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From Form to Spirit: Infusing Chinese Elements in *Haikai*

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In the early 1680s, especially the Tenna 天和 era (1681–1684), the infusion of Chinese elements became fashionable in the world of *haikai* 俳諧 (Japanese popular linked verse).¹ Scholars often refer to *haikai* composed at this time as *kanshibunchō haikai* 漢詩文調俳諧, which literally means “*haikai* in the style of Chinese poetry and prose” and is often translated in English simply as “Chinese-style” *haikai*. According to Kon Eizō, Chinese-style *haikai* first arose in Kyoto, and *Anraku no koe* 安楽音 (Comfortable voice, 1681) is the earliest extant *haikai* anthology that includes Chinese-style verses.² The popularity of the Chinese-style soon spread to other regions of the country, and Matsuo Bashō’s 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694) circle, which was based in Edo, was swept up in the trend as well.³

Before the advent of the Chinese-style *haikai*, the *haikai* world had been dominated by the Teimon 貞門 School and Danrin 談林 School, successively.⁴ Each of these two schools agreed upon the witty, humorous nature of the art of *haikai*. However, the Teimon School emphasized the inclusion of *haikai* words (vernacular words and Sinified words) while maintaining, to a large extent, poetic traditions preserved in *waka* 和歌 (31-syllable Japanese poems) and *renga* 連歌 (linked verse). In contrast, the Danrin School aspired to create an unconstrained, illusory, and sometimes even absurd world that inverted tradition and convention. The free and bold Danrin style attracted many *haikai* poets who had become weary of the relatively conservative—and gradually stereotyped—Teimon style, as well as commoners who possessed less knowledge of or affinity for classical literature, and thus, it earned tremendous popularity during the 1670s. Nevertheless, this fever lasted none too long before it came to a dead end, and the Chinese-style emerged as an effort to circumvent this stagnation. Ebara Taizō argues that the rise of the Chinese-style originated



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from an anxiety to restore the “literariness” that had eventually become lost in the Danrin style.⁵ Kon Eizō further claims that since *haikai* poets had already recognized the limitations of the Teimon and Danrin styles, both of which relied on Japanese literary classics (*waka*, *renga*, *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, and *nō* plays) for “literariness,” it was natural for them to turn next to Chinese literature.⁶ The Chinese-style *haikai* enjoyed only brief popularity during the early 1680s, and a few years later, *haikai* was sublimated into a serious art by the school of Bashō, who is known for striving for beauty and elegance in the everyday lives of the poor and secluded.⁷

Sandwiched between major *haikai* styles, the Chinese-style *haikai* deserves scrutiny. What are the features of the Chinese-style *haikai*? How should we situate it in the history of *haikai* development? And what role, if any, did it play in the establishment of Bashō’s style (*shōfū* 蕉風), which is generally considered the zenith of *haikai*? Interestingly, scholars’ opinions on these issues have varied and sometimes even contradicted one another. For example, Kon Eizō asserts that the Chinese-style *haikai* never progressed beyond the rather superficial stage of novelty-seeking; it made essentially no improvements in terms of literary awareness, and in that sense, it did not surpass Danrin-style *haikai* and was no more than a transitional product in *haikai* history.⁸ Conversely, Satō Katsuaki states that Bashō had already developed a mind to revolutionize *haikai* during the Tenna era and that the Chinese-style *haikai* verses composed by Bashō’s circle “informed the birth of the new Bashō style” and should not be considered mere transitional works.⁹ Scholars have also made seemingly discrepant comments with regard to aesthetic style. While many summarize the major themes of Bashō’s *haikai* during this time as poverty, reclusion, and desolate beauty, it has also been noted that there frequently appear verses depicting a flamboyant and sensual world.¹⁰

None of the above statements about the Chinese-style *haikai* is wrong, but each comment reflects only one (or a limited) aspect of the comprehensive genre. Although I use the term “Chinese-style” in this article for the sake of simplicity, it is important to note that “Chinese-style” is not a fixed, self-explanatory term. To begin with, the Japanese word *kanshibun* refers both to literary works by Chinese authors and to productions of Japanese authors that take the form of literary Chinese. Moreover, within the two vast corpora of the above-mentioned literary traditions were a number of diverse styles. The coexistence of these seemingly distinct styles and their incompatible content demonstrate the

ambiguous and inclusive nature of the concept of the Chinese-style. For its part, the Chinese-style *haikai* signified a series of different groups' attempts to infuse *haikai* with Chinese elements during the early 1680s, the purpose of such attempts being to revitalize the stagnant *haikai* of the Teimon and Danrin styles. Even if one focuses, as we will, on the works of just one group—in this case Bashō's circle—it is difficult to reduce those works to a sole pattern or style. I argue that for Bashō's circle, the Chinese-style was an experimental stage, and a definite direction of their style had yet to be established: Bashō and his peers were hospitable to a wide range of stylistically diverse Chinese texts and a variety of approaches to appropriating Chinese literature.

In examining the Japanese reception of Chinese literature and culture, David Pollack summarizes the Sino-Japanese relationship as a “dialectical relationship between the antitheses of alien form and native content.”¹¹ The Chinese-style *haikai* demonstrates a Sino-Japanese relationship that is much more complex than a simple polarity of (Chinese) form versus (Japanese) content. Bashō's circle made use of Chinese texts in many ways: they not only adopted the form but also employed the content, seeking to resonate with its spirit.¹² In fact, Bashō's circle used Chinese elements to contrastive ends: just as they took advantage of China's (popularly conceived) otherness to create the unexpected and the strange, they also relied upon its perceived legitimacy to elevate the status of *haikai*.¹³ Although people often interpret literary texts, especially those produced in the Edo period, as showing a sense of nationality by contrasting Japan with China, Bashō's method of utilizing Chinese sources indicates that in fact, he had no intention of creating such a sense. It is more appropriate to say that the popular notion of China was a tool for Bashō; instead of serving merely as a stand-in for foreignness, China also became part of the past—part of a tradition that Japanese authors could draw upon, allude to, and parody.

In the following, I will examine multi-dimensional incorporations of Chinese elements into *haikai* by Bashō's circle and, accordingly, the various styles embodied by their *haikai* verses. This undertaking will also clarify which aspects of Chinese literature, if any, contributed to the formation of the Bashō style. In this process, I hope in many ways to illuminate the complexity surrounding the Sino-Japanese relationship, explore the hybrid nature of the Chinese-style *haikai*, and, ultimately, challenge the Japan-China dichotomy. I will focus on three *haikai* anthologies that include Chinese-style verses and involve the participation

of Bashō's circle: *Jiin* 次韻 (A response to the seven-hundred and fifty verses, 1681), *Musashiburi* 武蔵曲 (Musashi style, 1682), and *Minashiguri* 虚栗 (Empty chestnuts, 1683).¹⁴ *Jiin* is a *haikai* collection compiled by Bashō. All of the sequences are participated by Bashō, Kikaku 其角, Yōsui 揚水, and Saimaru 才丸. *Musashiburi* collects *haikai* verses composed when the compiler Chiharu 千春, who was from Kyoto, went to Edo to communicate with Bashō and *haikai* poets surrounding him. Although the compiler on paper is Chiharu, Kikaku is also said to have played an important role in the process of compilation.¹⁵ *Minashiguri* is a *haikai* anthology that collects verses by Bashō's circle. The compiler is Kikaku, and a postscript by Bashō is included.

Creating Visual Impact

When reading the three *haikai* anthologies, one can hardly ignore the frequent appearance of orthographies that are unconventional for vernacular Japanese texts but reminiscent of Sinitic writings and Japanese *kundoku* (訓読) reading of classical Chinese texts. Most Chinese-style verses can be identified by visual observation of this kind, and I refer to these verses as “visually-recognizable Chinese-style *haikai*.” Some examples follow below.¹⁶

1. 煤掃之礼用於鯨之脯
whale jerkies
used for the ritual of
“Year-End House Cleaning”

susuhaku no
rei ni kujira no
*hojishi o mochiyu*¹⁸

Kikaku¹⁷

煤^ス
掃^{ハク}
之
礼^ニ
用^ユ
於^ニ
鯨^ニ
之
脯^{ホシシ}
一

v. 1

This verse is entirely written in kanji, which is rare in Chinese-style *haikai*. As in many Sinitic texts, Japanese readings for some kanji, particles written in katakana, and numbers to mark the order of the words are provided to aid the audience to read it in a Japanese way. It is worth noting that Kikaku was, apparently, not expertly skilled in Sinitic writing, given his misuse of the word 於.¹⁹ The verse, when read in Chinese, is rather prosaic without conforming to the rules of Chinese poetry, but its Japanese reading makes it resemble a 5-7-5 syllable Japanese verse (the last line is

7 rather than 5, which was not uncommon at the time).²⁰ The kanji combination 煤掃, given the reading of *susuhaku* here, does not exist in Chinese but refers to a custom of thoroughly cleaning the house in preparation for the New Year in Edo Japan.

2. 盞ヲ漕ゲ芋を餌にして月ヲ釣ン Gyō'un 暁雲²¹
 let's fish the moon
 with taros as bait
 while rowing sake cups

sakazuki o koge
imo o e ni shite
tsuki o tsuran

盞
 漕
 ゲ
 芋
 を
 餌
 に
 して
 月
 ヲ
 釣
 ン

v. 2

This verse resembles a *kundoku* reading of Sinitic texts. While the second line, *imo o e ni shite*, is written in kanji and hiragana like most *haikai* verses, the remainder features particles written in katakana and *okurigana* shrunk to the right in katakana, qualities similar to transcriptions of Sinitic writings.²² It also includes the “object + を” structure, which Satō Katsuaki considers to be influenced by Sinitic writings.²³ The poem describes a moon-viewing party using terms that are usually associated with fishing, a seemingly irrelevant activity. The sake cups that go gaily around are like moving boats, and instead of fish, they catch the moon (reflected in the sake). The bait here is taros, which usually serve as votive offerings to the moon god, seducing and attracting the god to come to the moon-viewing party. The witty associations made here allow this verse to align well with *haikai*, which also emphasizes humor and wit.

