# BEFORE THE WORLD: KAGA NO CHIYO & THE RUSTIC-FEMININE MARGINS OF JAPANESE HAIKU

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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This dissertation tracks the transformation of the merchant-class female poet, Kaga no Chiyo, from a minor supplementary position as a collected feminine object to an interlocutor and exemplar of post-Bashō poetics in regional circulation. I argue that discourses on the fall of *haikai* poetry among eighteenth-century male practitioners, combined with the rise of an eccentric *bunjin* "literati") consciousness, led to a pattern of rural male poets collecting women as casual supplements to masculine-coded poetic communities, part of a larger valorization of a poetics of simplicity and lightness. Chiyo's early encounters with male collectors delimited the value of her work to an unrevised, spontaneous simplicity, a simplicity she was actively discouraged from honing. Yet Chiyo acted against this advice, instead drawing on three forms of poetic sociality (travel, correspondence, and preface-writing) to enact a nested *bunjin* subjectification, ultimately subverting both state and subcultural discourses through a nuanced poetics of eccentric marginality. By 1774, she had cultivated a female *bunjin* identity that transcended well beyond her initially prescribed role, becoming one of the genre's most notable figures in two key related capacities: first, she became a widely acknowledged representative of women poets of the Bashō legacy, acting as interlocutor for both sides of the mid-century

Bashō Revival movement. Second, she authored a collection of poetic art objects that circulated beyond the borders of Tokugawa Japan to the Korean Peninsula in 1764, which was subsequently read by domestic readers as further evidence of her significance as a *haikai* figure. Furthermore, when viewed within a larger East Asian literati context, I argue that Chiyo's Joseon collection can be read as the manifestation of a local aesthetic with regional complementarity, a phenomenon which foreshadows haiku as national-linguistic representative of Japan in world literature.

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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

Figure 1. Portrait of Chiyo from *100 Verses from 100 Haikai Poets* (1764).[1]

This project arose from a curious absence in the Japanese literary canon, an absence which echoes out into world literature. What is missing is the figure of eighteenth-century poet-artist Kaga no Chiyo 加賀千代 (1703-1775), a merchant-class woman who authored the first internationally circulated collection of poems from a genre that would come to be known as haiku. Little English scholarship exists on Chiyo, and most Japanese scholarship tends toward biographical readings performed through the ahistorical lens of her work's supposedly inherent femininity. Scholarship that considers Chiyo in her generic and historic context does so almost exclusively within the frame of

[1] *Haikai hyaku ichi shu, Getsumei bunko* 464, 465. Image from the digitized collection in Ishikawa Prefecture Library's Getsumei Bunko (hereafter referred to as ILGB), an archive of Early Modern haikai publications from the Maeda Daimyō-governed regions of Kaga and Nottō.

her famous mentor, Kagami Shikō 各務支考 (1665-1731). As the story goes, if Chiyo had not met Shikō at seventeen, she would not have squandered her natural talents on an aesthetically impoverished style of *haikai* (as the genre was then known), thus becoming a highly popular but ultimately mediocre poetess.

However, I argue that Chiyo was not a passive follower of one mentor's style, nor was she simply a natural poet whose verses were the unmediated expression of inherent femininity. Instead, she deliberately and consistently developed her own nuanced aesthetic, ultimately cultivating herself as a female *bunjin*[2] subject through three key forms of poetic sociality: correspondence, travel, and preface-writing. Through these socialities, Chiyo transformed herself into a key figure of eighteenth-century *haikai*. Her work was initially collected by rural *haikai* men as a simplistic feminine object, which served as a useful supplement to emerging debates over the poetic legacy of Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694). But by the end of her life, Chiyo was an interlocuter in a full-fledged Bashō Revival movement, collaborating with a wide range of poets, and actively commenting on questions of craft and curation in prefaces written for her colleagues' publications.

Moreover, her work was commissioned for an international audience: in 1763, she selected 21 verses from the span of her career and calligraphed them onto a collection of folding fans and hanging scrolls, which were gifted to a delegation of envoys from Joseon Korea the following year. It is surprising that Chiyo's vernacular poetry collection

[2] While the term *bunjin* is typically rendered in English as "literati/literatus," I avoid this translation in order to highlight the local specificity of *bunjin,* who, in my formulation, are practicing Japanese artists of the private sphere who employ tropes of eccentricity and marginality through lifestyle and cultural production. In contrast, I deploy "literati" as a general term referring to practicing artists of both public and private spheres throughout eighteenth-century East Asia.

journeyed beyond Japanese borders as an example of a local aesthetic, given the hegemony of literary Sinitic as the region's *lingua franca.* Chiyo's contemporaries noted her work's unusual rise to the elite, public realm, further raising her domestic reputation during her lifetime. The international trajectory of Chiyo's collection is a historical first for the genre, one that reaffirmed Chiyo's significance within the *haikai* community. I highlight this collection's international circulation, and its subsequent impact of Chiyo's domestic reputation, in order to argue that the collection should be viewed as an important historical milestone in the development of the *haikai* genre.

Furthermore, I argue that the Joseon collection foreshadows the emergence of haiku as a representative of Japan in the realm of world literature when viewed within the broader context of East Asian literati exchange. In discussing the East Asian regional context, I use the term "literati" to refer to people engaged in a life of sustained artistic praxis. In the scope of my project, that term refers to two types of individuals: Japanese *bunjin* and diplomatic envoys from Joseon Korea. However, it should be noted that I do not intend to equate the political or social status of *bunjin* with that of Joseon emissaries—who were members of an elite *yangban* class with official status in the public sphere—rather, "literati" identity connotes a sustained relationship with the arts, regardless of status. Viewed within the realm of poetic exchange between East Asian literati, I argue that Chiyo's vernacular collection can be read as a local aesthetic with regional complementarity.

My project has two overarching aims. First, I aim to reassess Chiyo's place in the Early Modern history of *haikai* by tracing her transformation into a notable interlocuter in the Bashō Revival. Second, by analyzing the international trajectory of her work within

the broader context of East Asian literati exchange, I hope to enrich existing understandings of the historical circumstances under which the genre now known as "haiku" crossed the boundary between domestic and foreign.

## Analytical Framework

My analysis of Chiyo's significance as a subject in the history of *haikai* pivots around the notion of what I call "nested *bunjin* subjectification," which takes inspiration from Nakamura Yukihiko's definition of *bunjin* 文人 (J: *bunjin* C: *wenren*) consciousness and Judith Butler's reading of Foucauldian subjectification. I argue that Chiyo emerges as a subject of power through the confluence of the state-sponsored discourses and *bunjin* subcultural discourses of eccentric marginality. Following Judith Butler's articulation of the subject, I read Chiyo as a "subject *of* power," where "of" connotes both "belonging to" and "wielding" power (14):

> Power not only *acts on* a subject but, in a transitive sense, *enacts* the subject into being. As a condition, power precedes the subject. Power loses its appearance of priority, however, which it is wielded by the subject, a situation that gives rise to the reverse perspective that power is the effect of the subject, and that power is what subjects effect. A condition does not enable or enact without becoming present. Because Power is not intact prior to the subject, the appearance of its priority disappears as power acts on the subject, and the subject is inaugurated (and derived) through this temporal reversal in the horizon of power.

(13-14)

In defining the notion of *bunjin,* I draw on Nakamura Yukihiko's formulation of a "*bunjin* consciousness" which was distinctly formed in the sociopolitical conditions of the Early Modern Period. The term *bunjin* is derived from *wenren,* the Chinese pronunciation of the same characters. While the term *bunjin* first appeared during the Heian period, Nakamura argues that it did not become a self-reflexive trope of self-identification until the Early Modern period, when a *bunjin* consciousness arose among men whose talents were marginalized by the Neo-Confucian political ideology implemented by the Tokugawa Shogunate. The Tokugawa Shogunate was a feudal patriarchal system of governance modeled on the ideology of Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (1130-1200), in which society was divided into four strata: samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants. This system both recognized and constrained individuals within one of these social categories, with one's professional and moral identity designated entirely to a singular role in life. The four-tier social order dictated that acceptable work for one's station consisted only of professions within one's hereditary occupational sphere, and subjects who pursued talents and ambitions outside the bounds of their designated lot in life were considered ideological transgressors.

However, Nakamura argues that the sociopolitical order had stagnated by the early 18$^{th}$ century: talented individuals who wanted to pursue a different life path were forbidden to do so, even as occupational saturation reached such a point that many found it difficult to develop their talents even within one's hereditary line of work. These ideological demands and pragmatic conditions fostered the subjectification of the *bunjin,* a talented male artist whose skills were marginalized by the state-sponsored social order,

a man who consciously looked to continental *wenren* as models for critiquing the dominant political order and asserting an alternative ideology. According to Nakamura, this particular manifestation of *bunjin* identity found its fullest expression in the Kyōhō (1716-36) and Hōreki (1751-64) periods, and can be identified through five key characteristics: "artistic versatility" 多芸 (J*: tagei,* C*:duoyi*); an "anti-vulgar attitude" 反俗 (J: *hanzoku*, C: *fansu* );[3] a "rich inner life" 豊かな精神生活 (J: *yutakana seishin seikatsu*) often paired with "reclusive" tendencies 隠逸 (J: *initsu*, C: *yinyi*); "eccentric behavior" 奇人的行動 (J: *kijintekikoudou* C: *qiren de xingdong*); and actively modeling oneself off the example of continental Chinese *wenren* (376).

Nakamura identifies the foundation for *bunjin* consciousness in two Genroku Period critics of Zhu Xi orthodoxy: rival Confucianists Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎(1627-1705) and Ogyu Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728), both of whom advocated for some kind of return to foundational Confucian texts. In particular, he argues, *bunjin* focused on a passage from the Confucian *Analects* 論語 (C: *lunyu* J: *rongo*):

> 子曰，志於道，拠於德，依於仁，遊於藝
>
> *Zi yue, zhi yu dao, shu yu de, yi yu ren, you yu gei*
>
> "Set your heart upon the Way, rely upon Virtue, lean upon Goodness, and explore widely in your cultivation of the arts." (Trans. Slingerland 65)

In Tokugawa Neo-Confucianism, a wide "cultivation of the arts" 遊於藝 (J: *gei ni asobu* C: *you yu gei*) was reduced to the least important of the four elements, and

[3] The "anti-vulgar" attitude is premised on the dichotomy of ga (雅) and zoku (俗), where the former indicates classical, elegant culture and language, versus the latter, which refers to popular, contemporary, or commoner culture and language (Shirane 295).

greater emphasis was placed on "principle" 理 (J:*ri,* C:*li*). However, both Jinsai and Sorai stressed the notion of moral cultivation through the arts, and Sorai in particular emphasized arts and letters as the method for cultivating a "gentleman's virtue" 君子之徳 (J: *kunshi no toku,* C: *junzi zhi de*) (in Nakamura 382). The rise of this heterodox Confucian thinking led to the phenomenon of educated men dabbling in various arts and letters as an outlet for their suppressed talents, and as an implicit critique of the state-sponsored demands. In addition, a wave of general interest in continental China brought about an increased awareness of the *wenren* model. Artistically and intellectually inclined Japanese men, who viewed *wenren* with respect and admiration, began to model themselves as *bunjin,* using the notion of "playing in the arts" as a means of escaping what they perceived as the vulgar and restrictive constraints of the hereditary class system. These men found spiritual cultivation of the self in artistic pursuits, yet for both ideological and pragmatic reasons, most had to maintain a somewhat normative professional life. Conversely, some men actually made a living from their art, but did not claim to do so for fear of reducing aesthetic cultivation to a vulgar utilitarianism. This tension between fulfilling one's social obligations as a professional and realizing one's individual talents through artistic play led to a rhetoric of hobbyism, in which *bunjin* declared themselves dabblers in a number of arts, which they pursued in the free time between the demands of their regular lives. It was through this process that *bunjin* were able to realize a sense of individualism and self-cultivation.

My project uses a modified version of Nakamura's *bunjin*, whose definition is restricted to men who are active in multiple literary genres. Thus, Nakamura claims that the *haikai* poet Matsuo Bashō does not qualify as a *bunjin* because he was too

specialized, and did not engage sufficiently with other genres. In contrast, I classify Bashō as a *bunjin* based on a broader understanding of "artistic versatility," which I define as sustained multi-medial artistic praxis. For Bashō, and for any other dedicated *haikai* poet, all poetry was created within a dynamic artistic space, where verses were composed not as static linguistic entities, but as part of their material and visual contexts of composition, calligraphed with brush and ink, and often paired with ink paintings.[4] In other words, *haikai* poesies was the holistic aesthetic of a poem's iterative linguistic, visual art, calligraphic, and material context. I identify "artistic versatility" as sustained artistic praxis within this matrix of poetry, calligraphy, and painting, even if that praxis is limited to one genre.[5]

My definition of *bunjin* makes one more significant departure. While Nakamura's *bunjin* are always male, I argue that women were also capable of taking up *bunjin* consciousness as a means to subvert their subjection within the Tokugawa social order, and to forge alternative paths by cultivating alternative identities around an eccentric, aesthetically driven lifestyle. In other words, by my definition, a *bunjin* is an eighteenth-century Japanese artist who meets the following conditions: a socially marginalized individual who takes up an eccentric lifestyle and a posture of avocational play in the arts; a person whose praxis exhibits artistic versatility through calligraphy, painting, and at least one literary form; a person who exhibits reclusive qualities paired with a rich inner life; and finally, a person who exhibits an anti-vulgar attitude and takes

[4] Though Nakamura does not explicitly mention it, he must have been aware of the multi-medial aspects of *haikai* poetics. Even so, for some reason he still considers Bashō too narrow in his artistic interest.

[5] Lawrence Marceau has also written a monograph foregrounding Nakamura's *bunjin* definition in his analysis of one of Chiyo's contemporaries, Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 (1719-1774), however, his analysis is based on an unmodified definition of Nakamura's *bunjin* consciousness.

after the continental *wenren* model, either directly or indirectly. I add the possibility of indirect modeling in this last category in order to acknowledge that, for Tokugawa women, direct modeling was difficult—if not impossible—because women from marginalized classes did not have access to the tools necessary to read literary Sinitic, and because the *wenren* model itself does not allow for the possibility of women finding a legitimate place in public life. For merchant-class women like Chiyo, the indirect model lies in the figure of Bashō.

Anna Beerens argues that the notion of the *bunjin* as a distinct, observable phenomenon must be reconsidered, in part because scholarship employing the term has made no clear distinction between the term's 'emic' (distinctions regarded as significant by the actors themselves) and 'etic' (distinctions deemed significant by outside observers) usage, as well as the tendency of scholars to conflate artistic *topoi* and autobiography. She notes that Nakamura, Marceau, and others have attempted to address these pitfalls by specifying that the figures who have come to be accepted as *bunjin* in modern scholarship did not explicitly identify themselves as such, but instead used potentially related terms and concepts (Beerens 23-28). This term's ambiguous usage has continued in subsequent scholarship, such as Puck Brecher's study of the aesthetics of strangeness (Brecher 10). My analysis also leverages "*bunjin*" as an etic term with emic elements, and I read one individual's cultural production in the context of her historically situated social identity. Despite its shortcomings, I find the term "*bunjin*" useful at this stage in my project's development, in that it helps me unpack the hierarchically inflected intersection of three elements in Chiyo's lifework: socially heterodox behavior; an avocational dedication to multi-artistic praxis; and an aesthetic of ambivalent marginality.

The *bunjin* subject emerges through eccentric reclusion and the pursuit of an avocational aesthetic life, a process that can be understood in terms of Butler's reading of Foucauldian subjectification: "The term 'subjectivation' carries the paradox in itself: *assujetissement* denotes both the becoming of the subject and the process of subjection—one inhabits the figure of autonomy only by becoming subjected to a power, a subjection which implies a radical dependency" (83). Tokugawa *bunjin* achieved a level of autonomy through amateur or hobby-like artistic pursuits, simultaneously becoming a subject and being subjected to orthodox philosophies in what constitutes a "radical dependency" between *bunjin* subculture and the Neo-Confucian ordering of social power.

The rhetoric of "playing in the arts," combined with a hobbyist's lifestyle of artistic production, created a means of subversion and a community of interlocutors which whom one could sustain and strengthen such subversion, in a process similar to the one Butler notes in the following:

> [I]n Foucault the possibility of subversion and resistance appears (a) in the source of a subjectivation that exceeds the normalizing aims by which it is mobilized, for example, in "reverse-discourse," or (b) through convergence with other discursive regimes, whereby inadvertently produced discursive complexity undermines the teleological aims of normalization…[the] subject who is produced through subjection is not produced at an instant in its totality. Instead, it is in the process of being produced, it is repeatedly produced…It is precisely the possibility of a repetition which does not consolidate that dissociated unity, the subject, but which proliferates effects which undermine the force of normalization. The term which not only

names, but forms and frames the subject…mobilizes a reverse discourse against the very regime of normalization by which it is spawned. (92-93)

Beginning in the early 18th century, the normalizing force of state-sponsored socio-politics was continually met with repetitions of the *bunjin,* a figure who frequently took the perceived "eccentricities" of his mindset and lifestyle as a badge of honor, and as evidence that his spiritual individualism was ultimately uncorrupted by the demands of the secular world. Likewise, I argue that Chiyo was a woman whose work was collected by male *bunjin* as a supplement to their reverse-discourse, but, like her male collectors, Chiyo was a subject *of* power, thus capable of her own subversion through repetition. Within the gendered margins of *haikai*, she cultivated a reverse-discourse which was nested within male *bunjin* communities, iterating a female *bunjin* identity that simultaneously subverted forces of normalization at the state and subcultural levels.

Scholars of Japanese studies tend to identify the "female subject," as well as notions of agency and subjectivity, as phenomena that first solidified in the Meiji Period (1869-1912) in correlation with the Western-influenced rise of the modern nation-state. In their introduction to *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms,* editors Julia Bullock, Ayako Kano, and James Welker note that "rich premodern veins of discourse empowering women have existed in Japan since the earliest times in the fields of literature, religion, and the arts," though those veins remain underexplored, particularly with regard to the Early Modern Period (1600-1868), when women of multiple classes first emerged as consumers and producers of cultural production (6).

While studies on Tokugawa women first began to appear in the 1980s and 1990s with the work of Yabuta Yutaka, Takagi Tadashi, Shiba Keiko, and Hayami Akira,

scholarship has tended to focus on social history and the role of women in relation to local Tokugawa communities and infrastructures. The past several decades have certainly seen a general uptick in scholarship on post-classical, pre-Meiji era Japanese women, including the 2010 anthology, *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan.* In their cowritten introduction, the editors note that the trope of women readers in ukiyo-e prints had become a recognizable phenomenon by the 1670s, and that "it is undeniable that women were a recognized segment of the commercial market for books before the seventeenth century was over" (2). Likewise, instructional texts for women's behavior, like the frequently cited *Greater Learning For Women,* "far from frowning upon literate women…accepted female literacy as a fait accompli" (3). Yet the anthology's editors stop short of making a claim for the Early Modern Japanese "Female Subject," rather, their focus is on the "Female as Subject," a subtle deferral of the thorny question of subjectivity. This particular phrasing acknowledges an increasingly multi-class, multi-regional population of women readers and writers, without making any broad claims about the subjective agency of women in the realm of Edo Period cultural production.

On the other hand, political historians like Anne Walthall and Betina Gramlich-Oka have taken up the question of women reader-writers as symbolic of the political and ideological self-reflexivity of such women, emphasizing political agency as the result of women's access to literacy, philosophical and ideological resources, and platforms through which to share their perspectives, such as salons and publications). While not focused on the history of women per se, Eiko's Ikegami's *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Bonds of Japanese Culture,* argues that engaged, literate

communities operating across class and gender lines created horizontal alliances which created a particular kind of proto-modern voluntary "civility," one which eventually contributed to the fall of the shogunate and the return of the imperial system via the Meiji revolution of 1868. Ikegami emphasizes the crucial role of local poetry circles in forming these bonds, as well as the increasingly active presence of women within those circles (187-88).

Likewise, art historians such as Patricia Fister have used the term "*bunjin*" to refer to female artists like Ike Gyokuran and Ema Saiko, a term that seems to gesture to both their continentally inflected artistic praxis and perhaps a related notion of self-reflexivity. Fister is one of the few Anglophone scholars to have written about Chiyo, but she does not identify her as a *bunjin,* likely because she is defining the *bunjin* as an artist who engages in an explicitly Sinitic genre, such as *kanshi,* or southern style painting. My project adds to this existing conversation in a limited manner, drawing on Chiyo as a case study of how, power enacted "women" within the *haikai* community, only to be subverted by the reiteration of "women" in reverse-discourse.

## Key Primary Texts

I support my argument of nested *bunjin* subjectification through the historically situated translation and analysis of three types of primary texts: epistles, paratexts, and poems. For the latter, I attempt to read each poem as an iterative work within a matrix of linguistic, calligraphic, and visual art. To facilitate this kind of reading, vary my translation formats to their various contexts. When quoting a poem from a printed book

which gives no information about its multi-medial context, I tend to follow the Anglophone convention of rendering poems in three short, non-syllable counted lines. When quoting a poem in a specific multi-medial context (such as a hanging scroll or a traveler's hat), I open with a photographic rendering of the work, paired with a Japanese transcription, followed by a transliteration and translation. In such cases, I lineate the poems in consultation with the calligraphic placement of the poem within the work in question, paying attention to the relationship between calligraphy, white space, and image.

When translating poems that appear in letters, I render each verse as one line, taking my cue from the limited space the poems take on the page. On the whole, I do not translate epistles in full, but rather I quote relevant passages, along with the Japanese and Romanization in parentheses. In the rare case that I do translate a letter in full, I render it in a format similar to the conventions of Anglophone letter-writing. When translating prefaces, I include a photographic reference to the publication's relevant pages, followed by an English translation. As with the letters, I provided targeted Japanese and Romanization in parantheses when analyzing. Unless otherwise indicated, translations of Chiyo's work are my own.

## Chapter Overview

Drawing on these three bodies of work, I demonstrate the dual significance of Chiyo's nested *bunjin* subjectification both for early modern *haikai* and for its transformation into "haiku," a cultural-linguistic representative of Japan in the realm of

world literature.  In the remainder of my introduction, I will provide a brief overview of the development of *haikai* under Matsuo Bashō, as well as the eighteenth-century anxieties that transformed into debates over the rightful heirs to Bashō's legacy, and the increasingly visible role of women in those debates.

In Chapter One, I provide an overview of what is known about Chiyo's biographical background, and a summary of established understandings of Chiyo's relationship with her most famous mentor, Kagami Shikō. Chiyo is generally regarded as a preternaturally talented poet who fell under Shikō's influence at a relatively young age, which led to the stagnation of her inherent talent. Indeed, Shikō praised Chiyo's poems for having an inherent feminine simplicity, and he discouraged her from straying from their natural appeal by over-polishing, or by seeking craft advice from poetic superiors. However, Chiyo deliberately and consistently acted against Shikō's exhortations. Instead, I demonstrate that she shaped her craft through the poetic socialities of correspondence and travel, ultimately shifting her reception from an object of collection to a subject of power: a female *bunjin* of the rural, contemporary margins.

Chapter Two further extends my examination of *bunjin* subjectification within the Bashō Revival movement. Having summarized the movement in broad stroke in my introduction, in Chapter Two, I highlight some of the movement's key figures and the revivalist discourses they advanced through publication, situating Chiyo's poetic socialities within that discourse. I then analyze the paratextual rhetoric in four *haikai* collections published between 1726 and 1774 (*Princess Ceremonies* 姫の式, *Trailing Mists* 霞がた, *A Sudden Journey* 鶉立, and *A Jeweled Watergrass Collection* 玉藻集), in order to track the transformation of Chiyo's reception to that of a valued interlocutor of

both Revival factions, and an exemplar in a lineage of talented female poets within the history of Bashō-influenced aesthetics. Moreover, I analyze the reverse discourses of two prefaces and one postscript (*Trailing Mists* 霞がた, *A Sudden Journey* 鶉立, and the Joseon collection), in which Chiyo depicts herself as a subject of power amidst lively debates over the inheritor of Bashō's *haikai* legacy.

In Chapter Three, I read Chiyo's work within the broader context of East Asian literati exchange, arguing that the provenance of her Joseon collection was consistent with an emerging sense of aesthetic complementarity among literati across generic and cultural-linguistic borders, Furthermore, I draw on the preface to Chiyo's second single-author poetry collection, *Voice of the Pine* 松の声, arguing that the subsequent domestic valuation of Chiyo's aesthetic was positively impacted by the circulation of her work to the Korean Peninsula. That reverberation reaffirmed her as a subject of domestic power in regional circulation, and presaged the role of national literatures in the realm of modern world literature.

Throughout this dissertation, I trace Chiyo's transformative journey from a minor feminine supplement to rural male *haikai* aesthetics into an interlocutor and exemplar of post-Bashō poetics. I argue that this transformation occurred through Chiyo's subjectification within *bunjin* subculture. As a subject of male *bunjin* power nested within Tokugawa state power, Chiyo was prescribed a passive, supplemental position as a "woman," a position she subverted through eccentric, aesthetic repetition. Before exploring the details of this transformation, however, I will spend the remainder of my introduction summarizing the development of *haikai* and its relationship to "haiku," as well as the generic figuration of "women" before Chiyo's time.

## The Rise and Fall (and Rise) of *Haikai*

The term "haiku" is often anachronistically applied to 5-7-5-syllable verses of the Early Modern Period (1603-1868),[6] but was first advanced by Meiji Period (1868-1912) literary reformist Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867-1902) in order to differentiate modern "haiku" 俳句 from both pre-Meiji *haikai* 俳諧, a form of linked verse, and *hokku* 発句, a term originally used to indicate the opening "greeting" verse of a *haikai* meeting, and later used to reference a single verse in other contexts as well.[7] Shiki's assessment of Early Modern *haikai* continues to shape our contemporary perception of the genre and its presentation in World Literature anthologies. According to Son Soon-Ok, Shiki was the first to raise Early Modern *haikai* to a global stage: "In 1892, during his college years, Shiki submitted 'Baseo as a Poet' to an American professor, a report on Bashō with English translations of [Bashō's] *hokku*, nothing less than the first opportunity to inform the world about haiku." (277). Shiki is also commonly referred to as one of the genre's "Big Four" canonical authors, thus credited both for his scholarly analysis of the genre as a modern literary phenomenon, and for his status as one of the genre's exemplary practitioners (Blyth 289).

Like many contemporary Western scholars of World Literature, Son (a comparative scholar of East Asian literature) interchanges the terms *hokku* 発句, *haikai*

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[6] Also known as the Tokugawa Period (a reference to the feudal system of military control, centralized and maintained by the Tokugawa shogunate), or the Edo Period (a reference to the city of Edo, modern-day Tokyo, which was established as the feudal capital in 1603).

[7] I will also use the term *hokku* to refer to a single verse of roughly 5-7-5 syllables, but when referring to the genre as a whole, I will use the term *haikai*.

俳諧, and *haiku* 俳句 as equivalent labels for a genre whose entry to “the world” (*sekai* 世界) occurs through the mechanism of “English translation” (*eiyaku* 英訳) The association between “the world” and “haiku” in English translation, as well as the association between “Bashō” and “haiku,” would quickly become canonical in World Literature after Shiki’s era. Shiki seemed to be aiming for just such a goal, as he begins his essay with two global claims: “If the rule that the best is the simplest holds good in rhetoric, our Japanese ‘hotsku’ (pronounced ‘hokku’) must be best of literature in this respect. The Hotsku which is composed of 17 syllables, should perhaps be the shortest form of verses in the world” Shiki zenshū v. 4, pg 16). Given its brevity, hokku, in addition to being the world’s shortest verse form, is also “the best of literature.” Shiki goes on to reinforce the genre’s global literariness by elevating it through association with authorial excellence in the form of Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) (fig. 2), who nurtured the *haikai* to its literary flowering.

Figure 2. A portrait of Matsuo Bashō from *100 Verses from 100 Haikai Poets* (1764) (ILGB 464, 465)

Bashō is rightly regarded as the father of the literary genre—and was thought of as such before Shiki's birth—having raised haikai from its medieval roots as a punny, often bawdy wordplay to an aesthetically conscious, allusive literary form. As Shiki notes in the epigraph above, "hotsku" became widely popular after Bashō's death, gaining practitioners from many socioeconomic and geographic walks of life. Shiki's reference to "dirty farmers" and "ignorant retailers" says as much, the former a gesture to literate rural practitioners far removed from cosmopolitan centers, and the latter to literate merchant class practitioners living in urban hotspots for cultural production. This expansion of haikai membership to the lower classes was a source of consternation to more elite-minded composers, who lamented the genre's coarsening so soon after Bashō succeeded in raising it to a respectable literary form.

Bashō did not invent a new poetic form so much as he gentrified an existing one. Haikai grew out of a communal linked verse form of poetry, *haikai no renga* 俳諧の連歌, a *zoku* 俗 variation on its refined linked-verse predecessor, *renga* 連歌,was something of a parlor game, in which a group of courtiers would gather to compose sequences ranging from 36 to 1,000 verses. Because it was a form originally antithetical to the refinement of renga and waka, some of haikai's core characteristics bear resemblance to its more refined predecessors:[8] it is composed in the native syllabary, it incorporates a degree of classical allusion, similar lyric rules, and is composed as part of a broader practice of sociality and communication. However, there are several crucial differences: hokku have 17 syllables to waka's 31, and employ a variety of "haikai

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[8] Stephen Carter notes that *renga* was initially dismissed as an inferior form, until it was elevated in the 14th century—an observation that signals that the hierarchical status of a literary genre is a moving target, and should be historically situated (6).

words” (*haigon* 俳言),[9] which are classified as the language of *zoku* 俗 (variously rendered as “vulgar,” “low,” and “vernacular”). These haigon encompass a much broader linguistic and thematic range than the prescriptive waka words (*kago* 歌語) which were used to denote elite literariness in the older, tradition (Kōji 13).

Unlike its more noble predecessors (in which words had long been ascribed with a “poetic essence” (*hon'i* 本意 ) linking them a well-established network of associated words, themes, and places), *haikai no renga* was a relatively unfettered new genre which allowed words that have never before been used in poetry. Most of the earliest *haikai* compositional rules were developed out of social need, as a relational etiquette needed to be established for group composition. Key among those rules are the *hokku* 発句, or the “opening verse” in any sequence, a *kireji* 切 字 (“cutting word”) and a lunar calendar-based *kigo* 季語 (“seasonal reference”).

Beginning in the Edo period, *haikai* expanded beyond those roots, and came to connote a particular mode of discourse rather than one poetic genre (though it also serves that purpose). The *haikai* discourse, which also includes *haiga* 俳画 (“*haikai* painting”) and *haibun* 俳文 (*“haikai* prose” ), delighted in the collision of “elegance” and “vulgarity,” comically upending traditional linguistic and cultural hierarchies. The earliest Edo *haikai* trends reflect the satirical spirit of its courtly roots, articulating both knowledge of the *waka* classics and a disregard for the dignity and elegance of those very tropes. While Bashō was initially a disciple of these witty, satirical *haikai* schools, his

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[9] Some diction which falls under the umbrella of *haigon*: Chinese compounds and readings (*kango* 漢語), vulgar diction (*zokugo* 俗語), dialects (*hogen* 方言), and Buddhist terms (*butsugo* 仏語).

poetic ambitions grew beyond those teachings. My reading of Bashō's impact on the genre comes from Haruo Shirane's *Traces of Dreams,* in which Shirane explains:

> Unlike classical [*waka*] poetry, which sought continuity in and preservation of a highly encoded and limited body of texts, *haikai* deliberately crossed boundaries, parodying authority and convention and seeking out new frontiers. At the same time, *haikai* needed, at least in Bashō's view, to forge bonds with the traditional arts, to draw authority and inspiration from the earlier poets of Japan and China, to find a larger philosophical and spiritual base.
>
> (Shirane 257)

In other words, the expanded vocabulary of *haikai* and its challenge to poetic orthodoxy was not a sufficient foundation for cultivating the form as a legitimate art. To give *haikai* a firm philosophical and spiritual foundation, Bashō developed a poetic ideal of *kōgo kizoku* 高悟帰俗, "awakening to the high, returning to what is low," a means of accessing the spirit of the ancient poets by returning to the commonplace language and themes of contemporary life, the varied so-called vulgar textures excluded from traditional genres. For Bashō, *zoku* was a refreshing lens through which to view *ga,* which had long gone stale from centuries of restriction and codification. The following verse is emblematic of Bashō's poetic balance of *ga* and *zoku*:[10]

風流の初めやおくの田植うた

[10] Though I draw from Shirane in my discussion of the *ga/zoku* dichotomy, this concept was most influentially explored by Nakano Mitsutoshi.

*fūryū no / hajime ya oku no / taue uta*

the start of elegance—

rice planting songs

of the deep interior

Bashō juxtaposes the *ga* concept of "elegance" (*fūryū* 風流) with the *zoku* concept of the "rice planting song" (*taueuta* 田植え唄) . Thus, the two poles are balanced, and poetics and farming become complementary. Bashō's symbiosis between *ga* and *zoku* allowed composers and audiences to enjoy the freshness of "vulgar" themes and language, yet also sense the serious literariness of the genre in its revitalization of "elegant" themes that had long grown stale in *waka.*

However, as Kawashima Tsuyu notes, after "Master Bashō" (*bashō-ō* 芭蕉翁）passed away, his disciples continued to cultivate their own versions of the "Bashō style" (*shōfū* 蕉風), splitting off into two main groups which are often designated as urban and rural (though, as Chapter Two will show, these designations do not necessarily correspond with geographic location). These groups set up rival schools claiming to preserve the master's teachings, each vying with one another for leadership. In general, the urban faction advocated for the *kanbunchō* 漢文調*,* or Sinitic style, visible in Bashō's early work. This style was characterized by wordplay and classical allusions, while the more broadly popular rural faction advocated for *heimeichō* 平明調*,* a clear, simple style characteristic of Bashō's later work, which tended toward more straightforward language and provincial subject matter. The "rural Bashō style" was more broadly appealing to those with basic literacy but minimal education, and little to no access to extensive

libraries or cosmopolitan poetic trends. This broad appeal and relative inclusivity led to the rural school's increasing influence in the *haikai* community as a whole.

