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Beville, Ryan

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Trajectories of Form in Modern Japanese Poetry

by

Ryan Kyle Beville

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University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Daniel O'Neill, Chair
Professor Mack Horton
Professor Kristin Hanson

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Abstract

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Ryan Kyle Beville

Doctor of Philosophy in Japanese Language

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Professor Daniel O'Neill, Chair

Form is central to poetry, if not all artistic endeavor. The Japanese literary tradition contains an array of poetic forms since its earliest extant texts, though some, like *waka* and *kanshi*, dominated poetic production for centuries. With Japan's increased exposure to Western literary forms after the start of the Meiji era in 1868, the variety of new forms expanded rapidly. For many of Japan's readers and poets, exposure to European and American literature was initially mediated by translation anthologies. As this dissertation seeks to show, many of the translators grafted new poetic practice onto pre-existing techniques, resulting in new forms and styles of poetry. Vernacular poets, often working with keen awareness of the translations, further adapted and altered those forms in their own work.

Each chapter that follows documents and analyzes key aspects of form in modern Japanese poetry, including meter and rhyme. My primary tool of analysis is close reading, down to the phonemes, as rhyme and meter require, together with textual comparisons. Such close readings, often informed by linguistic research, reveal both the richness of form practiced in Japanese poetry, as well as its possibilities. They also trace the trajectory of these forms and their permutations over time. Ultimately, these analyses show that form is anything but static.

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Acknowledgments

This dissertation is dedicated first and foremost to: Professor Lewis E. Nicholson (1922-2015) of the University of Notre Dame, my first literature professor, my undergraduate advisor and my long-time mentor; who encouraged me more than anyone to pursue graduate studies, who continued to write to me throughout the years, and who threatened to haunt me from the grave if I didn't finish this dissertation. I regret I didn't do so while he was still alive. I found out only after his death that, on his way to two years of military service on the island of Nouméa, he survived a Japanese aerial attack on his convoy. Famous as a Beowulf scholar, he generously bequeathed to me his books on Asia, which surprisingly turned out to include a rather large collection of books on Japanese literature, culture and history. The books also turned up many letters that he exchanged with Japanese professors over the years, as well as newspaper clippings about Japan. It saddens me that such a great scholar, who even earned the admiration of Seamus Heaney, was likely never accorded full professorial status because of his sexuality. I can still hear his booming voice. Hwæt! Wé Gárdena in géardagum.

This dissertation is also dedicated to: my grandfather James Baumgardner (1917-2012), who also served two years in the Pacific War (one of them, incidentally, on Nouméa) and who never had one ill thing to say about the Japanese; to my grandfather William Beville (1916-2001), who served in Europe during WWII and who also encouraged me to continue my education, noting in his deathbed letter that his life had been harder for the lack of one; to my grandmother Sarah Beville, who called me regularly to ask about my dissertation progress, and who managed to live against the odds to see me finish it; to my parents, Don and Lynn Beville, who I very clearly remember returning to school while working and raising me, and who sacrificed so that I could attend university; and to my wife, My Huynh, who (together with her mother, Hue Ngo) largely looked after our kids, Cy and Kylie, during my writing phase, and whose example–a refugee from Vietnam who eventually graduated from UC Berkeley–has always been an inspiration to strive harder and take nothing for granted.

I would like to thank my dissertation chair, Professor Dan O'Neill, who was also my M.A. thesis advisor, for his years of support and patience; Professor Mack Horton,

Introduction

Meter, line, stanza, rhyme. These concerns occupied early modern Japanese poets and translators intensely. Struggles and innovations with such aspects of form, stemming from encounters with European and American poetry, resulted in multiple trajectories of poetic practice. The culmination of at least one such trajectory led to the complete repudiation of form and meaning.

This dissertation analyzes the evolution of form in Japanese poetry from the dawn of the modern era in Japan, marked by the Meiji Restoration in 1868, to the late 1930s, when literary production diminished due to censorship associated with the increasingly militarized state. During the early decades of Japan's modernization in particular, anthologies of European and American poetry translations became a space in which editors and translators negotiated cultural difference. This entailed not only what subjects or themes poetry could approach, but also the formal methods by which poets could treat those subjects. The differences between culture and language resulted in moments of weighted choice for the poets and great tension in the poetry itself, especially at the level of form, where the initial differences between available models were vast. Certain poets composing shortly after the appearance of those anthologies provide textual evidence that they interpreted and adapted new concepts of form, born from that tension, into vernacular poetry in unique ways. Most of the poets I analyze in this dissertation left lasting poetic legacies through their endeavors. Many of the forms and techniques they introduced appear in the work of subsequent poets, their innovations having found critical acclaim and, in some cases, widespread popular celebration.

I believe that examining this evolution is important because form is central to the practice of poetry. We might even ask what poetry is, if not for form. Nevertheless, most treatment of modern Japanese poetry in Japanese scholarship–and especially Western scholarship–focuses primarily on semantic meaning and themes as they relate to larger political and socio-historical narratives. Form is perhaps no less relevant to such narratives since breaks or changes in form are often political as well as aesthetic in implication. We see some evidence of this in the institutional ridicule one early anthology received, in the adoption of certain poems for textbooks during a period of nation-building and growing awareness of national identity, and in the government censorship of poets in an increasingly jingoistic era.

Lengthy and critically accomplished studies concentrating on a single aspect of form–notably meter and rhyme–do exist in Japanese criticism. Varieties of form, however, are often interrelated, sometimes mutually inclusive, and in this dissertation I take a more unified approach to analyzing form. What is rhyme without a line? How do lines relate to meter? These questions also demand more fundamental ones. What, exactly, is meter? What is rhyme? Too much criticism uses these terms based on nebulous assumptions that, when scrutinized, reveal

themselves to underpin erroneous conclusions. I therefore bring to my analyses a definition of these forms drawing from extensive linguistic research that breaks down language into constituents we can formalize, and that provides robust systems for understanding their interrelationship. We can, in other words, measure rhyme almost like a math equation and map lines onto a metrical template. As anathema as this may seem to any notion of inscrutable beauty in poetry, it in fact helps frame and elucidate the aesthetic achievements of the poets in question.

It may often seem as if subtle changes in form are accidental, like a mutation in the natural world. I do not, however, believe that poets are totally unaware of even the most finite ruptures in language or form in their work, and some of my close readings seek to show this. Poets are often consciously pursuing some aesthetic model, as we may discover through diaries, correspondences, introductions or even manifestos. While we are right to question such statements, especially the degree of fidelity between those statements and what actually appears in corresponding text, they can nevertheless help illuminate our understanding of poetry. Working from this assumption, in chapter one of my dissertation I examine the three prefaces of *Shintaishishô*, the first major anthology of poetic translations in Japan's modern era. Here, the three editors express their ideas for new modes of poetry. While their recommendations did not specify in concrete terms any rules for form, they had great implications for form and this manifests in their own work.

In chapter two, starting with *Shintaishishô*'s translated texts, I analyze changes in the poetic line, mediated in part by considerations of pre-modern practice. Meter, as developed in centuries of what we now call classical poetry, largely guided how poets constituted lines. With newer translation anthologies and different goals in the target language of translators, metrical restraints diminished in importance. Other structural elements of line and language assumed greater meaning for poets, resulting in new techniques of form. Ultimately, the available repertoire of line devices for poets expanded dramatically, allowing for greater range of expression and structural variety.

In chapter three I study rhyme, perhaps the most neglected and widely misunderstood aspect of form in Japanese poetry, in both Japanese and Western criticism alike. I acknowledge that rhyme is not as impactful to modern Japanese poetic practice as meter or conceptions of the line. Furthermore, its use in modern Japanese poetry quickly waned (as it did in 20th century European poetry). Still, it was a conspicuous aspect of form in the first two major translation anthologies, and several notable poets in the decades to follow employed it to advantage. Given the widespread negative misperceptions about rhyme in Japanese poetry, especially in Western criticism, I expand the scope of my analysis to include pre-modern texts, one of them the oldest extant text of its kind in Japanese, as well as critical commentary surrounding rhyme. It is my hope that this not only traces the trajectory of Japanese rhyme from its deepest sources, thus underscoring its

existence, but also helps rehabilitate prevailing perceptions of Japanese rhyme, which is capable of rich technical accomplishment and meaning.

As form developed in modern Japanese poetry, shifting from experimental or novel to entrenched practice, there arose competing impulses that sought to challenge what was now orthodox. Nowhere did Japanese poetry see greater expression of this than in Dadaism and analogous artistic movements. Although there were no anthologies of Dada translations, per se, to provide models for poets as with earlier trends, poets that we can loosely group as Dadaist did translate the ideas and techniques of Dada into vernacular poetry to noteworthy degrees. They consequently–we might even say consciously–destroyed all semblance of form, leaving a kind of textual wreckage that at least one poet, Nakahara Chûya, pieced into his later poetry in the twilight before the real wreckage of the Pacific War. What ensued during these years was an outpouring of patriotic exhortations in poetry or, in the case of some poets, poetic silence.

Following each of my main chapters outlined above are sections of selected poetry I have translated. Some of these are the full text of poems quoted and analyzed in the preceding chapter. Other poems are by those same poets, but not necessarily discussed in the chapter; they appear without commentary for the reader to consider further in the context of my arguments and observations. Perhaps the reader will recognize there other trajectories of form I have not, in the space of this dissertation, at least, addressed.

Chapter I. The Prefaces of *Shintaishishô*: exhortations for new form

Scholars often designate a particular innovative text as the cornerstone of a literary period or tradition. The text may inform or guide literary production that follows and marks a conscious departure from previous traditions. While one might argue that a text can distinguish itself outside a narrative of literary history, its aesthetic originality, anomaly or quality often comes to our attention because of its relationship to prior practice and its apparent influence on later practice. Exempting literary work from such consideration prevents a fuller appreciation of its potential value and interest.

Scholars of Japanese literature have generally designated the 1882 publication *Shintaishishô* (A Collection of New-Style Poems) as the cornerstone of modern Japanese poetry.[1] This volume by three respected university professors, Inoue Tetsujirô, Yatabe Ryôkichi, and Toyama Masakazu, is an anthology of poetry translations from America and Europe, as well as five original poems. The original poems, however, are in some ways like translations; on the level of structure, the authors adopt and deploy forms such as rhyme and stanzas that are typical in the Western literature from which they model their work, but still quite radical for vernacular poetry at the time.[2] They were, in a sense, translating the forms into their original work. In this dissertation, as I investigate the rapid development of poetic lines and stanzas following the appearance of this work, I further study aspects of form like enjambment and repetition that operate within and between the larger structures of stanzas. Of equal importance, I ask how these new practices in form came to appear in vernacular poetry.[3] Was it a consequence of translations alone, or were there additional texts acting as an impetus? This chapter seeks to answer that question by studying the prefaces to *Shintaishishô* and isolating how the editors'

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[1] Of the voluminous works in Japanese making this argument or working from this assumption, one of the more widely read and respected is: Okuno Takeo, *Nihon bungakushi kindai kara gendai e* (Tokyo: Chûokôron shinsha, 1970). For more on theories of canonicity in Japanese literature, see Stephen D. Miller, ed., *Issues of Canonicity and Canon Formation in Japanese Literary Studies*, Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies 1 (West Lafayette: Purdue University, 2000).

[2] See Kanda Takao, "Shi ni okeru dentôteki na mono: isetsu 'Shintaishishô' no shishiteki ichi," in *Hikakubungaku ronkô Ôgai kanshi seiyôka* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 2001), 415-64.

[3] Repetition is one of the oldest known practices in Japanese poetry, and we might say the same of many other traditions. I'm more specifically interested in how poets employed repetition in conjunction with other, newer forms and across stanzas. One might further say that repetition across stanzas is little different than refrain in ancient song, but again its function potentially changes when used, for example, in a rhyming poem informed by French Symbolism, as I address in chapter three.

exhortations may have led to innovations that required new forms with organizational structures like stanzas, for example. My conclusions are seemingly as simple as their recommendations: that new poetry required greater length and a new language register (vernacular). But length is tied to concerns such as content. Furthermore, with at least one existing model in *chôka*, we must ask how new forms would sustain length and new content, as well as how that content was to be developed in the context of form.[4] Were poets to continue a densely allusive poetics or develop ideas in a more narrative mode? Stanzas were a novel, new answer to the necessities of the latter, and these required lines. Furthermore, altering syntax and diction is altering the most fundamental 'form' of a poem, as I argue in chapter four; it does not transpire without great effect or consequence.

Stanzas in Western poetry have become so fundamental to much of its practice that readers may overlook their presence and function, but the sudden appearance in Japan of expanded forms with stanzas after centuries of smaller forms like *haiku* and *waka* was profound.[5] Stanzas provide a disciplined framework into which poets organize ideas or poetic observations. Just as chapters can operate as contained subdivisions in a novel, stanzas can mark measured steps of a poem's progression, as we will see with close readings in chapter two. Conversely, if there is no narrative flow or development and, instead, an impressionistic aesthetic informing a poem, stanzas can act as individual units of poetic expression, the gestalt effect of which produces the meaning or impression of a poem. Stanzas also visually organize a poem, further indicating an overarching structure or organization that mediates the reader's reception. Stanzas both alter the way a poet composes a work and how readers experience it.[6] Enjambment and repetition, meanwhile, have heightened effects of surprise or underscore meaning when they occur across stanzas. *Chôka* and other forms that made no use of stanzas certainly exist in the pre-modern Japanese canon, and could have provided models for longer forms of expression had early modern poets considered them. As Yoshida Sei'ichi points out, there were other pre-modern, specifically, 19th century, precedents that had the potential to act as models, too, including translations of Biblical hymns and poems obtained from Dutch traders. Yoshida's conclusion, however, is that

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[4] As I address later, the editors specifically reference *chôka* ("long-form verse"), though there were other pre-modern poetic forms available to them, including *nagauta* in Kabuki and *haibun* (a form, practiced by Bashô and others that combines *haiku* with prose commentary).

[5] Higuchi Megumi, "Ku (uberusu) to setsu (sutanzaa) no hassei: 'Shintaishishô' to iu kakemono," *Kokubungaku kenkyû* 132 (2000): 20-30. *Waka*, for those unfamiliar with the form, are poems of 5-7-5-7-7 mora, addressed in more detail later in chapter two.

[6] See Catherine Addison, "Little Boxes: The Effects of the Stanza on Poetic Narrative," *Style* 37, no. 2 (2003): 124-143. Although not concerned with Japanese, this is an insightful essay on how stanzas organize narrative.

Shintaishishô marked the beginning of significant literary activity effected by encounters with Western poetry. These examples were not widely circulated and the early Meiji poets looked primarily to European and American poetry for models of a "new style" of poetry, setting in motion a trend of translations and new poetic forms that would last for decades.[7]

The prefaces in *Shintaishishô* are perhaps as significant as the poetic texts themselves in how they may have helped shape Japanese poetic practice and the development of form. As stated previously, and as we will consider more carefully below, the editors urge their readers to reflect on the need for changes in poetic practice. This meant a reconsideration not simply of subject matter, but the forms that could accommodate them. I will address the political ramifications of this later. A number of key sentences I quote articulate trends in contemporary poetry and encourage aesthetic directions that later poets put into full practice. While the editors rightfully deserve credit for their contribution as spokesmen for a new age of poetry, their social status provided a significant platform for making artistic claims as well. As I explain toward the end of this section, their ties to elite political and educational institutions ensured public attention and circulation of their ideas. The extent of their social prestige, which continued to grow after, but not necessarily as a result of, the anthology, also increased their conspicuousness as reference points for the process of canonical memory.

The so-called positional statements of the editors that describe the enterprise of their group hinge on meaning of the term *tai* (体), a basic poetic concept debated in poetic theory in Japan at least as far back as the Heian period (794-1185). The editors use this same character in the title of their work, *Shintaishishô* (新体詩抄), together with *shin* ("new"), to create the idea of "new style" poems. Scholars also generally use the adjective *shintai* "new style" to characterize the bulk of poetry published in the decades after the volume. It would seem reasonable for the editors to use *tai* to describe poetic form, given its modern meaning of "body" or "form" or "shape," and because of a general practice since the publication of using the word to describe poetry not composed in traditional forms like *haiku* or *tanka*.[8] Such an assumption is not incorrect, per se, particularly if we expand "form" to include linguistic features of a poem such as its syntax (as I discuss in more detail in chapter four), in addition to notions of structure and patterns of structural repetition, such as rhyme and meter.

Tai, however, also describes non-linguistic features of a poem–specifically, the content. While equating *tai* with "essence" may seem reasonable given this additional gloss, English translations of *shintai* typically yield "new style." The

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[7] See Yoshida Sei'ichi, "Meiji, Taishô yakushishû," *Nihon kindai bungai taikei* 52 (1971): 8-14.

[8] The term did not refer to Masaoka Shiki's new style of haiku, for example, nor did *shintaishi* refer to *tanka* or *kanshi*. The term was a contrast to traditional 'forms', then, regardless of the content of those forms.

designation *shintai* or "new style," then, refers to both new content and new forms in poetry, and the editors' comments, which I address shortly, validate this working assumption. The significance of content to form in the context of this volume and subsequent "new style" poetry is enormous. Longer forms with stanzas to frame and organize ideas allowed for the development of more complex structural devices in poetry, like rhyme schemes for example, or repetition of key syntax across multiple stanzas. While I focus on the prefaces in this chapter, I provide actual textual examples and analyses in chapters two and three.

The editors' conspicuous exhortation is to observe the practice of longer Western poetry as a model for transforming the *tai* of prevailing Japanese poetic models, which they felt were too brief and lyrical to encompass the breadth and complexity of modern thought and emotion. The forms they were referencing included primarily *haiku* and *waka*, though they also take issue elsewhere with *kanshi*. These were poems written in a mode of Chinese adapted for glossing in Japanese, and were four or eight lines in length. Their practice, as I explain further in chapter three, extended back for over a millennium. In the first preface, Inoue asks, "Why do we not draw from the songs of today?" before enumerating the perceived merits. The various merits they cite, though not always with collective voice, often represent differing trajectories in the process of poetic change occurring both during and after the volume's publication.

Inoue clearly states an interest in contemporary song that derives in large part from the language. We see a reinforcement of this notion in his related praise of Western poetry, which he seems to conflate with contemporary songs.[9] He states, "their poems of the present use the vernacular of today." Like the contemporary Japanese songs he admired, they employ diction closer to spoken vernacular instead of classical forms, like *waka* or *kanshi*, that prevailed in Japanese poetry until the publication and even continued for decades afterward.[10] As a corollary, he praises the poems of his editorial colleagues, "As for their diction, though they mix in vulgarisms, it is plain and straightforward. It is easy to read and easy to understand." He seems concerned mainly with the comprehensibility of poetry, but why? It is important to remember here that Japan's rapid modernization, which cut across all aspects of life and society, was well underway by this point. Poetry that could be understood by everyone was a vehicle that could widely disseminate the idea of a national identity, among other concepts important to the government and figures of authority, like these editors. I discuss this in further detail below in the context of *Genbun'itchi*, but his argument has implications other than ease of

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[9] A conflation between the terms *shi* ("poetry") and *uta* ("song") was common among modern Japanese poets.

[10] Natsume Soseki, for example, continued to compose *kanshi* into the 20th century. During WWII, they gained favor again, but we generally see a decline in their practice after 1897, when Mori Ôgai dismissed their relevance in an interview. See Ôgai Mori, *Ogai zenshû* (Tokyo: Ogai Zenshu Kankokai, 1975), 38: 149.

understanding for the potential packaging of national identity and will. It goes to the heart of poetic endeavor and its function.

Jakobson characterized poetry as language in which the dominant orientation is the "poetic function," where the medium draws attention to itself. The reader is aware that it is aesthetic in design, and that it "integrates form and function.[11] A poetic text, then, is marked by aesthetic manipulation in a way that renders it different from unmarked or plain discursive language. While there is no bright-line distinction between the two, there are a variety of ways by which poetic language or endeavor can set itself apart from ordinary language. The pre-modern Japanese poetic tradition had at its disposal an array of widely established tropes, *makurakotoba* ("pillow words" or poetic epithets) and intricate rules regarding composition, some of which applied to structure, most notably meter. How does such a poetic system operate in a literary period where poetic practice calls for plainer diction? It depends on how poets impose other types of structure or organization. Lines are one of the most basic means of distinguishing poetry from prose, and as I demonstrate with textual analyses in chapter two, *Shintaishishô*'s use of lines marked a new direction in form. In that same chapter, I show how Sakutarô uses plain diction to achieve poetry through repetition and line manipulation.

Extending from this concept, the organization of lines further distinguishes poetry, whether in stanzas or in the satisfaction of requirements for longer forms. Sonnets, for example, do not require stanzas but generally depend on an established progression of line groupings. *Shintaishishô*'s editors by no means precluded themselves from achieving poetry by calling for plain diction; quite the opposite, such a demand asserted the need for structural devices that indeed appear in their work.

Returning now to the relationship of vernacular to poetry in the context of *Shintaishishô*, Yatabe reiterates Inoue's concern in his preface: "we Japanese have not yet created many poems that use every day words."[12] He suggests that prevailing forms of Japanese poetry like *kanshi* amount to "clumsy formal poems" deserving "criticism for doggerel and stupid allusions." He is, in effect, urging poets to reject traditional modes of marking poetry, which extends to both form and language, in favor of new forms and aesthetic devices. After noting the use of vernacular in Western poems, he states that they are "elegantly refined." In what way? While he does not elaborate, we might assume that he is referring to the use of certain forms and structures that aestheticize otherwise plain language: line, meter, rhyme, stanza. The third preface also confirms that beneath intelligibility lies a concern with aesthetics:

This being the case, some jump to the conclusion that we just want people

[11] Roman Jakobson, "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Cambridge: MIT, 1960), 350-77.
[12] My full translation of these prefaces follow at the end of this chapter.

to understand, and that the only merit of our work is that we write in simple terms. Although they may even say in a proverb, "If *Shintaishishô* is laughable, then go ahead and laugh all you want," more discerning individuals, knowing that there is no accounting for a person's taste, may see that there just might be a few "idiots" who approve of our self-assumed "endeavor of beauty."

An emphasis on comprehensibility and aesthetic value in the language of a poem hardly seems unusual in the articulation of a poetics, but as I noted earlier, there were deeper motivations involved in their concerns as well.

The editors' emphasis on using vernacular in poetry places their work at the beginning of the *Genbun'itchi* movement, which was on the surface an attempt to reconcile differences between spoken Japanese and written Japanese in the creation of a new literary style.[13] Discussions of the early *Genbun'itchi* movement generally include Tsubouchi Shôyô (1859-1935), who addresses the language disparity in his larger arguments for realism in *Shôsetsu shinzui* (1886)[14], and Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909), who puts Shôyô's ideas into practice a year later in *Ukigumo* (1887).[15] Shôyô supposedly began his work in 1881 while still a student, though he did not publish it until five years later; the publication of *Shintaishishô* in 1882 predates this by quite a margin, making it a notable antecedent to the movement, if it does not spearhead the effort. *Genbun'itchi* is a very different concern to notions of form that I'm addressing in this chapter, but my intent in pointing out *Shintaishishô's* position here is to highlight another reason why the text began to assume relevance and eventual canonicity–status, in other words, that could in the eyes of later poets validate the claims of its prefaces as well as any innovations in the actual poetic text. Furthermore, *Genbun'itchi* offered potential political rewards. As Japan's political authorities were rapidly building a modern nation state, it was important to reinforce a sense of national identity. If culture and language are mutually inclusive, what better way to disseminate the idea of a unified culture than through a unified language? *Genbun'itchi* provided that possibility and vernacular poems could be a

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[13] Karatani Kôjin, *The Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 45-75. Karatani's chapter "The Discovery of Interiority" is a finely nuanced treatment of the movement that challenges some traditional assumptions about what the endeavor pursued. Karatani concludes that it was a "new ideology of writing."

[14] Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese* (London: Routledge, 1991). Twine is also the English translator of Shôyô's essay.

[15] Futabatei Shimei, *Japan's First Modern Novel: Ukigumo of Futabatei Shimei,* trans. Marleigh Grayer Ryan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 1990). Her preface discusses the reforms of language in the context of *genbun'itchi*.

powerful tool in that project.[16]

Attempts to alter tradition generally meet with resistance and criticism, however, and the three editors, in anticipating such reactions, seem conscious of their role as spokesmen for new poetic ideals, if not emerging political exigencies as well. Their apologies and attempts to deflect criticism also reveal the graver hereticism of their proposed endeavor–at least in literary circles–to mark vernacular. Suggesting that language more closely resembling certain *gesaku* pieces and *rakugo* could be literary instead of low art for the less-educated population would certainly earn detractors.[17] Not all of the intelligentsia at that time were sold on the idea of literary language being appropriated and adapted for political means; many preferred the more opaque language and literary styles (that required education), which the editors were critiquing.

Detractors, we are to deduce from the editors' statements, would deny that anything written in vernacular on every day topics could not achieve art. Although the editors ironically do not draw attention to this, there were precedents in pre-modern Japanese literature, most notably *haikai* or *haikai no renga*, which was a popular style of linked verse that included satire and puns, and which Bashô elevated to more serious consideration. Statements that reflect this assumption appear early, in the first preface, after it relates how the three editors adjusted the language to reflect vernacular: "the composers of lyric poetry of this day and age… may mock these as vulgar." The second and third prologues also comment on the ostensibly vulgar nature of the exercise, the former even stating, "others may criticize it and hold it in contempt, considering it a gross monstrosity with nothing more vulgar in this world." Again, earlier examples of vernacular in a work that eventually became canonical certainly exist in the Japanese tradition, but contemporary reception more often than not reflects entrenched assumptions. In consciously working against these, the editors assume a defensive tone. The first preface ends, "the rise of new styles of poetry largely came about by accident, and were not necessarily reliant on the countless efforts of refinement and polishing. If this is in fact the case, then though this book be vulgar, how can one know that it might not give rise to a new style of poetry?" The second preface cautions those who would jump to criticize, "what is good or bad, right or wrong, does not depend on any immutable logic, but on things like what is old and new in an age, and what precedes or follows a civilization; and it may also run counter to what some people believe." And the third concludes, "while these may indeed be new style poems that

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[16] *Genbun'itchi* also had implications with nationalism. For two studies that connect this movement with modern poetry, see Suga Hidemi, *Nihon kindai bungaku no 'tanjô': gebun'itchi undo to nashonarizumu* (Tokyo: Ôta shuppan, 1995); and *Shiteki modanitei no keifu* (Tokyo: Shinchôsa, 1990).

[17] *Gesaku* were popular, slapstick and/or satirical stories in vernacular. *Rakugo* was a performance art that entailed narrations of stories and anecdotes by a stage performer.

seem like an incoherent babble murmured while asleep, who's to say that the day won't come when they are cultivated by men like the Chinese poems of today–who's to say really?" In effect, the editors assert that precedents for unorthodoxy becoming tradition exist and that their efforts may bear fruit. Poets had to break with tradition, and if not with new diction, then why not new forms as well?

Incorporating vernacular into poetry at the risk of seeming vulgar was a project with deeper ambitions than comprehensibility of the language, as I've noted previously. The editors were seeking a more clearly understandable poetry of the everyday, and this, too, had implications for form. We find expression of this in Inoue's critique of contemporary poetry where he points out that scholars, much less children, often "don't understand their meanings" and that the poems are "difficult to understand." By contrast, the poems of the ancients resemble contemporary songs, which demonstrated an "underlying theory" the ancients could understand. The original character for this phrase, "*setsu*" (説), may seem to refer exclusively to poetics, or a poem's delivery of content. But "*setsu*" implies a deeper meaning: the principal behind a poem, or its purpose for having been written. It constitutes itself through the interworking of form and content, but seems a priori to the actual poem. To achieve a modern poetry whose "*setsu*" would seem more accessible to its readers than existing examples, poets would have to alter both the form and the content. Instead of content replete with tropes and allusion in formal, opaque language, ideas expressed in a "straightforward" manner with comprehensibility comparable to "songs of small children of village lanes" represented their ideal. The poems they eschewed were allusively dense in a way similar to Ezra Pound's *Cantos*, and closer to *haikai* and *gesaku*, which they do not explicitly acknowledge, pointing instead toward European and American poetry. Readers should be able to understand and enjoy poetry without the need for copious annotations or knowledge of classical texts.

To that end, the editors believed poets should articulate the denser meanings and literally expand the language of poetry. The third preface states, "We lift our voices on seeing the moon, we lift our voices on seeing snow, we lift our voices on seeing flowers, and we lift our voices on seeing beautiful women, but no matter if we set out to lift our voices over everything under the sun; we cannot lift our voices enough for what we need." What poets need to express is "a progression of thoughts in (the) mind." The authors want Japanese poetry to more thoroughly develop a given theme or idea over the space of the poem, with measured progressions that stanzas can provide, but the space of the poems composed at the time do not suffice for such a project in their estimation. Toyama further writes, "the ideas that can be represented fully in such means of expression as the thirty-one-syllable poems and *senryû* are likely nothing more than what sparkler fireworks or falling stars would inspire."[18] A revival of *chôka* would seem to fulfill the need, as noted earlier, except

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[18] *Senryû* are very similar to *haiku* in form, with three sections of five-seven-five mora each, though the subject matter tends toward descriptions of human action,

that the editor makes it clear that a new type of *chôka* would be necessary. Again, we return to notions of content informed by a more rigorous intellectual inquiry. For their model, the editors look to Western poetry, using translation as their primary means for demonstrating poetic ideals to a new generation of poets.

All three prefaces acknowledge the strength of Western poetry vis-a-vis the perceived weaknesses of their own native poetry. While some of the reasons differ in each of the prefaces, Inoue shares with Toyama a concern with form, noting with approval that Western poems can run "many volumes in length." The editors equate length with intellectual breadth while also conflating native lyricism with space-constrained native forms like *haiku, tanka* and *senryû*. A binary opens between formal, traditional poetry and Western poetry. The latter, in their opinion, provides an ideal model: poetic form adequate for expression, poetic practice that can accommodate intellectual inquiry, and "everyday" language to more widely reach readers. Working simultaneously, these aspects can produce meaning that readers can not only understand, but feel inspired or "stirred" by. The editors have flipped the prevailing paradigm for poetic practice completely, calling for the grafting of Western poetic models onto the tradition, rather than an extension of traditional forms.