3. 無情人秋の蟬 Ranran 嵐蘭²⁴
 a heartless person—
 shell of a locust in autumn

nasake nakaran bito
aki no nukegara

無
 カ
 ラ
 ン
 レ
 情
 人
 秋
 の
 蟬
 ヌ
 ケ
 ガ
 ラ

v. 3

4. 卑シ山路に銭とらせきる Kikaku²⁵
 he gives all his money
 to the lowly grass-cutter
 named Sanro

*iyashi Sanro ni
 zeni torasekiru.*

イ
ヤ
レ
サ
シ
山
路
に
銭
と
ら
せ
き
る

v. 4

Verses 3 and 4 each contain a phrase that is transcribed in Sinitic words, with Japanese readings in katakana appearing on the right side, as well as diacritical marks, including a return marker (*kaeriten* 返り点) in verse 3 and a combination marker (in this case an *on*-reading combination marker) in verse 4. The content reflects a world rooted in the Japanese literary tradition. In verse 3, we do not realize that the locust has naught but its shell left until we see that the kanji 蟬, usually read “semi” with the meaning of “locust,” is given a reading of *nukegara*, meaning “shell.” The shell of a locust alludes to Utsusemi of *Genji monogatari*, a female character who leaves the outer layer of her robe in order to escape from Genji and is thus compared to an empty locust. This image of Utsusemi resonates with “a heartless person.” The disjunction between the kanji and the unconventionally assigned Japanese reading creates an unexpected effect, and the use of the word *nukegara*, which is less established in poetic lexicon than Utsusemi, makes this verse *haikai*. Verse 4 alludes to a legend about the Emperor Yōmei 用明, a legendary emperor of the late sixth century whose story is recorded in the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters 古事記, ca. 711) and *Nihon shoki* (The chronicles of Japan 日本書紀, 720). As a prince, Yōmei once visited the residence of Mano no Chōja 真野長者, located in the province of Bungo (now Oita Prefecture), to woo his beautiful daughter. There, the prince pretended to be a grass-cutter and called himself Sanro. This is a great example in which the high (prince) and the low (grass-cutter) converge in a *haikai* verse.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <p>5. 灯火をくらく幽霊を世に反ス也 Kikaku²⁶
 turn off the light
 to have the ghosts return
 to this world

 <i>tomoshihi o</i>
 <i>kuraku yūrei o</i>
 <i>yo ni kaesu nari</i></p> | <p>灯火をくらく幽霊を世に反ス也
 v. 5</p> |
| <p>6. 日を額にうつ富士の棟上ゲ Bashō²⁷
 Mt. Fuji suddenly rises up,
 so high that the sun rests on its forehead

 <i>hi o gaku ni utsu</i>
 <i>Fuji no muneage</i></p> | <p>日を額にうつ富士の棟上ゲ
 v. 6</p> |

Japanese contexts again provide a basis for these two verses. Verse 5 describes “A Hundred Tales” (*Hyaku monogatari* 百物語), a practice popular in Edo Japan, in which participants light one hundred lamps and tell ghost stories. They extinguish one light after each story is finished, and it is believed that the ghost will appear after all the lights go out. Verse 6 is about Mt. Fuji, often regarded as Japan’s national symbol. This verse—perhaps because the previous verse depicts a dream—represents a surreal world in which Mt. Fuji is built like a house. The mountain soon reaches so high that it looks as if the sun is located on its forehead. Despite the Japanese nature of their content, verses 5 and 6 each contain a word in whose *okurigana* are transcribed in the *kanbun* fashion. Verse 5 also includes the Chinese word 也 (read *nari* in Japanese), a particle frequently used in Sinitic texts. Although the proportion of Chinese-style transcription is low in these two verses, the incorporation of an unconventional transcription style still brings freshness to the *haikai* verse, as in the other examples. In fact, across the three anthologies under examination, most Chinese-style verses feature just one or two sites of

Chinese-style transcription.

The above verses represent several typical ways of transcription in the Chinese-style *haikai*. Each includes one or more sections, albeit varying in length, that imitate Sinitic writings or Japanese *kundoku* reading of Chinese texts from an orthographical standpoint. As we can see, the verses are usually not bound up with Chinese or *kanbun* literature in terms of content, motif, or atmosphere. They only imitate Chinese and *kanbun* texts insofar as their orthography, and the mixture of this kind of transcription with the genre of *haikai* leads to an unconventional and somewhat bizarre style that is generally considered “stiff” (*kikkutsu* 詰屈) by Japanese scholars. This effect of strangeness and novelty, however, is precisely what the poets originally intended to achieve with the Chinese-style. As noted by Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, the Chinese-style was a new approach that placed emphasis on orthography, fostering visual imagery. The *haikai* spirit is thus obtained through visuality instead of vocality, a focus of the so-called “*nō* play style” (*yōkyokuchō* 謡曲調) *haikai* favored by the Danrin School.²⁸

When these verses were written, uniqueness and distinctiveness were the primary pursuits of most *haikai* poets. Poets had explored various approaches, one of which was to parody other genres in *haikai*. The Danrin School is well known for its parodies of *nō* plays and of *Genji monogatari*, and even in the anthologies in question, there are parodies of genres other than Chinese and *kanbun* writings. For instance, one verse presumably composed by Bashō is deliberately attributed to “an unknown author” (*yomibito shirazu* 読人不知), a phrase often appearing in imperial *waka* anthologies when the name of the author is uncertain or, for some reason, intentionally hidden.²⁹ There are also verses that imitate the prefatory note (*kotobagaki* 詞書) of a *kyōka* 狂歌 (wild poem).³⁰ Although the three studied anthologies are generally considered to represent the Chinese-style *haikai*, they in fact include many “Japanese-style” verses, juxtaposing the Chinese and Japanese styles.

Infusing an Alien World

Traditional Japanese poetry, including *waka* and *renga*, is generally insulated from Chinese language and content, which permeate almost all the other literary genres. In *haikai*, however, after Teitoku incorporated Sinitic words into *haikai* in the early seventeenth century, Chinese elements were no longer kept at bay from vernacular Japanese poetry. The Tenna era, in particular, witnessed an influx of Chinese elements into the genre of *haikai*. Besides the imitation of Chinese and *kanbun* texts at the

level of form, incorporations of Chinese content—such as the adoption of China-specific images and topics, the utilization of Chinese poetic associations, and allusions to Chinese texts—are abundant in the Chinese-style *haikai* anthologies. The Chinese world endowed a treasure-house of materials, ideas, and inspiration to *haikai* poets, who were eager to break away from the restrictions of traditional Japanese poetry and blaze new trails in *haikai*.

The ways of incorporating these Chinese elements are myriad. A particularly extreme example is the direct quotation of a Chinese text, as shown below in verse 7.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------------|--|
| 7. | 有朋自遠方来
a friend has come
from far away | 千之 (Senshi) ³¹ | 有
ト
朋
自
リ
ニ
遠
方
来
上
レ
ル
コ
ト |
| | <i>tomo enpō yori
kitareru koto ari</i> ³² | | v. 7 |

This phrase is from the very first section of *Lunyu* 論語 (The analects), which reads, “The Master said, ‘Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application? Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters? Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?’”³³ Senshi reproduced the phrase as it existed in the Chinese original, responding to the previous verse he had composed: “he practices kendo / in a forest of empty valley / from time to time” (*Kenjutsu o kodama ni narau yoriyori wa* 剣術を虚谷に習ふ時は).³⁴ Apparently, the previous verse reminded Senshi of the first sentence of *Lunyu*, which stresses the importance of constant review and practice in learning. Therefore, he directly adopted part of the second sentence as the added verse. Although the verse itself is a clone, its originality lies in its linking of a famous Chinese quote to a *haikai* verse, broadening the range of available sources for *haikai* compositions. As extreme as this example is, there are many cases in which the poets turned to Chinese texts when establishing linkage between two contiguous verses. The following two pairs of verses illustrate just such a usage.

8. 孤村遙に悲風夫を恨ムかと 昨雲 (Saku'un)
 alone in a distant village,
 is she resentful of her husband
 in the moaning wind?
koson harukani
hifū otto o
uramu kato
- 孤
村
遙
に
悲
風
夫
を
恨
ム
か
と
v. 8
9. 媒酒旗に咲を進ムル 言水 (Gonsui)³⁵
 pimps promote girls who sell smiles
 under the banner of a tavern
nakadachi shuki ni
emi o susumuru
- 媒
酒
旗
に
咲
を
進
ム
ル
v. 9

Both verses 8 and 9 are visually-recognizable Chinese-style verses, since they include parts in which *okurigana* is written in katakana. In terms of content, they are linked by the word association between “wind” and “banner of a tavern,” which originates from the first two lines of the poem “Spring in South of the Yangtze” (*Jiangnan chun* 江南春) by Du Mu 杜牧 (803–853): “For a thousand miles orioles sing, green is reflected against the red; In a village beside the water, surrounded by mountains, bar banners flap in the wind.”³⁶ Neither *haikai* verse, however, focuses on describing a landscape, which is the main thrust of the Chinese poem. The former verse depicts a woman waiting in the wind for her husband, who has not yet returned. The image of the wind leads to the latter verse’s tavern banner, but unlike in the Chinese poem, where the two images appear as parts of one scene, they are associated in verses 8 and 9 with two contrasting scenes. In one, a woman waits in a desolate village; the other features a bustling tavern with pimps and prostitutes (which the husband may indeed be visiting). Gonsui took the Chinese poem as a starting point when searching for new poetic associations, but his re-creation of the tavern scene explains why the husband has not returned, establishing a

content link to the previous verse.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| <p>10. 夜ヲ離レ蟻の漏より旅立て
as the day breaks,
he departs on a journey
from the ant tunnel</p> <p><i>yo o hanare
ari no uro yori
tabidachite.</i></p> | <p>ト尺 (Bokuseki)</p> | <p>夜
ヲ
離
レ
蟻
の
漏<small>ウロ</small>
よ
り
旅
立
て</p> <p>v. 10</p> |
| <p>11. 槐のかくるる迄に歸リ見しはや 似春 (Jishun)³⁷
he keeps looking back
until the pagoda tree
becomes invisible</p> <p><i>enju no
kakururu made ni
kaerimishi waya</i></p> | <p>似春 (Jishun)³⁷</p> | <p>槐
の
か
く
る
る
迄
に
歸
リ
見
し
は
や</p> <p>v. 11</p> |

In verses 10 and 11, the image of a person staying the night near an ant tunnel is associated with the scene of a pagoda tree by way of a Tang legend, “Nanke taishou zhuan” 南柯太守傳 (Tale of the governor of southern branch), by Li Gongzuo 李公佐 (fl. 802–819). The legend’s protagonist often drinks with friends under a pagoda tree. One day, he is drunk and falls asleep. In his dream, he enters a kingdom in the pagoda tree, marrying the king’s daughter and enjoying a life of splendor as a high-ranking courtier. However, he is defeated in battle and eventually sent back to his hometown in disgrace. Arriving at home, the protagonist suddenly awakens from his dream, only to later discover a colony of ants beneath the pagoda tree that resembles the kingdom of his dream.³⁸ This story is intended to represent the impermanence of life, but that motif is apparently not inherited by either of the *haikai* verses here. As in verses 8 and 9, the Chinese text merely serves as a resource: by its content, it establishes a

word association that links the two consecutive verses. The second verse, in fact, develops a new association—one between the image of a pagoda tree on the one hand and a *waka* poem in *The Great Mirror* (Ōkagami 大鏡, ca. 1119) on the other: “As I go/ I keep looking back/ until I cannot see/ the top of the tree/ at your residence” (*kimi ga sumu yado no kozue o yukuyuku to kakururu made mo kaerimishi waya* 君が住む宿の梢をゆくゆくとかくるるまでもかえり見しはや)³⁹ This poem, addressed by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) to his wife as he departed into exile, expresses the poet’s unwillingness to leave his family behind. Jishun, in directly citing a portion of the poem but specifying that the tree is a pagoda tree, created a verse that seamlessly connects an image from a Chinese story with a poem from a Japanese text, all the while leaving room for the succeeding verse to create its own explanation of why the pagoda tree is so important to the poem’s subject.

