INNOVATION AND CONSTRAINT: THE FEMALE HAIKU POET, SUGITA HISAJO, AND HOTOTOGISU HAIKU

Susan Alice Stanford, B.A., M.Ed.

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Japanese Studies, School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics at Monash University, January 2015.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include any work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution.

I acknowledge that an electronic copy of my thesis must be lodged with the University Library and, subject to the General Award Rules of Monash University, immediately made available for research and study in accordance with the *Copyright Act 1968*.

I acknowledge that copyright of all material contained in my thesis resides with the copyright holder(s) of that material.

Signature:

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to my principal supervisor, Dr. Beatrice Trefalt, whose consistent availability and tactful application of challenge and encouragement has helped me more than I can say. If I have learnt to think and write in a scholarly manner, it is almost entirely due to her. I also wish to heartily thank my associate supervisors. Dr John Hawke, has always read my work with meticulous care, and Associate Professor, Dr.Tomoko Aoyama, of the University of Queensland whose warm support was crucial during the middle stage of my candidature. The breadth of her knowledge about Japanese literature and the guidance she has given me with my translations have saved me from many errors. I would also like to acknowledge and thank Associate Professor, Alison Tokita, Associate Professor, Rita Wilson, and Dr Simon West, who all acted in a supervisory capacity early in my candidature. Their patience enabled me to persevere and find the direction that I was seeking. Without the sustaining friendship of Wendy Fleming, Vicki Gale, Jennie Bardsley, Dr. Marie-Therese Jensen, Dr. Hideko Nakamura and Catherine Thorpe this thesis may never have been completed. As well as offering a listening ear, Marie-Therese and my daughter, Sasha Scott, have both commented on sections of the thesis. Dr Nakamura has been an occasional "native informant." I am most grateful to Deborah Lewis for her close line editing. I would also like to thank Eiko Yachimoto with whom I corresponded occasionally by email and whose passionate enthusiasm for Hisajo's work is inspiring. Finally, I am very grateful for the support of Dr Gillian Singleton, Dr Elizabeth Nash and Dr Harriet Tampiyappa for their insight and care over the period during which I wrote this thesis.

Needless to say, all the errors this thesis still contains are my responsibility alone.

I am most grateful for the scholarship of $5,000 granted by the Department of Japanese at Monash University, which I received in the first year of my candidature.

Abstract

This thesis takes the haiku of one female poet, Sugita Hisajo (1890 – 1946), as a case study to explore aspects of the development of haiku from the 1890s century through the 1930s. Although Hisajo was not only an acclaimed, pioneering female haiku poet, but an editor and amateur scholar as well, she struggled with her marginalized status as a woman and as a female writer. The intertwined trajectory of her life and her career highlights how contemporary life and contemporary ideology impinged on the composition of haiku. Specifically, her work illustrates how an ambitious "New Woman," educated to be a Good Wife and Wise Mother and driven to write could, despite hostility from those around her, help transform haiku in ways that were not apparent to contemporary males.

Making some comparisons with work by the dominating figures, Masaoka Shiki (1867 – 1902) and Kyoshi Takahama (1874 – 1959), the thesis challenges the notion that "haiku" is a 400 hundred year old tradition of brief nature-oriented poetry expressing timeless, universal insights. It contends that the transition from the *hokku* of Bashō and his school to the haiku written from the last decade of the nineteenth century, that was facilitated by Shiki in the context of modernity and under pressure from the West, was a such a sharp one that *hokku* and haiku should be understood as different genres.

The influence of cultural nationalism on the development of haiku has been profound, and it is for this reason that haiku poets like to emphasize their ties to the past. However, which heritage elements were preserved and which were discarded and how new approaches were assimilated, followed agendas that were tied to the contemporary context. Two clear sets of contradictions can be discerned. The first relates to worldview. Traces of a Neo-Confucian worldview, found particularly in obligatory season words, conflicts with the observer-centred, individualistic bias inherent in the sketch-from-life compositional approach introduced by Shiki. The second relates to

the roles the distribution of power and ability to take initiative within the haiku field. On the one hand, there was a trend towards hegemonic control which enabled Kyoshi to dictate what was and was not acceptable as haiku. However, Kyoshi's business interests encouraged the segmentation of the haiku market and the recruitment of a much larger range of demographic sectors into his organization, Hototogisu. Capturing and maintaining the interest of these new groups meant that their preferences inevitably influenced haiku's development.

This thesis addresses a number of gaps in scholarship. Despite the dominating nature of Kyoshi's influence on twentieth century haiku, little has been published in English on him, his magazine *Hototogisu [Little Cuckoo]*or the organization of the same name. Likewise, apart from some translations, little has been written about the women's (*joryū*) haiku movement of which Hisajo was the most innovative exponent.

Keywords

Sugita Hisajo, Japanese, poetry, haiku, *joryū haiku*, *kigo* (season words) *saijiki*, modernity, Masaoka Shiki, *shasei* (sketch-from-life), Takahama Kyoshi, Neo-Confucianism, New Woman, Good Wives and Wise Mothers

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CITATIONS, JAPANESE NAMES, ROMANIZATION, AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE THESIS

Where translated collections or anthologies of haiku are used in this thesis they are listed in the bibliography and cited under the editor's or translator's name, not under the name of the author of the source text. All other translation are listed under the original author's name.

For authors who write only or primarily in Japanese, Japanese names are cited in the Japanese order of surname followed by personal name, without a comma in between. On the other hand, authors, such as Haruo Shirane,who write primarily in English are cited according to the normal conventions.

I follow the Japanese custom of referring to poets and novelists by their pen names. Thus, Sugita Hisa (pen name Hisajo) is referred to as Hisajo; Masaoka Noboru (pen name Shiki) is referred to as Shiki and so on.

Unless they have already have an established place in the English lexicon, Romanized Japanese words are italicized. Similarly, macrons are used for prolonged o and u sounds, except in those cases like Tokyo, Taisho or senryu where a word is already familiar to readers of English without a macron.

Except where otherwise acknowledged, all the translations in the thesis are my own.

Sugita Hisajo and her daughter, Mitsuko, in 1921[1]

[1] From *Hanagoromo Haijin Sugita Hisajo [Cherry-Viewing Kimono: The Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo]*. Edited by Nakanishi Yukiko, Mireiko Take, and Eiko Imakawa. Kitakyushu: Kitakyushu Shiritsu Bungakukan, 2011), 16.

杉田久女

Hisajo (undated)[2]

[2] From Nakanishi et al. 53.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores some key aspects of the historical development of the haiku of the preeminent Hototogisu School from the mid-1890s until approximately 1937. These dates span the start of Masaoka Shiki's (1867 – 1902) haiku reform to the twilight of the writing life of the pioneering, female haiku poet, Sugita Hisajo (1890 – 1946). The thesis approaches the haiku of that period as a set of compositional opportunities and challenges, paying special attention to the complex effects of constraint upon innovation.

By innovation I mean the equivalent of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's Creativity (with a capital C). In other words, innovation alters a domain or 'set of symbolic rules and procedures' sufficiently to leave 'a trace in the cultural matrix.'[1] Such domains are not necessarily entirely predictable or coherent. They may contain a number of (potentially) contradictory heritage elements or a mixture of heritage and new elements which pull in different directions. By analogy, a tradition can be understood as just those symbolic rules and procedures that make up a domain, although for literature, like scholarship, the domain also includes the work, particularly the iconic work, of earlier practitioners. In the thesis, I argue that Hisajo's work altered the domain of haiku.

Defined in this manner, innovation is intimately tied to domain constraints, but it is not simply an inverse relationship. Haiku is unusual in the degree to which its domain was fashioned by, and has been self-consciously policed by, a small number of people with conservative agendas and the capacity to wield powerful sanctions. Even so, haiku – like all literature – needed innovation. As Csikszentmihalyi makes clear, innovation is only possible when it is accepted by a 'field of experts who recognize and validate the innovation.'[2]

[1] Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*. (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 27.
[2] Csikszentmihalyi. *Creativity*, 6.

Although Hisajo was for much of her career highly praised by Takahama Kyoshi (1874 – 1959), the key gatekeeper in her chosen domain, being a woman, she was also marginalized both as a member of society and as a writer. It was this paradoxical status which imposed specific challenges upon her while giving her access to a new perspective on haiku.

To identify the innovative characteristics of Hisajo's work, I compare it with prototypical haiku written by Kyoshi and his mentor Shiki. I chose Shiki's work for this purpose because he changed the nature of the genre, and Kyoshi's because he was Hisajo's mentor, and as the editor of the magazine *Hototogisu [Little Cuckoo]*, was by far the most powerful figure in haiku publishing during the period under consideration.[3] Together these two men established the haiku poetics – or the rules of the domain – for Hisajo. They also determined the nature of the haiku institutions with which Hisajo engaged. Both are key figures in the development of modern Japanese literature.

I began the thesis with a plan to explore formal constraints in twentieth century Japanese haiku. As an established English-language haiku poet myself, I had noticed that compared to examples from the 1970s and 1980s, the English-language haiku written in the first years of this millennium seemed to be composed in a more formulaic manner. I suspected that the editorial requirement that each English-language haiku should contain a *kigo* (season word) – a requirement which became stronger as the influence of William J. Higginson's *The Haiku Seasons* [4] became more general – had contributed to this change. I hoped an investigation of the domain constraints of the Japanese parent genre and some insight into their applicability in non-Japanese cultures might encourage English-language haiku poets to write in a more flexible manner. I also hoped access to new, excellent Japanese haiku would also inspire both readers and English-language haiku poets.
It soon became apparent that, to understand innovation in haiku, I needed to approach both the genre and its institutions historically. I became interested in how cultural changes and changes in

[3] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 118.
[4] William J. Higginson. *The Haiku Season: Poetry of the Natural World.* (Tokyo, New York, London: Kodansha International, 1996).

social structures presented new opportunities while imposing layered constraints upon Japanese haiku poets in a dynamic manner. It became apparent that compositional choices were guided by a wide range of factors from the geopolitical to the personal.

It has been widely shown that Japan's transformation into a modern nation state from the Meiji era (1868 – 1912) encouraged what the historian Eric Hobsbawn called in another context the 'invention of tradition.' He pointed out the 'paradox that modern nations…generally claim to be the opposite of novel.'[5] Japan was no exception. Elements from earlier practices or earlier bodies of thought were recombined with new influences to produce new institutions or values with a strongly "Japanese" flavour. Freighted with ethnic pride, expressions of a newly emergent national culture were characterized as contiguous with the ancient past. Examples include the emperor system, harmony, industrial paternalism, bushido and judo.[6]

Particularly close to the topic of this thesis was the construction of a national literary movement. Aware of the international prestige acknowledged literary masterpieces could bring, statesmen like Inoue Testujiro (1855 – 1944) devoted themselves to identifying a national canon that minimized Japan's indebtedness to Chinese literary culture. They elevated to prominence two texts, the *Man'yōshū [Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves]* and the *Kojiki [Record of Ancient Matters]*, which had been prized by anti-Confucian, Nativist philogists, epitomized by Motoori Norinaga (1730 – 1801). The *Man'yōshū*, Japan's oldest poetry anthology, was compiled in the mid-eighth century, but because it had been written in an obsolete script, it had been illegible to most for much of its history.[7] The slightly earlier *Kojiki*, which collected myths and legends dealing with

[5] Eric Hobsbawn. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger, 1 - 14. (Cambridge: Canbridge University Press, 1983), 14
[6] See for example the essays in Stephen Vlastos (ed.) *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
[7] Shinada Yoshikazu. "*Man'yōshū*: The Invention of a National Poetry." Translated by Kevin Collins. In *In Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 31 - 50. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000)," 42.

the origin of Japan and its earliest history, had previously been regarded as a minor text.[8] During the Meiji era, both were recast as representative expressions, not simply of the small, exclusive, literate elites that had produced them, but of the entire Japanese nation.[9] By the late nineteenth century, the *Man'yōshū* and the *Kojiki* had become texts of central importance. Shiki praised the *Man'yōshū* highly and Hisajo made references to both in her haiku.

This new direction owed much to Japan's new role as a modern trading nation, subject to Unequal Treaties imposed by Western imperialism. The literary and cultural scholar, Haruo Shirane, points to the importance to the development of modern Japanese literature of the 'response to Western models or markets' and 'literary and dramatic models' that took place as the authorities attempted to forge a new national identity grounded in 'a sense of historical and social unity.'[10] My research has uncovered ways in which the apparent backwater of haiku and haiku institutions also followed this pattern. The ultimate influence of cultural nationalism on the "traditionalist" Hototogisu Association (*kessha*), [11] to which Hisajo belonged, was to encourage tight formal constraints, and paradoxically to enable Hototogisu haiku to flourish as an anti-modernist form of poetry. An increasingly intense assertion of continuity with the past – and rejection of Western influence – on Kyoshi's part meant that haiku seemed to weather the enormous changes of the late Meiji, Taisho and early Shōwa eras without appearing to change too radically. However, even at its most reactionary, "traditionalist" twentieth century haiku was indebted to the transformed social relations of a modern nation state.

The conclusions about the nature of and possibilities presented by haiku that I advance in the thesis developed gradually from tentative answers to the three questions I initially asked about

---

[8] Kōnoshi Takamitsu. "Constructing Imperial Mythology: *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*." Translated by Iori Joko. In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 51 - 67. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 62.
[9] Shinada Yoshikazu. "*Man'yōshū*: The Invention of a National Poetry," 35.
[10] Haruo Shirane. "Introduction: Issues in Canon Formation." In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 1 - 27. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 13.
[11] Where I refer to the magazine itself, I italicize Hototogisu; where I refer to the organization, or *kessha*, based around it, I do not.

Hisajo's work: How is it innovative? What facilitated this innovation? What constrained possible innovation? These questions were asked in the belief that they would not only help me evaluate Hisajo's oeuvre, but also that they would help me gain a wider understanding of the haiku of her times, the constraints of the domain as it was constructed by Kyoshi and, ultimately, offer insight into the choices open to English-language haiku poets today. The link between these last two points is the fact that Kyoshi's traditionalist approach still exercises overwhelming influence on how "haiku" is understood internationally.

There are two main reasons why much of the thesis focuses upon Hisajo. Firstly, a case study seemed the best approach to investigate the factors that guide compositional choice. Such choices are grounded in the personal and poetic experiences, concerns and dilemmas of individuals and so they are difficult to investigate in the mass. Secondly, Hisajo was a perfect choice as my main subject because in so many ways, she represents a limit case. Her upbringing, ambitions, success and life trajectory were all unusual. Brought up in Okinawa and Taiwan, and then educated in Tokyo at one of the most "progressive" girls' schools of the day, she had taken the new 'Good Wife and Wise Mother' ideology subsidiary promise of self-development seriously.[12] She progressed through rapid success as a haiku poet, to be plunge into disgrace and ultimately endure a tragic death at a relatively young age in a ward for the insane.[13]

Much of the new subject matter and technical ingenuity in her haiku arises from her response to the highly conflicted experience of the demographic group to which she belonged. The degree to which her work differs from the haiku of dominant figures like Shiki and Kyoshi illustrates, in one particular direction, what could be done within the contemporary haiku genre restrictions of the

[12] Elise K. Tipton. "How to Manage a Household: Creatiing Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan." *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2009): 95 – 110; Richard Reitan, "Claiming Personality: Reassessing the Dangers of the 'New Woman' in Early Taisho Japan." *positions: east asia cultures critique* 19, no. 1 (2011): 83 – 107.

[13] It should be noted, however, that Hane states that the average life expectancy for women in Japan from the last decade of the nineteenth century to the pre-World War II years was only about 44 years. Hane, Mikiso, and Louis G. Perez. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey (3rd Edition)*. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2012), 160.

traditionalist camp. Moreover, Hisajo was not only disgraced by Kyoshi towards the end of her writing life but he and his circle continued to attack her reputation after her death. The way she was treated illustrates the destructive depths to which haiku politics could descend.

Investigation of the opportunities and challenges faced by Hisajo has clarified the contingent nature of the "tradition" – or as it turns out somewhat different "traditions" – Shiki and Kyoshi upheld. It has also underlined the importance of showing how "haiku" promoted by Shiki differed from *hokku* – including the poetry of Matsuo Bashō (1644 – 1694) – that had preceded it. The presence of haiku columns in national newspapers and the establishment of specialized haiku magazines printed for a Japan-wide readership in large runs meant that haiku became popular with groups of reader-writers, including "respectable" women, who, until the Taisho era (1912 – 1926), would have been much more likely to write *waka*, a somewhat longer classical poetic genre. The mass media also mediated the relationships between practitioners in new ways. Both Shiki and Kyoshi were central in driving these changes. Kyoshi's Hototogisu *kessha* was an innovative business model that made him and his family financially prosperous and gave them significant power in the literary field. [14] It was because of his position as founder and head of this *kessha* that Kyoshi could effectively truncate Hisajo's career as a writer.

Shiki and Kyoshi broadly agreed on which heritage elements should be preserved and which discarded and no traditionalist haiku of the period can be read sensitively without a thorough understanding of *kigo* and the compositional problems imposed by haiku's brevity and distinctive metre. Other constraints operated as well. For example, most haiku including Hisajo's was written in classical Japanese. Importantly – and this is the reason I refer to haiku as a genre and not a form – haiku, like *waka*, was subject to genre-specific vocabulary restrictions. *Haikai*, the more encompassing domain of which *hokku* was a part, was considered "comic" or "playful" because its vocabulary restrictions were more relaxed than the genre restrictions applied to *waka*. If these

[14] Akio Bin. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: Kindai Haiku no Media [Kyoshi and Hototogisu: The Media of Modern Haiku*] (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 2006).

vocabulary restrictions had not been in place, Kyoshi's attempts to narrow the subject matter and tone for haiku would not have been viable. Nevertheless, Hisajo's work, while remaining "traditionalist," put Shiki's trademark painterly or *shasei* (sketch from life) compositional style to new uses. The novelty of both her treatment and her thematic material made her work distinctive and exciting.

Although my interest is wider than Hisajo's haiku, I believe the thesis demonstrates that her work is valuable and important for its own sake. Most Japanese critics consider her to be the most remarkable and influential writer in the first generation of the new style of *joryū* or women's haiku. She ran one of the first haiku magazines exclusively for women and used it to publish her own critical commentary as well as haiku by herself and many others. Even after her expulsion from the Hototogisu *kessha* Kyoshi characterized her haiku as 'serenely beautiful and highly noble.'[15]

Hisajo's haiku falls into two distinct periods. The first is informed to some degree by naturalism, and it extends the *shasei* (sketch-from-life) the new approach to composition, borrowed from Western sketching practices that Shiki had applied to haiku to portraiture and self-portraiture. The second, on the whole, is far less pictorial. Key haiku from her second period have been particularly praised for their originality by the haiku critic Yamamoto Kenkichi who claimed her work uses language from ancient texts, particularly the *Man'yōshū,* better than any other twentieth century haiku poet.[16]

This evaluation may suggest Hisajo's tastes became more conservative. Following the Nativist scholar, Kamo no Mabuchi (1697 – 1769), who had emphasized the 'masculinity' of the *Man'yōshū*, men (including Shiki)[17] praised that anthology for its poetry dealing with themes of

---

[15] Makoto Ueda. *Far Beyond the Field: Haiku by Japanese Women*. Translated by Makoto Ueda. (New York, Chichester West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2003), xxvii.
[16] Yamamoto Kenkichi. "Sugita Hisajo" In *Gendai haiku*. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 1998/1964: 156 – 161), 160 – 161.
[17] Sekikawa Natsuo. *Shiki Saigo No Hachinen [the Last Eight Years of Shiki's Life]*. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2011), 302.

war and patriotism. [18] However, it also contained a great deal of poetry by and in praise of women. Like other progressive female writers of the day, including Yosano Akiko (1878 – 1942)[19] and Takamure Itsue (1894 – 1964), Hisajo uses the *Man'yōshū* and the *Kojiki* in a female-friendly manner, not to support the ideology of new establishment as male writers tend to do.

Women had another connection with these early, less Sinified texts. The vast majority of Japanese female writers had used the native language, which remained the language of the domestic sphere, not the adapted form of Chinese prose (*kanbun*) or Chinese poetry (*kanshi*), which functioned as the literary language of public life and was generally only taught to men. The Meiji revision of the literary canon had demoted *kabun* and *kanshi* and identified the women's work from the Heian period as anticipating the development of the novel. This nationalistic gesture was an unintended positive for female writers.[20] The fact women like Ono no Komachi (825 – 900), Sei Shōnagon (c. 966–1017 or 1025) and Murasaki Shikibu (c. 978 – c. 1014 or 1025) had written works considered the equal of any national literature suggested more autonomous and expansive ways of being a woman than the norms prescribed by Neo-Confucianism which still had such a profound effect on women's lives.[21] Their work suggested new natively "Japanese" models of female identity to many literary women in Hisajo's generation. In both her haiku and her critical writing, Hisajo calls for greater opportunities and freedom for women like herself. In her second period, she rather covertly suggests the need to question the values of a male-dominated society rushing into war.

Hisajo's Taisho era work shows that the restrictive combination of a tight prosodic form, a mandatory *kigo* and the *shasei* (sketch from life) compositional approach of Hototogisu haiku

[18] Shirane. "Issues in Canon Formation," 10.
[19] Janine Beichman. *Embracing the Firebird: Yosano Akiko and the Birth of the Female Voice in Modern Japanese Poetry*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 55 – 56.
[20] Tomi Suzuki. "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature." In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 71 - 95. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 94 - 95
[21] Oguma Eiji. *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images*. Translated by David Askew. (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), 159.

helped her find – rather than prevented her from finding – new vivid ways of writing. By the time she entered her second period, Kyoshi had imposed new restrictions on the acceptable content of haiku,[22] and that had resulted in factional splitting, bitter enmities and further restrictions for Hototogisu poets. However, since Kyoshi was also stressing continuity with the past, Hisajo was able to evade his push towards trivial content by the strategic use of allusion. Under this pressure her style became highly compressed and multilayered. Employing irony, she could suggest meanings that were often finally feminist, but unlikely to be recognized as such by readers not open to such content. Where Hisajo broke – and it was only to a minor degree – with the restrictions Kyoshi placed on which expressions could be used as *kigo*, or when she wrote what were clearly haiku sequences, she would certainly have angered him. However, flouting *kigo* conventions and writing sequences were not in themselves innovative. These aspects of her work had precedents in the earlier *haikai* tradition and such experiments were engaged in far more thoroughly by Kyoshi's rivals, particularly by the members of Kawahigashi Hekigotō's (1873 – 1937) New Trend (Shinkeikō) Haiku movement and its off-shoots, and the members of the later New Haiku (Shinkō) movement.

Despite great resourcefulness, Hisajo was not able to surmount all of the challenges she faced. Individual poems that point to exciting potential developments exist too often in her oeuvre. Kyoshi's influence, his control of her access to publication, as well as contradictions inherent in the combination of (pre-modern, Neo-Confucian influenced) *kigo* and (Western-influenced) *shasei*, as well as socially imposed limits to what was sayable (or even thinkable) for someone like Hisajo, certainly limited her work. Had she not been effectively silenced as a haiku poet in 1936, her legacy would have been different. However, the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937 changed the compositional parameters for haiku once again, and her biographer, Masuda Ren, may be correct in suggesting that Hisajo's second period style could not have survived that change.[23]

[22] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 118.
[23] Masuda Ren. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto [Notes on Sugita Hisajo]*. (Kitakyushu: Urayama Shobo, 1978), 249.

METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The methodology of this study repeats two distinct but related movements, in which background investigation was brought to close reading, and discoveries from close reading initiated further background reading. The complexity and range of the literature I consulted means that a complete literature review cannot be offered here. Nevertheless, an illustration of the process and some more general points can be established.

I began by researching the most accessible background information in order to approach reading haiku in a general way. Much of the discussion specifically about haiku in English has been conducted by translators or poet-translators. Some, like R. H. Blyth, laid important groundwork, but their insights were limited by their desire to find examples of universally applicable insight without reference to social and cultural context. Others, like Donald Keene[24] and Makoto Ueda,[25] supplied historical accounts of the development of *hokku*/haiku, and in Ueda's case edited anthologies that introduced a wide sample of haiku and its related genres to the English reading public as well. They offer a broad understanding of which social groups *hokku*/haiku poets represented, which tasks these poets understood themselves to be engaged in and which tasks or solutions they repudiated and why. This initial reading was supplemented by Robert H. Brower's and Earl Miner's foundational study of ancient Japanese poetry which provides details of the technical resources of *waka*, resources that have remained, in some cases, relevant to haiku.[26]

---

[24] Donald Keene. *World within Walls; Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600 - 1867*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Keene. *Dawn to the West.*

[25] Makoto Ueda. *Modern Japanese Haiku an Anthology*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Makoto Ueda. *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983); Makoto Ueda. *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992); Makoto Ueda. "Bashō on the Art of the Haiku: Impersonality in Poetry." Chap. 7 In *Japanese Aesthetics and Culture: A Reader* edited by Nancy G. Hume, 151 - 75. (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995); Makoto Ueda. *Light Verse from the Floating World: An Anthology of Pre-modern Japanese Senryu*. (Columbia University Press, 1999); Makoto Ueda. *Far Beyond the Field: Haiku by Japanese Women* [in Japanese and English]. Translated by Makoto Ueda. (New York, Chichester West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2003).

[26] Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner. *Japanese Court Poetry*. (London: The Cresset Press, 1962)

Work by later writers provided examples of widely known *waka*,[27] as well as information about the transmission and elaboration of these resources through the linked verse (*renga*) from the Kamakura period (1192 – 1333).[28] However, all these scholars tended to treat the compositional context as background material. By contrast, Eiko Ikegami's study of the popularization of aesthetic activities in the Tokugawa era, and the roles and social relationships these activities created, firmly anchored *haikai* in its complex societal context.[29]

Once I had decided to focus upon Hisajo, I made a first attempt at reading her haiku.[30] Although translations into English of a handful of her haiku have appeared in many anthologies of women Japanese writers,[31] only Eiko Yachimoto[32] has previously translated a sufficient number to enable readers outside Japan to gain any sense of Hisajo's oeuvre. It was not until I had attempted to read through Hisajo's haiku and the selection of her prose that was accessible to me,[33] that I began to read the most important critical writing about her. This literature will be reviewed in Chapter One. As I knew of Shiki's and Kyoshi's importance in creating the genre parameters within which Hisajo worked, I also began reading translations of their haiku in English and critical work about them.

It quickly became clear that Hisajo's handling of the mandatory formal requirements of haiku, as understood by both Shiki and Kyoshi, and her application of the *shasei* compositional approach

---

[27] Joshua S. Mostow. *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).
[28] Steven D Carter. "Rules, Rules and More Rules: Shōhaku's *Renga* Rulebook of 1501." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43, no. 2 (1983); Steven D Carter. "Mixing Memories: Linked Verse and the Fragmentation of the Past." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48, no. 1 (1988).
[29] Eiko Ikegami. *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
[30] The edition I am using is Sugita Hisajo. *Sugita Hisajo Kushū [The Collected Haiku of Sugita Hisajo]*. Edited by Ishi Masako. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1969).
[31] Ueda, *Far Beyond the Field*; Hiroaki Sato, *Japanese Women Poets: An Anthology* (Armonk, New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2008); Kenneth Rexroth and Ikuko Atsumi, eds., *Women Poets of Japan* (New York: New Directions Book, 1977).
[32] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo in Light of the English Haikai Installment 1: Courtesy Visit." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 3, no. 10 (2008): 1 - 7. See the bibliography for subsequent articles.
[33] Sugita Hisajo. In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2007).

were going to be central to my evaluation of her achievement. Shirane's studies have been invaluable for understanding seasonal motifs and season words. He introduces the useful notion of the *kigo* hierarchy, and clearly differentiates between "nature" as it is generally understood as an object of study in its own right and what he calls 'secondary nature,' or the construction of nature as it is understood in Japanese art and poetry and the culture.[34] Kawamoto Kōji's work on prosody[35] shows how the rhythmical and semantic levels of poetic language are particularly closely linked in Japanese. That in turn helped me to understand how prosody contributed to the persistent attraction of *kigo*. Shirane and Kawamoto both discuss the symbolic content of *hokku*. Masako K. Hiraga's elegant cognitively based theory takes that further to explain how metaphor is generated by juxtaposition in Bashō's poetry. Her sensitive reading draws on Roman Jakobson's formalism to reveal the various techniques, including choice of script, by which unspoken meaning can be can be conveyed within haiku.[36]

To evaluate Hisajo's achievement in more than an impressionistic way, I needed to subject her haiku to analysis. I selected a corpus of two hundred representative haiku according to four criteria. Firstly, it was important to include haiku regarded as particularly striking by other critics. However, since many examples which furthered her reputation as a haiku poet had done so precisely because they had been singled out for particular praise by Kyoshi, I attempted to counterbalance that bias by searching for haiku Hisajo may have particularly valued herself. I therefore included most of her haiku quoted in her 1928 essay "Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [The Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taisho era]."[37] Thirdly, as I wanted to show the variety of her achievement, and give some sense of the progression of her

[34] Haruo Shirane. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Haruo Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
[35] Kawamoto Kōji. *The Poetics of Japanese Verse*. Translated by Stephen Collington, Kevin Collins and Gustav Heldt. (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000).
[36] Masako K. Hiraga. "Eternal Stillness: A Linguistic Journey to Bashō's Haiku About the Cicada." *Poetics Today* 8, no. 1 (1987): 5 – 18; Masako K. Hiraga. *Metaphor and Iconicity: A Cognitive Approach to Anaysing Texts*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
[37] Sugita Hisajo. "Taisho Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [The Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taisho era]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 159 - 186. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1928/2007.

haiku sequences, I included some short sequences and made a selection from a longer one. Above all, I chose haiku that were distinctive.

To provide a standard of comparison and gather some empirical evidence about what was innovative about her work, I chose similar corpora from Shiki's and Kyoshi's work. This time I only allocated one hundred haiku to each. Faced with the fact that Shiki wrote at least 18,000 haiku,[38] I was guided in the initial selection of Shiki's corpus by the 145 haiku in Burton Watson's *Masaoka Shiki Selected Poems*.[39] Watson explains that his selection was made on the basis of 'choices made by Japanese editors…poems the Japanese themselves have regarded as outstanding,'[40] The ready availability or not of the original orthography – this is not supplied by Watson – helped me cull the original 145 haiku to something less than 100, which were supplemented from examples given in the chapter on Shiki in Yamamoto's *Gendai Haiku [Modern Haiku]*.

Kyoshi was also a very prolific haiku poet, and in his case I selected 100 haiku of his corpus from a combination of three sources. The first was from the anthology with commentary, *Kyoshi Hyakku [One Hundred of Kyoshi's Haiku]*, which had already been translated into English. It was selected and edited by his granddaughter and present chairperson of the Hototogisu organization, Inabata Teiko (1931-).[41] The second source was Yamamoto's chapter on Kyoshi in *Gendai Haiku*; and the third was from another anthology with commentary, *Kyoshi Ichinichi Ikku [Kyoshi, One Haiku per Day]*,[42] this time selected and edited by Kyoshi's daughter Hoshino Tatsuko (1903 –

[38] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 159.
[39] Burton Watson, ed. *Masaoka Shiki: Selected Poems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
[40] Watson, ed. *Masaoka Shiki: Selected Poems*, 10.
[41] Teiko Inabata, ed. *100 Works of Kyoshi: Kyoshi Hyakku*. Translated by Aya Nagayama and James W. Henry III. (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2010).
[42] Takahama Kyoshi. *Kyoshi Ichinichi Ichiku. [Kyoshi, One Haiku Per Day]* (Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1965).

1984). I included no haiku written by Kyoshi after 1936, the year in which he expelled Hisajo from Hototogisu.[43]

I read these corpora repeatedly, with particular questions in mind, tallying occurrences of classes of words or of particular kinds of relationships and comparing the results across the corpora. This process led to numerous dead-ends which forced me to analyse more specifically which items or relationships could and could not be compared. Those which proved significant are presented in the thesis in percentage form. The corpora of all three poets are presented as appendices, with each haiku appearing in chronological order of composition, by year. Of the two hundred by Hisajo, one hundred and nineteen are specifically quoted in the thesis.

FRAMEWORK

Although I have drawn on Csikszentmihalyi's domain based model of Creativity, I have also looked to social history to help me understand the operation of constraints in the widest sense on the composition process. At an extra-literary level, my understanding of haiku has been influenced by Pierre Bourdieu.[44] His work prompted me to ask questions about haiku's social functions, its position within the literary field, as well as the role of the new haiku institutions. Richard A. Peterson's insights are consistent with Bourdieu's work.[45] All the constraints he isolated as significant for cultural change have emerged as having some impact upon the development of Hototogisu haiku.

[43] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin [Sugito Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]*. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 256.
[44] Pierre Bourdieu. *The Field of Cultural Production : Essays on Art and Literature*. Translated by Randal Johnson. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984).
[45] Richard A. Peterson. "Five Constraints on the Production of Culture: Law, Technology, Market, Organizational Structure and Occupational Careers." *A Journal of Popular Culture* 16, no. 2 (1982): 143 - 53.

However, while acknowledging that even when it comes to composing poetry individual agency is circumscribed and paradoxical, I cannot accept the degree to which Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* posits that individuals remain conditioned by norms, tastes and assumptions acquired in childhood. In answer, in part, to Bourdieu's pessimism about agency, the sociologist Margaret S. Archer offers the 'internal conversation' as the mediating factor between an individual's projects and the historical forces of social institutions and culture, which necessarily impinge upon them.[46]

According to this view, as individuals reflect upon, or discuss with others, the options, opportunities and risks that they face from the vantage point of their particular time, place and class, they can initiate innovative behaviour. Thus, it is possible for people to modify the roles which they occupy to suit their own style, occupy a new class or status position or to adopt a new worldview. When I speak about Hisajo's "concerns" in this thesis, I mean the thematically organized commitments that appear to have given her experience and her life structure and meaning. In using this term I am in large part following Archer's lead:

> Habits and *habitus* are no longer reliable guides. The positive face of the reflexive imperative is the opportunity for subjects to pursue what they care about most in the social order. In fact their personal concerns become their compasses.[47]

It is through these "concerns" that two supra-personal levels of constraint operating on the individual poet are negotiated. The first of these levels is a result of the intersection of cultural norms and social structures – including the structures of literary institutions – which at any particular historical moment naturalize and obscure certain assumptions, while throwing others into question. The second is the nature of the poetics within which the poet works. While poetics are intimately related to their own time, they not only present their own independent problems but also carry powerful countervailing traces of the past which may be domain specific. The nature of

[46] Margaret S. Archer. *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8 - 9.
[47] Archer. *The Reflexive Imperative in Late Modernity*, 1.

Hisajo's concerns, as a woman in a new social position and a person with an unusual life trajectory, presented her with unusual compositional problems within the tightly constrained genre of haiku. That she solved those problems in new ways and interesting ways is why her work remains valuable today.

ESSENTIAL TERMS AND THE PRESENTATION OF THE HAIKU IN THE THESIS

The thesis uses a number of terms that derive from Japanese As three of them, haiku, tanka and senryu (*senryū*), name poetic genres widely known to English speaking poets they do not appear italicized. Other less familiar terms are difficult to translate succinctly into English or demand a technical explanation. *Kireji*, *kigo*,*saijiki* and *joryū* are explained here, as is mora, a technical term in linguistics. Still others, including *shasei* and *kessha* are too complex to approach more than perfunctorily at this point, but their meaning will become clear in the later discussion.

Discussing prosody I prefer to follow Kawamoto and use the term mora (plural morae) instead of "syllable" for haiku written in Japanese. Seventeen morae take less time to say and carry, on average, less explicit information than would be carried in seventeen syllables of English, making haiku very compressed poems indeed.[48]The set of morae in Japanese includes all the vowels; all the sounds made of a consonant-vowel combination; all the sounds made of the semi-vowel /y/-vowel combination; and finally the sound /n/. Unlike a syllable, each mora has the same length and stress as every other.

Kireji, or "cutting words," originate in classical Japanese poetry and enable the smooth incorporation of fragments into a haiku and give it a "poetic" tone. They originate from exclamations and sometimes carry slight exclamatory force,[49] but their main functions are syntactic and rhythmical. The *kireji* found in the work discussed in this thesis are generally

[48] Kawamoto. *The Poetics of Japanese Verse*, 45 – 46.
[49] Haruo Shirane. *Classical Japanese a Grammar*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 238 – 9; 251

confined to *ya*, *kana* and *–keri*. *Ya* usually follows a noun or adjective and signals a pause. It may both connect and separate the parts of a poem. *Kana* also usually follows a noun or adjective and signals a pause, but it is primarily an expression of recognition or revelation. *Keri* is a verbal suffix which has a similar tone to *kana*.

Kigo is an essential term that is thoroughly explored in the thesis. It refers to the pool of expressions conventionally accepted by haiku poets as referring to a particular season. *Kigo* developed from *kidai* (seasonal topics), a narrower pool of which were used in *waka* or classical verse. They are collected in almanacs (*saijiki*) which are consulted during the composition process. *Saijiki* are generally divided into four parts: spring, summer, autumn and winter, although there may also be a fifth section for the New Year. Within a *saijiki* each *kigo* appears according to a chronological scheme. Definitions, variants and background information are given on each, followed by sample poems illustrating how the *kigo* has been used by earlier poets. Thus, *saijiki* function as anthologies as well as almanacs.

Unless otherwise specified, the words and phrases marked as, or referred to, as *kigo* in this thesis are all found in the *Shin Saijiki*,[50] edited by Kyoshi, originally with help from Hisajo, which remains the official *saijiki* of the Hototogisu School to this day. Although it was not the *Shin Saijiki*, I have not been able to trace information about which *saijiki* Hisajo herself used.

Joryū is an adjective applied to writing. It literally means "women's stream," and suggests, not always correctly, that women writers belong to a special tradition in which they have been influenced by the gendered style of the female writers that went before them.

Each haiku quoted is presented in multiple forms with a version in the original orthography, a Romanized version, a transliteration, and finally a translation which attempts to convey the substance of each poem in English. The aim was to reflect as closely as is possible the literal

[50] Takahama Kyoshi, ed. *Shin Saijiki* (Tokyo: Sanseido, 2010).

meaning, but even though they may not correspond to a *kireji* in the original, dashes have been used to punctuate the haiku where that might help readers. (The default pauses at the end of each 5-7-5 block can also function as a cut.) The haiku in the corpora are ordered chronologically by year, and the year and the date, when known, appears below the haiku. The *kigo*, both in the Romanized version and the transliteration, appear in bold and the season assigned by the *kigo* is identified in brackets. When a haiku does not contain a *kigo* listed in the *Shin Saijiki*, no season is attributed to it, even though such haiku may well contain a seasonal reference recognized by the editor of another *saijiki*. Why I have made this decision will become apparent in Chapter Three.

The metre of each poem is identified as 5-7-5 (or variants thereof), with slashes marking the relevant boundaries, as is shown in this example by Shiki:

紫陽花や壁のくづれをしぶく雨 5-7-5

ajisai *ya/ kabe no kuzure o/ shibuku ame* (summer)

hydrangeas –/ wall (p.p.) crumbling (o.p.)/ splashing rain

hydrangeas –

on the crumbling of a wall

the splashing rain

1891

The following table summarizes the relevant information for the abbreviations and punctuation that appear in the transliterations. Particles show case in Japanese.

Particles	Function	Abbreviation
ga	indicates the preceding word or phrase is a subject	(s.p.)

wa	indicates the preceding word or phrase is a topic	(t.p.)
o	indicates the preceding word or phrase is an object	(o.p.)
no	indicates the subsequent word or phrase is a possession or quality attached to the word or phrase that precedes it	(p.p.)
ka	functions like a question mark	(i.p.)
Cutting words		
verbal suffix – *keri*		!
ya		–
kana		!

THESIS OUTLINE

The discussion is organized as follows:

Chapter One, **The Hisajo Legend and Hisajo's Life**, discusses the relevance of biography to haiku and briefly reviews the literature that has been written on Hisajo both in English and Japanese. The Hisajo Legend is the accepted term for the stories about Hisajo spread after her death by Kyoshi and his circle. More reliable biographical material is used to suggest something of her personality and reveal some of the personal constraints under Hisajo wrote. The chapter explains why she was well-positioned in terms of her background, life experiences, talents and personal concerns to become an innovative haiku poet.

Chapter Two, **Haiku and Modernity**, argues that "haiku" is a term that should be reserved for the poetry written after Shiki's haiku reform. As it is a product of modernity, it should be distinguished from the *hokku* written in the Tokugawa era. The chapter investigates Shiki's haiku reform and the development of the Hototogisu *kessha* (organization) in the context of social change. It argues that, despite their considerable differences, both Shiki's and Kyoshi's haiku

poetics were a response to the opportunities presented by modernity, including the combination of attraction and threat represented by Western thought, Western literature and Western fine art. New haiku institutions, like the Hototogisu *kessha*, were shaped by modern infrastructure and changing social relations. The chapter finishes by describing how Hisajo was affected by the relationship between the functioning of the *kessha* and Kyoshi's Neo-Confucian-influenced haiku poetics.

Chapter Three, **The Formal Requirements of Hototogisu Haiku**, compares the three corpora to see whether, and to what degree, they deviate from the mandatory requirements of Hototogisu haiku. Much of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of the historical dimensions of *kigo* and what they imply. The various ways that they were employed in Shiki's, Kyoshi's and Hisajo's haiku is analysed. *Kigo* represent the most difficult to grasp and politically sensitive element in haiku and in-depth understanding of their nature and functions is essential for an informed reading of the genre.

Chapter Four, ***Shasei* and the Pictorial in Shiki's and Hisajo's Nature Haiku**, considers in more depth at the reasons why Shiki adopted *shasei* as a compositional approach. It also investigates to what degree this adoption from Western fine art guided his haiku and encouraged him to write poems that could be visualized as though they were pictures. Understanding how *shasei* style haiku came to be read is important is appreciating the techniques Hisajo used when writing about subject matter that did not have a primarily "nature" oriented focus. This chapter delineates the key characteristics of a *shasei* reading style through a comparison of Shiki's and Hisajo's nature haiku. Finally some conclusions are drawn about the importance of the *shasei* notebook.

Chapter Five, ***Kigo* and *Shasei* in Taisho Women's Haiku**, draws from the findings from the previous two chapters. It uses Hisajo's 1928 essay, "Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [The Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taisho Era]" to explore how she characterized the relationship between *kigo* and *shasei* in women's haiku as it was written across her first period. Although examples by both Shiki and Kyoshi are also quoted, most of the haiku

presented and analysed in this chapter was chosen by Hisajo. One strikingly innovative feature of the work she discusses is its exploration of portraiture and self-portraiture. Reasons are advanced as to why it was that women's haiku developed in that direction.

Chapter Six, **A Woman's Place,** situates women's haiku, Hisajo and her dilemmas as a writer in the context of scholarship about the Good Wives and Wise Mothers ideology and the Japanese New Woman. Haiku from Hisajo's first period in which she portrays herself in a strongly pictorial manner as mother, housewife and writer are discussed in the context of her own protests about role conflict. One important difference between Hisajo's life and that of most male haiku writers was that, as a housewife before the introduction of labour-saving devices, she did a great deal of physical work. By incorporating references to domestic activity this work emphasized embodiment. Hisajo's haiku portraits of children were also innovative. They are in the front of a trend that saw interest in childhood increase among Japanese writers.

Chapter Seven, **Psychological Self-Portraiture**, addresses the direct expression of emotion and social reflection and present in Hisajo's work. These elements are in considerable tension with the *shasei* or "objective" approach required by Kyoshi. Two of her most important haiku, the Hanagoromo Haiku and the Nora Haiku, are analysed at length and their significance in her oeuvre is discussed. I also address the question of female "narcissism" in twentieth century Japanese literary criticism and as a driver for female, Japanese writers like Hisajo.

