for money. In this regard, his position in the field was rather unique.

Buson made his living through selling his artistic craftsmanship. As he became a renowned painter, his clientele increased. Buson’s artistic production continued to be sustained by his wealthy patrons, and they in turn found value in collecting paintings for their personal pleasure and cultural refinement. Still, economic circumstances forced him to continue to sell his paintings to support his family. He was never wealthy, and in fact one of his students, Matsumura Gekkei (1752-1811), actually had to provide a dowry for Buson’s daughter after his death from the posthumous sale of his works.

Buson depended upon his *haikai* network as an important vehicle for selling his paintings. Numerous examples from his letters show that his students played the role of clients and middlemen. Kitō, for example, was a middleman for Sasaki Kiyū when he bought one of Buson’s *Oku no hoso michi* scrolls. Buson’s letter to another student-patron, Kawata Denpuku, in 1774, also acknowledges Denpuku’s request for two paintings on silk, while further revealing that Denpuku introduced a Confucian scholar to Buson as a new client. Likewise, Teramura Hyakuchi (d.1835), who was Buson’s major student-patron, played an important role when he sold one of Buson’s works, a gilt screen, to a client in Nagoya. These examples all indicate that Buson’s practice as a painter greatly

---

8 See Tanaka, p.161, pp. 136-141 and pp. 210-211 for detailed information on these prefaces. After Kitō became a professional *haikai* master, he continued assisting his master and managing the Yahantei group.

9 See Yajima, p. 181 and Tanaka, p. 161. When a *haikai* poet became a professional master, the poet was identified by the name of the group. In fact, Buson used Yahantei as one of his pen names and for his atelier after he became the leader of the group.

10 In order to participate in a *haikai* linked verse session, participants are required to know rules of linking. For detailed information on the *haikai* rules, see Imoto Nōichi, *Renku dokuhon* (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1987), pp. 211-221.


12 See Tanaka, pp. 144-149.


14 See *Buson zenshū*, p. 362.

15 See ibid., pp. 524-525.

16 See ibid., p. 423.
depended upon Kitō as well as other members of his haikai group.

The examination of an aspect of Buson’s practice as a painter illustrates the collaboration of Buson and Kitō. Buson success as a professional painter depended on the support of Kitō and other haikai students, patrons and associates. He depended upon these contacts for economic survival. Only after he was recognized as an established painter and had established a modest economic foundation for himself, could he accept the position as the leader of the Yahantei group in 1770.17 Buson’s practice as a poet-painter even brought him more honor and fame than might have been the case had he specialized in either painting or haikai. While Buson’s prestige increased, Kitō and other haikai student-patrons, in return, indirectly benefited from his rise in the public’s estimation. Although Kitō might have been one of the unpaid brokers in the sales of Buson’s paintings, we can assume that his support of Buson’s practice as a painter helped strengthen his relationship with his teacher and deepen his trust. Judging from the fact that Kitō became a professional haikai poet and produced masterpieces of haikai linked-verse with the help of Buson, Kitō ultimately gained economic, symbolic, cultural and social capital through his participation in Buson’s artistic production.

Collaboration of Buson and Kitō in Composing Haikai Linked Verse

The following analysis of the Peaches and Plums (Momo sumomo, 1780), sequences of haikai linked-verse, will show that Buson and Kitō not only collaborated in composing poetry, but also that they shared bunjin (literati) values and beliefs based on their common grounding as haikai poets committed to serious literary ideals. These sequences demonstrate their thorough knowledge of Chinese poetry and reveal their ideals as bunjin, ideals that stressed the importance of rejecting the vulgarity of then-popular haikai (ritzoku). Buson especially praised Kitō’s initial verse in the second sequence below for reflecting the spirit of the great Tang poet Tu Fu, noted for his keen observation of beauty in the natural world.18 It was their expression of these values through their work that subtly but forcefully contested the worth of haikai poets they considered inferior and through which they laid claim to a legitimate tradition of haikai that could be traced back to Bashō.

Peaches and Plums includes two representative sequences of Buson’s haikai linked-verse composed with Kitō. Notably, it differs from the usual sequences in their process of composition. A distinctive characteristic of haikai linked-verse lies in the performative nature of the sessions, called za, at which the participants gathered and spontaneously composed verses. However, Buson and Kitō completed these sequences over the course of several months through the exchange of letters. According to Kitō, when Buson was in his sixties, he declared: “I have not yet composed satisfactory sequences of haikai linked-verse.”19 Intending to produce the best sequences in his career as a haikai poet, he chose Kitō as his sole partner and these two poets frequently corresponded, seeking the most appropriate poetic links for their work. In total, Buson and Kitō spent about eight months on the project, beginning in the third month and completing the two sequences in the eleventh month of 1780.20 These efforts clearly demonstrate Buson’s dedication to the goal of producing good haikai linked-verse, even going to the extreme of overriding the fundamental emphasis linked verse placed on creative inspiration demonstrated during spontaneous linked verse sessions (za). His persistent work on the Peaches and Plums sequences resulted in some of his greatest work in the genre.

The first sequence begins with a starting verse or hokku which offers a close-up description of scattered peony petals, moon-lit at dawn. The first six verses demonstrate several characteristics of the two poets’ haikai linked verse; their emphasis on painterly quality and quiet reflection, appreciation of natural beauty, Chinese and Japanese classical culture and mysteriousness:

---

17 The fact that Buson became a haikai master in his fifties indicates that Buson did no consider haikai as the source of his income.

18 See Yajima, p. 179.
19 See Ōiso, pp. 104-105.
1. botan chirite uchikasanariu nisanben
The peony has scattered.
Two or three petals
lie on each other. (Buson)

2. uzuki hatsuka no ariake no kage
Moon light at dawn
on the twentieth day of the fourth month. (Kitō)

3. suwabikite okina ya kado o hirakuran
Coughing,
an old man
will open a gate.
(Kitō)

4. muko no erabi ni kitsuru hengue
A ghost came
to choose a groom.
(Buson)

5. toshi furishi chimata no enoki ono irete
An aged hackberry
on a street
being cut by an axe.
(Buson)

6. hyakuri no rikuchi tomari sadamezu
Vast continent of one hundred miles,
cannot determine where to stop.
(Kitō)

The starting verse reveals Buson’s painterly eye
capturing the beauty of the scattered petals of a
peony. As the peony is known by another name,
“twenty-day flower,” the word “twentieth-day” in
the second verse links to it.22 Verse Three adds a
place and a persona to Verse Two, introducing the
image of the house—possibly an aristocrat’s—
with an old servant opening a gate early in the
morning. Then, Verse Four introduces the image
of a ghost, linking to the atmosphere of the old
house in the previous verse. The curse of the old
tree in Verse Five is linked to the ghost in Verse
Four. Finally, Verse Six recasts the scene in Five
as one encountered during travel, expanding the
horizon into the distance.

The first two verses of this sequence show typical
bunjin appreciation of natural beauty in a quiet
moment of life. Verse Three presents images of
the remote court culture, while the phrase ‘one
defined miles’ in verse six introduces an imagined
Chinese setting. All of these verses show Bu-
son and Kitō’s attachment to classical culture.
Also, the mysterious world of ghosts evoked in
Verse Four reveals his bunjin ideal of escaping
into the past or into a mysterious world.

The following verses, Nineteen and Twenty, are
more examples of the bunjin’s nostalgia for the
court culture of the past.

19. Noto dono no tsuruoto kasum tookara ni
Weak sound of bow
by the Governor of Noto,
hazy in the distance.
(Buson)

20. Hakase hisomite/ toki o uranau
Astrologer prophesies the time
in the hidden place.
(Kitō)

Verse Nineteen presents the image of Taira no
Noritsune, the Governor of Noto of the Taira clan
who perished in the battle at Dannoura in 1185.23
During the Heian period, there was a ritual for
expelling evil spirits by playing the stringed bow,
hence the link to an astrologer of the central gov-
ernment of the time.24

The second sequence begins with a description
of a cold winter night.

21 Translations are by the author.
22 See Buson renku kenkyū, (Tokyo: Shōwa
23 See Buson shū, Issa shū vol. 58 of Nihon
koten bungaku taikei (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten,
24 See ibid., pp. 243-244.
1. Fuyukodachi tuki kotsuzui ni iru yo kana

Winter grove of trees, 
moonlight enters 
into bones at night.  
(Kitō)

2. Kono ku rōto ga samuki harawata

This verse reflects 
the poetic spirit of old Tu Fu.  
(Buson)

3. Gori ni issha kashikoki shisha o negiraite

A rest place 
at every fifth mile 
rewards the service of the noble envoy.  
(Buson)

The use of the Chinese compound, kotsuzui (bone marrow), evokes the world of Chinese poetry, which is taken up in verse two by a reference to the Tang poet Tu Fu, whose poetry often dwelt on hardship and poverty in life.25 Verse three links Tu Fu to the image of the arrival of a noble envoy, which custom required be welcomed by the composition of poetry.26 The beginning of the sequence clearly articulates the knowledge of Chinese poetry and culture shared by Buson and Kitō.

The following verses, Eleven to Fourteen of this sequence, present another example of the bunjin ideal of escaping from the mundane to a mysterious world or into the past.

11. Megitsune no fukaki urami o mikaerite

A female fox 
looks back 
in deep hatred.  
(Buson)

12. Negao ni kakaru bin no fukudami
Scattered hair 
on a sleeping face.  
(Kitō)

The words ‘hatred of a fox’ in Verse Eleven are transposed to the idea of the hatred of love in Verse Twelve, which presents the image of a woman suffering from the pains of love. Verse Thirteen then adds the image of a person who pities her and composes her a poem. Verse Fourteen links the person composing a love poem to the image of a departing ship that cruelly carries away the beloved. The whole section creates a dreamy, storybook atmosphere.

Based on the popular folk belief that a fox can transfigure itself into a woman and seduce humans, the image of a fox in Verse Eleven creates a mysterious atmosphere that is enhanced by the image of a woman’s tossed hair in Verse Twelve.27 The custom of sending a poem during courtship in Verse Thirteen then suggests the identity of the woman—a lady of the ancient court. These verses clearly show Buson and Kito’s knowledge of court culture as well as their bunjin ideal of escape from reality into the romantic world of the court past.

Verses Thirty-one to Thirty-three demonstrate bunjin characteristics similar to those noted above.

31. Aogi mite hitonaki kuruma susamajiki

Gazing up.  
An empty ox-drawn cart,  
dishheartening.  
(Buson)

25 See Buson renku kenkyū, p. 363.  
26 See ibid., p. 364.

27 See Buson renku kenkyū, p. 368.
32. Aizu no tsubute imaya utsurashi

Now they seem to shoot pebbles for a signal.
(Kitō)

33. Soifushi ni asura ga nemuri ukagaitsu

I watch ashura’s sleep
lying down beside him.
(Buson)

Verse Thirty-one describes an ox-cart, evoking the aristocratic society depicted in *The Tale of Genji*. Verse Thirty-two focuses on “a deserted ox-drawn cart” and suggests a plot to abduct someone with it. The sound of pebbles being thrown is thus meant to refer to the idea of signaling the onset of a secret mission. Finally, in Verse Thirty-three, the abducted woman of the previous verse is seen as attempting to escape from her abductor, a fierce-looking man who looked like an ashura. The ashura, a god of ancient India with warring nature, is considered the enemy of gods and placed below human beings in the Buddhist system of transmigration through the six realms. The world created in the verses is fantastic and unreal, and tinged with exoticism.