There are also verses that depict scenes in a Chinese context, which rarely appear in *waka* and *renga*. The following consecutive verses are both such examples.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>12. 帋鷹に乗て仙界に飛 Gyō'un
 he rides on the kite
 and flies to the wonderland</p> <p><i>shien ni notte</i>
 <i>senkai ni tobu</i></p> | <p>帋<small>シ</small>鷹<small>エン</small>
 に乗て
 仙界に
 飛</p> |
| v. 12 | |
| <p>13. 秦の代は隣の町と戦ひし Kikaku⁴⁰
 the state of Qin
 once fought against
 the adjacent towns</p> <p><i>Shin no yo wa</i>
 <i>tonari no machi to</i>
 <i>tatakaishi</i></p> | <p>秦
 の代
 は
 隣
 の
 町
 と
 戦
 ひ
 し</p> |
| v. 13 | |

The previous verse is based on a legend about Lu Ban 魯班, a famous craftsman in the Chunqiu 春秋 period (770 BCE–476 BCE). He is said to

have made a kite, which he relied on to fly to the adjacent rivalry state and obtain useful information for his own state. This verse is inspired by the story, only changing the setting to a celestial world, also a Chinese theme. Then the added verse depicts the historical background in which the Lu Ban story is situated. The Qin here does not refer to the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), during which China was unified, but instead refers to the state of Qin during the Chunqiu period, when the country was in chaos and various states constantly fought with each other. Through importing China-specific images and topics, the verses emanate a feeling of exoticism, and the blending of these verses into the ones with Japanese themes further brings new possibilities into the art of *haikai*.

In most cases, however, the Chinese-style verses are not directly about China, but instead allude to Chinese texts, incorporating relevant images and content into a new, localized context. More often than not, *haikai* poets utilized the literal meanings of their Chinese sources, transforming, twisting, and even inverting their connotations. Verses 14 to 16 are such examples.

14. 白親仁紅葉村に送聲 桃青 (Tōsei)⁴¹

the old man with gray hair
sends his son to marry into a family
in the village of Red Leaves

shiroki oyaji
kōyōson ni
muko o okuru

シ
ロ
キ
白
親
仁
コ
ウ
エ
オ
ソ
ン
紅
葉
村
に
送
レ
聲
ム
コ
ヲ

v. 14

The poetic association between “red leaves” and “an old man with grey hair” can be traced back to a poem by Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 (1045–1105), which reads, “His grey hair faces red leaves. How to prevent them from falling down?”⁴² Huang’s poem expresses his aggrievement at the frustrated life of his friend Huang Jie 黄介, who was talented but ultimately unsuccessful in court. The images of Huang Jie’s grey hair and the falling red leaves paint a colorful picture and resonate with each other; Huang Jie’s question, “How to prevent them from falling down?” may refer to the red leaves, but it also pertains to his own situation: he has become old but still has not achieved his political ambitions. Political meaning, however, is entirely absent from the Japanese verse, which deals with the lives of

common people and in which the “red leaves” become the name of a village. Shared between the Japanese verse and the Chinese original, however, are the complicated feelings of an old man toward the “red leaves”: in the *haikai*, the man’s son will not only marry a girl from the village but will also be adopted into the bride’s family.

15. 嘲りに黄金は小紫ヲ鑄る Kikaku⁴³
 he uses gold to cast
 a statue of Komurasaki
 to show his scorn

azakeri ni
ōgon wa
Komurasaki o iru

嘲アザケりに黄金は鑄ルる小紫ツ

v. 15

As confirmed by Bashō in the postscript to *Minashiguri*, this verse alludes to a Chinese poem. Abe Masami points out that the source text is the couplet by Zheng Xie 鄭燁 (1022–1072): “Based on who made the greatest contribution to conquering the state of Wu, all the gold should be used to cast a statue of Xi Shi.”⁴⁴ Xi Shi, a well-known Chinese beauty, was sent to the King of Wu by the King of Yue as part of the latter’s plan for revenge. The King of Wu was enchanted with Xi Shi, as expected, and his indulgence in sensual pleasure and neglect of state affairs eventually led to his kingdom’s defeat at the hands of Yue. The poet, it seems, believes that Xi Shi was the most important factor in the fall of Wu and contended that the state of Yue should reward Xi Shi by building a golden statue in her image. A golden statue is also cast in the Japanese verse, but one for Komurasaki, a famous courtesan in Yoshiwara whose story appears in various literary texts, including *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 (Life of an amorous man, 1682) written by Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642–1693). The verse is not based on existing stories about Komurasaki but rather re-creates a post-battle situation that resembles the Chinese source. The real historical event of the battle, however, is re-contextualized into a bidding war in Japanese pleasure quarters, where two men compete with each other in ransoming Komurasaki. Unlike in the Chinese poem, it is the defeated side that builds a golden statue, which serves as a way to scorn the winner, implying that Komurasaki is no more than a commodity that can be

purchased and substituted. The statue, symbolic of political contribution in the Chinese poem, becomes in the Japanese verse a means of flaunting one's wealth and venting one's anger.

16. 鷺の足雉脛長く継添て
We add the legs of the pheasant
to the feet of the egret
to make them longer

*Sagi no ashi
kiji hagi nagaku
tsugisoete*

Tōsei⁴⁵

鷺
の
足
雉
脛
長
く
継
添
て

v. 16

This verse is the opening verse of the collection *Jiin*, which was intended to succeed and complement the previously composed *Nanahyaku gojū in* 七百五十韻 (Seven-hundred and fifty verses) so that the two works, together, would feature a thousand verses (*sen'in* 千韻). Bashō compared this collection and the *Nanahyaku gojū in* to the body of the egret and that of the pheasant, respectively, claiming that their attempt to append more verses to the existing set is comparable to attaching the legs of the pheasant to the feet of the egret. The relation between Bashō's verse and *Zhuangzi* is pointed out by the succeeding verse composed by Kikaku, which states "Zhuangzi can be seen in this verse."⁴⁶ Bashō's verse was likely inspired by the allegory in the "Webbed Toes" (Pianmu 駢拇) section of the *Zhuangzi*, which states, "The long is not redundant, the short is not insufficient. Therefore, although the duck's legs are short, it would worry him if they are extended; although the crane's legs are long, it would hurt him if they are cut off. In conclusion, what is long by nature should not be cut off, and what is short by nature should not be extended. There is no need to worry about them."⁴⁷ Bashō's composition features a similar pair of animals: the egret and pheasant, which also have long and short legs, respectively. Building on the Chinese text's assertion that it is nonsense to extend the short, the *haikai* verse depicts an even more absurd undertaking: the extension of the long by attaching the short. Notably, while the original insists upon the equality between long and short, verse 16 implies the superiority of the long, humbly claiming that *Jiin* would make an unworthy continuation of the great *Nanahyaku gojū in*. It remains a subject of debate whether Bashō had grasped and consciously expanded on the philosophical thought expressed in the original text, namely the importance of obeying the laws of nature without altering the original form

of things.⁴⁸ In any case, Bashō transformed a didactic and philosophical text into a social greeting that simultaneously expresses modesty and pays tribute to predecessors.

Each of the above three verses represents a case in which *haikai* verses allude to Chinese sources. Āurišin, introducing allusion as one of the forms of interliterary reception, states in his book *Theory of Literary Comparatistics*:

[allusion] as a rule does not imply a highly developed form of relationship, but merely a single instance of evoking association with a specific component of the original. The signficatory functionality of this form of reception on the semantic level of the work lies in the preparation of the reader's realization of the background of the literary tradition against which he should appreciate the specific artistic context. This functionality of literary allusion contains its symbolic quality in relation to the semiotic background of the work. The nature of this symbolism is determined by that of the correlating of the allusion with the whole context of the recipient aesthetic structure. For literary allusion can be employed as an expression of identification of the author with the meaning of the quoted element, or on the contrary can express the distancing of the author from its original meaning.⁴⁹

Our examples correspond to the latter case. Although the Chinese originals and Japanese verses share a certain quantity of poetic images, associations, and even ideas, they are quite different in terms of central themes and primary meanings. The political implications or philosophical depth of the Chinese texts are often replaced by depictions of common people's lives or of events associated with pleasure quarters. The interest of this kind of adaptation lies in the contrast between the foreign and the local, the traditional and the contemporary, the elegant and the vulgar. As Kōji Kawamoto points out, contrast (also called "oxymoron" or "paradox" by him) is one of the most important means and characteristics of haiku.⁵⁰ Similarly, Haruo Shirane regards the art of juxtaposition to be fundamental to Bashō's *haikai*. Specifically, he states that Bashō's *haikai* "cause the reader to explore the gap between disparate parts...." They "work against the classical tradition, leaping beyond the established associations or combining classical topics with vernacular language."⁵¹ Chinese texts, as the "high," the "other," and the established tradition, serve as the perfect entity against which the "low," contemporary, vernacular Japanese content makes contrast to or is juxtaposed with.⁵² However, the verses discussed in this section have not reached the height of seeking out "emotional and

aesthetic connotations in the new commoner languages and subject matter” while “drawing on the classical poetics of overtones (*yosei*),” as described in Shirane’s book, which focuses more on the mature stage of Bashō’s style.⁵³ These verses ignore the overtones of the Chinese original but simply pursue the unexpectedness and novelty in the astonishing gap between the verses and the source texts. In this sense, they are essentially not so different from the Danrin *haikai*’s parodying of classical texts (both Japanese and Chinese).