Chapter Eight, **Second Period Haiku Sequences**, presents five full and one partial sequence which together comprise some of Hisajo's most innovative work. By the 1930s, haiku sequences were being heavily promoted by Kyoshi's rivals in response to his emphasis on the value of the uncontexted single haiku and his proscription of subject matter that dealt with serious issues, conflict or "human affairs." Hisajo's insistence on writing sequences in the face of Kyoshi's opposition may have helped place her on a collision course with him. The chapter argues that Hisajo's heavy use of esoteric vocabulary and allusions to earlier texts in her second period

probably have several motives, including a desire to express pressing anxieties about femininity and war in a coded manner.

The **Conclusion** returns to the thesis questions and makes an evaluation of Hisajo's work in the context of a summary of the changes that affected how haiku was written from the late nineteenth century into the early Showa era. In particular, it summarizes the enabling and the disenabling constraints that impinged upon Hisajo's compositional choices. After making some suggestions for future scholarship, I return to the question of English-language haiku and how the findings of the thesis might be useful for English-language haiku poets.

CHAPTER ONE: THE HISAJO LEGEND AND HISAJO'S LIFE

In the first years of the 1930s, when Hisajo was in her second period, her resurgence as a writer seemed to go from strength to strength. In 1931 she won a major haiku prize[1] and, while widening her activities in support of women's haiku, from that point onward received various accolades. From 1934 she began to petition Kyoshi for help in publishing a collection of her haiku.[2] On the basis of precedent she must have expected his support,[3] but although he continued to promote her as a star in his magazine, behind the scenes Kyoshi was evasive and uncooperative.[4] When, in 1936, he expelled her from his *kessha*, it was a shocking, unprecedented act.[5]

Yoshioka Zenjidō (1889 – 1961) and Hino Sōjō (1901 – 1956), who were expelled at the same time, were expelled for completely obvious reasons. Both were New Haiku partisans. Hisajo, however, had never publically questioned Kyoshi in the way they had done, so her expulsion was the more humiliating. It also had more extreme consequences. Since she continued to profess loyalty to Hototogisu and would join no other group, it became increasingly difficult for her to publish her work. So recently a star, she became a figure of curiosity among other haiku poets, no matter their allegiance.[6] Not one of them attended her funeral in 1946.[7] When, after considerable effort, her older daughter, Ishi Masako, managed finally to secure the publication of a collection of Hisajo's haiku, Kyoshi's obligatory preface contained a number of personal slurs against Hisajo's character.[8] It was the first move in what would later become to be known as the Hisajo Legend

---

[1] Ishi, Masako. "Nenpu: Sugita Hisajo [A Literary Timeline for Sugita Hisajo]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako, 236 - 58. (Tokyo: Bungei Bunko, 2007), 247.
[2] Ishi. "Nenpu," 250.
[3] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin* [Sugita Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 145.
[4] In Takahama Kyoshi. "Kuniko no Tegami [Kuniko's Letters]." In *Tsubakiko Monogatari [The Tale of Tsubakiko]*, 96 - 144. Tokyo: Chuokōronsha, 1951), 97, he writes he threw the 230 letters sent to him from 1934 – the time he began to think she was "strange" – into a desk drawer, apparently unanswered.
[5] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*,173.
[6] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 175.
[7] Ishi Masako. "Atogaki [Afterword]." In *Sugita Hisajo Kushū [Sugita Hisajo Collected Haiku]*. Edited by Ishi Masako, 315 - 25. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1969), 321.
[8] Yumoto Akiko. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai [The World of the Haiku Poet, Sugita Hisajo]*. (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 1999), 309.

(*Hisajo Densetsu*), a fabricated version of Hisajo's life and personality calculated to arouse aversion and destroy her reputation. It has been systematically exposed by critics since 1978. In fact, explaining the Hisajo Legend has been a major theme of all the critical work written about her since that time.

For a writer to have the publication of her work blocked, for her to have her reputation posthumously distorted by a misinformation campaign and then finally for her to have much of the critical effort devoted to her work spent on salvaging her personal (as opposed to literary) reputation is extraordinary. Hisajo's legacy was thus placed under some of the most egregious negative constraints possible. To explain how this series of events could have taken place and to explore what they say about Hototogisu haiku are two central concerns of this chapter and the next. Chapter One analyses the complex role of biography in the reading of the haiku written from the mid-1890s. It then offers a sketch of Hisajo Legend and its exposure, concluding with a brief account of Hisajo's life and a corrective impression of her personality. Chapter Two investigates the changes in the nature of *haikai*, and of its institutions, and how these changes placed Hisajo in such a position that she could be treated as she was.

BIOGRAPHY AND HAIKU

Beginning with the New Criticism in the 1940s, different schools of literary criticism radically have rejected the idea that biographical information can be useful to a reader. However, to approach Hisajo's haiku as a closed system and look only for internal patterns would be to limit interpretation and ignore how this work was read by her contemporaries. Haiku, as it developed under the influence of Masaoka Shiki and then Kyoshi, was influenced by two rather contradictory views about the permeable relationship between writers and their work. The first of these, and the one most closely associated with Shiki, can be loosely designated individualistic. The second, which drew on a long established "common sense" and is associated with Kyoshi, is broadly Neo-Confucian. Both affected Hisajo's attitude to her writing and her reception.

Individualism, in the sense of the valorisation of the self and its unique experiences, emerged in Japanese literature in the Meiji era and continued through the period during which Hisajo was active. Just as it had earlier been a rational response to social change in Europe and America, a new focus on the self was a rational response to the instability of projected life plans that ensued as the feudal society of Tokugawa Japan was transformed into a modern nation state. It was also mediated, for elite students, by access to a very large range of Western thought. In her autobiography the prominent feminist, Hiratsuka Raichō (1886 – 1971), who attended the same school as Hisajo, mentions that she read Descartes, Comte, William James, Spinoza, Meister Eckhart, Hegel, Renan, Milton, Bunyan, Ibsen, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Andersen, Goethe, Dickens, Tennyson and Dostoevsky during her school days.[9]

As will be explored in far more detail later, Shiki's poetics were in part shaped by the values of realist Western literary criticism via Tsubouchi Shōyō's (1859 – 1935) influential *Shōsetsu Shinzui [The Essence of the Novel]*.[10] On that basis, Shiki rejected writing designed to display erudition and sophisticated taste, arguing instead that it should be a response to the actual environment and real events. He stressed that haiku should aim at beauty, provoke complex feelings and allow the reader to access the writer's inner life by presenting objectively recorded vignettes of his (or her) world. Shiki's own readers were particularly moved by their knowledge of his bed-ridden struggle with tuberculosis which provided an often unspoken background for his haiku. Since a strongly biographical orientation became the rule, Hisajo's haiku were similarly oriented to the poet's actual experience. As Leith Morton states*:*

[9] Hiratsuka Raichō. *In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun: The Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist*. Translated by Teruko Craig. (New York Columbia University Press, 2006).
[10] Beichman, Janine. *Masaoka Shiki His Life and Works*. (Boston and Worcester Cheng & Tsui Company, 2002), 13 – 14.

> The association between haiku and autobiographical themes seems inescapable given the brevity of the form and the close association of the genre with the life journey of many poets.[11]

When the writer's experience forms the ground against which his or her work is projected, ignoring data about the local context and the wider circumstances of composition necessarily obscures qualities like irony, protest, resignation and pathos if they are present.

From the late nineteenth century, the use of literature as a window into the personal experience of a Japanese author was not limited to haiku. Indeed, what comprised the ground and what comprised the figure was not stable in this work/life dialectic. Discussing the I-novel (*shishōsetsu*), a confessional genre that became the most prestigious form of Japanese literature from the first decade of the twentieth century, Fowler makes the important point:

> The Japanese as readers of *shishōsetsu* have tended to regard the author's life, and not the written work, as the definitive "text" on which critical judgement ultimately rests and to see the work as meaningful only insofar as it illuminates the life.[12]

However, it would be a mistake to see this author focus entirely from the point of view of a cast of mind encouraged by rapid change and individualism. In fact, Western-influenced individualism could be seen as a liability, particularly once the 1890s saw a reassertion of cultural nationalism. With the Meiji Constitution promulgated in 1889, the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, to which Shiki had belonged as a young man,[13] lost its urgency. The oligarchs who had been threatened by the demands for democracy expressed by that movement, successfully reasserted more authoritarian values, stifling the once flourishing associations for the popular discussion of

---

[11] L. Morton. "Japan, Poetry of." In *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth Edition* , edited by Stephen Cushman, Clare Cavanagh, Jahan Ramazani and Paul Rouze. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 752.
[12] Edward Fowler. *The Rhetoric of Confessions: Shishōsetsu in Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Fiction*. (Berkley: University of California Press, 1988), xvii.
[13] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 7.

political matters.[14] Thus, as Kyoshi matured the temper of the times was much more conservative than it had been.

This conservatism looked back to Confucianism, a moral system aiming at public and political order by observing the Five Human Relationships, all but one of which was hierarchical in nature.[15] Established in Japan by the Asuka period (538 – 710), Confucianism had ramified widely and had profoundly influenced "common sense," so that even the Japanese nationalism of today has been characterized as a distinctively Confucian-influenced form of nationalism.[16] Significantly for Hisajo, Confucianism places women in a markedly inferior position, subordinate to father, husband, or son and emphasizes their place in the home. The Education Rescript which was issued in 1890, the year Hisajo was born, stressed the importance of teaching Confucian precepts in contrast to Western values[17] and – despite an apparently ambiguous shift in phrasing – maintained the subordination of women.[18]

Confucianism of all types values poetry highly,[19] but quite differently from the way it was valued by the writers, influenced by realism and naturalism who pioneered the modern Japanese novel. For it, poetry was understood not as an expression of the flawed, but distinctive, individual but as the achievement of an exemplary one. Kyoshi's haiku criticism increasingly approximated the Neo-Confucianism of the Zhu Xi School, which had been the orthodox school throughout the Tokugawa period (1603 - 1868) and remained influential.[20] The Zhu Xi School viewed true poetry

---

[14] Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 51.
[15] Mikiso Hane. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*. 3rd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 29.
[16] Nicole L. Freiner. *The Social and Gender Politics of Confucian Nationalism: Women and the Japanese Nation-State*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012),33.
[17] Marius B. Jansen. *The Making of Modern Japan*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 410.
[18] Sumiko Sekiguchi. "Confucian Morals and the Making of a 'Good Wife and Wise Mother"' From 'Between Husband and Wife there is a Distinction' to 'As Husbands and Wives be Harmonious.'" Translated by Michael Burtscher. *Social Science Journal* 13 no 1 (2010), 110 – 111.
[19] Helen Craig McCullough. Introduction. *Tales of Ise*. (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1968), 17.
[20] Willem Boot. "Confucianism in the Early Tokugawa Period." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition Second Edition* edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 29 - 82. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 43.

as the result of spiritual growth and the poet harmonizing his (or her) inner essence with the inner essence of the universe. In "A Treatise on *Jen*" (humanity) Zhu Xi stated that the 'moral qualities in the mind of Heaven and Earth are four' and 'constitute the course of the four seasons.' These have their parallel in the four 'moral qualities' in the 'mind of man.'[21] By adjusting to the fluctuations, or yin and yang of seasonal change, the poet could achieve 'humaneness' and overcome 'all selfishness and partiality,'[22] and become a sage whose influence was beneficent and whose example was to be emulated. It was the role that Kyoshi claimed for himself.

Any haiku which captured the sincere, virtuous human being's attuned response to seasonal phenomena must resonate in the same way for all educated, morally developed readers. An important implication of this view was that individual differences were a sign of individual deficits. Each exemplary human being would be like every other. Since not all would have reached the same degree of enlightenment, poets could, theoretically, be ranked according to their degree of sensitivity. Even though this understanding of poetry's function was incompatible with individualism's celebration of uniqueness and diversity, Confucian striving for spiritual development was easy to conflate individualism for the people of Hisajo's generation.

The Confucian view of poetry's power to both develop and reveal a person's worth had profound political implications. Bourdieu has written of the power of critics as 'producers of meaning and value of the work' who 'produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such.'[23] In his role as a poet-sage, Kyoshi was particularly well-positioned to supply the single, fully valid interpretation of any poem.

In the pages of *Hototogisu* and elsewhere, the haiku that were considered the most insightful received an Appreciation (*kanshō*), a standard form of haiku review in which a single haiku is

---

[21] Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi). "A Treatise on *Jen*." In *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Wing-Tsit Chan, 593 - 97. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 594.
[22] Willem Boot. "Confucianism in the Early Tokugawa Period," 42.
[23] Pierre Bourdieu. *The Field of Cultural Production : Essays on Art and Literature*. (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1993), 37.

discussed at length. They might be written by Kyoshi or by other high-ranking Hototogisu poets. Apart from information about word meanings and allusions, Appreciations are often little more than a paraphrase of the haiku followed by a personal response. However, since haiku are brief and use parataxis, they encourage a reading strategy of filling in the gaps. Therefore Appreciations sometimes contain a wealth of extra details supplied by the reviewer in the full confidence that he (or she), as a fellow poet equally attuned to the truths of the universe, has completely understood the writer's feelings and experience. This epistemological position was a given. Even the free-style haiku poet, Ogiwara Seisensui (1884 – 1976), one of Kyoshi's key rivals, was impatient with 'incorrect readings'[24] of what were unmistakably ambiguous poems. Some of the Appreciations Kyoshi wrote for Hisajo's haiku will be discussed later in the thesis. Needless to say, they can be very misleading.

Since the poet-sage was expected to have insight into the successes and the failures of others, his judgements could be devastating. The contrast between Kyoshi's claim for his own spiritual achievements and the version of Hisajo constructed by the Hisajo Legend could not have been greater. By presenting Hisajo as an inversion of the Confucian notion of poet-as-exemplar-of-virtue, Kyoshi and his circle ensured any Hototogisu member reading her in the first decades after her death was likely to do so with great caution.

THE HISAJO LEGEND

The Hisajo Legend paints Hisajo as schizophrenic, narcissistic, competitive, sexually predatory, obsessively demanding of Kyoshi's attention, jealous of all other female haiku poets and inclined to public fits of anger. Such a perfect representation of conventionally abhorred womanhood was almost certain to be mythical. For a time, this propaganda was exceptionally effective. Masuda Ren's 1978 survey of the biographical information about her supplied in the major anthologies and

[24] Makoto Ueda. *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 315 – 317.

dictionaries devoted to haiku found Hisajo was consistently portrayed using language drawn directly from Hisajo Legend texts.[25]

As far as the facts are concerned, it is certain that Hisajo was outspoken and unconventional. She did have some close friendships with male writers, but the rumours that these were predatory, romantic affairs seem to have been quite unfounded. She also suffered from depression and sometimes behaved very erratically. Her "symptoms" grew worse in the face of the air-raids that from mid-1944 she was forced to endure alone due to her husband's war duties.[26] In 1945 she was forcibly admitted[27] to a psychiatric ward where she died, probably of complications associated with malnutrition. The fact that the attribution of mental health issues or unsubstantiated gossip about romantic affairs could persuade readers to shun Hisajo reveals the particular conservatism of the haiku community. The sexually adventurous novelist Okamoto Kanoko (1889 – 1939), who was born in the same year as Hisajo, required hospitalization for a breakdown in 1913, but that did not destroy her reputation.[28]

For reasons of space, only the key texts that contributed to the Hisajo Legend can be noted here. The first was an essay, "Haka ni Mairitai to Omotte oru [Graves I Should Like to Visit]" that Kyoshi wrote in1947. In it he ambiguously praises Hisajo's 'genius,' while calling her 'aberrant' and repeating – three times – that she was 'hard to handle.'[29] Kyoshi's 'novel' *Kuniko no Tegami [Kuniko's Letters]*[30] appeared in the following year, his preface to the first edition of Hisajo's *Collected Haiku* which, under the cover of some self-depreciatory remarks, again attacks Hisajo's credibility, in 1949. As the critical biographer, Sakamoto Miyao, points out these publications

[25] Masuda Ren. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto [Notes on Sugita Hisajo]*. (Kitakyushu: Urayama Shobo, 1978), 227 – 228.
[26] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 259 – 261.
[27] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 264.
[28] Kazuko Sugisaki. "A Writer's Life: A Biographical Sketch." In *The Spirit House and Other Stories*, 7 - 30. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1995.
[29] quoted in Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 309.
[30] Takahama Kyoshi. "Kuniko no Tegami [Kuniko's Letters]." In *Tsubakiko Monogatari [the Tale of Tsubakiko]*, 96 - 144. Tokyo: Chuokōronsha, 1951. (Kuniko was the name he gave to Hisajo; he called Ishi Masako, Machiko.)

were probably intended to scotch any questions about Kyoshi's expulsion of Hisajo from Hototogisu as might have arisen after her tragic death – particularly once a collection of her haiku was published.[31]

Of the three, *Kuniko no Tegami* is the most extensive and perhaps the most damaging. It contains the first suggestion that Hisajo suffered from schizophrenia and seeks to undermine her reputation through his own observations, and by quotation. Immediately on hearing of Hisajo's death, Kyoshi had sought and received the permission of Hisajo's older daughter, Masako Ishi, to publish some of her own and her mother's correspondence with him, and this "novel" is comprised in large part of these letters. Damagingly, in the very first stage of her grief, Ishi had written of Hisajo's 'depression', 'schizophrenia' and 'hysteria' and of her own feelings of anger and hatred towards her mother.[32]

Hisajo's letters in *Kuniko no Tegami* do convey the impression of a highly erratic, self-important personality, over-dependent on Kyoshi and jealous of the other female haiku poets he praised. At times, they offer evidence that she challenged him in ways most would have found extreme. For instance, in one Kyoshi is accused of being a 'calculating old king' who is 'not the god of art.'[33] As Yumoto says, since no originals survive, and particularly as Kyoshi claimed the writing was illegible in places, there is no knowing what he edited in or out.[34] Ishi maintains that Kyoshi made similar claims of illegibility about her mother's haiku manuscript, even though he had never seen the original, since she had sent him a transcription instead.[35]

Another novel that explicitly fictionalized Hisajo's life and motivations, *Kikumakura – Nuijo Ryakureki [Crysanthemum Pillow – A Brief record of Nuijo's Career]* by the Akutagawa Prize winner, Matsumoto Seichō (1909 – 1992) was published in1953. Seichō was a native of Kokura

[31] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 219.
[32] Takahama."Kuniko no Tegami [Kuniko's Letters]," 102.
[33] Takahama."Kuniko no Tegami [Kuniko's Letters]," 133.
[34] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 323.
[35] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 333 – 334.

where Hisajo lived most of her adult life. Based loosely around the fact that Hisajo had made a chrysanthemum pillow for Kyoshi for his sixtieth birthday, this novel contains, on the one hand, extensive plagiarism from her essays and, on the other, a great deal of fantasy. It presented Hisajo as erotically obsessed with Kyoshi and cast such a slur on her character and intelligence that Ishi's husband, Ichiro, wrote letters to both *Tokyo Shinbun* and *Nishi Nihon Shinbun* in protest.[36] Seichō's contradictory response was that the work raised nothing scandalous not already put into the public arena by Kyoshi, was meticulously researched, and a work of fiction. Apparently, Kyoshi's response, when he read the novel was one of simple delight.[37]

Hashimoto Takako (1899 – 1963), who had been closely mentored by Hisajo at the beginning of her career, and who in many ways succeeded her as the most passionate and experimental female haiku poet of her generation, wrote a short article for the non-aligned haiku magazine, *Haiku Kenkyū [Haiku Studies]*, repeating the gossip that circulated around Kokura about Hisajo, including that a number of men who had been associated with her had died unexpectedly. Takako claims that Hisajo was romantically linked with the haiku poet, Ōta Ryūkin, who had first encouraged Hisajo to join the Methodist church. Ryūkin was the paediatrician who treated both Hisajo's and Takako's children. It seems the fact that Hisajo developed a close friendship with Ryūkin was instrumental in disrupting the relationship between the two women.[38]

Yoshiya Nobuko (1896 – 1963) a popular novelist and founder of *shōjo* (adolescent girl) culture,[39] also contributed to the Hisajo Legend when in 1963 she wrote *Watashi no Minakatta Hito [People I Never Saw]*. Yoshiya received personal haiku instruction from Kyoshi and was a friend of Tatsuko, and so is thought to have received her information about Hisajo from them. She included anecdotes which, if true, would have further diminished any lingering sympathy for Hisajo. For

[36] Teraoka Aoi. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byoseki - Tsukareta Densetsu [The Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo's Pathography - a Manufactured Legend.] (*Kumamoto: Kumamoto Shuppan Bunka Kaikan, 2005), 46.
[37] Aki Hirota. "Manufacturing the Mad Woman: The Case of Poet Sugita Hisajo." *US-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 36 (2009): 12 – 41, 32.
[38] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto,* 110 – 112.
[39] Sarah Frederick. "Not That Innocent: Yoshiya Nobuko's Good Girls." In *Bad Girls of Japan*, edited by Laura Miller and Jan Bardsley, 65 - 79. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 67

instance, she is the first to assert that Hisajo reacted with hostility to the first issue of Tastuko's literary journal for women haiku poets, *Tamamo*. However, Masuda shows Yoshiya's story to be highly unlikely.[40]

A scandalous incident associated with the Hisajo Legend was the disappearance of Hisajo's medical file from Chikushi Sanatorium where she died. Kyoshi supposedly used material from it as evidence for his claim that Hisajo suffered from schizophrenia in *Kuniko no Tegami*, and Matsumoto Seichō claims to have consulted it for his novel. It was also claimed as an unflattering source for a 1955 essay, "Dokugo, Dokushō suru Hisajo [Hisajo Talking and Laughing to Herself]" by Yokoyama Fusako, the wife of the doctor who most probably removed the file in the first place.[41]

The five key writers who have exposed the Hisajo Legend have already been informally introduced. Their contributions are summarized here. Masuda Ren's biography, published in 1978, did much of the groundwork and its general conclusions are not challenged by later writers. [42] It was based on interviews as well as thorough investigation of all the documents available to him, and was intended to restore Hisajo's name. Masuda showed how the Hisajo Legend writers plagiarized Hisajo's own memoirs to create a distorted picture of her that served their purposes. Tanabe Seiko's lengthy critical biography was first published four years later.[43] This author, a very popular feminist novelist, drew attention to Hisajo as Masuda's book was unable to do. Where Masuda had concentrated on putting the biographical record straight, Tanabe was also interested in creating a vivid and at times dramatized account. She evaluates Hisajo's haiku and supplies generous haiku *furigana* glosses of the more obscure vocabulary Hisajo uses. The journalist and poet Yumoto's critical biography based on thorough archival research at schools, local

[40] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto,* 189.
[41] Hirota. "Manufacturing the Mad Woman," 31.
[42] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto*.
[43] Tanabe. *Hanagoromo Nugu.*

government offices and such like, provides a useful supplement.[44] Yumoto also tracked down and interviewed the last survivors to have known Hisajo. At the same time, she provided readings of many of Hisajo's haiku, placing them in the context of the current events and concerns of the day.

The English literature academic Sakamoto Miyao's critical biography, first published in 2003, was revised in 2008.[45] To make up for the difficulty of obtaining Hisajo's *Collected Haiku* Sakamoto gives many close readings of haiku, this time informed by her skills as a literary scholar. She is the only Hisajo expert to have done extensive work on Hisajo's manuscript and notes some errors in the published versions of Hisajo's haiku. She also makes use of Hisajo's hand-written commentary. This and other publications by Sakamoto have traced many of the links between the poems of Hisajo's second period with the history and legends of the ancient country of Chikushi, in northern Kyushu, and have matched Hisajo's haiku of this sort with precursor poems in the ancient poetry anthology, the *Man'yōshū*. Sakamoto is less interested in the work of Hisajo's first period. Towards the end of her book, she speculates at length about the various explanations put forward for Kyoshi's maltreatment of Hisajo.

In 2005 the psychiatrist and poet, Teraoka Aoi wrote a study of Hisajo intended to challenge, from the point of view of an expert, the established belief that Hisajo had suffered from schizophrenia.[46] He presents a multi-pronged argument to the effect that Hisajo suffered from Hashimoto's Disease, a form of thyroiditis. It was Hashimoto's Disease, he claims that gave rise to the signs of depression, anxiety and irritability found in Hisajo's work. He, too, offers new readings of Hisajo's haiku, particularly in regard to the influence of precursor poems.

Ishi Masako (1911 – 2007), Hisajo's older daughter was the driving force behind the publication of the three editions of Hisajo's haiku collection (of which I am using the final most expanded version), two different editions of Hisajo's prose writings, a facsimile editions of all five issues of

[44] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*.
[45] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo.*
[46] Teraoka. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byōseki*.

Hisajo's haiku magazine, *Hanagoromo*, as well as examples of her calligraphy and paintings. In some cases, the publication of documents related to Hisajo was produced at Ishi's own cost in only short print runs.[47] Ishi also published a biographical and literary timeline and an afterword to the *Collected Haiku* including at points her own description of the nature of her parents' marriage and aspects of her mother's character. Ishi initially shared her mother's respect for Kyoshi and even studied under Kyoshi and Tatsuko but she gradually became a fierce opponent of the Hisajo Legend.[48]

All these writers have devoted the considerable time and energy necessary to produce their books out of a conviction of the importance and beauty of Hisajo's best work. Concerned for Hisajo's rehabilitation, it has been hard for them to systematically investigate the techniques Hisajo used or subject matter she helped pioneer in her haiku. They make minimum comparison with contemporary, earlier or later haiku by either women or men. Only Sakamoto attempts a careful, scholarly evaluation.

No records that reveal Kyoshi's motivation for his treatment of Hisajo have been found, but various hypotheses have been put forward. It is possible he had been threatened by the success of Hisajo's magazine, *Hanagoromo*, which had rapidly eclipsed a similar women's haiku only production, *Tamamo [Beautiful Seagrass]*, edited by his daughter, Hoshino Tatsuko (1903 – 1984) with a great deal of support from Kyoshi himself.[49] It is possible that he believed Hisajo was sympathetic to the work and poetics of his bitter rivals and was in danger of leaving Hototogisu herself.[50] It seems that she had caused him to lose face before his old mentor the prominent newspaper editor Tokutomi Sohō (1863 – 1957).[51] Perhaps she showed him and his family

[47] They are difficult to access and I have not been able to refer to them directly.
[48] Yachimoto, Eiko. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 7 Hisajo's Last Challenge." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 5, no. 6 (2010): 1–15, 6 – 7.
[49] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto,* 188.
[50] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 251.
[51] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 242.

insufficient deference,[52] and perhaps he disliked her intense, needy yet frank personality.[53] While all of the above may also be pertinent, my view is that it is likely that Kyoshi attacked Hisajo in the hope that a display of ruthlessness would consolidate his *kessha* behind him and slow the haemorrhage, taking place just at that time, of its members to the new, experimental and hostile New (*Shinkō*) Haiku camp. As Hisajo lacked a male backer, Kyoshi would have been confident he could scapegoat her with impunity.

The body of writing in English touching upon Hisajo is very small. Nevertheless, the fact that it exists at all is surprising. Relatively few translations or critical discussions of either Shiki's or Kyoshi's work are as yet available in English, even though both are important figures, not just for haiku but for modern Japanese literature in general. Hisajo is the only female haiku poet whose work is directly quoted by Donald Keene in *Dawn to the West*.[54] Unfortunately, he repeats a version of the Hisajo Legend, as does Makoto Ueda in his brief biographical note for Hisajo in *Beyond the Field*. By contrast, the only article in English on Hisajo appearing in an academic journal is Aki Hirota's, "Manufacturing the Mad Woman: The Case of Poet Sugita Hisajo," which effectively synthesizes, at much greater length than is possible here, the work of the writers who have done most to expose the Legend. Nevertheless, Hirota too is primarily concerned with the issue of Hisajo's victimization and, rather than consider her poetry in any depth, she concludes:

> The tragedy of Hisajo and her daughter Masako was that neither woman dreamed of rebelling against the master who stood at the apex of the pyramidal structure of the art world of traditional Japan…The story of Hisajo and her daughter deserves to be told because it sheds light on the position assigned to women, which women themselves often blindly accept.[55]

[52] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 160.
[53] Tanabe. *Hanagoromo Nugu*, 34 – 35.
[54] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 134 – 135.
[55] Aki Hirota. "Manufacturing the Mad Woman", 36.

Hirota appears to underrate the consequences of the risks Hisajo did take and gives the impression that she thinks Hisajo should not have 'returned to her husband'[56] after her request for a divorce was greeted with hostility, even though such a move would have meant the loss of all contact with her daughters. This thesis will show that Hisajo certainly did not bow blindly to Kyoshi's authority. Hirota also censures Hisajo's expressed belief that 'women's haiku should be different from men's,'[57] a point that will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

Between 2008 and 2011 the poet Eiko Yachimoto published a series of articles in the online journal *Sketchbook* about Hisajo. They include a generous number of translations of Hisajo's work. These articles are deeply informed by the same body of research to which Hirota refers, and present an unpretentious personal account of Yachimoto's deep engagement with Hisajo's work and life. As a *renku* – or modern day *haikai no renga* – enthusiast herself, Yachimoto harbours some doubts about the viability of haiku due to its brevity. She sees Hisajo reaching towards something larger than its 5-7-5 format. Yachimoto's celebration of Hisajo's sequences has had a powerful influence on my own reading of her work. She also alerted me to the similarities between of Hototogisu *kessha* and, although she does not refer to them as such, the hierarchical, hereditary arts organizations known as Iemoto Schools.[58]

If Shiki's haiku is the more meaningful because it offers readers insight into how he dealt with his long experience of dying, Hisajo's haiku is more meaningfully read in the knowledge of the contradictions she felt between her aspirations and her circumstances including the difficulties that plagued her marriage. It is therefore essential that this thesis offer a brief sketch of her life and her main concerns and a glimpse of a less distorted version of her personality.

HISAJO'S LIFE

[56] Hirota. "Manufacturing the Mad Woman," 16.
[57] Hirota. "Manufacturing the Mad Woman," 16.
[58] Yachimoto. "Hisajo's Last Challenge," 8.

Much of what is known particularly of Hisajo's early life comes from her memoirs and is accepted as correct by Hisajo scholars. As there are no other records, what distortion is present in her own accounts cannot be corrected by other sources. Internal evidence suggests that Hisajo idealized both her parents. Her father was, certainly, a most successful man. Originally from Matsumoto, he had become a public servant and was posted to Kagoshima just before the Seinan War of 1877. From there her was transferred to Naha in Okinawa, in 1896, and finally to the newly acquired colony of Taiwan, in 1898. He finished his working life as an administrative officer in the Imperial Household, Peers School, where the children of the Imperial family and other members of the top elite were educated. Thus, Hisajo was brought up as a member of the new privileged class of bureaucrats and as such was expected to be highly accomplished. Her skill at both painting and calligraphy has been much commented upon.[59] Her early training was an advantage for a haiku poet, particularly as the observationally-based *shasei* style composition pioneered by Shiki was strongly inspired by fine art.

The theme of centre and periphery is an important one in this thesis and is discussed at length in Chapter Three. Raised outside the Japanese mainland, Hisajo always seems to have felt she was something of an outsider. That identity may have encouraged some unconformity and may even have been important in her persistence with the "masculine" genre of haiku. However, her childhood in Okinawa and Taiwan places her as less of an outlier in the haiku community than might have been expected. In Makoto Ueda's *Modern Anthology of Japanese Haiku*, twenty highly regarded poets – from Shiki to Kaneko Tōta (1919 -) – appear, each with a short biographical sketch. Of these, Hino Sōjō (1901 – 1956) spent his childhood in Korea, Yamaguchi Seishi spent his on the island of Sakhalin, Tōta lived for two years in Shanghai as a child, Nakamura Kusatao (1901 – 1983) was born the son of a diplomat in Fujian Province in China, but had returned to Japan by the age of three, and Saitō Sanki (1900 – 1962) worked for some years

[59] The most comprehensive collection of her paintings and calligraphy I have had access to are in: Nakanishi Yukiko, Take Mireiko, and Imakawa Eiko eds. "Hanagoromo Haijin Sugita Hisajo [Cherry-Viewing Kimono: The Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo]." (Kitakyushu Shiritsu Bungakukan. Kitakyushu: Kitakyushu Shiritsu Bungakukan, 2011).

after graduation as a dentist in Singapore. Although some of these more cosmopolitan haiku poets joined Hototogisu and were greatly praised by Kyoshi, none remained a loyal member of his *kessha* for their entire career.

On the other hand, nine of Ueda's representative poets had strong links to the capital and five to Shiki's and Kyoshi's birthplace, Matsuyama. This placed them firmly in the centre of the action. After her marriage Hisajo moved to Kokura, a steel producing city in north Kyushu with a strong army presence.[60] As a wife, she had no choice about living in a comparatively provincial area. When her mother moved back to her hometown in north Hyogo Prefecture after losing her home in Tokyo during the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923,[61] Hisajo could no longer stay with her in the capital. Thus, she had even more restricted access to the centre of national cultural life. Although Hisajo did belong to a local haiku group for some years, writing haiku had even less of a face-to-face component for her than it did for those female members of Hototogisu living in Tokyo. An extra layer of alienation from her local haiku community may have been introduced by the fact that the haiku poets Hisajo knew in Kokura were 'mostly very rich people.'[62]

Hisajo portrays her parents as relatively open-minded and outward-looking. For instance, they expressed outrage when Japanese treated Taiwanese with disrespect or cruelty[63] Apparently, Hisajo was allowed to mix freely with the local people in Okinawa and learnt the dialect there[64] and she became fond of Chinese food.[65] Perhaps for safety reasons, her life was more restricted in

---

[60] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 69.
[61] Sugita Hisajo. "Izushi Made [As Far as Izushi]" In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 95 - 103. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1924/2007), 97.
[62] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 5 Hisajo's Haiku in the Taisho Period (1917 - 1926)." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 4, no. 4 (2009): 1 - 13, 8.
[63] Sugita Hisajo. "Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito [The People who Live by the Longan Tree]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo],* edited by Ishi Masako. 70 - 91. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1920/2007), 76; 89.
[64] Sugita Hisajo. "Minami no Shima no Omoide [Memories of Southern Islands]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo],* edited by Ishi Masako. 48 - 57. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1918/2007), 52
[65] Sugita. "Minami no Shima no Omoide," 51.

Taiwan. However, accompanying her mother on visits to Chinese homes in the community allowed her some contact outside the small circle of Japanese expatriates there.[66]

Nevertheless, Hisajo's life in Taiwan seems to have been lonely and isolated much of the time. Even as a small child in Okinawa she had suffered from episodes of acute anxiety.[67] In Taiwan, things were more frightening. The Japanese take-over of the island was resisted by a determined insurgency and the indigenous population was subjected to 'genocidal five-year pacification campaigns'[68] and ongoing abuse of the Taiwanese persisted in some quarters.[69] Japanese expatriates were exposed to some corresponding danger and when Hisajo's father travelled away from home he had to be protected by bodyguards. The death of her sickly but much loved brother was probably hastened by the speed with which the family had to travel to reach safety when they first arrived on the island.[70] This death plunged the family into deep gloom.[71] Hisajo and her sister attended a tiny school exclusively for the children of the Japanese elite,[72] but at school she preferred be alone.[73] At home she seems to have played a great deal – they made puppet plays together – with the Japanese speaking houseboy. She became closely attached to him and was very much saddened when he was injured and had to return home.[74]

Hisajo developed the sort of sensitivity to natural phenomena that would be helpful for a *shasei*-style handling of *kigo* while she was still a child. In Taiwan, her father grew rare tropical plants in their garden, and she eagerly helped him.[75] Her mother worked all her life as an ikebana teacher, reaching the high position of Kansai Iemoto Dairi (representative of the head teacher in the Kansai

---

[66] Sugita. "Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito," 87.
[67] Sugita. "Minami no Shima no Omoide," 56.
[68] Sugita. "Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito," 81.
[69] Robert Thomas Tierney. *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 8.
[70] Sugita Hisajo. "Fukuro Naku [Owl Cry]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 58 - 69. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1918/2007), 62.
[71] Sugita. "Fukuro naku," 67.
[72] Sugita. "Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito," 79.
[73] Sugita. "Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito," 79.
[74] Sugita. "Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito," 89.
[75] Sugita. "Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito," 73.

area) of the Ryūsei branch of Ikenobō School,[76] the school of flower arrangement with the longest history in Japan. Since Hisajo was close to her mother as well as to her father, it is probable her professional interest in flowers, including their symbolic meanings, would have also encouraged in Hisajo a love of plants and cultural knowledge about them.

Although it paled beside what was offered at Tokyo University where many of the top male haiku poets had studied, Hisajo's secondary education was among the best offered to women in Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1903, when she entered the government-run Tokyo Women's Normal School, usually known as Ochanomizu,[77] only 1.2 % of girls in Japan attended a higher school.[78] Although a great deal of the curriculum was devoted to the domestic sciences and Western accomplishments, Ochanomizu educated a number of influential intellectual women. Hisajo must have known the feminist Hiratsuka Raichō, if only by sight, and her youthful aspirations, including a love marriage to a Western style painter – Hiratsuka's life partner, Okumura Hiroshi, was a painter[79] – may well have been influenced by the widening of horizons promoted by the Blue Stocking group Hiratsuka founded.

Hisajo's talents and unusual experiences meant that she could bring fresh eyes and new material to haiku. Her education ensured she had enough knowledge of traditional aesthetics to appreciate the *haikai* tradition, while at the same time she was acquainted with and interested in some of the more progressive ideas of her day. Her love of painting would be a significant advantage when it came to learning the *shasei* (sketch from life) style of composition. The personal constraints under which she wrote were, however, just as important as the advantages of her early experiences for the way her haiku was to develop.

---

[76] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 15.
[77] Ishi. "Nenpu," 237.
[78] Melanie Czarnecki. "Bad Girls from Good Families: The Degenerate Meiji Schoolgirl." In *Bad Girls of Japan*, edited by Laura Miller and Jan Bardsley, 49 - 63. (New York Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 50.
[79] Dina Lowy. *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity*. (London: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 70.

Hisajo's marriage in 1909, against the initial wishes of her family,[80] involved her in a descent from privilege to genteel poverty. That prospect would not have been easy to predict, since Udai[81] was the oldest son of wealthy landowners from Aichi Prefecture. However, he did not get on well with his father and seems to have been reluctant to accept family support. [82] As he was a graduate student majoring in Western painting when they met, Hisajo believed Udai would become a painter. When courting her, he had promised that she would be able to accompany him when he went to Europe for further studies, as was his plan.[83] Instead, he dropped out and took up a position as art teacher in the newly established Middle School in Kokura, where he continued to work devotedly for almost forty years.[84] Even though teaching appears to have been his only practical choice, in documents like her I-novel, *Kahan ni Sumite [Living by the River]*, Hisajo freely expressed her disappointment at Udai's abandonment of his art.[85] In fact, compared with many similarly placed women, Hisajo was lucky. She did not have to spend her life serving her father-in-law or mother-in-law 'as a virtual servant' as would have been the case if Udai had taken up the usual role of son and heir in his parents' house.[86]

Hisajo was introduced to haiku by her brother, a devoted member of Hototogisu whose pen name was Gessen, while he was staying with her in Kokura in 1916. Haiku composition was at the time still a very unusual activity for a woman. Gessen had brought many copies of *Hototogisu* and other haiku memorabilia with him to Kokura and was full of praise for Kyoshi.[87] Hisajo met her future mentor for the first time at a *kukai* (haiku meeting) in May 1917, while she was visiting Tokyo.[88] Exactly two years later, she met him again at another *kukai* in Shimonoseki and from that time

---

[80] Tanabe. *Hanagoromo Nugu*, 75.
[81] Hisajo's husband's given name is Romanized as Unai by some writers, including Eiko Yachimoto.
[82] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 52.
[83] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 19.
[84] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto,* 11.
[85] Yumoto . *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 82.
[86] Hane, Mikiso. *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*. 2nd ed. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2003), 69.
[87] Sugita Hisajo. "Kahan ni Sumite [Living by the River]." In *Sugita Hisajo to Hashimoto Takako: Futari no Bijin no Monogatari [Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako: A Tale of Two Beautiful Women]* edited by Katsuhiko Yamada. 70 - 106. (Tokyo: Bokuyōsha, 1988), 84.
[88] Ishi. "Nenpu," 240.

began to call him 'Kyoshi-*sensei'* (my teacher, Kyoshi) in her diary.[89] Most of her communication with him seems to have been by mail.[90]

Hisajo's introduction to haiku came at one of the hitherto busiest times of her life. Her older daughter was beginning school and her younger was a baby.[91] As some of her haiku from the time records, both children suffered from acute illnesses over that early period. The relative poverty of a household of four, existing on a teacher's salary, meant that Hisajo was extremely overworked and it may have been exhaustion that led to her first physical breakdown. As later essays show, she acutely felt the contradiction between her desire for time to write and the expectations placed upon women by the gender norms of the day.[92] Her personal experience of the physical and emotional costs involved in being a wife and mother, as well as her interest in what can be broadly construed as the feminism current among progressive women, must have contributed to Hisajo's commitment to supporting other female haiku poets.

Hisajo's progress as a haiku poet was extremely rapid. In 1919, less than three years after her first lessons from her brother, her Hanagoromo Haiku was awarded first prize ahead of many established – male – haiku poets at the 18th Haidankai. This haiku was then published with commentary from Kyoshi and others, taking up seventeen pages in *Hototogisu*, catapulting Hisajo to national prominence.[93] At the time, being featured in this way was an unprecedented honour for a woman.

---

[89] Ishi. "Nenpu," 241.
[90] See Kyoshi's account of the constant stream of letters and telegrams she sent him in Takahama "Kuniko no Tegami," 97.
[91] Ishi. "Nenpu," 239.
[92] Sugita Hisajo. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi wa Nahen ni? [Where Should Women's Haiku Go from Here?]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo],* edited by Ishi Masako.218 - 21. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1932/2007), 219 – 220.
[93] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 33.

Hisajo spent a year from the middle of 1920 separated from Udai in and out of hospital, with kidney disease.[94] While she was in Tokyo under her mother's care she made friends with a number of female poets in the Hototogisu circle.[95] The seriousness of her illness and her obvious marital unhappiness led her mother to approach Udai about a divorce.[96] Consistent with the law of the time,[97] he informed her that she would have no further contact with their children were she to proceed. Apparently that was not all. Masuda reports that Hisajo's older daughter told him that her father threatened to kill himself and the children and burn the house down if Hisajo did not return to him.[98] Finally, under pressure from her mother, Hisajo promised to reduce her involvement with haiku.[99] This experience of attempted divorce brought home to Hisajo the extent of her vulnerability. It was also a crisis from which the marriage, once close, never recovered. After a second serious bout of conflict with Udai, Hisajo made a more persistent attempt to stop writing haiku, and in search of another form of devotion, she joined the Methodist church.[100] However, when her two closest church friends left the town she gradually stopped attending.[101].

In 1922, a visit from Kyoshi to Kokura introduced Hisajo to Hashimoto Takako and until 1925 Hisajo tutored her in haiku.[102] During this largely fallow period Hisajo also visited and corresponded with Nakamura Teijo (1901 – 1983) of whom she seems to have been very fond.[103] Later Teijo, too, became a top female haiku poet. It is understandable, as seems likely, if Hisajo felt some jealousy towards these two women whose writing life was not constrained by marital tension.[104]

---

[94] Ishi. "Nenpu," 242.
[95] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 103.
[96] Ishi. "Nenpu," 242.
[97] Vera Mackie. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism 1900 - 1937*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) , 36.
[98] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto*, 96.
[99] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 109 – 110.
[100] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 110 – 111.
[101] Ishi. "Nenpu," 244 – 245.
[102] Ishi. "Nenpu," 244.
[103] Sugita Hisajo. "Aso no Funen o Toku Nagamete [Viewing the Smoke from Mt Aso in the Distance]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo],* edited by Ishi Masako. 128 - 135. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1929/2007).
[104] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 213.