By 'grafting' I am suggesting the notion of compatibility, that the host (Japanese literary tradition) can accept the new growth (Western poetic models). Naturally, there will be some degree of compromise, adaptation or change in the language or practice, as happened with Pound's adaptation of Chinese and Japanese poetic models, for example, or even French and English adaptations of Italian sonnets and villanelles. As I suggested above, and as I show with numerous textual examples in chapters two and three, the editors did have precedents that supported their new poetic models, most notably a seven-five moraic meter. Their deploying stanzas with rhyme schemes on new topics in such meter represents the grafting I speak of, if not a packaging of their ideas in a form that would make the poetry at least partially familiar to readers. The idea that while they were breaking from tradition they were also conscious of making the poetry palatable to existing literary tastes is further reflected in the language they use in the prefaces: one is in classical Chinese, one is written in *katakana* (the phonetic alphabet) and one in vernacular using *hiragana* and *kanji* (standard written characters). Writing in different 'forms' of language and diction, it was as if they were casting their linguistic nets wide to convince readers of the validity of these new forms we see in their poetry and that of poets to follow.

Shintaishishô engagement with Western poetry marks the beginning of a powerful trend of new forms and ideas introduced into native poetic practice via

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and the content often does not contain certain conventions of *haiku*, like *kigo*, or seasonal words. The irony here is that they often contain 'vulgar' themes and/or vernacular that readers could easily understand.

translated texts. Ueda Bin's (1874-1916) *Kaichô'on* (1905) introduced readers to the distinction between Parnassian poetry and Symbolism, even coining the translated term for Symbolism (*shôchôha*) in the introduction. Nagai Kafû deepened understandings of modern French poetry with his collection *Sangoshû* (1913). A proliferation of translations of European poets followed, with Tominaga Tarô (1901-1925), Kobayashi Hideo (1902-1983), Nakahara Chûya (1907-1937) and several other late Taishô and early Shôwa poets contributing significantly to this body of literature.

One might argue that these translations were more a reflection of the times, of a tendency to look to the Western tradition for forms and ideas to interpret and adapt. I would not totally disagree with that assumption. And the ridicule that scholars and critics subjected *Shintaishishô* to on its appearance would further indicate that the anthology might have a legacy later critics have artificially created and imagined. The social status of the editors, however, ensured widespread circulation and discussion of the work.

Inoue Tetsujirô (1855–1944), author of the first preface, was born in Dazaifu to a family of physicians. His early education included both English and Chinese classics, and he later attended the prep school of Kaiseijo. In 1877 he entered the philosophy department of Tokyo University and was among the first class to graduate from that division in 1880. In 1881, he launched *Tôyôgakugei zasshi* ("Arts Magazine of the East") with Sugiura Shigetake (1855-1924), and became a professor at Tokyo University in 1882, lecturing on the history of Eastern philosophy. His fame as a scholar and his access to Japan's brightest students ensured no small readership of his work. He later published *Seiyô tetsugaku kôgi* ("Lectures on Western Philosophy, 1883-85") and *Tetsugaku jii* ("Philosophy Dictionary, 1884)" with Ariga Nagao (1860–1921), introducing Western philosophy and terminology into Japan. In 1884, he went to study philosophy in Germany, returning in 1890. He continued serving as a professor at a number of schools, and participated in several education committees after his return. Besides being a prolific writer and publisher, he briefly became a member of the House of Peers in 1925.

Yatabe Ryôkichi (1851–1899), author of the second preface, was born in Shizuoka to a father specializing in Dutch learning. Yatabe studied English and botany, and in 1869 became a professor-in-training at Kaiseijo. In 1869, after acting as associate professor in its lower and middle division schools, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The following year, he traveled to America with Mori Arinori (1847–1889) and in 1872 entered Cornell University with government support to study botany. He graduated in 1876 and returned home to become a professor at Kaiseijo, where he became the chair of the botany department. In the years following, he accepted various positions at several schools and public institutions, and eventually earned his doctorate in science. He lectured in English, taught English in secondary schools in some small capacity, and translated. A member of the "Romanized Letters Group" established by Toyama, he was also a vocal proponent of adopting Roman characters for Japanese.

Toyama Masakazu (1848–1900; pen-name, Chûzan), author of the third preface, studied at Kaiseijô. Thereafter, he studied in England and at the University of Michigan in the U.S., where he pursued philosophy and psychology. After returning to Japan, he taught as a professor at Tokyo University, served as its chancellor, became a member of the House of Peers, and worked as the minister of the Ministry of Education, an incredibly powerful position for disseminating state opinion on literary function and practice. His scholarly contributions spanned philosophy, religious studies, sociology, education, politics, and the refinement of drama and fine arts. In addition to acting as one of the translators and editors of *Shintaishishô*, he also published *Shintaishikashû* (A Collection of New Style Verse) in 1885 with the linguist Ueda Kazutoshi (1867-1937), the lyricist Nakamura Akika (1841-1910), and Ban Masaomi (1855-1931).

Will prestige alone ensure the dissemination and eventual acceptance of new poetic forms that alter the trajectory of a powerful, entrenched tradition? At least one major poet sought to rehabilitate reception of the volume through a statement, if not actual practice of the poetry prescribed. In the preface to his 1897 anthology of poetry *Jojôshi*, Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908) observes that "ridicule sprang from four directions" (*chôshô wa shihô yori okoriki*), but that the prefaces of Shintaishishô actually contained salient ideas that contemporary poets should heed.[19] Like those editors, he expounds the need for more intellectually rigorous poetry balanced by comprehensibility in forms that can accommodate such content. By this point, a handful of increasingly celebrated poets, including Yamada Bimyô, were practicing and publishing self-professed "new style poems," but perhaps few executed to as high and varied an aesthetic degree as Shimazaki Tôson (1872-1943), whose 1897 volume of poetry, *Wakana-shu*, which I study in the next chapter, became a watershed text.

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[19] Kunikida Doppo, *Kunikida Doppo zenshû* (Tokyo: Gakushu Kenkyusha, 1978), 1: 21-25.

Preface Translations

Chengzi said, "The formal poems of the ancients are like contemporary songs. Even in the case of songs of small children of village lanes, the ancients practiced and listened to them and knew their underlying theory. It is for this reason that they were able to be stirred. Now, in the case of elder teachers and scholars of long standing, even they still can't understand their meanings. How much more so the ordinary scholars! In this way, we have become unable to be stirred by poetry." When I read Teishi's words, I sighed with great emotion, saying, "The folk songs of today are like the poems of the ancients, and the people of today do not know this." Disparaging the songs of the present, and esteeming the poems of the ancients–– O what a delusion this is! Why don't we draw from the songs of today? Later, I read the accounts of Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714), who expounded, "Our country must use waka to express its intent and give an account of its feeling. Let's us not compose clumsy Chinese poems, thus inviting criticism for doggerel and stupid allusion." I moreover say this: It is indeed just as Ekiken has said. Our country's people may master waka, but may not master formal poetry. Even in the case of poetry of modern-day writers, it is harder than these waka to understand. Even in the case of comparing them to waka, they are difficult to understand. Why in the world not learn waka?

Later, when I went to college, I studied many poems from the West. While the short ones resemble our tanka, their longer ones yet extend many volumes in length. This is not something that our long poems can achieve. Moreover, the poetry of the West changes in step with the generations. It is for this reason that their poems of the present use the syntax of today. Generally speaking, they are comprehensive and elegantly refined. This characteristic makes people savor them without tiring of them. Then I moreover say, "Ancient waka are not worthy models." Why not compose new styles of poetry? Having said that, I thought to myself that this is a big undertaking. Unless we study the ancient and modern poems of the Japanese and Chinese, this is absolutely impossible. Then I again studied the ancient and modern poems of the Japanese and Chinese. I chewed the flowers and nibbled the blooms. I consumed them so as to create new style poems. I do not know if I succeeded. My colleagues Chûzan (Toyama) and Shôkon (Yatabe) drafted some new style poems and showed them to me. I received them and read them. As for their language, though they mix in colloquialisms, they are plain and straightforward. They are easy to read and easy to understand. Thereupon, I sighed, exclaiming to myself, "We do have such a thing." Even in the case of small children of village lanes, in practicing and hearing them– would there be any difficulty in this? Moreover, if it is the case that they are writing this poetry in order to express feelings and intention, then is it

not better than writing Chinese poems, thus inviting criticism for doggerel and stupid allusion? Thereupon, I visited with these two gentleman. We reformed the style, and tuned the diction. What we composed was more than just a little. Using these, we compiled the excellent ones, and named the compilation the manuscript of new style poems. This is the first volume. As for the composers of lyric poetry of this day and age, some among them may mock these as vulgar. Although this may be the case, from ancient times, the rise of new styles of poetry largely came about by accident, and were not necessarily reliant on the countless efforts of refinement and polishing. If this is in fact the case, then though this book be vulgar, how can one know that it might not give rise to a new style of poetry?

Inoue Tetsujirô

Man always makes distinctions between good and bad, right and wrong , but it doesn't appear as if he does so based on an immutable logic or order. And while this may be the case, in the determination of what is good and what is bad, both the mind one has inherited from one's forefathers, and the education one has received from the society in which one lives, gradually give rise to something within oneself that should provide a worthy standard. Based on this, man simply distinguishes clearly between good and bad. In countries where Confucianism is practiced, they believe this– what Confucius says– to be correct. And in areas where Mormon beliefs are practiced, they take what Smith says to be the truth. Right now, the Christianity that is the faith of people of Europe was once the heresy of the Jews; and right now, the Buddhism that is the faith of the people of our nation was once expelled from India. Ideas like light explained as waves and theories of evolution being practiced in society right now are the same things that people in older times slandered. The Meiji era has dawned, and because of what someone has said, we first learned that the loyalty of men like Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336) and Ôishi Kuranosuke (1659-1703) is something we should compare with the loyalty of the eldest sons of households; and because of what someone said, we first learned that oppression becomes a cause for freedom. The world is vast, and the faces of civilization are many. We cannot even say that there aren't any countries where the people eat human flesh and bury the elderly alive. In recognizing that countries are different, that times are different, that education is different, and that ideas are different, we can't very well talk about what is good or bad, right or wrong. With this in mind, I tried putting it into a poem.

> In this world, the shape of my heart is what it is.
> Beyond good, beyond bad, there is nothing.

Although I state it as such, it's not as if I worry about the world's decline, and dare to think of anything audacious like returning to the beginning. It's just that lately, I have spoken with one or two of my comrades, and lamenting that we Japanese have not yet created many poems that use every day words, we created a new style of poetry, using Western poems as our model. However, most of what we have done are translations of Western poems. More to the point, we have collected those pieces and published them in a single volume. This warms my heart somewhat, but others may criticize it and hold it in contempt, considering it a gross monstrosity with nothing more vulgar in this world. As I mentioned earlier, what is good or bad, right or wrong, does not depend on any immutable logic, but on things like what is old and new in an age, and what precedes or follows a civilization; and it may also run counter to what some people believe. Therefore, my poems may not be accepted by

the people of today either; they may not reach the same heights achieved by Homer or Shakespeare in generations to come; and I may not be able to create the kind of poems that contribute an additional measure of merit to new customs resulting from the appearance of a new authority, or that inspire the hearts of men, moreover, and exercise their demons– but then again, who in this world is to say? Readers of this collection ought to know this, and I would like them to accept that this aim I foster out of habit now is not just a passing whim.

Yatabe Ryôichi

One of those 'hairy foreigners' from the back streets of China (Han Yu, 768-824) said the following: "Most everything just cries out if it cannot find balance. Plants and trees do not have a voice, but if the wind bends them, they cry out. Water does not have a voice, but if the wind stirs it, it cries out," adding, "The same holds true for the words of man; he can't contain himself any more, and he begins to speak. If this person sings, it is because his heart is concerned with something. If this person cries out, it is because he has deep feeling in his heart. What emerges from everyone's mouth in the way of voice is likely that which in their hearts has not found balance, that which they cannot suppress." And in our country, we have various means of expressing ourselves, including chôka, thirty-one-syllable poems (waka), senryû and Chinese style poems (kanshi). We lift our voices on seeing the moon, we lift our voices on seeing snow, we lift our voices on seeing flowers, and we lift our voices on seeing beautiful women, but no matter if we set out to lift our voices over everything under the sun; we cannot lift our voices enough for what we need. The reason why is that even though it's not as if we don't have anything treated in the form of the ancient chôka, such examples are still extremely rare. This is especially the case in these modern times, where all traces of the chôka have unfortunately vanished; in such an environment, the means of expression for those moments when we are inspired by things are actually just facile styles of poetry– our thirty-one-syllable poems, our senryû and simple kanshi. And surely if you consider those means of expression which are as facile as this, then any sort of ideas they might contain are no doubt facile to equal extremes. Perhaps this is a rather inconsiderate way of saying this, but the ideas that can be represented fully in such means of expression as the thirty-one-syllable poems and senryû are likely nothing more than what sparkler fireworks or falling stars would inspire. When you have a progression of thoughts in your mind that you try to express, then needless to say such facile means of expression cannot satisfy you. These days, there are more than a few Chinese-style poems being created that allow for somewhat greater latitude of expression. But in that which we have come to know as poetry, meaning has always been important, and the quality of its tone, even more so. Our sinologists of the school that learns meanings without pronunciations might create Chinese poems, but kanji originally had a certain tonal meter, and even if you say that on reading through some of those Chinese poems, they follow the correct prosody without a shred of doubt, you could give them to any old Chinaman and have them recited, and we still wouldn't be able to decide if they truly achieved some pleasant tone, or if they sound something like banging a crack-pot with a wooden pestle. In essence, to a Japanese, Chinese style poems are like the gestures of someone who cannot talk, or like a puppet dancing with its arms. Those who make those gestures even though

they were not born lacking the ability to speak, or who dance like a puppet even though they were born men, cannot but seem pitiful. That said, it is not that we don't have a succession of ideas in our minds, nor that we can't skillfully express ourselves with pleasant tonal devices. With my arms folded in deliberation, I considered whether there wasn't something I could do about our regrettable inability to compose anything other than *waka* or *kanshi.* As you would imagine, I then tried toying with such names as New Style of Ancient *Chôka.* When I looked carefully at translations of Western poems that I had rendered in a most reckless way using unintelligible phrases, as well as some longer phrases I had created less skillfully of my own accord, with a smug sense of self congratualtion, I realized

> Only the name "New Style" sounds new–
> Calling old style content new style is Buddha-sized boasting

and as I thought about this boasting, the idea of trying my hand at that ancient chôka style suddenly seemed worthy of being called absurd. Boasting is what begins with oneself. That which is not yet something in and of itself is still better than being nothing. Doing something that man has not tried to do is not boasting, even if you might call it boasting. As for what more or less distiniguishes our endeavor from the average person, when he tries to express the thoughts and feelings in his heart, he shows his literary ability by means of the old elegant language, or through the kanji of China, while our group's most basic aim is to have man understand through a mixture of Japanese-Chinese and Western methods, without any differentiation between old and new, elegant and vulgar. This being the case, some jump to the conclusion that we just want people to understand, and that the only merit of our work is that we write in simple terms. Although they may even say in a proverb, "If *Shintaishishô* is laughable, then go ahead and laugh all you want," more discerning individuals, knowing that there is no accounting for a person's taste, may see that there just might be a few "idiots" who approve of our self-assumed "endeavor of beauty." And while these may indeed be new style poems that seem like an incoherent babble murmured while asleep, who's to say that the day won't come when they are cultivated by men like the Chinese poems of today– who's to say really?

Toyama Masakazu

Chapter II. Meter and New Models for Lines

Before examining how *Wakana-shû* realized both the explicit and implicit recommendations of *Shintaishishô*'s editors, particularly in the context of form, I would like to study *Shintaishishô*'s text itself, as well as theories of line and stanza that illuminate its relevance. This will further help frame the aesthetic achievements of *Wakana-shû* and other notable texts that developed form in unique and influential ways. Such an approach also requires a discussion of line precedents in pre-modern Japanese that in many ways provided the grounding by which *Shintaishishô*'s editors were able to graft their translations of lines and stanzas onto the vernacular tradition.

The "line," though used by most poets, is a complex concept that has perhaps not received adequate attention in Western criticism and certainly not in Japanese criticism. This dearth of research persists despite the increasingly varied use of the line in Western poetry, especially since Modernist poetry, and in Japanese poetry following the appearance of *Shintaishishô*. James Longenbach's *The Art of the Poetic Line* is a nuanced, three-chapter study that provides a satisfactory foundation for a sustained analysis of poetry and further development of line theory. His concepts, though applied in his work to English-language examples, are relevant to modern Japanese poetry with some slight adjustments to account for linguistic difference. The crux of his theory is that "line has no identity except in relation to other elements in the poem, especially the syntax of the poem's sentences." As he shows with multiple examples from the Western tradition, tension between syntax and the line can dramatically alter meaning. He focuses in particular on line endings, where rhyme and enjambment–or their absence–can create varying results. Other patterns or aspects of form functioning together with a line, including meter and syllable, inform this tension, though discursive free-verse can operate in no less surprising ways. One crucial point where I differ from Longenbach is in my assumption, informed by linguistic scholarship on meter, that lines can and do have metrical identity; that is, we can formalize them based on meter, which I describe in more detail below. Otherwise, Longenbach's arguments provide a useful framework for approaching lines from different analytic perspectives and enriching close readings. His work demonstrates that lines, outside a strict metrical identity, are poetic structures around which an array of interpretations and descriptions accrue. [20]

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[20] James Longenbach, *The Art of the Poetic Line* (Minneapolis: Graywolf Press, 2008). Another distinction I make with Logenbach's work is my scanning of mora as opposed to syllables in meter.

Longenbach's conception of the line as a vehicle for poetic tension and meaning extends to stanzas. I earlier suggested that stanzas can be a mode of organization, but Longenbach deepens their poetic function by showing how a variety of line types within a stanza can further create tension and also underscore the importance and meaning of specific lines. In other words, a quatrain might have a combination of end-stopped and enjambed lines, as well as rhyming and non-rhyming lines where a final, end-stopped rhyming line might offer significant resonance. Stanzas, too, may not fully contain syntax or completed thoughts and ideas, providing further tension. What is the effect when a thought or observation begun in one stanza spills into the next? This depends both on the discursive meaning(s) in the poem and other structural devices at work.

Prior to Logenbach, Denise Levertov asserted the multiple functions of lines as well as their relationship to tension. In her 1979 essay, "On the Function of the Line," she writes:

> The most obvious function of the line-break is rhythmic: it can record the slight (but meaningful) hesitations between word and word that are characteristic of the mind's dance among perceptions but which are not noted by grammatical punctuation. Regular punctuation is a part of regular sentence structure, that is, of the expression of completed thoughts; and this expression is typical of prose, even though prose is not at all times bound by its logic. But in poems one has the opportunity not only, as inexpressive prose, to depart from the syntactic norm, but to make manifest, by an intrinsic structural means, the interplay or counterpoint of process and completion–in other words, to present the dynamics of perception along with its arrival at full expression. The line-break is a form of punctuation additional to the punctuation that forms part of the logic of completed thoughts. Line-breaks together with intelligent use of indentation and other devices of scoring represent a peculiarly poetic, alogical, parallel (not competitive) punctuation.

She seems to suggest–among the many ideas at work here–that lines (and their ends) may reflect a kind of organization of thought and ideas that do not necessarily follow the syntax of the text itself, and therein lies a kind of tension and possibility for new modes of expression. I believe that Levertov's observations, however, require some correction. Punctuation is in the domain of typography and is a graphic representation and emphasis of a pause or stop already present in the syntax; its existence is relatively modern, and while some modern poets have exploited its typographical possibilities in poetry, "punctuation" doesn't quite capture what Levertov appears to be describing. The line break works more closely with 'syntax' and its pauses.

Levertov and Longenbach's observations apply in varying degrees to modern Japanese poets, as I intend to show with examples from Tôson and Sakutarô. With the earliest "new style" poetry, however, we can study the line within a simpler framework. This is due in part to relatively simpler practice in the centuries-old, pre-modern poetry from which it draws cues.

The line most closely relates to units of mora in classical poetry called *ku*, though understanding this concept benefits from awareness of common assumptions in modern linguistic research. Morae are the basis for rhythmic organization in Japanese and figure into its phonology, its writing and its metrics–in chapter three, I look more closely at their relationship with rhyme.[21] Meter, drawing from Hanson and Kiparsky's "Parametric Theory of Poetic Meter," is a set of constraints on the rhythm of language that ordinary language is not required to follow.[22] In the case of Japanese metrics, the constraints are on mora. Taking a closer look at key parameters of meter, morae are the typical metrical position in Japanese.[23] Prominence (like the contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables, for example) has not held any significant role in Japanese metrics. The alignment of syntactical boundaries, however, is very important. Breaks in a seven or five-mora *ku* have traditionally followed particles (subject/topic markers, direct/indirect object markers, prepositions), and do not occur within a word. Kawamoto Kôji addresses all three of these issues in *The Poetics of Japanese Verse*, providing an extensive analysis of the history of Japanese metrical research and its actual practice in poetry.[24] Although he is working independent of Hanson and Kiparsky's work, he builds on observations consistent with these parameters, as well as the general but important point that meter is an externally imposed constraint on the language. We recognize *ku* and their rhythm because of an awareness of these constraints.

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[21] See Kubozono Haru, *Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2015).

[22] Kristin Hanson and Paul Kiparsky, "Parametric Theory of Poetic Meter," *Language* 72, no. 2 (1996): 287-335.

[23] In English, we would focus on syllables, which occupy weak and strong positions in the metrical template, and where two or three would combine to create a metrical foot.

[24] Kawamoto Kôji, *The Poetics of Japanese Verse: Imagery, Structure, Meter* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000). Kawamoto originally published this book in Japanese, but personally oversaw and checked its translation, undertaken by his graduate students. Helpfully, the book provides the Japanese for key terminology where there might be some contention as to translation, and tellingly leaves some terms, like *ku*, in Romanized Japanese.

Articulated notions of *ku* existed since some of the earliest known extant criticism in Japanese and correspond to units of mora, namely five or seven.[25] Most notably, Ki no Tsurayuki references them in his preface to *Kokinshû*, the early 10th century poetic anthology that became a cornerstone for Japanese poetic practice for centures. A *waka* is a poetic form with five *ku* of thirty-one mora divided into units of five, seven, five, seven, seven mora.[26] *Haiku* have three *ku* of five, seven, five mora. This largely explains why *waka* and *haiku* have come to be known outside of Japan as five-line or three-line poems and often appear on a page as five or three typographical lines. Mark Morris highly contests this representation in "Waka and Form, Waka and History" with remarks that would put his arguments in opposition with some of my observations below.[27] He states that transliterations of Japanese *waka* by many Western scholars are "chopped into lines and stacked up in the stanza-box invented by japanology," which is an accurate description of the typographical representation typical of English translations.[28] He then takes to task early translators of Japanese poetry that consider poetic operations at the end of these *ku* (such as sound identity, which I address in chapter three). He concludes that a waka, "is not a 31-syllable poem of five lines in the pattern 5-7-5-7-7. A waka appears to be *a* line, a linear poem."[29] I do not believe that the answer is so clear, as this chapter shows.

Morris goes on to provide numerous examples of Japanese *waka* that demonstrate pauses or full stops at the end of *ku*. In different periods, there was a greater likelihood of these pauses or stops occurring in different *ku*, like the third and fifth, for example. In many *waka*, there are three distinct units of syntax falling across five *ku*. It seems clear that ancient poets conceived of syntactical and semantic 'ends' resolving in the final mora of certain *ku*, and that they further viewed this choice as having an interrelationship, or building tension, with the overall structure of five *ku* which the meter clearly defines. In other words, they practiced a concept very similar to independent modern lines. As I later show, however, the use of lines to the totality of the poem and emphasis on other structural features related to the lines indicates a shift in thinking about these units. Morris, it would seem, conflates typographical lines with poetic lines, which is sometimes possible. As a respected Japanese scholar and philologist warning readers to treat ancient Japanese poetry in its proper context, his absolute

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[25] In chapter three, I look more closely at an ancient text that clearly references *ku* and the idea of rhyme positions at the end of those *ku*, which is strikingly similar to modern conceptions of a line with an end-rhyme.

[26] Later in this chapter, I discuss variations where there is an extra mora or missing mora in a *ku*.

[27] Mark Morris, "Waka and Form, Waka and History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46, no. 2 (1986): 551-610.

[28] Ibid., 560.

[29] Morris, "Waka and Form, Waka and History," 569.

statement is not surprising, but I believe it does not accommodate a consideration of the relationship between *ku* and lines, which I discuss in further detail with textual examples below.

I stress again that typographical lines do not always correspond with poetic lines, and the lack of correspondence does not necessarily prevent us from identifying poetic lines.[30] Japanese *waka* and *haiku* did and still usually do appear on a page vertically as a single typographical line. The units of five or seven mora, however, as well as an assumption of the metrical constraints imposed on the form allow the reader to identify the *ku*. In classical poetry in particular, there may be other syntactical clues present to help mark the end of the *ku*, such as a noun, emphatic particle or *shushikei* (terminal form) verb.[31] When we consider the relationship of these *ku* to each other, however, the notion of *ku* acting as lines becomes murkier.

Early modern Japanese poets composing *chôka* wrote in alternating units of five and seven mora with a final seven-mora unit to end the poem, producing what scholars refer to as *goshichichô*, or the five-seven meter. With that precedent, what prevents us from reading *waka* as two units of five-seven meter ending with a final seven-mora unit? In *chôka*, at least, units of five and seven mora would seem to act more like a metric foot or colla, not two lines. Or did composers of *chôka* conceive of this as a line? What, then do we make of that final seven-syllable unit? Or of *sedôka*, a rare poetic form that died out and required two sets of five, seven and seven syllables? Returning to our model of poetic tension created by syntax and the line may provide some insight.

I restrict my brief discussion below to *waka*, as this form all but displaced the practice of *chôka* (and other forms) with the publication of *Kokinshû*. *Waka*–at least those that were anthologized–are rarely a single syntactical unit or sentence. As Morris points out, across the five *ku*, there may be a combination of syntactical units, such as a five-mora *makurakotoba* ("pillow-word" or poetic epithet) or emphatic phrase, followed by two more syntactical units of two *ku*.[32] The variation, which is to say variation in poetic tension, arises from how these syntactical units fall across the metrical requirements for form. At the level of syntax, a *ku* may end with an

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[30] In Western poetry, for example, a common convention in showing a line that extends beyond the physical page is to indent the subsequent typographical line where the poetic line continues.

[31] Since at least Shakespeare, English-language poets could have a syntactical line end in the middle of a poetic line. This practice became more widespread in Japan only with modern poetry and new conceptions of line and stanza, as later examples show.

[32] With shifts in poetic practice, sometimes waka began with a single syntactical unit, giving way to a five, seven-five, seven-five scan. The meter known as *shichigochô*, or seven-five meter, became more common in early 20th century poetry, but was known as far back as *Shinkokinshû*.

emphatic particle, noun or *shûshikei* verb, as mentioned earlier. If a syntactical unit progresses across multiple *ku*, there are several possibilities for what can come at the end of any given *ku*: a possessive *no*, a particle marking the subject/topic, the adverbial particle *ni*, a *rentaikei* (verbal adjective) verb, or a particle to mark the direct object. In the case of the latter, a syntactical inversion where the direct object follows a *ku* in which the verb appears might also create further tension. In light of these observations, it seems reasonable to most closely associate *ku* with our working concept of the line. This does not, however, totally resolve the problem of how the alternating *ku* work in *chôka*, where it acts more as a metrical unit. I would argue that poets' conception of the *ku* evolved into something more closely resembling a line with the publication of Kokinshû and the ascendency of *waka*. The brevity of the form reinforced this notion of five or seven-mora *ku* acting similarly to lines because their individual significance to the totality of the poem became magnified–poets only had five constituent segments, to work with.

Shintaishishô is remarkable because in its translation and adaptation of Western poetry, it constituted a poetic line not as single units of seven or five mora, like a *ku*, but as a combination of them with emphasis on both poetic operations at the end of those lines and the meaning of the line itself to the poem. This was similar to *chôka* from a metrical perspective, or even *waka* with five-seven or seven-five syntactical and semantic units contained within them. Tension between syntax and *ku* (or units of them) certainly existed in ancient poetry and acted little differently from modern lines. In this context alone, the distinction between pre-modern and modern would seem subtle at best. How do we get from *ku* to lines? Or were *ku* actually lines? Or were the five-seven and seven-five combinations in ancient poetry lines?

The phrase "a blurring of the lines" applies both metaphorically and literally here. Outside a metrical formalization, lines and *ku* were supple enough in their identity to allow poets to exploit their aesthetic possibilities in ways that both define and blur them. Pre-modern poets, for example, could use *oriku*, where a word or phrase at the end of a *ku* could be the beginning of a semantic and syntactic phrase in the next. Tôson, as I show below, also seems to consciously challenge hard distinctions between line and *ku*. The ways in which pre-modern and modern poets approached *ku* and/or lines reveal so many similarities that I believe absolute demarcation between the two terms is not advantageous in considering the relationship of pre-modern to modern poetry in terms of form.

I do believe, however, that emphasis on specific structural devices shifted very dramatically with *Shintaishishô* in large part because these were translations of Western poetry with different techniques and emphasis of form. Pre-modern *waka* poets had an array of poetic techniques ranging from those involving form (set mora units, *oriku*, etc) to allusion, diction and specific treatment of topics. With early modern poetry, line became the central focus of form. As a corollary, expectation and manifestation of line-end operations intensified. This did not preclude the

possibility of poets using mora units (*ku*) for lines, either. Again, Tôson was one of several exceptions among new-style poets, but the general practice that the volume set in motion for all new-style poetry to follow was the use of combinations of mora as meter and amplified meaning through line-ending functions. Additionally, innovations in typography could work to alter meaning and interpretation of those lines. These changes would have enormous implications to poetic practice.