Examination of these representative sequences by Buson and Kitō shows that they often depicted exotic worlds beyond the mundane. Based on their shared knowledge of Chinese and Japanese classics, they let themselves escape to a romanticized world of the aristocratic society of the Japanese past or to a remote China where they never had been. A ghost and a fox play important roles in evoking a eerie, uncanny atmosphere, allowing them to leap into yet another world of mystery. Their choice of favoring the world beyond human affairs and living reality demonstrates their shared values as *bunjin*, that is, to live above the mundane. Thus, Buson and Kitō, who participated in *bunjin* discourse, reinforced it through their composition of *haikai* linked-verse.

**Conclusion**

The collaboration between Buson and Kitō included the opportunities that Buson provided for Kitō to edit the Yahantei school’s anthologies; Buson also wrote prefaces to endorse his work. Buson’s collaborations with Kitō eventually helped the younger poet to establish himself as an independent *haikai* poet. Kitō’s editorial work and his crucial assistance with the sales of Buson’s painting helped the master poet-painter keep his *haikai* poetry free of the temptation to acquiesce to market forces. Both Buson and Kitō also increased symbolic and cultural capital by publishing anthologies together.

The examination of sequences of *haikai* linked-verse by Buson and Kitō demonstrates their common grounding as *haikai* poets and the ideals they espoused as they competed for superior status with other *haikai* groups. Not only was their understanding of the linked verse genre itself, and of Japanese and Chinese classics important, but their *bunjin* values and beliefs also joined the two poets and mediated their work. It is apparent that they also produced these works based on their previously acquired knowledge of *haikai* linked-verse—part of their cultural capital—derived from their association with Bashō.

Once Buson and Kitō entered the highly competitive literary field, they could not escape from the forces of this field; thus, their positions necessitated the production of various works. Collaboration was central to their cultural production and through this collaboration, Buson and Kitō mutually enhanced the various kinds of capital that consequently helped them maintain or advance their positions in the field.
The Evening Banter of Two Tanu-ki: Reading the Tobi Hiyoro Sequence

©Scot Hislop, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Fellow, National Museum of Japanese History

Although haikai no renga was central to the poetic practice of haikai poets throughout the Edo period, its status within the canon of Japanese literature has been problematic since Masaoka Shiki declared that it was not bungaku. Although Shiki admitted that haikai no renga texts had “literary” elements, linked verse values change over unity so his final judgment was that it could not be considered a part of bungaku. Although haikai no renga texts are now clearly read as bungaku – most major collections of pre-modern Japanese literature contain at least a few sequences – Higashi Akimasa still felt the need to argue why linked verse should be considered a part of bungaku in Renku nyūmon.

Haikai no renga texts are the product of two or more poets composing together according to a set of rules. One approach to them has been to concentrate on an individual link, often reading it as the expression of the self of the poet who composed it. This approach, however, fails to take into account the rules, the interactions, and the creation of something akin to Bakhtin’s dialogic voice in the production of a linked-verse sequence.

Another approach is to treat haikai no renga texts as intertexts. In a set of seminal essays and lectures now collected under the title Za no bungaku, Ogata Tsutomu developed a set of concepts that are helpful when reading haikai texts as intertexts. In this paper I will use Ogata’s concept of za no bungaku to look at a haikai no renga sequence composed by Kobayashi Issa and Kawahara Ippyō. Ogata’s za no bungaku will not only help to read the linked verse sequence, it will also show that the so-called Issa-style (一茶調) was not limited to Issa but rather was shared by Issa and Ippyō, as well as many other poets.

Ogata’s Za no bungaku

Za, as far as haikai poetry is concerned, is usually used to refer to a group of poets who have come together to compose a haikai linked-verse sequence. This is also the first of three axes of

---

1 I would like to thank panel members and the audience at AAS when this paper was first presented, the anonymous readers for EMJ, and Lim Beng Choo for their helpful comments. An earlier version of this paper is part of a chapter in my dissertation.

2 Tanuki is sometimes translated as racoon dog. It is a trickster animal.

3 Haikai no renga texts are the product of two or more poets composing together according to a set of rules.

4 Higashi Akimasa, Renku nyūmon (Tokyo: Chūkōronsha, 1978). See especially pp. 5-19 where Higashi gives his reasons for reading haikai no renga texts as literature.

5 An obvious exception to this is the dokugin (独吟, single poet) sequence.

6 Ogata Tsutomu, Za no bungaku (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1997).

7 小林一茶, 1763-1827. An important haikai poet who is well known today for several hokku as well as Ora ga haru.

8 川原一瓢, 1771-1840. A Nichiren priest and one of Issa’s most important patrons.

9 Exactly what makes up the Issa style is a matter of contention. I will later discuss some of the elements of it that seem to be commonly agreed upon.
Ogata’s concept of *za no bungaku*. Ogata argues, however, that this narrow definition of *za* is not adequate to explain *haikai no renga* production so he posits two other axes of *za* in addition to the first. One of these is essentially synchronous but spread out over space. It is a *za* that exists between a master and disciples or (although Ogata does not put it this way) between poets of relatively equal status. Ogata’s example of a second axis is the collaboration which took place between Bashō when he was living in Edo and his disciples in Mino or Owari. In the case of Issa, there was a similar kind of collaboration which took place through letters he exchanged with other poets and during his constant travel among the houses of his disciples and patrons. Ogata shows that certain poetic themes are echoed throughout this second axis of *za* even though the poets are separated geographically.

The third axis of Ogata’s *za* is comprised of a poet and that poet’s relation to the poetic past. Thus it is spread out across time and, usually, space. As with the first two axes of *za*, there is a form of “communication” between two poets even though one of them is dead. This is not citation in the simplest sense of the word. Rather it is a creative use of the texts of other poets. In Ogata’s example, Bashō’s *za* of the poetic past is made of up Dù Fǔ, Sū Dōngpō, Saigyō, Sōgi, and Chōbōshi. I will discuss Issa’s *za* of the poetic past below.

Ogata’s concept of *za* extending along multiple axes through time and space is a way to move beyond simplistically associating texts with the selves of their authors. All poets compose at the intersection of linguistic and social forces and Ogata has identified several of these that are especially useful for dealing with *haikai* texts.

Even in its post-structuralist forms, literature and *bungaku* are problematic categories for dealing with pre-1890’s Japanese texts in general and *haikai no renga* texts specifically. Kobayashi Issa did not write a single literary text although some texts attributed to him are now read as *bungaku* or literature. Ogata’s concept of *za no bungaku* is an attempt to recuperate non-*bungaku* texts for *bungaku*. But it is a *bungaku* of interstices and dialogic voices, not of individuals. *Za no bungaku* is not only helpful when reading the evening banter of a couple of *tanuki* poets, it also shows that the so-called Issa-style was not confined to Issa alone but shared among a much larger group of poets.

The Tobi hiyoro Sequence

The *Tobi hiyoro* sequence was composed by Issa and Ippyō and was included in *Nishi kasen*, a text compiled by Ippyō. There are slightly variant texts but I have followed the version presented in Maruyama Kazuhiko’s *Issa to sono Shūhen*. The date on which Issa and Ippyō started to compose this text is, according to Ippyō’s preface and Issa’s diary, the seventh day of the tenth month of Bunka 12 (1815). The prefatory notes to the text in *Issa zenshū* state that even though it is only a *han-kasen*, the distinctive features of Issa’s style of composition show through clearly in it. It is also important to pay attention to how close Issa’s style is to Ippyō’s.

---

10 Ogata, *Za no bungaku*, p. 23.
11 蘇東坡 Japanese: To Ho, 712-770. Considered one of the greatest Tang poets.
13 西行, 1118-1190. Late Heian, early Kamakura priest and poet.
14 宗祇, 1421-1502. Late Muromachi renga poet.
15 長嘯子, 1569-1649. Early Edo *tanka* poet.
Preface

Last winter, Issa from the province of Shinano came to pass the night at my “Monomi-zuka.” The following is the evening banter of tanuki...

Ippyō was the priest of Hongyōji, a temple located near Nippori in Edo. There are now several kuhi (rocks upon which hokku/haiku have been inscribed) with Issa’s hokku on them within the precincts. “Monomi-zuka” refers to the remains of a watchtower that was built by Ōta Dōkan, a famous 15th century poet, castle builder, and general.

1. 鳥（とび）ひよろひよろ神も御立 (おたち)げな
   the kite p-peeps, p-p-peeps
   the gods too, seem to be getting ready to depart
   (Issa)

   Tobi, or kite, is raptor that lives in cities and by the sea and feeds mostly on small dead animals. It was also slang for those without steady jobs and for dilettantes and gamblers. Perhaps Issa is referring to himself.

   The kigo (seasonal word) is kami no tabidachi which refers to the 10th month when the gods travel to Izumo. This hokku does not have a formal kireji (cutting word) in it but there is a natural pause after “ひよろひよろ” which has been “translated” as a line-break here.  

   Maruyama writes that the kites can be seen as providing the music for the gods who are getting ready to travel and that the “nursery tale style of expression and the colloquial style of the last phrase are interesting.”

2. ちれちれもみぢぬさのかはりに
   scatter scatter--
   fall leaves in place of paper offerings
   (Ippyō)

   Nusa (translated here as paper offerings) are made of hemp, cotton, silk, or paper and are offered to the gods when praying. Maruyama notes that according to the Ruisenshū, kami (gods) and nusa are related words, thus providing a formal poetic relationship between the first link and this one. The season is winter (scattering leaves).

   This link also cites the following waka from the Kokinshū (and Ogura hyakunin isshu):

   このたびは幣もとりあへず手向山もみぢの錦
   the brocade of fall leaves in the sacred place isthe providence of the gods
   (Sugawara no Michizane)

3. 大草鞋（おほわらぢ）小草鞋足にくらべ見て
   big straw sandals, small straw sandals:
   comparing them to my feet
   (Ippyō)

   Ippyō switches from the travel of the gods to the travel of human beings. This link does not have a seasonal word, thus preparing for the change of seasons in the next link.  