These rustic schools were fiercely criticized by some of their contemporaries, who scornfully classified the two most influential rural schools, Mino and Ise, together under the category of "The Bumpkin Bashō School" (*inaka shōmon* 田舎蕉門 (Kawashima, 141). One of those vocal critics of the rustic schools, and the figure most widely associated with the revival, was the now-canonical Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1783), who is said to have studied with Bashō disciples Enomoto Kikaku 榎本其角 (1661-1707) and Hattori Ransetsu 服部嵐雪 (1654-1707). Buson was one of many who lamented what he perceived as the simplification and commercialization of *haikai* by his less talented contemporaries. Like Bashō, Buson favored a mix of *ga* and *zoku,* though his poems tend to place the emphasis on the former. Take, for example, the following verse, which drapes the figure of the commoner in an elegant robe:

秋風や酒肆に詩うたふ漁者樵者

*Akikazeya / shoshi ni shi utau / gyosha shōsha*

(in Shiki, *Haijin Buson*, 59)

Autumn wind—

Crooning Chinese poems in the barroom

fisherfolk & lumberjacks

Buson draws on the down-homey image of working-class men singing in a bar, but the poem's language is heavily Sinitic, with the compounds "barroom" 酒肆 "fisherfolk" (*gyosha* 魚者) and "lumberjacks" (*shōsha* 樵者) cloaking the commoners with a continental air of elegance. What's more, they are singing "Chinese poems" (*shi* 詩)

rather than vernacular verse (*uta* 歌), giving the *hokku* a doubly elegant sheen, enhanced by the sonorous, alliterative mouth-feel of the poem's *shoshi ni shi* and *gyosha shōsha.* This layering of commoner-class images with a continental aura was a favorite strategy of Buson's, and indicative of a general aesthetic divide between the urban and rural *haikai* schools of the post-Bashō era. Though Buson was happy to leverage the trope of the commoner in his own poetry, he was appalled by the simplistic verses "burst[ing] forth from the mouths of" actual commoners and country bumpkins, unless the commonness of their verses was balanced by elements of elegance.

In "Baseo as a Poet," Shiki claims that no poet after Bashō could equal the master's skill. However, he would later come to see *Buson* as the genre's most talented poet, and, in *The Haikai Poet Buson* (*Haijin Buson* 俳人蕪村), includes the above poem as an example of Buson's use of *kango* 漢語 to create forceful, highly condensed verses. Shiki came to view Buson as decidedly superior to Bashō, but even in making that claim could not overlook Bashō as the foundational figure who "opened up a fresh new world of haiku" (Shiki 1).

Buson, for his part, greatly admired Bashō, and felt himself a better inheritor of the master's legacy than most of his *Shōmon* 蕉門, his "Bashō School" contemporaries. In contrast to his own refined aesthetic, Donald Keene has noted that Buson derided Kagami Shikō 各務支考 (1665-1731), as a "peasant-style Bashō," regarding Shikō and the rest of the rustic Bashō school as an embarrassment to the master's legacy (340). This ongoing competition between urban and rural schools eventually solidified into a revival movement, with advocates in both camps calling for a return to an authentic Bashō aesthetic, though the nature of authenticity was a hotly debated subject. Sato Katsuaki

estimates that the revival movement lasted from roughly the 1730s to the 1790s, with the first revival publication being Sakuma Nagatoshi's 佐久間柳居 (1695-1748) *Goshikizumi* 五色墨 (*Ink in Five Colors* 1731) (91-96). Konishi Jin'ichi highlights eight figures as major influencers of the movement: Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村(1716-1784), Takai Kitō 高井几董 (1741-1789), Miura Chōra 三浦樗良 (1729-1780), Tan Taigi 炭太祇 (1709-1771), Katō Kyōtai 加藤暁台 (1732-1792), Chōmu 蝶夢 (1732-1795), Kaya Shirao 加舎白雄 (1738-1791), and Hori Bakusui 堀麦水 (1718-1783) (150-151). In addition, Takeya Sōrō notes that Takakuwa Rankō 高桑闌更 (1726-1798) was another influential figure in the movement who, in the Tenmei period, became one of five notable advocates of Bashō's late-life style , along with Chōra, Kaya, Kyōtai, and Oshima Ryōta 大島蓼太(1718-1787) (17). These figures from various regions and schools were able to maintain active poetic exchange with practitioners outside their local circles through written correspondence, delivered on foot by couriers via the Tokugawa highway system. Along with the mobility made possible by infrastructure, there was with a building sense of aesthetic anxiety among those who were surrounded by an increasingly commercialized culture of poetry competitions, but saw themselves as artists dedicated to a poetic path. This confluence of broadening networks and aesthetic anxieties led to a groundswell in collaboration among disparate figures who had a common goal: re-establish the elegance of *haikai* through a return to Bashō style.

It is worth noting that the Bashō revival movement marks a significant shift in the traditional poetic worldview about the aesthetic relationship between past and present. Harking back to an aesthetic past was a time-honored tradition among scholars and

artists—but that past was usually ancient and continental. The revival, on the other hand, harked back to a figure that still existed in living Tokugawa memory, and in the daily life and language of *haikai,* no less. For the first time, widespread sentiment claimed that aesthetic excellence was possible not only in the Sinophone past or in the archipelago's courtly classics, but in a genre of and about its own time, peopled by men and women, merchants and samurai and farmers. At the same time, many revivalists acted out of a conviction that *haikai* was as much a stage for re-inscribing classical Japanese and Chinese notions of elegance as it was a forum for developing contemporary poetic sensibilities. *Bunjin* such as Buson believed that not all those affiliated with the Bashō lineage had to right to carry on his traditions. Thus, the rightful authorial inheritors of this near-past was a matter of fierce debate.

Cheryl Crowley characterizes the Bashō Revival as a fundamentally collaborative effort initiated by the common enemy, the gamification of poetry through "point-gathering" (*tentori* 点取) *haikai*, a popular pastime where contestants compete to get the most points from a designated poetry judge (in "Collaboration" in EMJ 2003). In stark contrast to the lotto-like pastime of *tentori,* self-proclaimed Revivalists collaborated to dignify *haikai* in a number of concrete ways, including composing and publishing *Kasen* 歌仙 , collaborative sequences of 36 linked verses. Yokota also notes that publishing anthologies was a key Revivalist practice that, while never a source of serious income or material gain in the way that *tentori* could be for popular judges, was an important way to solidify a school's reputation in the field, or to establish the reputation of a newer member (15-16).

Publication-based collaboration extended beyond school and genre. For example, Buson also wrote prefaces and epilogues for acquaintances outside the Yahantei School, including one for *Ya-kana sho* 也哉抄 (*A Study of Cutting Words* 1774), a theory of *haikai* poetics written by the prominent literary figure Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734-1809), who is now best known for his supernatural tales, though he was active across a wide range of arts (Yokota 16). These school-based and boundary-crossing collaborations were rooted in two key affinities between collaborators: first, as an expression of "shared *bunjin* (literati) values," as Yokota puts it, and second, as a genre-specific corrective to the vulgarization of *haikai*, often through explicit or implicit reference to the venerable figure of Bashō (18). As Yokota notes, Buson perceived Akinari as a fellow *bunjin*, an elegant dabbler in the arts, a kindred spirit who also escaped the suppressive, commercialized mundanities of daily life through the cultivation of an aesthetic inner life (Buson's status as a professional painter notwithstanding). Thus, even if they were from different schools, artists would collaborate on projects out of a shared sense of *bunjin* identity.

To some degree, this shared *bunjin* sense even led to collaborations between Revivalists in opposing camps, despite their sometimes strong, well-known aesthetic disagreements. Two examples of publications which feature vocally opposed revivalists are Ozaki Kōkō's 尾崎康工 (1701-1779) *A Collection of One Hundred Haikai Poets* (*Haikai hyaku ichi shu* 俳諧百一集 1765) and Buson's *A Haikai Jeweled Watergrass Collection* (*Haikai Tamamoshū* 俳諧玉藻集 1774). Kōkō's publication was a collection of verses by one hundred notable *haikai* poets, beginning with Bashō. Kōkō was a proponent of reviving Bashō's late-life poetics, and, as one might expect, many of the

contemporaries he included in the collection were like-minded practitioners. However, among the hundred poets, Kōkō also included one of the most vocal proponents of Bashō's early style, Hori Bakusui.

The second publication, the *Jeweled Watergrass Collection*, is an anthology of verses written by direct female disciples of Bashō. The collection was published by Buson, who was not known for an admiration of women poets. In fact, three years before publishing the collection, Buson composed a Yahantei School print deriding Chiyo and her fellow rural female practitioners for what he dubbed their "old lady style" (*rōbatai* 老婆体). Yet just a few years later, not only did he edit a collection of poems by Bashō's female disciples, he also requested that Chiyo write a preface to mark the occasion. This surprising shift in Buson's attitude toward Chiyo is part of a larger phenomenon of gendered curation, which I describe in the next section.

## *Haikai* Women from Bashō's Time to the Revival

The shift in Buson's posture toward female poets in general, and to Chiyo in particular, is the culmination of a gradual process I call "collecting women," in which men who sought to gain or maintain status in the *haikai* community collected poems by women—and later collected female disciples—explicitly highlighting their work as a casual supplement to larger discourses on the Bashō legacy. During the Revival, the act of collecting women was employed specifically in the debates between advocates of Bashō's early and late styles.

This phenomenon is particularly striking, given the genre's masculine connotations, and given conflicting stories about Bashō's own feelings about female participation, which was quite rare in his day. Bashō himself is often attributed with a quote warning his fellow poets against associating with women writers: "Never befriend a woman who writes haiku. Don't take her either as a teacher or as a student…In general, men should associate with women only for the sake of securing an heir" (quoted in Kawashima 6). However, this is probably apocryphal, since Bashō both accepted female students and published them in his anthologies. Three predecessors are notable in that they were contemporaries or disciples of Bashō: Den Sutejo 田捨女 (1633-1698), Kawai Chigetsu 河合智月 (1634?-1718), and Shiba Sonome 斯波園女 (1664-1726). Sutejo and Bashō initially shared a Teimon School mentor in Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624-1705), before they both moved on to different styles. The eldest daughter of an illustrious samurai family near Kyoto, Sutejo outranked Bashō in status and resources, though they were both from the samurai class, and the wordplay and allusion in her work gestures frequently toward the classical canon. Her status in the *haikai* community appeared similarly superior, given that the Teimon collection *Sequel to a Mountain Spring* (*Zoku yamanoi* 続山ノ井 1667), which included 967 poets—15 of them women—featured thirty-five of Sutejo's *hokku* and five *renku*. Her husband was also featured, but only with eleven *hokku*, while Bashō fared better with twenty-eight *hokku* and three *renku* (Kawashima 8). These numbers suggest that, while a masculine answer to the feminized *tanka* tradition, a woman of appropriate rank and education could attain a limited position within the *haikai* community.

Both Chigetsu and Sonome were disciples of Bashō after he left the Teimon School to create his own aesthetic. Chigetsu may have been born at Usa, and is thought to have served in the imperial court when she was young, though she later married a successful merchant-class man and settled in Otsu. She took the tonsure after her husband passed, and adopted his brother to take over the business, and it is through him that she became acquainted with Bashō and haikai. She and Bashō apparently became close friends, and while she remained at home with her grandchildren, she and Bashō maintained a close connection until his death. In contrast, Sonome was exposed to *haikai* from her childhood in Ise. She is said to have been a beautiful and ambitious woman who actively sought out *haikai* masters once she married an eye doctor and they moved to Osaka together. She took to Edo in 1704 after her husband's death, began working with Bashō disciple Enomoto Kikaku 榎本其角 (1661-1707), became a professional *haikai* teacher and judge, eventually compiling two anthologies before her death, *Chysanthemum Dust* (*Kiku no chiri* 菊のちり, roughly 1708) and *The Crane's Walking Stick* (*Tsuru no tsue* 鶴の杖 Kyoho 8). While *haikai* activities by women were quite limited during the seventeenth century, Sutejo, Chigetsu, and Sonome's success suggests that, even in its early stages, *haikai* was not completely off limits, though class and discipleship were essential elements to achieving recognition among the overwhelmingly male community. Location was also key, as Kyoto, Osaka, Edo, and Ise were all active sites of poetic composition. On the whole, though, *haikai* was a masculine endeavor, and publications devoted to women were few and far between.

If the presence of women in *haikai* circles was scarce in the 17$^{th}$ century, it was even more so in *haikai* publications. The earliest collection dedicated to verses by

women, Ihara Saikaku's 井原西鶴 (1642-1693) *Haikai Immortal Poetesses* 俳諧女歌仙 (*Haikai nyokasen* 1684), was comprised of thirty-six verses written by thirty-six women, with each poem accompanied by a portrait of the poet. In his preface, Saikaku writes that *haikai*, "being part of Japanese poetry, is one of the refined arts suitable for women to learn…Therefore, even a female stable hand in a remote village would have the heart to avoid cutting blooming boughs for firewood, feel sorry for marring the new snow in her vegetable garden with footprints, be moved by the sunrise and sunset glows seen through the window of her mountain hut, and write a haiku by imagining famous places in poetry like the Sea of Nago" (in Ebara 463).

In fact, Saikaku's publication was less a poetry collection than a portrait collection adorned with verses. The visual emphasis, combined with Saikaku's general outlook on the *haikai* genre, suggests that classical allusions in the title and preface were used tongue-in-cheek, rather than as a serious attempt to elevate the aesthetic evaluation of the featured women. Nevertheless, the collection's demographics offer a window into the kind of wider access that *haikai* would begin to provide. Of the thirty-six women, eleven were from rural regions, while many of the more centrally located poets were from lower class groups, or groups that fell outside the Neo-Confucian social hierarchy, such as courtesans, concubines, nuns, and chambermaids (Ebara 463).

Only two other anthologies devoted to women were published before the Bashō Revival: *The Chrysanthemum's Way* (*Kiku no michi* 菊の道 1700), compiled by the first female editor of a women's *haikai* collection, Terasaki Shihaku 寺崎紫白 (?-1718?) of Bungo, and Volume Two of *Haikai Mikawa Komachi* 三河小町 (*Mikawa Komachi* 1702), a collection of work by 66 women of the Bashō school from various provinces,

compiled by Ota Hakusetsu's 太田白雪(1666-1735) (Bessho, *Kotoba wo,* 17). *Kiku* and *Mikawa* were, respectively, the first and second is the first *haikai* collections that featured a number of female practitioners of the Bashō School. Hakusetsu, the editor of the latter, was a village headman in Mikawa Shinshiro 三河新城 (modern day Aichi Prefecture), and a close friend to Shikō. The collection included 103 verses by 66 Bashō school poets from Mikawa as well as other provinces. While some of the poets had previously appeared in publications such as *Monkey's Raincoat* (*sarumino* 猿蓑 1691) and *A Sack of Charcoal* (*Sumidawara* 炭俵 1694)*,* many more were women who had not appeared substantially in previous publication. This was an intentional choice on Hakusetsu's part, as he indicates in his preface that he selected verses by commoner class women and girls at random (Bessho, *Bash*ō *ni*, 44). These two turn-of-the-century publications suggest that, from the earliest stages, rural Bashō schools were somewhat open to the inclusion of women in their *haikai* communities, and the promotion of women's work through publication.

Though the rural schools took on female disciples and published verses by women, they did so with notions of women's poetry as inherently simplistic, springing forth naturally from the feminine condition, while men's poetry was thought of as more cerebral and complex. In the following chapter, I'll review Chiyo's encounters with this dichotomy in her interactions with Shikō, and track the ways in which she contradicted and subverted this advice through two forms of poetic sociality (travel and correspondence), engaging and collaborating with a wide swath of the *haikai* community to develop an aesthetic of eccentric, feminine marginality, and emerge as a rural female *bunjin* subject.

# CHAPTER II

# KAGA NO CHIYO AND THE SUBVERSIVE POETIC SOCIALITIES OF *HAIKAI* SUBJECTION

This chapter opens with a brief overview of Chiyo's biographical background, with a particular emphasis on the geographical and class context of her early encounters with *haikai.* After establishing this context, I will highlight how Kagami Shikō, the most influential *haikai* figure of her home region, reinforced Chiyo's status as a subject of *haikai* belonging, even as he sought to delimit her to a narrow definition of contemporary "women's" poetry by warning her against pedagogical training or poetic revision. Despite these exhortations, however, I argue that Chiyo cultivated a subversive *haikai* praxis through the poetic socialities of letter-writing and travel. Through correspondence, she reiterated herself as a poet with diverse pedagogical and collegial influences, who was actively engaged in refining and circulating her poetry through revision and publication. Moreover, she leveraged experiences and tropes of travel in order to recenter the poetic figure of "woman" out of the courtly, cosmopolitan past, and into to a rural, commonplace present.

## Biographical Background

Though much about Chiyo's biography is legend, and documentation is in short supply, she seems to have been born in 1703, less than a decade after Bashō's death, in the village of Mattō in the Kaga domain, a rural western fiefdom run by the Maeda clan.

The Maedas had the largest and wealthiest fief of all *tozama* daimyō, at 1,000,000 *koku*, and were linked by marriage to the Tokugawa family. To combat any shogunate suspicion regarding the clan's possible military ambitions, the Maedas poured their considerable resources into the pursuit of arts and culture, and these pursuits, along with infrastructure, made the family seat of Kanazawa (fig. 3) a lively, prosperous city for art and commerce, despite being far from the primary cosmopolitan centers of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto.

Figure 3. 18th-century map of Kaga by Mori Kōan (*Nihon Bunkyū* Database)

The province's cultural reputation was first initiated by Kaga's 4th daimyō, Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 (1643-1724), whose passion for collecting Sinitic classics from both the continent and the archipelago led him to amass such a collection (including a substantial collection of Joseon publications) that contemporary Confucianist scholar-bureaucrat Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725) referred to Kaga as the "the world's library" 天下の書府 (Son 272). While the emergence of a lively cultural life was not

unique to Kaga (by the second half of the Tokugawa period provincial publishers were operating in at least 50 castle towns), the Maeda clan's political and aesthetic inclinations made it a particularly vibrant cultural margin (Rubinger 83).

Throughout the first half of the Early Modern Period, the most influential centers of cultural production were based in the metropolitan centers of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. While they remained significant cultural sites throughout the period, population growth in provincial castle towns led to new centers of cultural and economic production arising in the 18$^{th}$ century. By 1700, five to seven percent of the Japanese population lived in four cities with populations over 100,000, on par with major contemporary Europe centers such as Rome and Amsterdam. Kaga Province's Kanazawa was one of those four cities.[11]

In 1689, Bashō spent time in Kaga during a five-month, thousand-mile journey that would become the basis for his famous *haikai* travelogue, *The Narrow Road to the Deep Interior* (*Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 1702). Merely a tiny hamlet at the dawn of the Early Modern Period, Kanazawa was bolstered by increased travel, being located near a coastal shipping route, and at a crossroads for the regional Kinseki loop road (*kinseki ōkan* 金石往還), the Mattō-Tsurugi road (*Mattō tsurugi kaidō* 松任鶴来街道), as well as the inter-provincial Northern Country Road (*hokkoku kaidō* 北国街道),[12] the path Bashō took to wrap up his *Narrow Road* journey.

Chiyo's hometown was a post station (*shukuba* 宿場) along the Hokuriku Road (*hokurikudō* 北陸道), a day drip from Kanazawa and ten days from Kyoto. As a town

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[11] The other cities were Edo, Osaka, and Nagoya.

[12] The *Hokkoku kaido* was one of five centrally administered major routes (五街道) established during the Tokugawa period to link major metropolitan centers with the hinterlands.

within the purview of Kanazawa castle, Mattō prospered financially as the site of industries such as oil refining, indigo dyeing, and alcohol brewing, thus benefiting from the Maeda clan's proactive nurturing of provincial art and industry. However, it is important to note that, despite its relative development, Kaga was still at a geographic and political remove from cosmopolitan centers of power, thus it was considered rural in the larger context of Tokugawa Japan. Moreover, Kaga lacked a significant place in the history of literary allusion, rendering it a geographical site unmarked by the classical cartography of artistic production.

Chiyo lived her entire life as a merchant-class woman at this cultural margin. Her father was probably a scroll mounter named Fukumasuya Rokubei 福増屋六兵衛, and her mother is thought to have been from the nearby Muraiya 村井屋 family. Rokubei's profession brought him in contact with a variety of artists, and Chiyo may have gained early exposure to *haikai* through the business. Legend has it that Chiyo was a natural poet who began composing poetry as early as seven years old (though there is no documentation of her poems from that age). In 1714, an eleven-year-old Chiyo went to nearby Motoyoshi to act as *haikai* apprentice to Kitagataya Yazaemon 北潟屋弥衛左門 (who eventually took the poetic name Daisui 大睡), probably her first formal entry into the world of *haikai* (Nakamoto 694).

In the fall of 1714, Chiyo worked for a short time in the Kanazawa home of Kitamura Saburoemon 北村三郎右衛門 (who composed *haikai* under the term Yukio 雪翁), the sixth generation of the Kitamura, a prestigious merchant-class family who had worked for generations as the town's leading officials. There, she studied *haikai,* along with his eldest daughter, Karyō 珈涼 (1696-1771), with whom she would strike up a

lifelong friendship. Yukio passed away on the 29th day of the 4th month of 1715, when Karyō was 18, and Chiyo 12 (Minamori, "Chiyojo no kage," 177-8).

Chiyo first met Shikō, the mentor who would come to define her posthumous reception, in 1719, while he was passing through Mattō to make a condolence call, along with the Kanazawa painter, Chikaku 知角. Having arrived late in the day, Shikō and Chikaku were invited to stay the night, and asked to participate in a *haikai* gathering, in which the seventeen-year-old Chiyo also participated. Many scholars emphasize how impressed Shikō was by Chiyo's talent, praising her as a "wonder" (*chinji* 珍事) in a letter to Mino School poet Daigo, writing: "She began writing hokku at the end of last year, she has a mysterious propensity for it" (*sakunen saibo yori futo hoku wo hajime, atama kara fushigi no meijin* 去年歳暮よりふと発句をはじめ、あたまからふしぎの名人 (Nakamura 49).

It is unclear why Shikō was under the impression that she had only just begun to dabble in *haikai*. Perhaps Chiyo, or her parents (or both) deliberately gave this impression in hopes that Shikō would be more interested in mentoring a woman with spontaneous abilities. For whatever reason, the narrative of Chiyo as a completely untrained, spontaneous talent quickly emerged, and took on a more legendary aura after she passed away. Then again, Shikō may have intentionally reimagined Chiyo for his own sake, perhaps believing that her appeal as a female poet would be greater when framed within a narrative of natural talent which springs forth miraculously. He remained in touch with her after their meeting, offering mentorship and advice via correspondence, as most teachers did at the time.

A number of scholars claim that, at 18, Chiyo was married to a man in Kanazawa, and that the two had a child together, but that her husband passed away—or that she divorced him—after only a couple of years. However, there is no documentation to confirm these claims, and, on the contrary, several sources written while she was still alive identify her as having never married (Nakamoto 54-60). Setting aside the question of whether she ever married, she moved quite a lot between 18 and 20 years old: she is listed as a Kanazawa resident in *North Country Songs* (*hokkoku kyoku* 北国曲 1721), during the 1720 composition of her first known appearance in print. In another collection published in 1720, *Usakashū* 鵜坂集, she is listed as a Mattō resident. Her poetry appears again in 1723, but with no indication of her residence. Whatever the reason, once she returned to Mattō at the age of twenty, she remained there for the rest of her life (Nakamoto 57).[13]

In sum, while there is a great deal about Chiyo's biography that remains unverified, historical documentation indicates that she had some interactions with members of the *haikai* community in her teenage years (through the Motoyoshi *haikai* circle and the Kitamura family), she met Shikō when she was 17 years old, and became actively engaged in *haikai* publication from the age of 19. However, there was a seven-year period, between the ages of 34 and 41, in which her *haikai* engagement is quite thin. It was probably the period in which she lost all three members of her family, her father, mother, and younger brother (Nakamoto 64). These circumstances led to her taking over the business, which is why she identified herself as a "scroll-maker of Mattō" in a 1748

[13] According to Nakamoto, Chiyo also appears under the variant name Chiyo 千世 as a resident of Etchū in *Friends of Water* (*mizu no tomo* 1723). Nakamoto expresses certainty that the Etchū Chiyo and Kaga Chiyo are one and the same, though he does not give a reason for that certainty.

collection, one of her rare appearances during this time (Yamane 47-48). At 49 years old she adopted her niece, Nao, and his husband Rokubei, to take over the business, and in 1754, at the age of 52, she took the tonsure and became a nun. The adoption allowed Chiyo to withdraw from the responsibilities as head of the business, while taking the tonsure further freed her from social obligations, allowing her to focus more attention on poetry.

Chiyo's poems appeared in over 150 collections over the course of her lifetime, and her work was collected in two single-author anthologies published in her lifetime. Between those two publications, the Maeda clan commanded her to curate and compose a set of her own verses onto 6 hanging scrolls and 15 folding fans, which provincial representatives gave as a diplomatic gift to a delegation of envoys visiting from Joseon Korea—the first time that *haikai* circulated beyond the domestic borders of Tokugawa Japan. She sought and received poetic advice from many practitioners, collaborated with dozens of artists from a wide stylistic range, and even took on three female disciples of her own.

Despite the wide geographic and stylistic range of her poetic engagements, and the degree of her visibility both in and out of print, most existing scholarship focuses on the role of her mentor, Shikō, the man who, according to many, would stunt her aesthetic growth with his rudimentary poetics. Questioning Chiyo's supposed good fortune in being enfolded under Shikō's wing, for example, Bessho Makiko writes: "Imagine what would have happened if she had trained with someone like Ota Hakushu or Sakamoto Sokutsu, someone who truly understood Bashō's teachings. It is a shame that [Shikō] was merely an impediment to the natural talent so apparent in her work." (*Bashō ni hirakareta*

187). Bessho ultimately assesses Chiyo's work as the manifestation of unrealized inherent poetic talents, claiming that Chiyo's natural propensity was harmed by simplistic, inferior poetic guidance of Shikō, who led Chiyo astray from an aesthetic correctly inflected by Bashō's aesthetic. Bessho makes this assessment despite that fact that Shikō passed away in 1731, while published evidence of Chiyo's *haikai* engagement stretches from 1720 to 1774. Such an assessment suggests that the development of Chiyo's aesthetic was consistently and thoroughly impacted by Shikō's mentorship, even long after he passed away. In *The Collected Works of Chiyo,* Nakamoto notes that Chiyo went on to engage with many other *haikai* mentors and traveled to engage with poets of multiple regions (42). Yet despite his observation, scholarly assessments of Chiyo's work remain dominated by assumptions of Shikō's outsized influence.

In contrast, I argue that, rather than merely following Shikō's directives, Chiyo cultivated a nuanced poetics informed by a diverse range of poetic relationships and experiences. In particular, I highlight two types of poetic socialities through which Chiyo cultivated her aesthetic: correspondence and travel. Drawing on these poetic socialities, I demonstrate how Chiyo was inagurated by Shikō and other men as an inherently feminine, simplistic subject belonging to power, even as she cultivated herself as a devoted subject wielding power in *haikai* communities. In Part I, I analyze a number of letters Chiyo wrote to members of the *haikai* community (as well as two letters written by Shikō) to demonstrate that Chiyo subverted her famous mentor's advice in a number of ways: she sought mentorship and collegial input from multiple sources across provincial and hierarchical borders; she actively submitted her work for publication in a number of anthologies; and she sustained mutually supportive relationships with other women who

sought poetic cultivation. In Part II, I demonstrate how Chiyo subverted state and *haikai* subcultural discourses by leveraging literary travel tropes to refigure poetic “women” from a courtly, cosmopolitan past to a rural, commonplace present.

## Epistolary Glimpses of Chiyo as a Subject of Power

As mentioned previously, Shikō depicted Chiyo as a spontaneous natural talent in his letter to Daigo. However, he paints a different picture in the following letter (fig. 4), which he wrote (under the name Ren’yō) to the Kanazawa poets Sanrin 山隣 and Sōkyū 曽及, describing the day he first met the 17-year-old Chiyo at a gathering held at her family home in Mattō. In describing the day’s events, Shikō provides some insights into the carefully defined boundaries of *haikai* membership, as well as his school’s own approach to poetic mentorship of those yet uninitiated in the community:

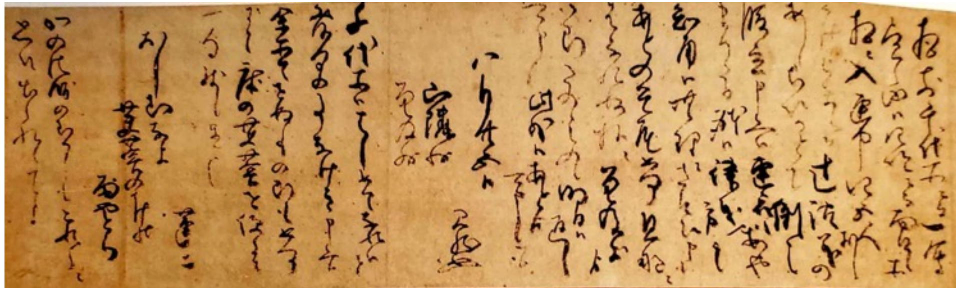

Figure 4. Shikō’s letter to Sanrin and Sōkyū[14]

> Last night there was a gathering at Chiyo’s. Four of us pleasantly spent the day composing linked verse. In the evening, a group of 4 or 5 uninvited guests came to the house and asked if we would like to hear a street sermon.

[14] Image taken from page 11 of Kaga no Chiyo *sono shōgai to geijutsu* (hereafter referred to as KCSSTG).

> As always with these things, I was angered by the intrusion, so the offending group made apologies—but Chikaku, in his unswerving sense of etiquette, forced the intruders' continued company on us by inviting them to join our poetic composition. How will all this end? [Chikaku] would like the honorable Sōkyu to plead for our sponsor's forgiveness on this matter, and for continued support. [He] will return tomorrow. [He will] elaborate on the details later. That is all.
>
> To Mr. Sanrin
>
> Mr. Sōkyū
>
> P.S. Since this was my first time at Chiyo's, how could I pressure her in her own home when she expressed reticence about composing *hokku*? So, using the cotton rose as a basis, I composed for her a sample verse.
>
> Ren'yō
>
> don't begrudge me!
> rain shelter in the shadow
> of a cotton rose
>
> This verse calls to mind a certain monk from long ago.
>
> (Nakamoto 47)

Shikō's letter reveals his rural school's tendency toward inclusion, as well as the guidelines that legitimated belonging within the *haikai* community. His frustration with the uninvited guests seeking an audience for their "street sermon" (*tsujidangi* 辻談義) suggests that this type of intrusion was not welcome, but also not uncommon. Chikaku, out of an excessive sense of decorum, forcibly invites the intruders (*muri ni sasoi* 無理に

さそひ) to compose with the group once apologies are made, a decision that leads Shikō to fret: “How will all this end?” (*ato no shubi ika* あとの首尾如何). The fallout from Chikaku’s invitation reveals a border of belonging within the community: opportunistic revelers without a vested interest in *haikai* are not, and should not be, welcome. Yet the circle of composition is forcibly expanded by Chikaku’s painstaking sense of etiquette, with twofold consequences. Shikō, one of the most respected members, is naturally annoyed. But—perhaps just as crucially—Chikaku’s *faux pas* throws the circle’s patronage into doubt. Shikō worries that the incident will cause their “sponsor” (*danna* 旦那) to withdraw his support. In Early Modern *haikai*, the sponsor was generally a local, wealthy, merchant-class man who offered financial support for poetic gatherings, and who may or may not be in attendance at any given event.

Though the sponsor is unnamed, bits of knowledge can be gleaned between the lines. The person is likely to be on good terms with Sōkyū, since Sōkyū has been given the delicate task of making apologies. And since both addressees, Sōkyū and Sanrin, are from nearby Kanazawa, it’s possible that the patron is also based there (Nakamoto 47). The patron was likely a man investing in his own status and skillset through aesthetic patronage, as well as in the more general status and skillset of Kaga. In Shikō’s letter, the street performers’ inclusion threatens both the substance and status of the *haikai* community. The subsequent need for delicate diplomacy suggests that the rural region’s *haikai* circles held a vested interest in maintaining an elevated level of aesthetics among the community’s various gatherings.

And yet, Shikō displays a marked generosity toward Chiyo on this same day. In sharp contrast to his exasperated rejection of the street performers, Shikō accepts Chiyo’s

reticence to compose for the first time in front of him, even goes so far as to compose an example verse as a form of encouragement and guidance. Shikō attributes this unusual allowance to their presence in her home. It may truly be that he was merely observing etiquette, or that Chiyo's family held active enough, and financially fit enough, membership in the *haikai* community that Shikō was wary of offending them for practical reasons. But perhaps the most likely reason is that someone already established within the community had suggested he meet Chiyo. One indication of this is that he references Chiyo in his postscript without any sort of introduction or preliminary explanation, meaning it is likely that Sanrin and Sōkyū had already met her. In fact, given that Sanrin included Chiyo in two collections he edited and published in 1723—just a year after she first appeared in print alongside Daisui and other Motoyoshi poets—he was probably among the first men to bring Chiyo to Shikō's attention (Nakamoto 695). That being the case, Shikō's generosity toward Chiyo may have been in part a gesture of respect for the Kanazawa poets who had recommended his visit in the first place.

Yet Shikō's example poem suggests that his generosity was also linked to a larger stylistic and demographic mission. Reporting that he composed the following model poem for Chiyo: "don't begrudge me!/ rain shelter in the shadow/ of a cotton rose," he follows with a brief note stating that the poem calls to mind "a certain monk" (*ka no hōshi* かの法師) from long ago—namely, the *waka* poet and itinerant monk, Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190). More specifically, Shikō's verse harks back to a famous exchange depicted in a travel-themed *waka* poem of the *Shin kokinwakashū* 新古今和歌集 (978-979). The exchange occurs when Saigyō, caught in a downpour while traveling in

Eguchi, begs a night of shelter from a courtesan who refuses him. Upon this refusal, Saigyō composes the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| so difficult it | *yo no naka wo* |
| is to learn to reject | *itou made koso* |
| this world of ours | *katakarame* |
| but you begrudge me even | *kari no yado wo mo* |
| a temporary lodging | *oshimu kimi kana* |

To which the courtesan, Tae, replies:

| | |
|---|---|
| because I'd heard you're | *yo o itou* |
| one who hates this world I thought | *hito to shi kikeba* |
| only that your heart | *kari no yado ni* |
| ought not become attached to | *kokoro tomu na to* |
| this temporary shelter | *omou bakari zo* |

(trans Rodd 402)

The exchange exemplifies a theme in much of Saigyō's work: the tension between Buddhist nonattachment and the poet's connection to the phenomenal world. When Tae denies him lodging despite the fact that the space can accommodate him, Saigyō attributes her choice to her pitiful lot in life, forced to live as a lowly courtesan who detests the world (*yo no naka o/itou made koso* 世中を厭ふまでこそ). Yet she, too, answers in verse, and her poetic composure shines a light on his own attachment to the ways of the world, an attachment that persists despite his vows. Her inferior status, as a woman and a sex worker, does not blind her to the complex nature of spiritual and aesthetic worlds.