      On a very basic level, longer lines removes some restrictions of shorter forms, allowing for the greater breadth of expression that the editors call for. These lines gave rise to structural variety and less of a dependency on allusive poetics. Naturally, the semantic range within which poets can write expands when lines are lengthened. Any poet will attest that longer lines also allow more opportunity to set up structural devices within or at the end of the line. As I explain in more detail below, this development helped to introduce variations in meter. One could have 5-7, 7-5 or some of the variations that appeared involving regular, even-numbered mora units like 4-4. Rhymes, meanwhile, especially multi-syllabic ones that I look at in chapter three, are less problematic for a poet to sustain over of the entirety of a poem.[33] In many ways, the major shift from concentrating on individual units of five or seven to combinations of them with an emphasis on line-end operations helped establish the concept of a line in modern poetry.

      A brief look at *Shintaishisho*'s translation of Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" illustrates some of these ideas. The original poem is composed of iambic pentameter quatrains with an ABAB rhyme scheme maintained throughout. Early in the poem, Gray relies on variations of end-stopped lines and startling enjambment as when, in the third stanza, he writes, "Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tower/The moping owl does to the moon complain/Of such, as wandering near her secret bower/ Molest her ancient solitary reign." The enjambment between lines two and three is particularly strong. Structurally, the poem is an example of precision and a daunting translation task at best.

      Shintaishishô's editors, as well as other early-Meiji translators, Ôgai included, quickly discovered that they could not accurately capture the semantic meaning of an English pentameter line in a seven-five mora line. They needed more sets of mora or, instead of longer lines with multiple seven-five units, they could include additional lines, resulting in longer stanzas. In the typographical setting of the original printing, the poem appears to be organized in tercets with two lines of two seven-five mora groupings divided by a space, followed by a line with a single grouping of seven-five mora, like a kind of half-line. Each 7-5 grouping is equidistant in length, regardless of the number of characters in each grouping; the fewer the characters, the more widely they were spaced so that the beginning and ending of

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[33] As a simple illustrative exercise, one could try to rhyme in couplets over eight lines in a poem with just two feet per line as opposed to five. Assuming the poet intends to more or less follow natural syntax, the latter will prove more accommodating.

each grouping matched the typographical length of all other lines. On closer reading, however, we discover that Yatabe chose to translate the poem using sestets with lines of seven-five mora each, conforming to the most common modern Japanese meter.[34]

Sestets were not completely alien to Japanese literature. Again, sedoka, albeit rare in classical Japanese poetry, contained six *ku* of 5-7-7 and 5-7-7 mora that are similar. Translating a quatrain into a sestet would naturally alter where and how line tension occurs–the very act of translating a quatrain from one language into another could do the same. How did Yatabe negotiate the differences? The first quatrain of the poem in question here has pauses at the end of each line:

> The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
> The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,
> The ploughman homeward plods his weary way,
> And leaves the world to darkness and to me.

Yatabe's rendering yields:

> Yamayama kasumi-iriai no   (mountains mingling haze-shadow's)
> Kane wa naritsutsu no no ushi wa   (the bell tolls on/ field's cows)
> Omomuroni ayumi kaeriyuku[35]   (slowly walk going back)
> Tagaesu hito mo uchitsukare   (Plowing person also very tired)
> Yôyaku sarite ware-hitori   (soon to disappear, me alone)
> Tasogare-doki ni nokorikeri   (to the time of dusk, left)

Rather than translating a translated text back into the original source language, I'd like to draw attention to the rough paraphrase and how Yatabe rendered both the semantic meaning and the syntax over the six lines. This will further highlight some

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[34] In poems in this volume where the editors chose to deploy rhyme, such as *shunkashûto*, which I scan in chapter three, it's clearer that these groupings are lines because they contain the end rhymes. The typographical space in between each grouping, then, is a line space and, on the physical page, we see two lines stacked together. Interestingly, despite the wider availability of processed paper and the advancement in printing techniques with the modern age, reproductions of *Shintaishishô* still preserve the original typographical presentation where stanzas appear to be tercets.

[35] This line appears to have an extra mora, unless there is another reading of *omomuroni. Yaorani*, similar in meaning, would yield seven mora, but the editors give no gloss indicating we should read the kanji this way. Readers, however, are still aware of the metrical template.

of the challenges early translators faced when confronted with line structure, as well as some of the resources they had at their disposal.

On the semantic level, the "mountains mingling with the haze" is the only phrase not present in the original, though we can assume that Yatabe was illustrating dusk.[36] His translation is quite accurate and all the more accomplished for conforming to a seven-five mora line schemata. Using that meter together with standard syntactical breaks, Yatabe clearly marks the lines. They end with a possessive particle, topic marker, *shushikei* verb, *ren'yôkei* (continuative) verb, noun, and *shushikei* verb, respectively. There is nothing extraordinary about these line endings in Japanese poetic tradition.

On closer look, however, we see that he has created interesting moments of tension both within the lines and between them. The poem contains no punctuation, but we can easily confirm from the verb endings that the sestet contains two sentences that end with lines three and six, the first describing the setting and cows, the second relating to the speaker. We cannot fully describe the pace of the poem as regularly stopped (by line-end pauses) like the original. The first line ends with a possessive particle that sweeps us quickly into the second line, illustrated by a translation like, "the bell of/haze-mingling mountains." The topic marker "wa" that ends the second line (attached to "cows") provides a brief pause, but there was already pause within that line with an identical topic marker for bell. And that syntactical unit, too, provided another pause after the verb: "the bell (of haze-mingling mountings) is tolling, (pause) the cows of the field (end-line pause)…" Then the syntax drives on to its conclusion with the *shûshikei* verb "go home." These three lines, in other words, contain great variation of pause and pacing.

The next three lines offer similar shifts and tension. The first line of this grouping is an independent clause with a clear pause at the end; the *renyôkei* verb indicates that another clause will follow: The plowman, too, is very tired (and wait for what comes next, reader). The second line contains two pauses; one follows the verb ("disappear"), after which a new clause appears denoted by the subject of the poem, "I." We don't reach the verb until the final line, "In this time of twilight, remained." These three lines give us: "The plowman, too, is tired/and soon to disappear (pause), while I alone/ in this time of twilight, remain." That last independent clause provides more texture, too, because of the slight inversion. Just as in English, "In this time of twilight, I alone remain," is perhaps more natural diction, the subject following the temporal phrase in Japanese would be closer to natural diction. While Yatabe presumably flipped the two to satisfy the meter, it nevertheless provides dramatic tension. It's not unlike the segmented tension of the original.

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[36] In chapter one, I pointed out several ironies of the prefaces with regard to their exhortations for new form or practice. We might consider this phrase another as it is a commonly used one from pre-modern poetry.

How does Yatabe address the third stanza in which the pace picks up in the original? A transcription of his translation yields:

> *Nao sono hokani tsuta shigeki*
> *Tô ni yadoreru fukurou no*
> *Chikayoru hito o sukashimite*
> *Ware-su ni ada o nasumono to*
> *Uttae'ntoya tsuki ni naku*
> *Ito awarenimo koe sunari*

> Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tower
> The moping owl does to the moon complain
> Of such, as wandering near her secret bower
> Molest her ancient solitary reign.

Rather than engage in the same close scanning as before, I'd like to focus on the line-endings, where enjambment can increase the pace. The first line ends with an adjective modifying the noun that begins with the second line: "Ivy-thick/tower." This is bold and effective enjambment. The second line, too, achieves similar results with a possessive particle that modifies the phrase that begins the second line. The third line is a verb in "te-form", which acts similar to the conjunction "and." In other words, the reader knows the sense of the line is continuing on to the next. The fourth line ends with a verb particle attached to the verb that appears on the following fifth line, "complains/that…" This enjambment, too, pulls the reader along. It's not until the fifth line that we encounter anything like an end-stop.

Yatabe has clearly expressed the pace of the original in his translation through manipulation of line and line-endings. The expanded lines give him greater freedom to translate not only semantic meaning but also to enrich the form. Rather than analyze each stanza of his translation to judge the overall accuracy of his poem in terms of both meaning and integrity to the structure of the original, I would assert that Yatabe had both the poetic skill and the poetic tools available, in part because of stanzas and the evolving concept of the line with emphasis on its ending, to translate complex Western poetry accurately and provide new models for vernacular composition.

No early modern Japanese poet more fully realized the poetic ideals advanced by *Shintaishishô* and embraced by subsequent critics than Shimazaki Tôson. In *The Dawn That Never Comes: Shimazaki Toson and Japanese Nationalism,* Michael Bourdaghs calls him "the central figure in the modern Japanese canon," an argument that pivots on the role of Tôson's work in expressing a modern Japanese

nationalism, though his aesthetic achievements are no less impressive.[37] The immediate popular success of *Wakanashû* aside, Tôson's centrality in narratives of nationalism in the decades following his work assured his canonicity and that later poets would read him as early as secondary school, as a part of national curriculum. What did they take away from his work beyond validation for vastly expanded subject matter and–if we are to believe it–a sense of national identity? How did *Wakanashû* act as a bridge from concerns of form in *Shintaishishô* to more varied practice of form in Taishô-era poets, as much as it was a thematic bridge between a lost, feudal past and a new, modernizing nation? In the section that follows, I look more closely at structure in this volume of fifty-one poems, elucidating in the process the ways in which Tôson naturalized and expanded on aspects of form that *Shintaishishô*'s editors were translating from Western models.

  An overview of conspicuous patterns of general form in the volume will help foreground a more detailed analysis and understanding of their implications. The most pervasive characteristic is Tôson's use of a seven-five moraic line, with interesting exceptions I highlight below. Unlike some of his Meiji-era colleagues whom I address in chapter three, he eschews rhyme, though instances of line repetition, sometimes with slight alterations between them, occur in many poems to great effect. Most of the language is decidedly vernacular, albeit with classical verb conjugations whose use was still standard in formal, written Japanese at that time.[38] There is also one significant typographical feature that I later argue represents a key shift toward the practice of manipulating typography to create new models of line and form: indentation. Finally, Tôson usually relies on regularly repeating stanzas for line and sub-theme organization.

  Tôson employs a variety of stanza types, from couplets and tercets to longer groupings of ten lines or more. The quatrain, however, was his preferred stanza form. Again, it is easy for a contemporary reader of Western poetry to take the presence of stanzas for granted, but their use was still relatively novel in late 19th century Japan, when Japanese translators and poets first encountered it. What does it mean to compose poetry in quatrains? It is relative to what semantic meanings a quatrain contains, how it may work to develop a poetic narrative or impression, or how its lines interact with each other on the level of structure. I'm most concerned with the latter in the context of this study on form.

  I might also add that it is relative to what precedents for structure existed in a given tradition and also what prevailing practice condoned. The editors of

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[37] Michael Bourdaghs, *The Dawn That Never Comes: Shimazaki Toson and Japanese Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 1-18. Bourdaghs' insightful study focuses on Tôson's prose work, though his introduction provides a valuable overview of *Wakanashû*'s critical reception and impact on modern Japanese literature.

[38] The volume also contains one poem written in classical Chinese, preceded by a prose passage that mixes classical Chinese with vernacular prose.

Shintaishishô were translating quatrains, so to speak, and produced sestets of notable aesthetic value, at least in the examples I provided above. Tôson and some of his contemporaries were composing in quatrains. It was a new form and very different from previous models available. If we take a *tanka*, for example, it is five *ku* of 5-7-5-7-7. A quatrain with 7-5 moraic lines yields nearly twice as much space to compose. Additionally, pacing and tension operate differently; each line is equal to the others in metrical length, shifting significant attention to the line endings and how they interact. A metered quatrain, I would suggest, draws more attention to its own structure.

An ostensibly simple poem like *Niwatori* (chickens) illustrates the relative complexity that prevails on the level of structure. This poem contains twenty-nine quatrains, making it one of the longest poems of the collection. It is a metaphoric study of gender and gender roles. Much of Tôson's volume, in fact, is concerned with the meaning of gender. Unsurprisingly, in a poem of such length, we find a great diversity of line endings that enrich the poetic texture and create shifts in pace. The opening quatrain reads:

> *Hana ni yorisou niwatori no*
> *Tsuma yo medori yo kakitsubata*
> *Izure ayame to wakigataku*
> *Samo nitsukashiki fuzei ari*

> Approaching the flower, the chickens,
> Both male and female, like distinguishing
> Between a rabbit-ear iris and iris sanguinea,
> Seem very much the same in appearance.

The first line ends with a widely used enjambment created by the possessive *no*. A stop would seem to occur with the noun at the end of line two, absent the verb *ari/aru* (to be), which by contrast does appear at the end of line four. The presence there of *ari* also makes it an end-stopped line, but the effect is much softer; it is both syntax and the sense of the lines coming to a normal, grammatical end. The occasional practice of ending a *ku* with a noun, not to mention abrupt syntactical shifts, has been present in the tradition since at least the early 13th century *Shinkokinshû*. *Waka*, however, often generated meaning through contrast and juxtaposition of images, many of which were allusive, and *Shinkokinshû* poets made increasing use of inversions that left nouns at the end of *ku*. 'Noun-stopped *ku*,' to coin a phrase, heightened the effect of those juxtapositions by drawing attention to the noun in question and also creating surprise through the syntactical shift.

While these same poetic functions were also available to Tôson, noun-stopped lines work very differently in *Niwatori*. Tôson's long poem primarily relies

on narrative progression to produce meaning, with quatrains marking the progression. Each quatrain is fully contained, meaning there is no enjambment between stanzas; each individually describes some scene or idea, building on previous stanzas while preparing the reader for an advancement of the narrative in the next stanza. The pace of the lines shift similarly to ways we have observed before. Possessive *no* articles, like those which come at the end of the first line of each of the first three stanzas, sweep the reader quickly into the next. Sometimes there are slight pauses, as when the reader encounters a *renyôkei* verb (that acts as "and"). And then there are full stops with *shushikei* (terminal) verbs. End-stopped lines may come at any point in the quatrain, though always with line four, to conclude the quatrain. In most cases, these are terminal verbs. Noun-stopped lines come as the most forceful halts of narrative progression.[39] None of these are nouns in a clause that eventually modify some later noun; they are the nouns being modified and also the terminal point of both line and syntax. Their function is dramatic. Tôson enhances that by using them sparsely.

When he uses it twice in a single stanza, as in stanza twenty-three, the effect is startling:

> *Osoroshiki kana sono kokoro*
> *Natsukashiki kana sono nasake*
>
> How terrifying, that heart
> How nostalgic, that feeling.

The parallelism makes the resonance all the greater. The only other instance where something of this poetic magnitude occurs is, perhaps appropriately, in the final stanza. Before addressing that, I would like to refocus attention on the opening quatrain, specifically the first couplet, which ties into that final stanza. On closer look, it is much less mundane than it appears.

As I remarked earlier, the first line is characterized by the most common enjambment in Japanese, the possessive *no*, literally yielding, "The flower-approaching chickens'…" The pacing of the second line could not be more different. Although conforming to the seven-five mora standard used throughout, the line contains three stops, including the noun-stop mentioned earlier, "O rooster, O hen, rabbit-ear iris."[40] The effect might seem in some ways like a conductor tapping on the music stand to prime the orchestra, but the symphony has, in fact, already begun.

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[39] One variation with similar effect is a noun followed by an emphatic particle (like "O hen" or "you hen").

[40] Because of the possessive particle at the end of the previous line, a more accurate English translation might be "o male, o female/chickens approaching the flowers, rabbit-ear irises."

Kakitsubata is a centuries-old motif in Japanese literature, art and landscape design. The powerful resonance of the image dates back to the tenth century *Ise Monogatari* (Tales of Ise), where, in one section of the work, the subject is on a long journey away from the capital (modern-day Kyoto).[41] Stopping by the iconic *yatsuhashi* (eight bridges) that overlook the iris marshes of Mikawa, he composes the following waka:

> *karagoromo*
> *kitsutsu narenishi*
> *tsuma shi areba*
> *harubaru kinuru*
> *tabi o shi zo omou*

> For my beloved wife
> as familiar to me as
> these broken-in clothes of mine
> on a journey far from home
> my heart is filled with longing.

Combining the first character of each *ku*, however, cleverly yields *kakitsuhata*, which points to "rabbit-ear irises."[42] The poem also expresses common themes of courtly poetry of the time: travel, longing and natural beauty. The phrase "izure ayame" also draws from the *kotowaza* (proverb), "*izure ayame ka kakitsubata*" (meaning "equally beautiful"), which originates in the 14th century *Taiheiki*. In the 21st chapter, the speaker, when faced with choosing between twenty beautiful women, comments that the iris sanguinea and the rabbit-ear iris are difficult to tell apart and, so too, are their beauty. Interestingly, Tôson flips the phrase so that *kakitsubata* appears first. The reordering of the words doesn't prevent the reader from recognizing the allusion. However, *kakitsubata* is tied to the next line, *izure ayame*, thus creating enjambment with a noun phrase over two lines. Initially, there would seem to be a stop with the noun-ended line, but on continued reading, we realize we have been pulled into the next. It is an unusual effect made possible by the line.

Tôson has masterfully fused the ancient with the modern. He is using a widely understood classical allusion that reaches back through centuries of text together with modern language and metrical lines in a quatrain, yet allusion is not the primary aesthetic feature of the poem, as it might be if this single stanza were a *waka* for example; narrative drives the poem. The juxtaposition of images, too, is

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[41] There is similar waka by Ki no Tsurayuki in *Kokinshû*, who may have also authored this work. My point in noting this is to show that its resonance was not restricted to Ise Monogatari alone.

[42] There are actually numerous examples of such acrostic poems in pre-modern Japanese which further indicate ancient poets could and did conceive of *ku* like lines.

noteworthy. Chickens, which are not nearly as regal as, say, eagles (in poetic practice or real life) are paired with irises, the embodiment of classical elegance and refinement. But these are chickens that are going to tell us much about male and female relations.

Returning now to the final stanza, we see what appear to be two noun-stopped lines in lines two and four, and clear linkage to the first stanza of the poem:

> *Ikitekaeranu tori wa iza*
> *Tsuma ka medori ka kakitsuhata*
> *Izure ayame wo fumiwakete*
> *Nozue wo kaeru niwa no tori*
>
> Though that other chicken cannot return,
> The male, the female, how like distinguishing
> Between those two irises, move on,
> Two chickens returning to the edge of the field.

The second line here immediately recalls the second line of the first stanza because the only difference is the replacement of the emphatic *yo* with *ka*, used to express "whether/or." Again, though, while there is a stop there, we recognize this as a part of a larger phrase and continue on to the next line. A more literal rendering produces, "That other chicken unable to return/ whether male, whether female, rabbit-ear iris/or iris sanguinea, walking on/two chickens returning to the edge of the field." Normal conventions for syntax break down with the line, forcing the reader to focus on the significance of the images. The third line in both the first and last stanza also begins with the same phrase, but in contrast to the first stanza where it introduces the theme that pervades the poem, here it shifts to an image suggesting resolution, appropriate to the end of the narrative. Then the poem itself comes to an abrupt, but not surprising, ending with the noun for chicken. Tôson has effectively bookended his narrative poem with both rich allusion and effective manipulations of form dependent on the line, the stanza, and the power of line endings in those stanzas.

In a handful of other poems that also use quatrains, Tôson demonstrates that he may have a suppler concept of the modern poetic line than that implemented by *Shintaishishô*'s editors where a combination of seven and five mora is the minimum to constitute a line. In a poetic nod to classical practice, he deploys what seem to be lines of either seven or five mora in length, using typography and indentation to strengthen (or obfuscate) this possibility. I say "seem" because it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions based on textual evidence in some of the poems. In fact, Tôson so consistently maintains ambiguity as to whether there are two poetic lines, or a single seven-five line dispersed over two typographical lines, that I believe he was

consciously challenging prevailing notions of the line and introducing new practice that would have far-reaching implications to later decades of poetry.

While I have asserted that Tôson has a firm grasp of the quatrain and its possibilities, he also has a clear concept of independent couplets with seven-five moraic lines. *Osayo*, a poem that appears early in the volume, is composed of twenty-five of such couplets, most of which contain a single unit of syntax. The sixth couplet, however, contains two:

> *Nagarete atsuki waga namida*
> *Yasumu toki naki waga kokoro*
>
> Streaming hot, our tears
> Lacking rest, our hearts[43]

The parallelism at least helps maintain a unified sense of the couplet. In the majority of the poem's couplets, the second line ends with a noun or some other kind of clear stop, like a terminal verb, while the first lines use enjambment (such as the possessive particle *no*) or some other grammatical indication that the semantic sense of that poetic line continues into the next. Toward the end of the poem, he relies on parallelism between seven couplets, in all of which the first line ends, "when (the Muse) plays…" (*fuku toki wa*). Tôson sets the reader up for a conclusion in the second line with a temporal clause in the first. With each couplet, the reader reconfirms the structure of the form, while also more easily anticipating how the next will operate on encountering that repeating phrase. The meter and syntax both create symmetry that underpins the sense of a pair of lines.

There is no rule of poetics stipulating symmetry of syntax in couplets or even that it must be contained within the couplet. Couplets in the Western tradition rose to widespread use through rhyme pairings, as with Chaucer and Pope, or even as a resolution in Shakespearean sonnets. If a poet is sustaining the rhyme scheme (AABBCC…), then there is nothing particularly problematic about the syntax continuing on to another couplet. Nor is there an issue, per se, with syntax ending in the middle of a line or couplet and a new sentence beginning. Remove the rhyme, however, and there needs to be some other aspect of structure, syntax or meaning that connects the two lines, or some kind of pattern or relationship between couplets throughout the poem; otherwise, the grouping may seem meaningless, and any typographical representation of two lines, arbitrary. Uniform meter between the two lines does not necessarily suffice, either. That could simply indicate regular meter that pervades the entirety of the poem, irrespective of couplets or any other

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[43] The commas do not appear in the original; I simply add them here for to provide more clarity in the translation.

kind of stanza.[44] Tôson constitutes his couplets with a combination of regular meter and contained syntax and meaning.

Then Tôson throws it all into question. He has established a seven-five moraic line, which is consistent with new-style poetic practice since *Shintaishishô*. He has demonstrated defining use of quatrains and couplets. But poems like *Okiku*– and there are several in the volume–complicate these clear boundaries of line and stanza with four typographical lines of seven-five-seven-five mora each, with the second and fourth lines indented the equivalent space of four characters. Are these quatrains of alternating line lengths where Tôson has constituted lines along pre-modern notions of *ku*? Or are these couplets broken across four typographical lines with breaks occurring where we normally mark meter? Are these indentations intended to indicate that the five mora are simply an extension of a poetic line beginning with the previous seven mora, or an independent line? These questions are important because they frame potential changing conceptions of the line as well as the increasing role of typography in poetic meaning and the practice of form.

We might expect to find clues to these answers by looking more closely at the text, specifically at how the syntax interacts with possible line endings, and how this compares to other examples in Tôson's volume. Are there any differences between what we see at the end of these possible quatrain lines and in the seven and five mora positions in the couplets of *Osayo*? If, for example, we were to regroup these four lines into two typographical lines that conform with a seven-five poetic line, would we see any differences from those couplets? There are still prepositions and possessive articles that would act as enjambment if indeed these are four lines. We see *rentaikei* (modifying) verbs and adjectives that carry to the next line, as well as *ren'yôkei* (continuative) verbs and adjectives that function similarly. Direct object and subject-marker particles also appear in the same positions.

A subtle shift, nevertheless, starts to appear from around the middle of this seventeen-stanza poem. In most of Tôson's couplets in *Osayo* both the syntax and semantic meaning of the first line continues into the second. I noted the unusual couplet in *Osayo* that demonstrates clear parallelism as well as full stops at the end of each line. We might also characterize this as two distinct semantic expressions, though related because of the parallelism. *Okiku*, as the poem progresses, begins to reveal more stanzas with two semantic expressions. Instead of a clause with a major syntactical pivot occurring at the end of the seven-five line, more pivots are occurring at the end of the seven and five segments. In stanza eight of *Okiku*, for example, we see:

> *michi no tame ni wa*
> *chi o nagashi*
> *kuni niwa shinuru*

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[44] If, however, a poet uses different kinds and/or lengths of meter every two lines, we might recognize the organization in terms of couplets.

> *otoko ari*

> For the sake of the way
> (He) spills blood
> Dying for the country
> There is a man[45]

 Again, we could read this as a couplet, but it is the beginning of an emerging pattern of two semantic units. In stanzas twelve and thirteen, Tôson writes:

> *Koharu wa koi ni*
> *chi o nagashi*
> *Umekawa koi no*
> *tame ni shinu*

> *O-shichi wa koi no*
> *tame ni take*
> *Takao wa koi no*
> *tame ni hatsu*

> Koharu, for love
> spills blood
> Umekawa, for love
> gives his life

> O-shichi, for love
> Is burned alive
> Takao, for love
> Gives his life

These, too, we might easily read as couplets, especially given the strong enjambment that occurs with the frequent use of the possessive particle in conjunction with *tameni* (for). In fact, when preceded by a noun, *tame ni* requires the possessive particle *no*, so a more accurate English translation might even place a break between "for" and "love." In other words, beginning a line with *tame* would be unprecedented, though not impossible, per se, and certainly a case of strong

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[45] This is a rough translation to reflect the original structure as much as possible.

enjambment.[46] Tôson is both suggesting the possibility of four lines while also revoking it.[47]

Finding some kind of terminal stop in the first or third line, however, should alert us to some conceptual shift because in the couplets, they do not occur with the seventh mora in either line. A terminal stop could be an indication that these are lines. The thirteenth and fourteenth stanzas, after these shifts in the previous stanzas, present us with this possibility. Tôson writes:

> *kanashikarazuya*
> > *Kiyohime wa*
> *hebi to nareru mo*
> > *koi yue ni*

> *yasashikarazuya*
> > *Sayohime wa*
> *ishi to nareru mo*
> > *koi yue ni*

> Is it not sad?
> > Kiyohime
> Turned into a serpent
> > Because of love

> Is it not sufferable?
> > Sayohime
> Turned into a stone
> > Because of love

The first seven mora are clear, emphatic stops. The second lines then begin with the syntactical subjects, Kiyohime and Sayohime.[48] The third and fourth lines,

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[46] Already, we have seen how Tôson has split a phrase across two lines, so this would not be outside the realm of possibility for the poet.

[47] For more on this idea of both suggesting a revoking the sense of a line, see Nigel Fabb *Language and Literary Structure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[48] Kiyohime is a character in Japanese folklore who, spurned by a lover, is transformed by her rage into a serpent while pursuing him. Sayohime refers to a character in Buddhist legend. In a common version of the legend, she prays for the safe return of her husband from an expedition with such intensity that she was transformed into a stone. A version of this also appears in *Man'yôshû*. As with the *kakitsubata* examples above, Tôson is once again fusing allusion to ancient texts in modern poetry.

meanwhile have stops at the end of each because Tôson has inverted the two syntactical segments; *yue ni* ("because of") would normally precede the clause with the verb.

Stanza sixteen features similar inversions that bring stops at the end of each line:

> *koi suru nakare*
> > *otomego yo*
> *kanashimunakare*
> > *waga tomo yo*

> Be not in love
> > O my young girl
> Be not sad
> > O my friend

Like previous examples there is marked parallelism. Lines one and three are negative imperatives; the line comes to a halt.

The final stanza reveals the boldest shift of all:

> *koi suru toki to*
> > *kanashimi to*
> *izureka nagaki*
> > *izure mijikaki*

> Whether you love
> > Whether in sadness
> Either is long
> > Either is short

There are several aspects of this stanza that encourage the reader to consider each typographical line as a poetic line. Pauses occur at the end of each line because of the syntax–the stops are particularly strong after the terminal adjectives. It's hard to see how one could combine those last two lines into one line that is the second line of a couplet; they are distinct units of syntax. Furthermore, Tôson surprisingly uses seven mora in line four, where we would expect five, recalling how ancient *chôka* concluded. Tôson has already primed the reader to consider this, as he alludes to a *Man'yôshû* poem in stanza five with the lines, "*aa tsukikusa no/ kienubeki*", which compares passionate love to the quick life of the Dayflower.[49] Meanwhile, the

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[49] The poem #2291, from *maki* 10 reads, "*asa saki yû wa kienuru tsukikusa no kienubeki koi mo ware wa suru kamo.*" Perhaps we love like the quick-perishing Dayflower, which blooms in the morning and perishes at night.

sudden repetition of the seven-mora, after alternating units of seven and five worked like a metronome, helps underscore a sense of finality with this line.

Other poems in *Wakanashû* also force the reader to consider Tôson's 'indented fives,' so to speak, though in slightly different ways. *Shiruya Kimi* is a shorter poem of four quatrains, the first two lines of which are a length of seven-five mora each. There is a third typographical line indented eight spaces, however, which may be an independent poetic line, making this a poem of four tercets. In all of the quatrains, both the first and the second line are marked by enjambment. In the first line, the possessive *no* appears in the first, second and fourth stanzas, with the preposition *ni* in the third. The second line in all quatrains ends with the direct object marker *o*, indicating to the reader–since these two lines are not inversions– that the sense of the line continues on. The third indented line in all cases is the inverted phrase that is also the title: "You know it, don't you." It very effectively acts as a refrain. Both the indentation and that it is not a standard seven-five line, thus drawing attention to itself, underscore its significance. Again we must ask the question whether this is not just an extension of the second line. That would make it a seven-five-five mora line, which would be unprecedented, or a half-line, which would be equally unprecedented were it not for other examples in his own poetry. He has, in a sense, presented us with the standard line and then immediately challenged it. Tôson deftly balances these competing notions, though as we increasingly consider how he uses these five-mora units in isolation, we are inclined to consider them independent lines.