   Ippyō is probably poking a fun at Issa’s big feet. In a letter by Issa to Kobayashi Sekko sent during the intercalary eleventh month of 1813, Issa entreats Sekko to take care of the winter

---

21 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 92.
sandals that he left behind at Sekko’s house because his feet are so big that he cannot buy ready made footwear.24

4. 一番ぶねにはふるぶちねこ
    一期
    the tabby cat tossed in the first boat
    (Issa)

According to Maruyama, the “first boat” (一番ぶね) was one of the cargo boats that carried the year’s new silk from Osaka to Edo. The boats left Osaka on the same day in the fall and raced to see which would be the first to reach Edo. The cat was tossed in the boat so that rats would not eat up the silk. Maruyama also notes that this link is a type of mukai-zuke, moving from human travel to sea travel.25

5. あくた火もそれ名月ぞ名月ぞ
    一期
    even by the seaweed fire-- “look there-- the moon! the autumn moon!”
    (Issa)

The fifth link of a kasen or a han-kasen is the tsuki no jōza, the place for a link about the moon.

6. 芋喰（く）ふわらは御代を贔屓か
    一期
    is the child eating potatoes a supporter of the reign?
    (Ippyō)

According to Maruyama, imo here refers to satoimo which is probably better translated as “taro” than “potato.” Imo was one of the traditional foods served when viewing the famous autumn moon so it serves as the connection between this link and the previous one. As a seasonal word, imo refers to fall.26

7. 彼岸経（ひがんきやう）さらさらさ
    一期
    rustle-rustle speedily the sutras for the equinox services are done
    (Ippyō)

The connection between this link and the previous one, according to Maruyama, requires a detour through Tsurezure-gusa. The 60th section relates stories about the eccentric priest Jōshin who loved potatoes. So in linked verse sequences, sō (priests) and imo (potato/taro) are related words.

In haikai texts higan (equinox) and related words generally refer to spring even though there are two equinoxes and higan services happen around both of them. In this link though, the season is autumn because fall (and spring) continue for at least three and up to five links.27

8. 草の広葉（ひろは）につつむ壁つち
    一期
    the dirt for the wall is wrapped in broad leaves
    (Issa)

Maruyama suggests that the dirt to be plastered into the wall is brought into the house wrapped in broad leaves. The link is seasonless.28

9. あさがほの種まく日とていそがしや
    一期
    the day for planting morning glory seeds: ever so busy
    (Ippyō)

The connection between the previous link and this one lies in the season even though Maruyama considers the previous link seasonless: repairs to the house and planting of the seeds are both being done around the time of the vernal equinox.29

---

25 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 93.
26 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 94.
27 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 94-5.
28 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 95.
29 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 95.
10. 子をかりて来てさわぐ藪入 (やぶいり)

the servant on holiday bringing her child home to a noisy welcome

(Issa)

The woman actually “borrows” her child to take home because children “belonged” to their fathers.

Maruyama cites the Ruisenshū to point out that the connection between this link and the previous one is through related words: tane (seed) and ko (child).

Yabu-iri (servant’s holiday) occurred twice a year, once in the first month and again around Obon (in the 7th month). Wives were also allowed to return to the homes of their biological parents at this time.30

11. 留守留守と陽炎（かげろふ）もゆる黄檗寺（わうばくじ）

"not in, not in" – the heat haze shimmers at Ōbaku Temple

(Ippyō)

During the yabu-iri period, it was common to go on religious pilgrimages instead of returning home. Heat haze (kagerō) is a spring seasonal word.31

Ōbakuji was a complex of Zen temples near Uji, headed by Chinese priests, conducted themselves in Chinese fashion, and used Chinese language, giving rise to the following senryū:

山門を出れば日本ぞ茶摘歌

leave the mountain gate and it’s Japan: songs of tea pickers32

12. ちらりほらりとうれる山の図（づ）

the maps of the mountain sell one here, one there

(Issa)

The maps are for the temple complex. This link is seasonless.

13. 泰平（たいへい）と天下の菊が咲（さき）たちて

all the chrysanthemums under heaven have peacefully begun to bloom

(Ippyō)

The connection between this link and the previous one is convoluted. Another name for chrysanthemum (kiku) is yamajigusa (山路草) which contains the character yama (mountain) thus providing the link.33 Chrysanthemums serve as a fall seasonal word, preparing the way for the next link.

14. 三百店（だな）もわが月夜かな

even in the slums it feels like this moonlit night belongs to me alone

(Issa)

“Slums” is an attempt to translate 三百店, tenements which cost 300 mon a month (a very small amount).34 The 13th or 14th link is the second tsuki no jōza (place for a link about the moon).

15. うそ寒（さむ）の腰かけ将棋覗（のぞ）くらん

a bit chilly watching the shōgi game played outdoors

(Ippyō)

A bit chilly (うそ寒) is a fall seasonal word. Shōgi is a game akin to chess.

30 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 96.
31 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, p. 96.
33 Maruyama Issa to sono shūhen, p. 97.
34 Maruyama, Issa to sono shūhen, pp. 97-98.
16. もはや御成（おなり）とふれる小鼓（こつづみ）
    — 一茶
    “oh! that piece has been promoted” – striking the small drum
    (Issa)

This link does not contain a seasonal word. In shōgi, some pieces that reach the enemy’s territory are “promoted” and become more powerful.

16. 花の銭こぼれかかりし隅田川（すみだが）
    — 一瓢
    scattering pocket money for viewing the cherry blossoms all about the Sumida River
    (Ippyō)

The seventeenth link in a 36 link (kasen) or an 18 link (han-kasen) haikai no renga sequence is the first hana no jōza (place for a link about flowers). Cherry blossoms are, of course, a spring seasonal word. The Sumida River runs through the middle of modern Tokyo and used to be famous for cherry blossoms.

18. 霞（かす）んで来（く）るはれいの其角か
    — 一茶
    coming through the mist, is that our old man Kikaku?
    (Issa)

Mist (kasumi) is a spring seasonal word. Takarai Kikaku (1661-1707) was one of the ten important disciples of Bashō.

The Tobi h iyoro Sequence, Za, and the Issa Style
The first axis of za for this sequence is easy to define since the poets who are present and participating are Issa and Ippyō and they signed their names to the final product.

The relative compositional freedom that Issa seems to enjoy in this za is striking. In the Chiru momiji sequence that Issa composed with his patron Natsume Seibi,35 it is clear that Seibi is the senior poet and Issa seems somewhat tense and nervous. Seibi teases Issa a great deal but it is not until the end of the sequence that Issa responds with anything but retreat. Composing with Ippyō, though, Issa seems to be loose and the teasing and the humor flow both ways. In the third link Ippyō teases Issa about his big feet. Although Issa does not tease Ippyō directly, he does respond with an extremely lively and colorful link. Thus this sequence is one of the few in which Issa is composing haikai no renga with someone worthy of his poetic talents – as Seibi was – but at the same time, not worrying very much about social rank and patronage. The result is a light, kinetic, and pleasing haikai no renga sequence, one that clearly shows the poetic powers of both Issa and Ippyō.

Identification of a poet’s second axis of za is more difficult. Ippyō is clearly a part of Issa’s second order of za, just as Issa is a part of Ippyō’s. This sequence shows that Ippyō shares many of the characteristics of the so-called “Issa-style.” Although every scholar defines the Issa-style differently, most agree that it includes the use of repeated and onomatopoeic words, personification, and colloquial language. In this sequence the seventh link, by Ippyō, relies heavily on onomatopoeic sounds to show the personality of the priest who is reading the sutras. The eleventh link, also Ippyō’s, daringly uses repeated words – words which shimmer in the heat haze in Japanese. Issa uses onomatopoeic words in many links including the first and twelfth links. His fifth link, in particular, relies on the use of words that need not have been repeated.

In fact the similarities between Issa’s style and Ippyō’s are not confined to this sequence. Some of their hokku are so similar and were composed so close to each other temporally that it is impossible to say who influenced whom. Take, for instance, the following hokku:

あじさゐへ片足かけし小犬かな
the puppy with one foot on the hydrangea

蕗の葉に片足かけて鳴く蛙
the croaking frog with one foot on the butterbur leaf

The only potential clue as to which hokku is whose – besides the signatures – is that Issa liked to use the word fuki no ha (butterbur leaf) and indeed that is the hokku which is attributed to him. Since we do not know who composed which hokku first, it is useless to think about “influence,” but one strength of Ogata’s concept of za no bungaku is that it obviates the need to talk about vectors of influence.

Issa’s second order za, then, includes Ippyō. There are strong thematic links between the two and also stylistic similarities. But they were not alone in this second order za. At the very least, we can include some members of the Katsushika-ha haikai faction, in which Issa learned the basics of haikai poetry and poetics. We can also include some of the poets Issa met during his seven-year trip to the Western provinces which he undertook from 1792-1798. In particular, the affinities of the so-called Issa-style with the hokku of Kurita Chōdo37 and Ōtomo Ōmaru38 are striking. In fact, since Issa did not teach the “Issa-style” to his disciples, opting instead to teach them the more canonical “Shōfū-za” (正風・蕉風), Issa cannot even be considered as the “center” of the Issa-style. It existed among a geographically disparate group of poets of whom Issa is merely the most famous representative.

It is most difficult to define the third axis of Issa’s za. Of course Issa’s mention of Kikaku in the last link of sequence is an important clue. Issa included as many hokku by Kikaku as by Bashō in Ora ga haru.40 The emphasis on Kikaku and other disciples of Bashō is representative of Issa’s complex and ambivalent relationship with Bashō. It is neither the texts attributed to Bashō nor Bashō the historical figure that Issa is reacting against but the trope of Bashō created by the haikai revival movement and the Tenmei poets. However fresh and poetically productive this trope might have been in the 1770’s,41 by the early 19th century it had become a cliché. In this sense, emphasizing Kikaku serves as an important move. Without fully removing himself from the mainstream of poetic practice, Issa was searching for new “tropes” around which to center his poetry. These include pre-Bashō haikai poets, now largely scorned in canonical histories of Japanese literature as well as poets like Uejima Onitsu42 who are much more widely appreciated. Kikaku and other members of Bashō’s circle are also part of this process.

I would like to suggest that this sequence shows ties with another third axis za text, the Shi jing.43 The Shi jing may initially seem like a strange text to play a role in the third axis za of an early 19th century haikai poet with little formal education in the Chinese classics. It is the most difficult canonical anthology of Chinese poetry to approach and the scholarly accretions to the poetic texts over the course of centuries have not made it any less daunting. One clue as to

36 Kuriyama Riichi, and others, editors, Kinsei haiku haibun shū (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1972), p. 37. There is another pair of similar hokku, by Ippyō and Issa, on the same page.
37 栗田樗堂, 1749 - 1814. Lived in Matsuyama in Iyo (Aihime). Was adopted by the Kurita house and later served as the senior leader of the town.
38 大伴大江丸, 1723 -1805. Lived in Ōsaka. Was said to be the master of the largest courier business in Japan.
39 Kuriyama and others, Kinsei haiku haibun shū, pp. 36-37. Several hokku are included there as examples.
40 Three each.
41 The Tenmei period lasted from 1781-1789. It is a misnomer (but a common one) to call the poets now grouped around Yosa Buson the Tenmei poets because they were most active during the An’ei period (1772-1781). Buson, for instance, died in 1783.
42 上島鬼貫, 1661-1738. Famous for Hitorigoto, a treatise on haikai poetics.
43 詩経, Shikyō in Japanese.
why a poet like Issa might have chosen to study this text is found in Motoori Norinaga's *Isonokami no sasamegoto* though. Motoori argued that the poetry of the *Shī Jīng* was close, in nature, to *uta*, his general term for poems in some form of the Japanese language. “Truly, if you look at the three hundred poems in *Shī Jīng*, the words themselves are in a Chinese style (唐めく). The heart (心ばへ) of the poems is no different than that of the *uta* of our august country.”45 For a poet like Issa, who was interested in *Kokugaku* and in the nature of poetry, the best foreign anthology of poetry to study would have been the *Shi jing*. Though the words might sound "Chinese," the feelings themselves would be directly translatable into *uta*—into *haikai* poetry. About a decade before composing this sequence with Ippyō, Issa spent time studying the *Shi jing*. During this period of study and afterward, *hokku* which are called by some scholars "parodies" and by others "translations" of the *Shi jing* appear in Issa’s poetry diaries.46 The following is but one example:

風雨淒淒、風雨瀟瀟、
鶏鳴喈喈、鶏鳴膠膠、
既見君子、既見君子、
云胡不瘳、云胡不喜。

Wind and rain, cold and wet,
the hen calls cluck cluck.
At last I see my love,
how can I not be filled with joy?