Shikō's allusive *hokku* is more than an example of form. He invites Chiyo into the *haikai* community with his verse, while also testing her ability to read that invitation's allusive direction, and demonstrating to his colleagues the poetic legacies underlying his generous response. Unlike Tae, Shikō does not begrudge Chiyo a place in his poetic dwelling. Rather, he opens the door by providing an example poem rather than demanding a performance. But his allusive choice also suggests that he held an awareness of the gendered power at play in the room where they first met: a seventeen-year old woman with relatively little *haikai* experience, asked to compose for one of Bashō's top ten disciples. Yet for Shikō, her gender did not preclude her from inclusion. Indeed, his allusion invites her to envision herself as a woman able to participate in the poetic community, just as Tae was able to briefly participate, when—through verse—she transcended the constraints of her lamentable woman's body. The allusion speaks to Shikō's notion of *haikai* belonging, which extends beyond the genre's masculine roots, extending even to young, merchant-class women of the rural margins who possess no remarkable artistic background.

At the same time, his impatience with the intruders, and his anxiety over the potential loss of sponsorship, reveals that—for both Shikō and other members—such expansiveness was predicated upon a definite investment in intentional, sustained poetics. Whatever his poetic skill, Shikō clearly had a larger vision in mind for the rural Bashō schools: one with an eye toward keeping its doors open to the uninitiated, without losing the primacy of poetry or the importance of aesthetic legacy.

The letter also reveals a side of Chiyo that contrasts with narratives of a precocious six-year-old spontaneously composing *hokku*, or of the wise 17-year-old who

demonstrated inherent genius upon her first meeting with Shikō. Instead, he depicts her as a reticent young woman uncertain of her own poetic powers. When called upon to join the composition, Chiyo doubts the depth of her knowledge and experience (*hoku no koto nageki mōshi sōraeba* 発句の事なげき申候へば), a hesitation that suggests her awareness of Shikō's status in the *haikai* community, as well as her belief that *hokku* composition is predicated on a certain intellectual or aesthetic foundation, rather than a simple spontaneous utterance.

Ironically, though he was adamant about the importance of poetics to community membership, Shikō was not known to be a rigorous mentor when it came to refining one's craft. The following letter from Shikō to Chiyo (thought to be from 1720), is emblematic of his pedagogy, and it also conveys the gendered expectations to which Chiyo was held. In responding to some poems Chiyo had sent, he warned her: "By no means should you have people correct [your poems]. If some parts are not orderly, I praise that as the work of woman's true sentiment." (*kanarazu ya, hito ni naoshite omorai arumajiku sōrō. Totonawanu tokoro aru wo, onago no honjō to home mōsu koto nite sōrō* かならずや、人になおして御もらひあるまじく候。ととなはぬ所あるを、おなごの本情とほめ申事にて候 (Nakamoto 49). Shikō's advice may be rooted in a sense of territoriality: having collected her among the women he teaches, he warns her away from seeking other teachings. It is also rooted in gendered notions of women's poetry as inherently simple and emotive, in contrast to the complex and cerebral verses of men. This dichotomy, combined with the rural-style Bashō schools' preference for simple verses akin to the "lightness" (*karumi* 軽み) found in Bashō's late-life work, led poets

like Shikō toward a positive view of *haikai* verses by women, which served as a useful supplement to the stylistic preferences of male curators.

Rather than following this directive, however, Chiyo sought to improve her craft by cultivating a variety of mentorships and collegial relationships through correspondence. In addition to working with Shikō, and maintaining contact with the Motoyoshi School throughout her life, she sought out many others, cultivating her craft through the poetic sociality of correspondence. Most of Chiyo's letters are undated, but it is possible to divide them into two categories: early career letters (which are signed simply "Chiyo" 千代, and refer to her parents), and letters from 1754 or later (which are signed with "Chiyo the Nun" 千代尼, "Chiyo the Nun Soen"千代尼素園, or "Soen" 素園, and which refer to her adopted son and daughter, Nao and Rokubei). Unfortunately, very few letters from her early career are extant, but what is available supports the notion that, contrary to Shikō's advice, Chiyo sought out mentorship and collegial feedback from the earliest stage of her aesthetic pursuits. One example of her early efforts to secure mentorship from senior members of the *haikai* community is depicted in the following rough draft of a letter she wrote to the Etchū *haikai* poet Ozawa Rokubei 大澤六兵衛 (?-?) (fig. 5), who she addresses with his *haikai* penname, Ama 海人:

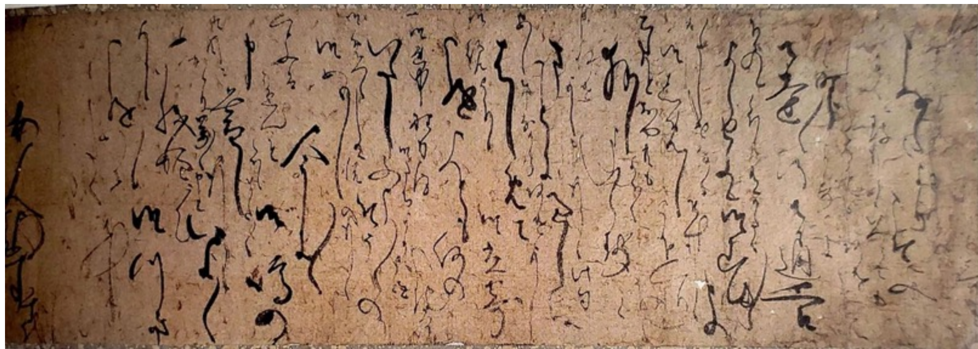

Figure 5. Letter to Ama (KCSSTG 14)

The scroll is brushed with two variations of the same letter, with slight changes in phrasing, though both iterations express gratitude on behalf of both Chiyo and her parents for Ama's recent visit to their home: "When you first called upon us, you graced our home with your company, yet we could not offer an adequate feast" (*hajimete otachiyori asobare sōraedomo nan no gochisō mo itashi mōsezu* はじめて御立遊ばれ候へども何の御ち争もいたし不申) (Nakamoto 417,  KCSSTG 14). In addition to having called upon their household, Ama must have sent written feedback, as she also writes: "you sent your words from a distance, such a distance, pointing out [the ways of poetic craft] in great detail, [which] I often reread"（*gotoki gotoki no* GOTSU *oboshimeshi yoraserare, gokomagoma to no oshimeshi kudasare kurikaeshi haishi mairase sōrō* 御遠御遠の御通思召よらせられ、御こまごまとの御しめし被下くり返し拝しまいらせ候）(Nakamoto 417, KCSSTG 14). The emotive repetition of 御遠御遠 emphasizes her gratitude for the depth of Ama's advice, which she "often reread[s]" くり返し拝しまいらせ候. She further reinforces her commitment to maintaining Ama's mentorship by sending along additional poems for critique, writing, "Though my enclosed verse is clumsy, I would be grateful if you would take a look" (*kono ku ashiki nagara agemaerase soro goran kudasare beku sōrō* 此句あしきながらあげ参らせ候御覧可被下候 (Nakamoto 417, KCSSTG 14). In addition to acknowledging Ama's previous advice, she works to sustain their exchange with additional poetic submissions, which suggests that her pedagogical philosophy emphasized careful study and varied mentorship.

Chiyo's early pursuit of mentorship and exchange was not limited to senior poets of the surrounding regions, such as Ama, or more widely famous figures, like Shikō. She also cultivated collegial relationships, expressing herself with the same polite language, yet also presenting herself in a subtly more equitable light. Her pursuit of collegial input is emblematized in a letter she wrote to the Kanazawa poet Kosai 乎哉 (?-?), which she sent to him along with the following poem (fig. 6):

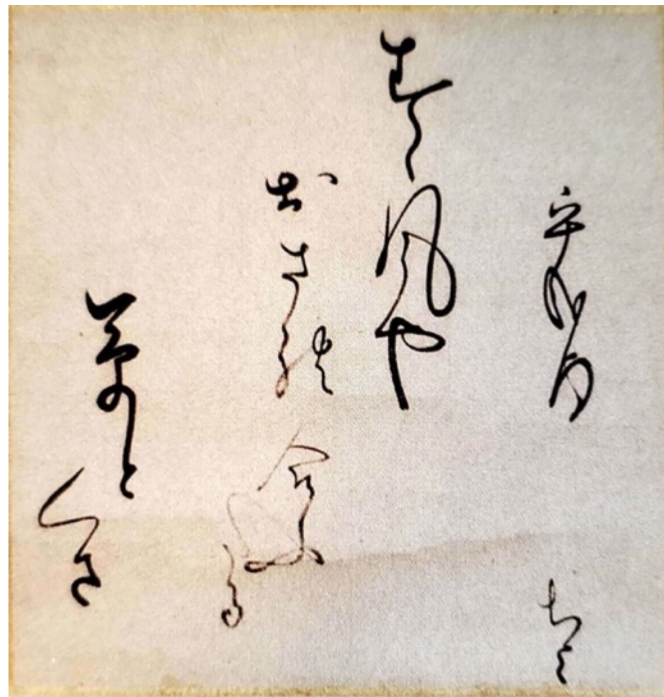

Figure 6. Poem to Kosai (KCSSTG 15)

*suzukaze ya / osareau taru / kusa to kusa*

to Mr. Kosai

Chiyo

a cool breeze—

grasses pressed

blade

against

blade

The letter opens with a post-script (brushed into the open space before the formal opening) in which Chiyo expresses joy at receiving Kosai's poems. After complimenting the work, she writes: "I would be honored to receive, and dearly hope to read, more of your work" (*mata mata gosaku waba haishi mōshitaki negaimairase sōrō* またまた御さくはばはいし申し度 ねかひ参らせ候) (KCSSTG 15). In addition to indicating her desire to continue acting as a reader for Kosai's work, she marks their correspondence as a two-way exchange, referencing the above *hokku* with the following: "It would be unfitting if my first response did not also include a verse, so I have written one, and though I do not know if it is any good, I have included it here in my letter. I hope you will offer your guidance and correction" (*watakushi mo hajimete gokaesu koto agesorae ni naki tote kakanu mo hoina[k]u zonji yoshiashi mo shirazu shirushi agemairase sōrō gohikinaoshi tanomiage mairase sōrō* わたくしもはじめて御返事上候になきとてかかぬもほいなうぞんじよしあしもしらずしるしあげ参らせ候御引なをしたのみあげ参らせ候) (KCSSTG 15). Just as she did with Ama, Chiyo seeks Kosai's feedback as another means of honing her craft, a process further enriched by her ongoing efforts to read the poetry of others.

However, where Ama was clearly Chiyo's senior in both age and status, there seems to be less distance between her and Kosai. One particular passage in the main body of Chiyo's letter, in which she references a recent visit Kosai made to her home, alludes to this lesser distance. As with Ama, she begins with a humble reference to the offerings presented at their face-to-face meeting: "First let me express how, during your visit, you

graced us with your presence, and though we could offer you no great feast, I, as well as my parents, still reflect fondly on that time" (*mazu mōshiage sōrawan ni sarishi wa hajimete oide asobashi sōraedomo nan no gochisō mo mōshiagezu koto mo futari hajime ouwasa mōshi kurashi mairase sōrō* まづ申しあけ候はんにさりしは はじめて 御出あそはし候へとも何の御馳走も申し上すこともとふたりはじめ 御うわさ 申しくらし まいらせ候 (KCSSTG 15). However, Chiyo's emphasis to Kosai, after having made the initial apologetic reference, is on the pleasant nature of the visit, which remained a fond topic of discussion even after Kosai had returned home.

She follows with another phrase markedly more collegial than her phrasing to Ama: "Though we offered nothing special, please think of our humble spread as another kind of elegance" (*shikashi gochisō mōshi agenu mo fuga to oboshimeshi* しかし御ちさう申しあげぬも風雅とおぼしめし (KCSSTG 15). The term "elegance" (*fuga* 風雅) in Chiyo's letter is a variation on the notion of "elegance" (*fūryū* 風流) in Bashō's famous verse about the beginnings of elegance in rice planting songs, that ephemeral aesthetic that Bashō insisted could be found not in the courtly past, but in its reimagining through humble moments of contemporary life. Chiyo's turn of phrase here also brings to mind another Bashō verse, in which he depicts a scene not so different from her encounter with Kosai. In 1690, the year after completing his *Narrow Road* journey, Bashō spent four months living in a humble abode near Lake Biwa, which he dubbed the Unreal Hut (*genjuan* 幻住庵). While he was there, he was visited by the Kanazawa poet Akinobō 秋之坊 (?-?), a former samurai retainer for the Maeda clan who, after meeting Bashō,

abandoned his position and devoted himself to the study of *haikai*. When Akinobō visited his teacher in this temporary dwelling, Bashō greeting him with the following verse:

我が宿は蚊の小さきを馳走かな

(Yamanashi Prefecture Bashō Database)

*waga yado wa/ka no chiisaki wo/ chisō kana*

my dwelling's
little mosquitos,
a feast!

Bright with a humor not typically associated with the venerable poet, this verse is playfully self-deprecating, as Bashō welcomes his guest with his humble hut's spare offerings. Reunited, the two poets gather for a small meal, even as their bodies become a more substantial feast for hungry mosquitos. The absence of a conventional "feast" only serves to enhance the scene's elegance, as the two delighted human figures settle into a poetic bounty, satiating themselves beside the buzzing, blood-filled bellies of their tiny companions.

There is a similar spirit in Chiyo's request that Kosai think of her family's modest offering as a kind of elegance. Like Bashō, Chiyo juxtaposes the relative sparseness of material offerings with the richness of poetic hospitality, subverting the primacy of material niceties to an eccentric pursuit of aesthetic companionship. The spirit of affinity between Chiyo's phrasing and Bashō's poem is probably intentional, her way of demonstrating a proficiency in the kind of elegance so prized among the rural-style poets.

The allusive possibilities of Chiyo’s phrasing is made even more likely given the impact that Bashō’s *Narrow Road* journey had on Kaga’s *haikai* communities: Akinobō was just one among many poets who joined the ranks of Bashō’s school when he passed through their home region. By evoking Bashō’s poetic welcome to Akinobō, Chiyo demonstrates an understanding of her provincial connections with the venerated figure, and presents herself as a collegial participant in the pursuit of poetic bounty.

Chiyo actively maintained her connections with male mentors and colleagues through correspondence well beyond the early days of *haikai* tutelage. One example of this continuation is in a letter Chiyo wrote (under the name The Nun Soen) to the Kanazawa poet Tachiya Johon 館屋如本 (?-1771) (fig. 7), who was one of Wada Ki’in’s top five disciples (along with Rankō 闌更, 芦丸, 可枝, and Gochiku 五竹).

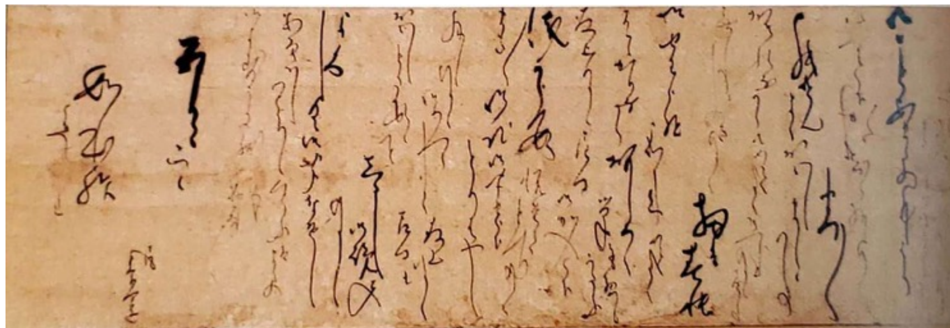

Figure 7. Letter to Johon (KCSSTG 15)

Acting as an editor, Johon had apparently sent Chiyo a copy of a “Spring collection” (*shunchō* 春帖) in which she was included: “Now, in regard to your spring collection, I found it so full of wonders that it is difficult to fully express in writing. I am deeply grateful that you included my poems” (*sate wa shunchō osewa asobare odeki, medetaku habakari nagara omoshiroku fude ni mo tsukushigatau zonji age mairase sōrō* 扨は春帖御せわ被遊御出来、めでたくははかりながらおもしろく筆にも尽くしか

たふ存上参らせ候尼句御加入被下浅からず悦たてまつり参らせ候 (Nakamoto 429). The Johon letter demonstrates that, in addition to opening up new avenues of mentorship and collegiality, Chiyo utilized letter-writing as a means of facilitating her circulation through publication. In this case, she uses correspondence in order to receive a work in which she was included, and to reaffirm her relationship with that editor by expressing gratitude for the inclusion, as well as admiration for the other included works, thus reaffirming herself as an enthusiastic reader of her fellow poets. This sustained poetic sociality undoubtedly played a role in her work's inclusion in another work edited by Johon, *North Winter Showers* (*kita shigure* 北時雨), which he published in the fall of 1762 to mark the 13th anniversary of Ki'in's passing (Nakamoto 638, Takeya 63).

Chiyo's epistolary engagements extended to a number of poetic communities in and around Mattō, but among the most important was probably the community based in nearby Kanazawa, the city so many Revivalists made their home. The following image presents a letter that Chiyo wrote to another Kanazawa poet, Rohō 盧峰 (?-?), who studied under the influential Revivalist Takakuwa Rankō. Chiyo's letter to Rohō offers a glimpse of two other ways in which she reiterated herself as an active *haikai* community member through correspondence. In this letter, she acts as the recipient of art composed by other members of the *haikai* community, even though she was not among the included poets. And second, she reinforces—and, when necessary, repaires—her interconnected relationships beyond the scope of her immediate addressee.

She opens by expressing gratitude for a woodblock print which Rohō had included in his latest letter, possibly a work composed by members of his school: "I deeply appreciate the fine woodblock print you were kind enough to send" (*gosurimono*

*odekiasobare ookuri kudasare asakarazu torihayashi* 御すり物御出来遊御おくり被下浅からずとりはやし ) (Nakamoto 518). She goes on to thank Roho for a previous letter he had sent. Chiyo had already responded to the letter, but her response apparently did not reach its destination. Surmising this from his recent letter, she reiterates the thanks offered in her previous reply, and, in addition, reiterates a reference to having met up with his mentor (addressed here as Hanka) in the interim: "I also wrote in detail about my meeting with Mr. Hanka, but it seems that somehow this letter did not reach its destination, which I find peculiar. Once again, I am grateful for and delighted by your careful response" (*Hanka sama nimo o me ni kakari kuwashiku moshiagesoraedomo, koremo obotsukanaku fumi mo todoki mosezu, okashu zonji mairase soro osewa sama katajigenaku yorokobi mettani oshimairase soro ,*半化様にも御めにかかり委しく申し上候へども、これもおぼつかなくふミもととき不申、おかしうぞんじ参らせ候御せわ様かたじけなく悦めつたにおし参らせ候 (Nakamoto 518). Chiyo takes care to reiterate the content of her previous correspondence, addressing any potential rift that may occur from the gap in their poetic exchange. It is also worth noting that she reiterates both her initial expression of gratitude and her anecdote about meeting up with Rankō, reaffirming her relationship with Rohō as part of an interconnected community of poets.

She closes the letter by reaffirming their continued exchange with a reference to a future meeting, which is almost certainly a *haikai* gathering: "I will leave all else to our next meeting when you are in Motoyoshi" (*nanigoto mo Motoyoshi e oide no fushi gokenmoji to nokoshi mairase soro* 何事も本よしへ御出のふし御けんもじと残し参らせ候 (Nakamoto 518). This reference is a testament to the interconnected nature of Kaga's various local *haikai* circles: Chiyo has clearly maintained connections with the

town of Motoyoshi, despite the fact that she was only there for a short time. Moreover, Motoyoshi, the site of her first *haikai* tutelage, is also the future site of a gathering that includes poets from Kanazawa. The interconnected nature of these communities was facilitated by their relative proximity to each other, but even with that proximity, correspondence was a crucial element of maintaining relationships between members of various poetic circles in the lull between in-person gatherings. Thus, when Chiyo reiterates her thanks to Rohō, refers to a meeting with Rankō, and references a future meeting in Motoyoshi, not only she does she preserve her relationship with her immediate addressee, but she reaffirms her active place within a dynamic, interconnected community of rural poets. She concludes her letter with six verses, capped with a brief request for Rohō's feedback:

鶯に問はや妻の置所 *uguisu ni / towaya tsumano / okidokoro*

かはくものの種とも成や春の雨*kawakumono / noshutomonaruya / harunoame*

夜になれば笑ふきになる雉子哉 *yo ni nareba / warau ki ni naru / kigishi kana*

ものは見てけすによし野のさくら哉*monomite / kesuniyoshinno / sakurakana*

人先に来て又独花もとり *hito saki ni / kite mata hitori / hana mo tori*

若草やまかつたものはしれやすし*wakakusaya / magattamonow / shireyasushi*

why not ask the warbler? the wife's whereabouts

another thing that evaporates—spring rain

the urge to laugh rises with evening—baby pheasants

a good way to go unseen…cherry trees in the field

arriving before others and returning a lone flower

young grass—it's easy to know which ones are twisted

(Nakamoto 518)

This letter reveals the many levels of exchange in which Chiyo took part. She drew upon the poetic sociality of letter-writing to maintain relationships with members from multiple, overlapping rural *haikai* circles,  Moreover, this letter demonstrates that she actively sustained relationships with schools run by key revival-minded artists of the Kaga region, as Rankō would go on to become one of the leading proponents of Bashō's late-life style.

Three extant letters from Chiyo to Rankō himself speak to their collegial and familiar relationship. Take the following letter (fig. 8):

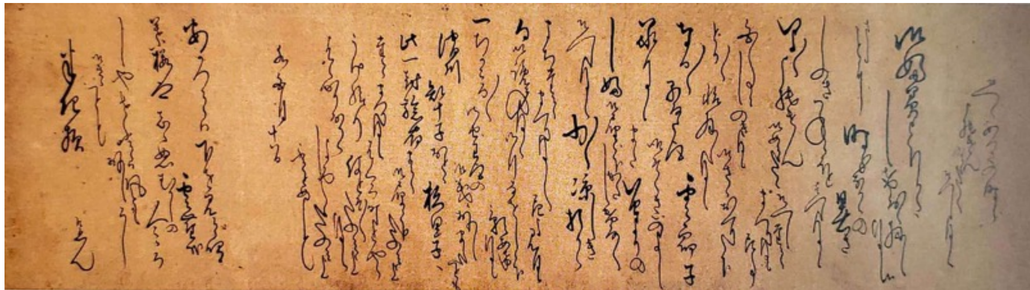

Figure 8. Letter to Hanka (KCSSTG 15)

As is often the case, Chiyo begins by thanking her addressee for a poetic gift, "Thank you for sending me your work, I read it with joy" (*gosaku okuri kudasare toridori yorokobi haishi mairase sōrō* 御さくおくり被下とりとり悦拝し参らせ候) (Nakamoto, 423-4). Among Rankō's published works, Chiyo could be referring to one of three texts: *The History of Flowers* (*Hana no furugoto* 花の故事 1763), which he published to memorialize the 70th anniversary of Bashō's passing; *Things as They are* (*ari no mama* 有りの侭  1769), a pioneering collection for the Bashō Revival movement; or *On Fallen Leaves* (*ochibakō* 落葉考 1771) , a *haikai* treatise that includes a selection of

contemporary poets (Takeya 64). However, Chiyo's verses are included in the latter two publications. Because this letter gives no indication of her involvement in the work she praises, it is almost certainly the former, which was published in 1763—the same year Chiyo composed her Joseon collection, as well as prefaces for two respected figures of the *haikai* community (Nakamoto 703).

In addition to praising his work, Chiyo writes, "I was also happy to receive the collection from Ise" (*matai se yori no shu otodoke kudasare katajikenaku zonjimairase sōrō* またいせよりのしう御届被下かたじけなくぞんじ参らせ候), which suggests that Rankō included another poetic gift, perhaps a collection that exhibited an aesthetic admired by both sender and receiver (Nakamoto, 423-4). As she often does, Chiyo closes her letter with her own poetic offering: "Please take a look at the poems I have included and offer your corrections" (*ama moshi mi mairase sōrō ku goran ni irimairase sōrō gohikinaoshi kudasare negai age mairase sōrō* 尼申見参らせ候句御覧に入(参らせ候)御引なをし被下願あげ参らせ候) (Nakamoto, 423-4). This time, however, before adding her own poems, she makes a request, punctuating it with numerical emphasis:

> 1 – You've been a tremendous help to me these days, and once again I impose upon your good will. Would you please send the enclosed letter to Namerikawa Chitoshi's younger brother, Kōshūsha Sanri, at the inn where he is staying? I believe it is in Bakuromachi or thereabouts. I implore you to convey it to him by some means. Forgive my presumption in ending my letter by asking this favor.
>
> (Nakamoto 424)

Chitoshi was a poet from the Namerikawa area of Etchū, while his brother appears to be Kōshūsha Sanri 高秋舎杉里 of Musashi (Nakamoto 423). He must have been traveling through Kaga, and stopped to stay in Kanazawa's Bakurōmachi, as Rankō remained a resident in his hometown until after 1783, when he moved to Kyoto (Takakuwa Rankō, *Kokushi daijiten).* Though she concludes with a briefly apologetic note for the imposition, her ease in asking this favor of Rankō suggests that, by this time, she had achieved a level of recognition within the *haikai* community that far surpassed her initial role as a gendered object of curiosity, and become an established member fully engaged in the poetic socialities which demarcated communal belonging. Finally, as she often does, Chiyo closes with a request for poetic feedback on her poems:

あがっては下を見て鳴雲雀哉　*agatte ha/shita wo mite naku/hibari kana*

葉桜やしらぬむかしの人ごころ　*hazakura ya/shiranu mukashi no/hitogokoro*

（葉桜や）けふでは風もおもしろし　*hazakura ya/kyo ha kaze mo/ omoshiroshi*

they rise up to look down… singing skylarks

cherry leaves—the unknown hearts of long ago

cherry leaves—today even the wind catches my attention

This letter stands in sharp contrast to Chiyo's early encounters with Shikō, which were marked by the famous poet's exhortations against expanding her poetic socialities or refining her craft. In contrast, this letter demonstrates that Chiyo successfully expanded her poetic socialities to the point that, by 1763, she was recognized as a subject of power within the *haikai* community, a figure sought out by younger poets like Rankō—so much so that she was able to enlist him to facilitate her socialities by delivering a letter on her behalf. And yet, despite his status as a relative newcomer (though he was already

recognized as one of Ki'in's five standout disciples, *A History of Flowers* was his first major foray into the revival discourses that would grip the mid-century *haikai* community), Chiyo still seeks his feedback on her own work, continuing to hone her craft through diverse readerships, despite already having established a network of poetic relationships with more senior poets.

As these five letters have demonstrated, the epistle played a crucial role in establishing Chiyo as a subject of *haikai* power. Through the poetic socialities of letter-writing, Chiyo cultivated and maintained pedagogical and collegial relationships with men of a wide range of status within multiple *haikai* communities within and beyond Kaga. Correspondence was also a crucial element to Chiyo's proactive, lifelong search for poetic feedback, as well as a medium that facilitated her ability to acquire the works of fellow poets, to cultivate poetic affinities that would lead to publication and collaboration. Through this dynamic network of sustained correspondence, Chiyo reiterated herself as a devoted *haikai* subject in search of a nuanced, diversely informed aesthetic.

While Chiyo must have cultivated similar socialities with women through letter-writing, little of that correspondence is extant. There are 115 letters addressed to 47 individuals included in the *Complete Works of Kaga no Chiyo,* but only four of the addressees are female poets: Karyōni, Shisenjo, Sumajo, and Suejo. Of those four, only Suejo has more than one letter addressed to her (though we are fortunate to have poetic collaborative works with Karyō and Shisen, which I will explore in Chapter 2). In fact, 51

of Chiyo's extant letters are to Suejo, who was a beloved friend, and one of her three known female disciples.[15]

Though Chiyo's posthumous reception has been heavily shaped by her encounter with Shikō, remarkably little has been written about her own approach to mentorship with her own. Scholars often mention the affection between Chiyo and Suejo, noting that Suejo was an especially devoted and caring friend to Chiyo in her final ailing years. Indeed, the warmth of their relationship is apparent throughout the extant letters—but in addition to this interpersonal intimacy, Chiyo's letters (fig. 9) reveal an inclusive pedagogy characterized by the following: regular poetic feedback; reciprocity of poetic input; active support in publication submissions and *haikai* gatherings; and hospitality toward participants of all poetic inclinations at those gatherings.

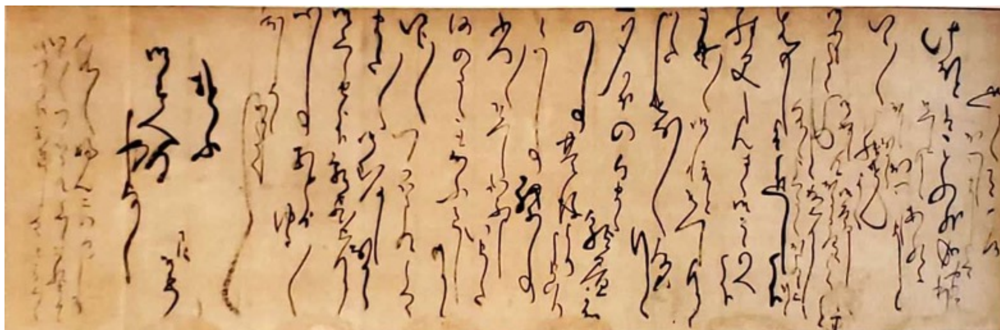

Figure 9. Letter to Suejo (KCSSTG 33)

As a mentor, Chiyo provided regular and encouraging feedback, tending to focus on the best of Suejo's poems (which we can only encounter through epistolary reference, since

[15] This relatively substantial archive of Chiyo's relationship with Suejo exists today solely because Suejo preserved their correspondence (with the help her husband, Shiho, who is the recipient of three of the 115 letters) as part of larger efforts to ensure that Chiyo would have a posthumous legacy.

Suejo's side of their correspondence is not extant). Take the following, for example: "I rejoiced to receive your recent response, especially the wonderfully arranged poem slip. I was so very pleased. (*sakimoji ha okaeshi kudasare kotosara tanzaku ototonoekudasare sasosaso goetsu to zonjimairase sōrō* 先もじは御返し被下殊更たんざく御ととのへ被下さそさそ御悦とぞんじ参らせ候) (Nakamoto 458-9). Here, Chiyo's praise is for visual form as much as for the poems, as she highlights the "wonderfully well-ordered poem slip," a poem slip being a long, slender papers just large enough to compose a poem in a generous calligraphic hand (in contrast to the often crowded context of poems written into letters, as we saw in previous examples). As a respected calligrapher, Chiyo's praise for the visual aesthetic of Suejo's work is well informed, and reveals the dynamic, multi-medial context of her pedagogical lens. In this case, Chiyo's feedback to Suejo on the poems emphasize the multiple artistic aspects that comprise the work, not simply the linguistic aspect of the poem. Moreover, Chiyo praises the poem as a "well-ordered" work integrating poetry and calligraphy, using the same verb Shikō used when he discouraged Chiyo from revising her poems or seeking mentorship from other poets: "If some parts are not orderly, I praise that as the work of woman's true sentiment." As a mentor, Chiyo affirms Suejo's artistic agency by placing positive emphasis on the intentional, holistic order of linguistic and calligraphic elements of her poem, a stark contrast to Shikō's pedagogical approach.

Chiyo also offered feedback on the linguistic and thematic particulars of Suejo's poetry. In another letter, she writes: "The poems you previously sent were wonderful, especially your verse on the floating duckweed. I will send some of my own little verses later" (*goku domo okikase kudasare omoshiroku ukigusa nado sugure asobare* <u>*sōrō*</u> *ni*

*uketamai mairase sōrō* 御句ども御きかせ被下おもしろくうき草などすくれ被遊候にうけ給参らせ候くどふくどふあとよりあとより申上度候) (Nakamoto 505). Chiyo's final reciprocal gesture in this passage is typical of her pedagogical approach, which perpetually emphasizes the aesthetic accomplishments of particular poems within a framework of continual exchange. Never just a passive receiver, Suejo is always encouraged to pursue her craft as a subject intertwined within the praxis of active, expansive poetic praxis, always both writer and reader.

Poetic exchanges between Chiyo and Suejo were not limited to self-authored poems, as is evident from the next letter, written in Chiyo's final years, when illness has begun to constrain her physical movements: "You dote on me too much by sending me a gift from Kyoto, for which I am very grateful. I am always filled with delight to receive the present of a book" (*mata miyako yori no otodokemono kataijikenaku osewasama ni zonjiage mairase sōrō hon tsukawasare kudasare sōrō itsu ni temo kurushu owashimasazu owashimasazu sōrō* また都よりの御とどけものかたじけなく御せわ様にぞんじ上参らせ候ほんつかはされ被下候いつにてもくるしうおわしまさず候) (Nakamoto 495-6). While Chiyo and Suejo (along with her husband, Shiho), had traveled to Kyoto together in the past, on this occasion the couple went alone, and brought back a book as a souvenir. Though it is unclear what book was gifted, the nature of the gift speaks to the aesthetic commitments of both women, and of reading as a core component of their poetic engagement. By cultivating readerly engagements with works beyond their local sphere, Chiyo and Suejo expand the poetic socialities of their work, and reaffirm the aesthetic kinships that help define a life devoted to the arts.

One striking testament to this reciprocal relationship appears in another letter's postscript, which seems to refer to the command from Maeda for Chiyo to compose poetic art-objects in honor of the Joseon delegation's visit: "I am still uncertain about the details of the news from Komatsu, and am considering inquiring further in a letter today...I have not yet decided which poems to select [for the] order. Please do offer your thoughts" (*kaeshi komatsu no okaeshi imada tsukawashi mōsazu kyō ni mo otazune ni fumi shite mōshi age sōrawan to zonji mairase sōrō…ōse wagaku imada sadame mōsazu sōrō okiki kudasare sōrō* 返し小まつの御返しいまだつかはし申さす今日にも御たづねに文して申上候半と存ゐ参らせ候…おおせ我句いまださだめ不申候御聞被下候）(Nakamoto 458-9). Her final line indicates that she is in the process of selecting from among her own existing body of poems in response to an order from Komatsu. Komatsu was an active site of poetic activity, so, based on geographical reference alone, Chiyo could be selecting poems for any number of poetic collections. However the term "order" (おおせ) suggests that there is a significant hierarchical gap between Chiyo and the Komatsu-based individual, one greater than the hierarchical differences between members of the *haikai* community.