Other examples from the volume show Tôson using these five-mora lines with slight variation but the same effect. *Bôkyô* (homesick) is three stanzas with five typographical lines each. Each stanza begins with the five-mora phrase *izasaraba* ("well now" or "goodbye"), which is not indented. The following four lines are all seven-five mora in length, with the exception of the final line, which is a seven-seven, signaling finality like the example above. In all three stanzas, these five-mora opening lines are syntactically complete; we cannot read them as a part of the second line. And since the second line conforms to the typical line standard we have seen, then we are compelled to read these a single, independent lines.

In *Aki no uta* ("An Autumn Poem"), Tôson similarly begins each stanza with a five-mora refrain *aki wa kinu* ("Fall has come").[50] However, unlike the previous example, he repeats this phrase twice, with the second line indented two characters. The four lines that follow are all seven-five, though again the poem's last line is seven-seven. Are these sestets? *Kinu* is terminal so we have a complete syntactical unit. There is little preventing us from reading *Aki wa kinu. Aki was kinu* as a single

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[50] It is possible this phrase is an allusion to the Kokinshû poem by Fujiwara Toshiyuki: *aki kinu to me ni wa sayaka ni miene domo kaze no oto ni zo odokarenuru.* "When autumn has come, it may not be so apparent to the eyes; I realize it's calling by the sound of the wind."

poetic line that is five-five mora in length. But in the context of Tôson's oeuvre we must give consideration that these are in fact two distinct poetic lines.

I began this section on Tôson by asking what his contemporaries and what later poets might have drawn from this widely popular collection (besides a supposed sense of Japanese identity). Tôson hardly eschews literary tradition. He employs rich allusion to classic texts while writing in vernacular about contemporary concerns. Form and meaning in the poems do not hinge on these allusions, as they might in pre-modern *tanka*, but are nevertheless enriched by them. Tôson uses line repetition frequently and effectively, both between and within stanzas. I am by no means suggesting he pioneered this. *Shintaishishô*'s translation of Thomas Campbell's "Ye Mariners of England" provided at least one example of how refrain between stanzas can underscore a theme or central idea. Tôson's adoption of this technique, however, was pronounced and additionally had implications to conceptions of the poetic line. Tôson regularly uses seven-five moraic lines, which were the standard of his day, but also teases those apart, revealing in the process that they may act as independent poetic lines. This suggestion, which typographical representation could either emphasize or thwart, was open enough that other poets might interpret the text differently, producing in their own work variations and new structural techniques.

Trajectories of form are often refracted in this way, but it is again important to note that they do not necessarily issue from a single text or poet, either. In most historical moments of literary production, poetic or otherwise, there are competing trends. This is certainly the case when artists are aware of having entered a new era where new techniques are available and literary expectations have changed. *Shintaishishô*'s editors unequivocally called for new practices in poetry and even coined the phrase for it; modern poets had, by Tôson's *Wakanashû*, embraced both the term and suggestions for its practice. In the end, though, they were simply that– suggestions–in broad enough strokes of language to encompass various representations of execution on the level of form. While Tôson's techniques and general practice may have become a dominant trend in poetry, other forms existed and could potentially resurface in the practice of later poets. The most interesting example is Kitamura Tôkoku (1868-1894).

Tôkoku was not simply Tôson's contemporary, but a friend and mentor with whom Tôson launched *Bungakukai*, one of the most influential literary magazines of the time. Tôkoku's poetry, however, could not be more different in the context of form. In 1888 Tôkoku published a poem called *Soshû no shi* (Poem of the Prisoner), followed by *Hôraikyoku* (Song of Paradise) in 1891. Both were poems of astonishing length at the time, unrivaled in scope, in fact, until at least Oguma Hideo's 1935 long poem *Tobu sori* (flying sleigh). *Soshû no shi* is composed of twenty-six sections, most running between ten and twenty lines in length. *Hôraikyoku* is a dramatic poem with characters, running hundreds of lines in length. Both of them rely on free verse,

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which Tôkoku encountered through reading Walt Whitman and Ralph Waldo Emerson, among others.[51]

But what does free verse mean in the context of Japanese poetry of this early modern period? As some poets in the Western tradition have commented, there is little 'free' about verse; constraints must still exist for there to be meaningful lines of poetry.[52] For Tôkoku, as with his pioneering counterparts in the West, his conception of what may constitute a poetic line altered his poetic practice in profound ways. Tôkoku clearly models the idea and thematic development behind "Prisoner" on Lord Byron's poem *The Prisoner of Chillon*. Byron's poem, however, follows established patterns of English form with rhyming couplets and iambic tetrameter. Tôkoku's poem closely resembles Whitman's free verse that dispensed with rhyme and meter. Tôkoku similarly dismisses prevailing assumptions that lines should be seven-five in mora, or even metered at all. His lines follow only the natural patterns of vernacular speech and are almost always complete syntactical units. He rarely uses the common possessive *no* to create enjambment. Most lines end with verbs or adjectives in *shûshikei* (terminal) or *ren'yôkei* (continuative) form, with the additional appearance of punctuation–usually commas or periods–at the end of the lines.

The effect is one of a string of independent clauses running several lines in length, connected by an "and" indicated by either conjugation or punctuation. The second section, for example, begins:

> *Yo ga kami wa itsunomanika nobite ito nagashi,*
> *Hitai o ôi me o saegirite ito omoshi,*
> *Niku was ochi kotsushutsu de mune wa tsune ni kare,*
> *Shizumi, shiore, chijimi, aa mono'ugeshi,*

> My hair, before I knew it, had grown and was quite long,
> It covered my forehead, falling over my eyes, and was heavy,
> My flesh was sagging and bony, and my chest was quite withered,

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[51] Tôkoku's biographical study *Emaason* (Emerson) in 1894 was the first of any such study on an American author in Japan, though scholarship on and translations of Emerson previously existed. As Alan Hodder notes in "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," Emerson was a speaker at an 1872 meeting in Boston with fifty Japanese officials. Soon thereafter his work gained currency among influential scholars in Japan and by the 1880s both translations and essays were appearing, with quotes sometimes carried in mainstream media. Alan Hodder, "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," in *Mr. Emerson's Revolution,* ed. Jean McClure Mudge (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2015).

[52] T.S. Eliot, for one, famously wrote, "No verse is libre to the poet who takes his craft seriously."

Sunken, drooping, shrunken and, oh, so languid,

This continues over the length of fifteen lines, like a monologue whose grammatical subjects change, until we encounter shorter exclamations:

> *Aa soshû! Yo no taiyô wa ito togashi!*
> *Koko wa nan no toga zo ya?*
> *Tada kuni no zento o hakarite nari!*
> *Koko wa nan no kekka zo ya?*
> *Kono yo no tami ni tsukushitareba nari!*

> How I am prisoner! The sunlight of this world is so far away!
> O what is this place?
> > It is just a measure of what lies ahead for this country!
> O what is the outcome of this?
> > It would exhaust the citizens of this world!

This shift in pace partially makes the lines meaningful, drawing our attention to each as a condensed unit of expression. What reads like a run-on sentence in the beginning of the section is brought to a halt by grammatically and semantically contained lines. Tôkoku has parsed his grammar to create lines, much like Whitman, that at times more closely resemble ordinary prose than the lines of poetry in *Shintaishishô* or *Omokage.* What makes it different from prose? In lines three and four in the first example above, a new subject, "my chest," appears in the middle of the line, and the line ending falls in the middle of a series of verbs. Elsewhere, line endings range from the occasional quick enjambment to the more common full stops. The pacing differs slightly than if we were to rewrite Tôkoku's passage in prose and read it, and perhaps the subtlety of that difference is also a point.

We must remember Tôkoku's lines, as we do Whitman's, in their historical context. Whitman was rewriting the rules on lines as a part of a larger attempt to invent a new style of American poetry, and Tôkoku found himself in a similar era. The surprise and potential power of the lines comes into relief when read against prevailing norms. As with *Shintaishishô* and *Omokage*, using regular sets of mora to demarcate lines was the standard. Tôson may have been challenging the ascendency of the seven-five mora line, but Tôkoku was drawing attention to the differences between prose and poetry, manipulating line endings to create difference. Tôkoku, however, remained an outlier in terms of form in those first few decades following Japan's modernization.

We can only speculate why and, given the inconclusiveness of any observations we might make, I only want to touch on them briefly. We might note aesthetic shortcomings of Tôkoku's poem; Japanese scholars hardly consider it the Japanese *Song of Myself*. It is generally a footnote in their treatment of Tôkoku as an essayist and early proponent of Japanese Romanticism along with Tôson. Tôkoku

himself, after self-publishing *Prisoner*, regretted the work and withdrew it from circulation. He also self-published *Hôrai* to little acclaim. Finally, Tôkoku, a converted Christian, submitted his work on Emerson and optimism in 1894, and soon thereafter committed suicide, removing himself at the young age of twenty-five from the vibrant literary debates of the time where he might have asserted a different direction for poetic lines. Instead, the participants of *Bungakukai*, including Tôson, found themselves responsible for his legacy, and Tôson, as we have seen, commanded a very different direction for Japanese poetic form.

Another volume of translations, Ueda Bin's *Kaichô-on* (Sound of the Tide), appeared shortly after *Wakanashû* in 1905 and became a landmark text on a scale similar to *Shintaishishô* and *Omokage*'s. Until this point, I have been showing how these two translation anthologies have acted as a space for negotiating cultural difference, specifically poetic production and meaning as expressed on the level of form; and how poets have interpreted and redeployed those techniques of form in vernacular poetry. I treat *Kaichô-on* similarly and demonstrate that it belongs in such an analysis of these other volumes, especially in the context of my current discussion on poetic lines. Critics primarily remember *Kaichô-on* as the anthology that introduced Parnassian and Symbolist poetry from Europe to Japan, but its contributions to Japanese poetic form are significant. It extends many of Tôson's new conceptions of the line while also recalling Tôkoku's longer lines parsed by syntax.

Kaichô-on contains fifty-seven translations by twenty-nine poets where the translator shows faithfulness to two interests that have previously been in conflict: the semantic meaning contained in each individual line in the source text and seven-five mora units in the target language. Ueda's lines attempt to fully capture the syntax and semantic meanings contained in the original lines and, when necessary, he will manipulate the number of units of seven and/or five mora to accommodate this demand. In other words, while *Shintaishishô*'s editors used sestets to translate quatrains, Ueda would assume extend the length of the line to reflect the syntactical length of the original with extra seven or five mora units. The opening poem, Gabriele d'Annunzio's *Nova in calen di marzo*, even provides the first example. It begins with a seven-five mora line then shifts suddenly to two seven-seven lines:

> *yayoi tsuitachi, hatsu tsubame*
> *umi no anata no shizukeki kuni no*
> *tayori motekinu, ureshiki fumi wo.*

This shift seems like a statement, as if to say that his conception of the poetic line accommodates expanded terms.

In his translation of Charles Baudelaire's *Harmonie du soir*, Ueda commits to four quatrains like the original, and also maintains the repetition of certain lines. Ueda's lines are end-stopped, as are Baudelaire's. He further translates the semantic

meaning of each line of Baudelaire's poem in corresponding lines of his translation. To capture the full meaning of each line, however, he uses longer lines that scan as seven-five-seven-five mora in length. It would seem that we might be able to read some of these as simply two seven-five poetic lines contained in one typographical line, as the translator places a comma after the first seven-five unit in each of the first seven lines, creating pauses. The first line, for example, reads: *toki koso ima wa mizue sasu, konure ni hana no furuu koro.* A possessive *no* comes at the end of the first seven-five unit in the eighth line (which is repeated again on the eleventh). This would not be an unusual line ending among all the examples we have studied, but it would normally not force a pause there. Nor would the direct-object marker *o*, which appears in the same position in line fourteen. An audience could arguably hear seven-five mora lines in this poem, but evidence is much stronger that Ueda conceived of his lines along syntactical and semantic demands before submitting them to rigors of meter. In Baudelaire's *La Cloche fêlée* (The Broken Bell), the poem that follows, the lines scan five-seven-five-seven mora in length, reversing sequence of mora in the previous model though the line lengths are the same.[53] As with the previous example, Ueda commits to ending his lines with syntax similar to the original's, while also capturing the semantic meaning of each line.

In many ways, *Kaichô-on*'s lines share a closer affinity to those of Tôkoku's work than *Shintaishishô*, *Omokage*, or *Wakanashû* in how their primary concern seems to be syntax and semantic meaning. But what of Tôson's attempts to use shorter lines? The anthology explores these possibilities as well. In his translation of Paul Verlaine's *Chanson d'automne*, which circulated widely among Japan's literary community, Ueda adequately conveys the short dimeter lines of the original using five-mora lines, with *ji-amari* (extra syllable) occurring only in line seven. His poem is three sestets, reflecting how the syntax in the original is generally organized, with full stops (a period and semicolon, respectively) coming in lines six and twelve:

> *Aki no hi no*
> *Vioron no*
> *Tameiki no*
> *Mi ni shimite*
> *Hitaburu ni*
> *Ura kanashi.*
>
> *Kane no oto ni*
> *Mune futagi*
> *Iro kaete*
> *Namida gumu*
> *Sugishi hi no*
> *Omoide ya.*

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[53] Line seven scans with a six-mora unit at the top.

Ge ni ware wa
Uraburete
Koko kashiko
Sadame naku
Tobi chirau
Rappa kana.

 Although there is no perceivable rhyme scheme in the translation (unlike the original), Ueda has accurately reflected both the semantic meaning and structure of the original, constituting in the process a shorter line for all contemporary poets to consider a part of their structural repertoire.

Ueda demonstrates a similar technique in his translation of Browning's poem "Love: 'Such a starved bank of moss'", which is three quatrains of odd lines composed in trimeter and even lines in dimeter. Ueda renders his version into quatrains as well, with the even lines indented like the original, using five-seven mora lines to reflect the trimeter and five-mora lines for the dimeter. In Browning's eight-lined poem *Pippa Passes* (which appears in a longer play of the same name), he uses dimeter that scans as an iamb followed by an anapest. Ueda, as we have previously seen, commits to translating the semantic meaning along syntactic lines before subjecting the poem to any kind of moraic uniformity. What results is a translation that accurately reflects the meaning of the original but additionally features unusual lines in terms of the mora: five/six/seven/five-five/five-five/five-five/five-five/five-five:

Toki wa haru,
Hi wa ashita,
Ashita wa shichi ji,
Kataoka ni tsuyu michite,
Agehibari na noriide,
Katatsumuri eda ni hai,
Kami, sora ni shiroshimesu.
Subete yow a koto mo nashi.

The year's at the spring,
And day's at the morn;
Morning's at seven;
The hill side's den-pearled;
The lark's on the wing;
The snail's on the thorn;
God's in His heaven
All's right with the world.

We could scan a handful of other poems and uncover similar phenomenon of lines with varying mora combination and length. By emphasizing semantic accuracy in his translations, Ueda has both ironically and consciously expanded structural possibilities for the poetic line. Positive critical reception of his work, meanwhile, condoned further exploration. This shift in emphasis hints at a potential resolution of the opposing trajectories we see in Tôson and Tôkoku. Hagiwara Sakutarô would fully realize this in his 1917 volume *Tsuki ni Hoeru* (Howling at the Moon).

Sakutarô's groundbreaking collection, considered by most critics as one of the greatest works of modern Japanese poetry, has attracted attention primarily for its treatment of themes and its bleak depiction of the modern condition that contrasted dramatically with Kitahara Hakushû and other popular poets of the Taishô period. In the context of this chapter, I suggest that his work is no less groundbreaking for what it achieved in terms of form. As I alluded above, Sakutarô fuses concepts and techniques of the poetic line, vacillating between ones marked by set mora and others distinguished by their similarity to unmarked vernacular, often with the space of a single poem. The effect would be akin to a poem beginning in iambic pentameter, for example, and gradually slipping into the patterns of every day speech, with the line interacting with other lines to mark it as poetic language.

Take (bamboo), one of Sakutarô's most widely discussed poems from this volume, demonstrates this with deceiving simplicity on the surface of the language. I've transcribed the first two stanzas below with moraic scans of each line:

Hikaru jimen ni take ga hae,	(7-5)
Aotake ga hae,	(7)
Chika niwa take no ne ga hae,	(7-4) (4-7)
Ne ga shidai ni hosorami,	(6-4)
Ne no saki yori senmô ga hae,	(6-7)
Kasukanikeburu senmô ga hae,	(7-7)
Kasuka ni furue.	(7)
Kataki jimen ni take ga hae,	(7-5)
Chijô ni surudoku take ga hae,	(8-5)
Masshigura ni take ga hae,	(6-5)
Kôreru setsu setsu rinrin to,	(8-5)
Aozora no moto ni take ga hae,	(8-5)
Take, take, take ga hae.	(2-2-5)

Bamboo grows from the sunlit ground,
Bamboo shoots grow,

Bamboo roots grow beneath the ground,
The roots gradually taper away,
Cilia grow from the tips of the roots,
Cilia grow faintly into a blur,
They faintly tremble.

Bamboo grows from the hard ground,
Bamboo grows straight up from the earth,
Bamboo grows rampantly,
The rigid canes, clackety, clackety,
Bamboo grows beneath the sky,
Bamboo, bamboo, bamboo grows.

In the opening of each stanza, Sakutarô places the reader in the realm of the familiar with syntactically complete lines that easily scan seven-five. The first seven mora are adverbial phrases ("in the sunlit ground" and, in line three, "in the hard ground"), followed by a five-mora subject and verb phrase ("bamboo grows"). There is no more common syntactical unit in Japanese beyond a simpler SV sentence. This is both everyday language and, yet, one of the most common line-types in modern Japanese poetry. Readers recognize the meter.

Sakutarô quickly begins to subvert assumptions of common meter, however. The second line repeats the SV combination of the first line, albeit with slight metrical and semantic variation; we have "bamboo shoots grow" in seven mora–a unit that we've already established can function as a line. The repetition of the SV alerts us, too, that this is poetry while also drawing attention to its meaning and function, which, we will see, is enormous. Because of the opening seven-five line, followed by the next seven-mora line, we might be inclined to read the third, "Bamboo roots grow beneath the ground," as a seven-four line. The presence of *ji-tarazu* (missing syllable) doesn't disrupt meter, per se, or our perception of an external schema based on mora. Sakutarô, however, has complicated this scan with the previous two lines. In those, we have marked a moraic break after the adverbial phrase and/or before the SV unit. Because of that repetition, we are inclined to isolate that SV unit again. In doing so, the line scans as a four-seven line. While again this could be a five-seven line with *jitarazu*, meaning a line utilized in poetic practice since at least *Kaichô-on*, we must note that in his first three lines, Sakutarô has used three different line types, with some question as to how we should scan the third.

In the fourth, Sakutarô breaks from both the repetition he has established, as well as clearer suggestion of standard moraic patterning. It may scan as a six-four mora line, "The roots gradually (break) taper away." The preceding lines (and poetic tradition, for that matter) may condition the reader to scan this over the pattern of a seven-five line, though the syntax in some ways subverts this. Previously, we've had SV combinations, but here, Sakutarô splits the subject and verb with an adverb

("gradually")–I would suggest not innocently. It not only provides some variation and texture, but it blurs a definitive scanning, more closely aligning this syntactical piece with normal speech than a poetic line. Other aspects, too, of these four lines blur the boundaries. Each is syntactically complete; we could read each line as a sentence, and a clear stop occurs at the end. You could write them out as sentences and you might not know they are poetic lines. The suggestion of moraic patterning, though sliding toward ambiguity, and the repetition alert us otherwise when the lines are read in conjunction. Additionally, the verb endings demand our attention. Each is in *ren'yôkei* (continuative), indicating that the sense of the poem continues on and each line we read is connected to the next. Had Sakutarô used the terminal form of the verb, *haeru*, the poetic effects would have been altered considerably. Immediately, he would have lost the suggestive power of that seven-five mora line which opens the poem, and which is reinforced by the following seven mora on line two. Also, the use of *renyôkei* here is unorthodox, at least for everyday speech. On the level of grammar, there is no functional need for this conjugation. Periods–or terminal verbs–suffice and would be more natural. The use of continuative verbs, in addition to serving potential manipulation of meter, is unnecessary and artificial. It draws attention to itself as poetry, to each syntactical unit as a poetic line, and to the very notion of dumb repetitiveness, which is a theme of the poem.

With the fifth and sixth lines, we return to repetition, though we find the meter–if it even exists–altered again. Is there a pattern or isn't there? Was the seven-five opening line a mirage for meter? Given the SV repetition in the first three lines, we are at least inclined to isolate the SV endings of these two lines, *senmô ga hae* ("the cilia grow"), which are seven mora and thus resonant with the second line. The last line, which is seven mora in length, dispenses with the SV repetition, but echoes the previous line. Both lines six and seven begin with the adverb *kasukani* ("faintly"), so while we have variation in the line ending, the lines still underscore notions of repetition and interconnect, like the roots of the bamboo. Interestingly, the last line ends with a period though the verb is in continuative form. It's as if to exclaim that the repetition continues in echo, even as the grammar, poetic line and stanza end.

The second stanza somewhat restores a sense of meter, though with some of the same techniques simultaneously undercutting this. There is the opening seven-five line, three with *ji-amari* (the second, fourth and fifth), and one with *ji-tarazu* (the third). The last is a purposeful enigma I will address later. We can pattern these over a seven-five moraic schemata and the end-line repetition reinforces this. All but the fourth line end with *take ga hae* ("bamboo grows"), which is the five-mora SV unit we've already become accustomed to isolating. As with previous examples, though, most of these are complete syntactical units, leading to the converse possibility of simply reading them as free verse lines ostensibly little different from spoken vernacular. The fourth line is an anomaly in some respects that still nevertheless reinforces thematic elements of the poem. It is not end-stopped with a verb, but an onomatopoeic adverb: "the rigid canes, clackety clackety." The line does

feature repetition, in both the repeating *setsu setsu* ("nodes and nodes" or "canes and canes") and subsequent adverb, *rinrin*. Triple repetition appears in the final line: *take, take, take ga hae* ("bamboo, bamboo, bamboo grows"). Since we are conditioned to read that final line as a five-mora unit, do we read the preceding part as a pair of two-mora units? A single four-mora unit? Standard moraic patterning completely breaks down here, yet there is still a definite sense of rhythm because of the repeating word. Unlike the other lines, however, we are not inclined to read this as normal, vernacular speech. The repetition of "bamboo," repeated throughout the poem, marks it as a line of poetry, regardless of how we might scan it. And that final, continuative verb conjugation followed by a period is the final blurring of boundaries.

Until this point I have primarily analyzed how form has evolved and also altered semantic meaning in poetry by shifting focus and emphasis in a line. With Sakutarô's poem, however, the form doesn't simply alter or underscore meaning; it nearly is the meaning. The surface language is very simple, descriptive language of bamboo following normal grammar patterns of adverb + SV. Children could compose these sentences. And what could be more ordinary (in Japan, at least) than bamboo flourishing? It is bamboo flourishing with no end. It is that idea expressed by slight tweaks in conjugation and repeating phrases, and the resulting correspondences between lines, despite variation in both language patterns and potential metrical patterns. Does the repetition suggest a kind of monotony in contrast to the bamboo, flourishing with life, that is a statement on the modern condition? Or is the repetition more nefarious in tone, pathological in its insistence, like something inescapable and thus threatening? Is this the modern condition, one of suffocation despite unbridled vigor on the surface?   Does the slipping meter deepen a sense of unease? Are we caught between competing narratives? The ground is both sunlit and hard. We move from the visible to the microscopic. From above ground to below ground and back to just beneath the sky. We are pulled, in this poem, in every conceivable direction that the structure can suggest as it manipulates the language. It richness derives from this poetic refusal to commit fully to any direction and its insistence on open-ended meaning. And Sakutarô was able to achieve this through techniques of form, contradictory or otherwise, explored by the great poetic innovators before him. Those roots run deep and spread as finely as the bamboo's.

Okiku
    by Shimazaki Tôson

Who would know
        The heart of a woman
With dark hair long
        And soft

Do not accept
        as truth
The words
        A man speaks

How intriguing
        That people say
A young girl's heart
        Is simply shallow

Brush back
        With a box-tree comb
That long and tussled
        Hair from your temples

Ah, who said
        That love is like
The Dayflower
        That quickly dies

Whose poem
        Was composed
With such passion
        On loving and dying?

There are men
>   Who died for their country
Spilling blood
>   To find their way

Whether Jihei
>   For love or honor
Or Chubei, too, who
>   Died for honor

Ah, don't you know
>   About those men
From long ago
>   Who loved and died

A woman's heart
>   So much the more
Is overflowing
>   With deep feeling.

Koharu spilled blood
>   For love
Umekawa died
>   For love

Oshichi burned up
>   For love
Takao gave up life
>   For love

O the sadness!
>   Kiyohime
Became a snake
>   Because of love

O how sufferable!
>   Sayohime
Became a stone
>   Because of love

The caprices
>   Of a man's love
Are only feelings

Wasted in adventure

Don't fall in love
    Young woman
Don't be sad
    My friend

When you love
    When you are sad
Both are long
    Both are short

Don't You Know
    by Shimazaki Tôson

Don't you know
The single melody that spills from
An autumn bird singing without a thought?

Don't you know
The pearl, hidden there, down at the bottom
Of the deep, clear morning tide?

Don't you know
All the stars, glittering quietly in the sky
On a night so dark you lose your bearings?

Don't you know
The sound of a koto buried in the heart
Of a young woman who has never played?

Blue Cat
     by Hagiwara Sakutarô

It's good to love this beautiful city
It's good to love the buildings of this beautiful city
To seek all the kind women
To seek all the refined ways of life
It's good to pass through the lively streets of this metropolis
Cherry trees standing along the streets—
Aren't myriad sparrows chirping there as well?
O— what sleeps in this big city night
Is the shadow of just one single blue cat
It's the shadow of a cat narrating the sad histories of man
It's the blue shadow of fortune that we can't help but seek
Seeking whatever kind of shadow that would be,
I remembered Tokyo fondly even on days of sleet, but then
In a cold recline against the wall of those back streets,
What dream is this beggar of a man dreaming?

Turtle
     by Hagiwara Sakutarô

There's forest,
There's swamp,
There's blue sky,
Feeling a heaviness in this hand,
A golden turtle sleeps quietly,
This shining,

Pain of lonely nature to endure,
Sinks groping into this heart,
The turtle sinks into the blue sky's depth.

Chapter III. Rhyme: controversy and richness

"To write regular verses destroys an infinite number of fine possibilities, but at the same time it suggests a multitude of distant and totally unexpected thoughts." –Paul Valery

In this chapter, I examine how early Meiji translators adapted rhyme from European and American texts into Japanese, and how vernacular poets extended the technique in their own work, albeit on a more limited basis. As in chapter two, I also survey pre-modern precedents to consider how the practice of this structural device differed in the modern era because of developments introduced by those translations. In the process of my analysis, I seek to correct a common misperception in much Western criticism that this structural feature either does not exist in the tradition, or does not warrant serious treatment. Some Japanese critics and resource texts also echo this latter notion, though I do not assume these viewpoints to represent a collective verdict on the validity of Japanese rhyme. They may reflect, as much as a certain partiality in competing literary tastes, misunderstandings about what constitutes rhyme, the rehabilitation of which through a more critically developed framework of analysis could lead to a greater appreciation of the phenomenon in Japanese poetry and a repudiation of those conclusions.

Rhyme does exist in Japanese poetry, sometimes in rich variety, and numerous Japanese scholars have conducted studies of its native practice, most notably Kuki Shûzô in his landmark study *Nihonshi no ôin* (Rhyme in Japanese Poetry).[54] I am indebted to his work for the many textual examples and analyses he provides, but refine his observations and illuminate Japanese rhyme in new ways by employing a methodology informed by more recent linguistic research. Specifically, I reduce words in poetic lines considered to rhyme into phonological components that enable us to formalize rhyme and thus describe it more specifically and meaningfully. This allows for concrete comparison between different instances of rhyme. We may therefore discuss degrees of complexity, which in turn can inform aesthetic value and meaning. Beyond my own textual analysis and hopeful altering

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[54] In Kuki Shûzo, *Bungeiron* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1975), 235-569.

of attitudes toward Japanese rhyme in Western criticism, I also draw attention to the deeper implications of rhyme in Japanese poetry.

What is at stake when Japanese poets rhyme? What does it mean to a poem or poetry itself? This latter question in particular is one of such philosophical and linguistic magnitude that no individual can satisfactorily answer it. There exists an enormous body of critical literature on rhyme in the West enriched, for example, by Pope in the 18th century and, more recently, some of the 20th century's most influential critics, including Jackobson and Derrida. In Japanese literature, as we will see, rhyme dates at least to the 8th century, though its critical history, or at least the body of extant texts, is rather thin until the appearance of *Shintaishishô*. Hanson's section on rhyme in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* is a comprehensive overview of linguistic understandings of rhyme to date, assimilating the work of leading scholars in the field, and it concludes, "In the interpretation of poetry, one of the most vexed questions is that of the nature of the contributions forms make to meaning, or more generally to aesthetic effect…"[55] Still, I hope to contribute further to this "project… of interest to literary critics and linguists alike" by attempting to partially answer these questions through examples from the modern Japanese poetic tradition, including *Shintaishishô* and Mori Ôgai's *Omokage*.

What my close readings from these anthologies and other poets such as Iwano Hômei and Tominaga Tarô demonstrate on a very basic level is that rhyme draws attention to the texts as marked language. That is, "it is not simply a naturally occurring form, but rather a product of highly self-conscious, artful behavior designed to create specific expressive effects."[56] The relative sophistication of the rhyme employed may affect meaning while enhancing its aesthetic appeal and its estimation among readers and critics. Its expressive effects are specific to the text itself and can vary widely depending on other forms at play and also the poem's semantic meaning. Rhyme is sometimes mandated by the requirements of a larger poetic form, such as a sonnet. In the context of translations, its presence can validate the accuracy of a translation by indicating form present in the source language while also increasing the aesthetic appeal of the target language. Finally, the presence (or absence) of rhyme and the way in which a poet implements it can have vastly differing implications depending on the abiding attitudes toward rhyme in a specific historical period in a given literary tradition.