Gradually, particularly after the shock caused by her sister's death in 1926, Hisajo began to take haiku more seriously again.[105] However, this period was a turbulent one within the haiku field. Kyoshi, who had been moving in an increasingly neo-classical direction, made a famous pronouncement insisting that 'haiku poets should deal with an event in life in the same manner as they should deal with bush warblers and plum blossoms…shallowly but pleasurably, lightly but tastefully.'[106] This position, which was accompanied by repeated praise at the expense of the once favoured Mizuhara Shūōshi (1892 – 1981), for the trivial and literalistic haiku of Takano Sujū (1893 – 1973).[107] Shūōshi had been a leader in the Tokyo University haiku club.[108] When Kyoshi alienated him, he alienated a group of the most promising young Hototogisu poets, some of whom had progressive political positions.[109] Shūōshi split with Hototogisu and from then on there was implacable hostility between Kyoshi and the New (*Shinkō*) Haiku poets.

Hisajo, like Shūōshi and his faction, had been nurtured in a more individualistic style within a more open-minded Hototogisu. But although she seems to have appreciated some New Haiku work, she did not say so publicly. If she had left Hototogisu, Hisajo would surely have been welcomed elsewhere.[110] Hashimoto Takako, for instance, had become a key member in the New Haiku *kessha* attached to *Ashibi*[111] Instead, Hisajo positioned herself as a Hototogisu-based haiku gatekeeper with a special interest in women's haiku, contributing a steady stream of essays and reviews as well as haiku to a number of outlets. In 1928, she published a long essay, "Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taisho era]" in *Hototogisu* and "Kindai Joryū no Haiku, Jogakkō Yomihonchū no Koku to no Hikaku [Modern

---

[105] Ishi. "Nenpu," 245.
[106] quoted in Makoto Ueda. "Introduction." In *Modern Japanese Haiku an Anthology*, 5 - 23. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 11.
[107] Hiroaki Sato. "Shūōshi's 'Nature's Truth' and 'Truth in Literary Arts.'" *Modern Haiku* 38, no. 3 (2007): 25 – 49, 26; 34.
[108] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984) 140 - 141.
[109] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 170.
[110] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 156.
[111] Masako Ishi and Matsui Toshihiko. "Sugita Hisajo Hashimoto Takako Taishō Nenpu [A Comparative Timeline for Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako]." In *Sugita Hisajo to Hashimoto Takako: Futari No Bijin No Monogatari [Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako: A Tale of Two Beautiful Women]* edited by Yamada Katsuhiko, 346 - 82. (Tokyo: Bokuyōsha, 1988), 369.

Women's Haiku – A Comparison of the Classical Haiku in Readers for Girls' Schools]" for the *Sunday Mainichi*.[112] In 1929, she became the selector for a column devoted to women's haiku in Yoshioka Zenjidō's (1889－1961) local but influential haiku magazine, *Amanogawa [The Milky Way]* which was later to join the New Haiku poets, prompting Hisajo to withdraw from that role two years later.[113] The following year she took on a similar position on *Karitago [Reaper]*, a Hototogisu affiliated haiku magazine, edited by Murakami Kyoshi (1907 – 1988), which was based in colonial Korea.

In 1932, Hisajo launched her short-lived but highly successful magazine *Hanagoromo.*[114] She published "Joryū Haiku o Midoku Su [An Appreciation of Women's Haiku]" in the first issue; "Sakura o Yomeru Ku: Kokon Joryū Haiku no Hikaku [Haiku about Cherry Blossoms: A Comparison of Old and New Haiku]" and "Ochitsubaki [Fallen Camellias]," a recollection of Kyoshi's visit to Kokura in 1922 and his first meeting with Hashimoto Takako, in the second; and "Joryū Haiku to Jidaisō" [Women's Haiku through Time]" in the fourth. In 1933 she published. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi wa Nahen ni? [Where Should Women's Haiku Go from Here?]" in *Karitago*.[115]

The audacity of Hisajo's essays and her decision to launch her own haiku magazine should not be overlooked. Writing towards the end of the twentieth century, the feminist critic, Chieko M. Ariga, commented that, while there had been many Japanese women writers, few women had been accepted as critics, '[e]ven important anthologies of women's literature like *Gendai no Joryū Bungaku* [*Modern Women's Literature*] contain critical essays exclusively by men.'[116]

---

[112] Ishi. "Nenpu," 245 – 246.
[113] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto*, 137 – 138.
[114] Ishi. "Nenpu," 247 – 248.
[115] Ishi. "Nenpu," 247 – 248.
[116] Chieko M. Ariga. "Who's Afraid of Amino Kiku? Gender Conflict and the Literary Canon." In *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda, 43 - 60. (New York: The Feminist Press, 1995), 45.

At the same time, Hisajo was having considerable success as a haiku poet. In 1931, one of her haiku won, and another was placed, in the very prestigious New Japanese Scenic Spot Haiku Competition run by the newspaper *Osaka Mainichi* and judged by Kyoshi. The competition had attacted over 100,000 entries. In 1932, Hisajo had her haiku featured on the opening page (*kantō*) of *Hototogisu* for the first time. This position was the most prestigious in the magazine and indicated that her poems were the best of all the submissions for the month. In October, she was invited to become a member of Hototogisu's inner circle (*dōjin*). The essays on women's haiku that Hisajo had published in *Hanagoromo* and elsewhere all involved a certain amount of research. Probably because she was so knowledgeable about the work of the women haiku poets of her own time and of the Tokugawa period, she was asked by Kyoshi to help him prepare his first *saijiki* (season word almanac). That project was finished the following year. Twice more, in 1933 and in 1934, Hisajo's haiku was featured in the top position of *Hototogisu*.[117]

The peak of Hisajo's prestige as a haiku poet and gatekeeper overlaps with the time she was supposed to have written the "strange" letters published in *Kuniko no Tegami*. It also corresponds with her entirely reasonable attempt to persuade Kyoshi to help her publish a collection of her haiku. Her expulsion from Hototogisu was a very public humiliation which deprived her of her credibility as a haiku poet of standing. It was also a personal rejection from her teacher of the severest nature. Hisajo was thrown into deep depression.[118]

Masuda has speculated that Hisajo's withdrawal from haiku composition in the last decade or so of her life was not only a reaction to personal rejection. The Second Sino-Japanese War began in earnest in the middle of 1937, and war fever was to affect what people wanted to read:

> It was a time when work using the "courtly style" and "*Man'yōshū* like passion" found in Hisajo's haiku was being abandoned by younger generations. Even Takeshita Shizunojo, Hashimoto Takako

[117] Ishi. "Nenpu," 248 – 250.
[118] Ishi. "Nenpu," 251.

> and other women haiku poets of the same generation, had to write war haiku. In such a climate, even if Hisajo had continued writing, the haiku she would have produced would probably have not been much good. [119]

The style of Hisajo's second period superficially appear quite detached from the issues of the day, but a close reading shows that anxiety about the Manchurian Incident is certainly present. Also, of the twenty haiku by Hisajo that Ueda quotes in his anthology, one does in fact refer to an air-raid. [120] The subject matter shows it must have been written in 1944 or 1945, when she had long given up writing haiku as a regular activity[121] and it is not included in my corpus of her work. Nevertheless, Masuda's point is most probably correct.

HISAJO'S PERSONALITY

As I have already mentioned, Hisajo was a direct recipient of the elite education for girls, established to teach them to be 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers.' She was also influenced by the values of the New Woman (*atarashii onna*), an international trend that reached Japan in the first years of the twentieth century, when Hisajo was still in her teens.[122] Both her prose and poetry shows she was strongly committed to self-expression and self-development. She was both a devoted mother and hard-working housewife, and an ambitious writer who behaved in ways considered provocatively liberated particularly in provincial Kokura.[123]

It is impossible to tell which, if any, aspects of the Hisajo Legend were based on her actual behaviour. Nevertheless, while it is most unlikely that it is entirely free of bias, I should like to present the following description from fellow church member who knew Hisajo in the 1920s. This

---

[119] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto*, 249.
[120] Makoto Ueda. *Far Beyond the Field: Haiku by Japanese Women* [in Japanese and English]. Translated by Makoto Ueda. (New York, Chichester West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2003), 96.
[121] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 256.
[122] Lowy. *The Japanese "New Woman,"* 8.
[123] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto*, 81.

far more positive evaluation contrasts markedly with the mean-spirited portraiture mentioned above:

> Her personality was bright and cheerful, she overflowed with brilliance and, whether it was Christmas or a bazaar, she played an active role. Around 1922 I think, I was hospitalised with typhoid and she went out of her way to visit me and bring me some mandarins. She looked after the adolescents and was well liked by young people.[124]

Ishi's final, probably idealized, estimation of her mother is as follows:

> Hisajo wrote herself about her upbringing which was careful and kind. She was brought up to be relaxed and carefree. She had a kind disposition, showed a deep sympathy to the weak and was easily moved to tears for them. On the other hand, she was absolutely unimpressed by the selfishness of the rich or the egotism of those in power...she was compassionate and I cannot forget how she cried. I remember her always putting her heart and soul into everything she did.[125]

Throughout her life, Hisajo remained committed to the ideals of female equality, including women's freedom to write and speak their mind. This position led her to express ideas that were still – especially for women – unseemly. She wrote freely of the competitiveness that accompanied her need for recognition as a writer,[126] her feelings of unworthiness and a chilling sense of loneliness that could provoke a wish to die. Her sometimes gushingly confessional prose can be uncomfortable to read today:

> In the past my personality and environment have been violently at odds, so that as a wife, mother and as a haiku poet too I have walked the briar path of failure. The people around me have continually bathed me in cold abuse, subjected me to pressure and spat at me: Putting art first,

---

[124] quoted in Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto*, 107.
[125] Ishi. "Atogaki," 317 – 318.
[126] Sugita Hisajo. "Yoake Mae Kakishi Tegami [A Letter Written Before Dawn]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Suigta Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 111 – 117. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1922/2007), 113 – 114.

> neglecting her family, she is is zero as a woman. A vamp. A heretic. How many times have I thought of death? Even friends I loved have again and again turned their back on me and walked away.[127]

But that passage from the frequently quoted preface to the first issue of her magazine *Hanagoromo* had no dampening effect on the eagerness of other highly accomplished women haiku poets to be involved. Sakamoto has commented on the biblical vocabulary[128] and probable influence of translations from writers like Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821 – 1881) and Romain Rolland (1866 – 1944)[129] on the over-wrought tone of passages like these. A not dissimilar style can be found in writing by other woman, including the autobiography of the early socialist and feminist Fukuda Hideko (1865 – 1927),[130] an essay published in *Seitō* by the anarchist and feminist Itō Noe (1895 - 1923),[131] and the newspaper articles written while still young by the anarchist and feminist historian Takamure Itsue during a pilgrimage around the island of Shikoku.[132] The feminist poet and intellectual Yosano Akiko (1878 – 1942) also uses the word 'zero' to describe how unwomanly women are evaluated.[133] The similarity of tone found in the prose of all these women suggests that a particular rhetoric – rather than simply unvarnished personal expression (assuming the two can be distinguished) – is at work.

Caught in contradictions of all sorts by her ambition and the narrowness of the roles open to her, Hisajo's life bears out a passionate commitment to haiku, a desire to see women's haiku (and other women) flourish, a certain fondness for taking risks and a strong impulse towards personal growth.

---

[127] quoted in Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto*, 176.
[128] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 47.
[129] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 81.
[130] quoted in Mackie. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan*, 11.
[131] quoted in Lowy. *The Japanese 'New Woman,'* 88.
[132] Takamure Itsue. *The 1918 Shikoku Pilgrimage of Takamure Itsue: An English Translation of Musume Junreki*. (Bowen Island, Canada: Bowen Publishing, 2010).
[133] quoted in "Introduction" in Copeland, Rebecca L., ed. *Woman Critiqued*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 5.

CONCLUSION

That Hisajo came from an unusual background and had an unusual life trajectory helped position her to excel as a first generation female haiku poet. During her first period, haiku helped her cope with an unhappy marriage and the difficulties she faced as a relatively impoverished middle-class teacher's wife, distant from the centre of artistic life, as she created poetry from whatever she found beautiful or significant in her daily life. Once her children were independent she took trips, particularly in the local area, in search of poetic subjects with historical resonance.

However, the opportunities and constraints under which she composed were not only personal ones. Her legal and social position as a woman expected to take a subordinate postion to her husband, Udai, as well as to her mentor, Kyoshi, was a considerable challenge. Her rather progressive and individualistic values were very different from her teacher's. Where Hisajo was always an outsider, Kyoshi was a consummate insider. In 1942 he became president of the haiku poets section of the Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai (Patriotic Association for Japanese Literature) and he was awarded an Order of Cultural Merit in 1954.[134] As the society became increasingly affected by militaristic ideology, he adapted without obvious strain. As I explore in Chapter Eight, Hisajo's haiku on the contrary expressed ambivalence about the Manchurian Incident and its consequences.

The way Hisajo was treated, before and after her expulsion from Hototogisu reveals the almost cult-like nature of the *kessha*. It casts new light on Kyoshi and those who would accept – in however softened a version– his characterization of haiku as the transcendental 'literature of paradise'[135] and himself as a haiku sage. In terms of the wider picture of the degree of compositional choice open to Hototogisu poets, the significance of Hisajo's prolonged humiliation

[134] Katsuya Hiromoto. "The Quiet Joy of Peace and Harmony: Kyoshi Takayama's Life and Literature." *The Hiyoshi Review of English Studies* 53 (2008): 31 – 73, 64.
[135] Inabata Teiko, ed. *100 Works of Kyoshi: Kyoshi Hyakku*. (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2010), 57.

lies in the message it sent other female (and male) haiku poets about the consequences of being found wanting by Kyoshi.

While some of the biographical material introduced in this chapter will be referred to again in the course of the study, a biographical approach alone – and to date this is how most critics have approached Hisajo – is impoverishing. Shirane[136] points at the differing modes of reading haiku can simultaneously accommodate. On the one hand, the genre's brevity and frequent use of ellipsis may require the reader to fill in information gaps to create, for instance, a coherent, recognisable scene. On the other, gaps may create an unexpected frisson or insight by the juxtaposition of elements that do not normally appear together. In this respect, haiku only develops a trend of deliberate omission, found in all the indigenous Japanese poetic genres and certain styles of Japanese painting which invite readers to participate in an act of co-creation. Shirane comments that the reader of haiku needs:

> a metonymic and contextual imagination that fills out the scene based on impressionistic details and encoded words…what is not said is as important as what is said…a seemingly minor or insignificant detail…gradually expands…creating a tension between the smaller object and the implied landscape, or between the specific moment and the larger river of time.[137]

I add to this pattern by suggesting that while haiku can be read as resistant material text, valuable for its concrete presence on the page or in the mouth and for the irreducible multiplicity of the possible interpretations it yields, it can also be a form of self-disclosure. While there is inevitable slippage involved in even the most sincerely attempted confession[138] – and Hisajo kept too much out of her haiku for more than a handful of poems to be confessional – her work is, even so, valuable for revealing the half-familiar strangeness of another human being and their world.

---

[136] Haruo Shirane. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 51.
[137] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 49 – 50.
[138] Judith Butler. *Giving an Account of Oneself.* (New York: Fordham, 2005).

CHAPTER TWO: HAIKU AND MODERNITY

Although Kyoshi cultivated the charismatic aura of a poet-sage – and that construction as will become more apparent later in this chapter certainly shaped Hisajo's view of him – the primary source of his authority was structural and depended on the size and reach of his *kessha* and the nature of his role within it. This *kessha* in turn was made possible by Kyoshi's adaptation of elements from those traditional arts organizations known as Iemoto Schools to the consumer economy of early to mid-twentieth century Japan. From a business perspective, it was extremely successful. Indeed, Kyoshi has been credited as one of the most important mass media innovators in Japan.[1]

Kyoshi's ability to dictate what was and what was not to be regarded as haiku would not have been possible without the success of Shiki's haiku reform. The most important precondition for that was Shiki's position on the national newspaper, *Nihon*. From the point of view of a marketing framework, Shiki began and Kyoshi perfected haiku as a brand able to appeal to a wider, more vigorous market increasingly open to segmentation. By extension, the Hototogisu *kessha* used an effective range of appeals that fostered new needs, and promoted a very sophisticated range of services to a growing number of haiku producer-consumers.

Kyoshi's neo-classical delineation of haiku's essential characteristics was, in terms of width of appeal, the most persuasive of his generation. As such, it contributed to the success of his *kessha* and beyond. The vast majority of definitions of haiku accepted today, both in the West and in Japan, have a strong family resemblance to it. His heavy emphasis on the "traditional" nature of the genre is, however, in urgent need of demystification. This chapter will begin by arguing why a definition that distinguishes the Shiki-influenced phenomenon of "haiku" from the *hokku* that preceded it is necessary.

[1] Bin Akio. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: Kindai Haiku no Media [Kyoshi and Hototogisu: The Media of Modern Haiku.]* (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 2006), 89.

Drawing on a body of earlier, empirically-oriented research, Richard A. Peterson has shown that the five institutional constraints of the law, technology, the market, the organizational structure and occupational careers can 'influence the form and content of creative works.'[2] Changes in all these areas were afoot during Shiki's haiku reform. However, the persistence of older elements should not be overlooked. Thus, this chapter ends by reopening the discussion of Neo-Confucianism begun in Chapter One in order to identify its part in the appeal of the Hototogisu *kessha*, as that can be deduced from what is known about Hisajo.

THE CASE FOR A NEW DEFINITION OF HAIKU

The term "haiku" was not popularized until well into Shiki's haiku reform. The short poems by such well-known masters as Bashō, Buson and Kobayashi Issa (1763 – 1827), often referred to as haiku today, were called *hokku* by those writers.[3] It is for that reason that I reserve the term haiku for the short modernizing poetic genre produced as an offshoot of the earlier *haikai* tradition under Shiki's influence from the mid-1890s onwards. Others, including Ueda and Shirane,[4] have also avoided using haiku anachronistically.[5]

By contrast, the vast majority of writers about haiku in English take an ahistorical approach to the definition of haiku, and by focusing on the formal features they share conflate it with *hokku*.[6] In

---

[2] Richard A. Peterson. "Five Constraints on the Production of Culture: Law, Technology, Market, Organizational Structure and Occupational Careers." *A Journal of Popular Culture* 16, no. 2 (1982): 143 – 53, 147.

[3] Makoto Ueda. "Introduction." In *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary*, edited by Makoto Ueda. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), 2.

[4] See Haruo Shirane. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998 in which the terms *hokku* and *haikai* are consistently used to refer to Bashō's poetry.

[5] I must acknowledge that distinguishing between haiku and *hokku* in this way is a necessary compromise. Neither Shiki nor Kyoshi consistently called haiku, "haiku." Hisajo generally refers to her poems in headnotes simply as *ku* (verses), and occasionally uses *hokku (*and even *hoku*) instead of haiku.

[6] For example, Reginald Horace Blyth. *Haiku* Volumes, II, III, IV (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1949 – 1952); Harold Gould Henderson. *An Introduction to Haiku : An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Bashō to Shiki*. (New York: Doubleday, 1958); Kenneth Yasuda. *The Japanese Haiku (*Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1957/1973); Donald Keene. *World within Walls; Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600 - 1867*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart

fact, the two heritage features of a *kigo* and 5-7-5 prosody that were insisted upon by Shiki and Kyoshi, became contentious very soon after Shiki's death. Other heritage features were dropped to enhance the appeal of the genre to a far more diverse range of readers and writers.

Even where there are close parallels of wording between, say, examples of Bashō's *hokku* and individual haiku written in the twentieth century, the meaning of a message depends not only on the words used but the context in which it is transmitted and the medium used. The rapid transformation of the technology and structural relationships in late nineteenth century Japan and, more specifically, the use of mass print media as the main vehicle for haiku were major factors in the development of Shiki's new haiku poetics. They meant that new values would inevitably be given to how was haiku was read both the literally and figuratively. For example, once a haiku was written for newspaper publication the greeting function of the *kigo*, so important in renga, faded or disappeared. If *kigo* was to persist, it would need to be grounded differently.

Another reason why a formalist definition of haiku is problematic is because it ignores the process whereby traditional practices became self-consciously "traditional" practices. These processes included changes in the relationship in the various poetic genres occupying the literary field as well as changes in the relationship between readers and writers. Styles that were fresh and exciting when they were pioneered in the eighteenth century were not only conventional but signalled disengagement with – or a frank repudiation of – the times over two hundred years later.

In the Introduction, I claimed Hobsbawn's notion of the invention of tradition was relevant to the emergence of haiku because it was linked to urgent questions of Japanese national identity. Geopolitical competitiveness stimulated the cultural nationalism of the 1890s, causing what were

---

and Winston, 1984); Stephen Addiss. *The Art of Haiku: Its History through Poems and Paintings by Japanese Masters*. (London: Shambhala, 2012).

construed as the "unique" characteristics of haiku to assume an exaggerated importance and to be clung to at all costs. Before exploring these how this played out, it is important to describe the context in which the retention of *kigo* and 5-7-5 prosody make sense in a little more detail.

Shiki began popularizing haiku not long before the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), and his success owed much to the fact that the newspaper, *Nippon*, where he worked was a particularly strong supporter of the cultural nationalism movement.[7] It therefore welcomed Shiki's interest in *hokku*/haiku and his success was such that most newspapers in Japan had a haiku column after 1894.[8] After Shiki's death, the influence of anti-Western, anti-modernist cultural nationalism upon Hototogisu haiku only grew stronger. As a mainstream norm that Kyoshi had personally come to share, it encouraged him to reintroduce into his haiku poetics certain Neo-Confucian norms and aesthetic values from the past which had been scorned by Shiki.

Similarly, Confucian notions of good government allowed Kyoshi to structure his *kessha* in an old-fashioned, authoritarian manner which was hostile to the participatory approach Shiki favoured. By ensuring that Kyoshi's word about which haiku was successful and which unacceptable carried enormous weight, both these reactionary trends constrained the compositional options available to Hototogisu poets, particularly after 1927.

But haiku, however much it might have been considered as such, could not simply be constructed as an antithetical pole in answer to the influence of the West. Both despite and because of his fervent patriotism, Shiki had been quick to apply to haiku the realism and other Western literary values he had learnt from Tsubouchi Shōyō. It was in order to assert its equivalence with the imaginative texts produced in Europe, Russia and America that he claimed haiku was a form of "literature" (*bungaku*). In Japan, where *waka* had been practiced and taught quite separately from *haikai*, and both had been sharply distinguished as practices from *kanbun* and *kanshi*, the notion of

[7] Marius B. Jansen. *The Making of Modern Japan*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 472.
[8] Sekigawa Natsuo. *Shiki, Saigo no Hachinen [Shiki, The Last Eight Years]*. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2011), 46.

an umbrella category uniting all genres of poetry and novels and drama as well, was a radically new one.[9] As "literature," haiku was to have two characteristics that were only paradoxically consistent with the *haikai* tradition – it was to be brief and it was to be unified. The first was achieved by severing haiku decisively from linked verse and the second by the same move plus the application of the *shasei*, or sketch from life, approach to composition. Only the first of these can be discussed in this chapter. *Shasei* will be explored from Chapter Four.

The losses involved in jettisoning linked verse were as great as the gains. Linked verse had long been valued for the process of writing rather than the product. It was designed to make collaborative real-time composition an aesthetically stimulating and pleasurable activity. Shiki's assertion that linked verse had no literary value was based on the fact that the particular rules for collaboration that linked verse had developed ensured divergence instead of unity. As it was a collection of different voices the final poem lacked overall intentionality, its development was paradoxical and it did not seek to engage the reader emotionally at any profound level. However, the rejection of linked verse meant the loss of sophisticated linking techniques. Collaboration had been one of Japanese poetry's most distinctive features, already apparent in the form of courtship ritual in love songs as early as the *Kojiki*.[10] Ironically, then, the aim of preserving the essence of Japanese culture from being overwhelmed by the West entailed the sacrifice of not only a whole way of enjoying imaginative text-making, but many technical features as well.

But the assumption inherent in the notion of "literature" that a text was a product opposed to the process suggested universality or that one country's literature could be measured against another's. That, to poets convinced of the power and beauty of *hokku*/haiku, suggested that the West might be bested in a fair contest. Although no one non-Japanese was listening at that stage, by claiming haiku as an entirely independent poetic form, Shiki could triumphantly assert it was the world's

[9] Janine Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki His Life and Works*. (Boston and Worcester Cheng & Tsui Company, 2002), 13.
[10] Kato Shuichi. *A History of Japanese Literature: From the Man'yōshū to Modern Times*. Translated by Don Sanderson. (Richmond: Japan Library, 1997), 29 – 34.

shortest form of literature.[11] Kyoshi also emphasised that haiku's brevity made it a unique Japanese literary achievement of worldwide significance.[12] In his case, there was some chance his boast would have effects beyond Japan. Kyoshi spoke on haiku in London to the International Pen Club in 1936.[13]

Calling haiku "literature" also implied the reconceptualization of the relationship of *haikai* to other forms of writing within Japan. Bourdieu offers a powerful analysis of the literary field as a 'field of forces' in which every genre and sub-genre is mutually defining. He argues that genres at least partially reflect the tastes and interests of the social groups that produce/consume them. If the groups which are represented by different genres and sub-genres are evolving at different rates or are involved in a power struggle, these trends will be manifested in a tendency to speed up or slow down literary innovation on a genre by genre basis. In his words, the 'field of forces…is also a field of struggles tending to transform or conserve' the *status quo*.[14]

At the level of the literary field as a whole, a significant struggle in Meiji and Taisho Japan was played out between those groups who attempted to resist and those who attempted to adapt to their own circumstances influential Western texts and literary theories. Within the smaller field of haiku, the factional splitting that arose from the second decade of the twentieth century expressed fierce struggles between "traditionalists" and modernists. It was only in such an embattled context that Hototogisu haiku could be promoted as preserving a precious and uniquely "Japanese" practice. Thus, the question of what haiku was or could be was situated right at the centre of a larger political contest that engaged the intelligentsia at many levels.

---

[11] Yoshiharu Suenobu. *Masaoka ShikiJūgun Su [Masaoka Shiki Goes to War]*. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011), 104.
[12] Masui Toshihiko. "Daisanki: Shōwa Zenki no Kyoshi. [The third period: Kyoshi in Early Shōwa]" In *Takahama Kyoshi kenkyū*, edited by Imai Fumio, Matsui Toshihiko and Yamaguchi Seishi, 85 - 103. (Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974), 90.
[13] Inabata Teiko, ed. *100 Works of Kyoshi: Kyoshi Hyakku*. (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2010), 55.
[14] Pierre Bourdieu. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. (Cambridge [England]: Polity Press, 1993), 30.

But using brevity to elevate haiku's prestige encroached on another *haikai* sub-genre which had already claimed the same length and basic 5-7-5 of rhythm: senryu. Again, the question of whether to combine *hokku* and senryu or to maintain the distinction between them had a political dimension. Both Shiki and Kyoshi, in keeping with an established convention, denied that this sub-genre had literary merit. Senryu had been developed by a different social group than the one which was comfortable with the rules of linked verse and the often sophisticated allusions of *hokku*. Its tone reflected the pleasure-seeking and sometimes crude and cynical sensibilities of the lower classes of Edo who rejected – and generally could not understand – the self-conscious aesthetics of the elites tied to the Kyoto-Osaka area.[15] As a product of the masses, senryu offended the taste of these two men, both of whom had been born into (now disbanded) samurai families.

Thus, although figures like Andō Genkaibō (1880 – 1928) 'saw no essential difference between haiku, senryu and short free verse,'[16] Shiki and Kyoshi considered that haiku could not be taken seriously unless it distinguished itself from senryu. For them, senryu's lack of depth was immediately apparent in the fact that they do not use *kigo* to link the writer with "nature."[17] Yet to distinguish "literary" haiku from "non-literary" senryu on the basis of *kigo* entailed a recommitment to *kigo* as an inalienable feature of haiku. While it reflected centuries of literary criticism, this recommitment took place, ironically, just as large numbers of people – land-owners and poor peasants alike – were flocking from the countryside to the big cities and just as many of the more inhabitable parts of the Japanese landscape was beginning to suffer the depredations of industrialism.[18]

---

[15] Makoto Ueda. *Light Verse from the Floating World: An Anthology of Pre-modern Japanese Senryu* (Columbia University Press, 1999), 9.
[16] Ueda. *Light Verse from the Floating World*, 33.
[17] Ueda. *Light Verse from the Floating World* , 19.
[18] Julia Adeney Thomas. "Naturalizing Nationhood: Ideology and Practice in Early Twentieth Century Japan." In *Japan's Competing Modernities*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, 114 - 32. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 125.

In an attempt to hold back this tide, Kyoshi's attachment to *kigo* was unwavering and intense. In 1919, he argued that it was actually haiku's *kigo* that made it unique on the world stage.[19] This argument was less tenable than the one invoking brevity. *Waka* had also used seasonal expressions (*kidai*), as did the Chinese poetic traditions from which both *kidai* and *kigo* had originally developed.[20]

If senryu set definitional boundaries for Hototogisu haiku in one direction, Western style verse, with its free rhythms and wide-ranging thematic material, set them in another. Kyoshi was quick to reject as 'short poetry' haiku variants by his rivals that did not follow the 5-7-5 rule and/or lacked a *kigo*. In 1913, after a period in which he was more interested in novels than poetry, he made a decisive recommitment to haiku in response to the experimental work of Hekigotō's very popular New Trend (Shinkeikō) Haiku movement.[21] Kyoshi explained his return to haiku as a response to the need to look after his health after a bout of typhoid fever and his indignation, when Hekigotō's disciple, Nakatsu Ippekiro (1887 – 1946), began producing haiku that were not only rhythmically free but also used colloquial language.[22] He claimed this betrayal of tradition threatened the very survival of the genre.[23] This dispute was especially bitter because Kyoshi and Hekigotō had been close friends from boyhood and both had been regarded as successors by Shiki. By 1918, Hekigotō's poems had broken completely free of 5-7-5 morae and he himself was no longer calling them haiku, but 'short poems' (*tanshi*).[24]

---

[19] Masui. "Daisanki: Shōwa Zenki no Kyoshi," 90.
[20] Helen Craig McCullough. Introduction. *Tales of Ise*. (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1968), 19 - 21.
[21] Katsuya Hiromoto. "The Quiet Joy of Peace and Harmony: Kyoshi Takayama's Life and Literature." *The Hiyoshi Review of English Studies* 53 (2008): 31 – 73, 42.
[22] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 124.
[23] Hiromoto. "The Quiet Joy of Peace and Harmony," 42 – 43.
[24] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 111- 112.

Kyoshi's hard-line position involved ignoring aspects of the past. The Danrin School, to which Bashō had originally belonged, had abandoned fixed poetic rhythms.[25] A number of the links[26] in comic linked verse lacked seasonal reference.[27] In its heyday, during the Genroku era (1688 – 1804), *haikai* had been diverse and, in some cases, was gleefully transgressive.[28] Therefore, even though Kyoshi could point to the fact that most *hokku* since Iio Sōgi (1421 – 1502) did have the attributes[29] he defended as definitional, his repudiation of playful experimentation was very much against the spirit of the tradition he claimed as his own.

The presence of other genres, imported or not, was not the only driver for Shiki's haiku reform. The fact that print media mediated his relationship with the wider group of his followers also motived the transformation of the highly sociable art of *haikai* into the potentially solitary composition of haiku. Even if he had seen merit in linked verse, publishing many new samples – especially in the form of the standard 36 link *kasen renga* – would have been prohibitive in terms of space in a newspaper. On the other hand, a range of haiku by various poets could be published relatively economically. The appearance of new haiku in a daily paper in turn motivated increasing numbers of haiku poets to submit their work and form an on-going commitment to Shiki's haiku column.

His position on *Nippon* also enabled Shiki to educate new haiku poets about what it was he wanted. By the turn of the century, beginners were no longer routinely fostered, as they had always been hitherto, in a face-to-face manner within a group that met on a regular basis under the personal guidance of a master. It had become possible for individuals to learn how to write haiku from

---

[25] Donald Keene. "Haiku and the Democracy of Poetry as a Popular Art." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 344 - 60. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 349.

[26] Each contribution to a linked verse poem is called a link. The first followed a 5-7-5 pattern, the second 7-7, the third 5-7-5 and so on. While the seasons of many of the links were fixed, some were free. Not all contained a season word.

[27] Earl Miner. *Japanese Linked Poetry*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 134.

[28] Keene. *World within Walls*, 51 – 53.

[29] Nobuyuki Yuasa. "Introduction." In *Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*, edited by Nobuyuki Yuasa. (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966), 14.

primers and what they read in newspapers and journals. That meant that all the elements arising from poetry written in the presence of one's audience, including shared context and the use of poetry as a form of interpersonal communication, were attenuated. Haiku poets need never have met the poets they read, or the readers of their own work. Hisajo did much of her writing alone and then sent it to *Hototogisu* or other publications. A piece written in one time and place, if published, might be read – and reread – by strangers in another. As each haiku poet was able to maintain virtual contact with a larger number of peers than had been the rule, repetitive work became more obvious. The mass media encouraged self-conscious, competitive display as ambitious poets strived to distinguish themselves from one another.

If the huge changes ushered in by the Meiji era were responsible for the development of haiku, less radical changes across the first decades of the twentieth century meant that the apparently identical definition of haiku espoused by Shiki and Kyoshi had quite different implications as well. Shiki, battling an old guard of *haikai* masters, was provocative and sometimes iconoclastic. Kyoshi, battling contemporaries, followers and erstwhile followers intent on experiment, was reactionary and, as he responded to business pressures affecting *Hototogisu*, opportunistic. In narrowing criteria that he applied to haiku from the late 1920s Kyoshi helped, among other things, to encourage "ordinary people" to write and publish haiku. This change of standards meant that ambitious poets like Hisajo, who remained with Hototogisu after that time, were left with even less scope in which to experiment.

Kyoshi had not always been against experimentation and had written what were regarded as quite bizarre haiku as a young man.[30] He had certainly not always seen defending haiku from modernism or anything else as his central concern. His attack upon the New Trend Haiku style, mentioned above, was probably motivated in part by a reformulation of his engagement with the literary field altogether. In fact, in the first years of the twentieth century, Kyoshi had distanced himself from haiku, developing *Hototogisu* as a general literary journal. During these years,

[30] Bin Akio. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: Kindai Haiku no Media*. (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 2006), 45.

Kyoshi published the renowned novelist Natsume Sōseki's extremely popular, *Wagahai wa Neko de aru [I am a Cat]* and *Botchan [Little Master]*. However, once Sōseki signed an exclusive contract with *Asahi Shinbun* the sales of *Hototogisu* fell. The loss of Sōseiki seems to have made Kyoshi realize it would be hard for him to succeed as he wished to outside the haiku field.[31]

While his choices certainly demonstrate plenty of personal aggrandizement, Kyoshi did passionately believe that haiku could deliver real benefits. It was a belief linked to his attachment to the thought and literature of the past. Where Shiki had based his haiku reform on the universality of literature, Kyoshi insisted that because haiku encourages a special sensitivity to "nature" it was essentially different from other forms of imaginative writing.[32] Shiki had rejected the subdued aesthetic of Bashō in favour of the positive splendour of his favourite *hokku* poet Yosa Buson (1716 – 1784).[33] Kyoshi, however, rehabilitated just those "negative" (yin) qualities that Shiki had disliked in Bashō's work.[34] In the preface to his autobiography written in 1928, Kyoshi linked his view that haiku should be constrained to conventional themes to precedent. Kawasaki summarizes Kyoshi's position by quoting from his own words:

> "Haiku is something which from its beginnings, from Sōkan and Moritake haiku until today, has experienced three to four hundred years of various changes." Yet "it has a coherent unchangeable quality which is that it takes flowers, birds, the wind and the moon as its subject matter." [35]

Perhaps because Kyoshi's conservatism had a broad appeal and enabled him recruit a very large membership for his *kessha*, and perhaps because – as younger poets took bolder experimental steps than their mentors were prepared to sanction – the New Trend poets were riven by

---

[31] Bin. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu*, 198.
[32] Kawasaki Nobuhiro. "Taishōki no Kyoshi [Kyoshi in the Taisho Era]." In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies]*, edited by Imai Fumio and Matsui Toshihiko Yamaguchi Seishi, 65 - 84. (Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974), 66.
[33] Masaoka, Shiki. "Haijin Buson [the Haikai Poet, Buson]." (2010/1899). Accessed 3rd September, 2011. http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000305/files/47985_41579.html.
[34] Shiki. "Haijin Buson."
[35] quoted in Matsui Toshihiko. *Kindai Haironshi [A History of Modern Haiku Poetics]*. (Tokyo: Ōfūsha 1965), 92.

factionalism, Hototogisu soon dominated the haiku field. Over the next decades, Kyoshi espoused increasingly "traditional" poetics and his ultimate position was encapsulated in the phrase, *kachō fūei* (bird and flowers composition), which operates as a slogan for the organization.[36] As adherence to *kachō fūei* significantly limits poetic self-expression, it was opposed by some of the most ambitious of the Hototogisu poets. Kyoshi's protégé, Shūōshi (1892 – 1981), acrimoniously split from Hototogisu to form the experimental New Haiku (Shinkō) movement, which, like the New Trend Haiku group before them, also undertook experiments with free rhythm and *kigo*-less haiku. These political developments had a huge impact on Hisajo's practice.

The key point is that across the whole period when Hisajo was active the boundaries between haiku, senryu and short verse were somewhat fluid. Different groups of haiku practitioners constrained either the formal features or the subject matter of haiku in different ways. I, therefore, prefer to describe haiku as a set of historically contingent practices based around a body of earlier and contemporary texts and drawing in various ways upon heritage elements. I do not call Hisajo's poems "haiku" because they fit a particular definition, but because she and others with whom she interacted, including recognized gate-keepers, did so. This position allows me to accept, without misgiving, those of her poems – and admittedly they are few – which somehow challenge Kyoshi's restrictions as equally valid haiku.

NEW HAIKU ROLES AND INSTITUTIONS

Since my definition of haiku claims that meaning is context-sensitive and cannot be limited to the words of a text, I need now to explore the changes in the literary institutions and associated roles that supported haiku's production in more detail. The most important new role was the one that Shiki forged for himself. As *Nippon* enabled him to become the first person to publicize haiku across the whole country by means of a national newspaper, it also enabled him to become what I propose calling the "national haiku arbiter."

[36] It is blazoned on the front of the current edition of the *Shin Saijiki*, for example.

As touched upon earlier, the newspaper allowed Shiki to become a new kind of teacher who was available in print form to anyone at any time across the country. To give advice and inspiration to his audience of reader-writers he needed to develop a completely new genre: critical writing on haiku. Bashō's teachings about *haikai* had been extremely important, but they were not systematic and only existed in documents written by his disciples after the event.[37] Shiki contributed essays to *Nippon* on a regular basis, proposing, promoting, exploring, comparing, evaluating and rejecting approaches and styles of writing haiku and tanka. He was the first to offer poets a step by step method that explained how to go about writing a haiku.[38]

Shiki also had a significant handicap to overcome. He was self-taught,[39] but he was competing with the established *haikai* masters who still taught face-to-face in a group setting and who claimed a lineage connection to Bashō. However, if Shiki could not point to the authority of his teacher, he was by the same token completely free of lineage obligations.[40] Also, he had acquired profound knowledge of the tradition, in his attempt to read all the *hokku* that had ever been written.[41] He criticized the established masters, most of whom had an exaggerated veneration for Bashō, for composing their poetry like 'an urbane game,' according to a stultifying body of proliferating rules, observed 'as if they were legal stipulations.'[42] As their *haikai* meetings took place on a monthly (*tsukinami*) basis, he took to disparagingly characterizing the resulting poetry as *tsukinami* as well.[43] Shiki predicted that unless *haikai* was rigorously reformed all possible combinations of these rules would be exhausted by the end of the Meiji era.[44] He also scoffed at the exaggerated regard in which Bashō was held. By so doing, he attacked the whole *haikai* establishment,[45] and in one blow, created the excitement of controversy, rid himself of the

---

[37] Makoto Ueda. "Introduction." In *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Haiku with Commentary*, edited by Makoto Ueda. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 6.
[38] Bin. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu*, 71.
[39] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 15.
[40] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 44.
[41] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 17.
[42] Makoto Ueda. "Introduction." In *Modern Japanese Haiku an Anthology*, 5 - 23. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 4.
[43] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 89.
[44] cited in Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 35 – 36.
[45] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 37.

disadvantage of being an outsider, and made himself the voice to which young, would-be haiku poets listened.

Shiki soon began to contribute to *Hototogisu*, a magazine named in Shiki's honour[46] which was originally launched in Shiki's home town of Matsumoto by his close disciple, Yanagihara Kyokudō (1867 – 1957) in 1897. Through it Shiki was able to further consolidate his influence by publishing lengthy work not suitable for *Nippon*. At first its circulation was confined to haiku lovers in the local area,[47] but it was in the following year when Yanagihara was keen to disburden himself that Kyoshi was persuaded to take on the editorship and financial responsibility for the magazine. Kyoshi moved it to Tokyo and transformed it into a much larger scale operation which like *Nippon* was aimed at, and gave Shiki and his school further access to, a national audience.

While Shiki lived, the charisma of his role as leader was able to integrate the sometimes disparate views held by his followers. But innovation begat more innovation, and experience of debate had generated a taste for it. Moreover, since they had seen Shiki occupy the role of "national haiku arbiter," it would be more difficult for some of the ambitious individuals who followed him to share the limelight with their peers. Indeed, the attraction of the role of national haiku arbiter helps explain Kyoshi's ruthless drive to dominance of the entire field. Rival schools had existed before Shiki: factions followed him. The difference was that – for Kyoshi – what his rivals wrote was wrong by definition and could not be called "haiku."

As the owner and editor of *Hototogisu*, Kyoshi also used a constant stream of editorials, reviews and essays about haiku to maintain his influence. In 1898, he had written a guide to writing haiku for primary school children, *Haiku Nyūmon [An Introduction to Haiku]*, and it was this book that

[46] The connection of Shiki to the lesser cuckoo (hototogisu) was his tuberculosis. The bird was supposed to be a go-between between the worlds of life and death and to spit blood when it sang. Shiki wrote a number of haiku about the lesser cuckoo when he was first diagnosed with his fatal illness.
[47] Bin. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu*, 19 – 20.

made the word haiku widely known.[48] Again, in 1913, he wrote another guide for complete beginners.[49] For more advanced and sophisticated poets, he began to serialize *Susumubeki Haiku no Michi [Where Should Haiku Go from Here?]* in 1915.[50] The pressure to publish such material meant Kyoshi was encouraged to reflect upon haiku in ways that were not too repetitive and explicitly develop his views. This too inevitably impacted upon the development of Hototogisu haiku.

In 1924, Kyoshi moved beyond Shiki by formalizing the membership of Hototogisu to form the first haiku *kessha*, (even though he did not use that term to describe the group until 1929).[51] The *kessha* was a complex organization that consolidated the magazine's national reach. It allowed Kyoshi to set in place a stable network had a much larger number of followers and distinguished disciples than that of his much shorter-lived mentor. Hekigotō was long eclipsed, leaving Kyoshi the most powerful figure to ever wield power as a living authority within *haikai*/haiku.

Yachimoto suggests parallels between the Hototogisu *kessha* and an Iemoto School,[52] and despite the fact that there are some Iemoto Schools controlled by women, Hirota may well have been thinking of the same thing when she referred to Hisajo having fallen victim to the 'male dominated pyramidal structure of the arts in Japan.' Traditionally, a *haikai* circle could have a number of acknowledged teachers (*sōshō*), a role rarely inherited by a family member and 'the term *iemoto* was never used in *haikai* circles.'[53] By contrast, the Grand Master *(o-iemoto)* of such a school 'monopolized' the certification of his students[54] thereby maintaining control over all his disciples and of most of the income generated by lessons or other activities. Kyoshi did not do that, as

[48] Bin. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu*, 64.
[49] Bin. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu*, 178.
[50] Bin. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu*, 183.
[51] Hideaki Matsuoka. "Local, Global and Beyond: Anthropological Approach to Haiku." *World Haiku* 3 (2007): 68 – 75, 75
[52] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 7 Hisajo's Last Challenge." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 5, no. 6 (2010): 1 – 15,8.
[53] Eiko Ikegami. *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 175.
[54] Ikegami. *Bonds of Civility*, 168.