In addition to Komatsu's status as an active site of poetic activity, it was also home to the Maeda clan's retirement castle, so it is possible that the official order for Chiyo to compose a collection for the Joseon envoys would have come from there, rather than Kanazawa. Yet despite the fact that she is responding to an "order," Chiyo seems to be her own curator in this case, as she indicates when she writes "I have not yet decided which of my poems to select." Historical documentation suggests that Chiyo self-curated only two of her own collections: the 1763 Joseon collection, and a small collection she

appears to have created of her own initiative in 1768 (Nakamura 703). Given the power differential implied in the order, the site from which it is given, and Chiyo's status as curator, it seems very likely that her letter is referring to the Joseon collection. Yet even for such a high-profile work, she seeks Suejo's input in selecting the poems, once again emphasizing a reciprocal, praxis-based *haikai* engagement.

While Suejo seems to have been a devoted student actively interested in expanding her poetic socialities, at times it is clear from her mentor's response that, in a previous letter, she expressed some reticence about composing, or perhaps her poetic production was temporarily overwhelmed by obligations of the family's sake brewing business. During such times, Chiyo emphasizes praxis over form, encouraging Suejo to submit any kind of poetic offering. Take the following response Chiyo writes upon receiving a letter with no poems included: "I eagerly await your recent poems, and I would like you to take a look at my poems as well. Please read it, and do not worry about writing a verse in response. Once again, I would be pleased to receive any kind of poem" (*hodo no oku uketamau machi iri mairase sōrō waga ku mo omi mairase sōrō goran ni iri mairase sōrō okiki kudasare okaeshi ni wa oyobi mōsezu sōrō kasanete oku uketamaitaku sōrō* ほどの御句うけ給たふまち入参らせ候我句も御見参らせ候御覧に入参らせ候御きき被下候御返しにはおよひ不申候かさねて御句うけ給たく候) (Nakamoto 495-6). For some reason, there seems to have been a lag on Suejo's part of their poetic exchange, which leads Chiyo to emphasize her anticipation of Suejo's recent work. She also offers her own poems (but notes that Suejo does not need to provide any direct poetic response, reassuring her that any kind of engagement will do):

かぜにつむこほさはさかす秋海棠 *kaze ni tsumu / kōsa wa sakasu / shūkaidō*

虫の音も子ともにもどる夜寒哉 *mushinooto / mokodomonimodoru / yozamu kana*

菊の香や畑にはなれぬ秋の音 *kiku no ka ya / hatake ni hanarenu / kaze no oto*

隣とのあいさついらぬ落葉哉 *tonari to no / aisatsu iranu / ochiba kana*

begonias piled up by the winds in praise of love

insects sound a childhood return… the cold night

hint of chrysanthemum—the sound of autumn trapped in rice fields

side by side no greeting is needed—the fallen leaves

(Nakamoto 496)

Even in this context, with an apparently reluctant student, Chiyo's praxis-oriented pedagogy remains reciprocal, as she both applyies pressure for poetic production while offering poems of her own.

Beyond actively encouraging Suejo toward exchange even in the face of some degree of poetic silence, Chiyo also drew upon her own power to actively support Suejo in circulating her poems through publication, and for participating in the indispensable custom of *haikai* gatherings. One example of the former comes in the following letter, in which Chiyo uses the same numerical emphasis she used for Rankō. But while her emphasis in the latter was on a favor, for Suejo, it is to emphasize an update on the possibility of their poems appearing in an upcoming collection: "1 - I inquired to Bungo regarding the moonflower verse, as well as the morning glory and the day bloom, but I don't yet know anything, as I still have not heard any details…though I think the [collection] will be completed soon…" (*ichi, yūgao no ku, mata asa hiru gao no koto, Bungo yori mōshi mairi sōrō okoto ware nado koto futsufutsu zonji mōsezu, imada nan no sata mo nau sugoshi mairase sōrō* 一、夕かほの句、また朝昼かほの事、豊後よ

り申まいり候御事我等事ふつふつぞんじ不申、いまだ何のさたもなふ過し参らせ候…存ずるいよいよつかはされ候や ) (Nakamoto 458-9). Chiyo's response suggests that the collection's projected publication date is fast approaching, and some previous discussion was had over the inclusion of Chiyo and Suejo, yet neither has heard confirmation from Bungo, where the editor presumably resides.

Fortunately, before Chiyo sends the response, she finally receives an update, as her postscript indicates: "It seems as if [our] Bungo poems will indeed be included" (*kuregure Bungo no ku no koto iyoiyo tsukawasare nasare sōrō* くれくれぶんこの句ノ事いよいよつかわされ被成候 (Nakamoto 458-9). The Bungo collection is just one example of Chiyo's support for Suejo's appearance in print: according to Chiyo's collected works, they were published together in at least thirteen collections, and Suejo secured a place in several collections where Chiyo was not included. Chiyo encourages Suejo's active circulation through published collections, and keeps her up to date regarding future inclusions, wielding her own power—cultivated through poetic socialities—on behalf of her disciple.

While publication was one key forum for *haikai* poets to take a particular aesthetic stance (particularly in the heat of the Revival), the foundation of *haikai* belonging was in communal participation, particularly through *haikai* gatherings. Chiyo's letters reveal her lively support of Suejo's participation in such gatherings, and her sense of hospitality toward participants of all poetic inclinations within that context. One example of her enthusiastic support can be found in the following letter, in which she congratulates Suejo on hosting a successful gathering:

> First, let me say how delighted I was to be included in such a good-humored gathering, thanks first and foremost to your honorable mother. ...You brought together so many great persons among your associates, it was truly exceptional, perfectly executed, and I rejoice at such a gathering. Nao especially found it delightful, and she has asked that I convey her thanks. Rokubei also sends his regards.
>
> (Nakamoto 459)

Chiyo's high praise emphasizes the "good-humored" (*gokigen no yoshi* 御機げんのよし) nature of the gathering, as well as the "many great persons among your associates" (*okoto amata no onaka yori ohito* 御事あまたの御中より御人) who participated, depicting the event as a successful poetic meeting of minds. Notably, the respected poetic figures to which Chiyo alludes—figures who presumably follow a *bunjin* way of living—intermingle with more casual participants: namely, Suejo's mother, the matron of the house, and Chiyo's adopted daughter, Nao. Nao's husband, Rokubei, had a notable commitment to *haikai*, and published substantially under the penname Haku'u 白烏 (Nakamoto 562). However, neither Chiyo's adopted daughter nor Suejo's mother had any serious devotion to the arts. Chiyo's praise of this mixed-demographic event suggests that, while her own poetic socialities were deeply rooted in a devotion to an aesthetic life, she had no quarrel with casual joiners.

The following passage from another letter further suggests that Chiyo, as a mentor and a colleague, felt no need to draw a boundary between serious aesthetic devotion and casual involvement:

> Somehow I felt the urge to write and see how you are doing, and just as it occurred to me I received your letter, which I read over and over. First, let me say how endlessly happy it makes me to hear that, despite the lingering heat, you are still able to take part in the joys of [poetic] elegance. Though all that I have done up to this point has led to gradual improvement, I still feel my art is underdeveloped. [But] your devoted efforts bestow me with such energy that somehow, little by little, I find myself wanting to forget my pain. I am grateful and delighted…P.S. Please give my regards to Ms. Sawa. I would like her to read my poems as well….

The letter, written in Chiyo's final years, clearly marks Suejo as a kindred spirit who "take(s) part in the joys of [poetic] elegance" (*gofūryū otanoshimi owashimashi* 御風流御たのしみおわしまし). Indeed, Suejo's "devoted efforts" (*gokibari asobare kudasare sōrō* 御きばり被遊被下候事) become a spiritual balm to the material pains of Chiyo's day-to-day life, and a bolstering camaraderie in the long journey toward artistic cultivation. Their shared joy comes from a reciprocal commitment to an aesthetic life, sustained even in the face of myriad discomforts, such as environmental heat, self-criticism, and physical ailment. The depth of their engagements with elegance remains unperturbed by the presence of casual joiners, such as Suejo's daughter, "Ms. Sawa" (*osawa sama* おさわ様), who, like Nao, is often in the epistolary periphery. Through years of poetic sociality, Chiyo and Suejo reaffirm their kindred spirits of devotion, without begrudging the readerly horizons of a casual presence like Sawa—perhaps because, as female subjects of *haikai*, they themselves were not meant to wield the power to which they belong.

Chiyo's letters to Suejo depict her as a mentor with an inclusive pedagogy focused on reciprocal poetic praxis, bolstered by concrete support for the expansion of Suejo's poetic socialities, in the form of assistance with publications and *haikai* gatherings. And though their correspondence is marked by a sustained devotion to the arts, Chiyo welcomes the casual participation of family members with no apparent spiritual investment in the pursuit of an aesthetic lifestyle. Indeed, she encourages their engagement by occasionally asking Suejo to have her mother and daughter read poems and collections enclosed along with the letters.

As a whole, the letters analyzed in this section reveal a fuller picture of Chiyo's poetic development than scholarship has previously presented. Japanese and Anglophone scholars have noted that Shikō, a powerful member of the *haikai* community, discouraged Chiyo from developing her poetic craft or expanding her circle of poetic mentorships. While his attention raised Chiyo's initial visibility within the *haikai* community, he was not interested in her as a poet so much as a woman who produced poems. Shikō read her poems as inherently simplistic objects, which served as a casual supplement to his advocacy for a poetic style of simplicity and lightness. Contrary to Shikō's directives, however, Chiyo drew upon the poetic sociality of letter-writing in order to: develop her craft, cultivate and sustain relationships across gender, class, and *haikai* status; circulate her work for wider representation in publications and poetic gatherings; and enact a pedagogy of inclusive poetic praxis.

By analyzing the poetic sociality of letter-writing, I highlighted some of the dynamic processes through which Chiyo actively shaped her aesthetic as a subject of power. Even as Shikō's attention inaugurated her a subject belonging to power, she

wielded power through the poetic sociality of correspondence, expanding beyond the limitations of such belonging. In the next section, I turn to iterations of Chiyo's poetic work, analyzing how she drew upon the poetic sociality of travel to cultivate a rustic-feminine aesthetic, reiterating herself as a female *bunjin* of the rural, contemporary margins.

## The Woman's Way: Chiyo's Rustic-Feminine Aesthetic as *Bunjin* Reiteration

*Haikai* was a poetry of networks, and, as Eiko Ikegami notes, its social nature was facilitated locally and inter-provincially through correspondence and publication; once a poet was engaged in these networks, he "could easily travel throughout Japan by requesting lodging and support from local *haikai* poets…Although the Tokugawa regime officially discouraged people from traveling freely,  the state could not effectively control the movements of those who relied on the networks of cultural circles" (172). The circulation of poets and texts within and across domanial borders was facilitated by a system of highways which provided an unprecedented ease of movement.

However, *haikai* travel was largely a male privilege throughout much of the seventeenth century, as literacy and legal restrictions kept many women from taking to the road for poetic experiences. Feudal regulations around travel within these networks of highways—crucial to the feudal order's alternate attendance system, which required domanial leaders and their families to live alternating years in Edo—was tightly regulated for two cases, "in-coming guns and out-going women" (*irideppo ni deonna* 入鉄砲に出女) of the capital city (Shiba 66). The regulation of weapons was meant to forestall any

direct attack to shogunal power, while regulation of women was meant to control the movements of the main wives and heirs of domanial families. Main wives and children were required to stay in Edo year-round, in essence as political hostages; the ban on women traveling out of Edo was to insure they remained in the capital. Thus, if a daimyo chose to rebel while out of attendance, he would forfeit the lives of his wife and heir. Though these regulations were, in theory, meant only for female members of powerful provincial families, in practice, the consequences were felt by women of all classes (Nenzi 90).

Any woman on the road had to carry a travel permit which detailed her identity (her social class and her patriarchal affiliation), number of companions and vehicles, departure and destination points, the name of the applicant, and the name of the issuing office. The complicated application process varied depending on one's point of departure, class status, and the era in which it was issued. Permits for women outside the samurai class also included standard language requesting accommodation in the event that the traveler could not reach her destination before sunset, burial in case of death, and sometimes even a note that there was no need to inform her family in the event of her death. These travel permits had to be verified at each of the 53 established barrier gates (*sekisho* 関所) positioned at crucial transfer points along the network of roads, and if traveler and permit were dubbed a mismatch, the permit had to be reissued correctly while the traveler waited, sometimes days, for the proper paperwork. The punishment for unauthorized crossings could range from indentured servitude to crucifixion, unless the woman was kidnapped or hoodwinked by a man who took her around a checkpoint

without her consent, in which she would simply be deprived of her home domicile (Shiba 66-71).

Despite legal constraints and cultural scrutiny, Ikegami notes that the presence of women on the road increased over time, as did their presence in *haikai* networks (173). These increases were influenced by increasing literacy and improvements in infrastructure, however, Shikō's advice to Chiyo reveals that expectations about the role of rural women in *haikai* were often delimited to a static and supplementary role. Still, because the subject who belongs to power also wields power, Chiyo and her fellow rural women poets did not remain static and supplementary. Instead, they drew on poetic socialities to reiterate a reverse-discourse of belonging—particularly the poetic sociality of travel. As Laura Nenzi has demonstrated, travel was one important means through which literate and artistic-minded women re-created their identities in the latter half of the eighteenth century (especially through the composition of poetic travel diaries). In the remainder of this chapter, I will highlight the poetic sociality of travel visible in a handful of Chiyo's work, arguing that she drew upon this poetic sociality to cultivate a rustic-feminine aesthetic, thus reiterating herself as a *haikai* subject belonging to and wielding power: a female *bunjin* of the rural margin.

The first example is a hanging scroll calligraphed with a poem and brushed with a painting. Thematically, the work pairs the figure of a traveling women with that of a butterfly (fig. 10):

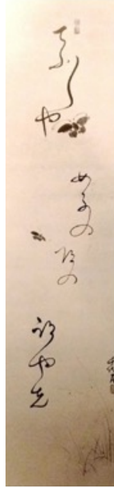

Figure 10. Hanging scroll, *chōchō ya* (Fister 58)

*chōchō ya/ onago no michi no/ ato ya saki*

(Nakamoto 160)

butterflies—

to and fro

on the woman's path

The butterflies' abbreviated lines dip in and out of the poem's movement down the page, evoking a sense of graceful femininity, particularly when juxtaposed with the woman, who, like the butterflies, is a figure in motion. There is no painting of a woman, but the interweaving butterflies and the calligraphic placement of the poems evokes a sense of movement. That sense of delicate flexibility and ease of mobility is enhanced by the anonymity of the space in which the woman walks, a *michi* 道 that could simply be read as a physical "road" leading from one point to another. *Michi* also connotes a more spiritual "Way," a way of living one's life inflected by philosophical, artistic, or religious purpose. But if the movement implied by "the woman's path" (*onago no michi* 女の道) connotes physical grace and spiritual purpose, it also signals the transgressive

capacity of female travel in Early Modern Japan. Because of gendered restrictions, undocumented women sometimes chose to circumvent barrier gate stations through the use of unauthorized mountain paths. These routes were colloquially referred to as "women's paths" (*onago no michi* 女の道), a nod to the gendered ways in which state power was wielded against unauthorized travel—and the routes through which women circumvented those demarcated boundaries (Shiba 68).

The transgressive possibilities of a "woman's path" are further enhanced by Chiyo's allusion to a passage from the Daoist philosophical classic, the *Zhuangzi*, in which Zhuang Zhou dreams himself as a butterfly, and awakes to wonder if he is a man dreaming he is a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming he is a man. Peipei Qiu notes that this *Zhuangzi* reference was so prevalent that it appears under the "butterfly" entry of the first published *haikai* guide to poetic motifs and lexical associations, *Mountain Spring* (*yama no i* 山ノ井 1647) (18). Bashō held a particular admiration for the *Zhuangzi*, and wrote several verses gesturing to the classic, including the following verse: "you—the butterfly—me—lost in a dream" (*kimi ya chō / ya ware ya sōshi ga / yumegokoro* 君や蝶や我や荘子が夢心) (Bashō Database). Given the dominance of *Zhuangzi*-an connotations in *haikai*, Chiyo's poem cannot help but read as allusive, yet in her poem, the Daoist man and the butterfly are drawn into yet another realm of ambiguous identities: the "woman's path," a poetic Way charged with overlapping feminine and masculine tropes in an anonymous space of Early Modern Japan.

Travel and spatial anonymity come into play in the next Chiyo poem as well, in combination with a classical *waka* allusion which inverts the traditional geographic dichotomy of poetic prowess:

*chōchō ya / ikuno no michi no / tōkarazu*

てふてふや幾野の道の遠からず

(Nakamoto 173)

butterfly!

the path to many fields

isn't far

The poem harks back to a poetic power struggle between Izumi Shikibu's daughter, Lady Koshikibu, and the Middle Counselor Sadayori. The struggle culminates in a poem, which is included among the *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets* (*Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首), is also featured in the Kinyōshu with a lengthy headnote:

When Izumi Shikibu was in the province of Tango, having accompanied [her husband] Yasumasa, there was a poetry contest in the capital and Handmaid Koshibiku was chosen as one of the poets. Middle Counselor Sadayori came to her room in the palace and teased her, saying: "What will you do about the poems? Have you sent someone off to Tango? Hasn't the messenger come back? My, you must be worried." Whereupon she held him back and recited:

*oeyama / ikuno no michi no / tōkereba / mada fumi mo mizu / ama no hashidate*

小江山いく野の道の遠ければまだふみも見ず天の橋立

Oe Mountain and

the road that goes to Ikuno

are far away, and so

not yet have I trod there, nor letter seen,

from Ama-no-Hashidate.

(trans Mostow 319)

Koshikibu's poem originally appears in the *Kin'yōshu,* and is preceded by a headnote setting the scene: a poetry contest is to be held in the capital while Izumi Shikibu is away in the province of Tango. A counselor, Sadayori, taunts Koshikibu, asking if she has sent a messenger to Tango, implying that Koshikibu needs her mother's help in writing a worthy poem. In response, Koshikibu provides a rejoinder in the form of this impromptu verse, which includes the names of "three places in Tango (in geographical order, no less), two puns (the *iku* of Ikuno means 'to go,' while *fumi* means both 'to step' and 'letter'), and word association between *fumi* 'to step' and the 'bridge' (*hashi*) of Ama-no-Hashidate" (Mostow 319). The poem powerfully demonstrates Koshikibu's artistic prowess in the face of a skeptical male rival—a prowess inherited from her mother, perhaps, but not dependent on her mother's presence. Instead, while Izumi Shikibu is away in the countryside, Koshikibu demonstrates her worthiness to maintain a position at court, the cosmopolitan center of power.

Chiyo's poem adapts and complicates the *waka's* geo-cultural associations. In Koshikibu's poem, the proper noun of *Ikuno* is a rural site far distant from the speaker, who is a young woman of taste in the elegant capitol. In Chiyo's poem, *ikuno no michi* could be translated either to "the path to Ikuno," thus alluding to Koshikibu's poem, or as "the path to many fields," gesturing toward multiplicity and anonymity in the journey ahead. The poem resonates with both possibilities—however, while the road to Ikuno in Koshikibu's poem is "far away," Chiyo's Ikuno "isn't far," an inversion of both the poem's geographic center and the poetic valence of rural spaces.

In Koshikibu's poem, Ikuno's distance is a testament to her own poetic abilities, which shine despite the rural inaccessibility of her mother's talents. In contrast, the proximity of Ikuno in Chiyo's poem also constitutes poetic proximity, a nearness enhanced by the momentum of the final seven syllables, which takes the figure of the butterfly toward that rural space with the swiftness of a single word, *tōkarazu* (two words in my translation: "isn't far")*,* the long opening vowel echoing off the short and long sounds of *chō-chō ya, ikuno no michi no.* And while Koshikibu's distance is modified by the conjunctive particle, *ba,* Chiyo's distance is negated by the auxiliary verb, *zu,* which, even as it negates distance, simultaneously affirms the poetic possibilities available in a rural trajectory.

Another notable difference is in the respective interlocutors of each poem. Koshikibu's speaker addresses the skeptical Counselor Sadayori, elegantly putting to rest any doubts regarding her poetic prowess. Meanwhile, Chiyo's speaker addresses a "butterfly" or "butterflies," a motif which carries the weight of the *Zhuangzi,* but in in this case also echoes a Bashō poem from the Shikō-edited (*Oi nikki* 笈日記 1695): "sun shines/ on nothing but flying butterflies/ in a field" (*chō no tobu / bakari no naka no / hikage kana* 蝶の飛ぶばかり野中の日影かな) (Bashō Database). The ambiguity of identity in Zhuangzi's dream is enhanced by the anonymous space of Bashō's unnamed "field," an empty field overflowing with movement and light. Likewise, Chiyo's *ikuno* is both a specific *waka* allusion, and a dispersal of that specificity into the unnamed space of rural fields where butterflies roam. In alluding to Koshikibu, Bashō, and Zhuangzi all at once, Chiyo draws on the same technique Koshikibu uses to assert her independence,

employing it to subvert the poetic hegemony of the courtly cosmopolitan, reconfiguring poetry as both ambiguous in identity and multiplied across rural spaces.

Another way in which Chiyo cultivated an aesthetic of rural multiplicity was by acting as an interlocuter for the travels of fellow rural women, either by journeying and composing together, or by reiterating separate experiences of travel in collaborative works after the fact. One example of the latter comes from a passage from *Parrot Hut Travelogue* (*ōmu an dōki* 鸚鵡庵道記), the journal of a 180-day solo journey taken by Chiyo's Kanazawa-based friend, Shisenjo 紫仙女. Shisenjo was married to an active figure in the Takaoka *haikai* community, Yakaku 野角 (?-?), and they were both active participants in Kanazawa *haikai* circles after moving there in the early 1720s. When her husband passed away, Shisenjo took the tonsure and began writing under the name Soshin, and that is the name under which she composed *Parrot Hut Travelogue*.[16] In addition to her own prose and poetry, the journal includes verses from eight friends that she stopped to visit on her way through Fukuyama, Ocho, Ise, Kii, Kyoto, Echizen, and Mattō. As her journey winds down and she has nearly returned to Kanazawa, she stops to visit Chiyo, who was also recently on the road, and happened to be in Kyoto at the same time:

松任千代女のもとに泊まりて都にて逢さる事を語りて

先に来てととしく過ごし秋海棠

*saki ni kite / todoshiku sugoshi / shūkaidō*

渡りの鳥の無事話しあふ　　　　千代

[16] In order to avoid confusion, I will continue to refer to this figure by the name Shisenjo, unless I am translating or quoting directly from her work.

*watari no tori no / buji hanashiau*

享保十七壬子年菊月十日帰庵す漂泊百八十日余之

I stayed with Chiyo of Mattō, and we chatted about how we hadn't met in Kyoto:

Arriving first,

swiftly passing red

autumn begonias

Safely exchanging words

on the migration of birds Chiyo

I returned home in Kyōhō 17, on the tenth day of the ninth month of the 49th year of the sexagenary cycle, after drifting about for 180 days.

(Minamori 155)

Since Mattō was on her way back to Kanazawa, Shisenjo stayed with Chiyo (who was thirty years old at the time) before returning home, and they discussed that they had both been in Kyoto in the 7th and 8th month of the same year, though their paths had not crossed. Their discussion, poetically depicted in Shisenjo's travelogue, presents an image of women in motion that was not possible a century earlier: two merchant-class women journey separately to the culturally and historically rich city of Kyoto, taking in the sites of old capital, yet both return home to the rural margins, reiterating their travels in rustic home spaces of the poetic margin.

Shisenjo's depiction is imbued with a regionally rooted sense of camaraderie and poetic mobility. In Shisenjo's verse, time passes with a locally tinged swiftness—the phrase *todoshiku* ("swiftly") is likely the predecessor to *todoshii,* local dialect for "quick"

or “fast”—which becomes visible through the *shūkaidō* 秋海棠 (“begonias”), hardy, pale red flowers which were first imported during the Kanei Period (1624-44), and cultivated for ornamental gardens.[17] The pleasure of viewing these flowers, like the pleasure of sightseeing in the old imperial capital, is such that suddenly the traveler realizes she is nearly home in the fading autumn. Similarly, Chiyo calls on the migration of birds to evoke the distance to and fro, yet the safety of both Shisenjo’s return and their late-night discussion, reveals the constraint and possibility in poetic distances available to women of less famous geographies.

If the “migrant bird” travels between two points, the place of departure and return is depicted as the comfortable, linguistically marked geography of Kaga. Conversely, the destination of Kyoto is evoked through the decorative, exotic beauty of the begonias. The tangibility of Kyoto in this era made it both newly familiar and more concretely exotic, a bridgeable distance from the daily lives of these rural women. The “migrant bird” has a third connotation that Chiyo’s verse draws upon: the notion of a person who wanders without a home, an eccentricity reminiscent of both the the *bunjin* figure’s avocational devotion to the arts, and the poetic wanderings of figures like Saigyō, the “certain monk” to whom Shikō referred in his sample poem. This notion of wandering is reinforced in Shisenjo’s closing line with the phrase *hyōhaku* 漂泊 (“drifting about”). Shisenjo’s status as a nun allows her to fully embrace the eccentricity of poetic wandering, and she reinforces her performance of poetic eccentricity through multi-layered depiction: she

[17] Though I rendered the plant’s name “begonia,” a more literal translation can be found in an entry from the *Yamato honzo* compendium大和本草 (Yamato Materia Medica) (1702): The begonia flower’s color resembles a crabapple, which is why it is literally called the Autumn Crabapple” (in *Nihon kokugo daijiten*).

records the entire journey in the travelogue *Parrot Hut,* and closes her journal on the scene of a congenial evening with two woman poets of Kaga, safely ensconced in a familiar space as they discuss journeys past and paths uncrossed.

While Soshin traveled alone on her *Parrot Hut* journey, Chiyo had gone to Kyoto with her frequent travel companion, Iijima Karyō 飯島珈凉 (?-1771). To mark their journey, they each calligraphed a poem onto a woven hat (fig. 11) belonging to Chiyo:

Figure 11. Chiyo's hat and walking stick (Sakashi 1)

*michi michi no/ hana o hitome ya/ yoshinoyama* *Chiyoni*

*hi no ashi no/ taranu nagori ya/ kusa no hana* *Karyōni*

(Nakamoto 591)

all along the road our eyes full of blossoms

—Yoshino mountain Chiyo the Nun

too brief, this ray of parting sunlight

—flowers in the grass The Nun Karyō

Chiyo and Karyō inscribe their journey onto a utilitarian object of travel, transforming it into an artistic object co-composed while traversing a shared woman's path. Through such poetic iterations, Chiyo and her rural female colleagues cultivated a rustic-feminine aesthetic that inverted classical geo-cultural norms, drawing on travel tropes to reimagine themselves as dynamic subjects of power, able to move within the physical and cultural spaces of cosmopolitan artistry, yet always returning home for their rustic roots.

Co-inscribed with the literary richness of Yoshino, Chiyo's hat is a material testament to their journey across geographic space and into a vast poetic history. Yet when they leave, the scope of that cultural landscape grows small, inscribed on the garments of their wanderings as the two eccentric poets turn for home. Balancing Yoshino's famous blossoms lightly on their bodies, they return to a life of artistic devotion in less famous spaces. Chiyo cultivated a rustic-feminine aesthetic through many such lively and sustained poetic socialities, reiterating herself again and again as a female *bunjin* of the rural, contemporary margins.

CHAPTER III

# CHIYO'S TRANSFORMATION FROM OBJECT TO INTERLOCUTER IN THE BATTLE FOR BASHŌ

In Chapter Two, I analyzed the ways in which Chiyo drew upon the poetic socialities of travel and correspondence in order to subvert her early mentor's exhortations. Shikō attempted to delimit Chiyo's poetics to a purportedly innate, uncrafted "woman's sentiment," hailing her as a passive subject belonging to power. In other words, he identified her as a gendered object meant to casually accessorize his rustic-school preference for an aesthetic of simplicity and lightness. However, through the conscious cultivation of her craft, and through expansive, sustained relationships with poetic people and places, Chiyo reiterated herself as both a "woman" and a *bunjin,* a subject who wields power in the gendered margins of belonging within rural *haikai* communities.

In Chapter Three, I situate Chiyo's *bunjin* subjectification within the confluence of two phenomena: the tendency of rural-style schools toward "collecting women," and the use of published anthologies as a battleground for the Bashō Revival movement. Through paratextual analysis of six collections, I trace her transformation from an object of gendered collection in the 1726[18] rural-school publication, *Princess Ceremonies*

[18]Japanese and anglophone scholars have cited conflicting publication dates for Hime no shiki, since Toro's preface is marked as having been written in "43rd year of the sexagenary cycle" 丙午, which could either be 1726 or 1786. Cheryl Crowley characterizes it as a 1786 collection that was preceded by three other female haikai anthologies published in 1684, 1702, and 1774 (in "Tamamoshū" 58). The editors of keishūka zenshū also identify its publication date as Tenmei 6 in their prefatory notes (1786) (13). Minamori, in her article on Shisenjo, does not explicitly state the publication date, though she claims the original sequences were composed in the fourth month of Kyōhō 11 (1726), and that their collaboration was subsequently collected and published by Toro, becoming "first collection of women's [haikai] verse" (Minamori in "Ōmu an dōki" 160-161). However, the definitive proof seems to be the fact that, according

(*Hime no shiki* 姫の式), into a significant Revival interlocuter in the 1774 urban-style publication, *A Jeweled Watergrass Collection* (*Tamamoshū* 玉藻集). Moreover, I highlight the reverse discourses of two prefaces and one postscript (*Trailing Mists* 霞がた, *A Sudden Journey* 鶉立, and the Joseon collection), in which Chiyo depicts herself as a nested subject of *haikai* power within the purview of state politics.

### Chiyo as Rural Object in *Princess Ceremonies* (1726)

As I mentioned in the Introduction, *haikai* anthologies of women's work were rare in the first century of the Early Modern Period. Only three collections were published before Chiyo was born: Saikaku's *Haikai Immortal Poetesses* (1684), Shihaku's *The Chrysanthemum's Way* (1700), and the second volume of *Haikai Mikawa Komachi* 三河小町 (1702). Of these, only the first was from an urban center, and it was more a book of portraits than a serious poetic collection. The latter two were compiled by editors from geographical margins: while *Chrysanthemum* (the first *haikai* collection by a female editor) was a serious poetic effort aimed at cultivating a Bashō-inflected narrative, *Komachi* was more interested in demographics, thus the poets and poems were chosen as random, influenced by the gendered dichotomy that delineated women's poems as naturally simplistic. The characteristics of the two rural-school collections suggest that, from early on, *haikai* communities of the geographic margins were more inclined to

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to Okawa, Hime no shiki is listed in the 1726 edition of the Honchō hassenshū, which includes a catalogue of books by the Princess Ceremonies publisher, Tachibanaya Jihei (Ōkawa 171). Additionally, the publisher's catalogue is included in the Haikai shoseki mokuroku housed in the Shachiku bunkozō at Tokyo University Library: Princess Ceremonies appears as a 1726 publication in the catalogue transcription included in Kashima Michiyo's study of Tachibanaya Jihei (51).

accept women into their ranks, and even went as far as to collect their works for publication. However, unless the editor was a woman (like Shihaku), those rural acts of acceptance and collection were more likely to be random endeavors meant to supplement the more aesthetically minded activities of the primary *haikai* constituents: men.

This tendency of rural-style schools toward "collecting women" was also visible in the relatively open attitude of influential rural-style leaders, like Shikō, who engaged women as *haikai* students, subjects who belonged to power by virtue of the way their inherent, simplistic emotions manifested in poetic form. This trend of "collecting women" continued to grow in the 18th century, eventually leading to the fourth *haikai* publication devoted primarily women, *Princess Ceremonies* (1726). A rural-style anthology edited and prefaced by a Komatsu poet by named Toro 兎道 (?-?)—a member of Shikō's school—it highlights a *kasen* (a sequence of 36 linked verses) composed by Chiyo and the Kanazawa-based Shisenjo. In his preface (fig. 12), Toro explains the origin of the title, *Princess Ceremonies,* as well as the book's primary poetic content, which he claims to have stumbled upon by chance during a visit to Gyōzenji, a temple in Naru known colloquially as the "Temple of Women:"

Figure 12. Toro's preface to *Princess Ceremonies*[19]

[19] Image from the Waseda University Database of Japanese and Chinese Classics (hereafter referred to as WDJCC).

The Naru pilgrimage is meant for women, because the temple here has a statue of Lady Maya about to give birth. *Yet*, I thought, *why can't men, too, worship the mother of the savior of the three realms*? So I went one day to pray, and there a mysterious *haikai* scroll came into my possession. The monk told me that the masters who made this votive offering were Shisenjo, the wife of someone in the castle town of Kanazawa, and Chiyojo, who seems to live nearby. Truly these verses impressed upon me the deep, *waka*-style feelings of tumbling blossoms, the quiet grace of autumn leaves whirling in snow, the beauty of each verse as precious as gold and jewels. I asked the monk if I could gather these blossoms and leaves so that I might scatter them onto birch wood. As I passed the time pleasantly with the seasonal verses of those woman by my side, I heard there was [also] a woman called Sumajo in the village where I lived, and [together they] made for a model of three women poet immortals. While men are clever in all things, their persistent, convoluted intellect can be unpleasant, but women's hearts are not like that: in spare moments they set down their weaving to wet their inkstones, draw pictures and fashion rosettes. When their poetic spirit is so much like daily conversation, then it is worthy of the name *Princess Ceremonies*.