Wind and rain, pelting and driving,
the hen cackles and clucks.
At last I see my love,
how can my heart be sad?

Wind and rain, dark as night,
the hen cries without cease.

44 Motoori calls it *Fūga* (風雅).
45 Motoori Norinaga, *Motoori Norinaga-shū*, edited by Hino Tatsuo (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1983), 403. Motoori goes on to argue that because of the “cleverness” (in the negative sense of that word) of Chinese thinkers, this original similarity is lost.

46 I argue in my dissertation that these hokku are neither translations nor parodies of *Shi jing* texts but rather use the *Shi jing* poetic texts in the same way that a link in a *haikai no renga* sequence uses the link before it. This is also the way I treat Issa’s *hokku* that is based on the following poem.

47 I have followed the readings in Teng Zhixian, editor, Ye Guoliang, supervisor, *Xīnyī shì jīng duben*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju, 2000), pp. 240-242. The readings there are in zhùyīn fūhào which I have converted to pīnyīn. My translation (below) is based on the interpretation of the poem by Teng and Ye.

At last I see my love
how can I not be glad?

In his notebook for the eighth month of 1803, Issa composed this response to the Shi jing poem:

風雨
夜時雨の顔を見せけり親の門

showing an evening showered face
parent's gate

Issa uses the first two characters of the Shi jing poem as a maegaki but his hokku is not otherwise particularly interesting. It is certainly not a translation or a parody of the Shi jing, but rather a response to it as if it were a link in a haikai no renga sequence. The Shi jing poem is about the happiness of a woman whose lover has arrived in the stormy night. Issa shifts the attention from the love of a woman and a man to the love of parents and children. The windy rain has become passing autumnal rain showers dripping down the child's face.

When I first wondered about the Shi jing as a part of the construction of Issa’s third order of za, I initially looked for thematic links between the two sets of texts. After all, Ogata, in his essays, concentrates on thematic links in third order za texts. And the early texts that Issa produced in his diaries that are based in some way on the Shi jing do show thematic relations with the texts that they are related to. But the major influence of the Shi jing as a part of the construction of the third order za in terms of the Issa-style and of this haikai no renga sequence is stylistic rather than thematic. The texts from the Shi jing that Issa studied seem to be limited to those in its first section, the Guo feng (or Kokufū) section. These poetic texts are, by and large, made of up four character "lines" which contain a great number of repeated "characters" and repeated "lines."

Issa was interested in using repeated words and sounds in his poetic texts before studying the Shi jing. He composed hokku that used onomatopoeic words from early in his career and in Japanese, most onomatopoeic words are repeated sounds. The first link in this sequence serves as good example. The sound of the kite is a repeated, onomatopoeic word. The seventh link is another example where the sound of the priest rustling quickly through the sutras is also a repeated onomatopoeic word. The way that Ippyō has rounded out this link by following the sounds of rustling up with another onomatopoeic word that represents the sound of doing something speedily – a word whose first syllable echoes the sounds of rustling – is very nice. We can find hokku like these among Issa’s earliest. They are found among the hokku of most major haikai poets.

But in the period after studying the Shi jing, during the years that Issa was developing into an Issa-style poet, he began to compose some hokku using repeated words in a more daring fashion. When composing a hokku, where the poet has seventeen syllables or one of the shorter links in a haikai no renga sequence where there are only fourteen syllables to work with, the poet had better know what she or he is doing when repeating a word that is two or even three syllables long. Consider, for example, Ippyō’s eleventh link. With onomatopoeic words, there is often no choice but to repeat the syllables. In this link, Ippyō could have gotten by with a single “rusu/not in” though of course the link would not be so effective. It is in the period after studying the Shi jing that Issa begins to use more repeated words in this daring fashion. One of the most famous examples of this is:

むまさうな雪がふうはりふはり哉

delicious-looking snow flut-fluttering down

Natsume Seibi did not like this hokku very much, writing that he was afraid that Issa would fall into the witty style of Izenbō. But the hokku is light and pleasant. Without the daring repetition of words, taking up 7 of the 17 syllables, it would not be effective. In fact, the

49 Hirose Izenbō, 広瀬惟然坊, ?-1711. Disciple of Bashō who after Bashō’s death began to compose using colloquial words and non-standard meter.
repeated words have a pleasing rhythm in the same way that many of the texts in the Shijing do, even when read in modern Mandarin, some 2500 years after they were composed. If Ogata’s concept of za no bungaku can be extended from theme to style, then it is possible to say that the Shijing is part of the third axis of za for Issa and Ippyō.

Conclusion
In conclusion, I would like to re-emphasize that although Ogata’s work attempts to recuperate haikai style texts for bungaku, at the same time it clearly points away from the type of bungaku which emphasizes texts written by individuals. This has often been the unfortunate emphasis in scholarship on Issa, especially scholarship that aims to define and clarify the “Issa style.” By reading Issa’s texts as the product of a za, though, the texts become as “intertexts” and the Issa-style emerges as something shared among many poets composing in the last decades of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century. Furthermore, this is not limited merely to haikai no renga sequences. I have shown how similar some of the hokku attributed to Issa and to Ippyō are. These similarities mean that when we talk about joint poetic production, even texts such as hokku must be included. And Ogata’s concept of za no bungaku also clearly shows that joint poetic production need not take place within the space and time of the meeting of poets. It can take place across geographic distance as well as across time.

Bibliography

Collaborating with the Ancients: Issues of Collaboration and Canonization in the Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō

©Scott Alexander Lineberger, Columbia University

Introduction: Collaboration Versus Influence

Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō (芭蕉翁絵詞伝 Bashō ekotoba-den) was completed in 1792 and presented to Gichūji Temple (義仲寺),1 the site of Bashō’s grave. The creative force behind this scroll was Gōshōan Chōmu (五升庵長夢 1732-1795), a Kyoto literatus monk.2 This text was the first complete biography of Matsuo Bashō (松尾芭蕉 1644-1694); it traced his life from his early years in Iga province, recording his numerous journeys throughout Japan, and concluding with a remarkably detailed account of his final days. The text and images portray Bashō as a poet who was inspired to lead a life of poverty and wandering due to a profound understanding of the Buddhist concept of impermanence (無常). Although this interpretation is only loosely based on the facts of Bashō’s life, it fundamentally influenced the subsequent reception of Bashō’s work and his canonization.

This paper analyzes the unusual collaborative effort that led to the creation of Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō. The text and pictures of this scroll represent a collaborative effort in three keys ways. First, as a picture-scroll, it embodies the synergy produced by the collaboration between a writer and painter. Second, the text represents the collaboration of Chōmu with Bashō and the writers of his school; a close reading of the text reveals that Chōmu, acting as an editor, skillfully molded the fictional writings of Bashō and the biographical writings of Bashō’s disciples into a unified text. Finally, this text can be understood as a collaboration between Chōmu and the numerous biographers of the late Heian period poet Saigyō (西行 1118-1190) in an attempt to create a “master narrative” of the poet-wanderer. The third mode of collaboration is crucial to understanding this scroll because it acts as a repudiation of Tanaka Michio’s theory that the text and images of Illustrated Life of Master Bashō are closely modeled on Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen (一遍聖絵 Ippen hijiri-e), a biography of Priest Ippen (一遍上人 1239-1289), the founder of the Ji sect of Pure Land Buddhism.3 Tanaka’s theory is extremely reductive, fitting with neither the facts of Chōmu’s life, nor the details of the scroll. Chōmu’s view of haikai was clearly framed in Buddhist terms, and perhaps even Pure Land terms, but the Ji sect had little or no documentable influence on him.

In this study I will detail how Illustrated Life of Master Bashō has extensive connections with Saigyō’s biographies.4 Specifically, this scroll contains numerous similarities to the text of the Tale of Saigyō (西行物語 Saigyō monogatari)5 and the picture-scroll Illustrated Tale of Saigyō (西行物語絵巻 Saigyō monogatari emaki).6 However, it would be equally erroneous to claim...

1 Gichūji Temple is located in the town of Zeze (膳所) in Kyoto Prefecture on the shore of Lake Biwa.
2 See biography of Chōmu in Appendix Three.
4 There are over forty extant versions of Saigyō’s biography, including hand-copied manuscripts, picture-scrolls, picture books, and wood-block editions.
6 This text consists of two anonymous hand-scrolls that were created in the mid-Kamakura period (13th century). The first scroll, owned by Tokugawa Reimei (徳川黎明) is generally referred to as the Tokugawa scroll and the second scroll that was owned by the Manno family (万野) is called the Manno scroll. These two scrolls appear to have once been a single text and together will be referred to as Illustrated Tales of Saigyō.
that Chōmu’s debt to Saigyō’s biography was simply a matter of influence. Medieval biographies of literary and religious figures, especially those about Saigyō, tended to be based as much on a paradigm of fixed narrative and visual tropes as the facts of their actual lives.7 Gustav Heldt explains the complexity involved in the process of creating the Saigyō biographies by stating that, “Like its protagonist, it has traveled through space and time, undergoing innumerable transformations over four hundred years as readers and (re)writers endowed it with their own imagining of Saigyō’s life.”8 Thus, the myth of Saigyō served as a shared narrative paradigm into which various literary and visual tropes were incorporated. In writing Saigyō’s biography, authors were not generally attempting to create an accurate depiction of his life; rather, they were building a “master narrative” of a wandering poet-priest. Obviously the idea of using Saigyo’s biographies as a template for describing Bashō’s life comes from Bashō’s own prose. Bashō consciously emulates Saigyō in numerous passages of his prose and in his poems. Thus, the use of “master narrative” of a wandering poet-priest was facilitated and suggested by Bashō’s own attempts to cast himself in this template.