Hototogisu members did not have to pay to graduate to a higher rank, however there are other striking similarities.

P. G. O'Neill emphasizes the four characteristics of hierarchy – the supreme authority of the head of the group, hereditary succession, joining fees, and punishments (including fines or expulsion) – as fundamental to Iemoto Schools. [55] All four can be found in operating Kyoshi's *kessha*. The loyal devotion expected of members can be seen in the following conditions associated with becoming a *dōjin*, or coterie member of Hototogisu made public in the June 1934 issue of the magazine:

- A prominent writer and passionate supporter of *Hototogisu*
- A haiku poet of long-standing and passionate supporter of *Hototogisu*
- Someone who was once a [haiku competition] judge or editor associated with *Hototogisu* or someone with a long running connection who, even though distanced in recent years, shows no sign of disaffection towards the magazine.[56]

Although I have followed others in referring to Hisajo's "expulsion" from Hototogisu, in fact she was actually sacked from her position as a coterie member. Kyoshi did not refuse her subscriptions to the magazine and even published a few (very few) of her haiku in *Hototogisu* after 1936.

Two prominent arts in which Iemoto Schools operated were nō and flower arranging. The reader may remember that males in Kyoshi's paternal line, including his father, were hereditary nō masters, and that Hisajo's mother was a high-ranking flower arrangement teacher. Just as Kyoshi seriously engaged in amateur nō performance from 1912 to 1923, Hisajo herself learnt flower arrangement, tea ceremony, and calligraphy as a child. The fact that both of them had acquired an

[55] P.G. O'Neill "Organization and Authority in the Traditional Arts." *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 4 (1984): 631 – 45, 633.
[56] quoted in Masuda Ren. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto [Notes on Sugita Hisajo]*. (Kitakyushu: Urayama Shobo, 1978), 205.

implicit (but not necessarily compatible) understanding of prototypical Iemoto Schools meant that they probably shared assumptions about the high degree of respect and devotion someone in Hisajo's position should feel for the Grand Master. Thus, Kyoshi's position as the head of the *kessha* reinforced the moral authority and charisma he had as a poet-sage and vice versa.

The *kessha* offered its members pride of membership, prospects for advancement and increasing prestige and various face-to-face activities. The chief of these were *kukai* (haiku competitions) and *ginkō*, were group excursions during which participants composed haiku on topics based on what they saw around them. Most *kukai* were highly competitive affairs. While participants continued to grade one another's haiku as had been the custom under Shiki, it now was the haiku chosen by Kyoshi himself that gained the accolades.[57] Just one win in the right arena could make or break a poet's reputation. Although he did have a close inner circle, Kyoshi's meetings tended to be much more public affairs than Shiki's.

On the other hand, Hototogisu was (and remains) a modern family business which allowed Kyoshi and his large family to maintain a comfortable lifestyle – with a residence in Kamakura – of a sort not usually enjoyed by writers at the time. As head of his highly successful *kessha*, Kyoshi's position guaranteed that his descendants would have financial security, power and artistic prestige. As would be the case for a Grand Master, Kyoshi was succeeded by his son Toshio on his death, and then Toshio was succeeded by his own daughter Inahata Teiko, the present editor. Kyoshi's second daughter, Hoshino Tatsuko, who was one of the most acclaimed *joryū* haiku poets of her day, was editor of a *joryū* haiku magazine *Tamamo* and later became the haiku editor of the national daily newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*. *Hototogisu* remains firmly in the hands of the extended family, and these details feature prominently on its website.[58] In this context, it is easy to see why critics have speculated that a significant reason for Hisajo's loss of favour in Kyoshi's eyes was that the runaway success of her magazine, *Hanagoromo*, posed a threat to Tatsuko's *Tamamo*.

[57] Matsuoka. "Local, Global and Beyond: Anthropological Approach to Haiku," 69.
[58] Hototogisusha. "Kyoshi Ichizoku no Keizu [Kyoshi's Family Tree] Accessed 7th June, 2013 (Access from Mokuji)." http://www.hototogisu.co.jp/.

In order to build and consolidate *kessha* membership, Kyoshi pursued a personal network that stretched across Japan. Bashō, of course, had such a network but his was purely a matter of his connection with linked verse circles and, although it enabled him to survive by writing and teaching *haikai*, it did not otherwise facilitate any business interest. Also, unlike Bashō whose rugged journeys into the wilds entailed conscious risk to life and limb,[59] Kyoshi was able to take advantage of a modern national transport system. Perhaps it was that transport system that made the travelling editor a feature of the times. Yosano Tekkan (1873 – 1935) had first met Akiko while travelling the country in 1900 to gather support for his tanka magazine, *Myōjō [Morning Star]*, [60] and between 1907 and 1911, Hekigotō had become well-known throughout the country on tours from Hokkaido to Okinawa to popularize his New Trend (Shinkeikō) haiku.[61] It was therefore a matter of professional self-interest that Kyoshi too should travel into the provinces attending haiku local meetings and his *kessha* organised regional and national conferences where newer members could have some contact with the most acclaimed Hototogisu poets. The 'ordinary people' he encouraged to write haiku were often 'important citizens, such as doctors and high-ranking government officials…who gave him a V.I.P. welcome everywhere he visited.'[62] Unlike the poems submitted to his magazine, many of Kyoshi's haiku were written, rather like *hokku* had been, as greetings, cementing his relationship with individuals of influence. Cards on which he had written a haiku became very highly sought after as Kyoshi's own prestige increased.[63]

Kyoshi's *kukai* could be exciting occasions. In the following passage from her I-novel, *Kahan ni Sumite [Living by the River]*, which gives an account of her first instruction in haiku by her brother, Gessen, in 1916, Hisajo suggests the attraction of mixing in haiku circles. The character representing Gessen arrives with little luggage but his haiku memorabilia:

---

[59] David Landis Barnhill. *Bashō's Haiku*. (New York, State University of New York Press), 6.
[60] Janine Beichman. *Embracing the Firebird*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 85.
[61] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 109.
[62] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement Chapter 3: Kyoshi and the Irony of Shiki's Modern Haiku Movement." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 4, no. 1 (2009): 1 - 7, 5.
[63] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 118.

> "Anyway, as I had the time, I got really caught up in haiku. I never missed a *kukai* and mixed with some well-known *haijin*," he said with great pride and then took that bag out of the closet. He took 20 haiku cards written by people who were supposed to be among the very best in the haiku field from that second hand velvet bag.
>
> Tōru read them out to me one by one and told me about the circumstances in which he'd been given each of them. Among those haiku cards were four or five written by a haiku master that *haijin* all over the country look up to like a living god.Then Tōru told me anecdotes about these celebrated *haijin*. This haiku master's sketching style prose was very beneficial and he was really good at performing nō…[64]

This passage suggests the veneration in which Kyoshi was held, even at this comparatively early time. It portrays Hototogisu haiku gatherings as highly rewarding, sociable spaces, not entirely different from *haikai* poetry circles. *Kukai* wins were gratifying, but it seems that other participants might come away with haiku cards, and treasure these as collectable items. Again, gifts of poetry cards had a long tradition, but these had generally been given to patrons or close disciples. However, in the new context of the *kessha*, in which a far larger number of people were involved than was the case with traditional poetry circles, new meanings attached themselves to such a gift. Since it was an honour for lower status individuals to receive a gift of a haiku card, it was an unpredictable reward which would have motivated continued involvement. Distributing haiku cards at *kukai*, then, was good for business.

The unpredictable nature of acceptance or rejection was also likely to motivate increased submissions to *Hototogisu*. As there were far more submissions than could be published, it was exciting to have one's work appear. Moreover, every contribution to the magazine was informally ranked. The best poet of the month had his (or her) poems on the opening page of the magazine

[64] Sugita Hisajo. "Kahan ni Sumite [Living by the River]." In *Sugita Hisajo to Hashimoto Takako: Futari no Bijin no Monogatari [Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako: A Tale of Two Beautiful Women]* edited by Katsuhiko Yamada. 70 - 106. (Tokyo: Bokuyōsha, 1988), 76.

(*kantō*), and the haiku which appeared in the miscellaneous (*zatsuei*) column were considered better than haiku which appeared elsewhere. Matsuoka Hideaki, a haiku poet and anthropologist, explains that, generally speaking, 'the order of contributors' appearance and the numbers of haiku printed are strictly regulated by their position in the *kessha*.'[65] However, Hisajo's confession of her anxiety about the success, or otherwise, of haiku she submitted to *Hototogisu*, which is discussed below, suggests that a poet's status could go up or down depending on how many and how often poems appeared. The calibration was fine enough for even a top *Hototogisu* poet to take some years to be established in this position.

Other rewards that carried with them increased status were having one's reviews or articles published, winning prizes in national competitions and being asked to act as a selector either for a *Hototogisu* column or for a column in a subordinate magazine. This apparently objective (if, again, informal) ranking system also ensured that Kyoshi could appeal to a large mass of writers, most of whom did not aim to become outstanding poets, while still claiming to showcase the best, most accomplished haiku in the country. Representatives of all of the different categories of Kyoshi's followers could appear in his magazine, some as haiku celebrities, and some as amateurs. Thus, *Hototogisu* provided a more business-savvy (and totalizing) solution to organizing the relationship between ambitious experimental writers, readership, and social power than the division between highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow publishing houses Bourdieu has documented for France in the second half of the nineteenth century.[66]

The members of the *kessha* were also ranked into broad categories with Kyoshi as the leader (*shusai*) at the top and the newest members at the bottom. Members were either coterie members (*dōjin*) or regular members (*kaiin*).[67] There were only fifty-one Hototogisu *dōjin* when Hisajo was

[65] Matsuoka. "Local, Global and Beyond," 71.
[66] Bourdieu. *The Field of Cultural Production*, 48.
[67] Matsuoka. "Local, Global and Beyond," 71.

appointed in 1932, and she was only the second from Kyushu.[68] The coterie members could have a number of their haiku printed in Hototogisu without these needing to be vetted by Kyoshi. They were also allowed to become the head of a Hototogisu branch office.[69] Only *dōjin* could launch their own (lower-ranked) magazine, which would then form a node in a network of magazines that fell under the Hototogisu umbrella. The network stretched across Japan and extended into the colonies, allowing the members of the Hototogisu *kessha* a wide choice of publication opportunities. Needless to say, they were not allowed to submit to any magazine or participate in any group associated with another *kessha*.

By contrast to Kyoshi's family, even *dōjin* – unlike the certified teachers within Iemoto Schools – received no financial support from Hototogisu. Of course, their status entitled them to start their own magazines plus *kessha* and thus raise an income through subscriptions. Lack of payment from the *kessha* was not a source of resentment for Hisajo as, although she was often short of money, she refused to be paid for teaching haiku.[70] Her anti-materialistic attitude may have had its basis in the school divide at Ochanomizu, where those, like herself, who had passed an entrance examination, 'secretly looked down upon' the pampered group of students from daimyo and other very wealthy families.'[71] Nevertheless, the disparity between the benefits received by the Takahama family and those received by even the most highly ranked members of Hototogisu illustrates the immense gap between Kyoshi's power and Hisajo's within the *kessha*. The size of this gap was likely to arouse awe, even if – perhaps especially if – the material reason for that awe was easily misconstrued.

KYOSHI'S POETICS AND HISAJO'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HOTOTOGISU

[68] In Ishi's "Nenpu" (p. 250), 1934 is given as the date that Hisajo was made a *dōjin* of Hototogisu, but Sakamoto, 2008 (p. 115) found October, 1932 was the correct date by checking back copies of the magazine.
[69] Matsuoka. "Local, Global and Beyond," 72.
[70] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo*. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 54.
[71] Hiratsuka Raichō. *In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun: The Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist*. Translated by Teruko Craig. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 43.

Although the *kessha* furnished the primary source of Kyoshi's power, the fact that he was also a charismatic figure who portrayed himself as having become "enlightened" through the practice of haiku was particularly important for Hisajo's understanding of her own haiku journey. Kyoshi's promotion of haiku as a means of contemplation and comfort was related to his own use of it. In 1914, his baby daughter, Rokuko, died, leaving him in a state of intense grief and anxiety about mortality. He claimed that only writing haiku had been able to ease his pain. It gave him a wider vision in which 'human sickness or death is indistinguishable from the movement of the clouds or the fruiting of persimmon.' Instead of distress, the acute awareness of the here-and-now gave him a powerful sense of vitality: 'There is nothing happier than to live at just this moment. I am alive. I can keep thinking this way. In front of these eyes the landscape will keep unfolding.' [72]

Kyoshi's use of other-directed, close observation is similar to the techniques of mindfulness meditation which had been absorbed from Buddhism by some Neo-Confucian philosophers.[73] Combined with the intense focus required by the intellectual demands of haiku composition, it would most probably have genuinely helped to ease his grief. Similarly, if not quite for the reasons he believed, Kyoshi's advocacy of self-transcendence was undoubtedly helpful for some of the so-called "ordinary people" he encouraged to observe nature and write haiku. His belief that haiku had a spiritual dimension was not controversial. One of his most formidable rivals, the avant-garde haiku poet, Seisensui, also saw writing haiku as 'a way of life' and 'moral discipline' that 'helped to allay grief' and 'enabled one to live a spiritually satisfying life even when materially impoverished.'[74]

As mentioned earlier, the metaphysical basis of the link between haiku and spirituality can be traced back, at least, to the orthodox Neo-Confucian philosopher, Zhu Xi. He had argued that

[72] Quoted in Kawasaki Nobuhiro. "Taishōki no Kyoshi," 77.
[73] Mary Evelyn Tucker. "Religious Dimensions of Confucianism: Cosmology and Cultivation." *Philosophy East and West* 48, no. 1 (1998): 5-48, 28. Neo-Confucianism is most obviously distinguished from plain Confucianism by its totalizing approach. Metaphysical speculation and various other kinds of stories as well as spiritual practices were taken from Daoism, Buddhism, and, in Japan, Shintō and adapted and synthesized to fit with the basic authoritarian and hierarchically organized principles of Confucianism.
[74] Makoto Ueda. *Modern Japanese Haiku an Anthology*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 333.

everything in the universe was comprised of two parts, *li* (law) and *qi* (materiality, or in Ann A Pang-White's translation, 'psycho-physical energy/force'[75]), the latter being made up of varying proportions of yin and yang which in turn created the universe and 'the rotation of the four seasons.'[76] For Kyoshi those changes which were represented by *kigo*. To purify one's mind it was essential to 'exercise attentiveness and the extension of knowledge…by investigating the *li* of each particular object, one at a time, until after much sustained effort one becomes in a moment of sudden illumination completely enlightened.'[77] Where Kyoshi was particularly persuasive – and attractive to those in need of spiritual comfort – was that he backed his metaphysical pronouncements with a personal story of redemption.

To a certain extent, Kyoshi's unworldly stance as a Confucian sage who had morally purified himself through his observations of nature until he had reached a state of blissful harmony with the universe, would have complemented the other aspects of his *kessha* that can be interpreted as marketing appeals. Both would have created a mix of need and dependency in some of his followers. It is possible that many, having experienced real but necessarily intermittent redemptory benefits from writing haiku, were all the more eager for Kyoshi's evaluation to reassure them that they were making spiritual advances. Some may even have thought that his praise or the lack of it offered useful guidance in their quest for spiritual development. There are many signs that Hisajo had just such an attitude.

As *Kahan ni Sumite* shows, Hisajo's introduction to haiku coincided with a time when she too almost lost a baby daughter. It is not difficult to imagine that she would have been strongly moved by Kyoshi's accounts of his reaction to the death of his child and his use of haiku to cope with it. More than a decade later, she also recommended the practice of haiku as a means of finding comfort in distress:

---

[75] Ann A. Pang-White. "Zhu Xi on Family and Women: Challenges and Potentials." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 40, no. 3 - 4 (2013): 436 – 55, 446
[76] Pang-White. "Zhu Xi on Family and Women," 446
[77] Liu, Wu-Chi. *A Short History of Confucian Philosophy (*New York: Dell Publishing, 1955), 163.

> But those of us who live in various lonely circumstances can find poetry in what is around us and through the changing of the seasons can praise the beauty of nature. Surely it is something to be grateful for that, in creating our own world of poetry, we can forget for a little while the pain of sickness, our attachments and troubles, as we are permeated by the nirvana of *hokku*.[78]

There are no statements here about the beneficence of the universe or the need to discard – as opposed to temporarily forget – the troubles of the self. Hisajo wished to escape from her 'attachments and troubles' by writing haiku. But she also wished to record, protest and dramatize aspects of her struggles and, through her essays and other haiku-related activities, mentor other women. Her orientation towards facing conflict and involving herself in "human affairs" ran contrary to the solitary path of harmonizing oneself with "nature" to promote personal and spiritual development recommended by Kyoshi.

Hisajo certainly experienced writing haiku as a profoundly healing activity. In 1921, she had written a letter to Kyoshi, which with her encouragement, was published in *Hototogisu*. Much of the letter gives a vivid, almost ecstatic, account of the relief she experienced as, after a long period of forced abstinence, she spent a night awake writing haiku. However, the same letter shows that the two basic appeals of the Hototogisu *kessha* – prestige and spiritual growth – were not necessarily complementary.

Instead of being calmingly blissful, writing haiku aroused intense competitiveness and disquiet. The pulls exercised on Hisajo by her desire for success with submissions and its reward of greater prestige or higher rank, on the one hand, and, on the other, her desire to use haiku as a means of spiritual growth could be confused. They were also in sharp conflict:

[78] Sugita Hisajo. "Haiku ni Yomigaerite [Reborn through Haiku]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū,* edited by Masako Ishi. 118 - 23. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1927/2007), 123.

> Up until now I have tried to have as many haiku as possible published in the magazine. On the other hand, when only a few were published I couldn't eat, lost weight and got depressed. I got a fever, felt sad, and did nothing but compose recklessly for magazine competitions. Rather than being intuitively inspired, I desperately wrote the kind of haiku that might be accepted until my eyes were bloodshot. These haiku weren't 'born' they were 'made' …
>
> Moreover as I wrote, when I read the fine haiku by other people that had been I would feel that I was stuck and that I couldn't live up to the work of this or that person. I felt lonely and sad. Afterwards I decided I was no good at haiku and stopped reading the magazines with so much enthusiasm…[79]

Ironically, both spiritual comfort and spiritual alienation were logical outcomes of the contradictions between the highly competitive nature of the Hototogisu and Kyoshi's metaphysically grounded – and so particularly potent – Neo-Confucian poetics. An experience of conflict between the two was one to which ambitious women would be particularly prone. Neo-Confucianism was particularly cruel to women. The founding fathers, the Song Dynasty (1127 – 1279) Neo-Confucians (including Zhu Xi), had interpreted established precepts for women, including the fact they were expected to spend their entire life deferring to first their father, then their husband, and finally their son, in the most harshly patriarchal manner.[80] This was a consequence of their closer connection with yin, itself regarded as inferior to yang. For example, 'consciousness and movement are due to yang' and on death 'this aspect of the soul and the vital force return to Heaven,' whereas 'physical form and body…are due to yin' which forms the 'earthly part of the soul,' returning to the earth on death.[81] The dominance of the influence of the Zhu Xi School through the Tokugawa period meant that such attitudes continued to set a kind of moral tone that influenced the more conservative common sense attitudes about gender relations,

---

[79] Sugita Hisajo. "Yoake Mae Kakishi Tegami [A Letter Written Before Dawn]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 111 – 117. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1922/2007), 113 – 114.

[80] Pang-White. "Zhu Xi on Family and Women," 436

[81] Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi). "Spiritual Beings and Spiritual Forces (Kuei-Shen)." In *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Wing-Tsit Chan, 643 - 46. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 645.

particularly for the more well-to-do, in twentieth century Japan. Female inequality, in the form of highly ambivalent attitudes to the feminine principle, yin, was also built into the spiritual path that offered, or appeared to offer them sustenance.

Although Hisajo, like other progressive Japanese women of her day, rejected the Confucian-influenced mainstream norms, their oppressive, ubiquitous presence undoubtedly contributed to some degree of intrapersonal conflict. This vulnerability made it more likely that criticism from Kyoshi would lead her to question her spiritual integrity. The seductive belief that – if only one could position oneself correctly in relationship to the universe – equanimity could be achieved in the face of tragedy, and opened *joryū* (female) writers particularly, to responding to the conflicted emotions they were bound to feel with self-castigation. Thus, Kyoshi's advice to haiku poets to 'completely discard the efforts of your petty ego' had quite different implications for men and for women.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that changes in all five constraints that Peterson identified as significant did, in fact, affect the compositional context for Hisajo, her contemporaries, and beyond. The constraint of the law and, behind it, the power of the state, was reflected in the hierarchical structure and tone of the Hototogisu *kessha*. Meiji law-makers enshrined respect for the Confucian values of harmony and rank, and aimed to achieve these values by top-down domination and sometimes harsh intolerance of diversity. In a parallel way, the power wielded by Kyoshi through Hototogisu *kessha* shaped how the majority of haiku poets would understand the genre up until the present. Writers who believed their task was to become one with nature felt themselves above investigating human foibles or conflict or social issues. But the ongoing influence of the Confucian dichotomy of "nature" versus "human affairs" impoverished haiku, by distancing it from the issues of the day.

Had the higher (*hokku*) and lower (senryu) extremes of *haikai* joined together, as was advocated by some, a more flexible and robust genre may have developed.

Divorced from senryu, haiku was vulnerable to the imposition of new restrictions of the sort represented by *kachō fūei* (bird and flower composition). Men, particularly high status men like Kyoshi, stood to benefit psychologically from the past used as a source of national self-esteem. Woman, however, had far less to gain. Condemned by the *status quo* to a marginalized position socially and – for metaphysical reasons – condemned to self-doubt and the strictest self-censorship by the Neo-Confucian ambivalence to yin that underlay Kyoshi's poetics, women would be drawn to innovation.

The technological changes that facilitated the production and distribution of national newspapers and magazines were another vital condition. Once established, newspapers allowed the influx of knowledge and values from overseas to become widely disseminated in Japan. In terms of the haiku market, the mass media opened the genre to a larger group of potential practitioners, including women and so-called "ordinary people." The new occupational career of the "national haiku arbiter" was developed on the basis of the mass media by Shiki. Kyoshi's *kessha*, which itself depended on the modern infrastructure of roads, railways and a postal service, proliferated haiku roles and the rewards associated with them.

Based on studies investigating European and American examples, Peterson's constraints ignore the influence of geopolitics. My investigation suggests that a drive for increased status and prestige in their own and international eyes during an era of colonialism, was important in the ways haiku developed. As the next chapter will show, Japan's expansion after 1895 brought certain contradictions between *kigo* and Japanese colonialism to the surface. One benefit of using an innovation-constraints framework to investigate the production of haiku is that it has allowed the connection between such seemingly distantly related factors to emerge.

CHAPTER THREE: THE FORMAL REQUIREMENTS OF HOTOTOGISU HAIKU

If for both Shiki and Kyoshi every haiku had to (more or less) follow the 5-7-5 prosodic pattern and contain a *kigo*, the meaning of these constraints was not the same for the two men. Shiki arrived at these two core principles by simplifying *haikai* in an attempt to bring it up-to-date. For Kyoshi, however, they were principles to be defended against the innovations of contemporary poets. When Kyoshi published his haiku primer for complete beginners in 1913, he did not recommend beginning with observation as Shiki had done.[1] Instead, he began by suggesting would-be haiku poets put any 17 morae together. The next step was for them to try to include a *kireji* (cutting word) and a *kigo*.[2] Shorn from its connection to linked verse and, especially after 1927, increasingly narrow in the subject matter it was supposed to address, Hototogisu haiku became one of the most restricted of all poetic genres. Not only was it extremely short, but its rules about prosody and word choice required considerable ingenuity from those poets who did not want to produce ritualized variations on earlier models.

Yet, the relationship between constraint and innovation does not have to be antagonistic. Indeed, the use of constraint as a fruitful means of generating innovation is perhaps best demonstrated by the radical experiments of the avant-garde group Oulipo. Formed in the 1960s by a group of experimental French writers including Georges Perec, Oulipo was a reaction against Surrealism's attempt to return artists to a state of pre-socialized freedom. Instead, its writers successfully experimented with the imposition of severe, arbitrary restrictions on the composition process.[3]

---

[1] Shiki's *shasei* approach to composition is discussed in detail in the next chapter.
[2] Takahama Kyoshi. *Haiku no Tsukuriyō [How to Write Haiku]*. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakkei Shuppan, 2009), 7 – 8.
[3] Jan Baetens and Jean-Jacques Poucel. "Introduction: The Challenge of Constraint." *Poetics Today* 30, no. 4 (2009): 611 - 33.

Raymond Queneau, one of the group's founders, has shown how such constraints can increase creativity by involving the poet in active problem solving.[4]

Oulipo's approach was a case of using constraint to fight constraint. As both Surrealists and members of Oulipo would agree, internalized constraint is ubiquitous. It comes with the grammar and habitual collocations of natural languages as well as in the form of common sense assumptions. Both are all the more restricting because they operate at an unconscious level. In other words, constraint cannot be avoided, it can only be problematized. Or in Roman Jakobson's words: 'the artist's revolt, no less than his [sic] faithfulness to certain required rules, is conceived of by contemporaries with respect to the code that the innovator wants to shatter.'[5] Although they may not have conceived it in this way, the question for the more ambitious Hototogisu haiku poets, however, was not how to shatter the code but how to bend its constraints, narrow and deepen them, or otherwise use them in an innovative manner.

Clearly, when formal constraints in poetry make the reiteration of earlier solutions appear inevitable, they reinforce the *status quo*. Conversely, when formal constraints disrupt habitual combinations of words, poetry can generate new forms of being, or of thought. To better understand and evaluate Hisajo's achievement, it is important to, first, understand in more detail the hidden assumptions behind Hototogisu haiku's conventions, particularly where they tended to enable or to stifle innovation. The following three chapters address the tensions between the old and new elements that together shaped the poetics within which Hisajo worked. This chapter explores the constraints of prosody and *kigo*. The next compares Shiki's and Hisajo's use of *shasei* (the sketch from life approach to composition); and the third approaches the relationship between the two from the point of view of Hisajo's own exposition of the development of *joryū* (women's) haiku in the Taisho era.

---

[4] Warren F. Motte Jr. "Raymond Queneau and the Aesthetic of Formal Constraint." *Romantic Review* 82, no. 2 (1991): 193 - 209.
[5] Roman Jakobson. *The Framework of Language.* Michigan: Michigan Studies in the Humanities, 1980. 21 - 22

The definitive constraints erected within Hototogisu haiku were a defensive response to that fact that the old genre boundaries of Japanese poetry were unstable. There were not only radicals like Ippekiro, but senryu reformers attempted to merge *hokku* and senryu.[6] Others, like Shūōshi, brought a *waka*-like sensibility to haiku.[7] The brevity of haiku was challenged when groups of haiku were linked together in sequences, combined on the basis of principles that had nothing to do with the rules of *haikai no renga*. Hypothetically, in response to the challenges of modernity as they were experienced in Japan, various new *haikai*-esque genres could have developed from a range of heritage elements. *Hokku*'s distinctive cut (*kire*) and associated methods of combining fragments could have been systematically extended. *Haibun* (a mixture of prose and haiku in the style of Bashō's travel diaries) could have been adapted to record the changes of the times, or *haiga* (*hokku* plus illustrations) could have been promoted as a form of multi-media composition. To my knowledge, none of these innovations was proposed while Hisajo was alive. All have been attempted since by English-language haiku poets. Although the New Trend Haiku movement was overwhelmed by Hototogisu, once formal requirements had been challenged, they remained open to question. While reading Hisajo's haiku, the pull venturesome haiku poets may have felt to explore the new fields opened by the New Trend Haiku's experiments, as well as Kyoshi's strict injunctions against doing so must be both kept in mind.

Since haiku's "traditions" appealed to what we would now call identity politics, questioning them – like questioning superiors in general – was not a trivial matter. Despite these stakes, Hisajo's haiku is mildly biased towards a freer style than that dictated by an absolute compliance to Hototogisu constraints. For her, this meant first allowing herself access to a larger pool of vocabulary, including the occasional loan word (a category that had been disallowed in *haikai*). A relatively high proportion of the poems in her corpus do not follow the 5-7-5 requirement, and a small number lack *kigo* in the sense that they do not contain a *kigo* found in Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki*.

[6] Makoto Ueda. *Light Verse from the Floating World: An Anthology of Premodern Japanese Senryu*. (Columbia University Press, 1999), 33.
[7] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 141.

How significant these deviations are can only be gauged by comparing her work with the work of her contemporaries, or, in the case of this thesis, her corpus with the corpora of Shiki and Kyoshi. First, however, it is important to investigate the close link between prosody and *kigo* use in Hototogisu haiku.

PROSODY AND *KIGO*

In fact, although it was prototypical and generally followed, the 5-7-5 pattern had never been rigidly applied. Both *jiamari* (more morae than expected) and *jitarazu* (less morae than expected) were well-established terms for *hokku*. Bashō's oeuvre contained rare examples with nineteen or more morae.[8] Shiki[9] and, especially the younger, Kyoshi[10] also significantly deviate from 5-7-5, at times. Ueda comments that in one standard collection of 960 of Shiki's haiku one in six is *jiamari*.[11]

In Shiki's corpus, 88% of his haiku follow the 5-7-5 pattern. Of the exceptions, four come from the "Sickbed Snowfall" sequence and most cluster in 1896 and 1897. All but three simply contain one extra mora. The most unconventional haiku on this axis is an occasional poem written in a direct speaking voice to Hekigotō who was in hospital with smallpox. It has a 5-8-6 rhythm:

寒かろう痒かろう人に逢いたかろう 5- 8-6

samu*karō/ kayukarō hito ni/ aitakarō* (winter)

cold, I guess/ itchy, I guess, people/ wanting to meet, I guess

[8] Makoto Ueda. "Introduction." In *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary*, edited by Makoto Ueda. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), 3.
[9] Janine Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki His Life and Works*. (Boston and Worcester Cheng & Tsui Company, 2002), 76.
[10] Bin Akio. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: Kindai Haiku no Media [Kyoshi and Hototogisu: The Media of Modern Haiku]*. (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 2006), 45.
[11] Makoto Ueda. *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 41.

guess you’re cold

itchy

and in want of visitors

1898

There are no examples of *jitarazu*.

More surprisingly, in Kyoshi’s corpus, 13% of the haiku do not follow the 5-7-5 pattern, with these irregular examples spread fairly evenly across his career. Kyoshi’s prosody range is more extreme than Shiki’s. He has three examples of *jitarazu*, and the longest haiku in his corpus follows an extreme 6-7-10 pattern:

人間吏となるも風流胡瓜も曲がるも亦 6-7-10

ningen ri to/ naru mo fūryū/ ***kyūri*** *no magaru mo mata* (summer)

person official/ becomes even so poetry-mad/ **cucumber** (p.p.) crooked also the same

a bureaucrat

can be elegant

just like a crooked cucumber

1917

Possibly, Kyoshi, who claimed to have reached the highest stages of haiku composition, felt he was expert enough to break his own rules.

Although in making my selection of the haiku for Hisajo's corpus I did not consider prosody as a factor, only 77% of her haiku are regular. Of the remaining 23%, all, but one, have extra morae. The longest haiku in Hisajo's corpus is:

よべの野分を語る廊人旭を浴びて 7-7-7

yobe no ***nowaki*** *o/ kataru rōjin/ asahi o abite* (autumn)

last night (p.p.) **typhoon**/ (o.p.) telling corridor people/ morning sunlight-are-bathed-in

'last night's typhoon'

the people talking in the corridor

are bathed in morning sunlight

1920

This haiku is interesting in that it combines two elements which, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Shiki often treated as opposed: the temporal and the spatial. It conveys a narrative (there had been a typhoon in the night, but the morning was sunny) and a moment in time (due to the implied quotation the reference to the past occurs in the present). The importance Hisajo gave to the narrative (which logically precedes the collapse of past into present) is apparent in the choice of '*yobe no.*' That expression adds an extra mora to the first block. The final block could easily have been changed to '*asahi kana*,' making this haiku more closely approximate the default rhythm. That Hisajo did not adopt this obvious solution suggests her focus was on evoking a strong, unmistakable visual, even theatrical, scene. A second possibility is that 旭 should be pronounced '*hi*' (sunlight), while retaining its more precise meaning. In this case, the haiku would comply with a somewhat more conventional 7-7-5 pattern. Clearly, readers are only faced with these choices if the default conventions did not provide a foil against which this haiku is inevitably read.

The shortest haiku in Hisajo's corpus is:

水底に映える影もぬるむなり 5-6-5

minazoko ni/ haeru kage mo/ ***nurumu*** *nari* (spring)

water bottom on/ shining reflections also/ **warming up**

on the bottom

the shining reflections

also warming up

1932

In this case, the mora omitted from the middle section of the haiku can be transferred to the pause before the final '*nurumu nari*,' emphasizing that expression in a lingering way which reinforces its meaning. Again, this technique is only available because the reader expects a 5-7-5 pattern.

The rhythmic variations in Hisajo's work should be understood as deliberate choices rather than lack of skill. Since many of Hisajo's haiku were accepted for publication in *Hototogisu* it is clear that Kyoshi did allow his poets some flexibility. However, the haiku written by other women that Hisajo quotes in her essays do, in almost every case, follow the 5-7-5 default. Clearly, further comparison with a much larger range of other poets needs be undertaken in the future to establish just how unusual Hisajo's liberal use of *jiamari* was.

Despite its ubiquity in Japanese indigenous verse as a whole, the 5-7-5 did not rise organically from the nature of the Japanese language. As Kawamoto explains, since every Japanese mora takes the same stress as any other, the production of metrical speech of any sort in that language faces special challenges. In fact, rhythm can only be created by the deliberate (conventionalized)

insertion of pauses.[12] Although a phrase can straddle a rhythmic pause, such pauses cannot be intelligibly inserted mid-word. This means that the adherence to the 5-7-5 (7-7) prosodic pattern found throughout Japanese indigenous poetry presupposes semantic blocks that perfectly match it. Many *kigo*, or *kigo* plus *kireji* (cutting word) combinations had already been fashioned to do just that. Thus, *kigo* and haiku's conventional prosody complement each other. While the choice for one need not entail a choice for the other, there will be a tendency for each to attract the other. A few examples should make this point plain.

The first five of the haiku in Shiki's corpus contain the *kigo*: *ajisai* (hydrangeas), *tsutsuji* (azaleas), *hotaru* (firefly), *kirigirisu* (cricket) and *momiji* (autumn leaves). Of these, *kirigirisu* is five morae long, *tsutsuji*, *hotaru* and *momiji* can each be combined with the cutting word *kana* to produce a five-morae-long phrase and *ajisai* can be similarly combined with the cutting word *ya*. For shorter words, other combinations are immediately available, for example *yuki no yoru* (snow at night), in which the *kigo* is the two-morae-long *yuki*, appears in the seventh haiku in Shiki's corpus. While *kigo* do not have to be able to fit these five-morae-long blocks, such *kigo* (or *kigo* plus modifier or plus cutting word) are frequent.

Moreover, *kigo* generally have a special place in the composition process. In many cases, a topic (*dai*), and therefore the *kigo* or the range of *kigo* appropriate to that topic, is set in advance by the editor of a haiku column or the leader of a *kukai* (live poetry competitions). Thus, even for the strictly *shasei*-style observationally-oriented haiku poet, it is the *kigo* that sets the direction of the writing task. In other words, the rest of the material must be chosen, or carefully adjusted, to the fit the remaining morae.

A set topic is, therefore, a great restriction on the poet. If the *kigo* (in its extended sense) takes up five morae, only twelve more morae – barely more than two thirds of the poem – is left free for the

[12] Kawamoto Kōji. *The Poetics of Japanese Verse*. Translated by Stephen Collington, Kevin Collins and Gustav Heldt. (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000), 179.

poet to fill. The miscellaneous (*zatsuei*) column in *Hototogisu* was particularly prestigious because it was expected that only the best poets could effectively handle the free choice involved in submitting a haiku on any topic. Yet, even when the poet choses the *kigo*, that choice must be made from a conventional pool of expressions. Although Japanese syntax is flexible and deletion, particularly of particles, prepositions, verbs or tense markers, is acceptable, if conformity to 5-7-5 is the aim, many Japanese expressions will be unsuitable. Vocabulary restrictions banning words not considered "poetical," limit the range of choice even further.

The *kigo* could be incorporated into the haiku in two different ways – with or without juxtaposition. *Hokku* were classified either as *toriawase*, 'combination' poems,[13] or as *ichibutsu shitate*, 'single object' poems which lack 'the leap or gap found in the combination poem.'[14] Read as a single statement (or single fragment) single object poems are are far less common than combination poems.[15] Except for the inclusion of a *kigo*, they are formally similar to most senryu. In other words, in single object poems the *kigo* is both grammatically and cognitively integrated with the rest of the material. For the purposes of this thesis, I call such *kigo* integrated *kigo*. (Integrated *kigo* can also be found in combination poems, where rather than the *kigo*, other elements are placed in juxtaposition the rest of the material.) Single object poems may invite a metaphorical reading, but lacking cuts they give the reader less room to intuit unspoken meanings and therefore risk being literalistic.

While the following example by Hisajo contains some grammatical deletion, and arguably two complementary spring topics, this single object poem is based upon a simple statement within which the *kigo* is integrated. Its appeal comes from the intrinsic beauty of the image of a woman chasing a butterfly along a mountain path as well as the symbolic resonance the image has with the

[13] Haruo Shirane. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 105.
[14] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 111.
[15] Ueda. *Light Verse from the Floating World*, 18 – 19.

sober notion of losing one's way. In this case, the fascination and danger of over-absorption in haiku may well be the underlying theme:

蝶追うて春山深く迷ひけり 5-7-5

chō *ōte/* ***haru*** *yama fukaku/ mayoikeri* (spring)

butterfly/butterflies) chase /**spring** mountains deep/ became lost

chasing butterflies

deep into the spring mountains

I lost my way

date not traced

Combination style haiku have a two-part structure in which, generally speaking, one of the five morae blocks is juxtaposed against the rest of the poem. It can be separated from the rest of the material by a *kireji* (cutting word) or simply by one of the default pauses on either side of the central seven morae block. When the juxtaposed block is a *kigo*, I call it a "juxtaposed *kigo*." Juxtaposed *kigo* may be cognitively as well as grammatically separate from the rest of the material in a haiku. In the following haiku by Hisajo, the juxtaposition implicitly contrasts the 'dark harbour' with the 'phosphorescent creatures,' while at the same time maintaining an association between them. What exactly the connection is – or what all the possibilities are – the reader must decide. However, since this haiku appeared in a series about the Star Festival (Tanabata) in which the Milky Way plays an important part, the sea lit up with phosphorescence and a sparkling night sky are obviously intended to suggest each other.

大島の港はくらし夜光蟲 5-7-5

Ōshima no/ minato wa kurashi/ ***yakōchū*** (summer)

Ōshima (p.p.) habour (t.p.) dark/ **phosphorescent creatures**

Ōshima harbour

is dark –

phosphorescent creatures

1933

While this paradoxical double function of both dividing and connecting is common, juxtaposed *kigo* allow for a range of different rhetorical effects, some of which will be discussed in the next chapter. Comparing the proportion of integrated to juxtaposed *kigo*, the haiku in Hisajo's corpus is very similar to that of Shiki's and Kyoshi's. 50% of Hisajo's, 50% of Shiki's, and 42% of Kyoshi's contain a juxtaposed *kigo*. In that way, then, Hisajo's haiku was not innovative.

THE NATURE OF *KIGO*

Western readers tend to read haiku through Imagism and interpret the vivid, concreteness of their imagery as a testament to the fresh and sensuous sensibilities of haiku poets. In fact, the conventionality (and predictability) of *kigo* cannot be over-stressed. *Kigo* can be traced back to set expressions used in Chinese poetry written during the Six Dynasties Period (220 – 589).[16] The *kidai* (seasonal themes) developed by Chinese poets emerged in some of the earliest recorded Japanese court poetry (*waka*).[17] In time, Japanese *waka* poets developed their own *kidai*, and as *haikai* developed, its poets added new seasonal expressions not used in *waka* to *haigon*, or the special, more relaxed but nevertheless conventional pool of vocabulary that *haikai* poets were allowed to use. Collectively, all the seasonal expressions used by *haikai* poets became known as

[16] Helen Craig McCullough. Introduction. *Tales of Ise*. (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1968), 19.
[17] Haruo Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 25.

kigo. It is most important to understand that the term *kigo* does not refer to all seasonal expressions, but only to those that have been accepted into the conventional pool.

Ultimately, it is the belief that *kigo* point to profound, philosophically-grounded truths about humanity – considered as a lone individual, rather than humanity in the mass –
and the universe that justifies the existence of the category. *Kigo* are not simple references to nature, but map the human life cycle onto the seasonal cycle of the year, and the different scenes, animals and plants they evoke may symbolize human ideals and emotions. As I explained earlier, I find they particularly resonate with orthodox, Zhu Xi School, Neo-Confucianism, but they cannot be traced back to a single philosophical, religious or aesthetic tradition. However, even though they express, sometimes in a poignant way, the effervescent quality of seasonal phenomena, they rarely – although they sometimes do – emphasize the inevitability of loss. Thus, they do not primarily instantiate Buddhism's apprehension of "emptiness" or its aspiration to "escape from rebirth." Rather they express a vison of constant but cyclic change within nature, similar to the change that is explained by the operation of yin and yang in Daoism. Since Daoism was not a Japanese religion, but Neo-Confucianism had absorbed a version of the Daoist cosmology (as well as aspects of Buddhism and Shinto), *kigo* can be seen as rooted in a broad, diverse and commonsensical Neo-Confucian worldview. That said, not all haiku practitioners adhered to a common ideology, and not all of them ascribed to the view that *kigo* had metaphysical significance.

Kigo form a conventional pool of established expressions that developed gradually as poets repeated certain seasonal expressions and literary gate-keepers endorsed new examples. Whether or not an expression is a *kigo* is not up to the whim of an individual poet. Neither can it be decided on a semantic basis. Many words that have seasonal reference are not *kigo*. In fact, *kigo* can be difficult to use correctly without a *saijiki*. While some *kigo*, like 'new leaves,' refer to natural phenomenon which appear at a particular season, others like, 'unlined kimono,' 'transplanting rice seedlings' or 'New Year's Day,' refer to culturally determined items, activities or festivals which

suggest a time of year with varying degrees of precision. Why a particular *kigo* (the moon for instance) is associated with, say, autumn instead of spring or summer depends on associated cultural practices – in this case, the timing of the Moon-Viewing Festival. The adoption of the Gregorian calendar which placed the New Year, which was originally in spring, in mid-winter[18] led to further potential pitfalls for haiku poets and increased the sense that *saijiki* represent a means of accessing specialized, even esoteric, knowledge.

Shirane conceptualizes the whole pool of *kigo* hierarchically. The oldest motifs – like plum blossoms, cherry blossoms and the passing of spring; the lesser cuckoo, summer rain and the summer night; the Star Festival, autumn moon and fallen leaves; and snow, plum blossoms in snow and end of the year – that are found in the earliest poems of the Japanese poetic tradition, occupy its peak.[19] Newer *kigo* 'taken from everyday commoner life' and reflecting 'popular culture,' take their place lower down the hierarchy.[20] While the newest of all may be fresh and surprising, such aesthetic qualities are not the main aim of *kigo*. Novelty is generally confined to the other elements of the haiku or the relationship between the *kigo* and the rest of the poem.