Editor Toro

First half of the mid-winter month in the 43rd year of the sexagenary cycle

(Nakamoto 342)

As noted in Chapter 1, Chiyo had begun working with Shikō in 1719, thus, by 1726, she was already active in the Shikō-influenced circles in which Toro moved. Likewise, Shisenjo was an active participant in the Kanazawa circles, which overlapped with the community in Toro's hometown of Komatsu. Despite the activity of all three figures in the Shikō-influenced *haikai* circles of Kaga province, Toro gives the impression that he was not personally acquainted with either woman, or at least that they did not have a close poetic relationship. Instead, he depicts his encounter with their poetry as happenstance, though he also takes pains to justify his presence at Gyōzenji, a temple so closely associated with women's pilgrimage that he makes a point to write: "*Yet*, I thought, *why can't men, too, worship the mother of the savior of the three realms*?" (*saraba onoko mo sangai kyōshu no butsumo nado ka ogazaran to* さらばおのこも三界教主の佛母などか仰がざらむと). In making such a statement, Toro emphasizes that his discovery of this female-authored work begins by chance, in a spiritual space devoted to women.

Having emphasized the gendered sphere in which it was found, Toro goes on to emphasize the gendered style of the work itself, which, though "a *haikai* scroll" (*haikai ichijiku* 俳諧一軸), possesses a formal skill and beauty reminiscent of Heian-era *waka* poetics. Toro alludes to the more classical poetic form in a way that my translation makes explicit: "Truly these verses impressed upon me the *waka*-style deep, subtle feelings of tumbling blossoms, the quiet grace of autumn leaves whirling in snow" (*sono kotoba makoto ni koboreru hana no yūgentai o utsushi, chirashiketaru kōyō ni kaisetsutai no yūbi arite* 其詞まことにこぼれる花の幽玄體をうつし、ちらしけたる紅葉に廻雪體の優美ありて). Both *yūgentai* 幽玄體 ("deep, subtle feelings") and *yūbitai* 優美體

("quiet grace") are two of ten established styles (體) of exceptionally well-formed *waka* (*Daijirin*, Third Ed).

Though the scroll belongs to the temple, he requests it from the resident monk in order to "scatter [the poems] onto birch wood" (a*zusa ni chiribamen* 梓にちりばめむ)—in other words, to have them published. Yet he holds onto the poems for a time, and one day hears about Suma-jo 須磨女 (?-?), another woman who, like the editor, lives in Komatsu. Having also discovered Suma, he adds her verses to Shisenjo's and Chiyo's, determines that together they make "a model" (*shiki* 式) of excellent poetics, thus dubs them "three women poet immortals" (*sanjo Kasen* 三女歌仙). Like the previous use of *yūgentai* and *yūbitai, shiki* 式 ("model") also alludes to the standards of *waka* composition, while the term *kasen* 歌仙, in this instance, is a respectful title for exceptional poets whose work endures over time. The appellation elevates an ostensibly unknown group of women to a higher literary status, and the allusions to classical poetic theory suggest that the poems are formally skillful in a way that is reminiscent of courtly *waka*.

Yet Toro's final lines suggest that their poetic beauty seems to be the natural outgrowth of both their gender and artistic practice. In what constitutes a mini *ars poetica*, Toro considers the virtues and faults of poetry by men versus poetry by women, claiming that the persistent intellectualism of men can be "unpleasant" (*konomashikaranu* 好ましからぬ), but because women have an intrinsically different nature, they have the capacity to produce intrinsically different poetry.  Toro depicts women as engaging in simple arts, writing that they: "wet their inkstones, draw pictures and fashion rosettes"

(*suzuri o narashi e-kaki hana-musubi no sugata o utsushite* 硯をならし繪かき花むすびの姿をうつして)**.** Rather than devoting their entire lives to artistic practice, or engaging in vigorous aesthetic debate, women simply make arts and crafts in their free time. Yet it is precisely this simplicity and casualness that raises them to a level of artistry. In his final line, Toro declares that it is the "daily conversation" (*jōdan heiwaj* 常談平話) of women's poetry that makes it worthy of the name *Princess Ceremonies* (which may be an allusion to a Heian-era rule book, *Hiko hime shiki* 孫姫式, one of four courtly *waka* guides that delineated best and worst compositional practices).[20] Toro depicts the casual space in which contemporary women engage in artsy hobbies as a realm that transcends to an artistry reminiscent of the feminine poetic past, while maintaining a rhetoric of simplicity and lightness consistent with the rural-style *haikai* aesthetic.

Toro presents himself not so much as a curator as a passerby fortunate enough to stumble upon a natural, feminine wellspring of poetic simplicity. However, his editorial role went far beyond that of claiming the scroll and adding a few verses from Sumajo. He also added another linked verse sequence, co-authored by Toro himself (he contributed six verses), along with several other rural poets. The linked verse sequences are followed by a collection of 56 individual verses organized by season, authored by a range contemporary women from non-samurai class backgrounds: Kashiwame 柏女 of Tsuruoka City in Ushu, Kasenjo 歌川女 of Echizen, Haru 春 of Komatsu, Ranjo 蘭女 of Kanazawa, the courtesan Oku 路子 of Komatsu, the courtesan Wakaito 若糸, and the

[20] *Waka shi shiki* 和歌四式 in *Nihon dai hyakka zensho*.

courtesan Kaoru かほる. Toru also included the posthumous appearance of Bashō's three most famous female disciples: Chigetsu 智月, Sonome 園女, and Sutejo 捨女.

Toro gives very little account of, and no explanation for, any of his editorial choices. However, his rhetoric clearly emphasizes the poetic dichotomy of natural feminine simplicity and convoluted intellectual masculinity. And though he attributes the former qualities only to Shisenjo and Chiyo, a glance at the numerous other poets reveals that all the women have several things in common: they are all rural residents known to associate with or study under the Shikō-influenced, Bashō-affiliated lineage of the Mino and Ise schools. Though Toro's editorial acts are presented as accidental, it may be that he seized upon an opportunity to highlight his rural school's aesthetic of simplicity, and to associate that aesthetic with an elegant past through the figure of "women," who were increasingly visible in actual demographic shifts in eighteenth-century rural *haikai* circles (Katsumine 73-75).

*Princess Ceremonies* is the fourth published collection of female *haikai* poets. And like his mentor, Shikō, Toro characterizes the poetry of women as simple and uncomplicated. But more than a collection of simple poems by women, it is perhaps the earliest instance of an editor constructing a genre-specific lineage that links itself non-parodically with the aesthetics of the near- and distant past, through its inclusion of a broad range of women composers who moved in the orbit of the rural Bashō schools. With his description of Chiyo and Shisenjo, Toro presents a collective image of rural school women as casual figures engaging in a feminine sphere of "daily conversation" that happens to express a poetic, everyday simplicity. Yet, through gendered association,

he links their casual simplicity with the elegance of courtly women's *waka*, conferring some of its grace and sophistication onto present-day women of the rural *haikai* margins.

## The Female *Bunjin* as Reverse Discourse in Chiyo's Collaborations and Self-Portraiture

Toro's depiction of Chiyo and Shisenjo's poetry places a gendered emphasis on the casual simplicity of their composition, linking it with both the classical image of *waka* poetesses, and with the contemporary *haikai* communities of the rural margin. As the second gendered collection to depict a Bashō lineage (and the first to be edited by a man), it marks the formal beginning of a trend that leverages the figure of the woman as an explicit aspect of emerging discourses of the Revival movement. Though it was a strategy initially limited to rural-style Bashō schools, the act of "collecting women" was eventually adapted by both sides of the Revival movement. Moreover, within this shared strategy, Chiyo became a key representative of women in the Bashō tradition, and an interlocutor for both Revival factions. This transformation is exemplified by the fact that urban-style Revivalist Yosa Buson—who at one time was among Chiyo's harshest critics—published a collection of Bashō's direct female disciples in 1774, with a preface by Chiyo and an afterward by Denjo, both contemporary women of the *haikai* community.

However, more than simply a triumph of rural-style poetics over urban, Chiyo's transformation into representative and interlocuter is the fruition of her female *bunjin* identity, which she deliberately cultivated through the reverse discourse of eccentric, avocational devotion to artistry under gendered constraint. It is a discourse formed

collaboratively through multiple acts of co-composition and self-portraiture, and it is visible from as early as 1726, in the paratext of the Chiyo and Shisenjo collaboration, which was written before it was collected for *Princess Ceremonies*. While Toro presents their collaboration as a kind of found art, Shisenjo's preface presents it as a manifestation of a more deliberate and sustained aesthetic devotion. In a brief passage, she presents the circumstances of their collaboration, then refers to their work's subsequent journey to Gyōzenji. But more importantly, she depicts the poetic sociality of two kindred spirits: women who move through ordinary days and local spaces but, in brief lulls, come together to share an avocational dedication to artistry:

> A distant bell sounded as clouds gathered in the hazy 4th month sky, my eyes full of greening young leaves as I rested from the labor of my needlework. I was visited by Chiyo, a friend who thrusts her pole in the same current. Somehow seeking out that first cloud-call, we two wrote verses on the cuckoo, which, upon completion, we offered to the sacred ground of this honored temple in Naru.
>
> (Nakamoto 344)

The passage opens in a moment of reverie brought on by the greenery of late spring, which is so brilliant it fills Shisenjo's senses. The hazy echo of the distant bell, combined with the vibrancy of the nearby colors, coax her into a brief rest (*yasumehaberinu* やすめ侍りぬ) from the gendered "labor" (*itonamu* いとなむ) of her "needlework" (*harishigoto* はり仕事) . In this period of rest, she is visited by Chiyo, "a friend who thrusts her pole in the same current," (*onaji nagare ni sao sasu tomo* おなじ流れに棹さす友). The phrase she uses to describe Chiyo draws on the language of masculine

physical labor. A man who would “thrust [his] pole” (*sao sasu* 棹さす) in Early Modern Japan typically navigated goods and passengers through bodies of water, maneuvering his boat by thrusting a long pole into the river bottom. The term makes an appearance in its conventional usage in Bashō’s *Narrow Rod*, when, on his journey out of Kaga, he boards a boat which is “poled across” (*sao sashite* 棹さして) Yoshizaki Inlet and into Echizen (trans. Keene, 158).

Shisenjo draws on similar language, inverting its masculine professionalism into a symbol of avocational artistry shared between female friends. The friends are marked by ordinary womanhood, yet their everyday labor is juxtaposed with more intangible efforts made in the lulls of ordinary life. Those efforts are evoked by Shisen’s inversion of *sao sasu,* as the controlled, rhythmic physicality of a boatman’s pole is transformed through reiteration into that of a woman’s brush, and the river current is transformed into the current of an aesthetically oriented life. Shisenjo’s juxtaposition of daily labor and avocational effort presents a picture not unlike the *bunjin*’s dilemma, living in a world of work while living *for* artistry. The poetic valence of the their effort is indicated, of course, by the preface’s context—it is an introduction to a collaborative poetic work, after all—but also by their longing for “that first cloud-call” (*kumo no hatsune* 雲のはつね), the source of which is the cuckoo to whom they dedicate their linked verse. In poetry, the cuckoo’s first call symbolizes the arrival of Summer, just as the first call of the warbler (*uguisu* 鶯) symbolizes the onset of Spring.

The depiction of Shisenjo and Chiyo as friends who maneuver the “same current” (*onaji nagare*) through their efforts suggests that their collaboration is part of a larger lifestyle, a Way or aesthetic being made manifest in the leisurely spaces between the

everyday duties of merchant-class womanhood. The responsibilities of everyday labor consumed much of their time, particularly for the initial seven-year period in which Chiyo was the primary keeper of her family business—so much so that she is listed as the "scroll-maker of Mattō" in a 1748 poetry collection—until her adoption of Nao and Rokubei alleviated some of that burden. Three years later, in 1754, at the age of 52, she took the tonsure and became a nun, a decision that she marked as part of her dedication to that "same current" she and Shisenjo shared when she was just 24. She depicts herself following this current with avocational dedication in the following self-portrait (fig. 13):

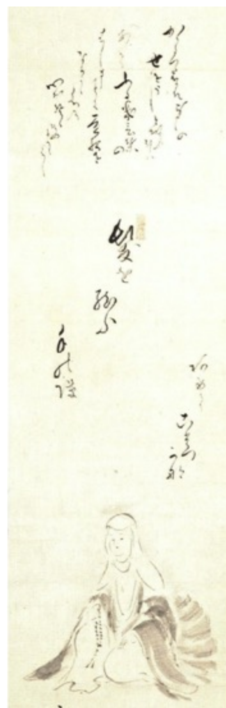

Figure 13. Self-portrait of Chiyo on a hanging scroll (KCSSTG 30)

*kakaru tsutanaki mi no yo wo ushi to omou ni ha ara de furuki kotoba no hashi makoto ni hiru yoru wo nagaruru mizu no kokorobosoku sono mama ni*

*kami wo yū / te no hima akete / kotatsu kana*

I am not like those who reject this earthly world. I simply have a love of ancient words, and, feeling quite uneasy as the days and nights flow on like water…

opening hands

that once bound

my hair

—the warm winter table

Chiyo depicts herself in a nun's garb, while describing herself in humble contrast to those who give up the earthly world in order to devote themselves to a spiritual one. Dismissing any lofty purpose to her tonsure, she instead writes "I simply have a love of ancient words" (*furuki kotoba no hashi* ふるき言葉のはし)—in essence, a love of poetry. In contrast to the lofty figures who seek a spiritual life, her investment in poetry is presented as a distinctly earthly attachment, a hobbiest's interest in words, paired with an anxiety about the passage of time. The verse into which it leads also has warm casualness to it, yet the figure of her hands has liberatory connotations, as gender and class were clearly marked by hair style. As a nun, she is released from the practical obligations of binding up her hair—just as that ritual bound her to a strictly gendered and classed identity—which frees those hands to the pleasurable work of poetry. Idleness, here, is the very posture of devotion.

This eccentric life of poetic discovery is precisely what called Chiyo toward the tonsure in her self-portrait, a call well understood by her female friends and colleagues. Take the following congratulatory verse from Suejo:

御剃髪をことふぎて

*Goteihatsu o kotobukite*

墨染や月と花とのもてあそび

*sumizome ya / tsuki to hana to no / mote asobi*

Celebrating your honorable tonsure:

draped in ink-black—

at play with

the moon and flowers

（Nakamoto 71）

Suejo depicts Chiyo in a nun's black robes "at play with/the moon and flowers"—in other words, avocationally engaged with poetry. Suejo's use of the term "play" evokes a *bunjin*ian simultaneity, where the act of poetry is at once hobby-esque, as well as emblematic of a deep commitment to the aesthetic world. Chiyo's tonsure marks a significant turn in her aesthetic life. Having established a new head of the family business through adoption, she is now better able to make time for her "love of ancient words." Suejo's poem congratulates her on this turn, knowing that Chiyo's donning of a nun's black robes frees her from daily labors and opens up her hands to the effort of artistic play.

A similar sense of recognition and collegiality appears in the following account from the *waka* poet of Etchū, Uchiyama Ippō 内山逸峰 (1701-1780):

千代といふ女の髪なふせしを神無月の頃きき侍りてよみて遣しける

*Chiyo to iu onago no kami nau seshi wo kaminazuki no koro kiki haberite yomite yarashikeru*

けさよりは人をしのぶのすり衣

時雨の雨も色かへて降れ

*kesa yori ha / hito o shinobu no / surigoromo*

*samidare no ame / mo iro kaete fure*

(KCSSTG 30)

Sometime during the tenth month I heard the woman Chiyo had cut her

hair,

so I composed this verse and sent it to her:

> I have thought since yesterday
>
> of one who once wore robes of purple iris…
>
> Even the raindrops of a winter shower
>
> have fallen in a different color

Ippō's poetic response to news of Chiyo's tonsure suggests that she engaged with and was respected by artists both within and beyond the scope of Hokuriku's *haikai* community. And while she was not known to engage in *waka* composition herself, she probably interacted with *waka* poets such as Ippō through collaborations that emphasized her other artistic talents, such as calligraphy or painting.

After she took the tonsure, Chiyo's collaborations with artists of a variety of realms increased significantly and expanded geographically. One such collaboration in which she engaged with was Ike Gyokuran 池玉蘭 (1728-1784), an artist who studied with her husband, the *bunjin* painter Ike Taiga.[21] Gyokuran tried her hand at *waka*

[21] It has been said that Chiyo's paintings also bear the mark of Taiga's influence, though there is no documented evidence of a discipleship (KCSSTG 26). It may be that Chiyo learned from Gyokuran, or that she simply observed some of the couple's stylistic approaches during their artistic exchanges.

composition (however, her poems were usually deemed too experimental to be celebrated), but is best known for her painting skills, for which she was listed in the 1768, 1775, and 1782 editions of the *Who's Who in Heian* (*Heian jinbutsushi* 平安人物誌 ), a compendium of famous figures from across a range of artistic spheres in Kyoto (referenced here by its classical name, Heian) (Fischer, Kinoshita 33). Extant work indicates that Gyokuran and Chiyo met at least twice for poetic collaboration, and the scroll pictured below is probably from the earlier of the two meetings. Gyokuran's painting features one of her signature motifs, the willow, paired with a verse by Chiyo (fig. 14):

Figure 14. Hanging scroll of by Chiyo and Gyokuran (KCSSTG 52)

*kumo ni todoku / chikamichi shitte / yanagi kana*

(Nakamoto 206)

it knows

a shortcut to the clouds

—the willow

Gyokuran

Chiyo the Nun

Pale green leaves dot the generous curves of the willow's branches, which arc in two directions, one rising up to encircle the sweep of Chiyo's *yanagi* 柳, the character for "willow," which then swoops energetically downward into the final exclamatory particle *kana* かな (which I render with an em-dash), bending into Gyokuran's branches as they hang down toward their shortcut to the sky: a still body of water on a clear day in deep spring.

Both Chiyo's collaboration with Gyokuran and the *waka* from Ippō are testaments to the artistic and geographic range of Chiyo's poetic socialities. Moreover, her work with Gyokuran in particular—both she and her husband were highly active members of Kyoto's *bunjin* community—suggests that, though she lived her entire life in Kaga and her known poetic production is limited to *haikai*, her aesthetic was developed through diverse engagements with artists across generic, geographic, and medial boundaries.

A Nostalgic Fool: Chiyo as Revival Interlocuter in *Trailing Mists* (1763)

If Chiyo's engagements across such boundaries speaks to her broader geographic and artistic recognition as a *bunjin,* her engagements with Kaga-based Revivalists speak to her specific interest in an artistically vibrant local *haikai* community. It was her sustained involvement in this community that led her to her first published role as interlocutor in the rising tide of the Revival movement. In the spring of 1763, the 70th anniversary of Bashō's passing, the Tsubata-based poet Kawai Kempū 河合見風 (1711-

1783), a disciple of Ki'in, published *Trailing Mists*, a memorial anthology that included three of Chiyo's verses. Kempū asked the Kanazawa-based Kihaku to write an afterward for the anthology. He also asked Chiyo to write a preface, in a time when a female-authored preface was virtually unheard of, particularly for a collection meant to mark such a venerable occasion. Chiyo agreed, taking on an interlocutive role, commenting on Kempū's publication and its place in the revival movement.

The collection's title is a reference to Kempū's link to Komatsu native and member of Bashō's "Ten sages," Tachibana Hokushi 立花北枝 (?-1718). Though he was initially a member of the Teimon school, Hokushi became a Bashō disciple when the venerable poet visited Kanazawa during his *Oku no hosomichi* journey. As the story goes, Bashō inscribed Hokushi's cherished writing desk with the following poem: "Isn't there also beauty in the call of trailing mists?" (*kasumigata / no tonae mo oka / shikaran ka* 霞型のとなへもおかしからんか), and it thereafter became referred to as the "desk of trailing mists." Hokushi later gifted the desk to his close friend and fellow Bashō-school member, Kondō Ritō 近藤李東(?-?), who in turn gifted the desk to Kempū. Kempū's anthology was titled *Trailing Mists* to the honor the occasion of the literary gift (Nakamoto 614). In her preface (fig. 15), Chiyo writes:

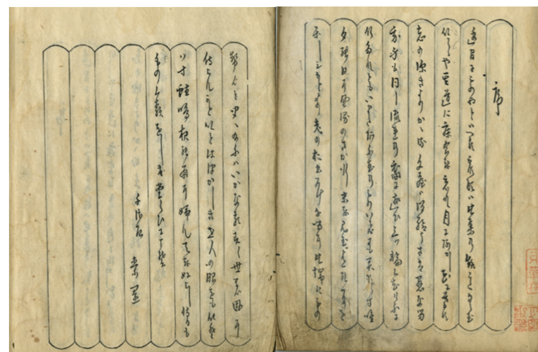

Figure 15 Preface to *Trailing Mists* (ILGB 460)

> This collection seeks to be a trailing mist in the slender gap between things. I am honored to accept this [work from] the desk of one deeply committed to live amongst blossoms and spend evenings gazing at the moon. Quite hesitantly, I myself have played at a distant corner of this same current, and though three of my poems are included here, they are still no different than the words of a parrot. It is merely that, in the setting sun, I hope to remain [long enough] to see elegance flourish. From the beginning, into hazy old age, up to the moment when asked to write this, I have pondered the meaning of this passing life, and so, not minding the shameful vision of this earthly world, I step out into a rainy night of croaking frogs [and stand], slightly damp, like some kind of nostalgic fool.
>
> (Nakamoto 375)

The persona Chiyo presents is the quintessential *bunjin,* eccentrically pursuing art beyond comfort or reason, insisting on an amateurishness despite her dedication. This nostalgic fool lingers in the hopes of watching something flourish that may already have disappeared. That something, "elegance," and the chorus of croaking frogs, echoes a longing for Bashō out into the chamber of night. But even as Chiyo harks back to the father of her genre, she draws on an older rhythm, that of Yoshida Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa*, a work that Linda Chance notes was only canonized in the seventeenth century. Chiyo would have known of the work as a didactic text for women, as well as an aesthetic model for serious artists. One of the earliest and most influential commentaries, Hayashi Razan's *Tsurezureguza nozuchi* (徒然草野槌 1621), highlights the work as a much-needed infusion of masculinity for readers exhausted by the shallow and

convoluted *kana* prose by women:

> A visitor of mine said: "Most things produced in the world that are called *monogatari* [tales] or *sōshi* [books in Japanese] come from the hands of women. For this reason their language is full of flattery and strained laughter; they show no principles of instruction or admonition. One sees only attractively made-up forms, and does not hear a bold, manly style. One is trouble by their busyness, lost in their complexity. They run to the vulgar, or generate into lies. All of them are this way. The only exceptions are Ki no Tsurayuki's preface to *Kokinwakashu* and his *Tosa nikki.* These are quite a different matter than the speech of women. Even though it is not long after Ki writes until we find another man writing, there is only one, this Kenko." In my spare time I have happened to look at Tsurezuregusa. I have drawn upon my guest's words in composing this.
>
> (trans Chance, in "Constructing the Classic: Tsurezuregusa in Tokugawa Readings" 43)

Razan's yearning for "manly" *kana* prose echoes some of the restless search for new artistic horizons among early *haikai* practitioners looking for inspiration in writing outside the hierarchically superior Sinitic genres. Kenkō's work was also valued among the Bashō school Bashō's own allusions to *Tsurezuregusa* in works like *The Narrow Road* indicate his high regard for the work. Additionally, it was highly prized by many of his disciples, and most notably by Shikō, whose *Tsurezure no san* 徒然の讃 (1711) stresses the literary value of Kenkō's work.

Chiyo's *Trailing Mists* preface uses identical phrasing to allude to a passage in

Part Seven of *Tsurezuregusa.* Her use of the phrase, "I hope to remain [long enough] to see elegance prosper ever more" (*fūryū no sakayukuyue wo min made* 風流のさか行末を見む迄) echoes the underlined phrase in Kenkō's passage below:

> We cannot live forever in this world; why should we wait for ugliness to overtake us? The longer man lives, the more shame he endures. To die, at the latest, before one reaches forty, is the least unattractive. Once a man passes that age, he desires (with no sense of shame over his appearance) to mingle in the company of others. In his sunset years he dotes on his grandchildren, and prays for long life so that he may see them prosper. His preoccupation with worldly desires grows ever deeper, and gradually he loses all sensitivity to the beauty of things, a lamentable state of affairs.
>
> (Trans Keene, "Essays in Idleness")

Kenkō depicts a man in the unflattering descent of old age, having abandoned the usual grooming habits of the social world in favor of the more intangible pleasures of the company of others. In those final years, he becomes lamentably preoccupied with staying alive, because, as Keene renders it: "In his sunset years he dotes on his grandchildren, and prays for long life so that he may see them prosper" (*yūbe no hi ni shison o ai shite, sakayuku sue o min made no inochi o aramashi* 夕べの陽に子孫を愛して、栄ゆく末を見んまでの命をあらまし). Chiyo, too, having reached old age, finds herself lingering. Kenkō's figure lingers in order to see "grandchildren…prosper" (*shison…sakayuku* 子孫…栄ゆく). Chiyo uses the same phrase, but unlike Kenkō, she remains in the light in order to see "elegance…prosper" (*fūryū…sakayuku* 風流…さか行). Chiyo's nostalgic fool yearns to see poetic elegance prosper in the legacy of Bashō's

art. And like Kenkō's, Chiyo's figure wrestles with attachment even into "hazy old age" (*oi no oboroge* 老のおぼろげ), not rejecting her earthly eyes.

While the overarching simile—an old woman stubbornly clinging to life for the sake of some future prospering—harks back to Kenkō, her subsequent language of the eccentric fool, as well as the frog or frogs croaking in the night rain (*ameiya no ame* 蛙鳴夜の雨), are respective nods to Bashō's trope of poetic madness, and to his famous poem: "old pond—/a frog jumps in/ the sound of water" (*furuike ya / kawazu tobikomu / mizu no oto* 古池や蛙飛び込む水の音) (Bashō Database). In Bashō's poem, the character 蛙 could be either singular or plural, and considerable debates have occurred over whether it should be interpreted as "a frog jumps in" or "frogs jump in." I favor the singular frog over the plural, since, in my view, it is more consistent with Bashō's tendency toward subtle juxtaposition. The silence of the old pond is such that a single frog's leap resonates far louder than it would under normal circumstances, and the speaker's attention to strikingly minute shifts in silence and sound is what makes the poem echo within the reader.

Two other Bashō poems from *Nozarashi kikō* 野ざらし紀行 exhibit this same quality: "the darkening / sea, a faint white / call of ducks" (*umi kurete kamo no koe honokani shiroshi* 海くれて鴨の声ほのかに白し), and "daybreak—/the icefish one inch/ white" (*akebono ya / shirauo shiroki / koto issun* 明ぼのやしら魚しろきこと一寸) (Bashō Database). Both poems present a brief juxtaposition of the vast and the miniscule, when the speaker's attention hangs on a slender sensory thread. Bashō's "old pond" poem exhibits this same quality. The darkening sea at sunset, the creep of daylight

across the horizon, and the deep silence of the old pond—all these depictions of vastness are juxtaposed with the smallest sensory notes: the faint duck's call, the translucent whiteness of icefish, and the soft sound of a single frog as it slips into still waters.

In Chiyo's preface, however, I read the character as plural, an army of frogs whose croaks fill the night with a cacophony of sound. It is the reading I find most compelling, but it is not the only reading. Just as Bashō's poem can be read as "frogs leap," Chiyo's preface can be read as "I step out into a rainy night [and the sound of] a croaking frog" (*ameiya no ame ni funde* 蛙鳴夜の雨にふんで), in which case the frog might be a symbol of Bashō himself, calling out from the past. Moreover, this reading would be consistent with Bashō's subtle juxtaposition in the alluded poem: Chiyo's rainy night is juxtaposed against the tiny croak of a single frog somewhere out of eyesight, its call punctuating the darkness all the more.

That reading exists alongside the plural reading: "I step out into a rainy night of croaking frogs." I choose to translate 蛙 as plural in response to Chiyo's Sinitic phrasing in the passage, *ameiya no ame* 蛙鳴夜の雨.[22] The first two characters of this line call to mind the often multi-voiced "clamor" (*sawagi* 騒ぎ) of the phrase "croaking frogs and chirping cicadas" (*amei sens*ō 蛙鳴蝉噪)—a term used euphemistically to refer to fruitless argument or useless controversy (蛙鳴蝉噪 in *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*).[23] In

[22] The phrase could well have been rendered in a softer Japanized diction more typical of her work, such as *nakigaeru no yoru no ame* 鳴き蛙の夜の雨. I believe that Chiyo makes this choice deliberately, avoiding the more ambiguous *nakigaeru*—which could connote a lone frog, and a relatively quiet croak from that singular body—In order to emphasize the noisy multiplicity of the moment.

[23] The phrase itself is derived from the opening lines of Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) poem, "出都来陳所乗船上有題詩" (蛙鳴蝉噪 in *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*).

other words, Chiyo's emphasis is on noise rather than silence, and she evokes a soundscape quite different from that of Bashō's "old pond" poem. The powerful poetic reverberation of Bashō's phrase, "frog(s) leap" (*kawazu tobikomu* 蛙飛び込む) , comes not from the noise of the action itself. Even several frogs leaping into a pond will produce a relatively muted sound, after all. The leap's impact is in its *quiet* ability to bring resonance to the old pond's deep silence.

In contrast, Chiyo presents a lively soundscape characterized by the absence of silence, a noisiness enhanced by a dark night that whittles down the eyesight and heightens other senses—sound, and also tactile senses, as the speaker stands out in the rain, "slightly damp, like some kind of nostalgic fool" (*onurashi haberu mono no kuru oshiki tagui ni koso* をぬらし侍るもののくるをしきたぐひにこそ). When read in the context of 70th anniversary of Bashō's passing, near the peak of the Revival movement, Chiyo's closing image—that of an eccentric fool standing in the rain amidst the clamor of evening frogs—reads like a careful contemplation of contemporary battles over poetic legacy, where many artists vie to claim the same eccentric space.

And yet, Chiyo's figure is not a neutral observer. Despite her years of devotion to the arts, she presents herself humbly, proclaiming that her poems "are still no different than the words of a parrot" (*ima da omu no monoi ni mo kotonarazu* いまだあふむのものいひにも異ならず), depicting herself as merely repeating the words of Bashō. This self-deprecation depiction of herself as a mere imitator speaks to Bashō's purported late-life warning for his disciples to "never, even for a moment, lick the dregs of the ancients" (*kari nimo kojin no yodare o namuru koto nakare* かりにも古人の涎をなむる事なかれ) (*Sanzōshi*, NKBZ 51: 546). This anecdote is related in *Three Booklets* (*Sanzōshi* 三冊

子), a collection of *haikai* theory completed by Bashō's disciple, Hattori Tohō 服部土芳 (1657-1730) around 1703 (*Sanzōshi*, 日本大百科全書). The larger context for this anecdote is quoted in Shirane's translation of Doho's work:

> It is the law of nature that all things undergo infinite change. If one does not seek change, haikai cannot be renewed. When one does not seek change, one becomes content with the current fashion and one does not pursue the truth [*makoto*] of haikai. If one does not seek the truth or guide the spirit in that pursuit, one cannot know change based on truth. These people are only imitating others. Those who pursue truth, by contrast, will move one step ahead, not being content to tread on the same ground. No matter how much haikai may change in the future, if it is change based on truth, it will be the kind of haikai advocated by Bashō.
>
> Bashō said, "one should never, even for a moment, lick the dregs of the ancients." Like the endless changes of the seasons, all things must change. The same is true of haikai.
>
> (Trans Shirane 264)

Though Tohō's *Three Booklets* was completed around the turn of the century, it was not published until 1776, with a preface by Ranko, not long after Chiyo passed away. Chiyo and Bashō (via Tohō) use differing language to discuss the notion of imitation, so I do not mean to claim that she alludes to this exact text. However, there is a common wariness of "parroting" or "licking" the words of the poetic past that suggests Chiyo's awareness of *haikai* debates over the balance between venerating past models and creating new poetics to suit the contemporary moment. And she may well have been

aware of Tohō's interpretation in *Three Booklets,* which may have circulated in manuscript form before it was published by her poetic friend and colleague, the Kanazawa-based rural-style Revivalist, Ranko. Whatever the nature of her engagement with *Three Booklets,* Chiyo's preface clearly demonstrates an allusive skill built over years of poetic sociality, paired with a self-deprecating rhetorical emphasis on the importance of poetic idiosyncrasy and contemporaneity. By dismissing herself as merely parroting songs which have already been sung, she reveals an awareness of the delicate tension between the Revival movement, which seeks to bring back the stylistic excellence of the near-past, and the poetic praxis of the present, which seeks to move forward.

Chiyo's opening lines suggest that Kempū's collection also seeks, and perhaps finds, that balance, as she writes: "Truly, along its path, [one] forgets life's mundanities…I am honored to accept this [work from] the desk of one deeply committed to live amongst blossoms and spend evenings gazing at the moon" (*ideya sono michi ni shinshoku o wasure, tsuki ni akashi hana ni kurasu kokorozashi no fukasa yori kakaru bundai wa etamau* いでや其道に寝食を忘れ、月にあかし花に暮す志の深さよりかかる文台は得給ふ). She reinforces Kempū's contemporary commitment to exist among the "blossoms" and gaze up at the gleaming "moon," highlighting him through the material object which links him with a Bashō-inflected past: the poetically inscribed and faithfully inherited desk.

The preface also reveals that Chiyo is willing to speak up in support of those whose poetry moves her beyond the rhythms of daily existence: "Truly, along its path, [one] forgets life's mundanities" (いでや其道に寝食を忘れ). With this phrase, she layers the act of reading Kempū's collection with a "path" (道) as ephemeral as trailing

mist, yet powerful enough to make one *shinshoku wo wasure* (寝食を忘れ), which might also be rendered as forgetting "to eat or sleep"—those markers of everyday life that only slip from the mind when in thrall to something greater, something philosophical, or spiritual, or aesthetic. Called upon to speak for Kempū's collection, Chiyo reiterates herself as a *bunjin* in the Bashō tradition, a devoted eccentric among many who, whatever their differences, all endure in search of a *haikai* Way of forgetting.

## The Trouble with Women: Chiyo as Inappropriate Interlocuter in *A Sudden Journey* (1763)

Hori Bakusui 堀麦水 (1718-1783) was one of the many devoted eccentrics who contributed to the cacophony of sound that was the Revival movement, and one of the most influential. A fierce advocate of Bashō's early Sinitic style, Bakusui may be the poet most responsible for celebrating Bashō's *Withered Chesnuts* (*Minashiguri* 虚栗 1683) as an emblem of that aesthetic (which is also why it is sometimes called "Withered Chestnut style"). Though Bakusui lived in Kaga throughout the Revival, and studied with Shikō, Ki'in, and Nakagawa Bakurō 中川麦浪 (?-1768) (Otsuyu's son) in his early days, he went on to become one of the most vocal critics of the rural-style Ise and Mino schools, publishing numerous theories advocating for a revival of Bashō's old style, and finding his strongest allies in urban residents like Buson (*Nihon koten bungakuzenshu*, 72 *kinsei haikushu* 280).