A helpful tool for understanding this process is to compare centripetal and centrifugal biographical tendencies. The “master narrative” of the wandering poet-priest as represented by the biography of Saigyō, Bashō, and other figures such as Sōgi are centripetal; whereas Minamoto Yoshitsune (源義経 1159-1189) or Ono no Komachi (小野小町 dates uncertain) are part of a process of centrifugal biographies. Such a vast comparison is well beyond the scope of this project, but understanding in general terms the differences between these two biographical tendencies will be helpful to frame the materials examined in this paper. In the case of biographical texts about Yoshitsune or Ono no Komachi, a single historical figure is depicted in countless, often contradictory, roles. Yoshitsune, for example, is at times depicted as a refined aristocrat, as in the Noh play Benkei on a Boat (船弁慶 Funa benkei), and other times as a powerful warrior, as in The Tales of Heike (平家物語 Heike monogatari). In this centrifugal pattern, a single historical figure’s biography expands outward to fit many roles. On the other hand, the centripetal “master narrative” of the wandering-poet is a single role into which various historical figures are cast. Thus, whereas a single historical figure is split up into several roles in the centrifugal biographical pattern, the myriad events in several historical figures’ lives are manipulated to fit into the main axis of the single master narrative in the centripetal method.

It should be noted that Bashō’s autobiographical writings are clearly centrifugal; he described himself as playing a number of different roles. In addition to the wandering-poet role, which Chōmu focused on, Bashō described himself as a comic poet, a poetry teacher, a social outcast, and a directionless man looking for his place in the world. This study will contend that in Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō, Chōmu intentionally ignored these elements of Bashō’s personality and extended to his biography the centripetal discursive practice that formed the myth of Saigyō. Bashō is not simply compared to or modeled on Saigyō; rather Chōmu manipulated the structure and content of his text in order to fit with the shared narrative paradigm developed during the process of creating the myth of Saigyō. In Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō Chōmu is not attempting to create an accurate depiction of Bashō’s life, instead he is indirectly collaborating with the biographers of Saigyō by continuing the process of building a “master narrative” of a wandering poet priest. This study will analyze five key elements which are the core of this “master narrative” used in Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō: listing of the protagonist’s lineage (素性紹介 sujō shōkai); description of his awakening (発心 hosshin), reclusion (隠棲 insei), travel (行腳 angya); and, finally, a record of his death (往生 ōjō). Close analysis of this scroll

---


reveals how Chōmu (re)wrote Bashō’s biography to fit with these elements of the “master narrative.”

Section One: The Collaboration of Writer and Artist

The first sense in which Illustrated Life of Bashō the Elder is a collaborative effort is that it is the combined work of Chōmu and the artists. Illustrated Life of Master Bashō was originally produced in two formats: the handscroll (巻子本 kansubon) and a wood-block print book (木版本 mokuhanbon).9 The first format of Illustrated Life of Bashō the Elder was a three-scroll set of handscrolls with a handwritten text by Chōmu and paintings by Kanō Shōei (狩野正栄).10 The hand scroll was completed in 1792 in preparation for the centennial of Bashō’s death. Each of the scrolls is thirty-eight centimeters tall and over ten meters long.11 A few months after the scrolls were completed, the wood-block print version of Illustrated Life of Master Bashō was published with pictures by Yoshida Enbu (吉田偃武 1768-1816). The text of the handscroll, with only very minor alterations, was transferred to this print format. However, in order to fit the long and narrow pictures of the scroll into the two-page spread format of a wood-block picture book, the pictures had to be cropped in some places. Also, the designs of many of the pictures had to be simplified because the prints are monochromatic.12

Figure 1: Image 15 in Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō. In this scene from Narrow Road to the Interior, Bashō rides a horse through Nasu field as a boy and a girl follow him. In Narrow Road, Sora, who follows the children, composes a poem about the girl’s name, Kasane. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. Bashō Buson. Zusetsu Nihon no koten 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 85.

Chōmu’s Influence

There is considerable internal evidence that Chōmu had significant influence over the illustrations in the scroll. For example, the fifteenth image in the handscroll shows Bashō riding a horse through the Nasu field (Figure 1). This image is clearly based on a painting (Figure 2) by Nishijima Hyakusai (西島百歳 1688-1705), who was one of Bashō’s students. After acquiring Nishijima’s picture in Iga, Chōmu donated it to Gichūji

9 The scroll vanished for a number of years, its current location at Gichūji Temple is far removed from the centers of the Japanese art world, and it has never been satisfactorily reproduced. Thus, research on the original handscroll has been neglected. The two print versions, conversely, were extremely popular from the time of their printing. Illustrated Life of Master Bashō achieved its wide influence in the print format.

10 Very little is known about Shōei: the place and dates of his birth and death are unknown. It is believed that he studied under Eigawa’in Kanō Norinobu (栄川院狩野典信).

11 The pictures are rendered in vivid colors and crisp details, the signature style of the Kanō School. The style of the pictures is warm and affable, but refined. The scenery and architectural elements are painted in a controlled and restrained manner, while the characters are drawn in a flowing style. The characters’ amicable expressions are somewhat reminiscent of haiga (俳画) portraits. The point of view remains constant in the scroll: the viewer is placed slightly above and at a moderate distance from the characters depicted.

12 In the modern era, the wood-block print book was reprinted with typeset letters. In this format, Illustrated Life of Master Bashō was popular until recently. For example, in 1904, it was republished in the Pocket Masterpieces Series, where it was widely read.
Temple in 1783. Evidently, Chōmu provided Shōei with this picture as reference material for the scroll.

This tension between historical fidelity and an attempt to fit Bashō into the role of the wandering poet is ubiquitous in the scroll.

There are two important factors which undoubtedly influenced Chōmu’s decision to choose this picture as a reference. First, since Hyakusai was a disciple of Bashō and knew him personally, Chōmu undoubtedly believed that this picture was an accurate portrait. Also, this picture follows in a long line of portraits of wandering poets on horseback (Figures 3 and 4). Comparing Figures 2, 3, and 4, it is apparent that while the trope of wandering poet is easily identifiable, it is quite difficult to find any distinguishing characteristics in the portrayal of the people. Thus, on one hand, this image of Bashō minimizes his individuality and emphasizes his connection with the wandering poet trope. On the other hand, since the depiction of Bashō in the scroll is based on what Chōmu assumed were historically accurate materials, it also illustrates his attempt to create a faithful representation of the historical Bashō.

Figure 2: Nishijima Hyakusai’s portrait of Bashō riding a horse. Tanaka posits that because Hyakusai was a student of Bashō, Chōmu assumed that this must be an accurate portrait of Bashō. The rendering of the horse and Bashō clearly influenced Figure 1. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. Bashō Buson. Zusetsu Nihon no koten 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 90.

Stock Elements

The format and style of the scroll intentionally avoids Edo period pictorial narrative techniques and emulates the visual style of medieval picture-scrolls. There was a strong tendency in Edo period scrolls to include the text, or at least dialogue, within the images. In Illustrated Life of Master Bashō, on the other hand, the thirty-three images alternate with sections of text on separate sheets of paper. The pictures are a segmented narrative: each picture is a single-scene, epitomizing a moment from Bashō’s life. No strong narrative continuity links the pictures, and there are no examples of pictorial techniques such as iji dōzu (異時同図) in which a character is depicted repeatedly in the same picture to show their movement through time. A scroll created in this manner might be described as roughly equivalent

13 Tanaka, Hyōhaku, p. 90.

14 This number is possibly a reference to Buddhist numerical iconography such as the thirty-three forms of Kannon or the thirty-three temples dedicated to Kannon in the Kansai area.
to a film made today without sound or color; it represents an intentionally classical gesture not merely a stylistic choice. This simplified visual format evokes medieval narrative scrolls, thus implicitly framing Bashō’s life in classical terms.

Section Two: Collaboration of Writer and Editor

The second sense in which this text represents a collaboration is Chōmu working as Bashō’s editor. Chōmu is occasionally identified as the author of the text; however, as nearly every word in every section of Illustrated Life of Master Bashō is taken from earlier sources, it is more appropriate to refer to him as the editor. These sources can be divided into three parts: sections concerning Bashō’s youth, which are taken from earlier biographies; the main body of the text, which is based on Ba-shō’s own prose; and, finally, the closing section about Bashō’s last days, which is based chiefly on the diaries of his disciples. Chōmu spliced these various sources into a handscroll which reads smoothly and stands as a unified work. To achieve this fluidity, Chōmu made minor alterations to Bashō’s prose, such as changing sections that were written in the first person to third person. Thus, despite the diversity of sources, the text is narrated in a unified voice.

Horikiri Minoru has pointed out that Chōmu is very faithful to these original documents. One of Chōmu’s main goals in creating this text is clearly to faithfully pass on his many sources to future generations.15 Also, as it contains much of Bashō’s writings, the handscroll functions as a digest version of his prose.16 While reading about Bashō’s life, the reader is almost unconsciously introduced to his prose.

Section Three: Protagonist’s Lineage (素性紹介 sujō shōkai)

The first section of the scroll details Bashō’s lineage, his early days in Iga province, the death of his feudal lord and his own narrow escape from death in a fire. A close reading of the text

---

16 Tanaka, Hyōhaku, p. 92.
from this section reveals prevalent similarities to Saigyō’s biographies. The text of Illustrated Life of Master Bashō opens with a long section tracing Bashō’s lineage.

Let us inquire into Bashō the Elder’s ancestry. In the line of the Kashiwara Emperor there was a man named Taira no Masamori, the governor of Hitachi province. Among his descendants there was Munekiyo the son of Taira no Suemunen. Munekiyo served under Kiyomori the Rokuhara Buddhist Novice, and he was considered to be of strong character, a leader even within the samurai of the Heike clan and a warrior without fault.

After a long section dealing with Munekiyo the text continues:

After five generations, the person named Kiyomasa had many children, so the family divided into five parts: Yamakawa, Katsujima, Nishikawa, Matsuo and Kitagawa. For generations they lived in Tsuge. Finally there was a man named Matsuo Yozaemon who was the first to live in the province’s capital, Iga Aka-saka. This was Bashō’s father. His mother is said to have come from Iyo province, but her family name is unknown. Together they had two boys and four girls. The heir was Gizae-mon Norikiyo, also called Hanzanemon. The second boy, named Munefusa (childhood name Kanesaku) was Master Bashō. Later he was called Tadayuemon. He was born at the beginning of the Shōhō era. Around the time of the Meireki era he left home and served the paymaster Yoshitada, the son of Tōdō

The story of Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen opens with Ippen already having become a monk and about to leave on his first journey. Thus, there is no need to consider its influence on this section of Illustrated Life of Master Bashō.

17 The points of correlation between the two texts are numerous: both trace the protagonist’s family lineage to an imperial ancestor; both follow the ancestry through a decorated military figure; and both define the protagonist’s social station in terms of their fathers. As Kuwabara Hiroshi has pointed out, tracing the protagonist’s bloodline back over many generations is an unusual feature of the Tale of Saigyō used to emphasize the protagonist’s military heritage. Thus, the similarities are not happenstance, but show that Chōmu is modeling Bashō’s image on Saigyō from the opening lines.