Unlike a cliché, the more a *kigo* is used, the more connotations it gathers, and the more power it acquires. Shirane stresses that the links to ancient poetry represented by *kigo* make the composition of haiku an exercise in intertextuality: 'The result was often a double vision in which the reconstructed or imagined past intersected with the immediately observed present.'[21] Individual *kigo* have been used in countless poems. Their referents also appear as motifs in fine and decorative arts. The same referents in the phenomenal world are also celebrated, sometimes on set days and according to set practices. Therefore, it is very easy from within Japanese culture to make the mistake of identifying *kigo* referents with "nature" as a whole.

[18] Kai Hasegawa. "Time in Saijiki." *Japan Review* 14 (2002): 151 – 72, 151.
[19] Shirane. *Culture of the Four Seasons*, 31.
[20] Shirane. *Culture of the Four Seasons*, 176.
[21] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 13.

As I have already mentioned, which expressions became new *kigo* and who endorsed them was a matter for powerful haiku gate-keepers.[22] The size of the *kigo* pool must be restricted or it would present problems for haiku. If there were too few *kigo*, there would be a risk of making haiku too repetitive. Yet, adding new *kigo* to the pool is a fraught process. The fact that each *hokku* was only supposed to contain a single *kigo* was, logically speaking, a brake on the acceptance of new ones. If absolutely any seasonal expression used in a predecessor poem could become a *kigo* for later writers, non-*kigo* seasonal expressions would quickly disappear. If that happened, every haiku (with a *kigo*) would be constrained to one of two possible patterns. Either it would be built of a combination of *kigo* or it would consist of a *kigo* combined with with non-seasonal expressions, most of which could not refer to natural phenomena. In the first case, the function of the *kigo* as a pole of tension or special centre of the haiku would be lost. In the second case, the possibility of writing haiku as a form of "nature" poetry would be greatly restricted.

Shirane states that the basic *kigo* pool had been established by the Genroku era and even Bashō had used very few new ones.[23] Keene, on the other hand notes that *kigo* was being 'constantly expanded by other poets' and that in 1803 Bakin had collected 2,600 of them.[24] Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki*, which was first compiled in 1933,[25] has approximately the same number. New trends in *kigo* use mean that the post-war *Nihon Dai Saijiki* has over 15,000. Rapid cultural change meant expansion was necessary, if haiku was not to remain tied to old customs.

Within Hototogisu a new seasonal expression could become a *kigo* with Kyoshi's approval. Expert poets could use a seasonal expression in a *kigo*-like way, or as what I call a candidate *kigo*, but it was Kyoshi who had the final right to endorse or reject the resulting poems. Nevertheless, as this

[22] William J. Higginson. *The Haiku Seasons: Poetry of the Natural World*. (New York: Kodansha, 1996), 99.
[23] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 200.
[24] Keene. Dawn to the West, 90.
[25] Ishi Masako. "Nenpu: Sugita Hisajo. [A Literary Timeline for Sugita Hisajo]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 236 - 56. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2007, 248 - 249.

chapter shows, some candidate *kigo* – or *kigo* which do not appear in Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki* – used by Hisajo do appear in *saijiki* compiled by later important gate-keepers.

***SHIN SAIJIKI KIGO* IN THE CORPORA**

This section compares Hisajo's *kigo* use with that of Shiki and Kyoshi and shows that actual usage is, naturally enough, more complex than the formal rules indicate. Higginson states that about 1% of Bashō's *hokku* are *kigo*-less and of the many thousands of haiku Shiki wrote, a few hundred lacked a *kigo*.[26] In the corpus of Shiki's haiku used for this thesis, 4% of the poems have no *Shin Saijiki kigo*. In most cases, these poems do contain seasonal expressions and the fact that they are not all classified as *kigo* reflects some weaknesses in Kyoshi's *saijiki*. For example, Shiki was a gluttonous eater and often wrote about what he ate,[27] but the *Shin Saijiki* has a poor coverage of traditional dishes. Some of the haiku in his corpus use words which did carry well-established seasonal connotations and had been used as *kigo* elsewhere.

Shiki also occasionally breaks the general rule about including only one *kigo* per haiku. Sometimes he uses two *kigo* that both refer to the same season which, as the existence of a term for this technique (*kigasanari*) shows, was something that others had done systematically. On other occasions, he uses two *kigo* from adjacent seasons, a technique which was called *kichigai*. In the latter case, the haiku is either to be understood as referring to the moment of transition between seasons or a long passage of time. The following is one example:

> 我今年牡丹に病んで菊に起きし 5-7-6
>
> *ware kotoshi/* ***botan*** *ni yande/* ***kiku*** *ni okishi* (summer and autumn)

[26] Higginson. *The Haiku Seasons: Poetry of the Natural World*, 24.
[27] Tomoko Aoyama. *Reading Food in Modern Japanese Literature*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 19.

me this year/ **peonies** with sickened/ **chrysanthemums** with got up

this year

sickened at peony time

got up with the chrysanthemums

1897

Since Kyoshi expressed the view that poems without *kigo* were not haiku, and his own *Shin Saijiki* provides my standard, I expected no anomalies – but surprisingly, three of Kyoshi's haiku do lack *Shin Saijiki kigo*:

冬帝先ず日をなげかけて駒ケ岳 6-7-5

tōtei mazu/ hi o nagekakete/ Komagatake

winter-god first/ sun (o.p.) throw/ Mt. Komagatake

the god of winter

throws the first sun shaft on

Mt Komagatake

1920

芽ぐむなる大樹の幹に耳を寄せ 5-7-5

megumu naru/ taiju no miki ni/ mimi o yose

budding becoming/ big tree trunk to/ ear (p.p.) bring near

about to bud –

against the giant trunk

I rest my ear

1926

夕影は流るゝ藻にも濃かりけり 5-7-5

yūkage wa/ nagaruru mo ni mo/ kokarikeri

twilight shadows (t.p.)/ flowing seaweed too/ has darkened!

twilight shadows

and the flowing

seaweed too has darkened

1931

As all three of these haiku do contain seasonal expressions, (*tōtei* for winter, *megumu* for spring and *mo* summer), these examples may again indicate inevitable gaps in the *Shin Saijiki*. Most of Kyoshi's haiku follow the standard pattern with one *kigo* and only one *kigo* per haiku. Where there is a duplication of *kigo* in his haiku, they are usually from the same season.

In Hisajo's corpus, a relatively larger number, 14%, lack a *Shin Saijiki kigo*. Since all her haiku contain what I am calling a candidate *kigo*, the number of her *kigo*-less poems suggests that she may have been attempting to enlarge the *kigo* pool. Just over 12% of Hisajo's haiku without a *Shin Saijiki kigo* were written after 1931. The fact that *kigo*-less haiku increase after that date is surprising. Firstly, the first edition of the *Shin Saijiki* – which, as a junior compiler, Hisajo must have known intimately – was available by then. Secondly, this period corresponds with the advent of New (Shinkō) Haiku and the experiments of Shūōshi and his followers with *kigo*-less haiku. Hisajo cannot have been unaware that, facing a political challenge in just this area, Kyoshi would

have been less tolerant of any unorthodox *kigo* use. Furthermore, she would have already known that Kyoshi was reluctant to write her a preface for a collection of her haiku. As that meant he was tantamount to blocking the publication of such a collection, she would have had a strong motive to ingratiate herself with him. Perhaps her unconventional *kigo* use indicates an assertion of expertise due to her involvement in the compilation of the *Shin Saijiki*. Or perhaps it indicates a certain amount of insensitivity or rebelliousness.

Some of the candidate *kigo* in Hisajo's corpus are found in haiku, discussed below, which recall her experience as a small child in Kagoshima and Okinawa. Both these areas were outside the geographical range of either the "old capital," Kyoto, or of Edo (later Tokyo) where most *kigo* were originally developed. Aspects of the climate, landscape, flora, fauna and seasonal local customs found in both these places were not found in Honshu. Hisajo used a very small range of these in her two sequences. To ignore these characteristic differences would have been to ignore what made Kagoshima and Okinawa distinctive and suggest an idealized version of the actually extremely diverse geography of Japan in which all people – from north to south, east to west – shared the same experience of the seasons. On the other hand, ignoring the constraints of the *kigo* pool and advance new *kigo* candidates was at best unconventional, at worst transgressive. Her choice was an assertion of diversity and the peripheral at the expense of the authority of the centre. This dilemma was one faced by haiku poets from any part of Japan where the seasonal experience was different to that of Kyoto or Tokyo. It potentially became more acute as Japan made territorial conquests and began to include places and ethnicities that were not "Japanese."

THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF *SAIJIKI* AND *KIGO*

Saijiki inevitably increase the power of their editors. When the first edition of Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki* was published, it sold extremely well and significantly strengthened his reputation among

the general public.[28] Since most *kigo* are followed by example poems, the selection allows the editor to impose his taste on the members of his school. As with any anthology, poets can be over-represented, under-represented, or even suppressed. Finally, *saijiki* also have the advantage of ensuring a steady income for their editor. Because they are consulted during the composition process, they are an indispensable purchase for the member of any school.

Preserving extremely old traditions as they do, *saijiki* cannot help but privilege the seasonal experience of and maintain the prestige of the culture of the (elite) residents of the capital. Tessa Morris-Suzuki explains that, according to Confucian concept of *ka-i* (civilized-barbaric), the capital (*ka*) was the epitome of civilization, while the further one travelled away from it the more outlandish the barbarism.[29] That an attitude that privileged the capital remained active is demonstrated by the fact that the dialect of Tokyo was used as the basis for standard Japanese when it was officially codified in 1916.[30] Moreover, this hierarchical pattern is preserved in the most commonplace Japanese expressions, like the fact that one "travels up" to the capital and "travels down" to more provincial areas.

From the end of the eight century, the court in Kyoto had been at the centre of the Japanese cultural universe and it was there that many of the traditional *waka* topics were consolidated. These are the ones that form the top of Shirane's hierarchy. However, Edo (which became the modern Tokyo) was already well-established as the political capital by Bashō's time. Different *saijiki* were produced by gate-keepers based in Kyoto, the relatively close metropolis of Osaka, and in Edo. These men were uninterested in including words referring to the different climate and the often different local culture of the more remote provinces.[31]

---

[28] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin [Sugito Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]*. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 262.
[29] Tessa Morris-Suzuki. *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*. (New York M.E.Sharpe, 1998), 15.
[30] Nanette Twine. "Standardizing Written Japanese: A Factor in Modernization." *Monumenta Nipponica* 43, no. 4 (1988): 429-54, 430.
[31] The *kai-i* Confucian influence operating on *saijiki* was older and more conservative than the practical aspect of the 'investigation of things' encouraged by the Zhu Xi School. An investigation of flora local to northern Kyushu was undertaken by Kaibara Ekken who belonged to that School. See Marius B. Jansen. *The*

Therefore the fact that Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki* ignored the more distant provincial areas of Japan in favour of a focus on Tokyo followed both a modern trend and a much older precedent. Examples of his bias include the fact that he classes *ochiba* (falling leaves), and *karegusa* (dried grasses) as winter, not autumn, *kigo*, grouping them with *yuki* (snow) and *daikan* (the great cold). The narrowness of this selection is apparent when one considers that even in large areas of Honshu, the largest and politically most powerful island in the Japanese archipelago, the winters are long with heavy snow in the Japanese Alps as well as in most of the areas on the Japan Sea side of the central mountain spine. The regional contrasts of Hokkaido – which has long snowy cold winters – and tropical Okinawa with the capital are even greater; those of Japan's erstwhile colonies of Taiwan, Korea, and the state of Manchukuo – which was established in the same year in which Hisajo began to help Kyoshi with his *saijiki*[32] – are greater still. By maintaining old boundaries between autumn and winter, Kyoshi, possibly quite unconsciously, reinforced the conventional marginalization of those who lived outside the capital. Even so, other choices were available. Ueda explains that the free verse haiku poet, Seisensui, criticized use of season words because, 'Poets living far away from the Kyoto-Osaka area, where season words originated, had an especially hard time reconciling the gap between their actual observations and the images evoked by season words.'[33]

These discrepancies were not trivial. Since haiku's beginnings were tied so closely to cultural nationalism, haiku primarily functioned to strengthen, not complicate or dilute, a Japanese national sense of identity, an issue, which was far from limited to haiku and remained a matter of burning interest throughout the twentieth century.[34] Japanese exceptionalism was explained in contradictory ways. Some attributed it to beliefs in the descent of the Japanese imperial house

---

Making of Modern Japan. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000).

[32] Yumoto Akiko. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai [The World of the Haiku Poet, Sugita Hisajo]*. (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 1999), 189.
[33] Ueda. *Modern Japanese Poets*, 289.
[34] Harumi Befu. *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001.

from the divine Sun Goddess, Amaterasu and notions of Japanese ethnic and cultural purity. Others attributed it to diversity. The artist, curator and educator Okakura Kakuzo (1862 –1913), for instance, saw Japan as preserving a wide range of cultural achievement, including 'Arab chivalry, Persian poetry, Indian religion, and Chinese ethics,' from across Asia.[35] Others, like the ethno-historian Kita Sadakichi (1871 – 1939), argued for a long history of racial intermixing and the consequent superiority of the Japanese to inherently racist Caucasians.[36] Most, however, believed the Japanese were an essentially homogenous ethnic group and, as the Meiji ideology went, all part of the same family united through the emperor as their beneficent father.[37] This totalizing tendency associated Japanese culture with the spread of cultural elements which ultimately can be traced back to the insularity of the ancient court where the foundations of the *kigo* hierarchy were laid. It was a tendency that was to create some difficulties as Japan began to expand its empire.

As the territory Japan controlled grew, who was "Japanese" and to what degree they were Japanese also tended to follow the pattern of concentric circles epitomized by *kai –i* thinking. The more peripheral a place was, the less prestige accrued to its inhabitants and their local culture. Both mainland Japanese and the so-called New Japanese in the colonies were Japanese citizens. Even so, they were regarded and treated differently. For example New Japanese did not supply military personnel until the need became urgent towards the end of the Pacific War.[38] At the same time, the New Japanese were expected to learn Japanese and at least some Koreans wrote haiku.[39]

The imposition of Japanese government was closely linked with the nature topics celebrated in *waka* and haiku. Plum blossom was associated with China and Japan's rule was symbolized by

---

[35] W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894 - 1945*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 32 -33.
[36] Oguma Eiji. *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images*. Translated by David Askew. (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), 98.
[37] Julia Adeney Thomas. "Naturalizing Nationhood: Ideology and Practice in Early Twentieth Century Japan." In *Japan's Competing Modernities*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, 114 - 32. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 126.
[38] Tessa Morris-Suzuki. *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*. New York M.E.Sharpe, 1998), 188.
[39] Choe Sang-Hun. "Japanese Poetry Persists in Korea, Despite Disapproval." *New York Times* 27 Mar. 2008. Accessed 3rd September, 2014.

how '[c]herry trees with their blossoms, representing the Japanese soul, were planted all over Japan's colonies during its imperial expansion in order to transform the colonized space into Japanese space and the colonized into the Japanese.'[40] Hisajo could have rejected her provincial up-bringing and identified with her father's position as a functionary who, once he accepted a positon as an administrator at the Gakushūin, was situated at the very centre of power. Instead, from the earliest essays she contributed to *Hototogisu*, she persisted in celebrating her connection with the 'south.'

Saijiki colluded in the suppression of marginalized groups in other ways as well. New customs and any new groups these might represent were accepted only cautiously. But the decision as to which old ways should be preserved and which quietly forgotten is again up to the editor. Hints of a time predating samurai culture when women took charge of lunar festivals are preserved in expressions like women's New Year (*me shōgatsu* or *onna shōgatsu*) instead of little New Year and (old) women's bright moon (*onna meigetsu* or *ubazuki*). These expressions are listed as *kigo* in some *saijiki*, [41] but not – predictably perhaps – in Kyoshi's.

HISAJO AT THE PERIPHERY

Born in the southern-most city on the Japanese mainland, and brought up in Okinawa and then Taiwan, Hisajo must have been very aware of the narrowness of the constituency *kigo* represented. She had little knowledge of the main island of Honshu until she was into her teens and her early familiarity with key *kigo* referents was entirely literary. Her essay "Omoide no Yama to Mizu [Memories of Mountains and Water]" begins with the comment that she never saw snow, experienced the coming of winter or the passing of spring, violets or lotus blooms.[42] However, the

[40] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalism.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 10.
[41] Hasegawa. "Time in *Saijiki*," 169.
[42] Sugita Hisajo. "Omoide no Yama to Mizu [Memories of Mountains and Water]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 92 - 94. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1919/2007), 48.

main theme of the essay is that her very lack of a stable home had freed her to identify with many different kinds of landscapes.

More pressingly, a sense of being on the periphery haunted Hisajo in a negative way. As I mentioned in Chapter One she experienced acute anxiety as a child and in at least one passage associated it with the sense of exposure and isolation generated by her awareness of living on a small island.[43] As a haiku poet, she felt confined in Kokura, particularly after the earthquake had forced her mother to move to Hyogo prefecture, limiting Hisajo's access to the capital. Finally, Hisajo was always peripheral to the so-called masculine genre of haiku, just as, as a woman and a female writer, she was marginalized within Japanese society as a whole.

A haiku sequence written close to the end of her writing life about her childhood in Okinawa – a tropical archipelago not formally annexed by Japan until 1879[44] – is one of Hisajo's most radical in terms of *kigo* use. In 1934, when she was at the height of her success, she had this and another sequence published in *Haiku Kenkyū* which had been launched that year. Independent of any *kessha*, that magazine welcomed haiku from the entire gamut of haiku poets. Both sequences were based on memory rather than observation and create the impression of a child's point of view. Both celebrated peripheral localities. The first, set in Kagoshima, the southern-most city in Kyushu where Hisajo was born, contained one but only one candidate *kigo*. The second, which is set in Naha in Okinawa, contains a number of candidate *kigo*. It is very likely that these haiku sequences appeared in *Haiku Kenkyū* whether because of their kigo use or whether because they are sequences, or both, Kyoshi would not have published them in their complete form in *Hototogisu*.

[43] Sugita Hisajo. "Minami no Shima no Omoide [Memories of Southern Islands]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 48 - 57. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1918/2007, 56.
[44] Jansen. *The Making of Modern Japan*, 446.

In her collection, Hisajo provides a title for her first sequence: ‘Kagoshima, my birthplace: six haiku’ for the first sequence. It has a relaxed conversational tone due to the presence of particles like *wa* and *o* that are often omitted in haiku:

朱欒咲く五月となれば日の光り 5-7-5

zabon saku/ gogatsu *to nareba/ hi no hikari* (summer and summer)

pomelo blooming/ **May** when it becomes/ sun (p.p.) light

pomelos blooming –

when it’s May

the light of the sun

朱欒咲く五月の空は璃瑠のごと 5-7-5

zabon saku/ gogatsu *no sora wa/ ruri no goto* (summer and summer)

pomelo blooming/ **May** sky/ like lapis lazuli

pomelos blooming –

the May sky

like lapis lazuli

天碧し盧橘は軒をうづめ咲く 5-7-5

ten aoshi/ rokitsu wa noki o/ uzume saku

sky [= heaven] blue/ summer mandarin (t.p.) eave(s)/ bury-blooming

celestial blue –

mandarins bury the eaves

with blossom

花朱欒/こぼれ咲く戸にすむ楽し 5-7-5

hana zabon*/ kobore saku to ni/ sumu tanoshi* (summer)

flowering pomelo/ spilling-blooming house in/ to live fun

flowering pomelos –

they scatter by the door

where it's fun to live

風かほり朱欒咲く戸を訪ふは誰ぞ 5-7-5

kaze kaori/ ***zabon saku*** *to o/ tou wa ta zo* (summer)

wind fragrant/ **pomelo blooming** house (o.p.)/ visiting (t.p.) who?!

fragant wind –

who's that visiting

the house where the pomelos bloom?

南国の五月は楽し花朱欒 5-7-5

nangoku no/ ***gogatsu*** *no tanoshi/* ***hana zabon*** (summer and summer)

south country (p.p.)/ **May** (p.p.) fun/ **flowering pomelo**

in the south country

in May the enjoyable

flowering pomelos

1934

1934 was in many ways a year of triumph for Hisajo, despite the tension with Kyoshi over his refusal of a preface. In May, she had a selection of her haiku featured on the opening page (*kantō*) of *Hototogisu* for the third and final time. The celebration of May in Kagoshima in this sequence may reflect her delight at her success in *Hototogisu* that month and its coincidence with her birthday. Yachimoto also quotes a seventh haiku from *Haiku Kenkyū* which Hisajo omitted from her collection:[45]

> ***zabon saku/*** *waga aretsuki no/ sora matama* (summer)
>
> **pomelo blooming/** my birth month's/ sky pure-jewel
>
> pomelos blooming –
>
> my birth month
>
> sky pure as a jewel
>
> 1934

The candidate *kigo* in this sequence is *rokitsu* (summer mandarin). Four of the haiku contain the *kigo* 'May,' for which 'my birth's month' is substituted in the final haiku. Five also contain a second *kigo*, which in every case refers to the blooming of the pomelo, a kind of citrus tree native to south and south-east Asia. In each of the first two haiku in the sequence, these two *kigo* are placed together in the initial slot as juxtaposed *kigo*. '*Zabon saku*' by itself and the variant '*hana zabon*' also function as juxtaposed *kigo* in other parts of the sequence.

The use of slight shifts in position or relationship is one of the techniques Hisajo uses often in her sequences. In the fifth and sixth haiku in the sequence, '*zabon saku*' and '*gogatsu*' are used as integrated *kigo*. By the manipulation of such variations the simple elements of from which the sequence is constructed – the blooming trees, the birthday month, the house, the sky, the caller and

[45] Yachimoto, Eiko. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 7 Hisajo's Last Challenge." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 5, no. 6 (2010): 1 - 15, 9.

the wind, which are repeated to various degrees throughout the sequence – take on different kinds of stress.

Although none of the *kigo* in this sequence occupies a high position on Shirane's *kigo* hierarchy, the result effect is neither earthy nor flat. In fact, the general tone is elevated, and the references to the semi-precious stone lapis lazuli, jewels and sunlight and the repetition of the *kigo* creates an ecstatic effect. The expressions '*hana* (flower(s)),' '*saku* (blooming),' '*uzume saku* (bury-blooming)' and '*kobore saku* (spilling-blooming)' as well as the explicitly lyrical 'fun/pleasure (*tanoshi*)' are all celebratory.

The implied visitor to the house – '*ta zo* (who?)' – may be a neighbour or some other person. It is just as likely, though, that this visitor is the fragrant wind or the flowers themselves or both, apprehended as a higher or supernatural power. This invisible, unidentified visitor, as well as the blooming trees, link Hisajo's celebration of May to the conventional celebration of the April of the cherry blossom season, with its ancient suggestions of supernatural blessing. The personification of plants is found in literature from the Heian period, but since it is based on both animistic and Buddhist belief [46] and it should not be considered a fanciful or decorative device. It would seem that the pre-modern worldview in which *kigo* is grounded and to which it biases haiku surfaces in Hisajo's work, at this point.

The fourth haiku in this sequence seems to have helped establish *zabon no hana* as a *kigo*. It is listed in the *Shin Saijiki*, but only with a one line entry to the effect that there are many pomelos in '*nankoku* (southern lands)'[47] and although he must have been aware of Hisajo's sequence, Kyoshi supplies no example haiku. However, in the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, which is a very large and ambitious compilation edited by Kyoshi's rebellious disciples, Seishi, Shūōshi and Shūōshi's disciple, Katō Shūson (1905 – 1993) '*zabon no hana*' is listed with a photographic illustration and the

[46] Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 123.
[47] Takahama Kyoshi, ed. *Shin Saijiki*. (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 2010/1951), 294.

information that pomelos bloom in May and are grown in Kagoshima, Nagasaki and Kochi prefectures. Four example poems are given, the first of which is the fifth one in this sequence by Hisajo.[48]

The third haiku in Hisajo's sequence uses the interrupted phrase '*rokitsu…saku*' in the same manner as '*zabon no hana*' is used in the other poems. In other words, Hisajo treated it as though it was a *kigo*. The second character, 橘, in '*rokitsu,*' is the character for the autumn *kigo* for the fruit, but not the flowers, of the *tachibana*, the word for cumquat. *Tachibana* does appear in the *Shin Saijiki* but with only one entry and, once again, a note about the prevalence of this tree in 'southern lands.'[49] For some reason, even though they were aware of Hisajo's sequence, *rokitsu* was also rejected – or overlooked – by the editors of the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*.

Referring to fine weather, ranging from '*hi no hikari* (sunlight)' through '*sora wa ruri no goto* (sky is like lapis lazuli),' '*ten aoshi* (sky/heaven blue)' to '*sora matama* (sky jewel-pure)' and more distantly '*kaze kaori* (wind fragrant),' these haiku almost persuade the reader that May in Kagoshima is as beautiful as April in the capital. Of course, each time and place has its different characteristics. The cherry blossom season is a time of hazy weather; May in Kagoshima is a month of sunlight. By celebrating her birth month as enthusiastically as another poet might celebrate the cherry blossom season, Hisajo's haiku implicitly destabilizes the settled certainties of the *kigo* hierarchy and, although very mildly, the hegemony of the centre over the periphery. It is a playful posture consistent with the debunking spirit of *haikai* at its best.

The second sequence appears under Hisajo's headnote: '13 haiku about Okinawa (Ryūkyū)':

常夏の碧き潮あびわがそだつ 5-7-5

[48] Mizuhara Shūōshi, Kato Shuson and Yamaguchi Seishi, ed. *Nihon Dai Saijiki*. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983), 721.
[49] Kyoshi, ed. *Shin Saijiki*, 633.

*toko**natsu** no/ aoki **shio abi**/ waga sodatsu* (summer and summer)

everlasting-**summer** (p.p.)/ blue **seawater bathing**/ my upbringing

bathing in everlasting summer's

blue sea –

my upbringing

爪ぐれに指そめ交はし戀稚く 5-7-5

tsumagure ni/ yubi some kawashi/ koi wakaku

impatiens-red/ fingers dye-take turns/ in love young

dyeing each others' fingers

impatiens red –

children in love

栴檀の花散る那覇に入学す 5-7-5

sendan no/ hana chiru Naha ni/ nyūgaku su

bead tree (p.p.)/flowers scattering Naha in/ start school

the bead tree

scattered its flowers in Naha –

I started school

島の子と花芭蕉の蜜の甘き吸ふ 5-9-5

*shima no ko to/ **hana bashō** no mitsu no/ amaki suu* (summer)

island (p.p.) child with/ **flowering banana** (p.p.) nectar/ sweetness suck

with an island child

sucking the nectar

from banana flowers

砂糖黍かじりし頃の童女髪 5-7-5

satōkibi/ kajirishi koro no/ dōjogami

sugar cane/ chewing-do time (p.p.)/ period (p.p./ little girl hair[cut]

crunching

on sugar cane –

my pudding bowl haircut

榕樹鹿毛飯匙倩捕の子と遊びもつ 5-7-5

yōjukage/ ***habu****tori no ko to/ asobi motsu* (summer)

banyan shade/ **pit viper** catching (p.p.) child with/ play-hold

in the shade of a banyan

playing with a child

who caught pit vipers

ひとでふみ蟹と戯れ磯のあそび 5-7-6

hitode fumi/ ***kani*** *to tawamure/* ***iso no asobi*** (summer and summer)

starfish step on/ **crabs** with play/ **rocky-beach (p.p.) games**

starfish-stomping

playing with crabs –

rock pool games

紫の雲の上なる手毬唄 5-7-5

murasaki no/ kumo no ue naru/ ***temari*** *uta* [50]

purple (p.p.)/ clouds above ring out/ **handball** songs

handball songs

ring out above

purple clouds

海ほほづき口に含めば潮の香り 6-7-5

umi hōzuki*/ kuchi ni fukumeba/ ushio no ka* (summer)

sea snail eggs/ mouth if hold in/ the scent of salt water

sea snail eggs

held in my mouth

the smell of the sea

海ほほづき流れよる木にひしと生え 6-7-5

umi hōzuki*/ nagareyoru ki ni/ hishi to hae* (summer)

sea snail eggs/ floating-this-way [drift]wood on/ all their might with burgeon

floating this way

on a piece of drift wood

sea snail eggs burgeoning powerfully

海ほほづき鳴らせば遠し乙女の日 6-7-5

[50] *Temari*, meaning wound by hand, are beautiful balls made from coloured threads into a huge variety of different patterns. They can be tossed in time to certain songs.

umi hōzuki*/ naraseba tōshi/ otome no hi* (summer)

sea snail egg/ if make it sound distant/ small girl days

sea snail egg –

if I made it sound

those far ago small girl days

潮の香のぐんぐんかわく貝拾ひ 5-7-5

shio no ka no/ gungun kawaku/ kaihiroi

sea water (p.p.) smell/ rapidly drying/ shell collecting

the scent of the sea –

drying off fast

while picking up shells

ひき残る岩間の潮に海ほほづき 5-7-6

hikinokoru/ iwama no shio ni/ ***umi hōzuki*** (summer)

receded-left/ rock spaces (p.p.) seawater in/ **sea snail eggs**

left behind by the tide

in the rockpools –

sea snail eggs

1934

This sequence contains three haiku that contain candidate kigo: '*tsumagure ni* (red fingernail dye from impatiens)', '*sendan no hana* (bead tree flowers),' '*satōkibi* (sugar cane).' The winter *kigo* '*temari uta*' is used in an idiosyncratic way. '*Tsumagure ni*' in the second haiku is another word

for the '*hōsenka*' or red impatiens. Neither word appears in the *Shin Saijiki* or the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, although the custom of young people dyeing one another's little fingers as a love token was practiced in Japan, and impatiens petals had long been used in China to dye the nails.[51] The link between a natural phenomenon – the flowers blooming at a particular time of year – and a custom makes this a particularly evocative candidate for a new *kigo*.

Although it does not appear in the *Shin Saijiki*, '*sendan no hana*' from the third haiku does appear as a subsidiary entry under *ouchihana* in the index for the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*.[52] Despite the fact that hers is the only one to use the alternative expression, *sendan no hana*, Hisajo's haiku is given as one of twelve example poems under that entry. The referent, the bead tree, ranges from Pakistan through south-east Asia to Australia but it is not native to the Japanese home islands. Once again, there seems to be an oblique displacement of the cherry blossom at work. The first days of school for many mainland Japanese children and the cherry blossom season coincide. True to Hisajo's actual experience, this haiku associates her first day at school with the bead tree, and thereby suggests her difference from most of her contemporaries. This is the most defiant use of a *kigo* candidate in the sequence.

In Japan, sugar cane is only grown in Okinawa. '*Satōkibi kajirishi koro*' in the fifth haiku explicitly indicates that chewing on it is a seasonal activity. There is no *kigo* for *satōkibi* in the *Shin Saijiki*, but this haiku by Hisajo appears as the first of three example poems in the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*.[53] As, from 1885, many Japanese emigrated to Hawai'i to work as sugar cane cutters,[54]

---

[51] Jennifer Schuessler. "An Old Chinese Novel Is Racy Reading Still" (*The New York Times*, 2013). Accessed 5th September, 2014.
[52] Mizuhara Shūōshi, Kato Shuson and Yamaguchi Seishi, ed. *Nihon Daisaijiki*. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983), 749.
[53] Mizuhara et al. *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, 1140.
[54] Franklin Odo. *Voices from the Cane Fields: Folksongs from Japanese Immigrant Workers in Hawai'i*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014. Accessed 5th September, 2014. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199813032.001.0001. This article quotes three senryu composed in Hawai'i, but there is no mention of haiku. Significantly, all three senryu quoted refer to Molokai, an island sacred to the Native Hawaiian population.

satokibi would be a useful *kigo* for any haiku poets among them as well as for others based in Okinawa or in Taiwan where sugar cane was also grown.

The '*habu*' is a snake found only in Okinawa and Amami Island. There is an entry for this *kigo* under summer in both the *Shin Saijiki* and the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, but for the former there are no example poems and in the latter only two, neither of which is by Hisajo. This atmospheric haiku which places an image of small children playing with a venomous snake in the shade of an (exotic) banyan tree deserves to be better known. Only its inclusion in a *saijiki* would allow it to reach a wide readership.

The *kigo* for '*temari uta*' is listed under winter in the *Shin Saijiki* and the New Year in the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*. The usual reference is incompatible with the summery setting of this sequence. Okinawans did play an indigenous form of handball game[55] and perhaps Hisajo is referring to that local custom. On the other hand, her point may simply be that she and her classmates did not experience a "real" winter, but were taught from textbooks that assumed that they did. Either way, the use of this *kigo* has a slightly unsettling, disruptive effect.

In the twelfth haiku, the position and meaning of '*kaihiroi*' make it, too, a possible *kigo* candidate. The synonym '*shiohigari*' appears in the *Nihon Dai Saijiki* (under spring)[56] but neither appear in the *Shin Saijiki*. The *Nihon Dai Saijiki* gives the last haiku in Hisajo's sequence as one of its examples for the *kigo* '*umi hōzuki*,'[57] although once again, Kyoshi does not have an entry for it in his *Shin Saijiki*.

Not only the relatively high number of candidate *kigo* used in these haiku but their later acceptance is unusual. To have three haiku chosen as example poems from one sequence for their *saijiki* shows that Hisajo's work was held in very high respect by the compilers of the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*.

[55] Morris-Suzuki. *Re-Inventing Japan*, 20.
[56] Mizuhara et al. *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, 209.
[57] Mizuhara et al. *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, 680.

Hisajo's contribution can therefore be interpreted as a small move in the direction of *kigo* liberalization.

HISAJO AND THE TREND TOWARDS REGIONAL *KIGO*

In her essay "Joryū Haiku to Jidaisō [Women's Haiku through Changing Times]," which was published in the final issue of her haiku journal, *Hanagoromo*, in August 1932, Hisajo explicitly welcomes haiku set outside the usual geographical bounds:

> … it is apparent that as the territory of Japan expands the different geographic areas produce fresh new topics for haiku. Takajo's haiku from Sakhalin depict a river flowing in summer through primeval forest while the tundra belt stretches away on each side, just as it has since ancient times. Focusing on a large rotting tree with exposed roots, which is being carried downstream, really brings out the primitive immensity of the landscape. A Russian's hut faces the flowing duckweed. The silence of the deep blue forest sky. These natural scenes of roughly hewn wilderness are brought out in strong, interesting lines, to those of us who have never seen them.
>
> The haiku 'Maruyama no Kami no Shisōju Hana' comes from Taiwan, an area I knew well when I was a child, so for me it is a beautiful piece of literature which holds some nostalgia. Maruyama refers to Maruyama Park which is in the luxuriant tropical zone about 5 kilometres from the city of Taipei. Sticking out into the Keelung River, which feeds the burgeoning vegetation with its waters, the hill on which Taiwan Shrine stands towers up. There Prince Kitashirakawa, the guardian of the whole island, is enshrined. The shisō (idea) tree has leaves very similar to a willow and small tuft-like yellow flowers with a lovely smell. This tree can be seen scattered about, used as a street tree or planted beside the houses of the local people. The choice of the words *shisō* tree from Maruyama Shrine reveals the devout mood of the writer.[58]

[58] Sugita Hisajo. "Joryū Haiku to Jidaisō [Women's Haiku through Changing Times]. In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 209 - 17. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007), 216 – 217.

The writer of the first haiku critiqued was, however, not only not a resident of Sakhalin but was Hisajo's disciple, Hashimoto Takako, whose original haiku name was Takajo. Takako visited Sakalin and Hokkaido with her husband and Kitahara Hakushū in 1925,[59] and may have written this haiku on the spot. I have not been able to trace the author of the second haiku. While it is probable that many contributors to the Korean-based magazine *Karitago* were Japanese, particularly Japanese resident in Korea, Hisajo's praise for work set beyond the borders of Japan Proper potentially also gave non-Japanese haiku poets permission to use local seasonal and cultural references from their environment as *kigo*. Certainly, this approach was friendlier to geographical diversity than Kyoshi's as it can be gauged from the *Shin Saijiki*.

Although Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki* is still used by Hototogisu poets today, *kigo* liberalization was a trend in post-war haiku. The *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, an enormous tome weighing three kilograms or ten times the weight of the *Shin Saijiki*, supplies extremely detailed of regional information. Creatures like bears in Hokkaido and yellow spotted pit vipers in Okinawa are listed and regional festivals are painstakingly documented. In this *saijiki*, the comments that introduce each *kigo* are scientifically orientated, and little mention is made of literary or inter-textual matters except in relation to anniversaries associated with the deaths of prominent writers. There is also a recognition that "Western" customs like Christmas and Easter which are celebrated by a small minority of Japanese should be accepted as *kigo*.

On the other hand, the *Nihon Dai Saijiki*, which is illustrated by many colour photographs and reproductions of Japanese prints and painting, is not only extremely Japan-centric, but generally ignores modernity. Almost every depiction of a person shows them in some kind of traditional costume and very few landscapes (a photograph of Hiroshima is one exception) include hints of high rise architecture or other commonplaces of contemporary Japan that may be found in other

[59] Ishi Masako and Matsui Toshihiko. "Sugita Hisajo Hashimoto Takako Taishō Nenpu [A Comparative Timeline for Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako]." In *Sugita Hisajo to Hashimoto Takako: Futari No Bijin No Monogatari [Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako: A Tale of Two Beautiful Women]* edited by Yamada Katsuhiko, 346 - 82. (Tokyo: Bokuyōsha, 1988), 361.

countries as well. This suggests the persistence of a strongly anti-modern, nationalist bias in mainstream haiku, quite comparable with Kyoshi's attitudes.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that the formal characteristics of Hototogisu haiku strongly constrain the compositional strategies and hence the meaning of haiku. Without a thorough knowledge of *kigo* in general and the preparedness to consult a *saijiki* when reading individual haiku, important meanings will be lost. Shirane has explained, *kigo* have an inter-textual function that can only be appreciated through wide reading and careful study. The naturalism of Shiki's *shasei* approach did tend to downplay this aspect of *kigo*, but as Chapter Five will show, his influence in this respect was rather transitory.

Publishing his *Shin Saijiki* enabled Kyoshi to extend and consolidate his power in the haiku domain by choosing which expressions could be classified as *kigo*, how they should be explained, and which example poems would be most often read by Hototogisu members. These choices tended to prolong the influence of the worldview with which he felt comfortable. However, the formal constraints inherited from *hokku* faced challenges from modernity.

One such challenge was the fact that haiku's default rhythm was undercut by print media. Kawamoto claims that silent reading, particularly when the reader is 'hastily skimming a printed page,' pays far less attention to imposing the requisite pauses.[60] A further complication is added by the fact that, when faced with written Japanese, a reader must select the best one from multiple possible readings. Generally, this task solves itself and where a writer wishes to use an unusual word or indicate between alternative readings a *rubi* gloss can be supplied. At least where the general expectation was the 5-7-5 pattern, any confusion as to an intended reading was more likely to be easily resolved. However, this insight into print's corrosive potential makes it easier to

[60] Kawamoto. *The Poetics of Japanese Verse*, 222.

understand Kyoshi's reluctance to take a more tolerant attitude to the free rhythm or *kigo*-less haiku of his rivals.

Another challenge was the fact that for provincial or expatriate Japanese haiku poets, the environment in which they lived might be sufficiently different to the one presupposed by the *kigo* pool to arouse discomfort. I have not been able to find any passage in which Hisajo discusses how she chose between *kigo* during the writing process. But while it is unlikely that the twenty poems she wrote about Kagoshima and Okinawa were a calculated attack on Kyoshi's narrow principles, they did represent a mild challenge, potentially useful to geographically peripheral poets. The openness towards heterogeneous influences apparent in Hisajo's haiku and criticism suggests that, like those who attributed the distinctiveness of Japanese culture to a multiplicity of influences, she saw it as porous rather than rigidly bound. Hisajo never defends haiku from historical change or from the wider world. The candidate *kigo* from her Kagoshima and Okinawa sequences were easily absorbed by the post-war generation of haiku gate-keepers as their presence in the *Nihon Dai Saijiki* attests.

Hisajo's relatively frequent use of *jiamari*, and her candidate *kigo* that implicitly promote regionalism and diversity, substantiate my contention that she wrote at the progressive edge of Hototogisu haiku. This was the more so as Kyoshi's poetics became increasingly reactionary and many of the most ambitious haiku poets left his *kessha*. Hisajo's work became more experimental after 1931, perhaps because she presumed on her successes as a prize-winning haiku poet and as the editor of *Hanagoromo*. Kyoshi may have found her experimental attitude offensive, particularly as it came from a woman.

However, to free haiku from the basis towards the customs and natural features of either the Kasai or Kantō areas inherent in *kigo* would need passionately concerned people who were prepared to confront the centre with the periphery in a systematic manner. Hisajo had no such inclination. When she wrote, both Kagoshima and Okinawa were considered part of Japan. Taiwan was a

colony. That there is no haiku about Taiwan in her *Collected Haiku*, even though she spent so many years there, may be simply because she was not prompted to write about it. On the other hand, this omission may signify the constraining power of traditional topics in her mind as well. A similar point can be made about other Neo-Confucian influence on her thinking. The partial unmooring of *kigo* from Neo-Confucianism and a more literalist use of these expressions was both an intended and an unintended consequence of Shiki's haiku reform. But where the hidden presence of notions associated with a patriarchal conception of yin and yang still lurked in *kigo*, it was potentially an undermining factor for anyone ambitious for gender equality. If its worldview was to be systematically rejected, another needed to be put in its place. Again, Hisajo does not seem to have been interested in such a project and anyway she was ill-equipped to approach it. However, her impulses to naturalism, partly facilitated by the *shasei* approach to composition, meant that her *kigo* use was not coloured by any consistent metaphysics.

Since Hisajo was not interested in systematic *kigo* reform, the formal constraints of haiku were not enabling constraints for her. The *kigo* pool enabled haiku to be constructed in a fairly predictable way. The 5-7-5 rhythm did not present any particularly stimulating challenges either. Thus, new subjects, new approaches and new perspectives were needed for revitalizing innovation to appear in haiku. Shiki's *shasei* was instrumental. That, together with the marginalized perspective of an educated, pre-war, twentieth century Japanese housewife, would push Hisajo's haiku towards content-oriented innovation.

CHAPTER FOUR: *SHASEI* AND THE PICTORIAL IN SHIKI'S AND HISAJO'S NATURE HAIKU

The previous chapter implied that, for those taking a geo-politically up-to-date perspective, it would become more and more difficult to believe that *kigo* – at least in the form in which they had been received – comprised a coherent body of powerful expressions capable of harmonizing the individual poet with nature. However, that was not an easy perspective to take. Seasonal themes were not limited to literature. As decorative motifs, too, they decisively shaped Japanese culture. Their actual referents were also everywhere. As climate and heavenly bodies, they were inescapable. As flora and fauna, they were introduced into gardens and homes and admired – sometimes on particular festive occasions – in natural settings. As items of material culture, they were eaten, or worn and used for warmth or coolness and so on. Seasonal themes (and by extension *kigo*), therefore, formed part of the cyclical experience of the year that structured life from cradle to grave. It was the ubiquity – but also intermittent presence – of these referents that gave the linguistic pool its apparent integrity and charisma. Nevertheless, even though Shiki's sketch-from-life compositional approach rejuvenated haiku, it also threatened to propel the genre into the desacralized universe of modernity. What *shasei* is, how *shasei* introduced a new pictorial bias into haiku, and what the implications of that change were for poetic language and thematic choices are the main topics of this chapter.

Shiki first began to apply the *shasei* approach to his writing in 1894,[1] twenty years before Hisajo wrote her first haiku, and it was *shasei* that gave haiku – as opposed to *hokku* – its distinctive character. In his essay, "E [Paintings]," Shiki himself explained that *shasei* was a fine arts technique that he learned from his friend Nakamura Fusetsu (1866 – 1943). Coincidentally, Fusetsu had studied the new fashion of oil painting at the Technical School of Art in Ueno

[1] Masaoka, Shiki. "E [Painting]." (1900). Accessed 24th November, 2011. Published electronically 2011. http:// http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000305/card50380.html

generation before Hisajo's husband Udai.[2] From the beginning *shasei* was framed as one polarity in a contest between indigenous and imported techniques. In his essay, Shiki recalled furious debates about the relative merits of Japanese and Western paintings until Shiki was forced to acknowledge the superiority – in terms of verisimilitude – of the latter. Shiki was also pleased to find that if he drew from observation, as Fusetsu had taught him, he could produce praiseworthy drawings.