In the eighth month of 1763 (the same year Kempū asked Chiyo to write a preface for *Trailing Mists*), Bakusui published *A Sudden Journey* 鶉立, his poetic record of a trip

to Kyoto. Like Kempū, Bakusui included Chiyo's poems in his collection (two verses to Kempū's three), and he also asked Chiyo to write a preface for his collection. Though Bakusui had yet to publish his most polemic theories at this point, he had already established himself as an advocate of Bashō's Sinitic style. To mark the publication of *A Sudden Journey,* Chiyo offered the following (fig. 16):

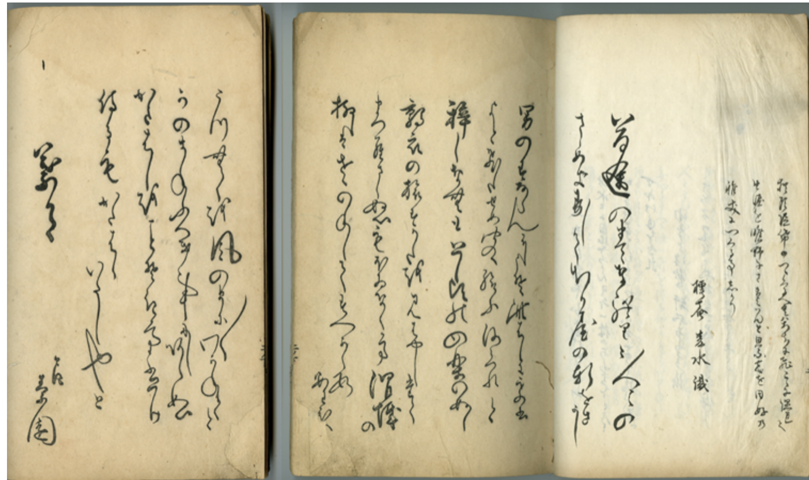

Figure 16. Preface to *A Sudden Journey* (ILGB 442)

> Amidst many celebratory murmurs over the completion of his travelogue, [Bakusui] searched out [my] sedge eves and said that, though it is something a man should do, I should write something for this occasion. Although I tried somehow to demur, and though I was not able to see the Master of Four Joys embark in his well-worn garb, I felt that one ought not wait for the willows of Wei to grow old. Gazing down into the space between us, I wondered into the wind if my hand would be sufficient, and [while] it is not my place to do so, I wrote down these brief words, though it is surely an embarrassing offering.
>
> the 8th month Soen the nun

(Nakamoto 374)

Chiyo's opening line depicts Bakusi's *A Sudden Journey* as a much-anticipated work, and refers to his request for her to write a preface. But she introduces a gendered tension along with the request, noting that he asks her to write something for the occasion "though it is something a man should do" (*otoko no su naran ni koso* 男のすならんにこそ). Though she initially demurs, and though she was not actually present to see "Master of Four Joys" (*shiraku no nushi* 四楽のぬし)[24] embark on his autumn journey, she agrees to write the preface. Her reasoning for doing so is that "I felt that one ought not wait for the willows of Wei to grow old" (*ijo no yanagi wa oi no te shite su bekarazu* 渭城の柳は老の手してすべからず), a continental reference which may be an allusion to Wang Wei's 王維 (701-761) poem, "Farewell to Yuan the Second on his Mission to Anxi" (C: *Sòng Yuán èrshǐ ānxī* 送元二使安西):

渭城朝雨浥輕塵

客舎青青柳色新

勸君更盡一杯酒

西出陽關無故人

(under 陽関三畳 in 故事俗信ことわざ大辞典 , and 中華飲酒詩選、

Toyo bunko 773 p187)

In Wei City morning rain dampens the light dust.

[24] 四楽庵 is the Buddhist-inflected name he gave to his home in Kanazawa, before he gifted it to a nephew and moved to a new home in Komatsu (Takeya 63). Chiyo refers to him by the name of his Kanazawa home despite the fact that he moved in 1761, and his collection was published to mark his 1763 journey from Komatsu to Kyoto.

By the travelers' lodge, green upon green—the willows' color is new.

I urge you to drink up yet another glass of wine:

Going west from Yang Pass, there are no old friends.

(Trans Pauline Yu in *The Poetry of Wang Wei* 263)

Wang Wei's poem depicts the warm friendship of the two figures reluctant to say farewell before one departs for a journey beyond the border of their cultural world and into more alien territory. Chiyo's "willows of Wei" seem to allude to the quatrain's second line: "By the travelers' lodge, green upon green—the willows' color is new" (kèshè qīngqīng liǔsè xīn 客舎青青柳色新). The general theme of travel fits with Bakusui's collection, though the forlorn connotation and direction away from civilization contrasts sharply with Bakusui's journey toward Kyoto. Perhaps Chiyo alludes to the poem as a way of highlighting that time is of the essence, and Bakusui's belated travel tribute (in the form of a preface) should be written while the willows are still green—in essence, while the journey, and Bakusui's request, is still fresh.

If Chiyo's home is like Wang Wei's traveler's inn, perhaps her decision to write the preface parallels Yuan Er's last lingering drink. Though he has a duty to depart, and though the preface is something that a man should write, Yuan Er has one more drink, and Chiyo writes one more preface, at the urging of her interlocutor. Whatever the reason, Chiyo's choice of poet reflects her knowledge of Bakusui's preference for Sinitic-style *haikai* and continentally inflected art, as Wang Wei was a key southern-style painter whose work was influential among the members of Kyoto's *bunjin* community.

Yet after signaling her understanding of Bakusui's stylistic preference, she turns away from the Sinitic metaphor and back to their contemporary moment, depicting herself as troubled in the face of Bakusui's request: "Gazing down into the space between us, I wondered into the wind if my hand would be sufficient, and [while] it is not my place to do so, I wrote down these brief words, though it is surely an embarrassing offering" (*awai e utsumuku o kaze no manimani wagate de to, u no manebu bekikoto nis hi aranu katawashi o kotosogite kakitsuke haberu mo katawara itashiya* あはひへのうつむくを風のまにまにわが手でと、うのまねぶべきことにしあらぬかたはしをことそぎて書つけ侍るもかたはらいたしや). Though she writes that "it is not *my* place to do so," this first-person reference reverberates with the gendered tension of Bakusui's initial claim that preface-writing is something that "a man should do." In other words, while a woman like Chiyo might have a handful of poems included in a given collection, it is not her place to speak on the larger circumstances of composition and curation.

Chiyo's claim that "it is not my place" to write prefaces contrasts sharply with both the existence of her *Trailing Mists* preface, which she had written mere months earlier, and the absence of any equivalent rhetoric in that preface. On the contrary, she adeptly comments on Kempū's collection, gestures to the author's material link to Bashō via the "trailing mists" desk, and offers a subtle commentary on the contemporary clamor of the Revival movement. Her preface for Bakusui offers commentary of a different kind, one that subverts the gendered norms of writing and curation. She subverts those norms with allusive language drawn from the Murasaki Shikibu's *Tale of Genji,* presenting a reverse-discourse that highlights constraint in order to reiterate the writing "woman" as a subject of *haikai* power.

Chiyo's language harks back to *Genji's* narrator, who interjects when the death of Genji's father leads to a slew of final affairs of state. These state affairs are restricted to the realm of men, so the narrator reflects upon her own transgression in relaying such information within the world of the story: "Although there were numerous heartrending last requests, these are not the sort of things a woman should be relating, and I feel awkward having mentioned what little I have here" (Trans. Washburn 223) (*aware naru goyuigon domo okari keredo, ona no manebu beki koto ni shi araneba, kono katahashi dani katawara itashi* あはれなる御遺言ども多かりけれど、女のまねぶべきことにしあらねば、この片端だにかたはらいたし). *Genji*'s narrator explicitly highlights gendered constraint, writing "these are not the sort of things *a woman* should be relating (emphasis mine)," even as she subverts those constraints by composing a sweeping courtly narrative in *kana,* a "woman's" script deemed inferior to public, masculine affairs of state.

The language of Chiyo's final line hews closely to that of Shikibu's interjecting narrator, and like that narrator, she wields power through a negative claim to masculine-coded realms. Both speakers employ the notion of womanhood as a rhetorical strategy to subvert the very constraints attached to the term "woman" (女), wielding the power of their interlocutive agency through the reiteration of constrained identity. In Chiyo's case, this explicit proclamation of gendered constraint appears in *A Sudden Journey,* but not in *Trailing Mists,* which suggests that Revivalists in Bakusui's faction, those who advocated for a Sinitc-style return, were less inclined to accept women than the simple, rural-style advocates.

However, the *Sudden Journey* preface also indicates that gender had become an explicit source of debate among the competing factions. While Sinitic-style advocates were not necessarily ready to compose beside women or publish female-authored collections, it seems that enough rural-school women had been inaugurated as subjects of power that the notion of "women" had become an inescapable element of discourses on *haikai* legacy. Moreover, the fact that Chiyo was asked to preface collections from opposing factions in 1763, the 70th memorial of Bashō's passing, suggests that she had become broadly recognized as a Revival interlocuter—even if some individual Revivalists either refused to recognize, or viewed her as an exception to her gender.

## Subject of the State: The Language of Power in Chiyo's Joseon Collection Postscript (1763)

At the end of the eighth month of 1763, just after she wrote the preface for *A Sudden Journey*, Chiyo completed a collection of 21 self-curated verses, which she brushed onto six hanging scrolls and 15 folding fans at the behest of her domanial lord. Chiyo's poetic objects were gathered up by officials who would offer them as a gift to a delegation of Joseon envoys who were scheduled to arrive on a mission later that year. When she first received the order to create this diplomatic gift, Chiyo composed the following response:

さっきのころ賤がやどりへも御書くだらせ給ふ有がたさのあまり、

おそれがましき言の葉をたてまつり参らせ候ふて

*sakki no koro shizu ga yadori hemo gosho kudarase tamau arigatasa no amari, osoregamashiki koto no ha o tatematsuri mairase soro*

一すじに百合はうつむくばかりなり

*hitosuji ni / yuri wa utsumuku / bakari nari*

Overcome with gratitude at the missive of Your Lordship's that graced my humble abode, I offer with utmost deference the following words:[25]

a single lily

merely

bows down

(in Yamane 71)

Beyond the year, 1763, we do not know when the order or corresponding reply was given. The lily connotes summer in *haikai*, so the flower might provide us with a hint (if not definitive evidence) of the letter's season of composition. Regardless, it seems reasonable to assume that Chiyo took some time to select and arrange the 21 verses with care, so the initial order likely occurred sometime between her Springtime preface for Kempū and her Autumn preface for Bakusui. Given the convergence of these three events in an important Bashō memorial year, it is tempting to read the overlap as an indication that Revival-minded *haikai* debates were informed by, and perhaps in conversation with, larger discussions about literati artistic praxis in the context of East Asian exchange. Of course, it is unlikely that the Joseon delegates would have be familiar with Bashō's work, but Maeda certainly would have both recognized and valued a credible Bashō tribute in

[25] Headnote translation by Glynne Walley.

the 70th memorial year. The following verse from Chiyo suggests that the timing may have been a factor in Maeda's command:

前田家にて

仰向いて梅をながめる蛙かな

*aomuite / ume wo nagameru / kawazu kana*

(Nakomoto 171)

To the Maeda family:

upturned

to plum blossoms

a gazing frog

Yamane claims this was composed at the Maeda residence, as an expression of how honored Chiyo was by Maeda's order (72). Since the headnote provides no details of the compositional occasion, it is possible that Chiyo could have offered it in a different context, since, once established, she took on her own *haikai* disciples, among them the mother of Maeda Tanomono 前田頼母. Even so, the poem provides a glimpse into the cultural knowledge which allowed Chiyo to interact with, and even mentor, members of Kaga's ruling samurai family.

In her poem, Chiyo honors the Maedas through the figure of the flower, which towers over the upward-gazing frog. The frog's short stature requires it to turn its gaze far upward to the "plum blossoms" (*ume* 梅)—which, in addition to being a familiar figure of continental and classical Japanese poetry, was also the flower on the Maeda family crest—creating a delicate, simultaneous depiction of spatial dynamics in the natural world and social power in contemporary human life, a dynamic similar to the one in

Chiyo's lily *hokku*. But the frog's deferential figure can also be read as a nod to Bashō's famous verse. With this allusion, Chiyo's poem expresses deference to the Maeda family, while simultaneously laying claim to a legacy known to devoted *bunjin* practitioners in every domain, even those who did not have any notable engagement with the *haikai* genre.

Once Chiyo completed her Joseon collection, she documented its poetic contents and border-crossing destination on the following scroll (fig. 17):

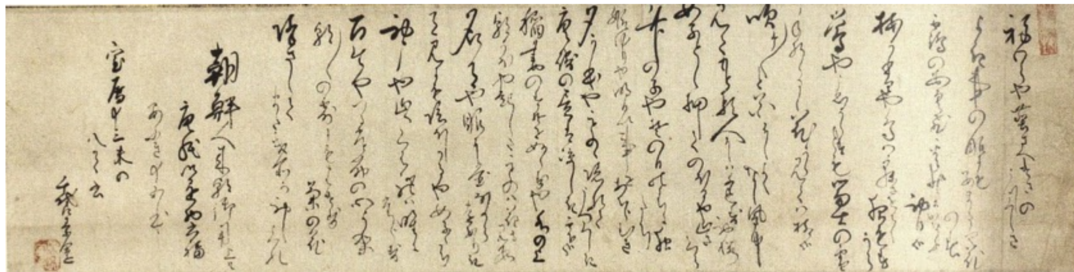

Figure 17. Record of the Joseon Collection (KCSSG 31)

Unlike the poetics objects themselves, this scroll documenting the details of Chiyo's collection did not circulate beyond the bounds of Japan—or, for that matter, beyond the sphere of Mattō. She simply recorded the poems in seasonal order, from New Year's Day to early Winter, and displayed the finished scroll in her home. The verses are calligraphed vertically from left to right, followed by a Sinitic-style postscript describing the gift's purpose and destination, which reads: "In honor of the Joseon embassy: 6 hanging scrolls on Chinese-style paper, 15 fans. Written at the end of the eighth month of Hōreki 13 [by] the nun Chiyo, Soen" (*chosenjin raicho goyou ageru karakami gokakemono rokuhaba ougi jugohon Hōreki jusan sue no hachigatsuso Chiyoni Soen* 朝鮮人来朝御用上ル唐紙御懸物六幅　あふぎ十五本　宝暦十三末の八月書　千代尼素園). While the poems are composed in the usual combination of Chinese characters and Japanese *kana*,

the explanatory notation is composed largely in unadorned Sinitic, with one gloss, a small *ru* ル after the Chinese character 上, indicating that the character should be read as *ageru.*

This practice of supplementing Sinitic texts with *kana* glosses is called *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読, a system of annotation that offers native Japanese grammar and pronunciation guidance for Sinitic texts. The system was either applied to texts originally composed exclusively in Sinitic by continental scholars, or it was incorporated into the creation of a given text for the explicit purpose of making it legible to readers with limited Sinitic literacy (this generative rather than supplementary use of *kundoku* was a common practice in the Edo period, particularly for pedagogical texts).

Chiyo mixes this Sinitic style with a single *kana* word for "folding fan," writing *ougi* with the native syllabary, あふき, rather than the Sinitic character 扇. The text is also dated in a hybridized *kanbun* style, with a single kana particle *no* の between "end of" (*sue* 末) and "eighth month" (*hachigatsu* 八月). Chiyo's use of a Sinitic-style explanation indicates her awareness of the collection's high-profile, public context. At the same time, her juxtaposition of vernacular *hokku* and Sinitic notation highlights the consciously unorthodox nature of the offering, which elevates native *kana* poetry by a merchant-class woman to the masculine, Sinophone realm of international diplomacy.

Chiyo's juxtaposition of *kana* poetry and Sinitic explanation is even more striking when read alongside her *Sudden Journey* preface composed in the same month. Like her record of the Joseon collection, her Bakusui preface juxtaposes Sinitic and *kana* writing, through the allusive figures of Wang Wei and Murasaki Shikibu. But Shikibu's narrative interjection takes on a new reverberation against the Joseon collection, which was deployed in the diplomatic affairs of state, affairs which were, and remained, "not the sort

of things a woman should be relating." By documenting the Joseon collection and highlighting its destination through linguistic juxtaposition, then displaying it in her home where visiting artists came to engage in poetic sociality, Chiyo effectively made her own interjection into the *haikai* community, narrating herself as a female, *bunjin* subject of *haikai* belonging nested within the Sinitic realm of state diplomacy.

In doing so, she reiterates herself as a *haikai* subject who is able to wield poetic power across borders that no other *haikai* poet has been known to cross. Her role as an interlocutor in *A Sudden Journey* occurs as an exception to her gender. She has demonstrated aesthetic devotion to a Bashō-inflected path over decades of letter-writing, travel, collaboration, and publication. Because of these things, although she is a woman, she is deemed worthy to speak in the masculine realm of *haikai* curation. Likewise, in the case of the Joseon collection, Chiyo's *haikai* praxis exhibits a *bunjin*ian multi-artistic facility with poetry, painting, and calligraphy, combined with a keen interest in balancing tributes to the artistic past with an aesthetic of the local and contemporaneous. Thus, *though* it is a vernacular genre, it is deemed worthy to represent Kaga in the Sinitic realm of poetic diplomacy. In other words, Chiyo's inauguration as a subject of state power doubles as an inauguration of *haikai* as a genre of East Asian literary exchange.

## Chiyo as Female Emblem & Interlocutor in *A Jeweled Watergrass Collection* (1774)

1763 was an important memorial year in the Bashō Revival, and for Chiyo's place within that movement. Her successful rise to the status of interlocutor for two collections by poets of opposing factions, followed by her rise to the public realm with the Joseon

collection, seem to have cemented her position as a major representative of the contemporary manifestation of Bashō's legacy. After these momentous events, she continued to participate in haikai socialities, appeared in 26 other collections between 1763 and 1770—but more importantly, she became frequently highlighted as a key representative of the Bashō legacy. One testament to her representative status can be found in the 1764 publication of *A Collection of Poems by Chiyo the Nun* (*Chiyoni kushū* 千代尼句集), a two-volume collection devoted entirely to Chiyo's work, which was edited by Kihaku (who was already her editor twice over). A single-author collection was the mark of a considerably successful poet, and highly unusual for a woman of the time.

The year after Chiyo's first collection was published, she was included in the *One Hundred Haikai Poems* 俳諧百一首(1765), a collection that self-consciously modeled of the influential *waka* anthology, *One Hundred Poets, One Hundred Poems* (*Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首). Drawing on the elite literary pedigree of the *waka* classic, *One Hundred Haikai Poems* was compiled by the Etchū poet Ozaki Kōkō 尾崎康工 (1701-1779), a vocal advocate for a revival of Bashō's late-life style. Each poet in the collection is represented by a poem, portrait, and brief remarks from the editor, with Bashō as the leading figure. The collection highlights at least five people from Etchū and twenty-six from the Kaga and Nottō regions, among them: Chiyo, Shisenjo, Karyō, Kempū, Bakusui, Ki'in, Kikaku, and Rankō (Takeya 65). Of those, only one—Bakusui—was an advocate of the early Sinitic style.

Kōkō's collection makes explicit what Toro only implied in *Princess Ceremonies* when he published Chiyo's poems alongside Bashō's famous female disciples. In *Princess Ceremonies,* Toro highlights two relatively anonymous women (Chiyo and

Shisenjo) in order to positively highlight an inherently simplistic, and inherently feminine, poetry of "daily conversation." He dubs their work worthy of the title *Princess Ceremonies* in order to elevate that conversational poetry through association with the elegant women of the courtly past who composed *waka* poetry. In addition, he adds a number of other local poets, including himself, along with a handful of verses from Bashō's three famous female disciples: Chigetsu, Sonome, and Sutejo. His posthumous inclusion of these three women beside contemporary practitioners, along with the rural-school focus of *Princess Ceremonies,* was a loose contemplation of what a viably literary, feminine subset of *haikai* might look like in the rural-style legacy of Bashō.

Like Toro, Kōkō draws on the elite *waka* tradition, and does so more explicitly by modeling his anthology so closely off *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets.* However, in *One Hundred Haikai Poems,* Chiyo and Shisenjo are no longer anonymous women whose poetry is so much like "daily conversation." Instead, they each takes up the same representative space as Chigetsu, Sonome, and Sutejo, and, by highlighting these accomplished female poets, Kōkō legitimates them as representatives of a gendered subset of a Bashō legacy that stretches across time and space.

Chiyo's representative status as a woman of the genre is also emphasized by Chōmu's *Bashōdō kasenzu* 芭蕉堂歌仙図 (1770), a collection highlighting 36 poets in the same vein as Kōkō, with a portrait and representative poem. Only one woman is included in Chōmu's collection, but her portrait and poem are brushed by Chiyo (Nakamoto 703). Though she is not represented as a poet within the pages, she is present as the contemporary artist behind the poetic figure of Chigetsu, implying a gendered link between past and present *haikai*, and a similar status between the two poets. If only one

woman from each century can be included, Chōmu seems to suggest, it must be these two. Collections like Kōkō's and Chomu's constituted a noticeable shift in the overall visibility of women in *haikai* discourses. While the degree of inclusion of women varied between *haikai* editors, the figure of the woman in a Bashō lineage was increasingly common, particularly in collections published by the rural-style Revivalists.

Editors from both factions continued to publish collections as a way of advocating for their preferred style, and the most famous Sinitic-style Revivalist, Yosa Buson, published his first contribution to the fray in 1766, when he became leader of the Yahantei School (Takeya 65). By 1770, he had become the leading figure among Kyoto's *haikai* community (Takeya 65). But unlike his fellow Sinitic-style advocate, Bakusui—who may have been skeptical of women in haikai as a general rule, but clearly saw Chiyo as an exception—Buson was vocally opposed to the presence of women, and particularly women of the rural margins. Cheryl Crowley notes that he makes his opposition clear in a 1771 print of "The Yahantei *Haikai* Group Monthly Meeting" 夜半亭月並み小擦物 (Crowley, "*Tamamoshū,*" 65). The print itself is not extant, so it is unclear what kind of images may have been included, however, a transcription of the textual content appears in *The Collected Works of Buson.* The transcription features prose by Buson, along with four of his *hokku*, followed by a verses from seven other Yahantei members:

> Danrin[26] was transformed by the Bashō wave, yet its echo could not be cut off, just as the lotus root cannot be severed. It is called Lotus Root Style.

[26] The Osaka-based Danrin School dominated early in the Tokugawa period, and Bashō studied with them before breaking away to create a more literary practice. Danrin membership tended to be more diverse (due to their basis in a newly flourishing commercial port city) with a more circumscribed knowledge of the classics. They emphasized a playful, casual style, and the thematic treatment of contemporary common life.

A winter shower

falling on pines, rats running

over the zither Buson

Many women of Kaga and Etchū have made a name for themselves in *haikai.* As for their weak-sentiment foolishness, they are, after all, poems by women. I call it "Old Woman Style." To accept a poem, Bai Juyi always spoke with old women, and whatever verse they did not understand he instantly revised, focusing on making it shallow.

winter downpour—

an unbroken sash

across the mountain "

Considering life's happiness and sorrows…on a night walk

dropping bagworms

and the rain that

falls in this world "

ghoulish, this morphing

borrowed umbrella of

a temple rain shower "

(*Buson zenshu* v. 7, 449)

The print was likely created to memorialize Bashō's passing, as the day (the twelfth day of the tenth lunar month) is dubbed "Winter Shower Remembrance Day" (*shigureki* 時雨忌), and eight of the print's eleven *hokku* feature the seasonal word *shigure* 時雨. Buson begins by writing the first two lines in Sinitic style, follows with a *hokku,* then two lines

of native *wabun* 和文 prose, and two more lines of *kanbun*, capping his message off with three *hokku,* one of which is prefaced by a title. The complexity of the shifting linguistic-aesthetic registers is compounded by his allusions to multiple factions in the battle for dominance in eighteenth-century *haikai* circles.

The first two lines refer to a rival urban school, the Danrin, which, despite being eclipsed by the "Bashō wave" (*shōryū* 蕉流), still survives in the Kamigata area during Buson's time. Like a lotus root that cannot be severed, the Danrin school changed but did not die out, and continues to spread its particular, inferior aesthetic. Buson's *hokku* reflects both formally and thematically on the persistence of the Danrin School in contemporary times: "A winter shower / falling on pines, rats running / over the zither" (*shigure matsu / furite nezumi no tou / koto no ue* しぐれ松ふりて鼠の通ふ琴の上). The *hokku* is formally characterized by *jiamari* 字余り, a "hypermeter" of three additional syllables, resulting in a rhythm of 5-10-5 syllables. The use of *jiamari* is quite unusual for Buson, but is a hallmark of the Danrin school, and that influence is visible in some of Bashō's early works, like his 1684 travelogue, *Nozarashi kikō* 野ざらし紀行. Thematically, the *hokku* juxtaposes the "vulgar" figure of the "rat" 鼠 with the "elegant" figure of the "zither" 琴, depicting a scene of the commonplace and the artistic coexisting, just as the passing "rain shower" しぐれ falls upon the enduring "pine"松, whose symbolic longevity outlasts the seasonal damp. Similarly, the pure lotus flower is grown from the muck, root and flower, high and low, existing together.

In sharp contrast to the Sinitically philosophical tone of the first prose section, the next two and a half lines of prose are written in a more colloquial native style: "Many

women of Kaga and Etchū have made a name for themselves in *haikai*. As for their foolish sentimental expressions, they are, after all, poems by women. This is called 'Old Woman's Style.'" (*ka etsu no fujin no haikai ni na aru mono ōshi. Sugata wakaku jo no okonaru wa ona no ku nareba nari. Kore o rōbatai to iu* 加・越の際、婦人の俳諧に名あるもの多し。姿嫩く情の癡なるは女の句なれば也。これを老婆体と云。 Buson claims that there are "many" 多し women from the rural Western regions of "Kaga and Etchū" 加[賀]越[中] who have "made a name for themselves in *haikai*." and by this he refers to the fact that a handful of women had gained such a following beyond their provinces that they had come to be called "The Three Women of The Western Region" (*hokuriku no sanjosei* 北陸の三女性). These three were Iijima Karyō of Kanazawa, Hasegawa Kasen 長谷川哥川 (?-1776) of Echizen, and Chiyo of Kaga.

Though he does not name them directly, Buson is undoubtedly referring to this trio of women, whom he sees each as sharing the same gendered inferiority. The "weak-sentiment foolishness" (*sugata wakaku jō no oraka naru* 姿嫩く情の癡なる) of their verses is rooted not in a formal school's style, but in the fact of their gender. Ultimately, he claims that weakness is the intrinsic nature of "poems by women" (*onna no ku nareba nari* 女の句なれば也). He follows by labeling this quality of poetry an "Old Woman's Style" 老婆体, a continental allusion compounded by his shift into *kanbun* in the final line. The transcription of this print available in *Buson zenshu* includes a blank in the first character of the following line, which is a reference to Tang Dynasty poet Haku Rakuten [白]楽天, or Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), who was said to go out into the street to read his poems to old peasant women, revising any lines she could not understand. By turning

to a well-loved continental poet immediately after dismissing his female contemporaries, Buson gets to the heart of what he perceived as the incompatibility between female poets and Sinitic-style Revivalism, which demanded an extensive multi-artistic knowledge of continental tradition, and a facility with literary Sinitic well beyond what most merchant-class women were able to achieve.

Drawing on Bai Juyi, Buson suggests that a skillful poet can and should make his verses comprehensible to the lowest among him—poor, uneducated old women—thus "making it shallow" 専尚浅近. While shallowness seems to have a connotation similar to the "foolishness" of the poetry of Kaga and Etchū, Buson seems to suggest that a poem's entry point may be shallow, so long as its depth remains. And while a common old woman may be a proper audience, thereby a gauge for that shallow entry point, she should not, herself, compose poetry. Just as, in his own poetry, Buson leverages common figures to revitalize "elegance," he implies that women do not belong among the famous names in *haikai* composition. Or, perhaps more pointedly, they should not be considered the rightful inheritors of the Bashō legacy, with its stake in elevated aesthetics.

In the height of the Revival, Buson's greatest anxiety comes from the rural feminine margins, in the far-flung regions of Kaga and Etchū, where women overstep the natural line between their value as measures of a poem's accessibility and the productive realm of poetic composition. His anxiety was probably rooted in the ubiquity of these rural women, who found a place in the pages of many collections, and, in Chiyo's case, an increasingly important representative role. The degree of Buson's antipathy may also have been inflected by proximity: though she lived outside the cosmopolitan center, the overwhelming majority of Chiyo's publications, large and small, were produced by the

Kyoto-based Tachibanaya Jihei 橘屋治兵衛, an urban publisher with a substantial catalogue dominated by rural poets (Kashima 51-55).

Despite his influential status in the Kyoto community, Buson apparently did not sway readers and editors away from Chiyo's "Old Lady Style." In the same year that his Yahantei print was published, Kihaku edited a sequel to Chiyo's single-author collection, *Voice of the Pine* (*Haikai matsu no koe* 俳諧松の声), which was simultaneously published by Tachibana Jiheiya in Kyoto and Yamazaki Kinbei 山崎金兵衛 in Edo. Rankō, in the postscript, relates that Chiyo's "voice echoed beyond these islands…paired with Sinitic characters by a certain someone of elegant achievement, it was conveyed to the people of Morokoshi [Joseon]. This nun is like no one else, and now her praises should be sung all the more (*sono koe wa shima no soto ni hibiki, nanigashi fushi no manamoji o soete, morokoshi no hitoni mo tsutaeshi to nan, tagui naki kono ama no homare, ima sara iu beku ni mo araneba* その声は嶋の外にひびき…何某風士の真名文字をそへて、もろこしのひとにも伝へしとなむ、たぐひなき此尼のほまれ、いまさらいふべくにもあらねば) (Nakamoto 612).

It must have galled Buson to learn that Chiyo's "voice echoed beyond these islands" to Joseon, given the high regard in which he held the envoys. That regard is evident the following poem, which depicts the delegation's arrival in Osaka in 1763: "Koryŏ boats drift / no closer / passing mist" (*komabune no / yora de sugiyuku / kasumi kana* 高麗舟の寄らで過ぎゆくかすみかな) (in Jungmann 154). Buson's *hokku* evokes

a bittersweetness, a sense of anticipation as the Koryŏ[27] boats drift no closer to the speaker, and the boats, or the mist—or both—drift away. To learn that Chiyo's rustic work was selected as an official gift for the envoys, despite the lack of continental inflection in her *haikai*, must have taken Buson aback. Or perhaps it gave him cause to reconsider his former assessment, as her rise into the Sinitic sphere of public diplomacy was an accomplishment no other *haikai* poet had achieved.

Whether it was the Joseon collection, or the recognition conferred upon her by his fellow Sinitic-style Revivalists, by 1774, even Buson eventually came to accept the two things he had railed against just three years earlier: women in *haikai*, and Chiyo as a poet who had made a name for herself. His shift is evident in his decision to publish the *Jeweled Watergrass Collection,* an anthology made up exclusively of women from poems to paratext. With this publication, he recognized the normalization of the act of "collecting women" as part of the Bashō legacy, and acknowledged Chiyo as a contemporary interlocuter by asking her to provide a preface. Chiyo's preface (fig. 18) is translated below by Cheryl Crowley:

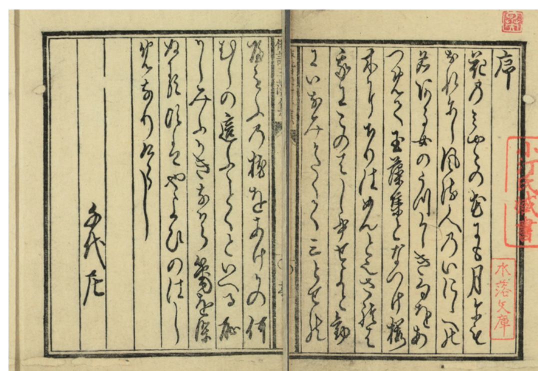

Figure 18. Preface to *A Jeweled Watergrass Collection* (WDJCC)

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[27] The Koryŏ (also Goryeo, J: *koma*) Dynasty lasted from 918-1392. Many Tokugawa depictions of the Joseon delegation refer to them by their contemporary dynasty as *chosen* 朝鮮, though some records continue to use the term *koma* 高麗 into the eighteenth century (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*).

> A person of taste from the elegant capital, well-versed in the blossoms and the moon, collected exquisite verses by famous women of the past, and, giving it the title Tamamoshū, planned to have it published. Thus, though I wanted to refuse his exhortation to write its introduction, I arose from my sickbed of three years, crawling out like some insect, and in deep embarrassment, I stained my brush at the beginning of the third month.
>
> (Nakamoto 376, trans Crowley, "Tamamoshū" 60)

Chiyo's preface opens with a nod to geographic and temporal distance, situating the requesting figure of Buson in Kyoto, the "person of taste from the elegant capital, well-versed in the blossoms and the moon" (*hana no miyako no hananimo tsuki nimo narenishi fūryūjin* 花のみやこの花にも月にもなれにし風流人) , followed by his decision to collect verses from "the past" (*inishie* いにしへ), though she says little else about the collection. Her brevity is probably due in part to her health—so poor that she found herself in a sickbed for three years—but also because she seems not to have read the poems themselves, either because the request was made before curation, or because a copy was not sent along with the request. If it was the latter, that would be a significant departure from the editorial approach of Kempū and Bakusui, who provided copies of the work they wanted prefaced. Still, despite being unable to review the collection itself (either due to illness of its absence in Buson's correspondence), Chiyo agrees to act as interlocutor to the most skeptical figure from among the Sinitic-style Revivalists. As a poet recognized by both factions of the Bashō Revival, and an emblem of contemporary *haikai* achievements among women, Chiyo lends legitimacy to Buson's collection of outstanding verses by Bashō's female disciples.

In her 1726 appearance in *Princess Ceremonies,* Chiyo was someone "who seems to live nearby," a rural woman whose poems are "so much like daily conversation" that they become a kind of found art to be gathered up by curating men. But by 1774, she is an established Revival interlocutor who comments on an act of "collecting women" by an explicitly opposed faction. Her comments, despite their brevity, reiterate the particular constraints of her subjection: the collection's existence constitutes a normalization of women as part of the discourse on *haikai* legacy, a consensus that they cannot be ignored completely. And yet the distance she evokes between herself as a contemporary interlocutor and the collected women "of the past" reveals the limits of the Yahantei School's engagement with *haikai* women, emphasizing the constraint within which she wields her power to speak.