Absorbing the Poetic Essence of Chinese Literature

The reception of Chinese literature in Chinese-style *haikai* does not stop at the level of form or of content. Verses that were intended to inherit the spirit of Chinese texts begin to appear in *Jiin*, and a steady increase in their presence is apparent from *Jiin* to *Musashiburi* to *Minashiguri*. Japanese reception of Chinese texts, especially during the Edo period, was often mediated through the works of Japanese authors, either in Japanese or *kanbun*, so it is sometimes difficult to tell whether an author drew directly upon Chinese original texts or instead was inspired by Japanese sources. Many of the Chinese-style verses in these three anthologies feature a Chinese verse as a prefatory note or mention Chinese poets and works in a preface or postscript, revealing the authors’ conscious efforts to associate their verses with Chinese precedents. Such an effort is conspicuous in Bashō’s postscript to *Minashiguri*:

The book called “Chestnuts” has four flavors. Some verses taste like liquor with the spirit of Li Bo and Du Fu’s poetry, and some savor of porridge with the Buddhist atmosphere of Hanshan’s songs. It is not surprising that these verses look deep and sound distant. Moreover, the aesthetics of *wabi* (beauty in poverty) and *fūga* (elegance) represented in this collection are exceptional. They are achieved through visiting Saigyō’s residence on a hill, and picking up the chestnuts that are damaged by insects and thus cold-shouldered by common people.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, all kinds of emotions concerning love can be found here. The ancient beauty Xi Shi’s face hidden behind her hanging sleeves is turned to the image of Komurasaki, whose statue is also built in gold. The lady-in-waiting at the Shangyang Palace does not dress up so that the hangers in her bedroom become covered by ivies.⁵⁵ As for low status people, there are depictions of a girl who is brought up with great care and always clings to her parents, and intense fight between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The homosexual affairs related to *chigo* in temples and young men in Kabuki Theater are not absent as well.⁵⁶ We transformed Bo Juyi’s poetry into Japanese versions,

attempting to provide a guide for *haikai* beginners. The expressions in this collection are effective, and they unify the fictional and the real. The poets refined verses in the treasure tripod and polished wordings in the dragon spring.⁵⁷ The collection is not necessarily a treasure for others yet. Nevertheless, you should cherish it and wait for the time when others (recognize its value and) try to steal it.⁵⁸

Scholars have different opinions about what the “four flavors” refer to. Many think that the “four flavors” are four kinds of poetry represented by works of Li Bo and Du Fu (as a pair), Hanshan, Saigyō, and Bo Juyi, respectively.⁵⁹ My own position is also that of Satō Katsuaki, who claims that the “four flavors” are four distinctive features of the verses in this collection.⁶⁰ The first feature is “deep” and “distant,” the result of learning from the essence of Li Bo, Du Fu, and Hanshan’s poetry. This reflects the attempts of Bashō’s circle to attain a certain profundity and dignity that had been lacking in preceding *haikai* by connecting with Chinese classics on a spiritual level. The second feature comprises *wabi* and *fūga*, qualities Bashō claims to have inherited from Saigyō’s works. *Wabi* is an aesthetic appreciation of the simple, the austere, the poor, and the solitary. As Inoue Toshiyuki points out, it is also a reflection of Bashō’s lifestyle—his positive attitude toward a poor life and his resolution to live as a recluse.⁶¹ *Fūga* (elegance), on the other hand, is a poetic ideal advanced by Bashō, especially in his later years. In Shirane’s words, it refers to “cultural practice of the highest order.”⁶² According to *Sanzōshi* 三冊子 (Three Pamphlets, 1702), a poetic treatise by Hattori Tohō 服部土芳 (1657–1730) that records Bashō’s teachings on *haikai* compositions, “Chinese poetry, *waka*, *renga*, and *haikai* are all *fūga*.”⁶³ The above postscript actually marks the first instance of Bashō’s use of the term. Indeed, it is the starting point of the endeavor of Bashō’s circle to endow *haikai* with a status equal to that of traditional poetic forms. Although Bashō only mentioned Saigyō’s name, Saigyō stands as a representative of a larger poetic tradition, both Japanese and Chinese, that crystallizes the aesthetic ideals of *wabi* and *fūga*. Bashō emphasized that *wabi* and *fūga* are achieved through picking up “chestnuts that are damaged by insects and thus cold-shouldered by human beings,” a metaphor for images and poetic associations ignored by predecessors. It is hence that collection’s title, *Empty Chestnuts*, arises, and it is also an application of the Daoist thought of *Zhuangzi*, which constantly demonstrates the worth of the useless. This method is precisely what the mature Bashō style is well known for: discovering the poetic truth that is shared with traditional poetic forms in

the vernacular and the vulgar, domains that were despised in traditional poetry.

Frequent and diverse depictions of love mark the third feature of *Minashiguri*. Bashō provides us with examples that draw upon Chinese sources, as well as demonstrating the wide range of topics that *haikai* can embrace—even the emotions expressed by low-ranking people and homosexual relationships are not excluded. Bashō confesses that many of the verses transpose works by Chinese poets such as Bo Juyi into Japanese contexts, setting good examples for *haikai* learners. The final feature (flavor) concerns expressions, which Bashō describes as “shaking” and “unification of the fictional and the real,” phrases that are taken from *Zhuangzi yanzhai kouyi jiaozhu* 莊子齋齋口譯校註, an annotated text of the *Zhuangzi* that many Japanese people referred to at the time. As Satō Katsuaki points out, the word “shaking” (*zhendong* 震動, *shindō* in Japanese) is used in the “Fati” 發題 of the original, describing the strong impact of Buddhist texts, and similarly, the *Zhuangzi*, on readers’ minds.⁶⁴ Bashō borrowed this word to praise the effectiveness of the expressions. The relationship between “the fictional” 虛 (*kyo*) and “the real” 實 (*jitsu*) is perceived as fluid and relative in the original text, but in his postscript, Bashō ignores the philosophical overtone and instead applies the two concepts to literary creation, emphasizing a perfect fusion of fictional and real. This again reflects a conscious revision of the Danrin-style *haikai*, which favored exaggerations, falsehoods, and absurdities divorced from reality.⁶⁵

Bashō’s postscript to *Minashiguri* provides invaluable material for examining Bashō’s conceptualization of *haikai* during the stage of the Chinese-style, especially around 1683, when the collection was compiled. We can feel Bashō’s obsession with Chinese literature and thought at the time, as well as his eagerness to rectify the Danrin inclination to focus on frivolity and fabrication in *haikai*. Further, it is evident that Bashō’s reception of Chinese literature is not restricted to one poet, school, or style. Kanda Hideo categorizes the Chinese texts that influenced Bashō into two groups: those having been read in Japan since the Heian period and those transmitted to Japan by Gozan monks.⁶⁶ Bashō’s postscript seems to support Kanda’s speculation: Bo Juyi’s poetry was a favorite of Heian aristocrats, and Li Bo, Du Fu, and Hanshan’s writings, as well as the *Zhuangzi* had not been widely read in Japan until Gozan monks transmitted and introduced them to Japanese audiences. Not only are the two groups of works highly distinct from each other, but even works in the

same group (those of Li Bo, Du Fu, and Hanshan, for instance) feature distinctive styles. At the time, Bashō's interest was not restricted to one particular style, and the features he attributed to each group of works (which are rather abstract) are not exclusive. Indeed, depth, elegance, and the synthesis of the fictional and the real are shared in common by all of the Chinese texts in question, and it is these characteristics that appealed to Bashō's circle and were regarded by them to be the essence of Chinese literature. Bashō called upon these texts as balms to be applied to *haikai*, which he perceived as lacking content or profundity, aspiring to create *haikai* that absorbed the poetic essence of—and shared motifs, concepts, and spirit with—these poetic Chinese forerunners.⁶⁷

This postscript, however, reflects no more than an ideal that Bashō had in mind at the time of writing. Was this ideal realized? Or did its practical execution remain out of reach? The previous sections of this article list a number of exemplary verses that connect with Chinese texts merely on the levels of form and (or) content, and these constitute a considerable share of Chinese-style verses in the three anthologies we discuss here. Nevertheless, it is also true that the efforts to learn from Chinese texts on a spiritual level grew in strength from *Jiin* to *Musashiburi* and finally reached their peak in *Minashiguri*. An obvious example is set forth in the two verses below (17 and 18), which consecutively follow two lines of a Chinese poem included as a prefatory note at the beginning of the sequence.

憂方知酒聖，貧始覺錢神。

Only when he feels sad does one know the “saint of sake,”
(*Ureetewa masani sake no hijiri o shiri*)

Only when he becomes poor does one realize the “god of wealth.”
(*hinsureba hajimete zeni no kami o oboyu*)

17. 花にうき世我酒白く食黒し Bashō
In a floating world buoyed up by cherry blossoms,
I drink white (unstrained) sake
and eat black (unpolished) rice

*Hana ni ukiyo
wagasake shiroku
meshi kuroshi*

花
に
う
き
世
我
酒
白
く
食
黒
し

v. 17

18. 眠ヲ盡ス陽炎の瘦 カゲボシ 嵐雪 (Ransetsu)⁶⁸
 sleeping as much as he wishes—
 shadow of his slim body under the dazzling sunshine
nemuri o tsukusu
kageboshi no yase

眠
ヲ
盡
ス
陽
炎
の
瘦
カゲボシ

v. 18

Including Chinese verses as a prefatory note seems to have been quite fashionable at the time, as evidenced by the fact that all three *kasen* in *Minashiguri* to which Bashō contributed begin in this way. In this particular case, the prefatory note is from Bo Juyi’s poem “Ten Verses Composed during My Exile in the South” (*Jiangnan zheju shiyun* 江南謫居十韻), which laments his frustrated and impoverished life in Jiangzhou, to which he was exiled. This couplet sets the tone for the sequence and also provides a linking between sake and poverty for verses 17 and 18. The opening verse (verse 17) builds on the topic of sake in the original, and more importantly, it commandeers the Chinese poem’s connotation by creating new poetic scenes. Bashō makes use of the dual meaning of the word *ukiyo* to create a contrast between the protagonist, who lives a sad life (*ukiyo*, 憂き世), and people who live in the so-called floating world (*ukiyo*, 浮世), a cheerful place of pleasure-seeking. This contrast is exacerbated by the juxtaposition of a colorful scene of a bustling cherry-blossom viewing against a black-and-white portrayal of a lone subject eating his cheap and simple meal in solitude. This technique of intensifying the feelings of sadness and loneliness by creating a contrast with a fun and lively world is reminiscent of two lines from another of Bo Juyi’s poems, which he sent to his friend during his exile: “While you are enjoying lives in the blooming season under the brocade curtains in the Palace Library, I am staying at a grass hut atop Mountain Lu on a rainy night.”⁶⁹

Although the parallel between “white sake” and “black rice” is likely to be influenced by Chinese poetry as well, what essentially connects Bashō’s verse and Bo Juyi’s poem is their portrayals of a poor and lonely life that is isolated from the outside world. The difference between the two is that while this lonesome life was forced on the speaker (as a result of political failure) in Bo’s verse, the subject of Bashō’s verse voluntarily elected to adopt this anti-social way of living—in other words, reclusion.