Because Shiki had despaired at the thought that *hokku* was close to exhausting its possibilities,[3] he was delighted to find that writing haiku from observation revealed, in his immediate environment, a wealth of haiku topics. He incorporated these into picture-like haiku that presented the topic (*kigo*) in a naturalistic context. In these haiku sketches, the *kigo* and the remainder of the poem were often integrated into the same realistic scene. By reducing or even destroying the tension between the *kigo* and the rest of the poem in this way, *shasei* subtly changed *kigo* function without the *kigo* expressions needing to alter at all. The emphasis on *kigo*-as-referent instead of *kigo*-as-literary-category brought about by the reliance on observation would ultimately endanger the web of unconscious metaphysical assumptions that gave the *kigo* pool its integrity.

Nevertheless, for Shiki's own practice the non-*kigo* part of the haiku remained the minor term in the *kigo-shasei* dialectic. He was not interested in addressing the historical changes of his times in haiku. Indeed, Beichman argues that Shiki rejected 'unpoeticalness' and 'mechanization,' and believed that 'modern civilization was too vulgar and ugly to provide subjects fit for literature.'[4] Rather, Shiki wished to observe "nature" and to celebrate *kigo* by means of the *kigo* referents that he found there. At times, this approach did result in haiku that were, by some standards at least, vulgar and ugly:

---

[2] Janine Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki His Life and Works*. (Boston and Worcester Cheng & Tsui Company, 2002), 54.
[3] See a translation from Shiki's *Talks on Haiku from the Otter's Den* in Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 35 – 36.
[4] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 31.

のら猫の糞して居るや冬の庭 5-7-5

*nora-neko no/ fun shite iru ya/ **fuyu** no niwa* (winter)

stray cat/ is [it] defecating?/ **winter** garden

a stray cat

what? is it defecating?

the winter garden

1899

But it is not the ugliness of depersonalized mechanization. The crucial point in this haiku is the nature of the winter garden, where everything is revealed in its basic structures and hence the cat has fewer places to hide. Shiki's engagement of such topics is not primarily a product of the influence of imported ideas like realism or naturalism. Equally "ugly" *hokku* had been written by Bashō. Indeed, the centrality of the *kigo* to Shiki's approach to composition is clearly apparent in the following passage, quoted at length by Ueda. In it Shiki advises poets to start with a set theme (a *dai*, but effectively a *kigo*), and then seek real experience of it in the phenomenal world:

> In writing a poem it will not do to borrow from classical tanka and use cliché phrases like "a legendary forest" or "a sacred forest." The poem would better depict a scene or express a feeling as actually seen or felt by a man passing through the forest. If you have the time to sit at a desk and read a book on tanka, you should instead pick up a cane and go for a leisurely walk along a path in the woods. When you are in the actual setting, look for some specific part of the landscape (such as a house, a village, a stream, a hill, a field, a tower, a bird, a paper kite, etc.) that might combine with the forest in your poem. Observe also many other less conspicuous features of the forest (such as undergrowth, a grave mound, a small shrine, a temple, an animal, a watchman's hut, and so forth). When you think you have completely captured the "feel" of the forest, you can then return home. There you should begin composing many poems, bringing back the scenery in your mind's

> eye and focusing on one or another aspect of it. If you compose ten or fifteen poems this way, there will be at least one or two poems that are good. You are not likely to come up with a good poem if you write just one or two.[5]

This advice had two innovative aspects. Firstly, it suggested a methodical way of approaching certain aspects of the writing task. *Haikai* had never been explicitly taught step by step,[6] and while this passage does not contain any special instruction about genre features here, this kind of advice was a beginning. Secondly, instead of reinforcing the well-established link between *hokku*, non-realistic literati (*bunjin*) sketches and calligraphy, *shasei* connected haiku to what had become the fashionable practice of observational drawing imported from the West. Since both sketching from life and the skills prized by literati had a fine-art aspect, they were readily open to conflation. By borrowing a term from Western fine arts, rather than Western literary criticism, to characterize the novelty of his approach, Shiki could apply some of the values of Western realism without standing accused of indebtedness to – and therefore perhaps inferior to – Western poetry. It was a manoeuvre which Shiki himself may not have been aware of.

Despite their apparent commonality, sketching from life was very different in its aims and techniques from literati painting. Sketching from life prized verisimilitude and powerfully captured appearances which were surprisingly difficult to see without training. As drawing developed in the Renaissance, it looked towards both classical art and science. Anatomical investigation was undertaken, subjects were analysed geometrically, and knowledge derived from optics was used to develop techniques of perspective and shading.[7] This empirically-orientated approach became deeply rooted in Western Europe and America. Naturalists used observational

---

[5] quoted in Makoto Ueda. *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 18. Although, it is from advice addressed to tanka poets, but the outline of the approach is relevant to haiku poets too.

[6] Bin Akio. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: Kindai Haiku no Media [Kyoshi and Hototogisu: The Media of Modern Haiku*] (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 2006), 71.

[7] Samuel Y. Edgerton. *The Mirror, the Window, and the Telescope: How Renaissance Linear Perspective Changed Our Vision of the Universe*. (London: Cornell University Press, 2009).

drawing to document flora, fauna in a prototypical, scientific manner.[8] Ordinary members of the British upper middle classes used sketching to record their personal impressions on the Grand Tour. [9] Although painstakingly measured and shaded copies of classical casts were over-emphasized in certain settings, Western drawing always returned – through life drawing, drawing natural objects brought into the studio, or by sketching scenes outdoors – to the investigation of phenomena.[10]

Chinese and Japanese literati artists, on the other hand, felt copying actual phenomena limited the imagination of both artist and viewer,[11] and they never applied measurement, geometrical concepts or optics to their work.[12] Also, while the expressive qualities of line were also important in the West, literati artists approached painting primarily in a calligraphic manner. They emphasized the effects that could be produced from variations in brush handling and aimed at a level of mastery that allowed the free combination of elements from a 'symbol system of strokes'[13] which they had acquired from copying earlier models. Although the individual painter's idiosyncrasies of brush handling, including his or her characteristic speed, force and saturation of each stroke, are considered the crucial factors in the success of any work,[14] there is clear similarity between this approach and the way *hokku* poets drew from a communal pool of *kigo* as they assembled their poems.

While applying sketch-from-life observation to haiku brought about a huge change in the relationship between poet and subject, *shasei* only had the appeal it did because certain realist

---

[8] Kärin Nickelsen. "Draughtsmen, Botanists and Nature: Constructing Eighteenth-Century Botanical Illustrations." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 37, no. 1 (2006): 1 – 25.
[9] Alison Byerly. "Effortless Art: The Sketch in Nineteenth Century Painting and Literature." *Criticism* 41, no. 3 (1999), 352.
[10] Susan Owens. *The Art of Drawing: British Masters and Methods since 1600*. (London: V&A Publishing, 2013) .
[11] Patricia Fister. "Female *Bunjin*." In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, 108 - 130.(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
[12] Jin Li and Howard Gardner. "How Domains Constrain Creativity: The Case of Traditional Chinese and Western Painting." *American Behaviorial Scientist* 37, no. 1 (1993): 94 – 101, 97.
[13] Li and Gardner. "How Domains Constrain Creativity," 99.
[14] Li and Gardner. "How Domains Constrain Creativity," 99.

criteria had already been absorbed by Shiki and those who responded to his views. Western perspective and shading had been introduced into Japan during the Tokugawa period by Chinese or Dutch traders. *Megane-e*, or pictures produced for viewing devices that used a lens and a mirror to create a sense of depth, were popular in Japan in the eighteenth century. The earliest paintings produced by Maruyama Ōkyo (1733 – 1795) were of this sort.[15] The availability of European engravings also influenced the development of perspective in *ukiyoe* landscapes.[16] Photography, which had arrived in Japan in 1853, reinforced the "naturalness" of realism's vision of the objects and scenes. Indeed, Western style sketching assumptions were much less foreign to Shiki's generation than psychological or social realism.

However it should not be forgotten that sketching from life was a literary as well as a drawing practice. Writers such as Charles Dickens (1812 – 1870) and Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev (1818 – 1883)[17] kept a notebook at hand to make closely observed on-the-spot records. Although he makes no mention of it in "E," Shiki had been directly exposed to the idea of literary sketching in Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu Shinzui [The Essence of the Novel*]. For example, Tsubouchi mentions that when Walter Scott (1771 – 1832) was preparing for *Rob Roy*, he had made a special expedition to take notes of the flowering plants in bloom near the place where Rob Roy had lived for later use in his novel.[18] It was from Tsubouchi too that Shiki, like so many of his generation, adopted the ideal of Western "realism" or "*ari no mama ni utsusu*,"[19] the term of approbation that he had used before he learnt *shasei* from Fusetsu.

Notebooks do not figure prominently in the accounts I have read of Shiki's *shasei* method, but the use of notes, whether drawn or written, does seem to represent the common denominator of his

---

[15] Sasaki Johei. "Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School." Translated by Miyeko Murase and Sarah Thompson. In *Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School of Japanese Painting*, 21 - 61. (St. Louis: The St. Louis Art Museum, 1980), 31.
[16] Frederick Harris. *Ukiyo-E: The Art of the Japanese Print*. (Tokyo: Tuttle, 2010), 35.
[17] See for example Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* and Dicken's *Sketches by Boz*.
[18] Tsubouchi Shōyō. *The Essence of the Novel: Shōsetsu Shinzui.* Translated by Nanette Twine. 1981. Accessed 28th April, 2012. http://archive.nyu.edu/html/2451/14945/shoyo.htm#electronic,
[19] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 54.

approach to his subject matter. Not all of his haiku are pictorial, but most of them do draw from concrete observed experience including, at points, snatches of direct speech. This documentary stance does not mean Shiki's haiku reflect his personal experience literally. Beichman points out that in one of his most famous haiku he changed the actual setting (Tōdaiji) to the temple of Hōryūji.[20] Selection, recombination, abstraction and other forms of adjustment were tactics that Shiki explicitly advised.[21] Although, particularly towards the end of his life, 'objectivity' and 'plainness' became the key touchstones for his practice,[22] he had earlier praised Buson for his ability to use fantasy effectively in his *hokku*.[23]

Underlying the vagaries of Shiki's developing views, the practice of writing poems that prompted readers to imagine sharply delineated pictures remained a constant focus of importance. He often applied a popular distinction first made by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729 –1781) that opposed the spatial and temporal arts. For instance, he characterized the sharp imagistic style of Hekigotō's haiku as 'spatial' and Kyoshi's ability to convey a narrative in his haiku as 'temporal.'[24] He also contrasted the central tendency of haiku with that of tanka in a similar manner.[25] Lessing had claimed literature was a temporal art. The widespread acceptance of this point gave Shiki yet another way of asserting haiku's global uniqueness. By stating haiku was so short that it presented its elements simultaneously (like a picture) rather than in sequence (like a text), Shiki could claim Japan had produced a form of literature that could not be surpassed in its own terms.

> Compared to other kinds of literature, haiku have to be spatial…In something as short as haiku, it is extremely difficult, quantitatively, to incorporate both time and space; whence arises the necessity of choosing one of the two. In responses to this need, given that it is impossible to depict time alone,

[20] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 53.
[21] See the translation of a quotation from Shiki in Ueda. *Modern Japanese Poets*, 12.
[22] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 99.
[23] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 40.
[24] Matsui Toshihiko. *Kindai Haironshi [A History ofModern Haiku Poetics]*. (Tokyo: Ōfūsha. 1965).
[25] Mark Morris. "Buson and Shiki: Part Two." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, no. 1 (1985): 255-321, 274.

> one inevitably sees the advantage of depicting space alone. Thus haiku, while belonging to temporal literature, approaches spatial painting.[26]

Thus, Shiki advised haiku poets to abstract one visual impression per haiku from the flow of time, since 'extreme objective beauty is identical with painting.'[27] However, to evoke a painting-like effect in the mind of the reader through haiku would demand highly constrained language use. In other words, the goal of *shasei* was difficult and uncompromising enough to set compositional problems that demanded the exercise of considerable ingenuity.

While *shasei* was in many ways a Westernized approach, it was not entirely so. Shiki aimed at creating an impression of pictorial verisimilitude, but it was one that, except for himself, was largely devoid of people. There was a long history of distinguishing "nature" and "human affairs" in the Neo-Confucian tradition. As early as the Song Dynasty, painting was a highly sophisticated activity that excluded the uninitiated on just that basis. Where it intersected with an interest in the human element it did so through the appreciation of the artist's brush handling. For the literati, the questions that 'women and eunuchs' asked about the 'story' a painting represented were 'laughable.'[28] In their attitude to senryu, as well as their belief that poets expressed themselves indirectly through the particular vision of 'nature' expressed in their haiku attest, Shiki and Kyoshi held similar views.

In fact, *kigo* could absorb the practice of observation to some degree and various admixtures of Neo-Confucian and realist assumptions could be comfortably accommodated by individuals. However, a crucial difference between how Kyoshi envisioned reality and the ethic of sketching as it was developed in the West can be summed by reference to the notion of the pathetic fallacy. This term was coined by John Ruskin (1819 – 1900), a major intellectual and perhaps the most prominent art critic of his day. An artist in his own right, Ruskin had written an influential

[26] Morris. "Buson and Shiki: Part Two," 273.
[27] Morris. "Buson and Shiki: Part Two," 285.
[28] Morris. "Buson and Shiki: Part One," 404.

instruction manual, intended to enable anyone to teach themselves to draw from observation.[29] Reacting against Romanticism, Ruskin rebuked artists and writers who used (or suggested) metaphors like an "angry sea" or "lonely cloud" in their work for projecting their own emotions onto nature. While European Romantic interest in ghosts and the apprehension of a universal spirit were themselves a reaction to the desacralization brought about by the Enlightenment, belief in spirits and personified natural forces remained unquestioned assumptions in Japan. [30] In Europe and America, Descartes' radical opposition of mind and matter had been absorbed into a commonsensical apprehension of the world so that, by a certain age, every average child "knew" that the sea was rough, not angry, and clouds were impervious to loneliness. Sketching's claim to "objectivity" was one that Kyoshi would echo, but what he felt could be "objectively" recorded was not the objectivity extolled by positivism. Examples like the following from Kyoshi's corpus mention gods in a way that is not intended to be either metaphorical or Romantic:

神にませばまこと美はし那智の滝 5-7-5

kami ni maseba/ makoto uruwashi/ Nachi no ***taki*** (summer)

god since it is/ truly beautiful/ Nachi (p.p.) waterfall

since it is a god

it is truly beautiful –

Nachi waterfall

1933

Much of his work does not reveal the utterly different metaphysical assumptions upon which it is based, and easily can be read as though it were Imagism. It is, in fact, very different.

[29] John Ruskin. *The Elements of Drawing; in Three Letters to Beginners*. (New York: J. Wiley, 1869).
[30] Haruo Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 123.

PICTORIAL EFFECTS IN SHIKI'S HAIKU

Writing poems to create a realistic yet pictorial impression in readers entailed the deliberate narrowing of both the vocabulary and syntax that Shiki could use. The lexical features that evoke a visual response in a reader include: the use of concrete nouns and active verbs; the use of colour words or objects with strong colour associations; reference to the effects of light or shade; reference to size, shape, visual detail and texture. Insofar as *kigo* referred to concrete objects, they strongly contributed to these effects. Lyrical self-expression, wordplay, simile, intrusive metaphor, and abstract words were generally excluded. Even reference to other sensuous modalities, or to cause and effect, could draw the reader's attention away from full immersion in a depicted scene. While the intended effect was quite different, it is worth noting that the extreme linguistic constraint adopted by Shiki's haiku at its painterly purest was not unparalleled in Japanese poetry. The radical exclusion of all but about two thousand words of etymologically pure Japanese words had always been central to *waka*,[31] and it was this challenging restriction that had encouraged poets to make use of fragments and juxtaposition in innovative ways.

One means of achieving an aesthetically pleasurable design in painting is through the position of the elements. Relative position, which is a "realistic" strategy, is paralleled in visually evocative poetry by the use of prepositions; juxtaposition, which is not, can be achieved in haiku by the use of ellipsis, particularly the cuts (*kire*) of the default rhythm or the intrusion of cutting words (*kireji*). If the aim is to suggest perspective realism it is important in that the poetic referents can plausibly occupy the same picture plane. Another way of evoking patterns in words that can suggest a painting-like configuration is the use of specific numbers. Characteristic grouping patterns are easily imagined by readers by the mention of "two," "three," "four" or "five" – or, less vividly, "many," or "few" – similar objects. Shiki also sometimes combines referents with similar shapes, in this case the face and the fan:

[31] Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner. *Japanese Court Poetry*. (London: The Cresset Press, 1962), 179.

拾団扇遊女の顔のあはれなり 5-7-5

*sute-**uchiwa**/ yūjo no kao no/ aware nari* (summer)

discarded **fan**/ prostitute's face (p.p.)/sad and pitiful is

a discarded fan –

the prostitute's face

is so sad

1895

He also used referents that evoke strong horizontal, perpendicular or diagonal lines or masses. In this example of the silkworm shelves, the reader may also bring supplement those strong horizontals with those implied by the unmentioned window frame and contrast these with the circular image of the full moon:

夕月やほのぼの白き蚕棚 5-7-5

*yūzuki ya/ hono-bono shiroki/ **kaiko**-dana* (spring)

evening moon –/ faintly-faintly white/ **silkworm** shelves

evening moon –

just a hint of white

the silkworm shelves

1893

Taking a completely different approach, Shiki also refers on occasion to the act of painting, or an actual painting or he evokes scenes that are reminiscent of subjects used in painting. In this case, the visual elements may be less important than his personal voice:

南瓜より茄子むつかしき写生哉 5-7-5

kabocha *yori/ nasu muzukashiki/ shasei kana* (autumn)

pumpkin more than/ eggplants difficult/ sketch from life!

eggplants

are harder than pumpkins –

sketching from life

1902

In the process of investigating the extent of the pictorial qualities in Shiki's haiku, I categorized them into five groups. The haiku in the first group are the purely pictorial or haiku that could be captured in a snapshot (48%), as in the following example:

紫陽花や壁のくづれをしぶく雨 5-7-5

ajisai *ya/ kabe no kuzure o/ shibuku ame* (summer)

hydrangeas (k.)/ wall (p.p.) crumbling (o.p.)/ splashing rain

hydrangeas

on the crumbling wall

the splashing rain

1891

Just as a painting can, such haiku may appeal to more than one sense, but they do so through evoking pictorial images that trigger other modalities like touch or hearing.

The haiku in the second group are imagistic but explicitly appeal to non-visual sensuous modalities including movement (11%). In this example, for instance, the cricket (as referent) must have been invisible, giving away its presence only by the sound it makes:

下駄箱の奥になきけりきりぎりす 5-7-5

getabako no/ oku ni nakikeri/ ***kirigirisu*** (autumn)

shoe cupboard (p.p)/ depth in singing!/ **cricket**

singing at the back

of the shoe cupboard

a cricket!

1892

Haiku like the following also belong to the second group as – unlike the 'splashing rain' and 'crumbling wall' in the first example – the movement they evoke cannot be captured in a snapshot. In the following, it is the time taken by the sail slipping past the observer (and its resonance with the gradual transfiguration of the dawn) that is important:

<u>In Suma</u>

暁や白帆過ぎ行く蚊帳の外 5-7-5

akebono ya/ shiroho sugiyuku/ ***kaya*** *no soto* (summer)

dawn –/ white sail goes past/ **mosquito net** outside of

dawn –

a white sail slips past

the mosquito net

1895

The haiku in the third group are still strongly imagistic but also contain some discursive or interpretive material (11%). In this example, for instance, the noun ‘loneliness’ sums up the image and directs the reader to evaluate it in a particular way:

わびしさや囲炉裏に煮える榾の雪 5-7-5

wabishisa ya/ irori ni nieru/ hota no ***yuki*** (winter)

lonely-poverty –/ sunken hearth on simmered/ kindling (p.p.) **snow**

loneliness –

on the kindling in the sunken hearth

snow simmered

1893

Haiku, like the next one, which contain an element of explanation, also fall into this category. Here both the fact that no priest lives at the temple and the bell is not there because it has been stolen comprise pieces of information of the sort that I am labelling “discursive.”

無住寺の鐘ぬすまれて初桜 5-7-5

mujūji no/ kane nusumarete/ ***hatsuzakura*** (spring)

lack-priest temple (p.p.)/ bell stolen/ **first cherry blossom**

the abandoned temple's

bell's been stolen –

first cherry blossoms

1893

The fourth group contains haiku that while still imagistic convey a strong sense of voice or individualized point of view (15%). This may be achieved through placing the "writer" at the centre of the haiku:

裸身の壁にひつゝくあつさ哉 5-7-5

hadaka *mi no/ kabe ni hittsuku/* ***atsusa*** *kana* (summer and summer)

naked body (p.p.)/ wall against stick to/ **the heat**!

my naked body

sticks to the wall –

the heat!

1893

It can also be achieved by the use of particles like '*mo*' (already) or, in the following example, '*nagara*'(even through) that indicate some kind of background assumption:

風吹て萍動く花ながら 5-7-5

kaze fuite/ ***ukikusa*** *ugoku/ hana nagara* (summer)

wind blows/ **duckweed** moves (like an animal)/ flowering even though

a gust of wind –

the duckweed shifts about

even though it's flowering

1893

The final group contains haiku in which the discursive component dominates (15%) and the emphasis is not on an "objective" scene but on the (sometimes opinionated) voice of the writer. Such haiku might still indirectly convey an image to a visually inclined reader, as in the following example:

Looking At a Picture of Bashō

われは巨燵君は行脚の姿かな 6-7-5

ware wa **kotatsu**/ kimi wa angya no/ sugata kana (winter)

me (t.p.) **brazier**/ you (t.p.) pilgrim (p.p.)/ appearance!

here's me by my heater

and you

in your pilgrim's get up!

1894

Others may contain no clue at all as to a scene or setting:

説教にけがれた耳を時鳥 5-7-5

sekkyō ni/ kegareta mimi o/ ***hototogisu*** (summer)

sermons by/ polluted ears [= ears polluted by sermons] (o.p.)/ **lesser cuckoo**

for those

ears polluted by sermons –

the lesser cuckoo

1895

Given he found all these ways to write in a *shasei* style, it is remarkable that almost half of the haiku in Shiki's corpus are so strongly visually orientated that they contain nothing that could not be rendered as a sketch or painting.

Even so, it cannot be over-stressed that the imagistic quality of Shiki's haiku may have been lost on an audience not primed to translate words into pictures. Since even representational paintings are quite different to unmediated visual experience, it is difficult for a poem to evoke a painting-like scene in the imagination of readers who are unfamiliar with relevant painting styles and subjects. Thus, as a pictorial form of poetry, *shasei*-style haiku simultaneously mobilizes readerly knowledge of the real world and of fine art. Furthermore, it instructs both poets and readers (most of whom were poets too) to educate their eye in specific ways. The habit of making accurate observations of the scenes around one, as though those scenes were paintings, is likely to contribute to a growing store of developed visual schema and bias the individual to automatically process words as visual imagery. A developed but shared ability to project relatively "realistic" imaginary pictures in one's imagination on the basis of a merely literary stimulus would have significant implications for how *kigo* came to be read in *shasei* style haiku.

INTEGRATED AND JUXTAPOSED *KIGO* IN SHIKI'S HAIKU

As I noted earlier, for Shiki the compositional process began with the topic, or *kigo*. However, if one begins by reading haiku rather than composing it, the primacy of the *kigo* in his work may be less apparent. As soon as a *kigo* becomes grammatically and cognitively integrated into a realistic scene, it can be read as one detail among others. An early example taken randomly from Shiki's corpus serves as an illustration:

両岸の紅葉に下す筏かな 5-7-5

ryōgan no/ ***momiji*** *ni kudasu/ ikada kana* (autumn)

both banks (p.p)/ **autumn [maple] leaves** along go-downstream/ raft!

red maple leaves

along both banks

the raft sails downstream

1892

For readers unaware of *kigo* and their functions, the central topic of this haiku may seem to be the raft. Remembering that the prosody of haiku is imposed by the insertion of pauses, it will be clear that for a listener who hears each block of the original cumulatively – taking the time to allow a range of expectations to arise – the (humble) raft comes as a perhaps slightly bathetic, because relatively mundane, answer to the question: What goes downstream [at a time of] (magnificent) autumn leaves? Although autumn leaves are undoubtedly beautiful, the reason why after centuries of repeated use the expression '*momiji*' retains such charismatic power can only be because instructional emphasis is placed on *kigo*. Even the fact that Japanese people repeatedly hear autumn leaves praised when they are in season can be explained by the fact that they are *kigo*-referents. Readers approaching the haiku highly sensitized to special power of '*momiji*' may find their imagination presented with an ideal world within which the ordinary mundanity of the raft

also exists. In other words, appreciation of contrast between the mundane and the poetic/visionary demands a fully internalized sense of which words are *kigo*, and which are not as well as a ready understanding of the tone appropriate to each.

Since 'autumn leaves' is high up on Shirane's *kigo* hierarchy, it is not easily overlooked. Other *kigo* are closer to the mundane, and so may not have such obvious special glamour. The following haiku uses powerful horizontals and the suggestion of the repeated pattern of windows, each with their own mosquito coil, and so does create a highly pictorial impression (with a secondary olafactory one). The *kigo* helps to convey the time of day and time of year and so adds to the richness of the scene. However, it does not suggest a transfigured ideal:

窓ならぶ長屋つゞきの蚊遣哉 5-7-5

mado narabu/ nagaya tsuzuki no/ ***kayari*** *kana* (*kayaribi* an autumn *kigo*)
windows in line/ tenement houses continuing (p.p.)/ **mosquito coils!**

lined up in each window
of the tenement houses
mosquito coils!

1893

Although he does not specifically discuss *kigo* use as such, Kawamoto explains haiku's power as the result of 'the inventive and interesting combination of very general or exemplary images together with 'unfamiliar' expressions.'[32] This statement reads like a reformulation of Bashō's stress on the importance of the combination of *ga* (elegant) and *zoku* (vulgar) in *hokku*,[33] and indeed Kawamoto does almost immediately refer to Bashō as the first poet to establish in his

[32] Kawamoto Kōji. *The Poetics of Japanese Verse*. Translated by Stephen Collington, Kevin Collins and Gustav Heldt. (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000), 58.
[33] Haruo Shirane. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 257.

poetry, ‘an exquisite balance between contemporary colloquial language and the refined diction of the classical style.’ (Kawamoto later refers to the first as the ‘base section’ (*kiteibu*) and the second as the ‘superimposed section’ (*kanshōbu*) of the haiku, convenient short hands used also in the remainder of this thesis).[34] Bashō’s influence, however, was what Shiki was anxious to escape. Although Shiki’s instructional texts suggest that he used the *kigo* to orientate himself to a composition task rather than contrast it with the base section, he often proceeds as though to deprive the *kigo* of its special status. He also carefully selects and combines words for a special effect, but his aim is to convey scenes from nature often rather as they might appear in a (Western-style) painting (of Japan).

On the other hand, Shiki also wrote many haiku in which the *kigo* is cognitively juxtaposed against the base section. This cognitive separation, which is often reinforced by a grammatical marker like a cutting word, sets up a dialogue between the two parts of the haiku. The following is an obvious example:

涼しさや石灯籠の穴も海 5-7-5

suzushi*sa ya/ ishidōrō no/ ana mo umi* (summer)

coolness –/ stone lantern (p.p.)/ hole also (the) sea

how cool

even through the hole in the stone lantern

the sea

1895

[34] Kawamoto. *Poetics*, 73.

This *kigo* functions as an evaluation, and so contrasts with the description that occupies the base section. It is also separated grammatically from it by the cutting word, '*ya*.' The view of the sea through a hole in a lantern is an arresting image in itself. It also suggests many interesting resonances with the conventional summer theme of 'coolness.' Shiki's perception of the lantern penetrated and cooled by the sea may be underpinned by knowledge of how air is cooled when it flows through a small aperture. The salience of this kinaesthetic image owes less to the presented image of the scene than to the juxtaposed *kigo*, '*suzushisa.*' In other words, this haiku only partially depends on the evocation of a visualized scene. Instead, it suggests a person's experience, in which evaluation, sense experience and the half-conscious, largely automatic search for cause-and-effect relationships characteristic of mental processing are all present at once. Thus, it is not primarily a pictorial haiku even though the image of the sea through the hole in a lantern is vivid and intriguing.

Shiki achieves a variety of effects by adjusting the relationship of the *kigo* to the base section. When the *kigo* is an object that could otherwise easily be incorporated into a scene but it is separated from the rest of the haiku by a cutting word, either emphasis or a lack of contiguity is implied. The date of composition suggests the following must have been composed from his imagination or a journalistic account before Shiki arrived in China, much to his chagrin, just after the end of the first Sino-Japanese War:

<u>Chin-chou</u>

梨咲くやいくさのあとの崩れ家 5-7-5

nashi saku ya/ ikusa no ato no/ kuzure ie (no *kigo*)

pears in flower –/ battle (p.p.) aftermath (p.p.)/ destroyed house

flowering pear tree –

after the battle

a destroyed house

1894

This haiku can either be visually processed as two contrasting scenes or as one scene containing an internal contrast. If the latter, the tree and the house can either be imagined as distant from one another or as adjacent. It is mainly the realist thrust of *shasei* haiku that encourages the reader to picture the pear tree and the destroyed house as a unit, existing adjacently in the same frame, and representing the traces of a single family. The cut created by the '*ya*' can be read as mimicking a viewer's shift of focus as he/she inspects a realistic painting or an actual scene. However, the use of gaps also suggests parallels with non-realist Japanese styles of painting. For example, the illustrations of the *Tale of Genji* produced by the Tosa School were often broken into irregular sections by obscuring clouds rendered in gold leaf.[35] It is important to respect the ambiguity created by Shiki's refusal, in this case, to specify the relative location of the two centres of interest of the poem.

In other haiku, *kigo* are placed to exploit the breaks implied by the 5-7-5 slots or prepositions are omitted. Whether such *kigo* should be interpreted as both grammatically and cognitively separated from the rest of the haiku or grammatically separated but cognitively integrated may be left to the reader. As with the following haiku, which has already been presented in a different context, quite different readings may be possible:

紫陽花や壁のくづれをしぶく雨 5-7-5

ajisai *ya/ kabe no kuzure o/ shibuku ame* (summer)

hydrangeas (k.)/ wall (p.p.) crumbling (o.p.)/ splashing rain

[35] *The Tale of Genji: Legends and Paintings*. Edited by and with an Introduction by Miyeko Murase. New York: George Braziller, 2001.

hydrangeas –

on the crumbling wall

the splashing rain

1891

This haiku can be visualized as an integrated scene, or understood as a cognitive juxtaposition. In the first case, the cutting word (*ya*) foregrounds the *kigo*, hydrangea(s), encouraging the reader to linger on it/them. The crumbling wall and the splashing summer rain – and their implied haptic imagery – become an appropriate background. There will be some feedback, perhaps, from the second part to the first part of the poem as image of the hydrangea is automatically adjusted in the imagination so that it appears wet from the rain. Some awareness of visual patterning may also be present: hydrangeas have complex flower-heads and the splashes and the crumbled pieces of the wall might also suggest small, rounded repeated shapes.

On the other hand, if *kigo* is read as an exemplar of elegant, aristocratic language the cutting word invites the reader to compare the hydrangeas and the less elevated crumbling wall. There is no need for these to be part of the same picture. The link between them is the rain which falls frequently during the season when the hydrangea comes into flower. Paradoxically, this rain nourishes the flowers while slowly destroying the wall. Thus, an essential quality of the hydrangea – the way it thrives in the rain – is brought out not by similarity but by contrast.

It is clear that the same poem offers very different readings depending on how the reader interprets the relationship between the *kigo* and the base section of the haiku.

PICTORIAL EFFECTS IN KYOSHI'S AND HISAJO'S NATURE HAIKU

Kyoshi's *kachō fūei* is calculated to suppress the Westernized assumptions that underlie *shasei*. It implies that the pictorial aspect of haiku can be traced back to *kachōga*, a painting genre in which birds and flowers were depicted in a somewhat stylized but easily recognisable manner, often with reference to the four seasons. This style was prevalent in Japan from at least the Momoyama period (1573 – 1615).[36] Although I have found no record suggesting he drew or painted himself, occasionally Kyoshi's haiku indicate he had a painterly sensitivity to space and colour:

遠山に日の當りたる枯野かな 5-7-5

tōyama ni/ hi no ataritaru/ ***kareno*** *kana* (winter)

distant mountain on/ sunlight (p.p.) touched/ **withered field**!

on a distant mountain

sunlight has touched

a withered field!

1900

夏のつき皿の林檎の紅を失す 5-7-5

natsu no tsuki*/ sara no* ***ringo*** *no/ beni o usu* (summer and autumn)

summer moon/ plate (p.p.) **apple** (p.p.)/ red loses

summer moon –

the apple in the plate

loses its red

[36] Money L. Hickman. "Painting." In *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, edited by Money L. Hickman, 93 – 179. (New Haven: Yale University Press in assocation with Sun & Star 1996 and Dallas Museum of Art, 1996), 151.

1918

Hisajo, however, continued to paint and draw as part of her daily life. Although most of Hisajo's existent artworks are, in fact, of flowers, leaves, fruit and butterflies,[37] these subjects do not by any means exhaust her interest in painting. In her essays on haiku, she only refers to those writers whose work she is directly discussing, but she does compare haiku to the work of visual artists, often portraitists. These include Kitagawa Utamaro (1753 – 1806),[38] Katsushika Hokusai (1760 – 1849),[39] Utagawa Hiroshige (1797 – 1858),[40] and Uemura Shōen (1875 – 1949).[41] She also describes haiku in terms often used for painting, like 'colour, shape, folds and shadows' and 'still life.'[42] Moreover, she does not restrict her range of reference to traditional Japanese styles. For example, she likens one haiku to an 'oil painting' (by which she means a nude)[43] and, when explaining the new focus Taisho women's haiku put on facial expressions, mentions the Mona Lisa.[44]

Although Hisajo shared Shiki's love of painting, her oeuvre as a whole differs significantly from his. She writes far fewer haiku that present scenes from nature and of those in fewer still does she present her material in a purely pictorial manner. Compared to the 48% of Shiki's, only 16% of the haiku in Hisajo's corpus contain nothing but pictorial information. (A further 20.5% are strongly imagistic but evoke non-visual sensuous modalities, including movement.) As 5.5% of Hisajo's purely pictorial 16% are portraits, only about 10% of her corpus takes landscapes, interiors, still

[37] See the works illustrated in Nakanishi Yukiko, Take Mireiko and Imakawa Eiko eds. "Hanagoromo Haijin Sugita Hisajo [Cherry-Viewing Kimono: The Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo]." (Kitakyushu Shiritsu Bungakukan. Kitakyushu: Kitakyushu Shiritsu Bungakukan, 2011)
[38] Sugita Hisajo. "Joryū Haiku to Jidaisō [Women's Haiku through Changing Times]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 209 - 17. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007, 211.
[39] Sugita Hisajo. "Sakura o Yomeru Ku: Kokin Joryū Haiku no Hikaku [Haiku about Cherry Blossoms: A Comparison of Old and Modern haiku]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 193 - 208. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007), 195.
[40] Sugita Hisajo. "Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [The Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taishō era]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 159 - 186. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1928/2007), 162.
[41] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku,"168.
[42] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku,"171.
[43] Sugita. Hisajo. "Joryū Haiku o Midoku Su,"190.
[44] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 172.

lifes, animals, birds, insects, plants, flowers, fruits or as subjects in the prototypical manner of Shiki's haiku. Although, as this list suggests, Hisajo used a less constrained range of vocabulary than Shiki, her haiku is nevertheless visually vivid. In discussing twelve nature haiku from Hisajo's corpus below, I focus on how the *kigo* functions in each of them and investigate to what degree the language she aims for complicates or does not function to achieve visual effects.

The first group of haiku all begin with a juxtaposed phrase (in three cases a *kigo*) followed by the *kireji*, *ya*. In each case, the use of this cutting device guides the reader to shift the direction or quality of their attention.

夕顔やひらきかゝりて襞深く 5-7-5

yūgao *ya/ hiraki kakarite/ hida fukaku* (summer)

moonflowers –/ opening-have-started/ creases deep

moonflowers –

beginning to open

deeply creased

1927

春寒や刻み鋭き小菊の芽 5-7-5

harusamu *ya/ kizami surodoki/ kogiku no me* (spring)

spring cold –/ notched sharply/ small-chrysanthemum (p.p.) buds

spring cold –

sharply notched

aster buds

1919

白豚や秋日に透いて耳血色 5-7-6

shirobuta ya/ akibi ni suite/ mimi chiiro (autumn)

white pig –/ **autumn sun** by shone through/ ears blood-coloured

white pig –

the autumn sun shines through

blood coloured ears

1919

朝顔や濁り初めたる市の空 5-7-5

asagao *ya/ nigori sometaru/ machi no sora* (autumn)

morning glory –/ murky- beginning-to-become/ town (p.p.) sky

morning glory

starting to become murky

the town sky

1927

The first two of these haiku present details of texture to evoke a strong visual impression in the reader. The third presents a farmyard scene through explicit colour contrast. The fourth involves a strong shift of attention from a (clear) close up to a (blurred) long distance view.

The *kigo* in first haiku introduces the topic, which is treated through the presentation of specific details in the base section. The white of the moonflowers would be easy to visualize for most readers. Since they do not begin to open until dusk, all background colour is suppressed. The cutting word guides the reader to pause for a moment on the image of the whole flower. The mention of opening creases evokes the soft plushness of the petals. These details and the final word '*fukaku*' (deep) pull the reader towards the centre of the flower. At the same time, the mention that the petals are beginning to open suggests the future movement of the flower, enhancing this subtly dynamic effect. The repetition of sounds – in the two patterns of hi-ki-ri-hi and ki-ka-ka-ku – strongly unifies the haiku and makes its music light and crisp. While the language of this haiku is quite transparent, language resources certainly contribute to its effective realization. It is true that the conventional link between moonflowers and one of Prince Genji's lovers adds an erotic element to this haiku, but as this chapter is concerned with the relationship between *shasei* and other rhetorical techniques, allusions of this sort will not generally be discussed here. However, it is most important to be clear about the fact that the *shasei* level of a haiku – particularly one by Hisajo – does not always exhaust its meaning.

The second haiku uses a simple but effective haptically based metaphor in which of the cold is equated with the (imaged sensation) of the sharpened buds of the aster buds. Again sound is important. The repeated use of the 'i' sound in the ki-mi-ki-gi pattern creates slightly higher notes that also convey the tension of the cold. Even though the means are not confined to visual imagery, all these sharp associations with the *kigo* '*harusamu*' (spring cold) work to create an impression which is apparently focused on a visual image. In this haiku, implications of the juxtaposed *kigo* are very effectively explored by the material in the base section.

The next haiku is the most painterly of the four. The explicit colour contrast between the ears and the white body of the pig makes the animal very easy to visualize. The implicit warm colour of the sun and, more distantly, the parallels set up by the pig's ears with red autumn leaves – extra details which may be added by readers engaged in a contemplative *kanshō*-style reading – reinforce this

colour scheme. Only the sun and the possible but distant suggestion of red leaves, give the reader clues to the background scene. The cutting word '*ya*' guides the reader to pause on the image of the entire pig before shifting focus to the blood-coloured ears. Although the *kigo* is grammatically integrated, cognitively it is more abstract than the rest of the scene. In most parts of Japan, after the humidity of spring and summer, autumn days tend to be clear and dry. Thus, the pig's translucent ears can be read as exemplifying an aspect of the time of year in an unusual way. Indeed, although this haiku appears to be no more than a simple description, it follows a *ga/zoku* pattern of the sort Bashō would have recommended. But the pig – traditionally considered too ugly to be a suitable subject for poetry[45] – is transfigured by the glowing light.

The fourth haiku also uses the cutting word to suggest an equation, but there is an interrelationship on the basis of a third term as well. In this case, although the reader's attention is shifted from the morning glory to the expanse of the sky, the modifying phrase that occupies the central section of the haiku can be applied to either of them. Unlike the implied chisel and the explicit cold in the haiku about the aster buds, both sky and flower are present here together and both are undergoing a similar change. Technically, in terms of the implied metaphor,[46] either can be read as the tenor. The purity of the early morning sky is borrowed to emphasize the freshness of the morning glory; the morning glory's rapid fading is borrowed to indicate the effect of industrial pollution on the sky. Although this haiku calls on the reader to process it visually, it uses much more than visual imagery. In terms of the *kigo* hierarchy, the industrial town is implicitly contrasted with both the flower and the sky, once again in a *ga/zoku* manner.

The fifth poem to use *ya* places it, more unusually, at the end of the middle section of the haiku.

橡の實のつぶて颪や豊前坊 5-7-5

[45] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 171.
[46] See Masako K. Hiraga. *Metaphor and Iconicity: A Cognitive Approach to Anaysing Texts*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) for a persuasive and extensive justification for reading such elements in haiku metaphorically.

tochi no mi *no/ tsubute oroshi ya/ Buzenbō* (autumn)

Japanese **horse chestnuts** (p.p.)/ stone-throwing wind-from-the-mountains/ Buzenbō

horse chestnut flinging

mountain gale –

Buzenbo

1931

This haiku was written in Hisajo's second period when she was experimenting with using ancient texts associated with the wider region around Kokura as a source of inspiration for her haiku. The use of evocative place names, or *haimakura*, was a technique also by Kyoshi, and to a lesser extent Shiki. *Haimakura* (or *haikai* place), are a class of words elaborated from the older but more restricted class of or resonant place names used in *waka*, called *utamakura*, much as *kigo* were elaborated from *kidai*.[47] *Haimakara* appear more frequently in the haiku written during Hisajo's second period.

The grammatically and cognitively integrated *kigo* and the place name, which is emphasized by the cutting word '*ya*,' are linked by the image of the personified stone-throwing mountain wind. The reader may picture the chestnuts flying off the tree like stones. Buzenbō, the name of an area in the foothills of the sacred mountain, Mt Hiko, is also the name of the *tengu* (a human-like but powerful and frightening magical creature) who was supposed to live there and, according to legend, to have taught martial arts to Minamoto Yoshitsune (1533-1597).[48] The implied personification and the complex resonance of the place name complicate and subordinate what visual material there is in the haiku.

[47] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 294 – 295.
[48] Chozanshi Issai. *The Demon's Sermon on the Martial Arts: And Other Tales*. Translated by William Scott Wilson. (Boston: Shambala, 2012), 145.

The next group of haiku use the final *kireji kana*:

葉洩日に碧玉透けし葡萄かな 5-7-5

hamorebi ni/ hekigyoku sukeshi/ ***budō*** *kana* (autumn)

leaf-leaked-sunlight in jasper transparent **grapes**!

in dappled sunlight

transparent jasper

grapes!

1920

葉鶏頭のいただきおどる驟雨かな 6-7-5

hageitō *no/ itadaki odoru/ shūu kana* (autumn)

Joseph's coat [name of plant] (p.p.)/ top dances/ sudden shower!

the top of the Joseph's coat

is dancing

a sudden shower!

1920

In both cases the noun that precedes it seems to answer an implied question or riddle. In the first case it is: what looks like transparent jasper in the sunlight that leaks through the leaves? In the second, what makes the top of the Joseph's coat plant dance? Thus, the initially linear process that accompanies a first reading is used to determine the order in which the reader receives the information in the poem. The slight suspense that is created places extra emphasis on the final

noun. Although looking at paintings also takes place in time and the size and placement of the elements can be used to guide the viewer's attention towards some parts of a painting before others, suspense can only be used in this way in text.