# CHAPTER IV

# BEFORE THE WORLD: THE JOSEON COLLECTION AS LOCAL AESTHETIC WITH REGIONAL COMPLEMENTARITY

The touchstone of my final chapter is Chiyo's Joseon collection. In part I, I introduce iterations of some of the poems from the collection, in order to explore how Chiyo represented her aesthetic when given the opportunity to be her own curator, and to highlight the *bunjin* praxis visible in many of these iterations.

I follow this examination with a historical overview of Tokugawa-Joseon relations, highlighting the role of artistic exchange within the sphere of East Asian diplomacy. After establishing that context, I analyze some shifts in rhetoric and cultural production that occurred in relation to the Joseon delegation's visit in 1764. Drawing on Takahashi Hiromo's articulation of an eighteenth-century "East Asian Republic of Letters," I argue that these shifts indicate an emerging sense of collegiality and aesthetic complementarity among East Asian literati, one that newly recognized local artistic variation, cultural sites, objects, and vernacular languages as viable sources of local representation in regional circulation. Furthermore, I argue that the deployment of Chiyo's Joseon collection was consistent with this emerging sense of complementarity, highlighting some possible links between the envoys, Kaga Province, and the *haikai* community.

I argue that the cultural-linguistic context of the collection's deployment into regional circulation presages haiku's role as a national-linguistic representative within the

space of world literature, and thus should be incorporated into our historicization of haiku as a genre of Japanese literature in global circulation.

Furthermore, I highlight two sources—Chiyo's documentation of the Joseon collection, and the preface to Chiyo's second single-author poetry collection, *Voice of the Pine* (*Matsu no koe* 松の声)—in order to argue that the subsequent domestic valuation of Chiyo's aesthetic was positively impacted by the circulation of her work to Joseon Korea. That reverberation reaffirmed her position as a subject of *haikai* power in Tokugawa Japan (not unlike contemporary authors, whose status as domestic subjects often improve as a result of their circulation out into the wider world).

## Chiyo's *Bunjin* Aesthetic in Iterations of the Joseon Poems

We do not have access to the actual poetic objects which comprised Chiyo's Joseon collection. However, because she selected them from the existing body of her work, many of the poems are accessible in domestic iterations. These iterations offer a window into the multi-artistic praxis in which she engaged, and, because the poems were self-curated, they present a kind of aesthetic silhouette of Chiyo's *bunjin* aesthetic. The iterations highlighted below reveal two themes that appear frequently in her work: the poetic ambivalence of moving through the mundane world, and the productive tension of seeing and being seen in a woman's body.

Poetic ambivalence is prominent in the first poem, a spring verse which appeared in a total of nine collections between 1751 and 1768 (Nakamoto 146, 699, 703). This iteration is a hanging scroll composed sometime between 1770 and 1771. The verse—

translated here by Glynne Walley—is paired with a painting of two figures (fig. 19), who have been interpreted by some scholars as youthful versions of Chiyo and Ki'in, or Chiyo and Hansui.

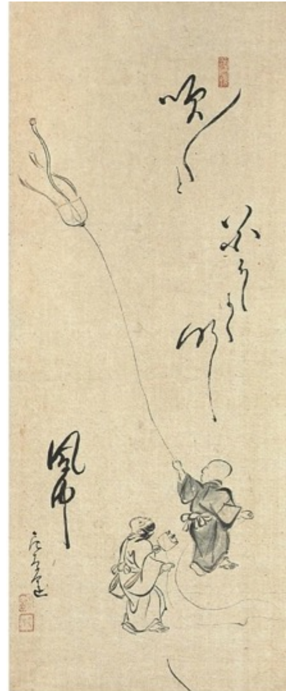

Figure 19. Hanging scroll, *fukefuke to* (KCSSTG 51)

*fukefuke to / hana ni yoku nashi / ikanobori*

(KCSSTG 51)

*Blow, blow*, though

it's bad for the blossoms

cuttlefish kites

This scroll features two commoners kite-flying on an expanse full of the implication of wind, the poem rising bold and energetic in the upper right corner, shifting and gusting past the figures toward the lower left corner beneath a kite also buffeted by some unseen energy. The thick, bold lines of "cuttlefish kites" in the lower left hand corner reverberate all the more powerfully against the abbreviated lines of the character for "blossoms"

(*hana* 花), which refers specifically to the cherry blossom. The delicate spring cherry blossom is a much-loved emblem of transient beauty, yet despite their hallowed place in poetry, here the fragile petals are whipped away by a full-bodied wind.

This relationship between the kite-flyers and blossoms is dramatically different from Chiyo's depiction of Kempū as one who "lives amongst the blossoms," or of Buson, who is "well-versed in the flowers and the moon." If "blossoms" are a symbol of poetry, then Chiyo's verse depicts a gleeful disregard for its own form, as its two figures turn their backs on poetry in favor of the idle pleasures of their airborne toy, their necks craned upward, their arms out wide. There is something melancholy about the poem's warning, "it's bad for the blossoms" (*hana ni yoku nashi* 花によくなし), whose calligraphic lines seem on the edge of being whipped away. And yet, this poetic disregard is depicted with an easy, straightforward rhythm, and the scroll is so full of lively motion—the kite, the calligraphy, the bottom of the figures' feet as they stroll—that poetry blooms unexpectedly when the two figures turn their backs on a life among the blossoms.

The next Joseon poem also depicts and simultaneous turning toward and away. It appears below at the center of a summer trio (fig. 20):

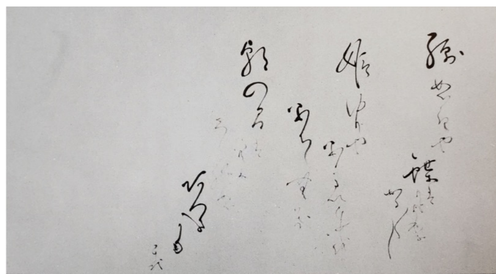

Figure 20. Scroll with three poems[28]

[28] Image from page 22 of Kaga no Chiyo shinsekishu (hereafter referred to as KCSS).

*watanukiya / chō ha moto yori / karugarushi*

*himeyuri ya / akarui koto wo / achira muki*

*asa no ma wa / sora ni shirarenu / atsusa kana*

removing a layer—

the butterfly was always

this nimble

princess lilies—

bright things from which

they turn away

the early morning,

a hazy,

unlovable heat

Chiyo

The first verse begins with *watanuki,* the ritual of removing an outer layer of clothing on the first day of the fourth month, stripping down to something lighter for the summer season. Yet Chiyo contrasts the lightness which comes with this human ritual with the butterfly's natural state, always a mere wisp no matter the season. Basho has a poem from 笈の小文 attuned to the weight—material and immaterial—of seasonal wardrobe changes: "peeling off a layer/ to toss over my shoulder… / summer wardrobe" (*hitotsunui / de ushiro ni oinu / koromogae* 一つ脱いで後に負ぬ衣がへ) (Basho Database). Basho's verse figures a man on the road who, on his rambles, attends to ritual casually, evoking lightness and movement both around and within the speaker. Chiyo's verse, meanwhile, tempers the moment in which the weight is lifted with the perpetually nimble

butterfly, evoking a human figure whose limbs sway between the light and heavy burdens on her ritual body.

The next poem (included in the Joseon collection, as well as five others) juxtaposes light and dark, this time through the motif of princess lilies. The verse opens with the summer flowers, and in the middle seven syllables the reader turns to the faint brushwork of "bright things," only to find that lilies "turn away" *achira muki* from that brightness in the final five. Princess lilies need full exposure to the sun in spring and autumn, but their blooming faces turn away from the summer sunlight's direct intensity—and perhaps also from the intensity of the reader's gaze, as *achira* "away" implicates his presence within the brightness of the poem, separate from the shadowed places to which the lilies turn.

The next summer verse also unfurls toward the allure of darkness. Included in the Choson collection, as well as six others, between date and date. In this iteration, a hanging scroll (fig. 21) composed when Chiyo was about 58, the poem is paired with a depiction of its *kigo,* the moonflower:

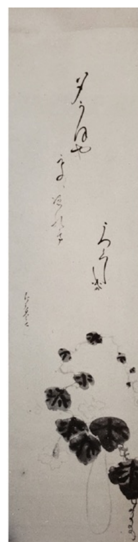

Figure 21. Hanging scroll, yūgao ya (KCSS 34)

*yūgaoya / mono no kakurete / utsukushiki*

(KCSS 34)

moonflowers—

the beauty

of hidden things

The moonflower's delicate petals unfold in the evening, blooming until dawn, when they curl back into a small white whorl among robust green leaves. Here the leaves' thickly brushed veins draw the eye as the vines climb into the fore and background, some arching up and away into distance, some curling and looping downward. The blooms appear with the lightest touch of the brush, faces half-hidden amidst the ordinary leaves. There is another hidden moonflower, Yūgao from the Tale of Genji, a low-ranking lady living in an impoverished dwelling, so far beneath Genji's status that he had to visit her in disguise.

If the moonflower saves its beauty for the dark of night, curling back into itself at dawn, then its cousin, the morning glory, unfurls into that early light in much the same way. Chiyo's next verse depicts the morning glory in two iterations (fig. 22, 23):

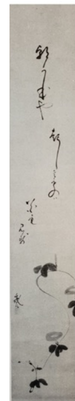

Figure 22. Hanging scroll, *asagao ya* (a) (KCSS 46)

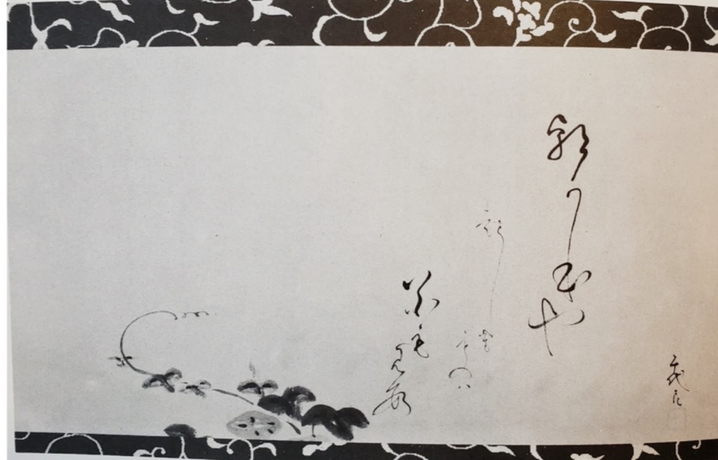

Figure 23. Scroll: *asagao ya* (b) (KCSS 60)

*asagao ya / okoshitamono wa / hana mo mizu*

(KCSS 46, 60)

morning glories—

unseen

by the one who wakes them

Chiyo body of work includes a number of morning glory verses, and in fact, her most famous verse is yet another morning glory poem—"morning glories— / the well bucket taken / I beg for water" (*asagaoya / tsurube torarete / moraimizu*)—though it's worth nothing that she did not choose the "well bucket" verse for the Joseon collection. This verse, by contrast, was included in the Joseon collection and four others. The dark leaves are more abbreviated, and the morning glory blooms more prominent in both iterations than the blossoms of the moonflower, though these flowers also bloom beside round, winding vines, which seem to grow with the poem in the first iteration, and nearly grow out of the poem in the second iteration.

But while, in the previous poem, time and light determine when the moonflower's beauty becomes visible, this poem depicts a more ambiguous ability to gaze upon the

opening face of the morning glory. Who is the "one who wakes" here, and what—or who—is being awoken? A philosophical, more cerebral reading of the poem lends itself to the awakener as the early morning sun, those warm, bright rays of a star that coaxes the blooms out of their tightly curled sleep, yet does not, cannot, "see" the flowers it awakens in the way that humans, with their deep attachments, see and celebrate the appearance of beauty in the world. Or could the awakener be just as human, and just as attached to beauty? What if the awakener is a woman nudging family out of bed so they might catch sight of the petals spreading open to the sun, while she applies herself to the morning duties, the cooking, cleaning, preparing the shop for a day of customers?

Natural or societal, the limits around looking in Chiyo's morning glory poem cannot contain the next poem, whose horizon is the full autumn moon. Appearing in a total of six collections, the verse is iterated here on the front flap of an alms bag (fig. 24) Chiyo wore on her travels:

Figure 24. Alms bag, *meigetsu ya* (Sakashi 2)

*meigetsu ya / me ni okinagara / to ariki*

Chiyo the Nun

the full moon—

walking far while it rests

in my eyes

Just as the poem depicts the speaker traveling with the full moon in her eyes, Chiyo carried the poem with her on her journeys, an aesthetic celebration of motion when a woman's movements were highly constricted. Yet unlike the hat inscribes with a pair of verses Chiyo co-wrote with Karyō during their visit to Yoshino, this poem has no geographic boundaries, no particular destination in mind. Wonderfully aimless, the poetic figure is merely "walking far," with the moon as her only constant. Notice that it is not her eyes that are resting on the moon, it is the moon that rests within her eyes, its position accentuating the eccentricity of the speaker's travel, a kind of nomadic reverie that echoes off a Bashō poem: "The full moon— / rounding the lake / all night long" (*meigetsu ya / ike o megurite / yomosugara* 名月や池をめぐりて夜もすがら) (Bashō Database). Both poems depict speakers on poetic journeys with the companionable moon, its multiplying light—in the sky, the lake, and the eye—brightening the many odd paths which lead away from ordinary life.

Though by no means a comprehensive picture of Chiyo's work, these iterations reveal her interest in discovering poetry in the ambivalent moments of mundane contemporary life, moments that consist of a turned back, a hidden bloom, or an affinity for darkness. Her poems are also particularly attuned to the power that poetic observation can wield, and she draws out a productive tension of seeing and being seen in a woman's

body. That tension is visible in the final two poems, the first of which presents the constraints around poetic seeing—or in this case *not* seeing—in a body that bears the responsibility for a woman's labor. The latter poem presents a woman in motion, where the act of seeing is made possible by travel, and poetic enlightenment, in the figure of the moon, is taken into the body through the eyes.

## Historical Overview: The Joseon Delegations to Tokugawa Japan

The history of Joseon-Tokugawa relations is part of a longer history of exchange via the *lingua franca* of literary Sinitic (J. *kanshibun* 漢詩文), a reflection of continental China's dominant role as the region's civilizational center. As a result of China's hegemonic status within the region, political exchange across East Asia was conducted between intellectual and political figures who, though their spoken languages were mutually unintelligible, were able to communicate via Literary Sinitic. But more than a matter of practical comprehensibility, Literary Sinitic had a cultural authority that rendered it a "meta-language," as Emmanuel Pastreich puts it:

> Literary Chinese…served as a lingua franca for intellectual discourse throughout East Asia from at least the fourth century A.D. until the twentieth century…Literary Chinese offered the author in East Asia unfaltering and readily reproducible modes of expression that radiated the full power of a tradition dating back to the beginnings of recorded history. Slowly, a corpus of model texts for composition in literary Chinese emerged that had immense authority in East Asia and, from the perspective of its

> inhabitants, the world…Literary Chinese was not a regional language but a meta-language that under-girded all discourse in East Asia.
>
> (Pastreich 13-14)

Though Sinitic characters were adapted by Japanese to create a native phonetic writing system, which was then used to compose native genres of poetry and prose (genres which gave birth to the earliest "Japanese classics" of World Literature, such as Murasaki Shikibu's *Tale of Genji* and Sei Shonagan's *Pillow Book),* all public discourse was conducted in literary Sinitic. Even outside of official discourse, highly educated scholars and artists continued to read and compose work in literary Sinitic, to such an extent that, Pastreich explains, "The Chinese ideograph possessed such an aura of legitimacy that it rendered the related topic visible to a degree no other means of representation, including painting and sculpture, could do" (14-15).

In other words, literary Sinitic allowed intellectuals and artists across East Asia to participate in a shared written language, both an ideal and necessary ground for educated exchange of all kinds, internally and across cultural-linguistic borders. That practice of conducting official international correspondence via literary Sinitic continued throughout the Tokugawa period, and not simply for correspondence related to strictly political affairs. In keeping with orthodoxy, Sinitic artistic exchange was an integral part of each Joseon visit to Tokugawa Japan, including the one in which Chiyo's collection was gifted.

Japan hosted twelve Joseon delegations between 1607 and 1811. The first two were primarily meant to finalize the conditions for normalization after Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions of the Korean peninsula between 1592 and 1598, and, as part of

that normalization, to negotiate the return of thousands of Joseon people whom Japanese forces had kidnapped and imprisoned during those incursions. The cultivation of good neighbor relations (J: *zenrin kankei* 善隣関係) between the two states was facillitated by the Sō family of Japan's Tsushima Domain, an island nearly equidistant to Busan and Fukuoka. Along with political reconcilliation came the standardization of emissary visits to the archipelego, which were initiated by invitation, usually to mark the ascension of a new military leader to the seat of shogunal power. The delegations traveled in contingents of 300-500 members, spending eight months on a round trip journey (fig. 25) to the capitol city of Edo (fig. 26) to deliver congratulations.

Figure 25. Illustration of the Joseon delegation's travel route for 11 of the 12 visits[29]

Figure 26. Hanegawa Tōei羽川藤詠, Illustration of Joseon Embassy Arriving in Edo (*Chōsenjin raichōzu* 朝鮮人来朝図 (1748)[30]

Between the first visit, in 1607, and the visit in question, in 1764, the temporal gap between delegations varied, with the shortest being seven and the longest being twenty-nine years. Thus, multiple classes of the Tokugawa populace who resided along

[29] This map includes reference to some 17th century delegations, which went as far as Nikko 日光, but typically the destination was Edo 江戸 (Son 3).

[30] Image from the Cultural Heritage Database of the National Institute of Informatics.

the delegation's route had the opportunity to see the massive procession at least once in their lifetimes. They were also obliged to prepare for such visits. The shogunate ordered daimyos from domains across the feudal state to prepare gifts for the envoys, and residents and administrators were required to ensure that the roads were swept clear and cities were clean and colorful. In addition, a number of feudal lords, mostly *tozama daimyo* 外様大名,[31] had been ordered by the bakufu to serve as hosts for designated sections of the delegation's journey. These lords and their domains incurred an outsized portion of the expenses involved in hosting, but also gained the opportunity for exchange with the delegates, whose literary and artistic talents were widely admired and eagerly sought (Toby 68-69).

Even residents outside the delegation's direct path had access to popular written and visual depictions of the delegations. For example, Hanagawa Toei's shogunate-commissioned woodblock print (Figure ) depicts precisely such a narrative, with the Joseon retinue parading through the colorful streets of Edo as local residents look on. Ronald Toby has argued that this periodic parade of foreign dignitaries functioned as a mechanism to solidify and maintain the Tokugawa bakufu's domestic hegemony, allowing the bakufu to project the image of a stable, centralized feudal power whose benificence was admired by leaders from as far away as the Joseon Dynasty and the Ryukyu Kingdom (101). The 1617 diary of Richard Cocks, director of the English trading factory at Hirado, is a testament to the propaganda's success. In August of 1617, Cocks was in Kyoto to petition for the expansion of English trading privileges, and it was

[31] *Tozama* daimyo ("outside lords") were designated as such based upon their position vis-à-vis Tokugawa during the decisive 1600 battle of Sekigahara. Those loyal to Tokugawa during that battle were designated as *fudai daimyo* ("vassal lords"), while lords who remained neutral, or who supported the opposing Ishida faction, were designated as *tozama.*

around this time that Cocks heard about, then later saw with his own eyes, the second Joseon embassy:

> August 31. –At this place we understood the Corean embassadors departed from hence yesterday in the morning with 450 men in their company, Coreans, 3 of them being princepall, and all goe in like authoritie. The Emperour hath geven charg to use them respectively in all pleases where they passe, as hath byn both at Tushma, Ishew, or Firando, Faccata, and this place on Shimeneseak, new howses being built for receipt of them in eache place, with boates to convay them per sea and horse and *neremons* (or litters) per land, all at themperour of Japons cost.…
>
> September 7. –I wrote an other letter to Hirando to Mr. Nealson and Osterwick, and sent it per an other barkman of Tome Dono. And as I was a writing of yt, the Corean ambassadors passed throw this towne per water in very pomeouse sort, they being royally entertained all the way per themperours command, and had tumpetts and hobboyes sounding before them in 2 or 3 severall placese…
>
> September 20. –Yt is said the Coreans sent a pr'sent to themperour[32]…and made their case knowne wherefore they were went from the King of Corea to hym; w'ch was, first to vizet the sepulcre, or doe funeral rights to the deceased Emperour Ogosho Samma,[33] and next to reioyce w' his Matie that

[32] The shogun, Tokugawa Hidetada (Toby 66).

[33] This is a reference to Tokugawa Ieyasu, who took on the title of retired shogun (ogosho 大御所) in 1605, maintaining unofficial control under this title until the year before his death in 1616.

> now is in that he had so quietly suceaded his father w/thout wars or bloodshed…
>
> September 22. …This day all the Japon lords or *tonos* went to vizet the Corean ambassadors, carrying them greate presents, a matter strang to see, except it be they be set on per the Emperour to withdraw them from favoring the King of China, etc.
>
> (Cocks 301, 304, 311, 312)

The tremendous effort required to prepare for, accompany, and host the delegation, along with the many elaborate commissioned depictions of each delegation (Fig. 28), make it clear that the events were meant to be noticed and remembered by all parties involved. Cocks' account depicts a stable and centralized Tokugawa system: peaceful shogunal succession is celebrated with a thoroughly organized, internationally recognized fanfare. Cocks was not the only one to record the impressive procession. Official Compilers employed by many domains recorded the embassy at length, along with their lords' participation (Toby 68). Most accounts read the events as an impressive testament to Tokugawa governance, and to the friendly relations with its political neighbors.

In fact, neighborly relations were more complicated than such depictions suggest. However, a primary motivation on the part of the shogunate was to proliferate internal propaganda of peace and power brought by Tokugawa rule, and those goals were effectively achieved in the seventeenth century. Eighteenth century relations were complicated by several factors—including the resurgence of a debate over diplomatic titles in 1711, as well as emerging debates among officials and intellectuals about the pragmatic benefits and drawbacks of the delegations, which cost over one million *ryo*,

and was taking a toll on domainal economies (Lee 214)—but normalization had effectively settled in, and delegations continued to arrive at each shogunal succession, up to the 1764 delegation, initiated to mark the succesion of Tokugawa Ieharu 徳川家治 (1737-1786). It would also be the last delegation to journey all the way to Edo.[34]

The 1764 delegation, like each one before it, counted among its ranking members a group of talented literati who were tasked with recording the journey and engaging with Japanese along the route. The inclusion of literati envoys was crucial, as they were responsible for giving and receiving numerous Sinitic prose and poetry compositions over the course of the journey. As Burglind Jungmann notes, Joseon officials with calligraphic, literary, and painting skills were highly sought for Tokugawa-bound delegations, even more so than for those sent to Qing China: "Even military officials were selected [for the Tokugawa delegations] according to their artistic abilities, because the request for proficiency in poetry and painting was part of the program agreed upon by the two governments before an embassy was dispatched" (39).

Because Joseon literati were widely regarded to have superior Sinitic literary-artistic skills, *bunjin* from across the archipelago clamored to receive a hand-brushed composition from one of the emissaries. As Son writes, "Though the initial receptions for the delegation were arranged under bakufu orders, as time passed, delegations

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[34] Twenty-seven years later, Ieharu was succeeded by Tokugawa Ieyoshi 徳川家慶 (1793-1853), but his 1787 accession was not followed by a delegation visit until 1811, when they were only invited as far as Tsushima. It would be the last time that neighborly relations would be exchanged until 1876, when Japanese colonial designs first gained a foothold in the peninsula with the unequal Japan-Corea Treaty of Amity 日朝修好条規 (known in Joseon as the Treaty of Ganghwa Island 江華島條約. The treaty, negotiated through "gunboat diplomacy" by the Meiji government, would mark its first successful colonial exploitation of the Korean peninsula until Japan's defeat in World War II. Thus, Chiyo's collection appeared on an international public stage in the twilight of one epoch, which would eventually give way to a new epoch in which multiple ideological debates converged around questions of language, sovereignty, and collective identity—and the role of art within those spheres.

increasingly came in contact with scholars and citizens of every domain. While in Japan, delegations were inundated by people from all over the country. So many people wanted paintings, hanging scrolls, folding screens, and other art objects from the delegation that daimyos everywhere sought the goods…" (271).[35] It was these visual and tactile elements of envoy compositions that appealed to Tokugawa citizens across the spectrum of the four-tier feudal class system. A calligraphed poem on a hanging scroll, or a painting inscribed with a verse in literary Sinitic, would still be appealing to less literate audiences, who could appreciate the visible rather than legible aspects of the emissaries' art (and regardless of literacy levels, anyone could appreciate the gravitas associated with such a text). However, there were also many well-educated men who could both see and read the works, and for them, such diplomatic objects were meaningful matrices of visual, verbal, and philosophical achievement.

Another reason so many people clamored for envoy mementos is that the superiority of Joseon literati talent was widely acknowledged on both sides, and that dynamic colored each delegation's visit. For example, Sin Yu-han 申維翰 (1681 - ?), Chief Composer of Documents for the 1719 delegation, wrote the following in his travelogue, *Haeyurok* 海遊録:

> The Japanese even sought handshaking and writings from our carriers of the palanquin and the servants who did not know much about writings…The local scholars who came to visit us from a thousand miles away looked delighted when they received our comments…

[35] Son's emphasis on the multi-artistic materiality of literati compositions serves as a counterbalance to Pastreich's claim that literary Sinitic was a mode independent of and superior to other representative forms. This increasing interest in the holistic artistic context of literary Sinitic plays a role in the new developments in the 1764 exchanges between envoys and their Japanese counterparts.

(Trans. Lee 191)

Sin depicts two kind of eager visitors: the less educated commoners who foolishly sought literary writing from Joseon grunt laborers, and the more savvy "local scholars," many of whom were *bunjin,* who traveled from near and far for a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. For the latter, these exchanges served two key purposes. First, they afforded *bunjin* with artistic mentorship opportunities from the superior Joseon literati. Second, they allowed bunjin the chance to get their hands on an authentic memento of Joseon literati artistry, a concrete testament which could be brandished to colleagues with pride, thus reaffirming their own commitment to the arts.

The following passage from Sin's journal, translated by James Lewis, provides a more detailed glimpse of the kinds of materials for which *bunjin* clamored:

> Day after day, I was in the residence hall, and ordinary men of letters who had come for an audience filed through one after another. I suffered from not having any free time, because they desired a rhymed reply for their poetry or to exchange a few words on paper. There were also those who would make requests from outside passed through [unofficial channels]…The applicants would request such things as, forewords to their poetry collections, inscriptions on paintings, and a poetry recitation. All asked for autographs, affixed a seal and departed. They disturb people, creating an incessant annoyance.
>
> (27)

During his time with the 1719 delegation, Sin was largely unimpressed by even the work of his well-educated intellectual counterparts, claiming that most writings by the Japanese

had “no sense of grace or impressiveness.” His companion, the Tsushima official Amenomori Hōshū 雨森芳洲 (1668-1755), was well aware of Sin’s opinions, and reminded Sin to comment on the works of local Japanese in a generous manner (Lee 167).

Sin’s appraisal of Japanese work was in keeping with the general Joseon perspective throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries. However, not all envoys held such views. For example, Nam Yongik 南龍翼 (1628-1692), in his travelogue from the 1655 delegation, expressed a willingness to forgive some less impressive aspects of Japanese Sinitic poems if other elements could balance out those weaknesses. In assessing the verses of Mogen Shōhaku 茂源紹柏(?-?), Nam wrote that, though his poetics are clumsy, “he has such an understanding of the human condition that I wish to overlook those shortcomings” (in Park 176). Nam’s wish to overlook Shōhaku’s shortcomings suggests that, while linguistic skill was one important measure of aesthetic value, the ability to convey an affective human experience could make up for linguistic faults.

Still, Nam’s generous assessment was offered from a position of aesthetic superiority vis-à-vis his Japanese artistic counterparts, a position that envoys of all delegations enjoyed. The widespread recognition of the this superiority led so such a level of demand for their work that envoys reportedly lost sleep attempting to fulfill all the *shibun* 詩文 and *hitsudan* 筆談 requests. The Tokugawa government attempted to ameliorate the situation by placing restrictions on such requests, but those regulations went largely unheeded. Moreover, because the delegation spent so much time in the cosmopolitan centers of Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo during the course of their travels, urban

residents with a dedicated interest in the arts had plenty of opportunity to gather in hopes of exchanging with the envoys and seeking out aesthetic mentorship (Son 271).

As the clear superiors in any exchange, the envoys held their would-be interlocuters to strict standards when entertaining requests, going so far as to refuse to engage with someone whose skills were deemed irredeemably inferior. Take, for example, another incident involving Sin, Amenomori Hōshū, and the head of Tsushima's So family. Amenomori was known for his Sinitic poetic prowess, so when he and Sin first met, the two got along well. However, Sin's response to Tsushima's provincial leader was considerably less harmonious. The lord of Tsushima invited Sin to write poetry, drink, and exchange greetings, but, upon inquiring, Sin learned that he had no facility with literary Sinitic. Outraged, Sin refused to attend the party. Tensions were only resolved when the lord agreed not to attend the event which he himself had planned, thus allowing Sin to enjoy himself in the leader's absence (Lewis 28-29).

In a later incident from the same delegation, another linguistic conflict occurred once the envoys arrived in Edo. While in the city, the delegation was asked to participate in a ceremony of obeisance, but because the envoys were not familiar with the ritual's rules, they requested a written copy be delivered beforehand:

> The rules which were brought at daybreak, were not only written in Japanese *kana,* but were also written in grass writing and not at all clear. According to the magistrate, Amenomori Akira was bed-ridden with illness and there was no one who could interpret the document, no one who could translate it into Chinese. The envoys said that with unclear rules of protocol, they could not present the communication. They dispatched a fast

> messenger to summon Matsuura Tadashi, but he said it would be difficult to write it on the spur of the moment and declined. Japanese literature is, in the main, written carelessly, is blurred, muddled, and unskillfully copied. Accordingly, everyone expressed disapproval.
>
> (trans Lewis 37-38)

Sin's impression of the *kana*-composed rules is unequivocally unflattering. His frustrated observation demonstrates Joseon awareness of Japanese *kana* as a distinct system separate from the Sinitic writing system of the Sinosphere.[36] But his dismissal of *kana* was not based simply on the native script's existence or its utilization within Japan, but on the context of its deployment. His evaluation hinges upon *kana*'s cultural-linguistic heterodoxy in the publicly demarcated space of regional politics, a space clearly marked by the orthodoxy of literary Sinitic.

Beyond the heterodox deployment of a native writing system, which rendered it culturally inferior and semantically illegible—or at best partially legible—Sin was nonplussed by the aesthetics of the calligraphy itself, which was "written carelessly," blurred and muddled in an unskillful fashion. Sin's negative impression of *kana* writing is thus rooted in both its semantic failings and the impoverished aesthetics of the calligraphic hand. When evaluating the work of *bunjin*, Sin's focus on aesthetic shortcomings is unsurprising, given that the marginal position of the *bunjin* limited their exchanges to aesthetic and intellectual realms. Because those exchanges had no explicit pragmatic political function, aesthetic quality was the natural ground upon which a work was judged. Yet the ceremonial rules incident suggests that, even at the level of

[36] That awareness was mutual, and evidence dating to the early eighteenth-century documents Japanese descriptions of Joseon native writing system of *hangul* (Park 178).

straightforward documentation of ceremonial protocol, the envoy's approval or disapproval was based on both function and aesthetics.

The primacy of the Sinospheric world order was uncontested throughout most of the diplomatic history of between Joseon Korea and Tokugawa Japan. Thus, the most harmonious exchanges were based on a shared body of continental knowledge, articulated through the language of literary Sinitic, with an attention to the non-linguistic aspects of composition. In keeping with such standards, the greatest conflicts arose from the envoys' negative response to interactions which, in their view, constituted Japanese ignorance of Sinospheric tradition, acts of linguistic heterodoxy, or aesthetic impoverishment. However, in the next section, I demonstrate that many of the exchanges and events around the 1764 delegation were characterized by an emerging sense of complementarity among East Asian literati which was catalyzed by the delegation's envoys, and characterized by an increasing interest in local and contemporary motifs composed and received in a holistic, multi-medial context.

## The Art of Politics in an Emerging East Asian Republic of Letters

The 11$^{th}$ delegation of 1764 was greeted with a fanfare similar to those of past delegations. For example, *Hōreki monogatari* depicts "vast numbers of people, young and old, male and female, even monks and nuns" flocking to see the delegation sail up the Yodo river, and further notes that many in the crowd had traveled from provinces further afield (Trans. Toby in "Carnival" 416).

People from all walks of society came from near and far just to get a glimpse of the envoys, a testament to domestic interest stoked by over a century of spectacular depictions of past delegations.

But while many people in the crowds came for the exotic spectacle, *bunjin* were interested in more than simply glimpsing a parade of foreigners. For them, the delegation's arrival brought them tantalizingly close to a realm of aesthetic excellence, and to the possibility of kinship with an elite group of foreigners who, for all their difference, shared a similar devotion to the arts. That *bunjin* anticipation is represented in Buson's envoy poem, which I translated in Chapter 2: "Koryŏ boats / drift no closer / passing mist" (*komabune no / yora de sugiyuku / kasumi kana* 高麗舟の寄らで過ぎゆくかすみかな). Jungmann notes that the poem is likely drawn from Buson's actual experience as one of many artists who met with the 11th delegation. The Japanese anticipation depicted in Buson's verse and *Hōreki monogatari* is consistent with the historical power dynamics of Joseon-Tokugawa exchange. However, during this delegation, that anticipation is met with increased envoy interest in the details of contemporary Japanese cultural tropes, coupled with a respect for the multifaceted aspects of Japanese art. Take, for example, the account of Tairoku 大麓, who met with the envoys at Akamagaseki. Anticipating the delegation's path once they parted ways, Tairoku gifted them a set of five Sinitic poems in five different calligraphic styles, each one depicting a scene the envoys would soon encounter:

> …the Easterners were to travel a long way, passing through many beautiful sites, five of which are exceptionally so. Thus, I composed five seven-character poems and sent them to the illustrious poets of the East. Indeed, I

have enjoyed writing since I was young. [But] I was certain [the envoys] would [read] the twigs of my insect scratchings and have nothing to say of such shameful work. Nevertheless, I am now overjoyed to receive their benevolent response, and, without correcting my clumsiness, I brush [the poems] in five [calligraphic] styles, with which I dare to sully the envoys' eyes.