The benefit of this lifestyle is illustrated in the second verse of the sequence (verse 18), which is likely an imaginary portrayal of Bashō's real life and serves as a salutation from Ransetsu to Bashō. Unlike workers or officials, who live regular lives, the subject can sleep as much as he wishes; despite his lack of wealth, which is reflected in his slim form, his life is leisurely and enjoyable. These two consecutive verses thus give shape to the paradoxical life of the recluse: materially restrained and scanty, yet spiritually free and fulfilling. Both sides of this coin are persistently represented in the Chinese-style verses that deal with the theme of reclusion, a particular favorite of Bashō.

In real life, Bashō moved from the center of Edo to Fukagawa (on the outskirts of Edo) in 1680, immediately before his enthusiastic participation in the Chinese-style and his constant engagement with recluse poetry. Scholars have disagreements on whether and to what extent Bashō's verses are reflections of his real life.⁷⁰ It is apparent, however, that Bashō deliberately created a persona who lives a difficult and lonely life in a humble hut, as can be seen in the following *hokku*. This verse, titled “Bōsha no kan” 茅舎の感 (Feeling toward my thatched hut, 1681), was composed by Bashō shortly after his seclusion.

19. 芭蕉野分して盥に雨を聞夜哉⁷¹
 The banana tree in the gale—
 a night when I listen to
 the rain dripping on my washbasin

*bashō nowaki shite
 tarai ni ame o
 kiku yo kana*

芭
蕉
野
分
し
て
盥
に
雨
を
聞
夜
哉

v. 19

This verse is set on a stormy night, a situation in which people of few means feel keenly the difficulty of their lives—especially as rain leaks through the roof. The banana tree, or *bashō*, was a gift given to the poet by his disciple and by this time had become a symbol of the poet himself, since he used it as his pen name. The fact that the speaker is listening to the sound of the rain dripping on the washbasin reveals the desolateness of the neighborhood as well as the idle state of the speaker. This bleak, isolated indoor scene, coupled with the outdoor scene of the banana tree suffering from fierce wind and rain, brings out the atmosphere of *wabi*, an

aesthetic ideal often associated with the theme of reclusion and highlighted in the postscript to *Minashiguri*. Why, then, did Bashō create a persona who adopts a *wabi* lifestyle? The prefatory note of this verse, translated below, provides a hint.

Du Fu composed a poem about his thatched hut being destroyed by wind.⁷² Then Mr. Su Dongpo (1037–1101) was touched by this verse and also composed a verse on his residence's leaking.⁷³ I was able to understand the rain in their worlds, by listening to the sound on leaves of my banana tree, when I slept alone in my grass hut.⁷⁴

This prefatory note reveals that in his life of seclusion, the speaker was able to spiritually communicate with Chinese ancients and discover poetic truths. At this point, Bashō was unsatisfied with the gradual commercialization of *haikai* in big cities, and he had also come to terms with the limitations of the Danrin School. It is likely that Bashō retreated to Fukagawa to distance himself from the realistic, material world, and to seek poetic essence in a tranquil, isolated environment. There, he was able to immerse himself in the fictional and literary world of *fūga* (elegance) established by his predecessors. Meanwhile, Bashō was also empowered to experience in real life, at least to some extent, that which was represented in those literary works. These experiences at once enriched his understanding of Chinese literature, bringing it to an entirely new level of depth, and enabled him to find inspiration in preceding works for new poetic images, associations, and ideas. Bashō thus became capable of re-creating a world of *wabi* that connected with both Chinese and Japanese literature, on a spiritual level. Just as the postscript to *Minashiguri* suggests, *wabi* and *fūga* were closely associated with each other in Bashō's eyes. A life of *wabi*, be it part of reality or of literary imagination, serves as a passport to the world of *fūga*, as represented in classical literature.

It is worth noting that the Chinese poets that Bashō mentioned in relation to his recluse poems are not necessarily considered recluse-poets in Chinese literary tradition (Su Shi 蘇軾 is one example). Moreover, in these poems, the depictions of the miserable, lonely lives often serve as a means to express the poets' frustrations toward political failure. Bashō chose to ignore the political ambitions and social concerns often represented in these poems and instead focused on seeking poetic truths in the simple, the poor, and the isolated. Meanwhile, Bashō is connected with many of these poets, whether recluse or not, through the concept of *fūkyō* 風狂 (*fengkuang* in Chinese), which describes a person's state of being abnormal or eccentric, of transcending worldly norms. Peipei Qiu provides

a thorough overview of “the formation and transformation of the aesthetics of eccentricity in traditional Chinese and Japanese poetry,” analyzing how *fūkyō* evolved from the Chinese concept *kuang* 狂.⁷⁵ As she points out, *kuang* in the Chinese language generally has a negative connotation, but it was used in a positive light in some Chinese texts, starting from the Confucian classic *Lunyu* and the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi*. Qui argues that by the “time of the Tang dynasty, *kuang* had become a widely accepted and employed aesthetic concept and a popular motif in composing poetry not only among recluse-poets but also favored by the Confucian official-poets such as Du Fu.”⁷⁶ Qiu notes that although the word *fengkuang*, the Chinese counterpart of *fūkyō*, did not appear widely in Chinese texts, it was used to describe the extraordinary personalities of Hanshan 寒山, a Zen monk who transcended worldly values. This usage was continued by later Chinese poets such as Su Shi and was inherited by Japanese poets such as Ikkyū Sōjun (一休宗純 1394–1481) and Bashō.

When discussing the aesthetics of *fūkyō* in Japanese poetry, Qiu mainly focuses on its relation with Daoism, especially the carefree spirit and the rejection of worldly values advocated in Daoism. I would like to emphasize the important role Zen Buddhism played in the formation of *fūkyō* in Japanese poetry. Besides Hanshan, the word *fengkuang* has also been associated with several other Zen monks, such as Puhua 普化 and Jigong 濟公 (1133–1209).⁷⁷ The eccentric behaviors of these Zen monks are often considered not a violation of Buddhist precepts but rather a representation of a high-dimensional enlightenment. Their *fengkuang* thus implies that they have grasped the essence of Buddhism on a spiritual level and are no longer restrained by formal regulations. I believe that this usage of *fengkuang* had a significant impact on Ikkyū (who was a Zen monk as well) and Bashō.

Among the above-mentioned Chinese monks, Hanshan, whose name Bashō mentions in the postscript to *Minashiguri*, deserves a closer examination. Hanshan is generally known to have been an eccentric recluse who wandered aimlessly and did not stick at trifles. Many of his behaviors did not comply with Buddhist precepts, but he was considered by Buddhist monks of later generations to be a reincarnation of a bodhisattva.⁷⁸ A considerable number of his poems deal with the theme of reclusion. Like Hanshan himself, these poems are unrestrained by formal regulations; vernacular and even colloquial words appear conspicuously. Nevertheless, the monk considered his poems to be “refined.”⁷⁹ Perhaps owing to their unconventional and vernacular nature, his poems remained

outside the mainstream of classical Chinese literature before the Qing period. In contrast, they gained tremendous popularity in Japan after being transmitted by Gozan monks during the eleventh century.⁸⁰ Many qualities of Hanshan, such as eccentricity, detachment from the mundane world, and a perfect fusion of the elegant and the vernacular, likely appealed to Bashō, who is known to admire Hanshan and his poetry. In addition to making allusions to Hanshan’s poems and claiming a connection with Hanshan’s poetry in the postscript to *Minashiguri*, Bashō himself also drew a portrayal of Hanshan and added the following verse as an inscription.

This verse precisely captures the *fengkuang* spirit of Hanshan. The person in the picture (presumably Hanshan) is sweeping the snow using a broom, but while he is doing it, he eventually forgets the existence of snow.

20. 庭はきて雪をわするるははきかな
sweeping the yard
did he forget the snow?
a broom

niwa hakite
yuki o wasururu
*hahaki kana*⁸¹

庭
は
き
て
雪
を
わ
す
る
る
は
は
き
か
な

v. 20

This eccentric and seemingly absurd behavior in fact reflects a detachment from the material world and a profound understanding of Buddhism, especially the empty nature of all things. This verse, although composed after the stage of the Chinese-style, reveals that Bashō has a deep understanding and appreciation of Hanshan’s *fengkuang*, which most likely provided inspirations for Bashō’s *haikai*. Many of Bashō’s verses are labeled as representations of *fūkyō*, and Ogata Tsutomu even deems the period from 1684–1689 “a season of *fūkyō*.”⁸² Nonetheless, the spirit of *fūkyō* can already be seen in the Chinese-style verses in the early 1680s, as follows in verses 21 and 22.

21. 禅小僧とうふに月の詩ヲ刻ム Bashō⁸³
 a young Zen monk
 inscribes a moon verse
 on a piece of tofu

*Zen kozō
 tōfu ni tsuki no
 shi o kizamu*

禅
 小
 僧
 と
 う
 ふ
 に
 月
 の
 詩
 ヲ
 刻
 ム

v. 21

22. 月兮月兮西瓜に劍ヲ曲ケル Kikaku⁸⁴
 is it because of the moon?
 he is performing a sword dance
 toward a watermelon

*tsuki nareya tsuki nareya
 suika ni tsurugi o
 kanadekeru*

月
 兮
 月
 兮
 西
 瓜
 に
 劍
 ヲ
 曲
 ケ
 ル

v. 22

In both verses, the exaggeration, absurdity, and rather comical effect all evidence traces of Danrin *haikai*, which continued to haunt Bashō and his disciples at the time. The unique orthographies used in visually-recognizable Chinese-style *haikai* are also present. However, the verses do not stop at the level of imitating the form, inviting laughter or even of creating the novel and strange; rather, they go further and embody an absolute, whole-hearted, and sometimes even excessive pursuit of elegance (*fūga*). In verse 21, the Zen monk’s fascination with the moon verse is so great that, in order to record it as soon as possible, he inscribes it on tofu, a soft and fragile item that usually would not be used for engraving. In verse 22, meanwhile, the subject’s unconventional action is caused by his being carried away by the moon, a symbol of elegance in both Chinese and Japanese traditions. These eccentric behaviors resulted from the infatuation with *fūga* that characterizes Bashō’s *fūkyō*. Compared with Hanshan, Bashō’s *fūkyō* has less Buddhist nuance, but it shares with him a rejection of what the worldly consider “normal,” as well as a deeper understanding—in Bashō’s case, of the aesthetics of *fūga*, and in Hanshan’s case, of Buddhist doctrine.

