Collaboration in the "Back to Bashō" Movement: The Susuki Mitsu Sequence of Buson's Yahantei School

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Renewed interest in the collaborative form hai-kai no renga 謹誼の連歌 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 – Ichiyai 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 加藤曉台 (1732-1792), Chōmu 蝶夢 (1732-1795), Kaya Shirao 加賀白維 (1738-1791), and Hori Bakusui 境友水 (1718-1783). 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 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 雜詠, or miscellaneous haikai. One such variety was called maekuzuke 前句付, where a haikai verse marker or tenja 簡者 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 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 Goshibizumi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 republication of Bashō's important works by Shōmon-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 Sankasha,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明烏 (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続明烏 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, Buson no sekai 連句の世界 (Shintensha, 1997), pp. 89-90.

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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, (Ōfusha, 1975), pp. 69-72.
6 Ogata Tsutomu尾形功 and Yamashita Kazumi与謝蕪村, Buson no sekai 連句の世界 (Yūhikaku, 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 (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.8

Susuki mitsu brought together four dissimilar voices. Ranzan's haikai teacher was Renshi, one of the Goshikizumi poets.9 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.10 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 蕭村七部集, and was perhaps even more zealous than Buson in championing the ideals of Bashō.11

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 Aburakoji 油小路 to which he was confined was filthy and neglected. Ranzan wrapped his head in a zukin 头巾 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 桔仙堂, where it was published shortly afterward.12

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.

The opening verse of a haikai no renga sequence is expected to include a kigo (season word) and to make a flattering gesture towards the good taste of his host. The privilege of composing the opening verse of a haikai sequence is

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 蕭村・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.

Chora composed the *waki* 脇, 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 yūbe ni (Chora)

beginning with the wind
on an evening in autumn

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

秋立つ日よめる
あききぬとめに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 odorokarenuru

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

(*Kokinshū* 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 Bashō'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 Bashō-school haikai.

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 Bashō" 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 (Kitō)

missed the boat;

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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
Tsurayuki ga musume osonaki goro nare ya
(Chora)\(^{19}\)
Tsurayuki'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,
plattitudinous verse about travel and recasts it into
a more elevated situation – the death of the pro-
vincial governor's daughter mentioned in Ki no
Tsurayuki's 紀貫之 (868-945) Tosa nikki 土佐日
記 (ca. 935). Buson then adds a link using an ar-
chaic word, hajitomi, the wooden blinds of an aris-
tocratic Heian residence. He juxtaposes hajitomi
with a synesthetic image, the dull, grim feeling of
heavy rain. Linked with the previous verse, it sug-
gests a scene of Tsurayuki'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 fig-
ures, such as in this example:

18. 五尺の鍔打おふせたり
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. Be-
cause of his outstanding service, two great swords
were made for him by a famous blacksmith. Bu-
son picks up on this detail to make the link.\(^{22}\)

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

20. 灯を持出る女麗し
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. 黒髪にちらちらかける夜の雪

kurokami ni chirachira kakaruyoru 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 owaru (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 (fuchō 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.

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 inappropriateness 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 Kyoriku 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.

23 Ibid, p. 76.


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 yûbe ni
beginning with the wind
on an evening in autumn
Chora

3. 舟たへて宿とるのみの二日月
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
Kitô

4. 紀行の模様一歩一変
kikô no moyô 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 onmayami
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 shunjû o shiru
I, too, have known fifty
springs and autumns
Kitô

9. 汝にも頭巾着せうぞ古火桶
nanji ni mo zukin kishô 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 no 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. 五尺の釃打おふせたり
goshaku no tsurugi uchi ōsetari
the five-foot sword
thoroughly tempered
Chora

19. 溝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 mōte 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 hekijō 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. 黒髮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
utae ni makete shōryō 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. 相傘せうと嫗にたばれて

*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. 象潟の花もひやる夕間暮

*Kisagata no hana omoiyaru yūmagure*

thinking fondly on Kisagata's cherry blossoms in the darkening dusk

Ranzan