Shishichirō Yoshikyo. This mirrors the opening of The Tale of Saigyō, which begins:

In the reign of Retired Emperor Toba there was a man who served in the northern wing of that sovereign’s palace. He was called Fujiwara no Norikiyo 藤原義清, lieutenant of the left division of the inner palace guards, known after he took religious vows as Saigyō. He was a sixteenth-generation descendant of Amatsukoyane-no-mikoto, and a ninth-generation descendant of Hidesato, generalissimo of the barbarian lands of the Ezo. He was the eldest son of Yasukiyo 康清, whose own father was Master Hidekiyo of the right division of the outer palace guards.

The points of correlation between the two texts are numerous; both trace the protagonist’s family lineage to an imperial ancestor; both follow the ancestry through a decorated military figure; and both define the protagonist’s social station in terms of their fathers. As Kuwabara Hiroshi has pointed out, tracing the protagonist’s bloodline back over many generations is an unusual feature of the Tale of Saigyō used to emphasize the protagonist’s military heritage. Thus, the similarities are not happenstance, but show that Chōmu is modeling Bashō’s image on Saigyō from the opening lines.

Chōmu used facts from Kawaguchi Chikujin’s 川口竹人 biography of Bashō, Complete Biography of Master Shō (蕉翁全伝 Shō ō zenden) to create the text of section one. However, the points mentioned above that mirror the language of the Tale of Saigyō, are missing or undeveloped in Chikujin’s biography. Chikujin mentions Bashō’s relation to Munekiyo in passing, but he does not flesh out what this means in terms of Bashō’s personality or social status. Chōmu, on the other hand, created a lengthy section describing Munekiyo’s life and personality. The importance that

19 Ishikawa, Bashō zenshū, p. 915.
20 Heldt, p. 485.
21 Kuwabara, p. 21.
Chōmu placed on this section is apparent because this is the only place in the text where he uses source materials not directly related to Bashō; most of the details in the text about Munekiyo were taken from *Tales of Heike* (平家物語 Heike monogatari) and *Tales of Heiji* (平治物語 Heiji monogatari).

Munekiyo’s relation to Bashō is, of course, impossible to verify. Chōmu himself explained in a note included in the text of the scroll: “In *The Eastern Mirror* (吾妻鏡 Azuma kagami) Munekiyo is mentioned, but there are no detailed records of his last days. Therefore, I have followed the theory given by the people of Iga province.”22 If one is skeptical of this early biography and the folk tales passed down in Bashō’s hometown, one might conclude that, in a literary sense, Munekiyo is a convenient person to pick as Bashō’s ancestor (or at least to focus on) because the lack of facts about his life leaves a great deal of room for interpretation. Chōmu is clearly not simply explaining Bashō’s ancestry, but, rather, using the description of Munekiyo as an introduction to Bashō.

The basic story of Munekiyo is told succinctly in the Kamakura era record *The Eastern Mirror*:

This Munekiyo is a servant of the Nun of the Lake. During the Heiji Rebellion, he was very kind to Yoritomo, whom he had captured. Because of that, Yoritomo ordered him to come to Kamakura, so that he might thank him. When the order to appear to Kamakura arrived, Kiyomori said to Munekiyo, “This order is for you.” Munekiyo answered, “If we were going off to battle, I would be in the front line, but by accepting the invitation to Kamakura, would it not soil the original service? It would be shameful to go now at the moment of the downfall of the Heike clan.

In this way, all of the historical and fictional materials about Munekiyo emphasize his depth of feeling and his sense of loyalty. This echoes the *Tale of Saigyō*, where Saigyō is also depicted as a man of feeling and loyalty. For example, Saigyō is said to have been a man so sensitive to the impermanence of the world that he was desperate to retire and become a priest, but he was also so loyal to his family and the Emperor that he was perplexed about what he should do.

Munekiyo’s sensitivity was illustrated in his kindness to Yoritomo, a captured enemy. His loyalty to his clansmen is evidenced by his refusal to receive gifts that he in fact deserves, when the rest of his clan is being slaughtered in battle. Via the relationship between Sengin (Bashō’s boyhood master) and Bashō, Chōmu describes Bashō as possessing these same two character traits. Thus, in the opening section the reader is presented with the three overlapping images of Bashō, Saigyō and Munekiyo, all of whom are described as men of deep feeling and great loyalty.23

Also, the original sources do not explain what finally became of Munekiyo. In *Tales of Heike* he simply refused to accompany Kiyomori to Kamakura, and no other information is given about him thereafter. *The Eastern Mirror* records Munekiyo saying, “I will go directly to the battle at Yashima,” thus hinting that he died in battle with the rest of the Heike clan at Yashima. Chōmu’s version of the story ends with the following: In the end Munekiyo refused to go. However, while they were arguing many days passed. Realizing that departing so late for the battle in the western province he would lose face, he decided to go to the village of Uge in the district of Ahe in Iga province, where he had owned an estate for some years. Worried that the Kamakura...

---

kura Shogun might send people looking for him, Munekiyo changed his appearance and lived in hiding.  

The differences in this retelling of the story have important repercussions for the biography of Bashō. It serves to explain Bashō’s low social standing in the best possible light. Munekiyo was forced to go into hiding in order to save face, so his descendants would of course be of a low social rank and relatively poor, however, they are not of vulgar stock. Rather, they are members of a proud line that declined due to violent times. Likewise, in the Tale of Saigyō, Saigyō’s high station at court is based in large part on the military exploits of Hidesato, his ninth-generation ancestor.

Text One

This section deals with the relationship between Bashō and his boyhood master Sengin:

Around the time of the Meireki era Bashō left his boyhood home and served the paymaster Yoshitada, the son of Todo Shishichirō Yoshikiyo. Yoshitada was also known as Sengin. Between his practices in the military arts he enjoyed the way of elegant arts. He composed waka and hai-kai. He studied under the Master of the time Kitamura Ki-gin. Bashō followed him in his studies.

While this passage may seem rather straightforward at first, many of Chōmu’s assumptions can be unpacked from it. First of all, Chōmu characterizes Bashō as a man talented in both the military and literary arts; later, Chōmu again describes Bashō as “talented in both the ways of war and the arts.” This is one of the rare places where Chōmu appears to intentionally stray from the historical sources he was using. No previous Bashō biographical materials mention that he was skilled in both the ways of art and war. However, a precedent can be found in the Tale of Saigyō:

Born as he was into a household of the bow and arrow, he upheld his family’s reputation in the military arts. In archery, he trained to become a Yang You, capable of scoring a hundred bullseyes, and he mastered Zhang Lang’s Three Strategies. He also had a talent for the literary arts. Gathering fireflies and piling up snow to study by its reflected light, he familiarized himself with the old writings of the Sugawara and Ki houses.

While Chōmu’s claims about Bashō’s military exploits are less elaborate, this passage is clearly the model he had in mind. The parallels are apparent: both texts mention archery as a key skill, both comment on the protagonist’s skill in art and military affairs, and both mention the protagonist’s study of the popular art of the day as well as the classics.

Section Four: Description of Awakening (発心 hosshin)

Sengin’s death is the topic of the next section of text. Chōmu describes it as one of the defining moments in Bashō’s life. In doing so, he models his prose closely on the Tale of Saigyō:

In the fourth month of the sixth year of Kanbun, unexpectedly the Paymaster died. Munefusa hung the hair of his dead master around his neck and climbed Mt. Koya and dedicated it. He painfully felt this world’s ephemerality and his heart seemed to flee his body (身を遁れんの心). So, he wished to leave the Toda family, but they regretted losing a man so talented in both the ways of war and the arts they did not allow him to go (文武のさへあるををしみて). At the end of that autumn, on a night when he was on night watch, he left by the pine near the gate. He wrote a hokku on a card and put it in the pillar of the Joson Actor Gate:

---

24 Ishikawa, Bashō zenshū, p. 913.
25 Ishikawa, Bashō zenshū, p. 916.
26 Ishikawa, Bashō zenshū, p. 917.
27 Heldt, p. 485.
28 In Chōmu’s text the word translated as “military arts” is yuba (矢馬) or the way of bow and horse.
Clouds will separate
The two friends, after the migrating
Wild goose’s departure\textsuperscript{29}

Tanaka argues this portion of the text is based on the Ippen scrolls, as the death of Ippen’s mother is given as the reason for his taking the tonsure. However, the similarities with the \textit{Tape of Saigyō} are truly striking.

In the \textit{Tale of Saigyō}, the sudden death of his friend is stated as the reason for Saigyō taking the tonsure. Moreover, the wording in the two texts are nearly identical. After the death of Noriyasu, Saigyō realizes “the ephemerality of this world”\textsuperscript{30} (世のはかなき事)\textsuperscript{31} and “he felt his body was not his own, as pain stricken grief choked his heart”\textsuperscript{32} (わが身も身ともおぼえず).\textsuperscript{33} Moreover, the episode in which the Retired Emperor Toba is reluctant to allow Saigyō to take religious vows is mirrored in \textit{Illustrated Life of Master Bashō} in the line, “he wished to leave the Toda family, but they regretted loosing a man so talented in both the ways of war and the arts that they did not allow him to go.” Finally, both Bashō and Saigyō are said to have left the service of their master “in the autumn of that year.”

\textit{Illustrated Life of Master Bashō} also includes a painting of Bashō diving into a river to escape a fire that swept through Edo and burned down his hut (Figure 5). The text for this section was taken from \textit{Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō} (芭蕉翁終焉記 Bashō o shūen ki), by Takarai Kikaku (宝井其角). Chōmu’s version reads:

The next year a fire erupted near his house. The houses in all directions around him were burning up, so there was nowhere to escape. He dove off the shore into the current of the river in front of his house. He ducked into some weeds and tried to bear the smoke, and finally he escaped. Thus, he came to understand the principle of the Burning House and decided to live thereafter without a home.\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure5.jpg}
\caption{Image number four in \textit{Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō}. Bashō, shown in the lower right-hand corner (arrow), hides in the river to avoid the fire. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. Bashō Buson. Zusetsu Nihon no koten 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 86.}
\end{figure}

Chōmu follows Kikaku in interpreting this event as the moment when Bashō truly became a wanderer. The vivid picture that accompanies this text is one of the largest in \textit{Illustrated Life of Master Bashō}, which emphasizes the importance of the scene. By depicting Bashō as a tiny figure caught between the destructive forces of fire and water, the scroll reinforces the Buddhist concept of the world’s ephemerality. Here again Chōmu highlights the trope of the wandering poet over the facts of Bashō’s bibliography. Although the fire in the winter of 1682 is a documentable fact, Bashō never recorded a firsthand account of this time in his life. Thus, it is impossible to know conclusively if the events described in this section actually occurred and what, if any, effect they had on Bashō. In this section Chōmu is clearly speculating. Moreover, rather than downplaying this period of Bashō’s life about which he had little documentary evidence Chōmu points to it as the turning point in Bashō’s life. This decision must have been based on Chōmu’s desire to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ishikawa, \textit{Bashō zenshū}, p. 917.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Heldt, p. 491.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Heldt, p. 491.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Kuwabara, \textit{Saigyō monogatari}, p. 51.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Ishikawa, \textit{Bashō zenshū}, p. 922.
\end{itemize}
have an awakening (発心 hosshin) episode in the text.