All three anthologies of Chinese-style *haikai* feature verses that demonstrate Bashō's *fūkyō*, but many of them are yet to have completely departed from Danrin *haikai*, particularly in terms of the manner of representation, as with verses 21 and 22. Verses 17–19 also, essentially, represent a world of *fūkyō*, although they are characterized by a more serious tone, and the “madness” portrayed there is explicitly and specifically linked to *wabi*, a lifestyle that contravenes worldly values, and to reclusion, a complete renunciation of the mundane world. Verses of this sort inherit the spirit of Chinese and Japanese recluse poetry, and they are portentous of the future direction of Bashō's *haikai*. Nonetheless, they had not yet come to dominate the Chinese-style *haikai*: most of them were composed by Bashō himself, and even Bashō had not settled on this single style at the time.

Although scholars often emphasize the significance of *wabi* aesthetics and recluse themes in the Chinese-style *haikai*, certain coexisting verses actually feature quite a different, if not an opposite, style. If we were to think of verses with a recluse theme as landscape ink paintings, then these concurrent verses would resemble colorful portrayals of court ladies (*shinū tu* 仕女圖). Featuring flamboyant images and being mostly concerned with love and associated topics, these verses exhibit a world of *en* 艷 (literally “colorful and flowery”), a significant aesthetic in both Chinese and Japanese classical poetry. Some scholars consider these verses no more than the reflections of the real lives of Kikaku and Ransetsu, both of whom had indulged in dissipation.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, this alone cannot explain the frequent occurrence of this kind of style, and many other poets, including Bashō, also composed works in this vein.

23. 梅柳さぞ若衆哉女かな Bashō⁸⁶
 Plum blossoms and willow trees—
 they are just like beautiful young men
 and pretty women
- ume yanagi*
sazo wakashu kana
onna kana

梅
柳
さ
ぞ
若
衆
哉
女
か
な

v. 23

24. 花芙蓉美女湯あがりて立りけり Sodō⁸⁷
 Like a cotton rose,
 the beauty just finishes her bath
 and stands up
hana fuyō
bijo yu agarite
taterikeri
 花芙蓉美女湯あがりて立りけり
 v. 24
25. 我や来ぬひと夜よし原天川 Ransetsu⁸⁸
 I did come
 to spend an amazing night at Yoshiwara
 during the Tanabata Festival
ware ya kinu
hitoyo Yoshiwara
Amanogawa
 我や来ぬひと夜よし原天川
 v. 25
26. 名盛や作戀五郎花さだめ Kikaku⁸⁹
 at the height of his fame,
 the Dandified and Amorous Fifth Son
 appraises various flowers⁹⁰
nazakari ya
Datekoi Gorō
hana sadame
 名盛や作戀五郎花さだめ
 v. 26

By this time, both Bashō and Sodō had already retreated from the world, and both were celebrated for their recluse poems. Verses 23 and 24, however, represent a very different world. Verse 23 depicts a landscape, but the comparison of plum blossoms and willow trees to male and female beauties—insinuating male and female prostitutes—reflects the viewer’s (speaker’s) inner self, who sees amorousness in flowers. It is worth noting

that this verse was not accidental for Bashō, who was in fact quite proud of it: he included it as one of the seven representative verses of the time (spring of 1682) in a letter to his disciple Bokuin 木因 (1646–1725).⁹¹ Unlike verse 23, verse 24 is a direct portrayal of beauty in the female form; imbued with an amorous atmosphere, it captures a woman at one of her most sensual and alluring moments. Verses 25 and 26 both involve pleasure quarters, and the scenes are very much like those found in *kōshokumono* 好色物 (amorous stories) such as *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 (*Life of an Amorous Man*, 1682) written by Ihara Saikaku. In verse 25, the Tanabata, a date when the separated couple Niulang 牛郎 and Zhinü 織女 can meet in Chinese legend, becomes an excuse for the subject to spend a night with his lover in Yoshiwara. The subject of verse 26, for his part, has earned a reputation as a great lover, and he demonstrates his connoisseurship—on the surface, of flowers, but by implication, of courtesans.

Regarding these *en* verses, Ishikawa Shinkō writes that on the one hand, they accord with the literary current of the period. Beauty portrayals (*bijinga* 美人画) by Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1619–1694) were popular at the time, and Saikaku’s *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* was published in 1682. On the other hand, Ishikawa emphasizes that the main source of these creations could and should be traced back to *en* (*yan* in Chinese) poems in China. He goes on to illustrate, by examples, how the *en* verses build on, allude to, and gain inspiration from Chinese poems.⁹²

Generally, I agree with Ishikawa. Working just with the above examples, we can observe that comparing flowers to beautiful people, as in verse 23, has precedent in Chinese poetry; meanwhile, verse 24 reminds us of the scene in “Song of Everlasting Sorrow” (長恨歌) in which Yang Guifei, before she spends the first night with the emperor, is helped to her feet by a maid after finishing her bath. What I wish to add to Ishikawa’s argument about Chinese influence is that the function of Chinese poetry is not limited to providing materials and poetic ideas (not all *en* verses are adaptations of Chinese poems)—and that the subject of this influence is not limited to amorous poems or to any certain number of Chinese texts. I believe that what drove these *en haikai* verses was a desire to pursue the spirit of *fengliu* 風流 (*fūryū* in Japanese), which was extremely important to ancient Chinese literati, both with respect to their personal lives and to their literary productions.

As Philip Harries and Peipei Qiu point out, *fengliu/fūryū* is a fluid term, since its meaning varies in different contexts.⁹³ In China, it originally

refers to “laudable customs, and from there the meaning progressed to attractive manners and fine precepts in general, then to nobility of character, refinement, and lack of vulgarity, then to beauty, particularly in nature, and finally to gallantry or the pursuit of erotic delight.”⁹⁴ In Japan, the aesthetic and sensual aspects were especially influential, and Harries defines *fūryū* to be “an ideal of elegance and refinement, an embodiment of all that is artistic.”⁹⁵ The *yan/en* poems are particularly relevant to the sensual aspect, but as Konishi Jin’ichi stresses, only when accompanied by a witty, poetic refinement does sexual pleasure become associated with *fūryū*. Konishi argues that during what he calls the “Early Middle Ages” (roughly corresponding with the Heian period), *fengliu* had been well incorporated into aristocratic life in Japan: “the leading principles of the Early Middle Ages, *miyabi* and amorousness, are both equivalent to the Chinese principle of *feng-liu*.”⁹⁶

What Konishi analyzes is how *fengliu* and *yan* were received and adapted by Japanese aristocrats during the Heian period, but as we can see, the spirit of *fengliu*, accommodated this time in an Edo context, is also inherited in the *en* verses of Bashō’s circle. Beneath these verses’ depictions of physical attraction and sensual pleasures is a representation of refinement, which essentially distinguishes these verses from the love verses of Danrin’s *haikai*. When Bashō comments on the love verses in the *Minashiguri*—many of which are what I call *en* verses—he identifies Bo Juyi’s poetry as a model. It is not a coincidence that Bo Juyi was considered the representative of Chinese *fengliu* by Heian aristocrats.

When we understand the *en* verses in the framework of *fengliu*, it becomes more reasonable that they can harmoniously coexist with *wabi* verses in the same sequence or anthology. Although *en* and *wabi* are two distinctive aesthetics, seemingly reflecting two contradictory lifestyles—one encourages the fulfillment and enjoyment of worldly pleasures, especially sensual ones, and the other entails the abandonment of worldly attachments—they are unified by a motivation to discover poetic refinement in life. *Fūryū* and *fūkyō*, the modes associated with the *en* and *wabi*, also share an elegant nature and embody the aesthetics of *fūga*. In both cases, behaviors that are not considered appropriate for common people—love affairs in the former and eccentric behaviors in the latter—are glorified as representations of a deeper understanding of elegance. *Fūryū*, *fūkyō*, as well as the recluse theme had already been well received by Japanese authors before the time of Bashō’s writings. Through re-creating verses in these veins, Bashō’s circle was able to connect, on a

spiritual level, with not only Chinese poetic traditions but also their Japanese literary predecessors. As Bashō explicitly stated in later years, *fūga* comprises the shared characteristics of these Chinese and Japanese models, and thus, it became the standard around which Bashō's School would congregate.

Conclusion

In the early 1680s, Bashō had become aware of the limitations of the Danrin *haikai*, so the emergence of the Chinese-style represented the possibility of infusing new blood, and restoring the literariness that was eventually lost in the Danrin style, to *haikai*. As shown above, the Chinese-style marked an experimental stage for Bashō's circle before its poets developed a definite direction of their own, and their Chinese-style verses are indeed diverse, both in aesthetic technique and in the manner of introducing and diffusing the Chinese elements.

The fusion of Chinese ingredients in the verses of Bashō's circle began at the level of form. Not only were Chinese phrases and idioms imported, but the orthographies of *kanbun* texts, as well as Japanese *kundoku* reading of Chinese texts, were also put to use. These developments were attempts to seek novelty in linguistic form and to create a humorous effect in the juxtaposition of alien components against a Japanese backdrop. Many of the Chinese-style verses also draw upon, allude to, or gain inspiration from Chinese texts at the content level. Most such verses reconstruct the poetic images, ideas, and associations of the Chinese sources in new, localized contexts, transforming, twisting, and even inverting the connotation of the original. At their core, these verses are not so different from the Danrin *haikai*'s parodies of classical texts: in both cases, the poetic objective lies in the humor and wit generated by the disjoint between the original and the adapted.

Among the manifold endeavors of Bashō's circle to infuse Chinese elements, the highlight is their conscious effort to absorb the spirit of Chinese literary texts, which distinguishes them from other poets who also composed *haikai* in the Chinese-style. Despite his interests in a wide range of variously styled Chinese texts, Bashō regarded such texts as sharing the characteristics of profundity and elegance (*fūga*), which, to him, were curative to the ills plaguing *haikai* at the time—a lack of depth and a loss of literariness—and potent weapons for sublimating *haikai* to the level of a serious art. Bashō's circle especially favored recluse poetry and amorous verses, which are associated with the concept of *fengkuang* and the spirit

of *fengliu*. Though two themes seem initially to contradict each other, they are unified by the pursuit of *fūga*. The recluse theme with the *wabi* aesthetics, which appreciates the impoverished, the austere, and the solitary, eventually came to be the mainstream of Bashō's *haikai* in the late 1680s, the time when the so-called Bashō style had already matured.

Đurišin categorized the forms of interliterary reception into integrating forms and differentiating forms. In the former, “the prevalent element among the constituents involved is that of identification.... In other words, interliterary items of information participate in the construction of the recipient literary structure in their positive significance.” In the latter, “the prevalent endeavor is to stress the distinction, to take up a negative attitude towards the nature of the received side.”⁹⁷ As we have seen, the Chinese-style *haikai* of Bashō's circle involves both of these kinds of reception. On the one hand, in some cases, Chinese elements—form, content, or both—are introduced as antithetical, or at least alien, to Japanese elements. The symbiosis, contrast, and integration of these two distinctive constituents leads to the humorous and witty effects that were especially sought after in the early stage of *haikai* development. On the other hand, the *haikai* poets looked up to Chinese literature as a model and a standard, attempting to legitimize their works by identifying them with the older, more highly developed culture and literary tradition. The authority of Chinese literature did indeed assist in elevating *haikai* into a serious art.