Shintaishishô's editors and Ôgai, for example, seemed primarily focused on introducing new forms and modes of expression to the Japanese literary tradition while later poets like Tominaga, as I explain below, hoped to achieve a "musicality" as understood in the context of French symbolist poetry. I am concerned with all of these issues, but emphasize this dissertation's overarching concern with the role of translation anthologies in introducing new concepts of form, how poets interpreted

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[55] Kristin Hanson, "Rhyme," in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd ed., ed. Keith Brown (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005), 10: 605-616.
[56] Hanson, "Rhyme," 605.

and adapted these forms to their work, and the work's connection, if any, to other later texts.

These topics beg an even more fundamental question: what is rhyme? This is a question whose relevance extends to all poetry, including the Japanese tradition. Its answer, as formulated by many of those critics surveyed in the rhyme segment of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* and explained below, helps establish a robust system for identifying, characterizing and ultimately evaluating the structural feature. Scholars of Japanese poetry since the mid 20th century who continue to inform contemporary understanding did not have the benefit of this relatively new branch of linguistic study.[57] They work from very general assumptions in literary criticism of the last few decades about what typically constitutes rhyme—namely, some degree of sound identification in the final syllables of end lines—and conducted their analyses of Japanese poetry unmediated by finer linguistic distinctions available today. This also applies to much of Japanese scholarship whose tradition further did not enjoy the vigorous theoretical debates that occupied influential scholars in the latter half of the 20th century.[58]
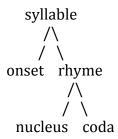
In essence, their scholarship was complicated by both limited understandings of rhyme and the vast differences between Japanese and widely-translated Western languages such as French, English and German in which rhyme occupies a prominent place among poetic devices. In my analysis that follows, I do not simply employ newer definitions of rhyme, but also take into account specific linguistic features of Japanese. A brief overview of rhyme, as defined by current linguistic scholarship, is essential to understanding how a volume of poetry like Mori Ôgai's *Omokage* became a cornerstone for the practice of rhyme in post-Meiji Japanese poetry. In its broadest sense, rhyme is similarity marked by difference between syllables at the end of a poetic line. This definition requires several qualifications in the context of Japanese. These qualifications become clearer with actual examples from Japanese poetry presented later, but one point demands immediate note: what constitutes rhyme may vary for any given poet. We must consider a poet's entire oeuvre, with particular attention to any rhyme schemes, to establish the rules that govern their conception of rhyme within the broader guideline of similarity marked by difference, as I explain in more detail below.

To adequately describe rhyme we must look at phonemic organization. A syllable, where current linguistic practice formalizes rhyme is, on many but not all

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[57] While I earlier remarked on the rich history of critical theory on rhyme in Western literature, significant developments in linguistic research in the last few decades have greatly deepened our understanding of rhyme.

[58] I am not claiming that Japanese scholars did not read, say, Jakobson and Derrida's writings on rhyme, but nothing in the scholarship on Japanese rhyme in *Shintaishishô* or *Omokage* indicates that their developments or those of later scholars informed their commentary.

accounts, composed of an onset and a rhyme. The rhyme is subdivided into the nucleus and coda. We may diagram a syllable as such:

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            syllable
              /\
             /  \
        onset   rhyme
                  /\
                 /  \
            nucleus   coda
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The onset is the initial consonant or cluster of consonants, if there are any. The rhyme contains the nucleus, which is usually a vowel, and a coda, which is a consonant or consonant cluster, if there are any. To illustrate this, consider the word "ten." The sounds represented by the letters "t", "e" and "n", respectively, are the onset, nucleus and coda. "To" has no coda; "it," no onset. In English rhyme, for example, when two syllables identify, there is linguistic similarity, usually between the coda, the nucleus or both: rhyme/thyme.[59] What constitutes rhyme differs among poets because although the identification between the smaller components is a basic requirement, how these components identify depends on the individual poet's practice. English-language poets prior to Yeats might not have considered his identification of syllables where the nucleus differs rhyme, though the rhyme scheme, and the patterns in his oeuvre, tell us otherwise.[60]

To explain how rhyme works in Japanese, I must first describe some basic characteristics of the language and how this relates to syllables, where linguists formalize rhyme. Japanese phonetics are relatively simple, with Japanese vowels limited to five and typically represented in Romanized letters with "a," "i," "u," "e," and "o." In the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), these are [a], [i], [u], [ɛ], and [ou]. In all further instances in this chapter when I transliterate Japanese phonetics, I intend these vowels to represent these pronunciations in IPA. Japanese furthermore has a limited number of consonants, relative to Latinate or Germanic languages, that act as onsets. With very few exceptions, Romanization of Japanese consonant sounds track very closely to the symbols used in IPA to represent those sounds and so I intend my use of Romanized letters to correspond to their equivalents in IPA.[61]

Returning now to the syllable, a Japanese syllable always contains a nucleus, which is a vowel (V1), and often contains an onset (C)–Japanese is a CV language.

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[59] If only the onset identifies, we generally call it alliteration in English.
[60] Keats also challenged contemporary notions of what constitutes acceptable rhyme in English.
[61] The Romanization "sh" is one example.

Whether the syllable is simply a nucleus (a, i, u, e, o), or an onset and nucleus (ka, ta, ma, for example), it is a single mora.[62] The nucleus, however, may contain a second vowel (V2), also a mora, which usually creates a long vowel: *ko* vs *kô*. The former is one mora, the latter, two, but both are one syllable. Japanese syllables can also have a coda with the nasal "n", which is an additional mora. *On* ("sound"), the letters of which represent the sounds for the nucleus and coda, is two mora, but one syllable. *Ron* ("theory"), the letters of which represent the sounds comprising the onset, nucleus and coda, is also two mora, but one syllable. In some cases, (V2) and (N) may both be present, as with the Japanese word for "loan": *rôn*.[63] This is three mora, with an onset, nucleus and nasal coda, though collectively, a single syllable.[64]

When Japanese scholars and their Western counterparts reference rhyme in Japanese poetry, they refer to similarity between final mora (or morae) in a poetic line or *ku*. Rhyme, as I have described it, demands that we describe rhyme in terms of syllable identification, even if the syllable(s) where identification occurs are comprised of an equal number of mora (sometimes they are not). The syllable is the phonological component by which linguists and poets isolate and describe rhyme, and are able to share their observations across disciplines irrespective of knowledge of the language.

There are two other key distinctions to make because of how they may alter the practice and perception of rhyme. Because Japanese is a CV language with a relatively limited number of potential onsets compared to Latinate or Germanic languages, identification between final syllables in a Japanese poetic line can (and does) occur fortuitously to a greater degree than in English, though it absolutely occurs deliberately, too, as this chapter demonstrates. Japanese is furthermore an agglutinative language, with verbs (and their conjugations) coming at the end of a sentence, except in the case of inversions.[65] Although unusual, poets can flip a direct-object clause, so that the verb precedes it in a line (or *ku*), as with Tôson's *shiruya kimi* (literally, "do you know this, you?").[66] Conjugations of verbs, regardless of the mode, frequently result in the same string of mora at the end. This is a common consequence of the language's phonetic and grammatical construction.[67]

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[62] As I noted in chapter two, mora are the basis for rhythm in Japanese, and figure into its writing, phonology and metrics.

[63] For more on Japanese mora and phonestics, see:

[64] There are some cases in Japanese where a single-syllable word is four mora in length, with the nasal coda, because of a (V3) which is diphthong: byôin.

[65] Poetic inversions have been a feature of Japanese poetry for centuries; they were, in fact, a key characteristic of many of the poems in *Shinkokinshû*. Later poets, as I show, create rhymes by use of inversion.

[66] "Don't you know this, you" more accurately reflects the sense; my literal translation was simply to show the inversion.

[67] See "homeoteleuton" in W.K. Wimsatt, "One Relation of Rhyme to Reason," in *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University Press of

Sometimes, however, conjugations of different verbs produce varying combinations of mora that result in a sequence of similar syllables marked by difference. In such cases, as I show in particular with Tominaga Tarô at the end, poets can and often do deploy verbs at the end of poetic lines to affect rhyme. Of course, Japanese poets are not restricted by grammatical or aesthetic rule from using other parts of speech at the end of poetic lines, as we saw in chapter two. The possibilities for creating rhyme consequently increase exponentially.

  In all the rhyming poetry I have scanned for this dissertation, including examples from some of the most notable early modern poets, the minimum for constituting rhyme is identification between the nuclei in the final syllable of a line.[68] Poets, however, often extend the identities backward from that point. Sometimes onsets in the final syllables will identify. When poets extend the identity back over two (or more) syllables, there is always identification between the nuclei. There is often variation in the onsets of the syllables–almost always with the onset of the first syllable whose nucleus identifies.

  The very first poem in Ôgai's *Omokage*, a translation of the song 'Good Night' in Canto 1, XIII of Lord Byron's "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," demonstrates many of these points. In my analysis, I establish that Ôgai's minimum for constituting rhyme is identification between the nucleus in the final syllables. He also follows typical rhyme schemes adopted from Western poetry. Below he employs an ABAB rhyme scheme. A transcription of the first stanza (with the rhyme scheme indicated in parenthesis), followed by the original text for reference, yields:

> *Kesa tachiideshi furusato wa*
> *Aoumihara ni kakurekeri*
> *Yorukaze fukite kokishireba*
> *Odorokitetatsu murachidori*
> *Nami ni kakururu yuuhi kage*
> *Oitsutsu hashiru fune no ashi*
> *Nokoru hikage mo wakareyuke*
> *Waka furusato mo ineyokashi*

Kentucky, 1954). Wimsatt argued that, indeed, such identities of sound occur and may create meaning, but that rhymes identifying between different parts of diction may rise to higher degrees of meaning.

[68] This includes poetry I have scanned but not included here. Identification between a nasal coda and nucleus is quite possible, though I have simply not encountered it in poetry. Linguists have documents it in Hip Hop. See Natsuko Tsujimura and Stuart Davis, "Dragon Ash and the Reinterpretation of Hip Hop: On the notion of rhyme in Japanese Hip Hop," in *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language,* ed. H. Samy Alim, Awad Ibrahim, and Alastair Pennycook (London: Routledge, 2009), 179-193.

Adieu, adieu! my native shore
Fades o'er the waters blue;
The night-winds sigh, the breakers roar,
And shrieks the wild sea-mew.
Yon sun that sets upon the sea
We follow in his flight;
Farewell awhile to him and thee,
My Native Land—Good Night!

In the Japanese, the first and third lines identify with the final nucleus. There is variation with the onsets ("w" and "b"). In the second and fourth lines both the onsets and nuclei of the final syllable identify, which is not uncommon in Japanese rhyming poetry and still satisfy the minimum requirements for rhyme. The rhyme not only satisfies the scheme, but further occurs between a verb conjugation (*keri*) and a noun *(dori)*. This heightens the sense of rhyme by design, as opposed to identical verb conjugations matching. As we see in later examples, and as noted above, repetition of the same syllable may constitute rhyme for some poets (in other words, identification between both the coda and the nuclei). An equivalent example in English would be a rhyme between "preview" and "purview" where the last syllable is exactly the same. With the fifth and seventh lines, we see a pattern more typical of Ôgai; the onsets of the final syllables differ ("*ge*" and "*ke*") while the nuclei ("e") identify. This rhyme may even convey richer design than lines one and three because of the similar articulatory quality of the onsets.

The most notable example of rhyme in this stanza, however, occurs with the sixth and eighth lines. Ôgai produces a complicated and aesthetically striking rhyme across multiple syllables. Complexity is relevant here because it draws attention to form, underscoring associations between lines and words, further enhancing their meanings, which I will address later. It reveals the possibility of greater conscious design applying itself to the form. The poem's degree of aesthetic achievement would also affect its critical reception and determine the extent to which later poets might consider it a model for rhyme practice.

The syllables in question where the rhyme identifies cover the phrase "foot (prow) of the boat"[69], which helps to describe the act of following the sun and also enables a rhyme, and "Good Night" or "Farewell." In these two lines, the first and last syllables of both phrases (sounds represented by the letters "*ne*" and "*shi*," respectively) are shared, while variation occurs with the second and third syllables. In the second, the onsets are different (sounds represented by the letters "n" and "y") while the nuclei are the same ("o"). Here, Ôgai is pairing the possessive article *no* (the 'of' in that phrase) with a syllable in the phase for "goodbye." The third mora introduces a new phenomenon; the sixth line is one of the five Japanese mora that

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[69] Very literally, the line is, "Chasing-running, boat's prow."

have no onset ("a") while the eighth line has an onset ("k") and that same nucleus; the first syllable of *ashi* ('foot/prow') hence identifies with the first syllable of *kashi*, which is the last part of the goodbye phrase.

Such similarity marked by difference across multiple syllables is not rare, per se; as I remarked earlier, the agglutinative properties of Japanese verbs can result in such a combination with very little manipulation (if any) by the poet. For example, take the two simple verb phrases, "I went" and "I listened." They produce *Ikimashita* and *Kikimashita*. The only difference in this five mora/syllable phrase is the onset of the first syllable. Poets, because of semantic demands they might be prioritizing, could be forced into creating rhyme sometimes, and we often see this in conjugated verbs at the end of poetic lines.

Ôgai, however, in this line and the other examples, does not merely pair verbs. Like Byron, he mixes verbs, nouns and a sentence particle to create identification and mark his rhyme as something beyond mere chance, with the rhyme scheme further helping to underscore this. The combinations are: a particle and conditional verb form (first and third), a verb and noun (second and fourth), a noun and verb (fifth and seventh), and a noun and suffix (sixth and eighth). The rhyme also exists independent of syntactical breaks between words and particles, further indicating conscious manipulation. In the first line, for example, the final mora, which is the subject-marking particle "*wa*," is independent of its preceding noun (*furusato*, "home"), but the "*ba*" with which it identifies in the third line is a part of the verb conjugation. An analogous example in English would be a poet who rhymes the two syllables of one word with the last syllable of one word and a single syllable word at the end of the line: "lonely" and "loan me." Of further interest for its reinforcing of structural similarity, the "*wa*" and "*ba*" share articulatory qualities with their onsets (both are labial), while the phonetic characters (は and ば) used in the text are differentiated only by diacritic marks and share visual similarity. This articulatory quality reinforces as sense of similarity together with the visual.

Now we might ask how the complexity of this rhyme affects our reception of the semantic meaning of the poem, as we have already established how it functions in drawing attention to form and the text as a poem with different communicative designs. The rhyme emphasizes the words where it identifies, which are a description of the boat's direction and "goodbye." The complexity of the rhyme is so great that the reader cannot help but to focus on the sense of these words, which are central to the theme of the passage: of the subject leaving home and a journey and saying goodbye to all that he associates with it (which the poet develops in previous stanzas). The rhyme very effectively enhances the poignancy of departure.

In total, there are three poems in the collection of nineteen that demonstrate varied types of rhyme with occasional sophisticated execution over multiple syllables. Ôgai clearly states in the opening of the book that this is by design. There is no formal introduction, only four sentences preceded by a single kanji in parentheses to indicate four standards of translation by which the translators work.

For *i* (意) he writes, "poems that follow the meaning of the original"; for *ku* (句), "poems that follow the meaning and syllabic meter (*jiku*) of the original"; for *in* (韻), "poems that follow the meaning and rhyme of the original"; and for *cho* (調), "poems that follow the meaning, syllables and tonal (Chinese) meter of the original." The "rhyme" poems beyond Byron's are an excerpt from Joseph Victor von Scheffel's poem "Der Trompeter von Säckingen" and an excerpt from Shakespeare's "Hamlet" (Act. 4, scene 5). Even if it weren't for this introduction, the reader could accurately deduce that rhyme is present by identifying the rhyme scheme and Ôgai's minimum for satisfying rhyme.

Judged in this purely aesthetic context, his translations are notable achievements. But how groundbreaking was Ôgai's accomplishment at the time of its publication? How much did *Omokage* impact subsequent translations of Western poetry and Japanese poetry as a whole? What, more simply, is *Omokage*'s literary legacy? Before analyzing later poets and translators to provide a fuller answer to this question, I would like to review the literary activity at the time *Omokage* appeared and also consider the various precedents that may have informed his conception of rhyme and his undertaking of this volume.

In his extensive study of *Omokage*, which includes lengthy rhyme analysis, Kobori Keiichirô opens with a survey of the "position" (*ichi*) of the work in its time.[70] *Omokage* was, he concludes, highly representative of its era and author, reflecting both Meiji Japan's heightened awareness of Western literature and Ôgai's keen interest in contemporary literary discourses. Ôgai seems to have wanted to 'position' himself at the forefront of literary endeavor, and was perhaps motivated by a nationalistic sense of the value of elevating Japanese literature to Western standards of excellence. Tsubouchi Shôyô's *Shôsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel) had appeared between 1885 and 86, while Ôgai was studying hygiene in Germany, and some three years prior to *Omokage*'s publication in August 1889. In January of 1989, Ôgai published his first piece of literary work in the Yomiuri newspaper, an essay called *Shôsetsuron* (theory of the novel) in which he critiques *Shôsetsu shinzui*. In 1890, Ôgai published his own work of fiction, the celebrated novella *Maihime* (Dancing Girl). Futabatei Shimei's landmark novel *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds), which became a cornerstone of the Genbun'itchi movement, was serialized between 1887 and 1889. Ôgai returned from Germany in 1888 and read the work, writing later "I was also shocked by *Ukigumo*. That was probably the start in Japan of a novelist putting something out with a psychological dimension. You can only be surprised by something like that having been written. I was shocked

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[70] Kobori Keiichirô, *Omokage no shigaku* in *Meiji Taishô yakushishû* (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1971), 1-146. We scan the same poem, *Ineyokashi*, but where I build further from his work is in my consideration of multiple syllables in the rhyme. Komori only refers to the final mora, thereby ignoring much of the richest and most complicated rhyme.

because it was written at the time."[71] Ôgai even wrote an opera during this early period of his literary career.

What concerns us most here, however, is Ôgai's experimentation with poetry. Just as Ôgai responded to previous work in the other literary genres with well-executed examples of his own, *Omokage* seems in part a response to what he viewed as the failings of *Shintaishishô*. As Komori points out, Ôgai wrote in a letter to his friend, "The new-style poems by Yatabe, Toyama and that group aren't poetry."[72] Is there some anxiety of influence buried in these comments, or, as some critics have suggested, some professional rivalry? Evidence suggests both, but Ôgai might not have been totally unimpressed with the results of the Tokyo professors' pioneering work; their two volumes at least share the structural characteristic of rhyme.

This comes as no surprise, perhaps. The editors of both volumes were translating Western poems where rhyme is a prominent feature of the poems' structure. Ôgai makes the discipline by which he translates clear in rather simple, explicit terms in his introduction when he writes, "poems that follow the meaning and rhyme of the original." The editors of *Shintaishishô* more forcefully extol the virtues of modernizing the diction of poetry (as a kind of predecessor to *genbun'itchi*) and expanding the range of subject matter, as I noted in chapter one, but in several passages they also write about rhyme, both Chinese rhyme and, as is apparent from the text, rhyme they encountered in Western poetry.

In the preface to his translation of "A Psalm of Life," by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Inoue writes, "I have tried to rhyme" (*yo wa tameshi ni in o fumu*). A scan of his translation reveals that he indeed follows a rhyme scheme, AABCC, while Longfellow's poem is ABAB.[73] As I noted in chapter two, Meiji translators discovered that they needed more lines if committing to a traditional seven-five mora line, or, in later examples, more mora combinations per line, which here explains the difference in rhyme scheme and stanza length. The poem exhibits a number of different styles of rhyme, though overall it does not exhibit some of the sophisticated rhymes found in Ôgai's. The first stanza is as follows:

> *Nemuru kokoro wa shineru nari*
> *Miyuru katachi wa ohoro nari*
> *Asu o mo shiranu waga inochi*
> *Aware haka naki yume sokashi*
> *Nadodo awareni iuwa ashi*

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[71] Kobori, *Omokage,* 7. *Ukigumo niwa watashi mo odokasareta. Shosetsu no fude ga shinriteki hômen ni ugokidashita nowa, nihon de are ga hajime de arô. Ano jidai ni anna mono wo kaita no niwa odokazaru koto o enai. Ano jidai dakara odoroku.*
[72] Kobori, *Omokage,* 11. *Yatabe, Toyama nado no shintaishi wa shi ni arazu.*
[73] Through his translation, the first two lines rhyme and the last two lines rhyme. The third line will sometimes rhyme with the first two, sometimes with the last two (as in this example above) and will sometimes not rhyme at all.

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream!
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem.

The final two syllables of the first two lines are actually the same verb, though this still satisfies our minimum for rhyme identity, as well as the rhyme scheme. The fourth and fifth line, similarly, meet the minimum with the nucleus identifying. However, if we look more closely, we see that the onsets also identify, as well as the nucleus in the preceding syllables. In the third line, the final nucleus identifies with those in lines four and five; the onset is similar from an articulatory standpoint (*chi* vs *shi*), but different.

We see similar rhymes in the second stanza, where the first two lines are repeated words:

Waga inochi koso makoto nare
Waga inochi koso tashika nare
Haka wa owari no basho narazu
Hito wa chiri nite mata chiro to
Iuwa karada no ue no koto

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

Nare, which functions as "is" here repeats, though satisfying the minimum for rhyme and the scheme. The third line rhymes with no other line in the poem. The fourth and fifth lines, meanwhile, identify in the nuclei with the final syllables, satisfying our minimum, as well as the onsets. If we look more closely, however, we see that the identification extends backwards to the second syllables, where the nuclei identify (sounds represented by the letter "o"), though the onsets differ. Additionally, the two syllables at the end of line four are the last syllable of the verb *chiru* ("to fall/scatter") and the conditional particle *to* ("if/when"), while the last line is the noun *koto* (literally, "thing" or "case of"). The translator is introducing more sophistication into his rhymes this way, matching different word forms across two syllables. The prevailing trend, however, is for Inoue to repeat words and/or syllables (both the onset and nuclei).

At this juncture, we might ask the purpose of rhyme in this poem and this translation. Does Inoue's translation suffer if he eschews rhyme and focuses more closely on semantic accuracy? If we look at the original we see that it indeed rhymes, but is Inoue simply translating form? In the original, the speaker asserts the

transitory nature of life and exhorts readers to take action ("Let us, then, be up and doing"), to achieve and pursue something, to lead a fulfilling life. There is a strong suggestion in the poem, however, that this may be artistic endeavor. The speaker leads the fourth stanza with the line, "Art is long, and Time is fleeting," suggesting that people can achieve a kind of immortality through art. This suggestion ties in with stanza seven:

> Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time;

The only specific clue that the reader has given is that this may be "art." What better way to achieve that than through poetry? This message, at least, is packaged in that art form. When Inoue translates this poem using rhyme, not only a conspicuous feature of the original, but an aesthetic device applied to language that poeticizes it, he is underscoring the very theme of the poem. Rhyme, the primary structural feature of this poem along with a seven-five moraic meter, is essential to the poem in this context.

Shintaishishô's editors may have simply been trying to satisfy the most minimum requirements for form (rhyme scheme with rhymes identified between nuclei of final syllables), as if it were an exercise to demonstrate new ideas of form. With this poem, however, and the interpretation I provide, there were clear links between the form and meaning. I believe that Ôgai extends this concept further by using slightly more sophisticated rhymes to draw even more attention to the form as well as the words and associations underscored by rhyme. He emphasizes the target language, as if to create text with notable aesthetic merits–poetry, we might say–rather than example models or experiments.[74] While we may not be able to draw any conclusive observations from these comparisons alone, there nevertheless exists the suggestion of a shift that is part of a pattern that concerns this dissertation: permutations of form in poetic texts linked by that form to initial manifestations of it in translations.

Returning to *Shintaishishô*'s early examples of rhyme, Yatabe employs similar rhyme techniques as those illustrated above in his translation of Thomas Campbell's "Ye Mariners of England," whose rhyme scheme depends on even lines.[75] Yatabe employs rhymes based on couplets, though he doesn't always maintain the rhyme:

[74] That Ôgai's translation is far less literal than the examples from *Shintaishishô* in chapter two further suggests this.
[75] In this four stanza poem, with ten lines to each stanza, lines two and four always rhyme. Lines eight and ten always end with the same word, "blow", which always rhymes with a different word in the sixth line.

Igirisu kuni no kaigan o
Kataku mamoreru suihe yo
Issen nen no sono aida
Nanji ga tatsuru ôhata wa
Sensô nomi ka arashi o mo
Sasae etareba kono atom o
Teki o uku tomo tayumi naku
Yûki no kagiri hirugaese
Gun hageshiku araba are
Arashi mo tsuyoku fukaba fuke

Ye Mariners of England
That guard our native seas!
Whose flag has braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze!
Your glorious standard launch again
To match another foe;
And sweep through the deep,
While the stormy winds do blow!
While the battle rages loud and long
And the stormy winds do blow.

In the first and second lines, for example, we have "*o*" and "*yo*," and in the third and fourth, "*ma*" and "*wa*." In these examples, where my transliterations represent the sounds, the nuclei identify while the onsets differ. A scan of the entire poem reveals that roughly half the lines rhyme, with the most typical examples demonstrating identity between the nuclei in the final syllables; variation with the onsets is typical. In his second stanza, Yatabe creates an unusual rhyme with the sound represented by "ba". In the first line, it stands alone as a noun, "*~gara no ba*," while in the second it is a part of the kanji-compound for graveyard, "*hakaba*."

In the final two lines of the pome, Yatabe ends with the kanji for "*toki*" though with some variation in the preceding mora:

Hageshiki gun sumishi toki
Tsuyoki arashi no yamishi toki

When the fiery fight is heard no more,
And the storm has ceased to blow.

With *sumishi toki* and *yamishi toki,* there is similarity between the final four syllables. The *shi* is a necessary conjugation of the adjective, to modify *toki* ("the time when"), but identification with *mi* was a consequence of conscious adjective

selection; not all adjectives will share that same phonetic component. Some might assert that these lines are less rhyme, per se, than an accurate translation of the parallelism of the original lines. Still, the *toki* ("when") coming at the end of the lines, as Japanese grammar necessitates, together with the modifying adjectives, creates rhyme that both satisfies a rhyme scheme organized around couplets, as well as the minimum for rhyme. As with examples we have seen previously, though, the identification extends backwards over three more syllables. This rich resonance and complexity first asserts a sense of finality; we have come to the end of the poem. It also, as with previous examples, more deeply underscores the significance and meaning of the lines, which express the battle being over (and victory, we presumed, having been achieved). Again, form is connected to meaning in important ways.

　　In his translation of Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Courtyard," Yatabe makes no effort to rhyme, despite the strict ABAB rhyme scheme of the original. Furthermore, he acknowledges in his preface to the poem, "there are an endless number of verse styles, including those that rhyme and those that don't…" Likewise, Toyama does not use rhyme in his translation of Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade." Why eschew rhyme in translations of poems that most obviously do rhyme? Were the poets' skills not up to the demands of the discipline? More than likely they had other priorities when translating these poems. Even a cursory read of the various poem prefaces reveals that they hoped to extend to native Japanese poetry a fuller range of expression primarily through choice of subject matter, rather than structural devices or aesthetics, as I explained in my first chapter. I would further assert that they were neither concerned with conveying this particular element of form present in the source language nor sufficiently interested in deploying it in the target language for increased aesthetic effect because rhyme often constrains natural linguistic expression, an additional concern of the translators. One large, albeit unanswerable, question is how critical reception and the aesthetic appeal to contemporary readers might have changed had they chosen to focus on rhyme at the sacrifice of greater semantic ease in composing the poem. Given the rising awareness of European and American poetic traditions and their respective forms, it is likely a shift in interest (and bias) toward those forms was already underway.

　　Ôgai also translated only a selection of his poems using rhyme, just as contemporary translators of rhyming poetry sometimes do. He may have been exempted from certain expectations of form by clearly laying out his priorities. As we see in the final poem of the volume, an original poem called *shunkashûto* ("Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter"), at least one of the translators was capable of sustained double-syllable rhyme, rather than identification only extending into the onset or final syllable.

　　In his brief introduction, Yatabe writes, "This poem is one in which I take the two characters (mora) at the end of each line, and rhyme them with two characters (of the next). It is like '*yorokobashi*' and '*atatakashi*' for example." Here, the two mora are also two syllables. The rhyme he quotes is the first couplet of his four-

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stanza poem with six lines per stanza. Romanization of the first stanza (followed by a rough translation) yields:

Haru wa monogoto yorokobashi
Fuku kaze totemo atatakashi
Niwa no sakura ya momo no hana
Yo ni utsukushiku miyuru kana
Nobe no hibari wa ito takaku
Kumoi haruka ni maite naku

Elements of Spring bring happiness
The wind that blows is warm
Blossoms of cherry and peach in the gardens
Are quite beautiful to behold
Skylarks in the field suddenly soar
Far off into the clouds, singing

In the first two lines, the final syllables identify, as well as the nucleus in the preceding syllable. Yatabe maintains this pattern throughout the poem. In the first two lines of the final stanza, he rhymes *fukaku* (deep) with *atatakaku* (warm); here, the onsets of the second to last syllables also identify.

Yatabe adds further complexity and aesthetic appeal by pairing different parts of speech to effect his rhyme in several of the lines, rather than pairing verbs and adjectives whose conjugations make rhyming a simpler task. In the third and fourth line of the first stanza, *hana* ("flower") rhymes with the emphatic particle *kana*. The rhyme of the fifth and sixth lines, *takaku* ("high") and *naku* ("cry/sing"), pairs an adverb and verb. In lines three and four of the second stanza, he creates a unique rhyme:

yûgure kakete, tobu mushi wa
atsumari kitaru noki no kiwa.

Deeping into night, the flying insects
Come to cluster around the edges of the eaves.