In his own autobiographical writings, Bashō depicts a very different picture of how he came to live his particular lifestyle. Take for example the following passage from Record of the Phantom Dwellings (幻住案記 Genjūan no ki):

When I think back over the months and years of my frivolous life, I remember that once I coveted an official post with a tenure of land and at another time I was anxious to confine myself within the walls of a monastery. Yet I kept aimlessly wandering on like a cloud in the wind, all the while laboring to capture the beauty of flowers and birds. Finally, this became my occupation, and with no other talent or ability to rely on, I clung to this one thread.35

It is reasonable to assume that this is an extremely important passage in Bashō’s writings because it is placed at the conclusion of the only haibun he published in his lifetime, and he repeated it almost verbatim in a passage in Backpack Notes (笈の小文 Oi no kobumi); a passage he used twice must be of particular significance. In this passage Bashō does not describe any cataclysmic event in his life that converted him into a wanderer. In fact, he states clearly that he never made an active decision to become a wander; rather, he began to follow this path by default because he was unable to do anything else. Chōmu quoted extensively from Record of the Phantom Dwellings and Backpack Notes, but omitted this key passage both times, clearly showing his editorial intent. Since Chōmu was modeling Bashō’s biography after Saigyō’s, he highlighted passages and images that portrayed his religious awakening, despite the lack of evidence for their historical accuracy and excluded passages from Bashō’s own writing that cast doubt on this view.35

Section Five: Reclusion (隠棲 insei)
The third image in Illustrated Life of Master Bashō (Figure 6), which depicts Bashō alone in his hut making a traveler’s hat, is an excellent example of how this scroll participates in the visual discourse of medieval biographies. The depiction of a hermit alone in his hut and the traveler’s hat are the iconographical symbols for reclusion (隠棲 insei). For example, Figure 7 and Figure 8 from the Illustrated Tale of Saigyō scroll depict Saigyō alone in his hut.36 This image had become so symbolic of the life of a recluse that it is parodied in the Jūmirui gassen emaki (十二類合戦絵巻), where a badger is depicted mimicking Saigyō (Figure 9). The text of this section, which


36 Like the drawing of Bashō, Saigyō’s face looks young and boyish. Also, the pose of Bashō’s figure is structured like Saigyō in Figure 7. The design and layout of the huts in both scrolls strongly resemble each other. In Figures 6 and 8, the rocks, boards and moss cover the roofs of the huts. There are food containers outside of the huts in all three illustrations, which are all painted in a similar manner. Finally, the brushwood fences in Figures 6 and 8 are rendered with such similar brushstrokes one could believe both were painted by the same painter.
is based on Bashō’s haibun “Words on Moving A Banana Tree” (芭蕉を移す詞 Bashō wo utsusu kotoba)\textsuperscript{37} and “Crafting a Hat” (笠はり Kasa hari)\textsuperscript{38} reemphasizes this point.

From that time until the Enpō era he hid himself like a dragon in the mist and clouds, hibernating in the mountains, hiding in the ocean. However, eventually he parted the grasses of the Musashi plain and went to Edo where he lived in the place called Fukagawa, where he planted a banana (Bashō) tree ... Its easily tattered leaves reminded him of this world’s ephemeral nature.

a banana plant in the autumn gale
listening to rain drip in a basin
at night

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure7}
\caption{Saigyō in his hut from the Manno scroll (万野). From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. Saigyō monogatari emaki. (Tokyo: Chūkōronsha, 1988), 26.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure8}
\caption{From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. Saigyō monogatari emaki. (Tokyo: Chūkōronsha, 1988).}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure9}
\caption{Badger mimicking Saigyō. From Prof. Komine Kazuaki’s personal collection of images. The original from Jūnirut Gassen emaki (十二類合戦絵巻).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{37} Imoto, Matsuo Bashō shū 2, pp. 327-332.
\textsuperscript{38} Imoto, Matsuo Bashō shū 2, p. 355.
When he was bored he wrote about making a traveler’s hat. When the autumn wind sounds lonely, imitating the Bamboo Cutter, and borrowing Myōkan’s sword, he cut and shaped bamboo. He called himself the Old Master of Hats. In the morning, he stretched on paper; and in the evening he dried it and stretched on more paper. He dyed the hat with persimmon. In twenty days it is finally finished. The hat slopes down and turns inward and outward at the edges so that it resembles a half-open lotus leaf. It is a most interesting shape. Is it the shabby hat that Saigyō wore? Or the hat that Su Tung-p’o wore? Shall I, he thought, travel to see the dew on Miyagi field? Or shall I take my walking cane to see the snows of distant Wu? … Drenching himself once more in Sōgi’s winter shower, he took up his brush and wrote on the inside of the hat.

Life in the world
just like a temporary shelter
of Sōgi’s!”

This text explicitly compares Bashō to earlier wandering poets such as Su Tung-p’o, Saigyō, and Sōgi. Through the mediums of the grass hut and the travel hat these various historical personages blend into a single character: the wandering poet. By quoting and splicing together these somewhat marginal prose pieces, Chōmu highlights one of the many characters that Bashō used to depict himself. Other characters Bashō used to describe himself, such as the mad comic poet, are completely excluded from Chōmu’s text while this wandering poet character is repeated far more often than in Bashō’s actual writings. Thus, the wandering poet character is made to appear to be Bashō’s singular and authentic personality. Chōmu washes away Bashō’s individual characteristics and recasts him in the generic role of the wandering poet.

**Figure 10**: Image number six in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. From Yasuda Yojūrō, ed. *Bashō ō ekotoba den genpon fukusei* (Kyoto: Rakushisya hozonkai, 1977), scroll one.

**Section Six: Travel (行脚 angya)**

Chōmu’s emphasis on the wandering and travel elements of the poet-priest narrative paradigm is evidenced by the fact that twenty of the thirty-three pictures in the scroll depict Bashō traveling. Also, nearly every picture in the scroll includes elements such as mist, roads, and flowing water. Repetition of these motifs creates visual continuity within the scroll. Moreover, these classical symbols of impermanence and travel reemphasize the image of Bashō as a wanderer.

The sixth image of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* (Figure 10) is another excellent example of visual connections with the biography of Saigyō.

This picture is based on Bashō’s poem:

*imo arau onna Saigyō naraba uta yomamu*

the potato washing woman
if it were Saigyō
he would compose a poem

39 This picture is also a visual parallel to the *Illustrated Tales of Saigyō* scroll (Figure 11) that depicts two women washing clothes, one with a child on her back. This picture seems to be based on Bashō’s own rendering of the same scene in *Weathered Skeleton Scroll* (Figure 12). Moreover, the baskets and potato washing devices look very similar.

This poem is an example of Bashō explicitly drawing a parallel between himself and Saigyō. Here again Bashō begins the process of conflating his image with Saigyō, and Chōmu continues the process by focusing on these aspects of Bashō’s texts. By choosing to illustrate these minor poems and incidents in Bashō’s texts, Chōmu is clearly showing his editorial intent of paralleling Bashō’s life with the template of Saigyō’s biography.

**Utamakura**

The places where Bashō is depicted traveling to in the scroll and the style in which they are depicted are also significant. The scroll includes pictures of famous classical poetic toponyms (歌枕 utamakura), including: Fuji River (富士川), Suma Bay (須磨), Mt. Yoshino (吉野山), Mt. Obasute (婆捨山), Nasu Fields (那須野), Shirakawa Barrier (白川関), and Matsushima (松島). Of course, Bashō wrote about a number of poetic places in his travel journals; an important part of haikai travel journals is the reworking of the poetic associations connected with these famous sights. However, Bashō also expanded the landscape of Japanese poetry by writing in detail about parts of Japan which were never mentioned in classical literature. The discovery of new poetic sights, or haimakura (俳枕), was also vital to Bashō’s prose. In the images of Illustrated Life of Master Bashō, however, the sections about new poetic places are generally not depicted.

The role of utamakura in Illustrated Life of Master Bashō is clear in the fifth image in the scroll (Figure 13), which depicts Bashō encountering an abandoned child, after he has crossed the Fuji River. Tanaka claims that this image is based on the landscape of the Fuji River in the Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen scroll (Figure 14). However, looking at the two images, it is obvious that there are only surface similarities, mainly the placement of Mt. Fuji in the upper right-hand corner and the river. It is important to remember that, based on the ninth chapter of Tales of Ise (伊勢物語 Ise monogatari), Fuji River came to symbolize the very idea of travel. So, the inclusion of this river in both scrolls is not surprising, and does not necessarily prove any direct correlation. For instance, in Bashō’s own drawing of this scene in his Weathered Skeleton Scroll (Figure 15), the layout of pictorial elements is the same in Illustrated Life of Master Bashō. The shape and rendering of Mt. Fuji is quite similar in figures 13 and 15, and both radically differ from the picture in Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen. This scene has a parallel to the Illustrated Tale of Saigyō scroll as well. In Figure 16, Saigyō is shown crossing Yoshino River at the start of his lifelong wanderings. It is very likely that Chōmu had this in mind when he placed this scene at the start of section two, the starting point of Bashō’s wanderings. The image of a traveler crossing a river was an important visual metaphor for travel. Although Illustrated Life of Master Bashō participates in this discourse, it cannot be attributed to any one influence.

---

42 Shirane, p. 241.


The use of *utamakura* also clearly reveals an attempt to emphasize Bashō’s similarities to Sai- gyō. The two passages about Yoshino, for instance, make direct reference to Saiogyō. Moreover, the inclusion of minor sites is also clearly based on a desire to emphasize Bashō’s connections to Saiogyō. The passages about Kisagata and Ichiburi are excellent examples of this phenomenon. Kisagata is a minor *utamakura* about which very few poems had been composed before Bashō’s time. Bashō included it in his text because searching out new haimakura and obscure *utamakura* was one of the goals of his journey. Chōmu, however, includes this passage, which could hardly be considered of great biographical importance, in his biography because of its connection with Saiogyō. Likewise, the passage about Ichiburi where Bashō meets two courtesans is a very minor event in his life. However, Chōmu includes it in Bashō’s biography because it has numerous parallels to the biography of Saiogyō, such as Saiogyō’s famous encounter with a prostitute from Eguchi who turns out to be Fugen Bodhisattva.

This use of *utamakura* parallels the *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* scroll, which also depicts numerous famous sites. There are, however, key differences in the way in which some famous sites, particularly temples and shrines are depicted. In the *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* scroll, the temples and shrines are all drawn with considerable architectural accuracy (Figure 17). Due to the explicitly religious objectives of this text, it was essential that the temples and shrines were accurately depicted. In *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, on the other hand, none of the buildings are drawn in any detail: usually, mist covers the buildings (Figure 18). Without the text it would be impossible to name any of the sites depicted in the scroll. In *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, famous temples and shrines are treated in the same manner as *utamakura*: they are reduced to visual icons.