Interestingly, in many cases, the reception of Chinese literature at the spiritual level was combined with a mixture of Chinese-style orthographies or (and) appropriation of Chinese content. These cases exhibit a coexistence of the two seemingly contrastive ways of reception, and they show the multiplicity and complexity surrounding the Sino-Japanese interactions. Chinese-style *haikai* is highly experimental and hybrid, which accounts for the varied, and sometimes contradictory views on this genre in previous scholarship. It is a transitional stage when the genre of *haikai* had yet to divorce from imitation and adaptation of, and allusion to, Chinese literature on superficial levels—that is to say, the levels of form and content. The recluse theme and *wabi* aesthetics had not yet come to dominate Bashō's *haikai*, and traces of Danrin *haikai*, such as exaggeration, absurdity, and comic effect, still remained, even in the recluse verses. It is no wonder, then, that Bashō freely admitted to the limitations of many verses in *Minashiguri* when he reflected on these compositions in his 1685 letter to Hanzan.⁹⁸ It was not until the late 1680s

did Bashō’s *haikai* mature with a distinctive style that seeks for *wabi* and *fūga* in contemporaneous Japanese reality. Without the intellectual experimentation of this transitional period, however, Bashō’s circle would not have been able to discover the Chinese literary treasures that contributed so heavily to the evolution of their *haikai*. Meanwhile, the realization of the significance of the spirit of poetry laid a foundation for the linking technique called *nioizuke* 匂付 (link by connotation or atmosphere)—another hallmark of Bashō’s *haikai*.

NOTES

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¹ *Haikai* originally means “humorous” and was often used as abbreviation for *haikai no renga* 俳諧の連歌 (popular linked verse). In the broad sense, it refers to all literary forms that embody *haikai* spirit, such as *haibun* 俳文 (*haikai* writings) and *haiga* 俳画 (*haikai* drawings). In this article, *haikai* specifically refers to *haikai no renga*.

² Kon Eizō 今榮蔵, “Danrin haikaishi” 談林俳諧史, in *Meiji shoin henshūbu* 明治書院編集部, ed. *Shin haiku kōza* 新俳句講座 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2012), 56.

³ I use the term “Bashō’s circle” because at the time, Bashō’s School was still coming into being. Additionally, some of the poets in question, such as Sodō 素堂, were Bashō’s friends rather than his disciples.

⁴ The Teimon School was founded by Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571–1653). It flourished from the 1620s to the 1670s but survived until the end of the Edo period. The Danrin School, which centered on Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因 (1605–1682), became popular during the 1670s.

⁵ Ebara Taizō 穎原退蔵, *Bashō kōza: hokku hen* 芭蕉講座・発句編, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1943), 19–27.

⁶ Kon Eizō 今榮蔵, *Shoki haikai kara Bashō jidai e* 初期俳諧から芭蕉時代へ (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2002), 350–356.

⁷ It is generally regarded that the style of Bashō's School was established in 1684, when the *haikai* collection, *Fuyu no hi* 冬の日 (Winter days), was published. *Sarumino* 猿蓑 (Monkey's raincoat, 1691) is thought to represent the maturation of Bashō's style. Since this article mainly discusses literary activities by Bashō and his friends and disciples before the establishment of Bashō's style, I mostly use the term "Bashō's circle." "Bashō's School" is used when describing literary activities by Bashō and his disciples after 1684.

⁸ Kon Eizō, *Shoki haikai kara Bashō jidai e*, 223.

⁹ Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyōto haidan* 芭蕉と京都俳壇 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2006), 319.

¹⁰ Haruo Shirane, for example, states, "Each *haikai* group attempted to develop its own set of identifiable poet images and motifs. For Bashō's circle, at least during the Tenna era, it became the themes of 'poverty' (*hin*), 'impoverished dwelling' (*hinkyō*), coldness, loneliness, social failure—topics found in the Taoist *Chuang-tzu* and in Chinese recluse poetry, particularly that of Tu Fu and Su Tung-p'o." See Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998), 66. Ishikawa Shinkō 石川真弘, on the other hand, points out the frequent occurrences of verses with a flamboyant (*en* 艶) style in "Tennaki no shōfū haikai" 天和期の蕉風俳諧, *Shōfū ronkō* 蕉風論考 (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1990), 1–18.

¹¹ David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 6.

¹² Hirota Jirō 広田二郎 examines various styles that Bashō explored during the late 1670s and early 1680s, analyzing how Bashō's *haikai* adopt the form of *kanbun* writings, allude to Chinese texts, and resonate with the spirit of Chinese precedents. He thinks that Bashō's compositions during the Tenna era had already reached the level of spiritual resonance, mainly dealing with the theme of "self," especially an awareness of loneliness in oneself. See Hirota Jirō, *Bashō no geijutsu—sono tenkai to kaikei* 芭蕉の芸術—その展開と背景 (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1968), 30–51. However, as I will show later, Bashō's *haikai* during this time is more diverse, in terms of theme, style, and the ways of appropriating Chinese texts.

¹³ When discussing the reception of the *Zhuangzi* in *haikai*, Peipei Qiu also points out the contrastive ways of appropriation, in her words, "deconstructing and reconstructing the classical tradition." See Peipei Qiu, *Bashō and the Dao: The Zhuangzi and the Transformation of Haikai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 37.

¹⁴ For base texts, I used the typeset version included in Komiya Toyotaka 小宮豊隆, ed., *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* 校本芭蕉全集, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten,

1962–1969) for *Jiin*; and the typeset version included in Katsumine Shinpū 勝峰晋風, ed., *Nihon haisho taikai* 日本俳書大系, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1928) for *Musashiburi* and *Minashiguri*. I also consulted annotations in these two sources as well as Abe Masami 阿部正美, ed., *Bashō renkushō* 芭蕉連句抄, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1989).

¹⁵ See the entry of *Musashiburi* in Ogata Tsutomo 尾形仂, ed., *Haibungaku daijiten* 俳文学大辞典 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1995).

¹⁶ I number all the verses cited in this article. These numbers do not correspond to the verses' position in the sequence. Unless otherwise noted, the verses put together are not continuous verses in the same sequence. For all the verses, I reproduce the verses' transcriptions in my base texts on the right-hand side of the page.

¹⁷ *Jiin* in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 192.

¹⁸ All translations are my own unless noted otherwise. I do not capitalize the letter of each verse except for the opening verse of a sequence, since I consider each verse a continuation of the previous verse rather than a new start. I do not include a period at the end of each verse except for the last verse, since I also consider each verse a preparation for the succeeding rather than an ending.

¹⁹ A grammatically correct sentence should be either 煤掃之礼用鯨脯 (*susuhaku no rei ni kujira no hojishi o mochiyu*) or 鯨脯用於煤掃之礼 (*susuhaku no rei ni oite kujira no hojishi o mochiyu*).

²⁰ In a regular *haikai* sequence, 5-7-5 syllable verses and 7-7 syllable verses are alternated. If a verse has more syllables than regulated, it is called *jiamari* 字余り, or excessive syllables. *Jiamari* is very common in Chinese-style *haikai*.

²¹ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 5.

²² *Okurigana* refers to the *kana* that follow the kanji stem.

²³ Satō points out that the appearance of を is much more frequent in Chinese-style *haikai* than in Teimon *haikai*, Danrin *haikai*, or *waka*. Unlike in modern Japanese, where を is generally necessary to mark the direct object, direct object markers are not obligatory in classical Japanese. In *kanbun* writings, however, を is generally included as a direct object marker in katakana on the right side. Satō theorizes that this explains why を appears so often in Chinese-style *haikai*. See Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyōto haidan*, 274–293.

²⁴ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 10.

²⁵ *Jiin* in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 188.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 183.

²⁷ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 9.

²⁸ The “*nō* play style” *haikai* refers to the verses that draw upon texts of famous *nō* plays. Inui argues that these verses evoke people's memories of the *nō* plays,

the texts of which are often remembered with corresponding melodies. See Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, “Yōkyokuchō to kanshibunchō” 謡曲調と漢詩文調, *Renga haikai kenkyū* 連歌俳諧研究 45 (1973): 6–10.

²⁹ *Jiin in Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 196.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 190.

³¹ *Minashiguri in Nihon haisho taikai*, 24.

³² Although the original is pronounced as *you peng zi yuanfang lai* in Chinese, this verse is read in a Japanese way here. The reading I provide is based on the transcription in the base text.

³³ The English translation is by James Legge in *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 137.

³⁴ Although the kanji 時 is usually pronounced as *toki* and means “time,” in this particular verse, the poet gave a reading of *yoriyori* for this kanji, so I translate it into “from time to time.”

³⁵ *Musashiburi in Nihon koten taikai*, 8.

³⁶ *Qianli ying ti lü ying hong*, 千里鶯啼綠映紅, *Shuicun shanguo jiuqi feng* 水村山郭酒旗風. This poem is included in the *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩, vol. 522. The English translation is by David Knechtges from the section on Du Mu in the course packet for Chinese 471 at University of Washington, Seattle.

³⁷ *Musashiburi in Nihon koten taikai*, 8.

³⁸ I consulted the section of “Tang Dynasty Story” in the course packet for Chinese 471 at University of Washington, Seattle for the translation of the title and the plot of the story.

³⁹ Imoto Nōichi 井本農一, ed., *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 34 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000), 76. This association is identified in the annotation of the verse in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 215. *Ōkagami*, the author of which is unknown, is a historical tale that recounts the court life in Japan from 850 to 1025.

⁴⁰ *Musashiburi in Nihon haisho taikai*, 8.

⁴¹ *Jiin in Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 185. Tōsei, literally “peach green,” is Bashō’s first *haikai* name, which is in parallel with the name of the famous Tang poet, Li Bo 李白, literally, “plum white.”

⁴² *Baitou dui hongye*, *Nai ci yaoluo he* 白頭對紅葉，奈此搖落何. This poem is included in *Quan Song shi*, vol. 18, 11350.

⁴³ *Minashiguri in Nihon haisho taikai*, 41. The text in both *Nihon haisho taikai* and *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, p. 182, is *azakeri zo ōgon wa Komurasaki o iru* 嘲りそ黄金は小紫ヲ鑄る. I followed the transcription and annotation in Abe, *Bashō renkushō*, 389.