The third line combines the final syllables of the noun *mushi* ("insects") with the topic-marker particle *wa* to rhyme with the noun *kiwa* ("edge"). But if you look closely, there is additional structural similarity in the fourth line with *noki no kiwa* ("edge of the eaves"). The two syllables for *noki* ("eaves") are subsequently repeated in the possessive particle *no* ("of") and the first syllable in the noun for *kiwa* ("edge"). "Edge of the eaves" in Japanese is a rhyme in itself. This certainly rises to the technical difficulty of some of Ôgai's rhymes and would challenge many poets. But what is its point? Yatabe clearly wants to demonstrate rhyme to us, as his

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introductory rhymes indicate, but this is more than an exercise. The rhyme scheme creates a sense of harmony that is paralleled by the subject matter of the poem, which speaks of the harmony of nature throughout the seasons. Form and semantic meaning here work together.

What do critics make of this? Much like debates over the appropriateness and meaning of rhyme in a given poem in a literary period in the West, there have been competing critical perspectives on rhyme in Japanese poetry. In his chapter, "Whether Japanese is an inappropriate language for rhyme," Kuki provides an overview of those debates leading up to the composition of his essay around 1931. He has a section on "Possibilities for rhyme in Japanese poetry: positive reasons" and "Possibilities for rhyme in Japanese poetry: negative reasons." Using a comparative analysis, his conclusions are ultimately positive and he asserts that the accommodation for rhyme is a commonality among languages and that rhyme does not originate in any teleological sense from Western languages. In his concise but insightful essay *Kuki Shûzô "nihonshi no ôin" obegaki* (A Memo on Kuki Shûzô's "Rhyme in Japanese Poetry"), Kimino Takahisa addresses how and why critical perceptions of rhyme shifted away from Kuki's position and toward a general repudiation of its effectiveness and value.[76] He helpfully critiques some of Kuki's observations in a way that explains how rhyme's detractors may have viewed his arguments as flawed and Japanese as a language not only unaccommodating to rhyme, but also with little need for it in poetry. He focuses in particular on Kuki using examples from poetry that one might construe as 'accidental', as opposed to being a part of an imposed design. Kuki, anticipating later arguments that were a part of New Criticism in the West, and Kimino, likely conscious of them, treat such instances as bearing associative power and meaning nonetheless. While Kimino's suggestion is that this exposed his arguments to repudiation, Kimino's overall thrust is that priorities in Japanese poetry shifted, much like it has in the West, and with it, practices in form that eschewed rhyme. It is outside the scope of this dissertation for me to trace such currents of thought in detail, but I would assert one key point of this chapter: that finer linguistic understanding of rhyme may reveal unperceived sophistication and meaning, thus altering critical perspectives. Also, estimations of rhyme's value built on specious arguments increasingly dominated those debates, rather than critical inquiries into the actual linguistic nature and theoretical function of rhyme.

Recent treatment has been slightly more balanced, as Kimino's essay demonstrates, though biases against rhyme still generally persist. Much critical commentary on early translation anthologies, like Komori's, is more matter of fact in its assessment, if it does not make value judgments; it notes authorial aims (these translators intended to rhyme) and dutifully illustrates how they achieved those, drawing attention to similarity between mora. Western criticism appears to take its

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[76] Kimino Takahisa, *Kotoba de orareta toshi: kindai no shi to shijintachi* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2008), 185-222.

cues from the negative value assessments of rhyme. Donald Keene, for example, in his early essay, "Modern Japanese Poetry," offers a withering critique of Yatabe's poem, stating:

> The translators were scholars of English who happened to have become interested in poetry, and their versions, like the translations of professors elsewhere, had little poetic grace. The original poems are modeled on Western examples, sometimes with ludicrous results, as in Yatabe Ryôkichi's attempt at rhymed verse…[77]

Keene, like many of the collection's detractors at the time of its publication, seems to have missed the structural complexities and their relevance to meaning for the supposedly insipid content.[78] Again, these complexities can and usually do generate non-semantic meaning that weighs in any analysis of form and overall assessment of a poem; I have provided those examples above with both Ôgai, Inoue and Yatabe. Keene's remarks, shared by other Western scholars of modern Japanese poetry working in the decades after the war, like Mark Morris, have left a lasting impact that I believe has prevented fuller appreciation of rhyme in English-language criticism on the subject. Furthermore, their assumptions seem hasty in light of other modern examples as well as precedents in pre-modern literature, both of which I address in the sections of this chapter to follow.

The title of Ôgai's volume, *Omokage*, is actually taken from a poem in *Manyôshû*, and he may certainly have known of potential rhyming examples in the volume. Indeed, the *waka*, as it is printed in his work in two typographical lines, shows that the final mora may be all that identify: "*rikuoku no ma no nokaya hara to(h)okedomo/ omokage ni shite miyu to(f)u mono o.*" Certainly, there is a predominance of assonance with the vowel "o," while the last two syllables at the end of the first line, *(d)omo*", is repeated at the beginning of the second. This poem alone, however, makes it impossible for us to draw any firm conclusions about structural devices in *Manyôshû* and how Ôgai may have deployed them in *Omokage*.

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[77] Donald Keene, *Modern Japanese Poetry: An essay* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1964).

[78] Keene, for readers unfamiliar with the field of Japanese literary studies, is widely considered one of the pioneering and most accomplished scholars of Japanese literature in the English language, if not outside all of Japan. His contribution to our field is, in the words of one of my professors, "unassailable." I would agree and it is not my intention to denigrate or diminish his contributions. Additionally, his early scholarship transpired during a time when critics were often expected to make value judgments. As I believe my textual analyses show, and as I have furthermore explicitly stated, such observations by Keene and his colleagues could have been different with analytical tools available to scholars today.

We do know that Ôgai intimately understood the centuries-old practice of *kanshi*, or Chinese-style poetry, having composed many of his own, and that the identity of final syllables between lines was not dissimilar from the examples of rhyme above where syllables identify. Ôgai even translated a Western poem in *Omokage* into *kanshi* form.[79] The compilers of *Shintaishisho*, while practicing rhyme, critique the failure of *kanshi*'s modern practice—the structural identifications may exist, they say, but the poems are not very comprehensible. The aesthetic merits of these modern versions aside, Japanese poets throughout the centuries practiced styles of Chinese poetry, thus using poetic techniques where structural elements identify.

Brower and Miner's dated, but still valuable work, *Japanese Court Poetry*, frequently establishes the extent to which classical Japanese court poetry modeled itself after Chinese examples.[80] The authors demonstrate on numerous occasions that poets of such classic anthologies as *Manyôshû* and *Kokinshû* were well versed in late Six Dynasties and early Tang Dynasty poetry, where they most certainly encountered rhyme. In *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry*, which contains many of the classic Chinese poems these Japanese poets used as models, Burton Watson writes:

> End rhyme is employed from the earliest times, usually appearing at the end of the even-numbered lines. Occasionally rhymes on the odd-numbered lines are also used, as well as rhymed couplets. In short poems a single rhyme is customarily used throughout; in longer poems the rhyme may change as often as the poet wishes. In addition to end rhyme, much use is made of alliteration, internal rhyme, and onomatopoetic words descriptive not only of sounds but of actions and moods as well.[81]

Helpfully, in the headers to his translations, Watson names the form of the poem, while his glossary gives details about rhyme, parallelism and other structural features of that form. We see that the Chinese poets that Japanese poets imitated, as detailed by Burton and Watson, practiced rhyme.

Japanese court poets also produced several hundred volumes of Chinese poetry, noteworthy in this study for their use of rhyme. *Kaifûso* was written as early as 751, though *Ryôunshû*, whose compilation emperor Saga commissioned in 814, shows a more advanced and systematic approach to Tang poetic standards. Just four years later, Saga commissioned another, *Bunka shûreishû*, while the final imperial

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[79] Most *kanshi* were composed of four or eight lines with five and seven syllables. They additionally followed strict rhyming rules.

[80] Robert Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1988).

[81] Burton Watson, *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 9.

anthology of Chinese poetry, *Keikokushû*, was compiled in 827. Two thorough scholarly works in English cover this period of Chinese poetic production, citing numerous examples of Japanese poets practicing rhyme: *Brocade by Night*, by Helen Craig McCullough, and *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, by Robert Borgen. The latter writes:

> ...in Michizane's time the Japanese felt obliged to follow contemporary Chinese rules of prosody requiring both rhyme and, for certain forms, meter based on the arrangement of tones. These features were totally alien to Japan's native language and literature.[82]

While I disagree with his assertion that rhyme was totally alien to Japanese literature, his observation about the extensive practice of rhyme is underscored by the existence of numerous texts concerning poetics.

Sugawara no Koreyoshi's *Tôgû setsuin*, a dictionary with rhyme arranged phonetically, is one of the most significant of these poetic texts. As Robert Borgen details, Koreyoshi's work in twenty chapters draws from thirteen other Chinese rhyming dictionaries and "became a basic reference work for Heian students of Chinese poetry."
One of Koreyoshi's contemporaries, Kûkai, also addresses rhyme in Chinese poetry in his *Bunkyô hifuron*, a widely read resource among educated Japanese.[83] The ability to rhyme was an essential skill of the Heian student's education, but was further essential to one's professional life at the time. Sugawara no Michizane, among others, built a successful career in politics through his knowledge of Chinese language and literature, and a number of records from the period demonstrate that rhyme was in fact a part of international diplomacy, at least until Michizane recommended ending embassies to China in 894. McCullough cites several such meetings where embassies exchanged poems based on rhyme words.[84] Such poetry exchanges involving rhyme words that court poets randomly draw (from a set of rhyme words) were also a common exercise at court, especially under emperor Saga.

As McCullough documents in detail, Chinese court poetry eventually waned, though this was hardly a dead-end for many of the techniques that poets acquired; the poetic ideals learned from Chinese models and practiced during this period, in fact, helped inform the subsequent practice and flourishing of native *waka*. Brower and Miner make a similar observation:

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[82] Robert Borgen. *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 19.
[83] Richard Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody in Early Mediaeval China: A Study and Translation of Kûkai's 'Bunkyo Hifuron'" (Ph.D diss., Cornell University, 1978).
[84] Helen McCullough, *Brocade by Night: Kokin Wakashu and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 162-4.

Educated Japanese men (and some women) read Chinese poetry, usually of a century or more before their time. Then they imitated these poems in Chinese compositions of their own. And finally, some Chinese poetic techniques and materials were transferred into Japanese poetry, almost always with such alteration that no Chinese would recognize them. This process has two significant aspects… In the first place, they knew Chinese well enough not to require translations. Second… the Japanese selected from the Chinese with such care and adapted what they chose with such thoroughness that it became their own.[85]

Large sections of both their extensive studies reveal the extent to which Japanese poets adapted Chinese themes, tones and techniques, but what of rhyme, which was so pervasive not only as an aesthetic in and of itself, but as a part of professional life? Did it simply disappear from practice? If so, then why? And did it appear in vernacular poetry, which persisted despite the ascendancy of Chinese court poetry? These scholars give scant attention to this enormous question.

There is in fact a dearth of such research, I suspect because of negative perceptions of rhyme in Japanese within English-language scholarship. Furthermore, the one sustained piece of research on this period that addresses rhyme, Judith Rabinovitch's "Wasp Waists and Monkey Tails: A Study and Translation of Hamanari's *Uta no Shiki*, Also Known as Kakyô Hyôshiki", claims that rhyme doesn't effectively exist in vernacular Japanese poetry.[86] Rabinovitch's article is thoroughly researched, but she argues a point that is contrary to what her evidence actually proves. It seems her argument is due to a lack of a more contemporary and advanced linguistic understanding of what rhyme entails. One major flaw of her work is that while its subject is the "oldest piece of extant poetic criticism in the Japanese canon", and one partially dealing with the vernacular practice of rhyme no less, she does not clearly outline a working definition of rhyme for her analysis.[87] Instead, the reader only later pieces together her assumptions about rhyme through commentary that reveals misconceptions about rhyme.

This becomes apparent in her section subtitled, "The Feasibility of Rhyme in Japanese." This follows a section in which the author analyzes lines of poetry that Hamanari considered to rhyme effectively. She states, "Does this sort of rhyme register as such in our consciousness? In most instances, no."[88] Rhyme doesn't need

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[85] Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, 25.

[86] Judith Rabinovitch, "Wasp Waists and Monkey Tails: A Study and Translation of Hamanari's Uta no Shiki (The Code of Poetry, 772), Also Known as Kakyō Hyōshiki (A Formulary for Verse Based on The Canons of Poetry)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51, no. 2 (1991): 471-560.

[87] Ibid., 471.

[88] Ibid., 498.

to register in a reader's consciousness, per se, to exist. As previously shown, it is a structural device that we can transcribe and analyze for similarity.

Rabinovitch continues with several more passages that seek to explain rhyme based on skewed observations. She writes:

> Further, it has been suggested that the relatively low ratio–approximately 1/1–of consonants to vowels in Japanese further inhibits rhyming... This ratio seems particularly low when compared to English and German, where the consonant-to-vowel ratio is about three to two. In these two languages, the richness and variety of consonant sounds have tended to enhance the effects of rhyming, a well-established feature. The consonants can be said to function as a sort of sounding box for rhyme; that is, the terminal consonance in such English examples as "wells/shells" and "strength/length" serves to heighten the pleasing effect of the preceding vowel congruence. This consonant phenomenon occurs only infrequently in Japanese... Thus it has been suggested that Japanese rhyme (to the extent that it has been attempted) has difficulty achieving a desirable amplitude or resonance.[89]

This is an example of applying linguistic assumptions of one language to another. Indeed, there is less variation of structure in Japanese when looking at single syllables, but her argument in this passage does not take into account using multiple syllables for rhyme (as it will later) or that the lack of richness may not necessarily preclude the existence or resonance of rhyme. "Desirable" seems more a matter of taste. If it were instead a standard for the existence of rhyme, it would be helpful to know what exactly the litmus test is.

The second assumption she introduces is:

> Another element necessary to English rhyme is rhythm, which is determined by the varying pattern of long and short, stressed and unstressed, syllables called feet into which lines are normally divided. End-rhyme in English poetry typically occurs on accented syllables, at regular, equal intervals... Hamanari's rhyming verses, by contrast, have neither a regular rhythm between rhymes nor stress-accent on the rhyming syllables. The first rhyme falls on the seventeenth syllable, the second on the thirty-first. The poem is thus divided into two seemingly mismatched segments, and in the absence of any special emphasis falling on these two syllables, the rhyming does not register as such. Obviously, in

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[89] Ibid., 498-9.

a language such as Japanese, which has little such stress-accent, rhyme is extremely difficult to implement.[90]

As I discussed in chapter two, in a poem divided into mora units of 5-7-5-7-7, the seventeenth and thirty-first mora can function similarly to end lines (though they are 'end *ku*' so to speak) and are appropriate positions for rhyme.

More importantly, it is not clear why Rabinovitch believes regular accented meter must be a precursor for rhyme. There are in fact ample examples of rhyme occurring in English-language poetry that occur independently of such meter, and certainly the iambic and/or trochaic meter she seems to conflate with rhythm. The existence of stressed meter in Chinese rhyme and in 'much' of English poetry does not necessarily mean Japanese must behave similarly. Japanese poets do, however, often employ rhyme in the presence of moraic meter, or set units of mora. In another related misconception, she suggests that end-rhyme must fall at the end of syntactical units, which is certainly not the case in all Western poetry, nor in the modern Japanese examples I have already provided. She finds fault with Hamanari's practice to the contrary, writing, "It is notable that rhyme was to be implemented at the end of line three in tanka regardless of the position of syntactical breaks in the verse or other semantic considerations."[91] In rhyming English-language poems with enjambment, this is hardly uncommon. In contemporary rhyming poetry, in fact, it tends to be the standard, rather than the exception.

Rabinovitch even reveals uncertainty about her conclusions while in the same context also providing convincing examples of rhyme. She writes:

> I believe that Hamanari did indeed find something that he considered to be rhyme in old Japanese verse, but it is impossible to know exactly what that entity was, particularly since we lack a sufficiently clear and detailed knowledge of the actual pronunciation of old Japanese. Nonetheless, I would venture to speculate that he might have possessed a somewhat broader concept of rhyme than ours, one that was not limited to the kind of quasi-end rhyme that is seen in the above poems. Although Hamanari did prescribe the use of a sort of end-rhyme for the tanka of his day, the rhyme he believed to be a feature of primitive verse could have included what in the Western tradition we call 'approximate rhyme' (English 'groaned/ground')–imperfect rhyming.[92]

Indeed, her suggestion is the case. Realizing this starts with addressing the problematic notion of "approximate rhyme", which she also characterizes as "quasi-

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[90] Ibid., 499.
[91] Ibid., 498.
[92] Ibid., 503.

rhyme", "multiple rhyme", "imperfect rhyming" and "half-rhyme", and which the Western tradition has, at one period, called "slant-rhyme." There is nothing necessarily imperfect about rhyme where the nucleus differs and the coda agree (like "eat" and "it"), as opposed to a form of rhyme where the onset differs and the nucleus and coda agree.[93] Many poets (and critics) have considered such rhyme 'perfectly' sufficient for the moment, or at least aesthetically adequate enough to satisfy a rhyme structure, including Yeats and even Shakespeare. Uncritically applying to ancient Japanese poetry the assumptions of a passing age of English-language poetry where rhyme may have demanded identification between a nucleus and coda prevents any deep linguistic inquiry into structure.

There are numerous other instances of such misunderstandings in her arguments, and all collectively show how she arrived at conclusions very different from what the text is actually showing. Referencing Kuki in her passage on "multiple-rhyme" (rhyme over two syllables), she writes, "Experiments with the use of rhyme in Japanese have shown that multiple rhyme, in which there is vowel identity in the next to the last as well as the last vowels in the corresponding rhyming words, seems to work somewhat better than does the single-syllable type."[94] She also questions whether Hamanari was aware of this possibility since he doesn't discuss "multiple-rhyme." She then provides an excellent example. It seems quite possible that Hamanari never discusses "multiple-rhyme" or rhyme across multiple syllables because it satisfied his broader requirement for rhyme. The example given is: "*Katsugayama / mine kogu fune no / yakusidera / afadi no sima no / karatsuki no fera.*" As she rightfully notes, *dera* and *fera* identify with difference in the onset of the first syllable. Also, these fall on the third and fifth *ku* in keeping with one rhyme practice recommended by Hamanari.

Rabinovitch gives several more examples, prefacing her analysis with the following passage:

> These uses of rhyme are sporadic (rather than systematic) in nature, often occurring in only one part of the verse, particularly in the *chôka*. Significantly, the rhyming gives the appearance of being largely unintentional, although each reader must decide this for himself. We may imagine that most Japanese poets never thought about rhyme as a possible poetic technique."[95]

Refining one's understanding of rhyme, however, may reveal that it occurs more often than she concludes and was perhaps not unintentional.[96] I would agree that its

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[93] See Kristin Hanson, "Formal variation in the rhymes of Robert Pinsky's The Inferno of Dante," *Language and Literature* 12, no. 4 (2003): 309-337.

[94] Rabinovitch, "Wasp Waists," 499.

[95] Ibid., 500.

[96] Again, as extensive *kanshi* literature proves, Japanese poets were very well aware of rhyme and could accomplish it in short forms. The relative brevity of a waka does

use is in fact sporadic and that it was certainly not an essential requirement for poetry of that age any more than in English-language poetry since at least blank verse came into use in the 16th century. This hardly means, however, that poets did not care or know about rhyme. It was one of numerous techniques available to them and they could use it as they felt necessary or appropriate.

In fact, at least one poem that Hamanari praised broke some of his own rules–as Rabinovitch points out–and reveals several instances of rhyme. For this example, she writes, "the end-rhyme, occurring in each line, is so weak as to be virtually non-existent, and one wonders why a better example could not have been offered."[97] The poem in question is: *Okitu tori / kamo tuku sima ni / wa ga winesi / Imo fa watsurezi / yo no kotogoto ni.* The rhyme positions of lines three and five simply show identification between a single syllable, with onsets differing (*si* and *ni*). When considering that all lines rhyme in a similar fashion, albeit with the mora *ni* being repeated in lines two and five, we might wonder what determines "weak." Furthermore, the *nesi* and *rezi* of lines three and four show interesting identification. Over two syllables, the initial onsets differ, while the onsets of the second syllables differ only slightly from an articulatory perspective: both are alveolar sibilants.[98]

In a telling footnote to this section, Rabinovitch writes, "This is not to imply that the experimental use of rhyme never occurred in the Japanese tradition. A few examples can indeed be found in such works as *Ryojin hisho* (ca. 1179), as well as in *zokuyo* "folk songs" and the *haikai* of such masters as Basho, who experimented with rhyme…In more recent decades, Iwano Hômei, Mori Ôgai, and others are known to have dabbled in rhyming verse."[99] Given the examples she provides here and elsewhere in her study (sometimes drawing on Kuki's work, sometimes other sources), it should seem clear that some Japanese poets did take rhyme seriously, even if they didn't practice it regularly. Also, I question the use of the word "experimental." When a poetic technique appears in centuries and centuries of poetry, at what point does it stop being experimental? I would defend that its use in vernacular verse by Hamari's time was accepted as not uncommon. Also, while the ascendency of Chinese poetry certainly influenced the appreciation and wider use of

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not preclude it from being able to rhyme; dimeter couplets can rhyme, after all. A more telling method of determining rhyme is through a rhyme scheme. If rhyme schemes can be established for a given poet across four lines, they can be detected across five *ku*, and need only involve two lines, such as an ABCB scheme in a quatrain. Hamanari's rules seem to point to possible rhyme schemes that would involve two (or more) *ku*.

[97] Ibid., 500.

[98] I recognize that there is not a consensus on pronunciation in the 8th and early 9th century. However, the nuclei identify, which is they minimum for rhyme identity, as we've seen in previous examples; here the nuclei across two syllables identify.

[99] Ibid., 500.

rhyme, it is quite possible (though outside the scope of this dissertation's inquiry) that it exists in primitive vernacular song. Finally, as I have shown above, Mori was not "dabbling" by any means; his volume was a serious aesthetic endeavor. Rabinovitch's bias against rhyme in Japanese shows through even in such casual word choice.

The point of my sustained critique of Rabinovitch's work is not to completely discount it; as a whole it is a valuable piece of scholarship that covers a range of topics relating to this important text. In fact, she raises some valid questions as well, such as the value of this ancient piece of criticism to poets if Hamanari himself was not canonized. But when considering some of her other points in this context, such as her observation that most *Kokinshû* poems follow Hamanari's rules for rhyme and that his work was widely circulated, even if in increasingly abridged versions, it seems clear that this text was not without significant relevance in its time. Basically, I hope to refine Rabinovitch's observations and focus attention on the possibility that rhyme both exists and had meaningful function in ancient Japanese vernacular poetry, the extent of which we have yet to fully uncover.

Since poets of the imperial anthologies and other influential collections were sporadically using rhyme (and probably familiar with Hamanari's work), it seems reasonable to conclude that poets and scholars reading these texts in later literary periods would have noticed this feature just as Renaissance English poets would recognize poetic devices on the level of form in say Geoffrey Chaucer. Some, as Kuki points out, even continued the practice. Mori Ôgai quotes a line from *Manyôshû* to open his anthology and it further seems reasonable to conclude that he would have recognized instances of rhyme in the classical poetry he was reading if he was himself deploying rhyme in his translations. I bring attention to this because it is easy–and correct–to conclude that late 19th and early 20th century Japanese poets that were deploying rhyme were looking to the West for guidance until examples like Ôgai's *Omokage* provided rich native models. It is equally easy to arrive at the conclusion that because of the sudden and intense interest in Western poetry, Japanese poets were trying to graft onto their language new techniques and forms discovered there, whether aesthetically successful or not. In the case of rhyme, however, it was not the grafting of a completely alien technique to the language. Poets like Ôgai could certainly have pointed to earlier vernacular poetry across the centuries as justification for the techniques in their poetry if questioned or critiqued. Rhyme wasn't new, but renewed and transformed.

How then, with the appearances of translation anthologies, did it change? The simple answer is that rhyme initially appeared at the end of metrical lines (7-5 *ku*) like those examined in the previous chapter, together with rhyme schemes. But as discussed in that chapter, lines are not so simple a component of form and the appearance of rhymes at the end of lines informs their function in a way that alters both semantic and abstract meaning. Rhyme schemes force adjustments in syntax and in the semantic range, though they can enhance meaning in abstract ways, as I have illustrated with those examples from Ôgai, Inoue and Yatabe; they can

underscore meanings and strengthen associations between words. Form rises more conspicuously to the fore, forcing the reader to consider its meaning and relevance to the totality of the poem, as well as its possible implications for the given literary moment. In the context here, Shintaishishô introduced the practice of extended end-line rhyme, Ôgai refined the technique and vernacular poets further explored its possibilities.

Some Japanese poets employed rhyme in remarkable ways, as I show with at least one later example. Many others did not practice it at all. As was the case in pre-modern vernacular poetry, rhyme was a device in the aesthetic repertoire of many poets, though not systematically used. Other translation anthologies, notably a handful containing poems with rhyme in the original, continued to generate widespread literary discussion and subsequent changes in poetic composition from structure to theme in the decades following Ôgai's anthology. The anthologies, however, reveal a gradual departure from using rhyme in their translations. In his "Metrics Bound and Unbound: Japanese experiments in translating poetry from European languages," Sugawara Katsuya compellingly argues that this trend in influential translation anthologies in the late 19th and early 20th century is due to a shift in emphasis to the target language and its semantic meanings.[100] This does not mean translators determined that Japanese could not properly accommodate rhyme. As with any translation endeavor in poetry, translators inevitably face some degree of compromise when trying to convey both meaning and rigid structural devices in a target language. Sugawara focuses on Ôgai's *Omokage* (1889) Ueda Bin's *Kaichô-on* (1905), Nagai Kafu's *Sango-shu* (1913), and Horiguchi Daigaku's *Gekkano ichigun* (1925), claiming these to be the most influential poetic translation anthologies of the Meiji and Taisho eras. He further provides convincing textual evidence and quotes to suggest that the latter two ignored prominent elements of form in the source language because they were pursuing private modes of expression with less concern for the reading public. In chapter two my close readings of some of *Kaichô-on*'s translations reveal a potential bias toward conveying semantic meaning, consistent with Sugawara's claims.

Iwano Hômei, however, a noted translator of French poetry and a colleague of Ueda Bin's, made use of rhyme and is an example of a trajectory of the nascent modern practice, rather than a cessation of it.[101] In his 1905 volume of poetry, *Hirenhika* ("heart-broken dirge"), he intersperses rhyming poetry with non-rhyming. In the former, he adopts what on the surface appears to be a less rigid approach to rhyme scheme than his predecessors by using quatrains where only the second and fourth lines rhyme throughout, yielding a rhyme scheme of ABCB. This approach

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[100] Sugawara Katsuya, "Metrics Bound and Unbound: Japanese experiments in translating poetry from European languages," *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 54 (2008): 58-73.

[101] Hômei was a key contributor to a magazine entitled *Myôjô*, on which Ueda Bin, as well as Mori Ôgai, advised.

perhaps better balances the compromises between semantic meaning and form, similar to Ueda's approach with a suppler concept of poetic lines. On closer examination, however, we discover that the rhyme and overall form is more complicated. In *Kôichi no reigo* ("Spirit language of the elevations"), a poem of ten quatrains, we see generally see rhyme identification in the final two syllables of lines two and four, with one exception explained below where it is a single syllable comprised of two mora. The first three quatrains (with my transliteration indicating typographical spaces in the original):

> *Aa,   zôka   no   ikkaku   naru*
> *Nihyaku reisan   kôchi   yo,*
> *Shiki   ate   mochishi   ka,   kono*
> *Hijô   hiri   no   midari yo.*
>
> *Hito   wa   bunmei   tataete,*
> *Amaki   sake   ni   horoyou*
> *Saredo,   nare wa   chi   ni   same*
> *Yami   no   gotoku   sekiryô.*
>
> *Uchi   tsutumu   chinetsu   no*
> *Fukaki hikari   kasumetsu*
> *Hitori   kan'I   reido   no*
> *Sora   ni   takaku   sobietsu.*
>
> Ahh   in   this corner   of   the universe,
> There   you are   Hill 203,
> With   consciousness,   weren't you   waiting,   this
> Extraordinary   illogical   reckless world
>
> People   extol   civilization
> Get   woozy   on   sweet   sake
> However,   you   with   blood   awakened,
> Are   like   darkness   lonely.
>
> Having   appropriated   the deep light
> Of   earth's heat   contained   within,
> You alone   in   the bitter cold   of
> A freezing   sky   rise up   high

In the first stanza, the rhyme words are *kôchi yo* ("Hill") and *midari yo* ("reckless world"). Here, there is identification between the last syllables, as well as the nuclei in the preceding syllables, with difference in those onsets. There is similar rhyme in

the third stanza. The second stanza shows identification between in nucleus of the final syllables alone, though they are extended vowels taking place over two mora: *horoyou* and *sekirô* ("be slightly drunk/loneliness"). In all other examples in the poem, the identification occurs between two syllables (all of which are two mora).

There is an interesting example in the ninth stanza, where the end of lines two and four are the same verb suffix: *maiike/nobiike* ("go dancing off/go stretching off"). Here, the two syllables still identify, with a complete match in the last syllable, and the nucleus of the preceding one. The two verb stems attached to them, however, are *mai* and *nobi*, the former of which contains a diphthong. Attached to the suffixes, there is still identification between the last two syllables (*iike*), though it occurs over three mora. There is difference, meanwhile, in the onsets. Identification between the last two syllables with differing onsets in the first is not the case with all stanzas, as we saw above with the second stanza (where it is a single syllable, though across two mora); we must therefore say that the minimum for rhyme is identification between the nuclei of final syllables. Excluding this stanza, the minimum is identification between the final two nuclei of two syllables, and the onset of the final syllable (all of which is always two mora).