The use of *kana* in this manner creates a touch of drama in these haiku. It does not, as *ya* can so easily do, disturb the unity of the scene. Rather, particularly in the first haiku, the syntax allows the haiku to suggest those moments in which a welter of impressions suddenly resolves to a clear picture. In the first haiku, effects of light and shade are reinforced by the metaphor of the jasper. This word choice also specifies the colour and other visual qualities of the grapes, contributing to a strongly pictorial effect.

In the second haiku, the plants with their dramatic variegated leaves dancing in the rain are also easy to visualize. The personification (implied by '*odoru*') is not strictly mimetic, but helps make the image fresh and vividly convey the movement in the scene. Both, however, have a sense of dynamism that is closer to film – movies were already popular and associated with modernism[49] – than to a sketch. Once again, while Hisajo does not put her use of language-specific techniques on display – and a reader may report a predominately visual impression from these two haiku – the mobilization of language-specific resources are essential to the effectiveness of this haiku.

The next two haiku have integrated *kigo* and lack *kireji*:

花大根に蝶漆黒の翅あげて 7-7-5

hana daikon *ni/* ***chō*** *shikkoku no/ hane agete* (spring and spring)

flowering daikon on/ **butterfly** glossy-black/ (p.p.) wings raised

on a flowering daikon

[49] Isolde Standish. *A New History of Japanese Cinema*. (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005), 25.

a butterfly raised

glossy black wings

1919

春潮に流るゝ藻あり矢の如く 5-7-5

shunchō *ni/ nagaruru mo ari/ ya no gotoku* (spring)

spring tide in/ flowing seaweed [there]/ arrow (p.p.) likeness

in the spring tide

flowing seaweed

like an arrow

1922

The first of this pair is a single static close-up very similar to a still life. Two spring *kigo* are combined to make a vividly colourful miniature. The reader is told the butterfly's wings are intensely black and most would know that daikon flowers are white (or sometimes pale purple). Since the butterfly is on the flower with its wings are raised, the shape and position of the main masses are precise. Despite the fact that both can claim *kigo* status the elegant butterfly – its elegance is accentuated by the fact that the word '*shikkoku*' is of Chinese origin – and the humble flowering daikon form a *ga/zoku* contrast.

The second haiku has a grammatically and cognitively integrated *kigo* which provides a seasonal context as well as functioning as an active component in the scene. It is the spring tide that sweeps the seaweed rapidly away. The haiku presents a single image in which both colours (a range of these are possible) and shapes are clearly implied. The simile conveys a sense of speed and power, and suggests an image of single strands of weed, with a dynamic quality that is rare in Shiki's or

Kyoshi's work. Due to the arrow simile and the abstraction of the notion of 'spring' suggested by the Sinified Japanese word *shunchō* (spring tide), the entire scene can be read as a symbol for time, literally seen as a rushing, unstoppable force.

The final haiku in this group has a strong break at the end of the first block, juxtaposing the *kigo* plus modifier against the base section of the haiku. Attention is placed on the cosmos flowers before it is shifted upward to the moon. This haiku captures a moment of transition, when the flowers in the darkness are suddenly illuminated by moonlight. While there is far less implied comparison in this poem, the shifting of the reader's attention back and forth between flowers and sky has parallels with the morning glory haiku.

コスモスくらし雲の中わく月の暈 7-7-5

kosumosu kurashi/ kumo no naka waku/ ***tsuki*** *no kasa* (autumn)

cosmos [flowers] dark/ cloud (p.p.) centre emerges/ **moon** (p.p.) halo

cosmos flowers in darkness
from the centre of a cloud emerges
the moon's halo

1922

Here the contrast between darkness and light triggers a fragmentary kind of visual experience, quite suitable to the subject of this haiku. There is also an implied visually-based link between the moon and the flowers which exists due to the similarity of the moon's halo and the petals of the daisy-like cosmos flowers. However, this haiku lacks a picture plane and, as such, does not present a visually unified, "realistic" impression.

The nine haiku discussed so far – all of which I chose as examples of Hisajo's use of visual imagery in haiku presenting subjects from nature – show that she used a range of language-specific effects even when she was aiming at evoking a strong visual image in the reader. If one legacy of Shiki's disciplined attempt to submit his haiku to pictorial constraints was the creation of a readership more disposed to visualize *kigo* than to read them in a more abstractly cognitive manner, later generations of poets could expect that concrete nouns and adjectives would provoke satisfyingly vivid sensory reactions in their readers. If these were carefully selected by the poet, some room might be left over for non-imagistic content, despite haiku's brevity.

While it is clear that Shiki thoroughly explored the pictorial effects he could achieve in haiku and, in doing so, set precedents for later writers like Hisajo, slightly less than half of the haiku in his corpus contain only material that can be visualized. It is for this reason that I see the use of a note-book in which to record on the spot observations as the most fundamental characteristic of *shasei*.

THE *YAMAHOTOTOGISU* HAIKU AND HISAJO'S *SHASEI* NOTEBOOK

Hisajo's most famous nature haiku is both an evaluative description and a personal cry from the heart. This haiku won the highly prestigious New Japanese Scenic Spot Haiku Competition awarded by Kyoshi in 1931 and considerably increased her profile. Since, in conformity with the accepted view, she had written in her 1928 essay, "The Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taishō Era" that 'women did not generally write such skilful landscape haiku as men,'[50] it must have been particularly gratifying to win this prize.

> 谺して山ほととぎすほしいまゝ 5-7-5
>
> *kodama shite/ yama* ***hototogisu****/ hoshii mama* (summer)
>
> echoing/ the mountain lesser **cuckoo/** just as it likes

[50] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 180.

echoing

the mountain cuckoo

just as it likes

1931

This haiku has little, if any, specifically pictorial content. Sufficiently accustomed to *shasei* style, a contemplative reader might picture a mountain scene and even perhaps a glimpse of a lesser cuckoo. However, the expression '*kodama shite*' breaks the picture plane and presents a multi-directional soundscape rather than a two dimensional landscape.

The *kigo*, *hototogisu*, is positioned very high up on the *kigo* hierarchy. It was the subject of twenty-eight of the thirty-four summer poems in the important imperial anthology the *Kokinshū [Old and New Collection]* completed in 920.[51] Moreover, Hisajo's treatment of it was traditional. A preferential focus on bird song rather than the shape or flight of birds had been characteristic of Japanese poetry from at least Heian times.[52]

Nevertheless, this haiku is indubitably a product of Shiki's method. In an essay describing how she came to write this haiku, Hisajo mentions her notebook twice. She describes the first time she heard the call of the bird while climbing Mt Hiko with a group of children attached to the inn where she was staying:

> My spirit was gripped by an inexpressible excitement. My ears were full of what I'd heard. I was bursting with the wish to hear that magnificent but elegantly occult voice once more. But even when we were climbing back down we didn't hear the mountain cuckoo again. That marvellous

[51] Haruo Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 38.
[52] Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 46.

> song remained in my ears for a long while. I wrote my impressions, just as they came to me, into my notebook.[53]

Unable to finish a haiku that satisfied her, she climbed the mountain again. At the top, she heard the bird once more:

> I listened, letting the sound deep into my heart and began to silently repeat the haiku about the mountain cuckoo I'd already written in my notebook. The mountain cuckoo was singing without stinting, just as it wished, from valley to valley. It was genuinely free. Its ringing voice echoed out.
>
> That voice, which is traditionally described in songs and poems as sad, as a thin feminine voice like someone spitting blood, as an effeminate sentimental voice, was not like that at all. It echoed off the cliffs of Kitadake very smoothly. It was leisurely, plangent and free.[54]

The reader will remember the quotation translated by Ueda that appears at the beginning of the chapter. Although Shiki does not mention a notebook specifically, apart from their focus on listening rather than looking, these paragraphs parallel much of the advice about using the *shasei* method he gave to beginning poets there. For instance, classical 'clichés' are compared with, and then rejected for, an impression that comes from recorded experience. While inter-textual heritage is not discarded it is subordinated and the *kigo* is transformed from a purely literary motif to a personally relevant one, by the use of observation.

This passage indicates that Hisajo's haiku notebook was a useful tool in at least two ways. It helped her concentrate on the actual characteristics of a present subject by encouraging her to fully explore the nature of her perceptions. It also acted as a record so that previous observations, the details of which might have otherwise faded over time, could be compared with present

[53] Sugita Hisajo. "Nihon Shin Meishō Haiku Nyūsenku [The Winning Haiku of the Japanese New Scenic Spot Haiku Competition]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 154 - 56. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1931/2007), 155.
[54] Sugita. "Nihon Shin Meishō Haiku," 155.

observations. In other words, it would seem that Hisajo's notebook was an important tool in a drafting and redrafting process.

Readers familiar with Hisajo's oeuvre easily recognise the nature of her attraction to the lesser cuckoo here. The bird was not 'effeminate.' Neither was it, as she too often was, sickly. Rather it was free and powerful. This haiku expresses – as Hisajo does more often in her prose – her yearning to be free of the constraints under which she chaffed as a woman and unhappy wife. Her actions in twice climbing a rugged mountain of almost 1200 metres in order to capture just the right observations to write her poem, suggest how disciplined and determined she was to attempt to live out her ideals of dedicating herself to haiku as a life path (or spiritual discipline) and use it to express her fundamental longings.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated how important the pictorial elements in Shiki's haiku were and how narrowly they constrained many of his haiku. The adoption of Western sketching as a model may have been suggested by the connection with visual arts inherent in sub-genres like *haiga*, but these constraints created an imaginary picture frame for writer and reader quite different from the treatment of space generally found in literati painting. Some of Hisajo's nature haiku, however, break out of the picture plane implied by Western perspective. In so far as Hisajo's approach could be called "post-*shasei*" that was not due to any rejection of the lessons learnt from Shiki.

Under Shiki's influence, the constraints of the *shasei* compositional style encouraged work that was innovative in a number of ways. Firstly, they transformed the attitude of both the writers and readers of haiku to *kigo*. No longer were these compulsory elements simply topics set by a teacher for practice compositions but they were to be sought out and explored in the real environment. This method was likely to lead to the discovery of attractive scenes – some of which had parallels with fine art – which could be captured in haiku. Where *kigo* referred to common natural

phenomena or artefacts, this approach tended to equalize their status with the base section of the haiku. Moreover, the development of habits of observation encouraged haiku poets to cognitively store many more and much subtler images from what they actually saw than would otherwise have been the case.

Writing poems that evoked pictorial images was innovative, but it required great discipline. Restricting language resources to only those that seem to duplicate the resources of a painter was perhaps too impoverishing a constraint to be generative for long. (Painting, after all, does many things that cannot be reproduced in words.) Although much of Hisajo's nature haiku gives the impression it is primarily visual, she in fact uses many language-specific resources like sound features, personification, simile and implicit metaphor to help her achieve her effects.

The focus of *shasei*-style haiku on visual images was not exclusive. Even Shiki wrote haiku that were not at all painterly. It may be best, therefore, to put more emphasis on the *shasei* notebook as the enhancing constraint of Shiki's haiku reform than is generally done by critics. Such a notebook facilitated and extended the process of observation so that subtler visual perceptions as well as perceptions based on other sensory modalities could be recorded and used in haiku. Once readers were primed to visualize concrete material, since a significant number of *kigo* were concrete nouns they could be employed as visual triggers. If *kigo* were routinely visualized, the resulting haiku could still retain a vivid pictorial quality even if some morae were allocated to non-imagistic language functions.

If poets could evoke a greater range of meaning by combining observed with discursive or lyrical language, *shasei* need no longer be as Kyoshi characterized it: 'superficial, limited to what one could get by taking pencil and sketchbook and walking about the streets.'[55] It could not only take its writer as its subject – as Shiki's haiku in fact often did – but more controversially, haiku poets

[55] Quoted in Janet A. Walker. *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 169.

could attempt to evoke complex social contexts and even address social issues. The habits of observation stimulated by *shasei* could also be systematically extended, opening haiku to portraiture and self-portraiture. The Western fine arts bias of *shasei* made this innovation a natural development. It achieved its realization in Hisajo's work and that of other women haiku poets who were her contemporaries.

CHAPTER FIVE: *KIGO* AND *SHASEI* IN TAISHO WOMEN'S HAIKU

In the previous chapter I argued that *kigo* and the *shasei* approach to composition were potentially contradictory because the first was a product of a pre-modern, anthropocentric worldview which honoured literary authority, while the second was based on close observations made by individuals and expressed each writer's specific viewpoint. The haiku written during the Taisho era (1912 – 1926) was complicated by the playing out of these contradictions. On the one hand, *shasei* meant that a generation of haiku poets was involved in refining their habits of empirical observation just as both the society and key areas of the landscape of Japan were being transformed by urbanization, industrialization, and consumerism. On the other hand, Kyoshi's conservative attitude to haiku not only stressed the paramount importance of *kigo*, but justified it by ideas consistent with "common sense" rooted in orthodox Neo-Confucianism. His use of the term *kachō fūei* may have been intended to resolve the dissonance between *kigo* and *shasei* by suggesting that the latter was really just another word for an approach associated with a traditional painting genre. And, indeed, that issue was complicated by the fact that, even though the way Shiki used it implied something quite new, *shasei* was actually a Chinese painting term.[1] Nevertheless, some of the most ambitious haiku poets, within the Hototogisu *kessha* or belonging to rival schools, wanted to engage with the kind of contemporary material about which Bashō, and even Shiki, had known nothing.

Karatani Kōjin, who argues that the 'interiority' of the self did not emerge in Japan until the development of the prose style of *genbun itchi* (which used a register closer to a speaking voice than the strongly Chinese-influenced prose styles of the Tokugawa era) points to a further contradiction within *shasei* itself:

[1] Stephen Addiss. *The Art of Haiku: Its History through Poems and Paintings by Japanese Masters*. (London: Shambhala, 2012), 274.

> …when Shiki and Kyoshi went out to the fields with notebooks to sketch they were acting as true scientists. At the same time, a kind of inversion was already latent in their obsession with documentation, the inversion that produced the notion of a transcendental interiority. They were not themselves "inward personalities," but their practices established a basis for interiority.[2]

The person-centred implications of *shasei* were to play themselves out more fully in the next generation.

In the course of her comeback as a haiku poet, Hisajo wrote an essay, "Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taisho Era]," which looked back upon her first period. It was published in *Hototogisu* in 1928, just after Kyoshi had first articulated his *kachō fūei* position, but before Shūōshi resigned from Hototogisu. The most abstract of the critical essays Hisajo wrote, "Taishō Joryū Haiku" reviews haiku from twenty-five Taisho women, including herself, emphasizing innovative features of their work, and contrasting it at points with *hokku* written by women from the Genroku era (1688 – 1704). In this chapter I will use her essay as a guide as I analyse the relationship between the use of *kigo*, on the one hand, and *shasei* composition, on the other, in her Taisho era work. I will also suggest that she fit into a larger *joryū* haiku movement.

"Taishō Joryū Haiku" has a complex array of thematic headings and sub-headings. Its classificatory scheme is, however, rather haphazard. For instance, Hisajo does not clearly discriminate between technical challenges and subject matter, and many of the haiku she uses as illustrations of one category could usefully fit into at least one other. Thus, her essay gives the reader less a theoretical framework for analysing haiku than a window into the concerns of Hisajo and other *joryū* haiku poets in the Taisho era. Of particular interest for this chapter is her section headed The Special Qualities of Modern *Shasei* Style which is explored under twelve sub-

[2] Karatani Kōjin. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Translated by Brett de Bary. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1993), 64 - 65.

headings as follows: Complex Delicate *Shasei*; The Modern Tendency to Prose Treatment; *Shasei* of Creatures; Still-Life *Shasei*; *Shasei* Using Parts of the Human Body; Haiku about the Female Figure; Haiku about Items that Women Use; Dynamic Description; Haiku that Make Use of Light and Shade; Haiku that Make Use of Time; Haiku that Describe Landscape and Scenery and finally Thick-Lined Haiku (*Sen no Futoi Ku*). By the last category she seems to mean well-integrated haiku in which material which is deeply significant to the writer is handled in a mostly objective, *shasei*-style manner. She claims this final kind of haiku is the most difficult, but the most worthwhile, kind of haiku to write. It is a position that is consistent with views also expressed by both Shiki and Kyoshi.

The examples given in the essay reveal that Hisajo, and the other poets she features wrote about a comparatively wide range of self-consciously modern subject matter. For all its aesthetic power, *kigo* often took a secondary role in their work. These authors explored various means of suggesting movement, rather than selecting materials that could be easily combined to give the impression of static pictures. But this new emphasis dynamism did not mean that their haiku lost its connection to painting, particularly as they were also interested in the human (female) body and this interest often referenced portraiture. Furthermore, self-expressive or discursive material – including references to ideological notions – was juxtaposed with well-chosen references to an action or to concrete details. Since the latter material evoked a particular, contextualizing scene, it minimized the risk of vagueness and triviality posed by the former, significant dangers when self-expression and discursiveness were limited to a mere portion of a tiny 17 morae poem. Comparing the *hokku* written by Tokugawa period women to the haiku written by her own generation, Hisajo criticized the over-generalisation and moralism which resulted from discursive content or clichéd metaphor endemic in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century work.

KIGO AND THE WIDENING OF SUBJECT MATTER

In “Taishō Joryū Haiku” Hisajo pinpoints 1918 as a turning point in women’s haiku:

> …suddenly from about 1918, awakening to purely objective *shasei*, many women began to produce *shasei* haiku with modern characteristics.[3]

It was a turning point in others ways as well. It was the year in which Hara Takashi (1856 – 1921), whose later assassination was referred to in Chapter Two, became the first Japanese prime minister based in the House of Representatives, marking a new stage in the development of Japanese party politics.[4] The Taisho era was one of exploding consumerism and popular journalism in the cities,[5] but also of economic struggle, due to dropping rice and silk prices and rising taxes, particularly in rural areas. The new democratic government was a consequence of social unrest. In response to post-World War I inflation violent and extensive rice riots had swept the country, toppling the right-wing Terauchi government (1916 – 1918) and allowing Hara to seize power. [6] His party, the Seiyūkai, or Friends of Constitutional Government, was (very moderately) progressive, but it was not interested in addressing the extremely unequal distribution of wealth in society, and that only grew with the increasing power and wealth of the monopolistic industrial cliques known as *zaibatsu*.[7] Following an already established trend, as social tensions increased, so did police powers and a tendency to accept authoritarian and military solutions. This climate, combined with the increased consumerism, the growing penetration of the mass media and a rural-urban divide – both exacerbated and bridged by huge numbers of young rural women who flocked to the cities for work – forms the social background against which Hisajo's haiku was written.

Other tensions contributed to further anxieties. While the geopolitical situation in 1918 was very different to what it had been when Shiki was alive, it was still one likely to provoke passionate concern about Japanese identity and Japan's place in the world. Although the country was, by that

---

[3] Sugita Hisajo. "Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [The Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taishō era]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 159 - 186. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1928/2007, 159.
[4] Mikiso Hane. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey.* 3rd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 211.
[5] Hane. *Modern Japan,* 240.
[6] Hane. *Modern Japan,* 224.
[7] Hane. *Modern Japan,* 222.

point, a long -established ally of Great Britain and overall beneficiary of the First World War, tensions were emerging particularly between Japan and the United States and these were expressed on a popular level in both countries. [8] Japanese immigration was increasingly feared and entry restrictions were soon to be erected in a number of white majority nations. Also, in 1919, the Western world rejected the racial equality clause, that had been proposed as an addition to the Covenant of the League of Nations by the Japanese government.[9]

All these domestic and international changes meant that the more progressive haiku poets had new concerns and needed a wider vocabulary with which to express them. Again, there were tensions between openness to experimentation and preservation of genre restrictions. Although, well into the nineteenth century, *hokku* had been the most open and experimental type of indigenous poetry, allowing subjects like poverty, parasites and bodily functions that were "taboo" in *waka*, it had nevertheless worked within a "poetic" vocabulary which confined the choice of subject matter to a relatively narrow, conventionalized sphere. Practically speaking, Shiki's painterly *shasei* had represented, not liberation, but another variation on this tendency. It is true that Shiki had declared that even tanka should be able to use larger range of words including words borrowed, not just from Chinese, but from any language,[10] but his own choice of material was deeply informed by his knowledge of and appreciation of *kigo*. Although train, train tracks, a railway station, a French bud vase, a glass door, a clock, scissors, roses and baseball do appear in Shiki's corpus, all the other items named there would have been absolutely familiar to the poets of the Genroku period.
As Keene puts it, 'The techniques he favored may have been realistic, but his attention was always focused on sights that poets had traditionally considered beautiful.'[11] Indeed, Shiki's idea of the appropriate mindset for haiku composition is indicated by the fact that in 1899, only two years

[8] Marius B. Jansen. *The Making of Modern Japan*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 448 – 449.
[9] Jansen. *The Making of Modern Japan*, 521 – 522.
[10] Janine Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki His Life and Works*. (Boston and Worcester Cheng & Tsui Company), 86.
[11] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Fiction*. Vol. One, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 51.

before his death, he instructed beginning poets to wear only Japanese dress and avoid train travel when researching subjects for their haiku.[12]

However, over time, the observational habits encouraged by the practice of the *shasei* compositional approach led to the acceptance of wider subject matter. Perhaps, too, the influence of European Naturalism, which had revealed the vividness of subjects that had once been regarded as in bad taste, had also reached as far as certain haiku poets. Even though the language of women was expected to be more decorous than that of men, Hisajo and her contemporaries were beginning to challenge the ideals of beauty tied to the classical aesthetic. In fact, surprisingly, Hisajo identifies the mention of the pig in a haiku quoted in the previous chapter as a daring use of subject matter:

> A caterpillar crawls across the beautiful bloom on some grapes. The redness of an angry snake that rears up, its head crooked. The bright red as the autumn sun shines through the ears of a white pig. Even what was once considered frightening, repugnant or ugly can be faithfully scrutinised for its special characteristics which can be turned into beautiful poetry.[13]

Kyoshi's corpus shows he too, at least occasionally, sought beauty in topics that Hisajo's list suggests would once have been regarded as inappropriate:

> 蛇逃げて我を見し眼の草に残る 5-7-6
>
> ***hebi*** *nigete/ ware o mishi me no/ kusa ni nokoru* (summer)
> **snake** flees/ me (o.p.) saw eyes (p.p.)/ grass in remain
>
> the snake flees
> the eyes that saw me

[12] Beichman. *Masaoka Shiki*, 46.
[13] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 171.

remain in the grass

1917

Consistent with this loosening of vocabulary restrictions, Hisajo claims that personal experience had become a dominant focus for haiku poets:

> In general, there are no people who love and are interested in their daily lives as modern people. Traditional haiku featuring things like tree grafting and the sowing of cereals are plentiful, but these haiku tend to use people as secondary factors and are primarily interested in season topics. In contrast to this modern haiku place daily life in the centre and put considerable effort in the attempt to grasp this, while seasonal feeling is supplementary.[14]

The examples Hisajo uses to illustrate this exploration of contemporary life include the following three haiku by Takeshita Shizunojo (1887 – 1951), a fellow Kyushu resident who was also for some time a member of Hototogisu:

三井銀行の扉の秋風をついて出し 8-7-5

mitsui ginkō/ no to no ***akikaze*** *o/ tsuite deshi* (autumn)
Mitsui bank (p.p.) door/ (p.p.) **autumn wind** (o.p.)/ press-against exit

the door of Mitsui bank
I push against the autumn wind
to exit

date not traced

[14] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 159.

福引や花瓶の前の知事夫人 5-7-5

fukubiki *ya/ kabin no mae no/ chiji fujin* (winter)

lottery –/ vase (p.p.) in front of (p.p.)/ prefectural governor wife

lottery –

in front of a vase

the prefectural governor's wife

date not traced

These haiku use up-to-date material of the sort Shiki had avoided. The Hototogisu requirement that there should be a *kigo* is met, but its inclusion seems little more than a formality. It is difficult to argue that there is any contrast or tension between the superimposed section and the base section in these haiku, and there is no strong connection with "nature." Only in the first – in which the weight of the door of a Western style building and the strength of the autumn wind are used to characterize each other – does the *kigo* point beyond "human affairs."

Other examples quoted by Hisajo include material that sits somewhere between Shizunojo's and Shiki's. They refer to an electric light, a parcel from the famous bookshop Maruzen, a Western style heater, a sweet pea running around a clock, sunbathing, a postman and fortune telling with playing cards. From her own work, Hisajo offers the following as an illustration of 'modern life':

戯曲よむ冬夜の食器つけしまま 5-7-5

gikyoku yomu/ ***fuyu yo*** *no shokki/ tsukeshi mama* (winter)

play read/ **winter night** (p.p.) dishes/ soaking left

reading a play –

the winter night's dishes

left soaking

1922

Here Hisajo has juxtaposed the sharp, easily visualised images of dishes soaking and a person reading with the information that the reading matter is a 'play.' '*Gikyoku yomu*' contains the kind of information that, in a "realistic" painting, would be conveyed by the title. The salient factor in this haiku is its exposure of changing social relationships. Both the attitude of a woman who felt free to leave the dishes soaking while she enjoyed herself with a book, and the fact that such reading matter was available, was indicative of the times. From another haiku published at the same time, which will be discussed at length in Chapter Seven, it is safe to assume the haiku is autobiographical, and that the play is *A Doll's House* by Henrik Ibsen (1828 –1906). The choice of play was a significant one, but that information would be lost upon anyone reading this haiku as an isolated poem.

It is also worth pointing out how much work the mention of soaking dishes does in this haiku. As men did not do kitchen work, these words strongly imply that the person reading is a woman. They also indicate her social class. She is well-educated enough to enjoy reading a play, but lacks a servant to do her washing up. Her attitude of placing her needs before her wifely duties is, given the conventional morality of the day, somewhat defiant. By contrast, even though the fact that the setting is a 'winter night' suggests a certain cosiness, the *kigo* is rather incidental. Of course, it could be argued that information about the time of day and time of year provides useful information for anyone wishing to elaborate upon a *shasei*-style image in their imagination: the evening was quick in coming, the night dark, the water in which the dishes are soaking icy. However, such details are subordinate to the positive – and rather sociological – mood of the haiku. Thus, all three examples validate Hisajo's point about the relative weight of *kigo*:

> As the *shasei* treatment becomes fresher and more weight is placed on its handling, gradually the content has only weak seasonal feeling and there is even a tendency towards prose.[15]

Yet, it might be better to say that by the Taisho era poets could choose how much weight to give to *kigo* on a haiku by haiku basis. One advantage for Kyoshi's followers was that his neo-classicism allowed, or even encouraged, them to rehabilitate many techniques that Shiki had stigmatized as old-fashioned. When Hisajo comes to choose work of her own to illustrate the new importance of 'modern customs,' she chooses haiku in which the *kigo* are more important:

雪道や降誕祭の窓明り 5-7-5

yuki *michi ya/ kōtansai no/ mado akari* (winter)

snowy road –/ nativity (p.p.)/ window glow

snowy road –

the nativity window

aglow

1925

水汲女に門坂急な避暑館 6-7-5

mizukumi me ni/ monzaka kyūna/ ***hisho****yakata* (summer) 6-7-4

water-drawing woman for/ gate-slope steep/ **escape-heat**-resort

for the maid who brings the water

the slope to the gate is steep –

summer resort

[15] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 168 – 169.

date not traced

If the *kigo* use in these two pieces is more conventional, the content is innovative. The first uses exotic Christmas imagery, perhaps documenting what in Japan would have been a new practice. It is a very pictorial haiku with evenly distributed seasonal feeling. Out of the darkness of the surrounding night the brightness and implied colour of the snow harmonizes with the lights in the window. As the nativity scene is a predictable image for anyone familiar with it, the scene can be readily pictured. Combined with the Christian reference, the winter *kigo*, '*yuki*' (snow), has an aesthetic function. The brief glamour of fresh snow suggests an unearthly place. '*Kōtansai*' (Christmas) – a word that is absent from Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki* but which does appear under *kurisumasu* (Christmas) in more up-to-date *saijiki* today[16] – is at the poem's centre. Perhaps '*kōtansai*' here should be considered as a candidate second *kigo*.

The 'modern custom' addressed in the second haiku is the trend on the part of those with enough disposable income to spend their summer at a fashionable resort, housed in an up-to-date Western style building. Again, complex social relations are suggested. The haiku contains images of both coolness and heat, each of which relate to the *kigo*, *hisho* (escape-heat). Coolness and its associated idea, water, are enjoyed by the guests at the resort. The maid, on the other hand, has the hot work of carrying the water up a steep slope. In her essay, Hisajo comments: 'the image of the water carrying woman climbing the steep slope dripping with sweat with her heavy load suggests class consciousness.'[17] In other words, the refreshment of the wealthy is being purchased at the price of the woman's sweat – the water they gained comes at the price of a loss of bodily fluids on her part. While the ironies in this haiku are available to a reader unaware of the conventional resonance of the theme of coolness in summer, they are far sharper for a reader who is.

[16] Mizuhara Shūōshi, Kato Shuson and Yamaguchi Seishi, ed. *Nihon Dai Saijiki*. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983), 1390.
[17] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 161.

The possessor of 'class consciousness' can only be Hisajo herself. Since this haiku does not appear in her *Collected Haiku*, perhaps she later repudiated its ideological content. The proletarian haiku movement, which began to emerge in the 1920s, was, according to Masui, anathema to Kyoshi and one motivation for *kachō fūei*.[18] Since "Taishō Joryū Haiku" appeared in *Hototogisu*, the fact that Hisajo's comment escaped Kyoshi's censure suggests that he may not have read the piece with care. What is indisputable is that her involvement in the Hototogisu *kessha* would have prevented her developing her work systematically in this direction even if she had wished to do so.

The presence of topical discursive elements shows that these two haiku are anti-nostalgic, even though *kigo* (actual and candidate) are made to do more work in both these examples than they are in the previous four,. They imply a sense of the world very different from that found in Shiki's corpus.

'DYNAMIC *SHASEI*,' 'COMPLEX DELICATE *SHASEI*' AND FURTHER TRENDS IN *KIGO* USE

Although Shiki's pictorial, almost snapshot, approach had made haiku distinctive and new, by the Taisho era the goal of escaping the flow of time to produce a pictorial style of poetry was no longer innovative. Rather, Hisajo claims, 'contemporary *shasei* is in most cases dynamic.'[19] In other words, haiku poets deliberately chose their language to convey, not stasis, but a sense of movement in their work.

On the whole, both *hokku* and haiku use a large proportion of concrete nouns and noun phrases which, in turn, are more likely to suggest stillness than movement. In Shiki's corpus 18% of the haiku contain no verbs at all. At 7% and 7.5% respectively, haiku without verbs are less frequent in Kyoshi's and Hisajo's corpora, but these figures still show how some of their work used

[18] Masui Toshihiko. *Kindai Haironshi [A History of Modern Haiku Poetics*. (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1965), 330.
[19] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 177.

extremely restricted the language resources. Again, only 19% of Shiki's haiku contain two or more verbs, but 33% of Kyoshi's haiku and 35.5% of Hisajo's are of this type. This does not mean that Kyoshi's haiku give an equally dynamic impression to Hisajo's. There are various kinds of verbs, of course, and only action verbs increase the impression of dynamism. Even in the case of action verbs that suggest changes that cannot be perceived by people in real time – for example *saku* (to bloom/be in bloom) – the impression will not be dynamic. Moreover, some nouns which derive from verbs, for example, the *hitode fumi* (starfish-stomping) which appears in Hisajo's sequence about Okinawa, can also imply vigorous activity.

Counting generously, but not counting twice for verbs with a second component which has a predominantly adverbial function like *yomitsukusu* (read-exhausted) or *nigorihajimeru (*get-murky-begin), 49% of the haiku in Shiki's corpus contain at least one action verb and 10% contain two. In Kyoshi's corpus, approximately the same proportion or 51% of the haiku contain at least one action verb and 8% contain two. However, 65.5% of the haiku in Hisajo's corpus contains at least one of these verbs and 17% contain two. Hisajo also uses compound verbs in 14.5% of her haiku. Some of these like *nugisuteru* (take-off-throw-away); *tsukimazeru* (pound-mix); *naritawamu* (cry-warp) *odoriochiru* (dance-fall-down) and *fukaremaroberu* (be blown-rolled) vividly describe a complex movement. Shiki only uses four compound verbs. While Kyoshi uses eleven, only six describe a complex movement. Of the six that do – *wakideru* (gush-go out); *nagekakeru* (throw-hang); *nagareyuku* (flow-go); *fukichigiritobi* (blow-disperse-fly); *wakitatsu* (gush-stand up); *ōtetobu* (chase-fly) – only the fifth has the vivid, unconventional quality of Hisajo's examples.

The example of her own work that Hisajo gives to illustrate "dynamic *shasei*" is the haiku about the Joseph's coat plant quoted in the previous chapter. However, this quality is also conspicuous in the following example of her work that she gives for "complex delicate *shasei,*" or attention to fine detail:

枯柳に来し鳥吹かれ飛びにけり 6-7-5

***kareyanag**i ni/ kishi tori fukare/ tobi ni keri* (winter)

bare [withered] willow to/-arrives-bird blown/-flew!

approaching a bare willow

the bird blown off course

flew away

1922

This haiku, which closely parallels a famous poem by Bashō, allows me to make an extended comparison, which should clearly demonstrate the difference between the aesthetic effects encouraged by a broadly Neo-Confucian view of the cosmos and one that exhibits a more modern preoccupation with experiences of dislocation and alienation.

Bashō's poem is as follows:

枯れ枝に烏のとまりけり秋の夕暮れ 5-9-5

*kare eda ni/ karasu no tomarikeri/ **aki** no kure* (autumn)

bare [or withered] branch on/ crow (p.p.) stopping/ **autumn** (p.p.) twilight

on a leafless branch

a crow comes to rest –

autumn nightfall[20]

1689

[20] Shirane's translation in Haruo Shirane. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 91.

Describing her own haiku, Hisajo notes something that is true of both:

> The action of a single bird is described in an objective manner, but at the same time the penetrating loneliness of an autumn evening is evoked without recourse to a subjective style.[21]

It is a characterization that certainly does not suggest 'supplementary' or 'weak seasonal feeling.'

Conventions about the traditional placement of seasonal boundaries mean that *kigo* associated with leafless trees were formally assigned to winter and not autumn.[22] Bashō's use of the word '*aki*' (autumn) is therefore not only essential, but indicates that poem addresses the seasonal transition from autumn to winter as well as that from day to night. Hisajo's identification of her haiku as an autumn haiku may simply be a result of its links to Bashō's.

Both poems are about a bird and tree branch and share the Chinese character 枯 was well the verbal suffix '*keri*' which acts as a cutting word. In Bashō's poem, the branch is either 'bare' or 'withered' and the same is true of Hisajo's willow tree. Surprisingly, given the fame of Bashō's poem, Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki*, which has twenty separate winter *kigo* for other 'withered' vegetation including '*kareyanagi*, has no reference to '*kare eda*.' Bashō's bird is a crow, Hisajo's is unspecified.

Both poems evoke clear visual images. There is a famous *haiga* (haiku with illustration) of Bashō's poem by his painting teacher, Morikawa Kyoroku (1656 – 1715).[23] Although his technique was remote from *shasei* style haiku, the fact the species is named gives the bird in the *hokku* a concrete presence. For readers primed to visualize the haiku, the blackness of the crow harmonizes with the fading of the light implied by the (sense and sound) link of '*aki no kure*' with '*yūgure*' (dusk) and perhaps the dark silhouette of a bare branch seen on a late autumn evening.

---

[21] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 168.
[22] Kai Hasegawa. "Time in Saijiki." *Japan Review* 14 (2002): 151 – 72, 161.
[23] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*. Frontispiece.

Bashō's bird is still, having 'stopped' (*tomarikeri*) on its branch, which means that there is no distraction from the monochromatic theme of gathering dark. Indeed, Shirane identifies Bashō's poem as a synthesis of a 'Chinese painting motif' and the 'medieval aesthetics of quiet and loneliness' championed by the influential critic Fujiwara Shunzei (1114 – 1204).[24]

In Hisajo's haiku there is no steady picture but a sequence of events in which both bird and tree are constantly moving. The salient factor in her poem is not the growing dark, but the effect of the wind, which prevents the bird from completing its attempted landing. The reason the specific kind of tree is named – an example of 'complex delicate *shasei*' – rather than the kind of bird is probably because the light branches of a willow tree are particularly vulnerable to violent gusts of wind. Concretely visualized, these must be wildly lashing about. This suggests Hisajo's decision about where to employ detail may have followed a decision to emphasize the 'dynamic *shasei*' characteristics.

By contrast, all the parts in Bashō's poem contribute to a single thought which centres upon just one aspect of the *kigo*. Fading was regarded an essential characteristic of autumn, particularly autumn on the cusp of winter, and so the fading of the year's light is summed up by the fading of a black bird into the engulfing darkness of night. The poem expresses a mood in which many conceptually autumnal associations – a bare branch, a carrion bird and the inevitable coming of death (or winter) – are all aligned. But after winter, spring comes. Seasonal understanding here fits perfectly with a yin and yang based worldview according to which everything – including individuals – is simply part of the evanescent manifestations of a repetitive play of change. Hisajo's, on the other hand, shows bird and nature in a disharmonious struggle: the bird has no place to rest. An expectation of completeness is disrupted. This bird may be a symbol of Hisajo's sense of social and personal dislocation. It is the bird's vulnerability rather than the power of the *kigo* that gives this poem a metaphorical layer of significance.

[24] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 91.

The meaning of the "loneliness" expressed by the two poems is correspondingly different. Loneliness, as *sabi*, was an aesthetic goal for Bashō. Perhaps he associated it with release from the calculation and self-interest believed to be unavoidable in social interaction. Although Confucianism was originally a philosophy aimed at producing social harmony, in Japan, at least, such social harmony often has been often felt to be purchased at the expense of a individual's personal inclinations. Merrit and Yamada explain that, even in the Meiji era,

> Facial expression and words were…not necessarily expressions from the heart; they were reflections of a need to conform to social expectations. One's true feelings were those of the inner self. Thus while a masklike face and conforming words characterized interactions in daily life, the inner self could be realised through meditation and reflection. [25]

It is also intimately connected with oppositions like *tatemae* (the presented stance) and *honne* (the world of inner feelings) which are retained in contemporary Japanese.[26] Again, *honne* can be characterized as 'spontaneous and even asocial.'[27] Thus for most people in Bashō's time, "loneliness" was valued as it allowed access to the experiences of the 'pure, inner self' which was 'thought of as sincere, selfless, and altruistic,'[28] a conception that is clearly rooted in Neo-Confucian teachings about harmonizing the self with nature.

The burden of a mask-like facial expression and strict compliance with conventional expectations was borne disproportionately by women. While the cost of Confucian harmony was particularly high for them, certain temperaments were likely to be impacted more than others. Hisajo repeatedly tells her readers that she suffered greatly from the conventions about decorous self-expression and considering them old-fashioned, she did not always comply. For example, when her daughter, Masako, attempted to caution her about the highly expressive, confessional tone of

---

[25] Helen Merrit and Nanako Yamada. *Woodblock Kuchi-E Prints*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 102.
[26] Jane M. Bachnik. "The Two "Faces" of Self and Society in Japan." *Ethos* 20, no. 1 (1992): 3-32, 5.
[27] Bachnik. "The Two "Faces" of Self and Society in Japan," 6.
[28] Merrit and Yamada. *Woodblock Kuchi-E Prints*, 103.

her preface to the first issue of *Hanagoromo* she refused her advice.[29] Hisajo valued self-expression and had from childhood been tormented by personal loneliness. Her most passionately overwrought prose is reserved for her descriptions of how it affected her.[30]

The close parallels between Hisajo's poem and Bashō's make it most likely that her haiku is a conscious product of allusive variation or *honkadori*, a poetic technique that had been used for over a thousand years.[31] In this case, she seems to be asserting, by contrast, certain distinctive characteristics of modern experience and modern perceptions.

Hisajo also occasionally use of *kigo* clash (*kichigai*), a technique in which two *kigo* from different seasons are used in the same haiku, which was also sparingly employed by Shiki and Kyoshi. In "Taishō Joryū Haiku" Hisajo comments on the rather discursive (as opposed to imagistic) nature poem below as follows:

> This haiku evokes the abrupt changes in weather and sense of the passage of time in the mountain country.[32]
>
> 紫陽花に秋冷いたる信濃かな 5-7-5
>
> ***ajisai*** *ni/* ***shūrei itaru****/ Shinano kana* (summer and autumn)
>
> **hydrangeas**-for/ **autumn** chill-has-caused/ Shinano!
>
> an autumn chill
>
> has touched the hydrangeas –
>
> that's Shinano!

[29] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin [Sugito Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]*. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 81.
[30] See for example, Sugita Hisajo. "Omoide no Yama to Mizu [Memories of Mountains and Water]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 92 - 94. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1919/2007), 93-94.
[31] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 73 – 74.
[32] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 180.

1920

Hydrangeas are at their peak in the rainy season, but remain on the bush, gradually changing colour across the whole of the summer, so the conjunction of these flowers with early signs of autumnal weather is empirically plausible, especially in Shinano. Thus, while this haiku is not predominately pictorial, it still reflects *shasei* observation. Moreover, an image of hydrangeas faded and perhaps crisped around the edges by the unseasonably cold air of the mountain country can easily be imagined by readers accustomed to visualization.

Perhaps the way Hisajo uses the *kigo* here shows her determination to put her experience of a particular place above the convention that allows only one *kigo* per haiku. In many haiku, the *kigo* is also the topic which is somehow elaborated upon by the rest of the poem. In this haiku, the place name positioned at the end of the haiku and followed by the cutting word '*kana*' – a default *kigo* position – reverses the usual relationship between the *kigo* and the other material. While it was completely different from the tropical climate Hisajo had known as a child, the climate in mountainous Shinano (Nagano Prefecture) was also very different to that of the "standards" set by Kyoto and Tokyo. And here, it is Shinano, treated as a *haimakura* (or *haikai* place), like Buzenbō discussed in Chapter Four, rather than a particular time of year, that is exemplified by strange changes in the weather. Theoretically then, in terms of evocative resonance, *haimakura* could take the place of a *kigo* and function in a similar way as both an organizing principle and a charismatic centre in tension with the rest of the poem. Such a radical move was not acceptable within Hototogisu haiku, and Hisajo has not adopted that strategy. Nevertheless, this haiku hints that one solution to the difficulty of the *kai-i* assumptions underlying *kigo* – and one which would have preserved the internal tensions between a base and superimposed section – would have been to substitute *haimakura* for *kigo*.

The examples above show that Hisajo benefitted from the observational thrust of *shasei* which first loosened the ties of *kigo* to text-based reference, and then loosened *kigo* from Shiki's pictorial

stasis. At the same time, Kyoshi's neo-classicism encouraged her to use "traditional" rhetorical resources innovatively. Her use of portraiture was even more innovative.

HAIKU PORTRAITS

Sophisticated portraiture had not been a prominent feature of *haikai* and that bias carried over into haiku. Although Shiki's haiku give a moving portrait of his experience on his sickbed, in his 1902 essay, "Byōshō Rokushaku [Six-foot Sick Bed]," he had argued that haiku should 'leave human affairs to the modern novel.'[33] Kyoshi, too, wrote in his *Haiku Nyūmon [Haiku for Beginners]* that 'the "conflicts and entanglements of human affairs" should be left to plays and novels.'[34]

The fact that portraiture and self-portraiture is a prominent feature of Hisajo's haiku is, therefore, particularly significant. 52.5% of the haiku in her corpus mention or imply one or more human beings. In Shiki's corpus only 32% and in Kyoshi's corpus only 28% of the haiku do so, and in many cases the human presence in their work is incidental. This discrepancy is even wider when it comes to portraiture. In Shiki's corpus 9% evoke (but most only very distantly) the bodily features of an individual and, of these, only 2% mention the hair, head or a part of the face. In Kyoshi's corpus the percentages are 8% and 4% respectively. In Hisajo's corpus, on the other hand, 19% of her haiku approach portraiture by mentioning or implying a body part. Of these, 8.5% directly mention highly gendered elements like (long) hair, hair accessories or a part of the face, some in significant detail. The vast majority of such haiku were written in her first period.