- ⁴⁴ *Ruo lun po Wu gong diyi, Huangjin zhi hezhu Xi Shi* 若論破吳功第一，黃金只合鑄西施。 This source poem is titled “Chao Fanli” 嘲范蠡, which is included in *Quan Song shi*, vol. 10, 6685. A translation and analysis of the postscript to *Minashiguri* is provided in the next section.
- ⁴⁵ *Jiin in Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 182.
- ⁴⁶ *Kono ku Sōshi o motte mitsu beshi* 這句以莊子可見矣。 *Jiin in Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 182.
- ⁴⁷ *Changzhe bu wei you yu* 長者不為有餘, *duanzhe bu wei bu zu* 短者不為不足。 *Shi gu fujing sui duan* 是故鳧脛虽短, *xu zhi ze you* 續之則憂; *hejing sui chang* 鶴脛虽長, *duan zhi ze bei* 斷之則悲。 *Gu xing chang fei suo duan* 故性長非所斷, *xing duan fei suo xu* 性短非所續, *wu suo qu you ye* 無所去憂也。 The original text is available online from the *China Text Project* at <http://ctext.org/zhuangzi/webbed-toes/zh> (accessed on July 1, 2021). The English translation is my own.
- ⁴⁸ Hirota Jirō 広田二郎 asserts that Bashō’s verse represents the philosophical thought of the original, but Abe, with whom I am inclined to agree, contends that in the early 1680s, Bashō had not yet reached the level of absorbing the connotation of the original. See Abe Masami, *Bashō renkushō*, 45.
- ⁴⁹ Dionýz Ďurišin, *Theory of Literary Comparatistics*, trans. Jessie Kocmanová, (Bratislava, Slovakia: Veda, Pub. House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1984), 171–172.
- ⁵⁰ Kawamoto Kōji, *The Poetics of Japanese Verse: Imagery, Structure, Meter* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000), 45–172.
- ⁵¹ Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 115.
- ⁵² For an extensive discussion of the juxtaposition of the “high” and the “low” in Bashō’s *haikai*, see Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 254–278.
- ⁵³ Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 115.
- ⁵⁴ Saigyō’s poetry collection is titled *Sankashū* 山家集, literally meaning “a collection about a residence in a hill.” Therefore, “visiting Saigyō’s residence in a hill” implies that the verses draw on Saigyō’s poems.
- ⁵⁵ Bashō gives two examples of love verses from the collection, both of which are adaptations of Chinese texts. The first is discussed in this article as verse 15. The second, “dew on sleeves / the hangers become covered by ivies” (*tsuyu wa sode / ikō ni tsuta no kakaru made* 露は袖衣桁に蔦のかゝる迄), was composed by Kikaku. This verse is based on Bo Juyi’s poem “A Lady with Grey Hair at the Shangyang Palace” (Shangyang baifaren 上陽白髮人), which depicts the miserable life of a lady-in-waiting who was neglected by the Emperor Xuanzong of Tang due to Yang Guifei’s monopolization of the emperor’s love.

Bearing the source story in mind, Kikaku created a scene that exteriorizes a neglected life: the lady does not dress up, and her tears wet her sleeves.

- ⁵⁶ *Chigo* (literally, children) refers to “adolescent males who were given room, board, and education in exchange for their companionship and sexual services, which they were obliged to provide to high-ranking clerics or elite courtiers.” See Paul S. Atkins, “*Chigo* in the Medieval Japanese Imagination,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67.3 (2008): 947–970.
- ⁵⁷ “Treasure tripod” alludes to the section “Biography of Five Emperors” (*Wudi benji* 五帝本紀) in *Shiji* 史記, which states, “The Emperor Huang made three treasure tripods, in the shape of sky, earth and human being, respectively.” “Dragon Spring” alludes to the “Jin Taikang ji” 晉太康記 section of *Hou hanshu* 後漢書, which states, “There is a dragon spring in the county of Nanxiping. If you temper swords there, they will become especially sharp.”
- ⁵⁸ The base text is from *Matsuo Bashō shū* 松尾芭蕉集, vol. 2 in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 71, 177–178. I also consulted its annotation by Muramatsu Tomotsugu 村松友次. A detailed analysis of the postscript can be found in Sato Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyōto haidan*, 231–251.
- ⁵⁹ See *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, 178, Shida Gishū 志田義秀, *Oku no hosomichi, Bashō, Buson* 奥の細道・芭蕉・蕪村 (Tokyo: Shūbunkan, 1946), 254; and Shiraishi Teizō 白石悌三 and Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, *Bashō monogatari: Shōfū no hito to shi no zentaizō o saguru* 芭蕉物語: 蕉風の人と詩の全体像をさぐる (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1977), 48.
- ⁶⁰ Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyōto haidan*, 234–235.
- ⁶¹ Inoue Toshiyuki 井上敏幸, “Shōfū no kakuritsu to tenkai” 蕉風の確立と展開, *Iwanami kōza: Nihon bungakushi* 岩波講座 日本文学史 ed. Kubota Jun 久保田淳, vol. 8 (1959): 81–118.
- ⁶² Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 258.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ *Fati* 發題 is an explanation of the motivation and main purpose of a text.
- ⁶⁵ Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyōto haidan*, 245–246.
- ⁶⁶ Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫, “Bashō to Chūsei bungaku” 芭蕉と中世文学 in *Nihon koten kanshō kōza* 日本古典鑑賞講座, vol. 18 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1970), 417–428.
- ⁶⁷ In mentioning the spirit of Chinese texts and the essence of Chinese literature, I here refer to how Bashō and his circle conceived of them—or at least what they claimed them to be—rather than purporting to describe what these essential qualities really are.
- ⁶⁸ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 18–19.

- ⁶⁹ *Lansheng hua shi jinzhang xia, Lushan yuye cao'an zhong* 蘭省花時錦帳下，廬山雨夜草庵中. Bo Juyi's two lines are included in *Quan Tang shi*, vol. 440. They are also included in the *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 (ca. 1013) and had constantly been referenced to in Japanese works such as *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (ca. 1000).
- ⁷⁰ Tanaka Yoshinobu 田中善信, for example, claims that these kind of verses appeared immediately after Bashō secluded himself to Fukagawa, and they are Bashō's laments on the difficult life that he was not used to yet. See Tanaka Yoshinobu, *Bashō tensei no kiseki* 芭蕉転生の軌跡 (Tokyo: Wakakusa shobō, 1996), 139–152. Shirane, on the other hand, states “Later audiences were to look back on Bashō as a cultural hero, as recluse and traveler who had freed himself of the bonds of Tokugawa feudal society, but it was a freedom attained primarily in the poetic imagination.” Shiraishi Teizō even says that “Bashō's grass hut existed only in the ‘communal imagination’ of the Bashō's circle.” See both Shirane's statement and translation of Shiraishi's words in Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams*, 67.
- ⁷¹ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 5.
- ⁷² This refers to Du Fu's poem “Maowu wei qiufeng suo po ge” 茅屋為秋風所破歌 (761).
- ⁷³ It is not clear which poem Bashō refers to. Two possibilities include “Ciyun Zhuguang ting xi yu” 次韻朱光庭喜雨 and “Lianyu jiangzhang” 連雨江漲.
- ⁷⁴ This prefatory note about this verse is not included in the *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*. However, it is included in *Ise kikō* 伊勢紀行 in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, vol. 6, 296.
- ⁷⁵ Peipei Qiu, “From Kuang to Fūkyō: Eccentric Personas in Chinese and Japanese Poetry,” in *Rethinking the Sinosphere*, ed. by Nanxiu Qian, Richard J. Smith, and Bowei Zhang (Amherst, N. Y.: Cambria Press, 2010), 95–136.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 107–108.
- ⁷⁷ In “Puhua heshang zan” 普化和尚讚 (A Eulogy for the Monk Puhua), the author Shi Huiyuan 釋慧遠 used *fengkuang* to describe Puhua. Jigong is depicted as *fengkuang* in “*Lingyinsi zhi*” 靈隱寺志 (A Record of the Lingyin Temple).
- ⁷⁸ Su Ziqin 蘇自勤, “Hanshan qiren qishi” 寒山其人其詩, *Wenshi zazhi* 文史雜誌 (1991): 20.
- ⁷⁹ Hanshan said, “My poems should be considered to be refined” (*Wo shi he dianya* 我詩合典雅). See *Ibid.*, 21.
- ⁸⁰ Qu Hong 區銜 and Hu Anjiang 胡安江, “Hanshan shi zai riben de chuanbu yu jieshou” 寒山詩在日本的傳佈與接受, *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu* 外國文學研究 3 (2007): 151–152.
- ⁸¹ *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, vol. 2, 64.

- ⁸² Ogata Tsutomu, “Fūkyō no kisetsu” 風狂の季節, *Haiku kōza* 俳句講座, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1959), 189.
- ⁸³ *Jiin in Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, 192.
- ⁸⁴ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 22.
- ⁸⁵ See Ishikawa Shinkō, “Tenna ki no shōfū haikai,” 14.
- ⁸⁶ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 4.
- ⁸⁷ *Minashiguri* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 28.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.
- ⁸⁹ *Musashiburi* in *Nihon haisho taikai*, 4.
- ⁹⁰ The “Dandified and Amorous Fifth Son” is a literal translation of Datekoi Gorō 作戀五郎, the nickname given to the man. The word Datekoi has dual meanings: the Japanese reading *date* describes a dandy, and the assigned kanji compound is a temporarily made word, presumably meaning “to make romantic relationships.” Gorō is a common Japanese name, usually given to the fifth son of the family.
- ⁹¹ Three of the seven exemplary verses are composed by Bashō. In the letter, the verse is transcribed as 梅柳嘸若衆哉女哉. See Ishikawa Shinkō, “Tenna ki no shōfū haikai,” 1 and Satō Katsuaki, *Bashō to Kyōto haidan*, 24–25.
- ⁹² Ishikawa Shinkō, “Tennaki no shōfū haikai,” 1–20.
- ⁹³ See Philip Harries, “*Fūryū*, a Concept of Elegance in Pre-modern Literature,” in *Europe Interprets Japan* ed. by Gordon Daniels (Kent, U. K.: Paul Norbury Publications, 1984), 137–144 and Peipei Qiu, “From Kuang to Fūkyō: Eccentric Personas in Chinese and Japanese Poetry,” 95–136.
- ⁹⁴ Philip Harries, “*Fūryū*, a Concept of Elegance in Pre-modern Literature,” 138.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 137.
- ⁹⁶ Konishi Jin’ichi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, trans. Earl Roy Miner, vol. 2 (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 129–139.
- ⁹⁷ Dionýz Ďurišin, *Theory of Literary Comparatistics*, 166.
- ⁹⁸ Abe Masami, “Tennachō no jidai” 天和調の時代, *Senshū jinbun ronshū* 専修人文論集 44 (1989): 30.