To address some variations, the final stanza's rhyme is: *akebono/honobono* ("dawn/warmth"). There is no variation between the onsets or the nuclei of the final two syllables, though the nouns are different. There is nevertheless greater resonance in these rhymes because of the preceding syllables of *hono* in "warmth" rhyme with the end-rhymes. The seventh stanza more appropriately qualifies as repetition, though it doesn't break the rhyme scheme or our minimum requirements for rhyme. The second and fourth lines are the same verb in the same conjugation: *makitari* ("sown", as in seeds).[102]

Hômei has maintained his rhyme scheme throughout, though this poem reveals another structural feature working together with it. Most lines contain ten mora, with the occasional line featuring eleven. There is no regularity as to where those eleven-mora lines appear. If not included for variation, then they reveal where he may have prioritized syntax without significantly disrupting the overall pattern established. Hômei's practice thus differs dramatically from his predecessors treated earlier in this dissertation who adhered to seven-five moraic lines when rhyming. Whereas they subjected their syntax to that more ridged parsing, he allows himself more flexibility, like Ueda, and thus potentially greater range of semantic meaning. There is furthermore no way to convincingly parse the syntax of his lines into any regular units of mora, like six-four, for example. He is allowing himself fuller semantic expression and yet there is an interesting counter-movement creating tension with that.

In a novel use of typography, he has placed spaces between most words and particles so that each stands visually independent of each other in the line, as

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[102] Incidentally, the first and third lines also demonstrate repetition: "Between bone and bone" and "Between flesh and flesh."

demonstrated by my transliteration (and translation) above. Where is a reader to pause? Do we read the syntax normally, and place stops after *atte* (stanza one, line three) for example? Do we read *hiri no midariyo* (stanza one, line four) quickly, passing right over the possessive *no*? Or are we to understand that these spaces mean pauses? Hômei complicates any conclusive answers by eschewing a traditional seven-five meter and separating units of syntax. The lines thus give the illusion of breaking up and floating apart. The rhyme and the moraic pattern, however, give a sense of the lines–and the stanzas–being brought back together and unified through these features. This tension pervades the poem, though the conspicuous rhyme asserts an authority of form over chaos, of resolution over uncertainty. This is clearly not a translation exercise where Hômei is demonstrating the phenomenon of rhyme or testing its properties. The poem incorporates complicated rhyme in a systematic way that is central to its abstract, suggestive meaning.

   The poem recounts the intensely bloody battle during the Russo-Japanese War for Hill 203, which overlooked Port Arthur (now Lüshun), the naval base for Russia's East Asian Fleet. General Nogi Maresuke sent waves of soldiers to their death (including his son) before the Japanese army finally took the hill and, eventually, the port. He famously penned a four-lined *kanshi* about the decisive battle, which was very quickly gloried in Japan:

> Hill 203 is steep, but not too much to climb
> Men, seeking glory, would overcome it
> Iron and blood-covered, the mountain's shape is altered
> We all look up in awe at Your Soul Mountain

> 爾靈山嶮豈難攀
> 男子功名期克艱
> 鐵血覆山山形改
> 萬人齊仰爾靈山[103]

Hômei's poem expands on this historical event and Nogi's well-circulated *kanshi*. The speaker of Hômei's poem revisits the scene of the battle shortly after its conclusion when bodies are still left there to scavenging dogs. He envisions this slaughter as a point of regeneration for Japan, where metaphorical seeds, sown among the bodies, will grow into a modern nation. The sacrifice here, he asserts, has not been in vain and its memory, in his poem, is further restored to a place of greatness and inspiration. In many ways it is similar to the sentiments and political

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[103] Unlike previous examples where I provide the transliteration of the Japanese, this poem is a *kanshi* in a style of adapted Chinese that requires Japanese gloss. I therefore provide the original.

objectives in "Ye Mariners of England," with which he almost certainly would have been familiar. Likewise, the rhyme acts to underscore the notion that this moment in history is being aestheticized for a purpose: to inspire us. As the rhymes and form resolve toward a greater harmony, so do the acts of bravery of the slaughtered men. The rhyme is as much a spirit language as the what the ghostly speaker, riding the wind, is uttering about the scene.

In this next section, I bridge from Iwano Hômei to Tominaga Tarô via text, while also showing how Tominaga, writing in the 1920s, extended this practice of using rhyme in ways critical to a poem's operation and meaning, to the point, in fact, that it became the central feature of a poem remarkable for its structural complexity. This followed after several intense years of studying and translating French Parnassian and Symbolist poetry, informed in large part by Dazai Shimon's landmark 1917 publication *Furansu bungaku shi* (French Literary History). In it he rightfully describes Parnassian poetry as objective, descriptive, static and positivist, with an almost scientific attention to detail. Symbolist poetry, by contrast, was more "musical," with emphasis placed on structure, associations, and abstract meanings so as to express and recreate the impressions and intuitions of the poet at the time of its composition, rather than semantic message. Rhyme was a key tool in achieving this aesthetic.

Tominaga's concept of Symbolism was further informed by Iwano Hômei, from whom he might also have taken cues for rhyme, if not from the French poets he was studying. Tominaga writes in a June 1923 letter, "I have recently become more and more intrigued by Iwano Hômei after reading the introduction to 'The Symbolist Movement in Literature.'"[104] He is referring to the work of the same name by Arthur Symons, whom Hômei translated to wide circulation in the 1920s. Throughout this work, Symons draws attention to the musicality of this tradition, calling Verlaine's verse, "pure music" like "the voice of a bird with a human soul."[105] Many Japanese poets of this era thus began associating the concept of musicality with structural devices, like rhyme and meter, which could underscore associations and patterns.

Tominaga's "Poem of Shame" is an illustrative example that I quote below in full because of the extensiveness of the rhyme and line associations (together with a full translation):

> *onto   onto*
> *medama no   tonbo*
> *waga mi o   sarae*

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[104] Ôoka Shôhei, *Tominaga Tarô: shokan o tôshite mita shôgai to sakuhin* (Tokyo: Chuo Kôronsha, 1974), 157-162.

[105] Arthur Symons, *Symbolist Movement in Literature* (New York: AMS Press, 1980), 89.

waga mi o   kurae

onto   onto
moetatsu   konro
waga mi o   kogase
waga mi o   tokase

onto   onto
hiwareta   nondo
waga mi o   karase
waga mi o   sarase

onto   onto
  omae wa
      doro da

Dragonfly   of the eye
Carry me   away
Devour me   entirely

Honte!   honte!
Flaring   stove
Burn me   up
Melt me   down

Honte!   honte!
Cracking   throat
Dry me   out
Bleach me   white

Honte!   honte!
    You
      are mud

The rhyme scheme of the poem is AABB, though remarkably we could argue that this repeats across all three quatrains; in other words, the first two lines of all quatrains rhyme with each other, as do the second two, respectively. In the case of the first two lines, there is identification with the final two syllables, with variation occurring with the onset of the second syllable. The first line of each, which is actually a repeated line, has no onset for the opening syllable, but the onsets of the

first of the two rhyming syllables of all second lines also vary, with identification between the nuclei: *tonbo, konro, nondo*. The third and fourth lines all identify with each other at the very least with final syllable, all marked by the nucleus "e", with rhymes in the second and third stanza further sharing the onset "s". This is a result of the verbs all being in imperative. But if we look at the previous syllables, we see that Tominaga has selected verbs that share the "a" sound in that position; rhyme in other words, goes deeper than the fortuitous effects of conjugation.

Looking more closely at each quatrain individually, we see that Tominaga's rhymes identify across the final three syllables in some cases. In the third stanza, all three syllables identify with variation only occurring with the onset of the first. In the second stanza, there is variation in the onsets of the first and second syllable, though the second (g/k) share articulatory qualities, making them quite similar. In all of the quatrains, the rhymes of the third and fourth lines are with verbs three mora in length. The nouns of the second lines, which rhyme with the repeating "honte" ("shame" in French), are all also three mora in length. The first half of the third and fourth lines, separated from the rhyme segment by a typographical space, is the same four-mora direct object phrase. The second line of the first stanza is a four-mora noun with a possessive, while in stanzas two and four, we find four-mora verbs modifying the subsequent nouns. In other words, lines two through four in all three quatrains are seven mora in length, subdivided into four-three mora units. Even the final two lines are four and three mora respectively, though we might read this as a single poetic line broken across two typographical lines. Using a very rigid moraic line, Tominaga has still managed to achieve complicated rhyme, and remarkably, syntax remains intact with snippets of semantic meaning captured in those lines being relatively comprehensible.

This is a great leap from the rhymes of *Shintaishishô*. Tominaga's technique here is in the service of an aesthetic intending to show musicality, to form associations among the structure, to create sensation and abstract meaning, to render words and phrases a suggestion of higher correspondences. Tominaga's aesthetic achievement, at least at the level of form, is on par with Verlaine's *Chanson d'automne*, but in this aesthetic, form is also meaning–the central meaning. It therefore seems inexplicable that critics, Japanese or otherwise, would conclude that rhyme can achieve nothing of value or meaning in the language. Tominaga has proven, if Hômei and dozens of other rhyming Japanese poets have not, that rhyme is a powerful poetic device that the language can accommodate. Failure to take it seriously deprives the poetic tradition of its full aesthetic potential.

In this dissertation, I have focused on early modern poets that rhyme, all of whom were writing before World War II. Shortly following the war, when literary production accelerated exponentially, a new group of poets emerged that systematically used rhyme, as well as new detractors of the practice.[106] I hope

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[106] The group was called *Machine Poetiku* (Matinée Poétique), and they collectively published a volume by the same name.

further studies will investigate their work as well as other instances in Japanese poetry, whether ancient or contemporary. Furthermore, linguists have been documenting and analyzing rhyme in Japanese Hip Hop in a number of valuable studies, revealing rhyme identification, rhyme practice and rhyme schemes of significant sophistication. I further hope that some of the seriousness with which these scholars approach Hip Hop might also spread to studies of more traditional Japanese poetry. Hopefully, my work as acted in part as a bridge.

Spirit Language of the Hill
by Iwano Hômei

Ahh   in   this corner   of   the universe,
    There   you are   Hill 203,
With   consciousness,   weren't you   waiting,   this
    Extraordinary   illogical   reckless world.

People   extol   civilization
    Get   woozy   on   sweet   sake
However,   you   with   blood   awakened,
    Are   lonely   like   darkness.

Having   appropriated   the deep light
    Of   earth's heat   contained   within,
You alone   in   the bitter cold   of
    A freezing   sky   rise up   high.

On   your ridge   dead bodies   pile up
    The   valley   strewn with   people's guts
In   the snow   dyed   red
    Defeated   enemies   and   their grudges.

Wild dogs   come   here
    Their nature   changed   into   wolves,
Though they   eat   the frozen flesh
    Who   would   these people   hate?

Over   these   many cursed   sins
    Ah!   the putrid   blowing wind,
On which   I   indeed   have ridden
    Traveling the   paddy ridge of death.

In   between   bone   and   bone
    The seeds   of   celebration   are sown

In   between   flesh   and   flesh
  Sprouting   seeds   are sown.

For   hundreds   of years   to come
  Dancing onward   those seeds,
With no end   a new
  Life   to spread   its wings.

Ah,   once again   not cursed
  O wind   blow off   to the north.
I   am   a spirit   of   the dawn,
  Stretch off   westward   indeed

Goodbye   hill— I   ride
  A horse   bright   in the dawn,
Look   now   at   the figure
  Receding   far away,   with warmth

Recumbent, Palms Pressed Together
　by Tominaga Tarô

I'll rest this body, ravished by disease
Rest it in the damp, decaying leaves

All around me bamboo flourishes
With joints grown far apart
At night the canes kick up a clatter
In the black and hurried wind of winter

Canes with joints grown far apart
Provide a darkened canopy above my head
The woven mesh of leaves is whitened
By frost around the hour of midnight
Their keenly sharpened edges reach out
Point as fingers to my weakened heart.

Chapter IV. Dadaism: shape, shapeless, reshaped

The trajectory of poetic lines, typographical breaks, diversified stanzas, and methods of repetition like rhyme–techniques whose impetus originates largely in *Shintaishishô* and later translations of Western poetry–leads in its most extreme expression to Japanese Dadaism. The decades-long pursuit of new poetic forms, which I trace through Shimazki Tôson and Hagiwara Sakutarô, transitions with Dadaist poetry to a near total fracturing of form. Even syntax no longer follows convention.

In this chapter I treat syntax as form in the sense that it follows rules of structure to impart articulated meaning. Poets since at least *Shinkokinshû* have sometimes eschewed prevailing rules of syntax, using techniques such as inversion to achieve a marking of the language as poetic, but with Dadaism radical rearranging of syntax is a distinct feature. If unmarked language and syntax, as opposed to marked poetic language, is the most basic form in communication, then its alteration is central to Dadaism's agenda.

Dadaism began in Japan as a novel aesthetic practice that very quickly became the preferred poetic mode of political revolt. One might argue that any conscious attempt to modify established form is a political act. With the exception of my discussion of *Shintaishishô* in chapter one, in these previous two chapters I have analyzed changes in form at the textual level and primarily in an aesthetic context. Chapter two focused on lines and how changing conceptions and expressions of them altered their function as well as semantic meanings expressed within them. Chapter three was concerned with rhyme and how that transitioned from a translated form to a technique capable of rich manipulation and aesthetic meaning. With Dadaism, politics is a major concern intimately tied to its form (or lack of it); I therefore treat Dadaism in this larger context. This is not unprecedented, of course. As I pointed out in chapter one, the editors of *Shintaishishô* advanced political needs that were intimately connected with form. I by no means assert that Japanese Dadaism must be political or that one cannot approach it from a purely aesthetic perspective, as some of the sections that follow prove. I do believe, however, that my analysis of poetic form in a larger context in this chapter best shows the potential of form to achieve greater meaning than what exists at the textual level.

Broadening the discussion from these concerns, Dadaism in Japan emerges from a very different historical background than Europe's. Much Japanese Dadaist poetry may therefore initially seem divorced from the politically charged meanings

European Dadaism possesses when the latter poems are read against Europe's larger history. A closer study of some of the primary practitioners of Japanese Dadaist poetry, however, reveals that while their poems may not operate under the same assumptions as European Dadaism, they do exhibit political meanings and ambitions.

"Political" here describes an engagement of the poetry with two similar but discrete hierarchies of power. Some poems I discuss are political in that they refuse to participate in the government's substantiation of *kokutai*, a nationalistic vision of a homogenous and essentially unique Japanese polity, or any other nationalistic discourse for that matter. Other poems, notably those in the magazine *Aka to kuro*, also challenge assumptions advanced by the *bundan* (Japanese literary establishment). The *bundan* did not have direct affiliations with the government and was not a state institution, per se; glossing on Gramsci, we would include it in civil society as opposed to political society. But the elite *bundan* possessed entrenched power and asserted influence over Japanese letters, from who gets published to dominant aesthetic trends.

While Dadaist poems may possess political motivations or at least political readings, I'd like to return to my earlier statement that such poems do not necessarily have to be political. Dadaism could provide poets with exciting, new aesthetic directions, especially when it comes to modifying established notions of form. Dadaism, however, always had political roots; politics and history, in effect, spawned it, and as such, define it in crucial ways. Historicizing these poems, whether in Europe or Japan, allows rich, multivalent readings.

Furthermore, as I show with examples from Nakahara Chûya, poems did not have to be explicitly Dada to exploit some of its techniques and, in their use of those techniques, have serious political implications. From at least the mid-1930s, poets showed a marked shift toward composing poetry in the service of Japan's nation-building project and associated colonial aspirations. Poems were to be read or performed for public consumption and, as such, required a modicum of comprehensibility conducive to disseminating messages of nationalism and patriotism.[107] Composing poetry whose form and syntax complicates comprehension against this backdrop is potentially complicit in subversion. Even if we were to assert a purely aesthetic Dada, poets practicing art for art's sake at a time when the country is extinguishing civil liberties at home–and committing far worse abroad–is an act of disengagement from social discourses that expected participation. Chûya's poetry thus reads as a non-articulated critique of political discourse. As a means of challenging the conventions of syntax, his poetry may even be an outright revolt.

This keen possibility places his poetry, despite its apparent innocuousness, within the tradition of Dadaism, which began in Europe as a form of revolt with

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[107] See Tsuboi Hideto, *Koe no shukusai: nihon kindaishi to sensô* (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shupan, 1997).

nihilistic overtones.[108] The movement gained such exposure in parts of Europe that Japanese reporters took note. Two articles eventually appeared on June 27th and August 15th, 1920 in the Tokyo newspaper *Yorozu Chôhô*, marking the formal introduction of Dadaism to Japan.[109] The work of some artists in Japan anticipates techniques that found full expression in Dadaism, such as manipulation of typographical spaces as saw in the previous chapter with Hômei, but the teenage Takahashi Shinkichi read the latter article and began writing self-proclaimed Dadaist poems. He later published some of these poems under the name Dadaisuto Shinkichi, and the title, *Dadaisuto Shinkichi no Shi* (The Poems of Dadaist Shinkichi, 1923).

Shinkichi's poems seem comparable to Tristan Tzara's poems on a linguistic level; both eschew standard forms of syntax and logical meaning through unusual word combinations. In "Proclamation without Pretension," Tzara writes, "It is not for sawed off/ imps who worship their navel." In poem number "13" of his collection, Takahashi writes in a similar style of language:

> *Yuki*
> *Makuro*
> *Daikon   kurai*
> *Yogoreta te   00 o umu gobô*
> *Sashimi no tsuma ni ya naranu   shi   shi*
> > *Shika   nemuru hito*
> > > *Katsudô no hane*
> > *Heimoku no kugi   onna no futomomo*
> > *Semegiau seiyoku   ana no aita tebukuro*
> > > *katsukata otoshita*

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[108] See Matthew Gale, *Dada & Surrealism* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997). The movement protested militarism and rejected assumptions of morality, the role of society and its institutions, and culture itself. Scholars trace its origins to a meeting of intellectuals, artists and other luminaries in Switzerland in 1916. Participants included Tristan Tzara, Hugo Ball and Jean Arp. The energies and beliefs driving Dadaism found expression through literature, performance and other types of visual art. Its proponents attempted to shock audiences with the hope that they would question their accepted values. Audiences might thus discover an authentic reality stripped of all assumptions. Artists commonly rendered their mode of expression incomprehensible to achieve these aims.

[109] For the historical background on Dadaism in Japan, I am particularly indebted to: Omuka Toshiharu, "Tada=Dada (Devotedly Dada) for the Stage: The Japanese Dada Movement 1920-1925," in *Crisis and the Arts: The History of Dada,* ed. Stephen C. Foster (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1998), 223-287.

Snow
Black
Large radish   dark
Dirty hand   burdock that gives birth to 00
Does not become the garnish of raw fish   death   poem
   Deer   sleeping person
     Wings of activity
   A leaning tree's rusty nails   her fat thigh
   Competing lust   glove with a hole
    Dropped one

Words do not perform their mundane function of providing logical meaning through standard syntax, clear reference or logical word combination. What does "burdock that gives birth to 00" mean? Burdock is an herb and, in normal unmarked language, we wouldn't describe it as giving birth to anything physical. We could make a metaphorical statement like, "Burdock gave birth to an interest in herbal medicine," for example, but here there is no such frame of reference. It is as if burdock is physically giving birth to something, which is nonsense. The abstraction achieved with the digits "00" further obfuscates any logical meaning. Something can give birth to a physical being or, as in my metaphorical example, something abstract but understood. "00" is neither; it erases all frame of reference and is, appropriately, two zeros. We can understand "dirty hand" but its association with the burdock phrase is unclear. Was this a gardening hand that is now dirty? Are we naïve to try to read something so logical into that? Takahashi's poem would suggest so. Words are not what they mean; their associative power, once stripped of their clear, logical meanings, is their function in this poem.

     Closer analysis reveals other linguistic features that add to the poem's aesthetic design, but not particularly to any explicit political reading. While the poem's language resists logical meaning through its disjunctive combination of words, it also avoids any sentence completion. Most of the images or phrases in the poem consist of a noun modified by a verb or adjective. The last line, *katatsukata otoshita*, or "dropped one (of a pair)" comes closest to established syntax or form in the context of my argument. Since Japanese allows the omission of the subject, the verb and its object can complete a sentence. The particle *o* however, which would mark the object (which we presume is the "glove" of the previous line) is missing, resulting once again in truncated grammar.

     Takahashi also seems to choose words for their potential as visual puns than for any literal meanings they might convey. He writes the kanji for "death" in line five, followed immediately by the kanji for "poem," both of which have the reading *shi*. In line seven, he creates a compound with the kanji for "lick" and "deer." The *on*, or Chinese, readings of these two kanji result in *shika*, which is the phonetic word for "deer." In this poem and others in the collection, we can see Takahashi's interest in exploding and rearranging syntax, but mapping this exercise on to a political

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critique is tenuous at best. Takahashi, I believe, was rare in that his practice of Dadaism appears primarily aesthetic in concern. His dismantling of syntax and creation of new form, if we consider his kanji compounds as such, is an act of creative expression that later poets would appropriate in very different ways. Like *Shintaishishô* or *Omokage*, his was the translation text that gave rise to later applications of the techniques used therein.

Takahashi makes no political statements about his poetry. Neither do his poems appear in the context of any political discourse of which they could act as vehicles for its expression, certainly not the protest of militarism and failed tradition that occupied European Dadaists. Japan did not share the cultural values and assumptions that European Dadaists critiqued, and it certainly did not suffer the wholesale destruction of its cities or the massacre of tens of thousands of its citizens in World War I. Japan in fact quietly strengthened itself economically and enjoyed relative peace. In such a context, Takahashi's poems seem playful and politically innocuous: art for art's sake.

The poems featured in the short-lived Taishô journal *Aka to kuro* ("Red and Black"), however, encourage political readings of their poetry because of the explicit political sympathies of the contributors. First published in January of 1923, the magazine's cover provides a manifesto of the group that reads:

> Poetry is? A poet is? We renounce all concepts of the past, and assert ourselves with courage! "Poems are bombs! A poet is a black criminal who throws bombs against the hard doors and walls of a prison!"

This manifesto identifies the group and its actions as subversive, but toward whom and why? The answer involves two separate institutions.[110]

Japanese government censors eventually banned the magazine for perceived leftist sympathies that were in conflict with its nation-building project. It considered the magazine subversive of its own control. Several articles and stories in the magazine signal support for contemporary proletariat movements. Although the magazine does not openly condone any organized movements of the time, consequently earning it the somewhat misleading distinction of being an anarchist magazine, any perceived expression of support would have placed it among left-leaning magazines and organizations on which the government had already begun cracking down. The contributors, certainly aware of government censorship and persecution, do not avoid risky rhetoric or content. Their statement of subversive intent hardly seems innocent of state politics, even if their primary critique was with a non-government institution.

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[110] A short but helpful study that frames his publication and includes close readings beyond the texts I analyze in this chapter is Komata Yûsuke, "Aka to Kuro," in *Zen'eishi no jidai: nihon no 1920 nendai*, (Tokyo: Zôseisha, 1999), 40-56. Other chapters in the book also examine other experimental poetry of the 1920s.

Although poems could, in theory, undermine government rule, I want to shift now to the more clearly articulated position that their work would challenge prevailing literary assumptions. The *bundan* (literary establishment) largely shaped modes of literary practice, and the poets in *Aka to kuro* want to dismantle this authority. The contributors speak of creating a New Poetry Establishment (*shinshidan*) vis-a-vis, and eventually in place of, the traditional literary establishment. In their estimation, the *bundan* worked in ossified forms and modes. The poets turn to Dadaism to draw a contrast with those poems that the literary establishment might consider mainstream or canonical. These were poems like Shimazaki Tôson's, which I analyzed in chapter two and which were included in school textbooks; or like Hagiwara Sakutarô's, which were published in widely circulated literary journals. But Dadaism would also challenge reader perceptions, much less *bundan* assumptions, thus creating–as the European Dadaists had hoped– enhanced awareness.

Tsuboi Shigeji's poem, "Attic Poem" (*yaneura no uta*) best represents poems in the first issue that use Dada techniques similar to the Europeans and Takahashi Shinkichi:

> *Gari gari gari gari….. makkuro*
> *Yaneura no nezumi no tongatta kamine––*
> *Ue ue ue ue ue…..*
> *Fuyu ga saketa! Chi chi chi chi…..*
> *Haibyôkanja no seki wa kuroi,*
> *Gohon gohon gohon…..*
> *Yo wa fuketa, kibô wa shinda, zetsubô ga umareta,*
> *Mômoku no enseikan ga eien ni nesobetteiru.*

> gari gari gari gari….. pitch black,
> the sound of the sharp teeth of the rat in the attic
> starve starve starve starve starve…..
> the winter ruptured! Blood blood blood blood…..
> the cough of the patient with pulmonary disease is black,
> gohon gohon gohon…..
> the night deepened, hope died, despair was born,
> the blind man's pessimism is sprawled out.

The juxtaposition of seemingly unrelated images is typical of Dadaism. Tsuboi chooses words and images that provoke uncomfortable feelings in the reader, consistent with Dada's goal of stimulating shock. The meaning of the poem derives primarily from the shock and the overtones of nihilism and suffering that the images produce through association. Line four is reminiscent of Takahashi's line about burdock. How does winter rupture? We can use this verb, like "birth" for both

physical and abstract expression. You could have a rupture in a vein, leading to bleeding, which the line seems to suggest because of repetition of the word "blood", but winter is an abstract noun. Conversely, you could have a rupture of meaning, in an abstract context, but this wouldn't lead to physical blood. The line challenges standard syntax and meaning, and yet remains expressive. The poem forces the reader to experience it, rather than read it.

Besides using disparate images to create associative meaning, the poem draws on other Dada techniques employed by Takahashi. The repetition of the kanji for "starve" (or, more accurately, "starvation") in line three, and the kanji for "blood" in line four recalls Takahashi's most famous Dadaist poem, in which he writes the kanji for "plate" (*sara*) multiple times over a single line. Since Japanese reads vertically, the line visually represented plates stacked on one another, just like in the kitchen he was working in at the time, and whose atmosphere he conveys in the poem. So that the reader may appreciate its full affect, I provide the original Japanese below:

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The visual manipulation of a poem through kanji was hardly new at this time. *Man'yôshû* orthographical studies reveal such aesthetic practices in the infancy of

the written language. But writing the same kanji several times in succession for visual emphasis, not to mention reinforcement of additional meanings it evokes in relation to the rest of the poem, does not exist in the more widely read (and conservatively structured) poetry of Kitahara Hakushû or Masaoka Shiki. Even the bold repetition in Hagiwara Sakutarô's work presented in chapter two does not nearly reach this extreme.

Tsuboi's use of repeating onomatopoeic words in lines one and six provide further complexity and interest to the poem. The lines certainly have aural appeal when read aloud, but there is a distinct visual element here, too, as the words are written in katakana. The reader sees, hears and experiences the poem.

Like Tsuboi, Okamoto Jun uses a similar kind of repetition in *Kaiten* ("Turning"), specifically, of a single word, but with a different outcome because of the poem's political overtones.

> *Geijutsu wa shunkan no butô*
> *Ware wa tada mazushiki aka to kuro to no rappasotsu*
> *Hikari––*
> *Yami––*
> *Sei––*
> *Metsu––*
> *Sorera ga kôsaku shi   ranbu shite*
> *Kaiten   kaiten*
> *Eigô no kaiten*

> art, a dance of the moment
> I, just a poor red and black bugler
> light–
> darkness–
> life–
> extinction–
> they all mix, dance wildly
> turning   turning
> eternal turning

At its most basic, the poem uses dance–a performance–as a metaphor for art, while the narrator is ostensibly the musician that enables the dance or performance. The next four lines, all single words each, are two pairs of opposites. These relative abstractions assume physicality in the following line when they engage in the performance and "dance wildly." The artist, it would seem, not only unites vast opposites, but gives them form (and body) as art.

Okamoto's poem offers another reading where this aesthetic manifesto becomes his group's political one. The narrator of the poem describes himself as a

"poor red and black trumpet boy," drawing an immediate connection to the title of the magazine, *Aku to kuro* (Red and Black), and the colors that represent the communist movement. R*appasotsu* is a bugler in the military. The narrator is both a soldier for the cause of communism, but also an aesthete. This imagery is consistent with the magazine's manifesto, which depicts them as men of violence (throwing bombs) and also of letters. In this poem, the narrator's aesthetic act, playing the trumpet, may drive the dance that is art into an apparent frenzy by line seven. But the artist also seems to hold sway over all things when guiding the performance; he achieves empowerment–quite possibly, a political one as well.

The word "turning" (kaiten) that Okamoto uses here means spinning or rotation, presumably of the dancer(s), and may not refer to political or military revolution, usually expressed by the word *kakumei*.[111] Its repetition three times over two lines is particularly conspicuous given both the few number of words necessary to compose the poem and its function as a conclusion to the poem. The very word revolution or spinning suggests repetition. But much like repeated kanji compounds in previous examples, its repeated appearance underscores its meaning: eternal turning. In linking the artistic "moment" to notions of "eternity," Okamoto once again conflates two extremes–here, of time–just as he appears to conflate artistic and political practice. Light and dark, life and death, the momentary and eternal, art and politics all hinge on the trumpet player.

Although not blatant in its politics, such thinly veiled poetry alone might have led to the magazine's censorship, its political essays and interviews aside. But while the magazine may have ceased publication, its members hardly abandoned their artistic and political projects immediately. Hagiwara Kyôjirô wrote Dadaist poetry for a number of years after the group disbanded, following a direction he had begun to take in *Aka to kuro*.[112] His initial poetry in the magazine shows little if any attention to Dada techniques, including "The Fields and People" (*Hatake to ningen*), the first poem of the inaugural issue:

> The rice is harvested
> December has come
> The air rips, hurts
> In the poor fields after harvest,

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[111] An English synonym of "turning" or "spinning" is, fortuitously, "revolution," In English, the term for the physical movement and the political upheaval is the same, but this is not the case in Japanese; it would be unwise to jump to the quick conclusion that Okamoto is suggesting political or social revolution; I'm unaware of *kaiten* ever being used in that context. Certainly, we could argue the verb "turning" or "spinning" might suggest a cycle of change nonetheless.