(from the Japanese translation in Takahashi 493)

Each of Tairoku's five poems depicts a famous site in a different calligraphic style: Naniwa 難波 (Osaka) is rendered in regular script (*kaisho* 楷書), the Heian Capital 平安城 (Kyoto) in running script (*gyōsho* 行書)、Lake Biwa 琵琶湖 in cursive script (*sōsho* 草書), Cotton Rose Peak 芙蓉峯 (Mt. Fuji) in seal script (*reisho* 隷書), and Mt. Hakone 函嶺 in seal script (*tensho* 篆書 ) (Takahashi 494). The Osaka poem reads as follows:

浪華津口自繁華 The mouth of Naniwa Harbour bustles with inborn vibrance,

臨岸楼台十万家 Its banks lined on either side with ten thousand tall houses.

列国舟船送仙使 Ships of many lands bear sage envoys outward,

牙檻錦緞似雲霞 With ivory-masted brocade sails airy as mist and clouds.

(in Takahashi 493)

The poem offers parallel depictions of Naniwa as a city simultaneously seen and seeing: the envoys cast admiring gazes upon the energetic urban trading port, even as the merchants and residents gaze upon exotic ships bearing the promise of wondrous

dignitaries. These complementary gazes anticipate a fruitful meeting of foreign envoy and native culture.

Tairoku's poetic gift did in fact bear the fruit of much-desired praise from the envoys, and he was overjoyed to receive positive responses. Nam Ok 南玉 (1722-1770), for example, deemed them skillfully calligraphed, realistic depictions of each site, and wrote that the quatrains took up the "spirit" (*myōshiki* 名色) of the Tang and the "elegant style" (*tenga* 典雅) of the Song (in Takahashi 494). Tairoku was not the only person to receive a positive response. The envoys had fruitful, aesthetically minded exchanges with artists in multiple domains on their eight-month journey. Tairoku's Naniwa poem, however, takes on an aura of prescience, as Osaka was the site of some of the deepest connections between the envoys and their Japanese interlocuters. They were especially impressed by Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂 (1736-1802) and his literary salon. According to a later account by Ambassador Yi Tongmu 李徳懋 (1741-1793), the envoys were particularly impressed by Kenkadō's wealth of knowledge and artistic skill, given that he was not of the samurai class, but merely a merchant-class person with an avocational commitment to art and learning. As a successful sake dealer, Kenkadō used his wealth to acquire an impressive library and cultivate a community of like-minded artists. This group of *bunjin* carved seals for the envoys, exchanged poems, and invited the illustrious visitors to one of their salon gatherings. However, since the envoys were not allowed to venture out to join the event, Kenkadō promised to compose a painting of the gathering, which he would convey to the envoys when they returned to Osaka on their homeward route (Takahashi 499-500). The work was illustrated by Kenkadō, after which he and his seven salon members calligraphed a representative Sinitic poem. The result

was offered up to the envoys, who assessed it as a holistic work composed of language, calligraphy, and painting: "Though [the poems] have not yet escaped the confines of their society, we should hold dearly this elegance from a distant people. [The poems] are all gracefully calligraphed, and the painting is exceptional" (from the Japanese translation in Takahashi 500). Where so many previous envoys had looked askance at the linguistic skill of *bunjin*, this assessment merely takes note of the linguistic elements as being marked by a particular Japaneseness. Put more colloquially, "have not escaped the confines of their society" might be phrased as something like "their Chinese poems still have a Japanese accent." Yet the foreign accent is merely one element of the overall work, which is marked by skillful calligraphy and exceptional painting. It is read holistically, with admiration for the work as a representation of "elegance from a distant people." The word "elegance" (*fūryū* 風流) here is a variation on the terms for elegance that Chiyo evoked within the world of *haikai*. But for a Joseon envoy to look upon the work of the Japanese (not to mention a group of commoners), a "distant people" (*enjin* 遠人), and claim that it can and should be read as part of a larger literati elegance, is remarkable. It suggests that 風流 and 風雅 might find varying, but still compatible, manifestations in the East Asian sphere.

Similar sentiments are applied to a much broader context in the following account by Hong Daeyong 洪大容 (1731-81), in *Elegant Seagrass From the Eastern Sun* 日東藻雅祓:

> The talent of Tōnan, the learning of Kenkadō, the literature of Shūchū, the Chinese poetry of Shinagawa, the paintings of Kado and Usan, the brushwork of Bunen, Tairoku, and Shomei, and the many refinements of

> Nankyu, Oshitsu, Shimei, Shuko, and Rodō will find no objection in our country... Needless to say, these numerous everyday individuals, though they may not necessarily be absolutely unparalleled, in short, they should be taken into consideration. Why is it that we take so lightly this faraway land from across the sea? Though this is the way of things, [the people of this land] compete with writing style rather than military might. Each day their skills gain momentum as their swords grow dull, and so all the [region's] four neighbors gain from such good fortune. Those riches spread far and wide. It is only proper that their work be admired in our own Joseon.
>
> (from the Japanese translation in Takahashi 491)

This preface highlights the multifaceted skill and scholarly learning of ordinary Japanese men who, through their dedication to holistic artistic praxis, gain a collegial recognition among Joseon literati figures like Hong. But Hong's also notes a broader sociopolitical benefit of conferring recognition upon these foreigners, a benefit signaled in his shift from "numerous everyday individuals" (*shonin* 諸人) to "this faraway land" (*zetsuiki* 絶域), as the ordinary individual becomes a symbol for the whole of Tokugawa Japan. The next two lines depict a parallel that powerfully alludes to the public political import of praising such aesthetic praxis, as "competition" is framed within the realm of "writing style" (*bunpū* 文風) rather than "military might" (*buryoku* 武力), "skill" (*gik*ō 技巧) rather than "swords" (*tekken* 鉄剣).

Hong's deemphasis of military might is in part a nod to the particular structure of Tokugawa society, in which the ruling class are comprised of samurai whose military role had transitioned into a bureaucratic one, where spiritual and moral cultivation was

encouraged as the weapon of choice. But the rhetorical shift also bears the shadow of Hideyoshi's invasions, which left devastation and deep-seated resentments in their wake. Those invasions were one reason that each delegation included envoys like Hong, whose official task was to compose travelogues detailing the daily ins and outs of a once overtly hostile land—it was also the reason Tokugawa delegates were not invited to make similar journeys to the Joseon imperial seat. In contrast to that violent history, Hong presents the contemporary Japanese literati as the new face of an old foe, and suggests that welcoming them into the broader East Asian fold will bring "good fortune" 福 to the entire region, not in the form of financial wealth, but in happiness, good luck, and, by implication, greater peace and stability.

By recognizing and promoting the talents of these Japanese figures, Hong engages in the art of politics through his own act of collection: first, by presenting his argument in a collection of work by Tokugawa men, he depicts such individuals as possessing a multifaceted aesthetic skill worthy of wider East Asian literati readership; and second, he implies that this collegial expansion will lead to larger geopolitical benefits. The political valence of literati praxis speaks to a deeply ingrained, productive ambiguity between the literati figure and the public good. Where the archetypal *wenren* was a man who either failed to gain high public office, or who chose to remove himself from the public sphere in order to remonstrate with a leader who had lost the rule of heaven, the eighteenth-century literati is a regionally diverse figure whose multivalent talents may occupy only the most minor position in a regional domain—or may lie completely outside the purview of public office—yet whose aesthetic and philosophical praxis still has the power to impact the public realm from the eccentric, avocational margins.

If the public import of East Asian literati collegiality is more expansive, that geopolitical expansion is not necessarily combined with a hardening of geopolitical identification. While the "competition" to which Hong refers could be Japanese competing amongst themselves, or regional literati competing against each other—or both—that competition still occurs within the context of collegial exchange. And just as envoys like Hong encouraged their fellow Joseon literati to consider the complementarity of praxis by talented Japanese, they were simultaneously encouraging Japanese toward greater collegiality between various regions within the archipelago. The envoys looked positively on a wide geographic swath of Japanese artists who were themselves engaging collegially across domestic and international borders, such as Naba Rodō 那波魯堂 (1727-1789), who followed the envoys along the Tōkaidō and composed an account of the trip, 東遊編 (1765), or the Okayama domain's Confucian advisor, Inoue Shimei 井上四明 (1730-1819), who traded poems with the envoys at Ushimado, and whose domestic fame as a Sinitic poet subsequently rose.

The envoys even encouraged these figures not to isolate themselves within their home domains. For example, when, upon being introduced to the envoys, the physician Kamei Nanmei 亀井南冥 (1743-1814) lamented the difficulty of transcending domanial borders to form close aesthetic friendships, the Secretary Ambassador Kim Ingyom 金仁謙 (1707-1772) responded: "You and I are people from different countries who now connect with each other through [poetic] exchange. [The domain of] Chiku is no different…it is all within one world, so what harm can come of exchanging within it?" (in Takahashi 496). To this, Ambassador Seong Daejung 成大中 added:

> Kamei Dōsai is an extraordinarily rare talent. I had occasion to associate with him, and for about ten days we spent many hours together, a time I feel I will never forget. Now, seeing your poetic elegance, you truly are like Li Guan…Though it may be said that we are passing beyond our country borders, no doubt there will come a day when we meet again.
>
> (from the Japanese translation in Takahashi 496)

Because Chiku (modern day Fukuoka Prefecture) was positioned on the lower island of Kyushu, in relatively close proximity to Tsushima and Nagasaki, it seems likely that Nanmei would have had more opportunities to engage with Joseon literati than many on the main island, but he would be no means be completely isolated from his Honshu counterparts. Rather than decrying the practical barriers of contemporary time and distance, his lamentation is likely rooted in the more amorphous desire to gain proximity to continental archetypes, rather than increasing an already daunting gap by befriending yet more *bunjin*, who can only be a pale imitation of the *wenren* of centuries past, or even the Joseon literati of the present. In other words, for Nanmei, though both his contemporary *bunjin* and the envoys are separated from their aspirational models by the same historical and spiritual distance, the envoys' proximity to continental culture, and their superior facility with literary Sinitic, rendered them aesthetically and philosophically much closer to shared archetypes.[37]

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[37] Though Nanmei's perception was common, not all *bunjin* felt the same about their Choson counterparts. For example, fellow *bunjin* Nakayama Koyo 中山高陽 (1717-1780) took a critical stance on the artistic abilities of contemporary *yangban* in his *Gadan keiroku* (preface dated 1775): "Perhaps it is because taste has changed in Korea, but among the court painters who come in the company of official missions no extraordinary talent can be seen. I have heard that they have studied the styles of Beiyuan (Dong Yuan), Yunlin (Ni Zan) and Shitian (Shen Zhou) but, just as on our side, as climate and topography are different in both calligraphy and painting, they [too] have their own style. (trans in Jungmann 42)" Koyo distinguishes between the eminent talents of a shared past and the contemporary talents of the peninsular present, and

In contrast to Nanmei's pessimism about insurmountable obstacles, the envoys respond in such a way that borders between past and present, native and foreign, become intriguingly flexible: for Seong, the friendship between himself and Nanmei remains unswerving, though it is classified as 境外 (J: *keigai*), beyond the border of their respective home territories. Seong paints a picture not unlike the Three Laughers of Tiger Gorge, whose mutual affinities led them beyond the temple grounds, yet who knew that material boundary could not be drawn taut across the spiritual integrity of Huiyuan. Meanwhile, Hong takes up the border and expands it outward, widening the inner space so that "it is all within one world" (*ikkan no uchi* 一寰の内), and no harm can come from the friendships within, regardless of cultural-linguistic background or geographic proximity to ancient *wenren*. This more expansive literati mindset is bolstered by the contemporarily linguistic flexibility of borders. Twenty-first century Japanese and simplified Chinese read 国 as the boundary of a nation-state, but eighteenth century literati were exchanging across 國, a contextually flexible concept that marked something like what we think of as a nation (such as "Japan" 大日本國 or "Joseon" 朝鮮國) and also marked boundaries between individual domains and provinces nestled within such entities (such as Chiyo's own home, "Kaga province" 加賀國) in what Mark Ravina calls the "polysemy of early modern Japanese" (33).

As Takahashi notes, Joseon envoys were the catalysts in reconceptualizing literati identity in this way, opening the door for *bunjin* praxis to be viewed with regional complementarity, and the possibility of belonging to a wider world of literati collegiality,

finds the *yangban* to lack any extraordinary qualities that would render them superior to the contemporary *bunjin*.

one in which friendships are built upon a combination of personal integrity and literati skillfulness. But while Takahashi's argument focuses on multi-artistic exchanges of *kanshi*—thus around the kernel of literary Sinitic—that linguistic contingency finds a surprising and unorthodox absence in one of the envoys' 1764 travelogues. As I mentioned previously, Joseon officials in every delegation were tasked with documenting their experiences of Tokugawa Japan in diplomatic travelogues, however, the 11th delegation stands out both in the number and nature of travelogues produced. The trip resulted in nine travelogues, double the usual number. Among those was Kim Ingyom's *Songs from a Journey to the Eastern Sun* 日東壯遊歌 (J: *nittōsōyūka,* K: *irudonjanyuka*) (1764), a prose-poetry travelogue composed in Hangul (fig. 27), a Joseon system of vernacular writing that functioned similarly to that of Japanese *kana.*

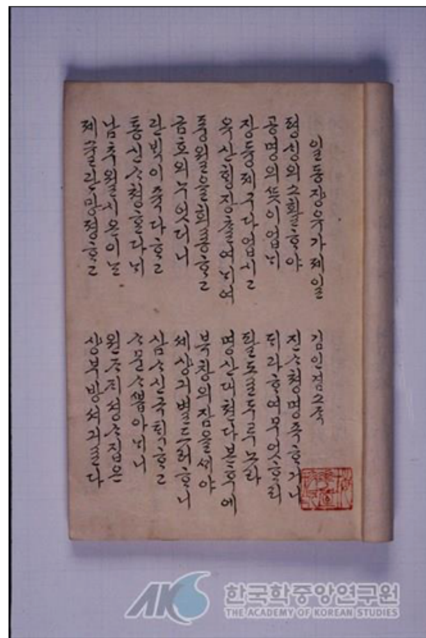


Figure 27. Opening page of *Songs from a Journey to the Eastern Sun*[38]

[38] Image from the Jangseogak Collection at the Academy of Korean Studies.

Hangul was first developed in 1443 by King Sejong as a means to educate commoners, and its propagation was immediately met with strong resistance among Joseon elites*:* the courtier Ch'oe Malli (?–1445), for example, accused the king of forsaking a common civilized script (K. *tongmun* 同文), instead propagating an inferior intermediary script which followed in the footsteps of "barbarians like the Tanguts, Mongols, and Japanese" (in Wang 42). Though it underwent a range of support and resistance from multiple parties in its earliest appearances, by the mid-eighteenth century, Hangul had become the linguistic grounds for a range of popular prose and poetry genres.[39] Still, despite the increasing use of Hangul, cultural production in the vernacular remained secondary to the status of literary Sinitic, particularly in the realm of regional political exchange. Because of the inferior status associated with Hangul, and the particularly public nature of the Joseon visits to Tokugawa Japan, all other envoy travelogues were written in literary Sinitic. Kim's account is the first to depict a Joseon envoy's experience of a foreign land in a vernacular script rather than literary Sinitic.

As unorthodox as this choice was, Kim's travelogue was followed by yet another Hangul travelogue, Hong Daeyong's 洪大容 *Enkōka* 燕行歌 (1765), an account of his journey with a delegation that was sent to China. Though Takahashi identifies Kim and Hong as key intermediaries in the development of an "East Asian Republic of Letters," and draws on both travelogues to support his hypothesis, he does not mention that both were written in Hangul. The vernacular heterodoxy of these travelogues further supports the notion that a contingent of Joseon elites were reformulating their understanding of

[39] Hangul became particularly key for the rise of two new literary phenomena: the translation of vernacular Chinese novels, and the rise of a robust subculture of prose writing by female members of the gentried class (Wang 45).

literati aesthetic, experimenting with linguistic and thematic materials once unthinkable in the realm of public art.

The linguistic heterodoxy of these travelogues may have been influenced by two contemporary phenomena surrounding Joseon cultural production. The first is a seventeenth and eighteenth-century aesthetic movement called *Joseonpoong*, (朝鮮風) or "Joseon style." Coined by Park Ji-Won (1737–1805), the term applied to a range of cultural production that sought to shift away from long-hegemonic Sinospheric tradition, and toward the creation of a new aesthetic imbued with Joseon particularity (Kim 492). The movement produced a range of work, from literature that intermingled Hangul and literary Sinitic, to works that focused on themes and depictions of contemporary Joseon life, particularly the life of commonfolk. The second phenomenon is the use of a vernacular genre of poetry, the kasa, as a means by which to convey information of a political nature within the domestic public sphere. These kasa were utilized to communicate to an expanding group of literate readers who were no longer limited to the elite class, as well as to levy criticism regarding political affairs, a form of classical Confucian remonstration in a more demographically expansive linguistic medium (Walraven, 218-20).

These movements to rethink the aesthetic production of eighteenth-century Joseon—elevating formerly supplemental genres of popular culture, creating artistically hybrid texts, deploying native languages into the public realm, and increasingly focusing on motifs of a contemporary and commonplace nature—find kindred spirits in the activities of Tokugawa artists, in a moment when the consumers and producers of cultural production were expanding across class and gender lines, and, like their Joseon

counterparts, Tokugawa artists engaged in lively debates over form and motif, in conversation with the long history of adapting continental tradition.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the 1764 delegation marks the first appearance of vernacular literary writing in the public sphere for both sides, in the form of Chiyo's collection and Kim's travelogue. Both texts were composed specifically for the occasion of international exchange, even as they broke from hallowed norms of international literati engagement. There are certainly many differences between the two texts: Chiyo's collection was accompanied by something that could count as a translation (which will be discussed later in this chapter), since it was intended for foreign audiences, while Kim's travelogue arguably needed no translation, as it was meant for domestic audiences. Still, both are significant departures from the linguistic norms of the space in which they were deployed. And, viewed within the context of aesthetic and philosophical debates occurring in both countries, perhaps their simultaneous appearance is not so coincidental after all. Perhaps it is a manifestation of a lively reassessment of tradition, one that sought variously to protect beloved figures and forms of the past, and to explore the possibilities that contemporaneity and complementarity had to offer.

## Joseon Envoys, the Kaga domain, and the Haikai Community

Apart from the fascinating rise of vernacular genres on both sides of the Joseon-Tokugawa encounters of 1764, the Sinitically marked realm of East Asian literati exchange may appear to have no direct relationship with *haikai* communities, particularly of the geographically separated region of Kaga. However, there is circumstantial

evidence to suggest that discourses of the *haikai* community intersected with discourses on regional exchange through literary Sinitic. Despite Kaga's physical distance from the envoys' path, there are at least two concrete connections between the domain and the Joseon delegations, one of which dates back to the seventeenth century.

That connection comes in the figure of Confucian scholar Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵 (1621-1698). Born to a masterless samurai in Kyoto, Jun'an spent the first 40 years of his life studying and teaching in Kyoto and Edo, after which he was invited to serve Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀, a position he held for 20 years. Jun'an met with the envoys of the 1682 delegation, and that same year he went on to become a lecturer to Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (NDHZ). Notably, among his many students, Jun'an mentored Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 and Amenomori Hōshū 雨森芳洲, the two most famous Japanese figures to cultivate close relationships with the Joseon envoys. Tsunanori's appointment of Jun'an was clearly part of a large-scale agenda to secure scholarly and artistic resources for the domain, and while he ultimately went on to gain a shogunal position, it seems likely that both appointments were based on his literati skillset.

If Jun'an's service to the Maeda clan serves as evidence of Kaga's interest in acquiring resources related to the realm of East Asian literati exchange, the 1764 activities of another Confucian advisor, Nakanishi Naokata 中西尚賢 (?-1768), speak to that interest's continuation in the eighteenth century. Naokata worked for Kaga as a Confucian scholar for Maeda Naomi 前田直躬 (1714-1774) and Murai Nagakata 村井長穹 (1739-1790), and during his time in domanial service, he sought out the Joseon envoys in order to exchange poems, as well as to relay gifts. While it is not clear exactly what

kind or how many gifts he was bringing, Naka Mieko identifies a collection of Sinitic poems by the Kanazawa scholar Inui Sukenao 乾祐直 (?-1771) as one likely possibility (77).[40] Whatever Naokata wanted to give in addition to requesting a poetic exchange of his own, he initially failed. According to *Taiunkō gonenpu* 泰雲公御年譜 (a chronological record of the domanial lordship of Maeda Shigemichi, 1741-1786), in the eleventh month, of 1763, he departed Kanazawa and went to Osaka in order to meet the envoys, who were scheduled to arrive the following month. However, the delegation's arrival was delayed due to storm damage to the Joseon ships, and, though he waited for some time, Naokata eventually ran out of travel funds, and was forced to return home in the New Year (in Naka 75).

However, other records indicate Nakanishi eventually achieved partial success. According to the *Entai fūga* 燕臺風雅 (a record of literary and scholarly achievements spanning from the domain's beginning to the Kansei period), after returning home, he decided to travel all the way to Nagasaki (one wonders where he got the funds for this). On his way home he stopped in Osaka to meet Kenkadō, and the two quickly became friendly (in Naka 76). By then, Kenkadō had already met the envoys, engraved a seal for Nam, and promised to complete the painting in time to offer it to the envoys when they passed through Osaka again on their journey home. Hearing this, Naokata may have asked Kenkadō to pass along the gift(s) and his own poems, as well as his request for a response, before returning home to Kaga. Alternately, he may have returned home and

[40] Naka's reasoning is based on the fact that 富田景周, the editor of *Entai Fūga,* reports that the envoy Nam Ok highly praised Sukenao's collection, though it is impossible to confirm that evaluation without direct access to Nam's records. It's also worth noting that Sukanao was the editor's mentor.

sent his disciple, Nagatani 長谷, to Osaka in order to relay the materials in the fourth month, somehow unable to do so himself.

Naokata seems to have taken his trips to Osaka separately from the regular contingent of Kaga officials, who were tasked with hosting and providing the delegation with horses between Yodo and Arai stations. The delegation passed through these stations between the twenty-eighth day of the first month and the sixth day of the second month of 1764. According to Takashima Yoshiro's Japanese translation of Kim Ingyom's Hangul travelogue, the envoys were approached by five or six Confucian scholars for consecutive poetic exchanges on the first day of the second month, but Naokata does not seem to have been one of them (Takashima 256). Despite these failures, Naokata and his disciple were apparently able to engage the envoys during their second stay in Osaka, either in person or via correspondence. These exchanges were recorded in Nam's travelogue, which lists the two Kaga scholars among 500 Japanese people with whom the envoys engaged in literary exchange over the course of their travels (in Naka 77).

But while Nam did receive Naokata's poems soon after the delegation returned to Osaka, he was unable to send a response because, on the seventh day of the fourth month, his fellow envoy, 崔天宗 (J: *Saitensō*) , was murdered by the envoy's interpreter, Suzuki Denzō 鈴木伝蔵 (?-).[41] The event caused considerable tension, and as a result Nam was unable to compose responses to several people in the immediate wake of the event, including Kenkadō and Naokata. Still, he clearly felt that significance of poetic exchange even in the face of crisis, as he wrote the following in his entry on the fifteenth: "Even if

[41] This was the most serious political incident that occurred over the course of Joseon-Tokugawa relations, and it undoubtedly had an impact, perhaps even on the subsequent deferral and truncation of the final Joseon visit. However, the incident lies outside of the scope of my project.

time is hindered by the incident and not a single word is passes between us, not even thousands of miles of land and sea can break it. The heart of poetic exchange prevails over all. I will respond to the letters of…Kenkadō…[and] Naokata… " 雖當事故隔阻之時，無一字相報而去，殊非水陸數千里伴行，酬唱之意，良可駿也 荅一…木世肅，仲尚賢…書簡二 (in Naka 85). Nam's desire to answer the letters from Kenkadō and Naokata (among several others) despite his colleague's murder may have been in part out of a sense of duty, but it seems to be equally rooted in a sense of collegiality for talented Japanese interlocuters, Kaga's Naokata being among those.

While Naokata was eager to engage the envoys in Sinitic poetry, he was also active in Kaga's *haikai* community. Like Chiyo, he studied with Wada Ki'in, and continued to engage with the community throughout the Bashō Revival. In fact, in 1766, he contributed a Sinitic preface to 暮柳発句集, a posthumous collection of Ki'in's poems compiled by his son, Gosen 後川 (Takeya 65).[42] Like his father, Gosen exchanged poems with Chiyo, and included her work in two collections he edited in 1768 and 1770 (Nakamoto 703-704). Though I have not yet discovered a direct link between Naokata and Chiyo, the Confucian scholar's sustained engagement with Chiyo's known *haikai* associates clearly indicates that they moved in the same poetic circles.

The slight degrees of separation between Chiyo and Naokata—along with the fact that Chiyo instructed Maeda's mother in *haikai*—suggests that there was some degree of overlap between three types of discourses among mid-eighteenth-century communities in Kaga: domanial politics (the practical affairs of representing Kaga through interaction

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[42] In fact, Takeya Soro's *Hokuriku no haidanshi* lists Naokata as author of the afterward, but his signature is on the preface for copies at both the Waseda University and Ishikawa Prefecture Library.

with the envoys); East Asian literati (the emergence of the envoys' collegial interest in their Japanese interlocutors' multi-medial and contemporary artistic praxis); and *haikai* discourses (the Bashō Revival and its accompanying debates over the demographic and aesthetic boundaries of generic belonging). I believe that this complex blend of discourses helped make Chiyo's deployment into the public sphere possible. These communities were all engaged in some form of expansion beyond pre-existing norms, rethinking the terms by which membership was conferred and representation was valued. Through this reassessment, Chiyo's Joseon collection becomes thinkable as a local representative of Kaga artistry within the wider space of East Asian literati exchange. And while the heterodoxy of her work—the vernacular language, the depictions of native and contemporary motifs, and the author's gender—may initially appear far out of step with aesthetic and political norms, those variations become more legible when viewed within the context of these overlapping communities.

## Traveling Far to Come Home: the Joseon Collection and Chiyo's Reaffirmation as a *Haikai* Subject of State Power

As I noted in Chapter Two, the deployment of Chiyo's work into the realm of East Asian literati exchange reverberated back to positively impact her domestic reputation. Rankō refers to the Joseon collection in his *Voice of the Pine* postscript, emphasizing that Chiyo's verses "echoed beyond these islands" to the envoys of Joseon Korea—the same venerable figure that Buson longed for in his verse depicting their

arrival in Osaka. Chiyo's status continued to grow throughout the remainder of the Early Modern Period.

One notable testament to that positive impact is the gold leaf embossed folding screen below (fig. 28), which features one of the Joseon poems calligraphed on the right-hand side:

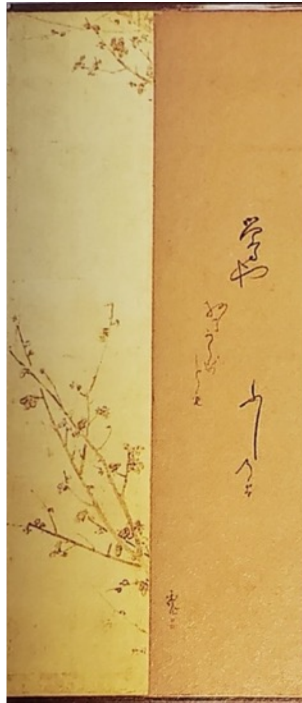

Figure 28. Folding screen, *uguisu ya* (KCSSTG 42)

*uguisuya / koe karasutomo / fuji no yuki*

(KCSSTG 42)

the warbler crows

its voice away

yet Fuji's snow

The warbler's song is a herald of spring, and here it "crows its voice away" (*koe karasu* 声からす)*,* a homophonic echo between *karasu* 烏, "crow," and *karasu* 嗄らす, "to grow hoarse." The charming warbler's call resounds so fiercely that their voices grow hoarse, perhaps in competition with their lesser-known feathered brethren, the crow. Yet while the spring air is alive with songs of mating and competition, the lingering white hand of winter makes itself known on the crest of Japan's iconic Mount Fuji.

This iteration of the poem seems to be calligraphed by her own hand. However, since the artist, Mori Seien 森西園 (1783-1859), was born almost a decade after Chiyo passed away, this was not a collaboration like so many others. Mori added his work to an existing folding screen that had already been inscribed by Chiyo at the behest of Mori's employers, the Maeda family. The folding screen was probably completed sometime in the early nineteenth century, almost fifty years after the Maedas ordered her to create the Joseon collection. At some point after it was deployed, the Maedas must have again called upon her, this time to inscribe the "warbler" verse onto a folding screen (and perhaps other objects as well), as part of a seasonal set. It appears below (second from the right) in this six-panel spring and summer screen (fig. 29):

Figure 29. Folding screen by Mori Seien and Chiyo (KCSSTG 42)

Both the commissioning of the screen during Chiyo's lifetime, and its artistic enhancement decades later, reaffirm Chiyo's status as a *haikai* subject under the purview of provincial state power.

The Maeda family' continued leveraging of Chiyo's work suggests that there was indeed overlap in the discourses of East Asian literati exchange and domestic *bunjin* praxis in vernacular genres like *haikai.* Chiyo's work was given to the envoys as part of a shifting sense of the cultural-linguistic parameters of representation and exchange the proto-international sphere. While regional exchange had long been inconceivable unless it was based around the meta-language of literary Sinitic, mid-18$^{th}$ century political encounters began to occur based around the notion of local specificity as a viable, complementary element of exchange. The Joseon collection was deployed as a representative of Kaga cultural production, and its local nature was both linguistically and thematically marked: by the vernacular language of *haikai* poetry, and by the depiction of contemporary commoners. At the same time, the multi-medial nature of the collection (as a work holistically comprised of poetry, calligraphy, and painting) linked it to the Sinospheric paradigm of literati diplomacy.

Chiyo's Joseon collection marks the first time *haikai* circulated beyond the borders of Japan, yet it is remarkably absent from discussions of the historical development of haiku as a Japanese genre of world literature. Yet as a local work with regional complementarity, the Joseon collection foreshadows two key qualities which would later become of a text's viability within the realm of world literature. The first element is the collection's vernacular language deployed outside of a domestic context. Its linguistic heterodoxy in the Sinosphere foreshadows what is now orthodoxy: the

modern coupling of native language to literary representation within national literary spaces. The second element is the existence of a translation-esque apparatus, which was attached to Chiyo's work for the sake of its foreign audience. Rankō offers a vague reference to this apparatus in his postscript, writing that her work was accompanied by Chinese characters (真名文字) written by someone of elegant talents (何某風士). Who was the author of the accompanying text? What exactly was written in Chinese characters? Rankō provides no further details, though one might speculate that the author was a domanial official, such as Naokata or Sukenao. Authorship aside, the content of the Sintic text could range widely, from a brief note (similar to Chiyo's personal document), to a detailed explanation of each poetic object, or even a poetic translation of each verse. Whatever its nature, the accompanying text functions similarly to that of translation in modern world literature, in that it attempts to bridge a perceived cultural-linguistic gap between author and reader. Because of these elements, Chiyo's Joseon collection's deployment into the Sinosphere should be understood as part of the historical process through which haiku became a generic representation of Japan in world literature.

# CHAPTER V

# CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of this project, I tracked the transformation of a single figure, Kaga no Chiyo, from a minor supplementary position as a collected object to an interlocutor and exemplar of post-Bashō poetics in regional circulation. Drawing on the understudied primary sources of personal letters and published paratexts, I offer an alternative to conventional understandings of Chiyo as a simplistic poet under the sway of a powerful leader of the *haikai* community. Rather than being the follower of one teacher, she engaged in diverse and expansive poetic socialities, cultivating a complex network of mentors, colleagues, and disciples with a common interest in a life eccentrically devoted to the arts.

Moreover, she became an interlocutor for both factions of an increasingly heated Basho Revival movement, as well as a contemporary representative of his legacy among female composers. As a subject of power, Chiyo ultimately subverted both state and subcultural discourses through a nuanced poetics of eccentric marginality. Her work was characterized by the reiteration of gendered constraint, a poetic focus on ambivalent spaces between the aesthetic and the mundane, and a keen awareness of the hierarchies of seeing and being seeing as a reading, writing woman in a genre of men.

In addition to her extensive circulation in the domestic sphere, she also authored a collection of poetic art objects that circulated beyond the borders of Tokugawa Japan to the Korean Peninsula in 1764, which was subsequently read by domestic readers as further evidence of her significance as a *haikai* figure. When viewed within a larger East

Asian literati context, her Joseon collection can be read as the manifestation of a local aesthetic with regional complementarity, a phenomenon which foreshadows haiku as national-linguistic representative of Japan in world literature.

Moving forward, I hope to transform this dissertation into several translation projects with pedagogical and literary trajectories. In a Nichibunken panel on "Reevaluating Translation as a Driving Force of Scholarship," Kate Wildman Nakai pointed out the pedagogical importance of translating primary sources for student use. While she does not exclude literature in her definition of primary sources, her emphasis is on less frequently translated texts, such as "treatises, diaries, and letters, and also materials like legal documents" (139), because these are the materials that give students the greatest insights and elicit the most interest—particularly when it comes to historical periods.

Nakai was primarily referring to undergraduates, however, I believe that translations of these materials can also be useful to graduate students early in their training. This belief is rooted in my own challenges as I delved into dissertation research, and repeatedly encountered the same narratives regarding Chiyo in secondary scholarship. Within these narratives, evaluations of her work were based on a handful of her most well-known poems. Meanwhile, claims about the biographical impact on her aesthetic drew minimally upon available letters, paratexts, and art objects. The predictability of these narratives turned me toward the same kind of sources Nakai identifies—dense, illusive sources, enormously challenging sources that, through the process of translation, began to present fresher narratives. These sources could prove

valuable to students entering the world of Early Modern Japanese scholarship, so I aim to hone and expand upon my existing translations of Chiyo's letters.

In addition to translating primary sources for teaching, I plan to use this dissertation as a stepping-stone toward literary translations of some of the collections discussed. While literary translations can also function pedagogically, my primary aim is not pedagogy, but pleasure. It was the experience of reading Robert Hass' *Haiku: Versions of Basho, Buson, and Issa* which brought me to Early Modern Japanese literature in the first place. I read Hass' anthology while working toward an MFA in poetry writing, so it seems fitting that I should return to the creative realm with this project in tow.

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