**Figure 16**: Saigyō crossing a river from the Manno scroll (万野). From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Saigyō monogatari emaki*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988), 39.

**Figure 17**: Ippen at Tennōji Temple. Note the realistic and precise detailing of the buildings. From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Ippen shōnin eden*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988) 220.
Section Seven: Death of the Master (往生 おじょ)

In the last three images in the scroll the source material underlying the text clearly shifts from material based on Saigyō and utamakura to material based on records of medieval priests’ deaths (往生 おじょ). Tanaka argues that this section is based on the Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen scroll. However, as will be demonstrated, while both scrolls participate in the same discourse, there is no direct link between the two.

The thirty-first image in the scroll depicts Bashō on his deathbed as he writes his final poem (Figure 19). Bashō is placed in the center of the picture and his students look on from an adjacent room. Tanaka assumes the layout of this picture is based on Ippen’s death scene in Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen (Figure 20). Indeed, both pictures are illustrated from a point of view outside of the garden looking slightly down into the room. However, this motif for depicting the last moments of a great teacher has its roots in pictures of the death of the Buddha and is in no way particular to the Ippen scroll. See, for example, Figure 21, which illustrates the death of Priest Shinran (親鸞上人). Moreover, Ippen is shown surrounded by countless disciples, whereas Bashō is shown with only four students.
Image Thirty-two of the scroll shows Bashō’s coffin being carried up the Yodo River in a boat being pulled upstream by people holding ropes on the shore (Figure 22). In *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* immediately preceeding the scene depicting Ippen’s death, there is a drawing that shows Ippen and his students riding in a boat along the coast of Akashi that is being pulled by people standing on the shore (Figure 23). While there do seem to be similarities, it should be pointed out that Figure 13 also shows a boat being pulled from the shore, so it is doubtful there is any influence from *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen*.

Image Thirty-three, the final image in the scroll, shows Gichūji Temple, where Bashō was buried (Figure 24). Tanaka claims this is clearly modeled on the final drawing in *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen*, (Figure 25) which depicts two monks praying at the master’s grave. In both drawings, Tanaka explains, on the left-hand side is a pine tree and grave marker and on the right-hand side of the picture a hall which contains the likeness of the master. However, most scrolls about temples or Buddhist teachers end with a picture like this, so a direct parallel between the two scrolls is suspect.
Conclusion

In Illustrated Life of Master Bashō the Elder, the synergistic collaboration between Chōmu and Kanō Shōei created not only a dramatic biography of Bashō, but also a highly refined “master narrative” of the wandering poet-priest. By using stock visual elements (such as mist and flowing water), the visual discourse associated with poetic toponyms (utamakura), and direct allusions to the Illustrated Tale of Saigyō, this scroll recasts Bashō in the image of a medieval literary and religious figure. The pictures depicting Bashō’s reclusion and wandering are clearly based on Saigyō’s biography. The pictures of the final section are clearly modeled on records about the death of Buddhist teachers; however, this does not constitute a direct reference to Illustrated Biography of Priest Ippen. Conversely, this study has explained in detail that Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō is not attempting to create an accurate depiction of Bashō’s life, rather he is collaborating with the biographers of Saigyō by continuing the process of building a “master narrative” of a wandering poet priest.

Bibliography


Appendix One: Bashō Biographies

*Diary of the Memorial Services for Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁追善之日記』 (Bashō ō tsuizen no nikki), by Kagami Shikō (各務支考), 1694.

“Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō” 「芭蕉翁終焉記」 (Bashō ō shūen ki), in Withered Pampas Grass 『枯尾花』 (Kare obana), by Takarai Kikaku (宝井其角), 1694.

*Backpack Diary* 『笈日記』 (Oi nikki), by Kagami Shikō (各務支考), 1695.

*Record of the Department of Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁行状記』 (Bashō ō gyōjōki), by Inbe Rotsu (斎部路通), 1695.

*Complete Biography of Master Bashō* 『蕉翁全伝』 (Shō ō zenden), by Hattori Dōhō (服部土芳). This work greatly influenced Chikujin. It no longer exists.

*Tales of the Master Bashō the Beggar* 『芭蕉翁頭陀物語』 (Bashō ō zuda monogatari), by Tamura Ryōtai (大村涼台), 1751.

*Complete Biography of Master Shō* 『蕉翁全伝』 (Shō ō zenden), by Kawaguchi Chikujin (川口竹人), 1762.

*Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁絵詞伝』 (Bashō ō ekotoba den), by Goshōan Chōmu (五升庵蝶夢), 1792.

*Biography of Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁伝』 (Bashō ō den), by Kannyō (寒寥), 1801.

Appendix Two: Outline of Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō

Text and Illustrations  Source Text

**Section One**

Introduction

**Text one** Complete Biography of Master Shō 『蕉翁全伝』

*Picture 1-Pulling a horse*

**Text two** Complete Biography of Master Shō 『蕉翁全伝』

*Picture 2-Finding poem card*

**Text three** “Words on Moving a Banana Tree” 『蕉を移す』

*Picture 3-In his hut*

**Text four** “Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō” 『芭蕉翁終焉記』

*Picture 4-Escaping the fire*

**Section Two**

Text of five Record of Weather-Exposed Skeleton 『野晒紀行』

*Picture 5-Fuji River*

Text of six Record of Weather-Exposed Skeleton 『野晒紀行』

*Picture 6-Potato washers*

Text of seven Record of Weather-Exposed Skeleton 『野晒紀行』

*Picture 7-2nd month Hall*

Text of eight A Visit to Kashima Shrine 『鹿島紀行』

*Picture 8-Poetry meeting*

Text of nine The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel 『笈の小文』

*Picture 9-Falling from horse*

Text of ten The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel 『笈の小文』

*Picture 10-New Great Buddha*

Text of eleven The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel 『笈の小文』

*Picture 11-Mt.Yoshino*

Text of twelve The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel 『笈の小文』

*Picture 12-Suma bay*

Text of thirteen The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel 『笈の小文』
Appendix Three: Chômu’s Biography

Facts about Chômu’s life are scattered. His real name is unknown: only his haikai penname appears in historical records. He was born in Kyoto in 1732. When he was nine years old he became a Buddhist monk in the Jishû sect and entered Hokokuji temple in Kyoto. Four years later he converted to the Pure Land sect and entered Kihaku-in Temple, a branch of Amidaji Temple. In his early-twenties he became the head priest of Kihaku-in. However, in 1766 he resigned his position, and two years later he built a hut in Okazaki in eastern Kyoto, where he lived as a hermit. Chômu traveled widely during the rest of his life, but he resided in this hut until his death in 1795.

While Chômu was marginally affiliated with Buddhist activities even after he resigned from his post as head priest, for the last thirty years of his life (from the time he became a hermit until his death) he devoted most of his time and energy to haikai poetry. He was especially active in the movement to exalt Bashô. Chômu collected money from poets throughout Japan in order to revamp and maintain Gichiji Temple, the site in Saga where Bashô is buried. He started the practice of yearly and monthly memorials at the temple. He was also instrumental in the inspiration of Shômon (Bashô School) poets throughout Japan. He tried to foster a sense of reverence for Bashô in the members of the Shômon school, supported the building of Bashô grave markers, and encouraged greater connections and unity among Shô-
mon members. Finally, he was invaluable as an editor and compiler of Bashō’s writings. Chōmu’s collections were the definitive texts of the Bashō canon for many years and are still an invaluable reference for scholars when editing Bashō anthologies. Considering Chōmu’s considerable efforts in publishing Bashō’s work, it is easy to understand his desire to create a work like *The Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, which would make Bashō’s texts available to readers of future generations. Chōmu’s extensive experience working with the texts and pictures relating to Bashō’s poetry and life made him uniquely qualified to create *The Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*.

Chōmu became interested in haikai in 1759 when he visited Tsuruga, Echizen. In the ninth lunar month, the annual “road making” ceremony is performed at Kehi Temple. Hokokuji Temple in Kyoto, where Chōmu was studying, was in charge of assisting in the ceremony. Thus, Chōmu was sent to help in the preparations for the festival. This trip seems to have had an enormous impact on Chōmu’s understanding of Bashō. Bashō had recorded his experience at this festival in *Narrow Road to the Interior*. While Chōmu was visiting Tsuruga, he joined a renku writing party of the Shōmon School. At this time he began to think of haikai as a form of religious practice, or what he called True Style Haikai (正風俳谐 Shōfū haikai). He rapidly became even more interested in haikai as a form of religious art. In the context of his new understanding of haikai, his decision to becoming a hermit can be seen as a second taking of Buddhist vows. He had already retired from the secular world, now he was retreating from even the monastic world. He viewed haikai as a form of religious practice and dedicated the remainder of his life to this practice. This perspective of haikai as a religious art greatly influenced the representation of Bashō in *The Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, which in turn profoundly effected all later generations’ interpretations of his works.
Basic Style Guidelines for Final Manuscripts

Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal

Please use Times New Roman 10.5 point font for the main text, Times New Roman 14 point font bolded for the main title, and Times New Roman 12 point font bolded for the author’s name, followed by the author’s institutional affiliation in normal Times New Roman 10.5 font, e.g.,

Early Modern Japanese Art History ©Patricia J. Graham, University of Kansas

Subheadings should be Times New Roman 12 point font bold, and flush left.

Italicize Japanese words in the text. Do not italicize Japanese words that commonly appear in English language publications such as samurai, shogun, bakufu, haiku, noh/ nó, etc.

If possible, produce macrons over vowels; if you can not produce macrons over vowels, choose a consistent, distinctive (e.g., not used for any other purpose in your essay text, notes, or citations) symbol, e.g., circumflex or umlaut, and clearly note on the title page what convention you are following so our search-and-replace routines can quickly make the substitutions.

EMJ employs footnotes, not endnotes. Please follow the Chicago Manual of Style, 13th edition. We use the same font and size for notes and the main text. Italicize the names of books, newspapers, journals, etc.

Article citations:
Timothy H. Barrett, "Tominaga Our Con-


Thesis citations:
Willem Jan Boot, "The Adoption and Adaptation of Neo-Confucianism in Japan: The Role of Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan" (D. Lit., University of Leiden, 1983).

Book citation:

EMJ can use black and white illustrations. Please submit these in a standard format (e.g., jpg, gif, tiff, or pdf; however, we can handle anything that Adobe Photoshop version 6.01 can edit.). Originals may be submitted in color, but you should test to see how well they convert to grayscale before you decide to include them. Clearly label illustrations in sequence and provide captions clearly associated with each illustration.

In composing charts and tables, bear in mind that we employ two columns per page and, with our software, mixing a large table or chart (one larger than a single column) with the two-column format can sometimes fail. Specially formatted text can present the same challenge. For reference, each column is 20.03 character-wide with the font setting as noted above.