[112] See David Gardner, *Advertising Tower: Japanese Modernism in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 84-117. Gardner's insightful analysis places Hagiwara's endeavors in the larger context of Japanese Modernism.

Between breaks in sunshine, a field mouse
Is running back and forth, storing grains
In a hole on a crumbling precipice

The soil is famished, dry
Hard seeds of field grass are left where they fall
Sown wheat seeds suffer from frost
Taxes are heavy   the field, coughing in agony
O Men rising up, gripping their scythes!

Farming tools of sons who hate the soil, and remain away in the cities,
Of daughters who can't return to their hometowns
Rear the devouring famines in the field,
Lay broken   in the grassy plains,
Rusting red and abandoned where they lay

Left behind   to be buried in the farm graveyards,
Growing thin   hair tousled
Straw clothing in tatters,
Father!
Mother!
Stepping and raking through the ravished fields

O–   people of the fields, arms and legs caked with blood,
Sticking out of the wasted fields like withered trees!
The gray evenings gather everything,
Erasing the farms, erasing man as if it were all a great plain,
Only the children in the distant cities
Receive the light of a new civilization.[113]

The poem describes the demise of the agrarian lifestyle to which the narrator appears sympathetic. The tone almost becomes fatalistic when the narrator notes that the children, in abandoning their parents, "receive the light of a new civilization." It is as if the condition of agrarian society is the inevitable result of progress. Although leftist groups were sympathetic to agrarian workers as well as factory workers, we seem to have a lament and a critique of modernization, not a

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[113] With this poem and others in the chapter where I do not perform close readings and specific analyses of words and phrases, or where the length of the quoted translation makes it impractical to provide the entire transliteration of the Japanese text, I offer the full Japanese text at the end of the chapter. Also, with the next example where there is radical typographical experimentation, I offer the Japanese as well.

Dadaistic attack on the *bundan* or any other explicit political apparatus. The only sort of techniques of form we might normally find in Dadaist poems are the typographical spaces, though those are hardly confined to Dadaist poetry, as I illustrated in chapter two.

By the fourth and final issue of *Aka to kuro* in May of 1923, Hagiwara seems to have embraced Dadaism, allowing him to open his poetry to new modes of expression. This would include political expression, because of Dadaism and the magazine's associations with left-leaning movements, even if they have shed narrative or thematic treatment of overtly social or political concerns. His poem whose title is two typographical dots shows many of the Dadaist techniques described above. A sampling of three lines of the first part, and the entire second part of the poem produces:

        Pistol and money lender's toy–––––>   s
    money lender money lender money lender== >   u
        Danger like leaving the track–––––>   n

And:

    –––––even women, even justice–––––
    blood   fire   death   red red red
          V   V   V
        and   and   and   it's a pure red sen coin
    –––––The sun-shaped sen coin, in place of a salve, is stick–
          -ing to the place from which
          curdled blood is flowing
    O money   O woman   O sake   O song
    –––––the world is heavy luggage   unsupport–
          -ed luggage   dangerous, obtrusive luggage, ain't it
              X

    every day   every day in Tokyo of one sen, five ri
    thinking the dizzy, fresh green might even be candy,
    like a white parasol, in the port there, in the port here,
    I stick out my red tongue, a laughing salamander!
            *** dance stage, a SKELeton!
              Red sake, blood!

This poem shows the typical eschewing of logical, discursive narrative in favor of a juxtaposition of syntactical fragments and images through which we may draw associative meanings. As with previous examples, individual words are repeated to draw attention to their meaning and association with other images in the poem.

Visual manipulation of the page has expanded well beyond the repetition of kanji compounds to include line ruptures, violent enjambment, varied indentation and breakdown of stanzas and similar organization structures. The first three lines quoted above even seem arranged so that one visually experiences them, for their gestalt effect, rather than reading them linearly.

Money emerges regularly in this poem as a motif. Inserted in the breaks in structure and syntax, and linked to words such as "danger," "blood," and the image of the wound, money would appear to be an object of critique in this poem. A critique of the capitalism that exploits workers? The poem leaves the possibility open, and the political sentiments of the group invites such a reading.

Hagiwara's Complete Works (*Zenshû*) includes hundreds of poems written after the demise of *Aka to kuro* that are similar in technique to his final work in the magazine. Dozens of other contemporary poets were also composing Dadaist poems, especially those associated with the Mavo movement.[114] While these poets may not explicitly identify themselves as Dadaist, many of the techniques they use are indistinguishable from those that appear in *Aka to kuro* or Takahashi Shinkichi's work, especially in the manipulation of typography and complete rupture of form, from language to lines and stanzas.

As censorship of left-leaning magazines continued throughout the late 1920s, the publication of Dadaist poetry (and perhaps, too, the motivation to compose it) waned. Many of the poets moved on to Surrealism, like their European counterparts, though that movement was more concerned with images and their attendant meanings than the form of language and its reconfiguration, as we have seen in examples above. I acknowledge that there is some close affinity between the two movements on the level of images and their associative power, but Surrealist poets were focused on stretching the relationship between the signifier and signified in metaphors, so much so that it eventually became unclear to what the images actually referred.[115]

Nakahara Chûya was one of the few poets to continue composing poems he identified as an extension of the Dada tradition beyond the 1930s and was in fact the last notable Taishô-era poet to publish or compose poetry that he explicitly linked to the movement's peak in the 1920s. Interestingly, Chûya began his career during that peak by composing Dadaist poetry, only to abandon it and return to it over a decade later, long after its literary interest to active poets had passed. Texts from that period, however, indicate that Chûya's ideas about, and practice of, Dadaist poetry had undergone a transformation over the intervening decade to become something with only a slight resemblance on the surface. Nevertheless, its political potency remained intact.

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[114] Gennifer Weisenfeld, *MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[115] See Miryam Sas, *Fault Lines: Cultural Memory and Japanese Surrealism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

In later sections of this chapter, I consider whether Chûya harbored any political motivations behind his choice to revisit to Dada-informed writing, but in the beginning, he seems to have written Dadaist poetry for the same reasons Takahashi Shinkichi did: innocent of the movement's political roots and associations, and interested wholly in its aesthetic possibilities. Chûya wrote in his journal of having discovered Takahashi Shinkichi's book of poetry in the Fall of 1923, and having been impressed with the work. His notebook of 1924 includes some of his early extant poetry, much of which is Dadaist and seems like imitations of Takahashi's works. In "Lyrics for Dada Music", the poet composes lines such as, "Infidelity, the tooth paste," "gourd, the money pouch," and "Diarrhea, the box." The juxtaposition of unrelated nouns without a copula that would complete a syntactically correct sentence is a trademark Dadaist technique; it's an altering of the form of language to create phrases whose meaning arise through association with others in the body of the text.

Ôka Shôhei, a friend of Chûya's, hesitates to call these early experiments Dada, though, writing rather critically after his death:

> Years later, Chûya boasted that he independently discovered the basic principles behind Dadaism before he had read Shinkichi. If he meant by this the upending of all values so that every moment was absolute, then we might see the doctrine of Shinran and the rebellion of a failed student. What Shinkichi taught him, perhaps, was only to call poetry that which was but screams of loneliness in his room at midnight, dumped onto the page in katakana and aphorism.[116]

Ôka's comments might have some validity to them, but they dismiss the relationship of Takahashi's works to Chûya's early, important experimentation all too quickly. In these same notebooks, Chûya expounds on his commitment to Dada. "In the Treatment of Nouns," he writes:

> In the treatment of nouns
> The symbol that forgot logic:
> My poems
>
> The relationship between a declaration and a work
> Is the relationship between organic abstraction and inorganic
>   embodiment
> The relationship between the substance of a noun and an impression.
>
> And you know it's Dada

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[116] Ôoka Shôhei, "Kyoto ni okeru futari no shijin," in *Ôoka zenshû*, vol. 18 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1996).

And you know it's a wooden horse[117]
Even the mumble of primitive people is good

History becomes material for use
But this don't cause no problem
Not for this Dadaist

Those who introduce ancient work
Explain with such airs, 'the ancient coffin was like this'
No matter how the shape of the coffin would change,
When the Dadaist says 'coffin'
It is a 'coffin' that reaches through all time,
And in this is the eternity of Dada
But the Dadaist does not compose the Dada poem hoping for
        eternity.

We might consider this Chûya's Dada manifesto while noting that it does not appear to have any political overtones, unlike *Aka to kuro*'s manifesto.

Neither does his poetry reveal any explicit political ambition. Chûya seems to employ Dadaistic images and repetition for their aesthetic value. The first poem of his first book *Yagi no Uta* ("Poems of the Goat"), titled *Haru no hi no yûgure* ("Twilight of this Spring Day") provides some examples. Although he finished editing his book in 1932, this poem appears early in his 1927 notebook, indicating that he wrote it not long after his encounter with Takahashi's book. In the opening line, he writes, "metal munching on crackers of rice" (*Totan ga senbei tabete*) to describe the rattling sound of a sheet metal roof when the wind blows. In *Shinya no omoi* ("A Late Hour's Ruminations") of the same volume, he describes an insect "buzzing in the treetops," as the "harlequin dance of a pacifier" (*mushi no tobikou kozue no atari/ oshaburi no odoke odori*). Chûya's images share with Dada the unexpected and often humorous combination of words. But these are clearly metaphors. Ôka perhaps aptly described much of his poetry as Dadaist

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[117] Wooden Horse" is the meaning of the word "Dada" in French. It is easy to speculate how Chûya knew this. *Yorozo chôhô* mentions this in its earliest introduction to Dadaism, even if Takahashi's work does not make this reference. In 1926, Chûya began to attend the Athene Francais, so his French studies could have certainly taught him this. Or perhaps the meaning came up in conversation with Tominaga over French poets that he introduced to Chûya. Also of note, Chûya visited Tsuji Jun, another Dadaist poet, on September 1st, 1927. It is possible—in fact, highly likely—that Chûya was reading other Dadaists. But because Chûya specifically mentions Takahashi in his memoirs, inquiries have focused entirely on him.

(*dadateki*) instead of pure Dada because it wasn't a complete dismantling of the syntax and logic.

Such imagery and language, whether Dadaist or Surrealist, persists in his poetry throughout the next decade until we begin to see poetry more akin to what *Aka to kuro* and others artists had been publishing during Dada's zenith in the early 1920s in Japan. In a stanza of Part II of *Shûra machi banka sono ni* ("Elegy for the Town of Shura: part 2"), a poem from the mid-1930s, he writes:

> A rubber ball? Heartless
> A rubber ball? Heartless
> A rubber ball eats caramel
> A rubber ball, all messed up
>
> A rubber ball rolls on and
> A rubber ball is a ball that is rubber
> A rubber ball, for which bad luck awaits?
> A rubber ball shedding tears?
>
> A rubber ball rolls along and
> A rubber ball lives out its life
> A rubber ball lives out its life and
> A rubber ball is a ball of life!

The extreme repetition of a single word or phrase does not necessarily make this Dadaist or even point to Dada. This section is also clearly organized in three quatrains that conform to the margin and show no line ruptures or typographical breaks. It is, however, the second part of a four-part poem where the other sections follow a narrative style that is relatively easy to explicate and paraphrase. As a series of repeating, somewhat abstract, images that seem to project meaning through association, this section comes as an abrupt shift and surprise. It is a rupturing of the narrative flow of the poem when read as a whole and seems to draw from the playful imagery of Takahashi Shinkichi.

Some of Chûya's other poetry from this period exhibits occasional use of similar imagery and technique, though the poems in their entirety hardly resemble the work of Dadaists of the 1920s. He does mention "dada" in one untitled poem:

> amen   dada
> without tall sandals   without umbrella
>   youth   came pouring down

pooled water   foam
                        streamed   streamed away.

        you there   life resembles roaring downpours
                    light   incense
                            to have to stay indoors.

        charming, a woman of the pleasure quarters
                calling out a greeting, even in this rain
        blue umbrella

                Even plant pots wash away
                        Flower basins float
                All the pond's koi swim off

        In never-ending rain, at town's edge, deliverymen scramble
                            Me, without tall sandals, without umbrella
                        Here, lighting aromatics in this room,
                I don't even want to chew some gum.

In this poem, Chûya appears to describe the situation–the scene of a downpour–as Dadaistic, using lines of disjointed narrative. The scene is one of disorder, if not chaos, with discordant moments and touches of humor. There is the speaker, without shoes and umbrella that would enable him to stand above the mud and sheltered from the rain. A "woman of the pleasure quarters," with a touch of absurdity (or industriousness?), attempts to lure customers despite the downpour. Deliverymen, we imagine, are slipping as they rush with their packages in a further show of comic absurdity. The rain is falling to such an extreme that objects float and koi escape from their ponds; it's a scene, almost, not of this world. The commotion outside, meanwhile, contrasts sharply with the stillness and quiet of "this room" where the speaker is lighting incense and relaxing. The difference is as jarring as the juxtaposition of normally unassociated words in Dadaist poetry. Amen dada? It's like the speaker is saying, "Oh my, what a dada scene." While not a Dadaistic poem, per se, it potentially gives us some insight to his conception of Dada; it can describe a condition or situation as much as it is a technique couched in non-traditional use of syntax and imagery.

   Dôke no Rinjû Etude Dadaistique ("Death of the Clown: Etude Dadaistique"), which Chûya published in 1937 in the magazine "Japanese Lyricists" (*Nihon Kajin*), poses even more questions about the extent to which Dada, as initially practiced in Japan, had assumed new modes of

expression in Chûya's poetry. The poem appeared just a month before Chûya's death as he was publishing a handful of previously unpublished poems in various popular literary journals of the time. At nearly one hundred lines in length, it is by far one of the longest in his collected poetry. Of particular note here is that he calls it "Dadaistic", as if to suggest that he is adopting techniques from, but not necessarily couching the poem in, the Dada tradition.

Shifting between first-person analysis of the self and descriptions of external scenes, both seemingly perceived and imagined, the poem is certainly disjointed in both its narrative progression and even its language. One illustrative passage runs as follows:

> The reason why   I utter these things is
> Whether laughing whether crying   the life of dew
> Within the stars   the star of stars
> Within the sands   the sand of sands…
> Somehow my tongue   is twisted up, but
> Whether floating whether sinking   a gourd between waves,
> Since there's nothing   I particularly need.

The language resists easy paraphrase and the various sections, divided by both line and typographical spaces, seem as connected by association as any underlying logic or articulated meaning.

Earlier in the poem, the narrator employs repetition vaguely reminiscent of earlier Dadaist poetry:

> My heart   its cruelty
> My heart   its refinement
> My heart   its refinement
> My heart   its cruelty
> Shedding no tears even   I cry,
> Showing the sky   the crown of my head,
> I weep   in purple.

Here, though, it is not a relentless drumming on a single word that is part of an associative mix of words in creation of a desired tone. "Heart" is further connected to abstract concepts ("refinement" and "cruelty") rather than a disparate image. The only other aspect reminiscent of early Dadaist poetry here is the line "I weep   in purple." It is not the first poem where Chûya has described action in terms of color.

If disorienting language is a hallmark of early Japanese Dadaist poetry, then this poem reaches its most extreme in this section:

> I cry out Agghh   mindlessly…
> So   although I wake up from it,
> In leaves of grass at the edge of the field   a thief
> Grows weary and sleeps   on his hip
> A kidney-bean shaped   sword hangs
> Listen up, I'll slice you apart
> Says   Tange Sazen, facing this way, from the door
> —This crazy heart of mine,
> What the hell does it think it's saying…
> While that may the case, if it really is
> I'll set myself   straight again
> And for you, my dear, eternity,
> If you don't love something,
> When you go to the cinema, then a phew of phews
> When you go to a dance, then a phew of phews

The passage seems like a dream narrative as image and phrase blend into the next. The images and some of the conversational narrative seem unrelated, creating a degree of disjunction, though the passage does not totally defy logical comprehension. Is this disorientation of language, this stream of image and dialogue, what Chûya means by Dadaistic? I believe so. He is thwarting a simple deciphering of semantic meaning, creating a poetic language that works by association because of its slips and ruptures. It is like a Dada image itself.

One can only speculate why Chûya continued using Dadaistic techniques after a decade of largely pursuing Symbolist aesthetics and techniques of other traditions. Most critics, however, including Ôoka Shôhei, agree that his late poetry and techniques that seem informed by Dadaism differ dramatically from the fragments and early, amateur poems of his Dada notebooks. Chûya, in short, had appropriated and assimilated the techniques–the ways in which the aesthetic dismantled the form of language–and redeployed them, albeit by subtler means, in an era where its implications were serious. Although Chûya generally detested politics, and even avoided society at large, living the life of a bohemian,[118] his publishing anything in 1937 with association to a movement previously branded radical and consequently banned hardly seems innocent.

Chûya had for years been close colleagues with some of the youngest and brightest literary figures of the day, including Kobayashi Hideo, Kawakami Tetsutarô and Ôoka Shôhei, the latter of whom became both his biographer and editor of his collected poems. Their extensive ties to print media and their frequent social intercourse meant that Chûya, living in Tokyo

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[118] Ôoka Shohei, *Asa no uta: Nakahara Chûya den* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1967).

at the time, would almost certainly have known about growing censorship of magazines and artists, especially those associated with more experimental forms that authorities viewed as anathema to social order.[119] Regardless of what critics may describe as Chûya's playful Dada, the movement had already set dangerous precedents.

Other dangerous precedents creating a greater historical backdrop against which Chûya's poems are set included Japan's colonization of the Asian mainland. Although war erupted in China shortly after Chûya's death, Japan's colonial project had long since been established both abroad and at home. The latter context encompassed the building of a national polity, or *kokutai*, which was in many ways a continuation of a trend since the Restoration. In essence, political authorities sought to constitute an essential Japanese identity to buttress notions of a unified state and to demarcate the other, namely the West and colonized Asia. The state's organs for instilling the idea of *kokutai* extended throughout society; educational institutions and the literature they taught were hardly free from appropriation. Tanizaki and other prominent literary figures even began to write exhortations, enumerating the virtues of the nation and its projects. Poetry was not exempt from this.

The implications of poetic text in the twilight of Dadaism at such an historical moment seem clear: it is a protest and revolt against the approved forms of poetry dictated by an increasingly nationalistic *bundan*. Most Chûya scholars would likely assert there is no politics to his poetry, as they characterize both the poet and his poetry as intensely personal; Chûya's Dadaism as the 1930s progresses is aesthetic and private.

In extending Dada's legacy, however, Chûya chooses to step outside national discourse and the trends of the *bundan*. Far from writing outmoded poetry out of personal interest, Chûya rejuvenates Dada's tradition by returning it to its roots; it becomes a suggestive critique of prevailing assumptions and attitudes. Were there a "red and black" trumpeter, some image or phrase that more clearly articulates a political position, we might conclude with certainty that these texts perform a social critique. Absent this, however, we can at least focus on the text and document the striking transformations in representation Dada makes from a newspaper introduction through some of early 20th century Japan's most accomplished poets.

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[119] Chûya, in fact, worked for NHK (Japan's public television network) and was likely not naïve to issues of censorship.

畑と人間
(The Fields and People)
by Hagiwara Kyôjirô

稲は刈られ
十二月は来た
空気は裂けて痛い
乏しい取り入れ後の畑に
野鼠は日向のとぎれ間を
くずれた崖穴へ
稲株を集めて走ってゐる

土は飢え渇いて
固い野草の種は残り
埋めらるる麦種は霜げる
課税が重く　苦しまぎれの呟きをしてゐる畑
大鎌を握って立ってゐる人よ！

土を嫌って都会にはなれた息子達
再び故郷に帰れない娘達の農具は
畑に食い入った飢饉をそだて
草原の中に　こはれたまま
赤さび棄ててある

残されて　畑の墓地に埋もれる
痩せて　頭髪も乱れゐる
藁くづだらけの
父親！
母親！
荒れた畑を手でならし足で踏んでゐる

ああ　血を吐いた手足のまま

荒土にささった枯れ木のやうな畑の人よ
灰色の夕暮れは全てを集め
曠野のやうに畑も人間も消してゆく
遠い都会の子ども達にのみ
新しい文明の光はあたる。

(名詞の扱いに)
(In the Treatment of Nouns)
by Nakahara Chûya

名詞の扱いに
ロジックを忘れた象徴さ
俺の詩は

宣言と作品の関係は
有機的抽象と無機的具象との関係だ
物質名詞と印象との関係だ。

ダダ、ってんだよ
木馬、ってんだ
原始人のドモリ、でも好い

歴史は材料にはなるさ
だが問題にはならぬさ
此のダダイストには

古い作品の紹介者は
古代の棺はこういう風だった、なんて断り書きをする
棺の形が如何に変ろうと
ダダイストが「棺」といえば
何時の時代でも「棺」として通る所に
ダダの永遠性がある
だがダダイストは、永遠性を望むが故にダダ詩を書きはせぬ

（南無　ダダ）
　　　　(Amen Dada)
　　　　by Nakahara Chûya

南無　ダダ
足駄なく、傘なく
　　青春は、降りこめられて、

　水溜り、泡は
　　　のがれ、のがれゆく、

人よ、人生は、騒然たる沛雨に似てゐる
　　線香を、焚いて
　　　　　　部屋にはゐるべきこと。

色町の女は愛嬌、
　この雨の、中でも挨拶をしてゐる
青い傘

　　植木鉢も流れ、
　　　水盤も浮み、
　池の鯉はみな、逃げてゆく

永遠に、雨の中、町外れ、出前持ちは猪突し、
　　　　私は、足駄なく傘なく、
　　　茲、部屋の中に香を焚いて、
　チウインガムも噛みたくはない。

道化の臨終（Etude Dadaistique）
　　　　（A Clown's Death: Etude Dadaistique）
　　　　by Nakahara Chûya

　　序　曲

君ら想わないか、夜毎何処かの海の沖に、
火を吹く龍がいるかもしれぬと。
君ら想わないか、曠野の果に、
夜毎姉妹の灯ともしていると。

君等想わないか、永遠の夜の浪、
其処に泣く無形の生物、
其処に見開く無形の瞳、
かの、かにかくに底の底……

心をゆすり、ときめかし、
嗚咽・哄笑一時に、肝に銘じて到るもの、
清浄こよなき漆黒のもの、
暖を忘れぬ紺碧を……
　　　　　　＊　　　　　　＊
　　　　　　　　＊
空の下には　池があった。
その池の　めぐりに花は　咲きゆらぎ、
空はかおりと　はるけくて、
今年も春は　土肥やし、
雲雀は空に　舞いのぼり、
小児が池に　落っこった。

小児は池に仰向けに、
池の縁をば　枕にて、

あわあわあわと　吃驚し、
空もみないで　泣きだした。

僕の心は　残酷な、
僕の心は　優婉な、
僕の心は　優婉な、
僕の心は　残酷な、
涙も流さず　僕は泣き、
空に旋毛を　見せながら、
紫色に　泣きまする。

僕には何も　云われない。
発言不能の　境界に、
僕は日も夜も　肘ついて、
僕は砂粒に　照る日影だの、
風に揺られる　雑草を、
ジッと瞶めて　おりました。

どうぞ皆さん僕という、
はてなくやさしい　痴呆症、
抑揚の神の　母無し子、
岬の浜の　不死身貝、
そのほか色々　名はあれど、
命題・反対命題の、
能うかぎりの　止揚場、
天が下なる　「衛生無害」、
昔ながらの薔薇の花、
ばかげたものでも　ござりましょうが、
大目にあずかる　為体。

かく申しまする　所以のものは、
泣くも笑うも　朝露の命、
星のうちなる　星の星……
砂のうちなる　砂の砂……
どうやら舌は　縺れまするが、
浮くも沈むも　波間の瓢、
格別何も　いりませぬ故、
笛のうちなる　笛の笛、
――次第に舌は　縺れてまいる――

至上至福の　臨終の時を、
いやいや　なんといおうかい、
一番お世話になりながら、
一番忘れていられるもの……
あの　あれを……といって、
それでは誰方も　お分りがない……
では　忘恩悔ゆる涙とか？
ええまあ　それでもござりまするが……
では──
えイ、じれったや
これやこの、ゆくもかえるも
別れては、消ゆる移り香、
追いまわし、くたびれて、
秋の夜更に　目が覚めて、
天井板の　木理みて、
あなやと叫び　呆然と……
さて　われに返りはするものの、
野辺の草葉に　盗賊の、
疲れて眠る　その腰に、
隠元豆の　刀あり、
これやこの　切れるぞえ、
と　戸の面、丹下左膳がこっち向き、
──狂った心としたことが、
何を云い出すことじゃやら……
さわさりながら　さらばとて、
正気の構えを　とりもどし、
人よ汝が「永遠」を、
恋することのなかりせば、
シネマみたとてドッコイショのショ、
ダンスしたとてドッコイショのショ。
なぞと云ったら　笑われて、
ささも聴いては　貰えない、
さればわれ、明日は死ぬ身の、
今茲に　不得要領……
かにかくに　書付けましたる、
ほんのこれ、心の片端、
不備の点　恕され給いて、
希わくは　お道化お道化て、
ながらえし　小者にはあれ、

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冥福の　多かれかしと、
神にはも　祈らせ給え

Death of a Clown: Etude Dadaistique
By Nakahara Chûya

 Prologue

Don't you guys think so? Every night, from the middle of some sea
There may be a fire-breathing dragon.
Don't you guys think so? At the edge of a field,
Every night, some sisters are lighting a lamp.

Don't you guys think? Waves of an endless night,
There, shapeless creatures cry,
There, a shapeless pupil opens,
Down there in the deep deep…

That which can so much as shake my heart, make it flutter,
Ingrain itself in me when it both shrieks and laughs out,
That which is pitch black and pure,
An azure that never knows any warmth…

*

Beneath the sky　　there was a pond.
The flowers around　　that lake　　bloomed and shook,
The sky so distant　　from the aroma,
This year again, the Spring　　fertilizes the earth,
Skylarks dart and climb　　into the sky
The toddler fell　　into the pond.
The toddler faced up　　from the pond,
Making of the pond's edge　　a pillow,
Crying out in surprise　　waaah waaah waaah,
In tears without　　even looking at the sky.

My heart　　its cruelty

My heart   its refinement
My heart   its refinement
My heart   its cruelty
Shedding no tears even   I cry,
Showing the sky   the crown of my head,
I weep   in purple.

There's nothing   I can say.
On the border   where statements are impossible
I rest my elbows   day and night,
I stood and   stared away
At the glittering   of sun on sand,
Of wind swaying   the weeds.

Well everyone, this me you see,
An endlessly kind   dotard
A parentless child   of a modulating god
An immortal shell   on a cape's beach–
And the various other   terms for me, but
The thesis and anti-thesis'
realm of sublation, as much as they can accommodate
"Sanitary Victimlessness"   beneath the sky
A rose from long ago
And other stupid things   do exist–
These states   you accept in me

The reason why   I utter these things is
Whether laughing whether crying   the life of dew
Within the stars   the star of stars
Within the sands   the sand of sands…
Somehow my tongue   is twisted up, but
Whether floating whether sinking   a gourd between waves,
Since there's nothing   I particularly need.
Among whistles   a whistle of whistles,
—more and more my tongue   is getting twisted—
 The highest, the happiest   moment of passing
No, no   what should I say?
That which benefits the most
Is that which is most often forgotten
But   that thing… those words
Nobody   can make sense of…
Then   what of tears of regret for forgotten gratitude
Well yeah   there is also that but….

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Then—
Agh, dammit!
Listen up, whether coming whether going
When parting, a person's lingering scent
Trails after them, I grow tired,
And in autumn's late nights, I open my eyes,
Look at the knots of wood   in ceiling planks,
I cry out Agghh   mindlessly…
So   although I wake up from it,
In leaves of grass at the edge of the field   a thief
Grows weary and sleeps   on his hip
A kidney-bean shaped   sword hangs
Listen up, I'll slice you apart
Says   Tange Sazen, facing this way, from the door
—This crazy heart of mine,
What the hell does it think it's saying…
While that may the case, if it really is
I'll set myself   straight again
And for you, my dear, eternity,
If you don't love something,
When you go to the cinema, then a phew of phews
When you go to a dance, then a phew of phews.
If I say such things, I'm laughed at
And nobody really listens to what I say,
And since that's the case, what will become of my body tomorrow
Is a mystery to me   right now…
I've written   all kinds of things here,
All of it truly   a sliver of my heart,
Please forgive   my vague points,
What I've wanted   is to clown, to clown around,
And to live long   and while I'm no big player
Please pray   to god above
For my sufficient   repose.

Hagiwara Kyôjirô's untitled poem from *Aka to Kuro*

例1　●　●　　　　萩原恭次郎

○○を露出した恋人の顔　月経の日に

【便所】の中は百鬼夜行だ

強姦された時のやうに

憂鬱な薔薇の　ヂーンと開き放しになってしまった日だ

俺は春の日を墓場から出て来た

ピストルと金貨のオモチャ

金貨　金貨　金貨　金貨　金貨‖　太

軌道を外れさうなアブナイ〉陽

銭だッ！銭だよ　みいんな銭だよ

一杯ガマ口につめこんである銭ぢゃないか

太陽の光りだって銭で買へる時代だ！

ゼニヲ　モッテイナイモノハ

ニンゲンデ　ナインダ

——女も正義も——銭だ
血＜火＜死＜赤い赤い赤い
ももも　真赤な銭なんだ！
——太陽形の銭が膏薬の代りにハリついてゐる局部から
腐蠅した血が流れてゐる
金よ　女よ　酒よ　歌よ
——世の中は重い荷物だ　しょって起てない荷物だ　厄介な邪
魔な荷物だネ

×

毎日　毎日　一銭五厘の東京で
ふらふら新緑をお菓子かとでも思って
白い洋傘のやうにアッチの巷コッチの巷に
赤い舌を出して笑ってゐるナメタン！
●●●舞踏場はガイ骨！
赤い酒は血！

——第四輯——

This dissertation is done.

Amen Dada!

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