Drawing on the familiarity of her generation with *kuchie* (frontispiece illustrations for novels), Western-style portraits, and above all photography, Hisajo applied 'complex delicate *shasei*' to the human figure:

[33] Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*, 39.
[34] Kawasaki Nobuhiro. "Taishōki no Kyoshi [Kyoshi in the Taishō Era]." In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies]*, edited by Imai Fumio and Matsui Toshihiko Yamaguchi Seishi, 65 - 84. (Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974), 66. The double quotation marks are Kyoshi's own words.

紫陽花剪るや袂くわへて起しつつ 6-7-4

ajisai *kiru ya/ tamoto kuwaete/ koshitsutsu* (summer)

hydrangeas cut –/ sleeve hold-in-mouth/ helps [it] stand up-while

cutting hydrangeas –

sleeve in mouth

she helps the bush stand up

1919

睡蓮や鬢に手あてて水鏡 5-7-5

suiren *ya/ bin ni te atete/ mizu kagami* (summer)

waterlilies –/ the hair by her ears to hand touch/ water mirror

waterlilies –

hand touched to the hair near her ear

the mirroring water

1920

笑み解けて寒紅つきし前歯かな 5-7-5

emi tokete/ ***kanbeni*** *tsukishi/ maeba kana* (winter)

smile melting/ **winter rouge** stuck-to/ front teeth!

melting into a smile –

winter rouge stuck

to her front teeth!

1920

鬢かくや春眠さめし眉重く 5-7-5

bin kaku ya/ ***shunmin*** *sameshi/ mayu omoku* (spring)

the hair by her ear scratches –/ **spring nap** wakes up/ heavy eyebrows

scratching the hair by her ear

she wakes from a spring nap

with lowered eyebrows

1920

芥子蒔くや風に乾きし洗ひ髪 6-7-5

karashi maku ya/ kaze ni kawakishi/ araigami

mustard seed sow –/ wind in drying/ newly-washed-hair

sowing mustard seed –

newly washed hair

drying in the wind

1920

Taken as a group, these five haiku show how, particularly in 1920, Hisajo applied close visually-oriented observation of women to her haiku. This technique was not her individual discovery. She quotes similar haiku by a number of her contemporaries and identifies the four that follow as by Misajo, Chikajo, and Midori:

桜餅ふくみえくぼや話しあく 5-7-5

sakura mochi/ *fukumi ekubo ya/ hanashi aku* (spring)

cherry leaf rice-cake/ bite dimple –/ talk tired of

her dimple

as she bites the cherry leaf rice-cake –

tired of talking

date not traced

夏瘠や粧り濃すぎし引眉毛 5-7-5

natsu yase *ya/ tsukuri kosugishi/ hikimayuge* (summer)

summer weight loss –/make up too heavy/ redrawn eyebrows

summer weight loss –

her make up too heavy

and her eyebrows redrawn

date not traced

ざらざらと櫛にありけり花埃 5-7-5

zara zara to/ kushi ni arikeri/ ***hana*** *hokori* (spring)

scratchily/ comb on are –/ **cherry blossom** scraps

snagged

on her comb

scraps of cherry blossom

date not traced

Indeed, their shared preoccupation with portraiture is one indication that *joryū* haiku was a movement, rather than an arbitrary category. As far as *kigo* use is concerned, the waterlilies, the spring obi, the scraps of cherry blossom and perhaps the spring nap add a spring-like eroticism to these examples of Hisajo's haiku, and suggest a youthful subject as well. In the same way, summer weight loss hints at someone older. In some cases the base section resonates with a key quality suggested by the *kigo* or *kigo* candidate such that they are both enriched. For example, the drying hair resonates with the way mustard seed, being very fine, would float in the air as it is sown, and either part of the poem can be read as characterizing the other. Strictly, the Mustard Seed Haiku has no *kigo*, but *tane maku* (sowing seeds) is listed in Kyoshi's *Shin Saijiki* under spring.

The winter rouge, on the other hand, was said to cure boils in children and so the reference suggests not only season and colour but the identity of the subject. In other words, that *kigo* performs more than one function even though it is fully integrated into the scene evoked by the haiku.

The Cutting Hydrangeas Haiku contains a great deal of information and almost as many gaps. Presumably the plant has become waterlogged and has fallen over, and the gardener, having cut of some of the heavy flower heads, is trying to rescue it. The importance of *ajisai* (hydrangea) as a *kigo*, here, centres on their association with the rainy season. However, the poetic interest is almost entirely taken up by the virtuoso manner in which a great deal of specific, largely visual material is smoothly conveyed in only seventeen morae. It conveys in detail the gardener's actions, so that the human being and the scene from "nature" are presented in a single, complex unity.

All these examples show the skill with which not only Hisajo, but the *joryū* haiku poets who were her contemporaries, were able to produce evocative full length and facial portraiture while seamlessly integrating a *kigo*, often in a secondary capacity.

WELL-INTEGRATED HAIKU

Towards the end of "Taishō Joryū Haiku" Hisajo points out that *shasei*, in itself, is quite limited:

> People scrutinize the real nature of things and apply considerable effort to powerfully and accurately depiction, but the work lacks resonance and latitude accordingly. [35]

She calls haiku that combines *shasei* and personal elements 'well-integrated,' or literally "thick lined" (*sen no futoi*), haiku.

> One step beyond the exercise of a purely objective *shasei* style is to combine both subjective (lyrical) and objective approaches. When *shasei* is not used for its own sake haiku can become more integrated.[36]

This passage shows Hisajo believes, like Shiki and Kyoshi before her, that the poet must master the basic *shasei* techniques before engaging in more self-expressive work. Such strictures reflect the principles according to which she herself had, no doubt, been educated through such arts as calligraphy and ikebana. In "Joryū Haiku o Midoku Su [An Appreciation of Women's Haiku]," after highly praising a haiku by Shizunojo comparing the moon to a fully deflected bow, she comments:

> However, it is extremely dangerous for beginners to forget that they have personal biases and that their skills are as yet undeveloped, and impulsively imitate this subjective approach. It is much more prudent to take the beaten track of *shasei*. The effective use of a subjective approach requires the cultivation of a constant observation of nature.[37]

---

[35] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku ," 167.
[36] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 181.
[37] Sugita Hisajo. "Joryū Haiku o Midoku Su [An Appreciation of Women's Haiku]" In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 187 - 92. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007), 191 – 192.

The inherent assumption is that a clearly delineated domain exists which can be accessed in a step by step manner and that, until it is thoroughly internalized, personal concerns must be suppressed. However, this attitude does not always match the way she approached her own work. Even in her early haiku a subjective or self-expressive element is often present. Ironically, the one she chose from her own work to illustrate this section of her essay was written on the occasion of her father's death, less than two years after she first began writing haiku:

父逝くや明星霜の松に尚ほ

chichi yuku ya/ myōjō ***shimo*** *no/ matsu ni nao* (winter)

my father has died/ – Venus **frost** (p.p.)/ pine tree on even so

my father has died –

the morning star

on the frosty pine tree even so

1918

The integrated *kigo* in this haiku is not only ritualistically important – in that it captures a moment that is very significant personally – but it is extremely effective contributing to the emotion conveyed by the haiku. The combination of the frost and the planet Venus evokes a piercing chill that points both to the cold flesh of a corpse and the shock of recent bereavement. The image of the pine tree is also highly literary, yet it has an almost oppositional relationship to the *kigo*. Shirane explains that certain natural images, including the pine tree, have 'very strong talismanic functions' that 'transcend the seasons.'[38] Evergreen, strong and by convention masculine, this tree is one of the three lucky symbols emblematic of long life use in both China and Japan. The

[38] Haruo Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 134.

persistence of the pine, despite her father's death, may be painful or comforting or both. Its presence in the poem is a personal symbol with magical qualities: Hisajo's dead, cold father is replaced by a cold, but resilient tree.

The final category Hisajo proposes in "Taishō Joryū Haiku" is Haiku about an Individual's Circumstances. The fact that she makes a distinction between this and 'Well-Integrated Haiku,' although both include an emphasis upon personal perspective, indicates how unusual using incidental material from the poet's life in haiku still was. Two of the examples of her own work she gives for this category are:

さうめんや孫にあたりて舅不興 5-7-6

sōmen ya/ mago ni atarite/ shūto fukyō

somen noddles –/ grandchildren at directed/ father-in-law bad temper

cold noodles –

father-in-law's bad temper

directed at his grandchildren

1920

and

貧しき群におちし心や百合に恥づ 7-7-5

mazushiki mure ni/ ochishi kokoro ya/ ***yuri*** *ni hajizu* (summer)

masses among/ fallen heart –/ **lilies** against shamed

fallen to the level of the masses

my heart

is shamed before the lilies

1918

Both of these haiku suggest the social consciousness and individualism of the I-novel. The first implicitly protests the patriarchal nature of the Japanese family system, a literary theme that persisted well into the twentieth century. The second is a psychological portrait of someone has forgotten her high ideals – Hisajo was at once anti-materialistic and over-concerned with what she experienced as her poverty – and realizes it with a pang when faced by the lilies' beauty. It may be that Hisajo was alluding to Matthew 6: 28:

> And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin.

However, as she had not yet joined the church this parallel may simply be fortuitous. Certainly, the haiku – a very early one – appears to exemplify Kyoshi's assertion that haiku promotes well-being, because it enables the individual to properly align themselves with "nature."

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how, while seasonal reference of some sort was always maintained in Hisajo's haiku, she balances the relationship between *shasei* elements and the *kigo* in various ways, sometimes making room to include discursive and lyrical material. At times, Hisajo's *kigo* does a great deal of work. At times, it is barely more than incidental. However, it never completely dominates the haiku. The range of effects she pursued was probably influenced by Kyoshi's rehabilitation of Bashō, which allowed some heritage elements Shiki had rejected or downplayed like allusive variation to be rescued and adapted to new themes. At the same time *shasei* observation became finer grained and Shiki's ideal of a static picture was often displaced by an

interest in dynamic effects. In comparison with the highly pictorial, imagistic bias of Shiki's haiku, Hisajo her contemporaries operated under loosened constraints.

The documentary thrust of *shasei*, as well as the changing nature of daily experience in Taisho Japan, encouraged innovation in terms of subject matter. Hisajo, and the women poets who were her contemporaries, included references to previously unknown or excluded objects, modern institutions and self-consciously up-to-date and even foreign customs in their haiku. Her work shows little evidence of a desire to preserve a unique Japanese identity.

Many of the haiku she discusses in "Taishō Joryū Haiku" aimed at complex portraiture and self-portraiture. The persistent interest women showed in this devalued subject matter was probably tolerated because they were not expected to be able to reach the same literary standard as men. Indeed, Kyoshi was keen to promote *joryū* haiku as a separate sub-genre which should not be allowed to mimic men's, but should stand in its own special position.[39]

[39] Ueno Sachiko. *Josei Haiku no Sekai [The World of Women's Haiku]*. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 89.

CHAPTER SIX: A WOMAN'S PLACE

Previous chapters showed the changing function of the *kigo* in haiku resulted, firstly, from the observational stance of *shasei* style composition and, secondly, from the introduction of new subject matter. The second of these trends meant that more marginalized groups, like women, who could bring a fresh perspective to haiku were more likely to be innovative. The next three chapters will investigate some concerns Hisajo had as a woman and *joryū* haiku poet which reflected her response to gender norms. In this chapter, I look at the status and meaning of *joryū* haiku within the Hototogisu *kessha*, and then take the discourse of Good Wives and Wise Mothers (*ryōsai kenbo*) – which shaped Hisajo's secondary education – as a context from which to discuss some of her haiku on themes of housework and motherhood. The next chapter discusses Hisajo's internal conflicts as they appear in some of her Taisho era haiku and then analyses in detail two haiku that represent turning points in her career. Chapter Eight moves to Hisajo's second period to investigate some strategies she employs when Kyoshi's espousal of *kachō fūei* and the temper of the times makes it inadvisable for her to express her feelings and thoughts too directly.

"KITCHEN MISCELLANIES"

In 1916, the year Hisajo began to write haiku, a column called "Kitchen Miscellanies" (*daidokoro zatsuei*) was launched in *Hototogisu*. Edited by Hasegawa Kanajo (1887 - 1969), wife of the literary figure Hasegawa Reiyoshi (1886 – 1928),[1] it was the first ever haiku column to solicit submissions from women only. Shiki had expressed the view that more women should write haiku, but he had not actively recruited them for the *Nippon* School.[2] Thus, Kyoshi's sponsorship of "Kitchen Miscellanies" was a bold, historic move. The opportunities it offered, however, were (as its name suggests) heavily constrained by gender norms.

[1] Reiyoshi was one of the men with whom Hisajo was said to have conducted affairs and this gossip seems to have provoked some jealousy in Kanajo. See Ren Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto [Notes on Sugita Hisajo]*. (Kitakyushu: Urayama Shobo, 1978), 133.
[2] Makoto Ueda. *Far Beyond the Field: Haiku by Japanese Women* [in Japanese and English]. Translated by Makoto Ueda. (New York, Chichester West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2003), xxvi.

Historically speaking, the involvement of women in the arts in general had been fraught from a number of points of view. Although there had been female poets in Bashō's circles, and a few female writers like Chiyojo (1703 – 1775) were also famous for their *hokku*, because it meant mixing with men on a more or less equal basis, few "respectable" women had been involved *haikai*. One rationale for excluding them from poetry gatherings were deeply rooted beliefs about the nature of the cosmic feminine principle, yin. For centuries, a dominant strand of Neo-Confucian philosophers had routinely argued that unruly yin was particularly inclined to stubbornness, jealousy, self-will and irrationality. It was believed that unless women were kept in their own quarters, they would be a source of disharmony in all areas of life, particularly government.[3] Such ideas remained current well into modern times, and the 'elimination of "the power of women" – from their point of view an unfortunate feature of court politics – was a core concern' for the oligarchs who facilitated the Meiji Restoration.[4]

Extreme segregation and confinement of women was practiced at court during the Heian period, but the total control of a daughter's, sister's, wife's or mother's sexuality did not become a norm until the Kamakura period (1192 – 1333) with the dominance of the samurai class. Robertson has shown that when the Shingaku School spread Neo-Confucianism to the merchant classes during the Tokugawa period similar rules were applied to working women from merchant families.[5] This samurai-influenced attitude to women seems to have particularly discouraged women's writing, but the sexual, intellectual and artistic suppression of women was not uniform. For instance, the influence of the Chinese scholar, poet and painter Yuan Mei (1716–1797), famous for his essays on gourmet food, had encouraged a more liberal attitude to female literati, making their

[3] Bret Hinsch. "Metaphysics and Reality of the Feminine in Early Neo-Confucian Thought." *Women's Studies Int. Forum* 11, no. 6 (1988): 591-98, 593. See too, the translation of the "Onna Daigaku [The Great Learning for Women]" attributed to Kaibara Ekiken (1630 – 1714), in *Source of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann. New York: University of Columbia Press, 2005), 261 – 267.

[4] Sekiguchi Sumiko. "Gender in the Meiji Renovation: Confucian 'Lessons for Women' and the Making of Modern Japan." Translated by Michael Burtscher. *Social Science Japan Jounal* 11, no. 2 (2008): 201- 21, 218.

[5] Jennifer Robertson. "The Shingaku Woman: Straight from the Heart." In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, 88 - 107. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 96.

involvement in artistic circles more acceptable in both 19th century China and Japan. Since Hisajo was taught haiku by a family member, her introduction to a life of artistic endeavour paralleled the experience of such female literati and represented an evolution of already established practice. The small circle of women around Kyoshi who provided the initial impetus for "Kitchen Miscellanies" was also comprised of members of his family and their female friends.[6]

Thus, it is not surprising that "Kitchen Miscellanies" took the view that women should be confined to the domestic sphere for granted. Certain aspects of *haiku*, as opposed to *haikai*, made it easier to encourage women to write it without having to question other aspects of their situation. Severed from *renga*, haiku could be written in the privacy of the home. When Hototogisu women did meet to compose haiku, they met with other women – even though Kyoshi might also be in attendance.[7] To downplay the challenge to convention that women leaving the house for recreation represented, early haiku excursions (*ginkō*) organised for the contributors to the column were designated temple or shrine visits.[8] Moreover, the themes for haiku that Kyoshi originally suggested included domestic items like cooking pots and chopping boards.[9] Thus, "Kitchen Miscellanies" unambiguously signalled the advent of a new sub-genre of women's or *joryū* haiku, with its own topics, and a largely female readership, none of whom, by the mere fact of their mere participation in haiku composition, would be encouraged question established gender norms.

The belief that women's writing was different was not restricted to haiku. Indeed, the terms *joryū* (women's-stream) and *josei* (female) as applied to 20th century Japanese writers have received much scholarly attention. The conventional explanation for this sharp gender-based differentiation is that from the Heian period onwards 'women's hand' (*onnade*), or a female writing style with a distinctive vocabulary and grammar, had been passed from woman to woman. Female personae using this feminine style had also been adopted, most effectively, by men, as for instance Ki no

[6] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin* [Sugita Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 25.
[7] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 28.
[8] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 27.
[9] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo*, 26.

Tsurayuki (872 – 945) did in his *Tosa Nikki [Tosa Diary]*.[10] Meanwhile, access (or the lack of it) to education in Chinese, the language of public life, was an important factor behind the stylistic differences apparent in male and female writing. Even in classical times, girls had been denied the same level of education as boys and they had been conventionally discouraged – not always successfully – from intruding into the male territory of Chinese characters, not to mention those texts, like political histories, that were written in *kanbun*. At a less extreme level, the attitude persisted and while Hisajo was active, women were routinely considered less intellectual than their male counterparts. She seems to have felt her comparative ignorance and lack of education sharply.[11]

Joan E. Ericson, however, has also argued against the conventional view that a narrowly feminine style had persisted from Heian times. Instead, she claims that the *joryū* category only became a fixture of the Japanese literary field in the 1920s, when a variety of different and sometimes challenging female voices emerged. She argues that it functioned partly as a solution to the threat to male privilege that sprang from the growing mass readership for women's magazines in that decade and partly as a market-segmentation strategy.[12] The consequence of ceding a special feminized space in the literary field for the treatment of domesticity and a decorous range of love themes often in the form of memoir was that men dominated all the rest – just as they had done when *kanbun* and *kanshi* had flourished. Beginning in the Meiji era, if female authors engaged with "modern" ideas in their work, they were seen as breaching territorial boundaries and criticized as unwomanly.[13] Thus, the epithet *joryū* did not simply mean written by a woman. It meant written by women primarily for women and implied the quality of the work was inferior.

---

[10] Lynne K. Miyake. "*The Tosa Diary*: In the Interstices of Gender and Criticism." In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A Walker, 41 - 73. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 41.
[11] Sugita Hisajo. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi wa Nahen ni? [Where Should Women's Haiku Go from Here?]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collections of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 218 - 221. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1932/2007), 220.
[12] Joan E. Ericson. "The Origins of the Concept of 'Women's Literature.'" In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow, Janet A Walker and 74 - 115. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 84 - 85.
[13] Copeland. "Introduction: Meiji Women Writers," 20.

The hostility expressed by men toward talented and ambitious women writers is illustrated by the following quotation –a relatively mild example – from a roundtable discussion in1908:

> Their lack of womanliness is so irritating we do not read their work. We have no interest in trying to do so…We would like to say they only imitate men, but in fact the imitate men's baser aspects.[14]

Despite the somewhat earlier establishment of "Kitchen Miscellanies," similar forces of market-segmentation plus the unambiguous marginalization of women's writing were at work. By assigning more and less prestigious positions within the pages of *Hototogisu*, Kyoshi was able to publish the work of elite poets and less ambitious haiku without blurring the distinction between them. Although women could be given their place as well, the marginal status of *joryū* haiku is glaringly apparent in haiku scholarship. For example, the eminent historian of haiku poetics, Matsui Toshihiko, does not mention the "Kitchen Miscellanies" in his entry for 1916 in the otherwise highly detailed biographical and literary timeline he wrote for Kyoshi.[15]

Yet, there was a paradoxical advantage for Hototogisu women in the fact that they were regarded as second-class participants. As their subscription fees were as valuable as those of men, their limitations – they were considered emotional and literal-minded – would have to be indulged, and without too much scrutiny. Men might boast that they never read them, but this disregard meant women would be able to get away with writing haiku that addressed issues that, had they been written by men, might well have been criticized for over-involvement in "human affairs" and lack of aesthetic detachment.

---

[14] Oguri Fūyō, Yanagawa Shu'yō, Tokuda Shūkō, Ikuta Chōkō and Mayama Seika. "'On Women Writers.'" In *Women Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland, 33 - 40. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1908/2006), 33.

[15] Toshihiko Masui. "Takahama Kyoshi Nenpu. [A Literary Timeline for Takahama Kyoshi]" In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū*, edited by Yamaguchi Seishi, Imai Fumio and Matsui Toshihiko, 369 - 440. (Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974).

HISAJO'S ATTITUDE TO *JORYŪ* HAIKU

During Hisajo's lifetime, at least three possible reactions were available to *joryū* writers. They could accept their inferior status; they could reject the idea that they were significantly different to men and employ the conventions male writers had established; or they could assert and celebrate a distinctly feminine identity. Hisajo took the third choice. Her 1933 essay, "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi wa Nahen ni? [Where Should Women's Haiku Go From Here?]" summarized some of the usual male prejudices exhibited towards *joryū* writers:

> Some men say: "Women are trivial. You all have old fashioned ideas. You only seem to want to look at things emotionally. You seem to want to mix up intellect and feelings. Nothing [with you] is as clear and precise as the line drawn by a ruler. Women!" We have often been scorned like this.[16]

She points to rigid, over-intellectualisation as a male weakness:

> Men reject women for their desire to mix intellect and feeling, sometimes to the extent of putting their life at stake, and for their inability to divide up the world logically as though with lines drawn by a ruler. What men reject as "Women!" is our uniqueness. Is there not a path there that women's haiku should explore?[17]

In other words, her answer to the question raised by her essay title was that women's haiku should exploit the gaps left by men's rejection of feeling and intuition:

[16] Sugita Hisajo. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi wa Nahen ni? [Where Should Women's Haiku Go from Here?]." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū[A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 218 - 221. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1932/2007), 220.
[17] Sugita. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi," 220.

> I would like to suggest that the intuitive and strong emotions of women, the fact that waves of emotion arise in us easily, this disposition, this area of haiku that the men have left fallow, is just what women's haiku should increasingly cultivate.[18]

However, Hisajo did not take the stereotypical line of opposing feminine feeling and intuition to male intellect. She was determined that, despite the disadvantages women faced in terms of education, life experience and free time, *joryū* haiku should reach the highest standards. This meant a broad approach to the pursuit of self-education which was consistent with Shiki's attitude to "literature," but quite different from Kyoshi's impulse to quarantine haiku from heterogeneous influences:

> I think it is pointless to keep unconsciously repeating conventional expressions or aimlessly copying models made by men. For women's haiku to become self-aware and for us to autonomously create our own positive haiku direction effort and study are absolutely necessary.
>
> Moreover, in order to develop our minds, we should read books, rummage through collections of *waka* from the past, occasionally peep at a page of modern poetry, look at good pictures, and such like. We need to take care with our expression realising hard work is needed to find the right words.[19]

Kyoshi's aim for *joryū* haiku was that women should specialize in subject areas that men could (or would) not address. Hisajo's response certainly looks like a concession to his position, which is why Aki Hirota – as was mentioned in Chapter Two – criticizes her.[20] Similar positions, reversing the usual power dynamic and exalting "feminine" qualities at the expense of "masculine" ones, have been often attacked as an essentialist acceptance of a binary framework that necessarily

[18]Sugita. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi," 220.
[19] Sugita. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi," 221.
[20]Aki Hirota. "Manufacturing the Mad Woman: The Case of Poet Sugita Hisajo." *US-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 36 (2009): 12 – 41, 36.

supports the patriarchal organization of society.[21] Where espousing a female viewpoint involves excluding women from valuable human qualities that are considered "masculine," the self-defeating nature of the project is indisputable. However, studies like the empirical research on gender and ethics by Carol Gilligan have shown that women – as presently socialized – bring an important and distinctive perspective to ethical problem-solving.[22] While Gilligan was investigating American women some decades after Hisajo's death, she also praises the context-sensitive, heart-plus-head nature of the type of thinking more often displayed by women. Moreover, where male privilege is as entrenched, as it was among readers of *Hototogisu*, the first move must be for women to reach out to other women, developing distinctly woman-to-woman voices, since very few males will read what they have to say.

Nevertheless, in "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi" Hisajo characterizes women in a way that appears, not only to pander to stereotypes but is mismatched with her own apparently often frank and impulsive personality:

> Women's haiku is modest, silent and sometimes submissive, bowing to nature and to the ivory tower. With their devout pace women quietly bring back to life to those wild chrysanthemums mowed down and trampled by men. Shouldn't we gradually build our haiku from those compassionate feminine qualities that provoke contemptuous smiles, our sensations and lyricism, our observation, our domesticity, our spontaneity, our simple selves lacking in artificiality? Isn't this how women's haiku should progress?[23]

This passage seems to expose Hisajo's internalization of patriarchal ideology and risks losing the sympathy of twenty-first century (Western) women.

---

[21] Susan J. Hekman, *Gender and Knowledge: Elements of a Postmodern Feminism*. (Cambridge Polity Press, 1990) 5 - 6.
[22]Carol Gilligan. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982), 2.
[23] Sugita. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi, "220.

However, as will become more apparent in Chapters Seven and Eight, Hisajo increasingly used language which could be read in a way that distracted male (or patriarchal) readers away from a more subversive underlying message that was addressed to her women readers who were in the know. In this passage, it is possible that she is, in fact, drawing on the more female-friendly tradition of Daoism in her struggle against oppression. Although Neo-Confucianism took many of its metaphysical concepts including yin and yang from Daoism, there was a marked difference between the two when it came to gender and power. The Neo-Confucian understanding of the relationship between masculine yang and feminine yin was uncompromisingly hierarchical in favour of yang. However, in Daoism yin and qualities like 'modesty, silence and submission,' were praised as the source of good government. For instance, the foundation text, the Daodejing states:

.

> What is weak and soft wins out over what is hard and strong.[24]
>
> The Sage…undertakes teaching without words."[25]
>
> The feminine always conquers the masculine by stillness.[26]

In her passage quoted above, Hisajo's mention of the chrysanthemum, a flower strongly associated with the early recluse poet, Tao Yuanming, also known as Tao Qian, (365–427), adds to the likelihood that she was, indeed, thinking of Daoism when she wrote the passage. It is certain that she prized this poet as she mentions him in a series of haiku, which I will discuss in Chapter Eight, and he was a particularly suitable choice for anyone in Hisajo's position who wanted to assert the importance of "feminine" virtues. Both in China and Japan Tao Yuanming's portraits have routinely featured feminized iconography indicative of death and transcendence otherwise used

[24] Laozi. *Daodejing*. Translated by Edmund Ryden. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 75.
[25] Laozi. *Daodejing*, 7.
[26] Laozi. *Daodejing*, 127.

only for female immortals.[27] Moreover, his famous poem, "The Peach Blossom Spring," not only referred to the Daoist myth of the peaches of immortality but, by erecting a simple peasant village, instead of a wondrous conglomeration of palaces and castles, as an exemplar of Utopia, challenged the grandiose ambitions of elitist Daoist magicians and 'imperial hegemonic structures in general.'[28] This position in favour of the simple and apparently unremarkable parallels Hisajo's opposition to male 'trampling.' In other words, the feminine qualities Hisajo urges women to prize are ones that had long been associated with a good life for certain groups of anti-establishment individuals.

Although praise for 'femininity' is not necessarily a pro-women phenomenon, praise for "Daoist" qualities by a woman in the context of asserting women's right to authorship can be interpreted as subtly subversive. Ironically, Daoism was far closer to the values of Bashō than the arrogant, divisive behaviour of the males – all too apparent in haiku factionalism – which Hisajo criticizes.[29]

Hisajo gains more than an assertion that women had their own special corner of the haiku field to 'cultivate' by her assertion of 'unique' feminine virtues. In reinforcing Kyoshi's desire to maintain a special place for *joryū* haiku in his magazine, she helped give female haiku poets more leeway in which to develop in both thematically and stylistically innovatory ways. They had plenty to say. Since it was assumed female inferiority and expected women to write differently to men, expectations, in terms of the "masculine" criterion of "objectivity," and even in terms of the orientation away from social issues, were lower for women than for men. While their writing could appear narrow and domestic, the pressing issues about which women like Hisajo wished to express themselves were very much a result of how they had been positioned in society by the policies of Japan as nation state.

---

[27] Susan E. Nelson. "Tao Yuanming's Sashes: Or, the Gendering of Immortality." *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 1-27, 6.
[28] Nathaniel Robert Walker. "Reforming the Way: The Palace and the Village in Daoist Paradise." *Utopian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2013): 6 – 21, 6.
[29] Peipei Qiu. *Bashō and the Dao: The Zhuangzi and the Transformation of Haikai*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2005, 5.

A 'GOOD WIFE AND WISE MOTHER'

The inferior position of women's writing in the literary field was only one example of the circumambient oppression which made life difficult for Hisajo. The expression *danson johi* (Respect Males, Despise Females), which remained in common use long after her death, was reflected in law enacted by the Meiji state. Most relevant in Hisajo's case were the divorce laws. I have already explained that had she pursued divorce with Udai in 1920, he would have been entitled to prevent her from access to her daughters, she would not have been entitled to alimony,[30] and she would have lost any money or goods she had brought into marriage.[31] As Hisajo's father was dead, she would have been dependent on the support of her oldest brother who, as a matter of course, had inherited the family property on his father's death.[32] The civil law was not an abstract constraint. It faced Hisajo with a very narrow range of onerous options and led to feelings of entrapment which she found she could best release by writing haiku.

Discrimination extended into education in a paradoxical manner. From the late 1890s the Meiji government aimed to produce women who were Good Wives and Wise Mothers (*ryōsai kenbo*).[33] Elise Tipton has shown how this trend was a Japanese expression of a world-wide movement which affirmed 'the sexual division of labour' while maintaining 'social hierarchy,' by encouraging 'consumption patterns' that clearly expressed a middle-class status.[34] The notion of the Good Wife had a new and westernized flavour. Some early Meiji intellectuals had been impressed by the confidence of American and other Western women and were afraid that if Japanese women appeared timid by comparison, the Japanese as a nation would be vulnerable to Western contempt. They wanted the next generation of Japanese women to be cultivated and

---

[30] Vera Mackie. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism 1900 - 1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 37.
[31] Mackie. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan*, 36.
[32] Mackie. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan*, 36.
[33] Dina Lowy. *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity*. (London: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 4.
[34] Elise K. Tipton. "How to Manage a Household: Creatiing Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan." *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2009): 95 – 110; 98.

poised.[35] Also a certain number of liberally inclined men felt shackled by their conventional wives and even hoped for partnerships with more educated, progressive women.[36] Linking "wise" with "mother" was, in terms of a mainstream policy anyway, another novelty. Women had, not so long before, been routinely referred to as 'borrowed wombs'[37] whose main tasks were to serve the family into which they married, and produce male heirs. A Wise Mother had more intellectual skills, being able to teach her children the virtues of orderliness, diligence and devotion to the nation. As a graduate of the progressive girls' school, Ochanomizu, Hisajo was a recipient of the most liberal and individualistic version of the education for girls that pursued these twin aims.

They were not always reconcilable. Policy makers like Ishizawa Yoshima claimed that a proper orientation to housework and child-rearing would allow 'the growth and development of…one's innate potentialities.'[38] Women should be 'free to read, think and use her brain to put knowledge into practice and thereby improve her home and society.' To do so, they needed to 'go out in public and socialize more.'[39] At the same time, the weight of conservative public opinion had it that both the Good Wife and the Wise Mother should operate exclusively in the domestic sphere.

The match between the ideals of the more progressive educators and Hisajo's own is very close. She passionately believed in the importance of 'the growth and development' of her own 'innate potentialities,' through reading and thinking. Later in life, she was also prepared to fight Udai, who opposed girls receiving more than a basic education, for similar opportunities for her children, and due to her efforts and careful economizing both her daughters were able to complete tertiary education.[40] However, since unlike many of the other graduates from Ochanomizu who she

---

[35] See, for example, the wording of the founding charter of Meiji Girls School quoted in Hiratsuka, Raichō. *In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun: The Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist*. Translated by Teruko Craig. (New York Columbia University Press, 2006), 59.
[36] Sharon H. Nolte. *Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers 1905 - 1960*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 95 – 96.
[37] Beichman. *Embracing the Firebird*, 52.
[38] Tipton. "Creating Middle Class Housewives," 98.
[39] Tipton. "Creating Middle Class Housewives," 102.
[40] Yumoto Akiko. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo No Sekai [the World of the Haiku Poet, Sugita Hisajo]*. (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 1999), 190 – 191.

regarded as her peers Hisajo was not able to afford a maid, she found it was impossible to pursue self-development and be a model wife and mother. In "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi" she gives a sketch of the demands on her time as follows:

> … since I have no maid, I have to get up every morning at five or five-thirty to cook, wash, clean, shop, and prepare the bath. I have to do everything: deal with guests, *kukai*, write *tanzaku* [poetry cards] writing letters and reading books. Once a week I teach an art class at a private girl's high school.
>
> Now, bazaars! And this time, exhibitions! Though each of these tasks are small I work all year through and have no free time – even sometimes staying up to deal with the final tasks of the day until one o'clock – nevertheless, I manage, along with the washing up and the drawing water and the heating the bath – to follow the way of haiku, keeping my notebook with me so that I can polish my work.[41]

For all it vividly conveys the demands of her daily life, her essay shows that Hisajo had little understanding of the structural nature of the difficulties she faced. By urging other women to follow her example and write haiku, despite the duties that gender roles imposed upon them, she shows how she had internalized values that would condemn her to make impossible demands upon herself. While haiku gave Hisajo a reason to 'go out in public and socialize more,' her interaction with male haiku poets, along with the time, emotion and energy Udai thought would have been better spend on housework and childcare that writing haiku took, contributed to what became an unbridgeable rift in her marriage. Within the community, Udai was a public figure. Gossip about his unconventional wife was a significant liability when it came to maintaining face with parents, students and colleagues. Given such profound conflicts of interest between her and Udai, it would be impossible for Hisajo to achieve both her 'innate potentialities' and the goal of creating a 'happy family.'

[41] Sugita. "Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi," 218 – 219.

PORTRAITS OF A HOUSEWIFE

Especially during her first period Hisajo wrote freely on the topic of women's work in the home. Although many of the haiku below probably depict Hisajo herself, it is important to reiterate that in Japanese grammar the subject of a sentence is often dropped, and this flexibility can lead to ambiguity. But it does not really matter who the woman is. These haiku document aspects of the way of life shared by many middle-class women in Taisho Japan whose lives were consumed by housework and mothering. The theme of women's work was not restricted to women's haiku. The unconventional female ukiyoe artist Uemura Shōen (1875 - 1949), whom Hisajo admired,[42] developed a new genre of Japanese paintings in which she portrayed women not as sexual objects but as workers.[43] Male haiku poets, on the other hand, did not write about their occupations. Their subject matter was deliberately detached from their economic life and social role, and prized precisely because of that "objective" detachment. The fact that women had to be constantly active meant they were less able to separate themselves from and disinterestedly contemplate "nature."

Many of Hisajo's haiku convey an attractive impression of embodiment and engagement, and the examples below suggest something of the beauty and pleasure Hisajo found in her daily life. These first three convey the impression of a full length portrait in a way that aestheticizes her activities. Although in each case some movement is indicated, they present visually sharp scenes which, apart from the centrality of a bodily human presence, closely link with Shiki's pictorial haiku.

蝉時雨日斑あびて掃き移る 5-7-5

semishigure/ himadara abite/ hakiutsuru (summer)

cicada shower/ sun blotches bathed-in/ sweep-shift

[42] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 168.
[43] Midori Wakakuwa. "Three Women Artists of the Meiji Period (1868 - 1912): Reconsidering Their Significance from a Feminist Perspective." Translated by Naoko Aoki. In *Japanese Women: Few Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda, 61 - 73. (New York The Feminist Press, 1995), 71.

cicada shower –

bathed in sun blotches

I move as I sweep

1919

炭つぐや髷の粉雪を撫でふいて 5-7-5

sumi *tsugu ya/ mage no ko**yuki** o/ nade fuite* (winter)

coal pour –/ bun (p.p.) specks **snow**/ stroke-wipe

she pours out coal –

brushes

specks of snow from her bun

1920

茄子もぐや日を照りかへす櫛のみね 5-7-5

nasu *mogu ya/ hi o terikaesu/ kushi no mine* (summer)

eggplants picking –/ sunlight (o.p.) reflects/ comb (p.p.) ridge

picking eggplants –

sunlight flashes

from the ridge of a comb

1920

The first haiku suggests a blend of a number of parallel phenomena. The sound of the broom is complemented by the song of the cicadas; the scraps of whatever is being swept up are complemented by the dapples of sunlight; those dapples are again echoed in the drilling,

intermittent quality of the cicada sound. Penetrated by sound and dappled with sunlight the body of the woman loses its clear outlines and merges with her surroundings. The second haiku takes one of the dirtiest jobs faced by a housewife, and juxtaposes the blackness of the coal with the blackness of the woman's hair, a blackness which is further emphasized by its contrast with the white specks of snow. The reference to hair intentionally foregrounds the woman's femininity, which persists despite her circumstances. In the third, the flashing comb which clarifies the scene by revealing identifying the gender of the eggplant harvester also points to the prominent highlights thrown off by eggplants in the sun.

In the following examples the human presence, though essential as the general topic is work, is only implied:

汲みあてゝ朝寒ひびく釣瓶かな 5-7-5

kumi atete/ asa ***samu*** *hibiku/ tsurube kana* (winter)

ladle-hit/ morning-**cold** rings/ well-bucket!

striking the icy water

and ringing out in the cold morning

a well bucket!

1920

春暁の紫玉菜抱く葉かな 5-7-5

shun*gyō no/ murusaki tamana/ daku ha kana* (spring)

spring dawn (p.p.)/ purple round-cabbage/ embracing leaves!

the spring dawn's

purple cabbage

embracing leaves!

before 1929

The reverberation of the bucket hitting the side of the well suggests an intrusion of self-consciousness and perhaps an altered sense of time into a busy morning schedule. The over-exalted purple cabbage leaves create a humorous, self-depreciatory impression.

The final three haiku suggest a speaking (or thinking) presence:

肥かけて冬菜太るをたのしめり 5-7-5

koe kakete/ ***fuyu na*** *futoru o/ tanoshimeri* (winter)

manure applying/ winter vegetables fatten/ can enjoy

having applied manure

I can enjoy

the winter vegetables get fatter

1918

秋晴や何を小刻むよその厨 5-7-6

akibare *ya/ nani o kokizamu/ yoso no kuriya* (autumn)

autumn-fine-weather –/ what small-chop/ elsewhere's kitchen

lovely autumn weather –

what's being chopped small

in someone else's kitchen?

1918

山茶花の紅つきまぜよゐのこ餅 5-7-5

sazanka *no/ beni tsukimaze yo/* ***inoko****mochi* (winter and autumn)

camellia (p.p.)/ scarlet pound together!/ **wild boar** rice cakes

pound them together

with camellia scarlet!

wild boar rice cakes

1926

The second example most probably refers to a famous poem by Bashō:

秋深き 隣は何を する人ぞ 5-7-5

aki *fukaki/ tonari wa nani o/ suru hito zo* (autumn)

autumn deep/ next door [neighbour] (t.p.) what (o.p.)/ does person (emphasis)

deepening autumn:

the man next door,

what does he do?[44]

1694

[44] This translation is from David Landis Barnhill. *Bashō's Haiku*. New York, State University of New York Press, 2004), 154.

Instead of Bashō's autumnal loneliness – his poem was written not long before his death – the mood in Hisajo's haiku, which she wrote for "Kitchen Miscellanies," is bright and sunny with the rapid chopping of housewives preparing a meal echoing from house to house. This scenario suggests that the women may feel a sense of solidarity even though they cannot see one another. If the solidarity at a distance of women doing similar work in the kitchen can be also taken as a metaphor for women writing haiku in their kitchens as well, the production of *joryū* haiku may well be a secondary theme.

The third example contains the strong imagery of blood-coloured scarlet and wild boar. Except in the work of Issa, an exhortation directed at the reader – or as may be the case here, at the persona herself – is rhetorically unusual in both *hokku* and haiku. Once again, a comparison of haiku composition, in which elegant words can be used to convey violent or primitive emotion, and cooking, in which flowers can sometimes substitute for blood, may be a secondary theme here.

Hisajo's portrait of the housewife at work may seem overly domesticated to many readers. While it is clear from her prose that she often felt over-burdened by and frustrated by incessant housework, even where dirty work or heavy work are referenced her haiku shows a strong concern to idealize it and create beautiful – and sometimes also humorous – pictures. These poems must be in part the result of Hisajo's attempt to follow Kyoshi's advice to use haiku as a means of spiritual discipline to transcend the difficulties of life. Through them she seems to achieve spiritual equanimity.

MOTHERING

Hisajo wrote many haiku about her children throughout her life, and such work dominates the early haiku in her collection. It was innovative work. Although Issa had often written about

children,[45] anthologies of women's *hokku* and haiku indicate that mothering was a little addressed topic before the twentieth century. The *haikai* section of Sato's anthology of Japanese women poets also begins with Den Sutejo (1633 – 1698) and contains poems written by nine women. Only ten examples of their *hokku*, including a well-known one by Chiyojo which is said to have been written in grief after the death of her small son, even obliquely refer to children.[46] Hisajo is the fourth haiku poet in Sato's anthology but none of her work about her children is included. In fact, for this section Sato has selected only three haiku that are in any way related to children. Ueda's anthology, which does not signal any break between *hokku* and haiku, also begins with Den Sutejo. Hisajo is his seventh representative. In sixty examples presented for the first six writers children are only mentioned four times and none of those poems is written from a mother's point of view. However, from the ten haiku by Hisajo he has selected four that explicitly refer to her children and a fifth may also be a portrait of one of her daughters. This choice suggests that Ueda considers Hisajo's use of these themes as an innovative development.

The paucity of *hokku* and haiku about motherhood and childhood in the sample from these anthologies is not only due to the possible masculine bias of their editors. Nolte and Hastings state that the meaning of motherhood did not begin to be debated among Japanese women until the appearance of a women's movement in the twentieth century. Previously, women had been expected to pay more attention to the needs of their mother-in-law than of their children.[47] In fact, in some circumstances, children were treated in ways that would, today, seem grossly neglectful. At least until the 1930s, peasant and some working class urban mothers were so busy that they routinely employed prepubescent girls as child-minders (*komori*) to take care of their babies and toddlers and keep them well away from the house. Such mothers had relatively little contact with

[45] Nobuyuki Yuasa. *The Year of My Life: A Translation of Issa's Oraga Haru*. 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 95 - 97.
[46] Hiroaki Sato. *Japanese Women Poets: An Anthology*. Armonk, New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2008.
[47] Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings. "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women, 1890 - 1910." In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, 151 - 74. (Berkeley: California University Press, 1991), 174.

their children after they were weaned.[48] Tamanoi comments that the songs that these child-minders sang indicate that they were often annoyed by the babies on their backs:

> The baby cries a lot.
>
> I want to exchange it for someone else's.
>
> What can we do with a naughty child?
>
> Let's put him on the drum
>
> And hit him with green bamboo sticks[49]

In "Taishō Joryū Haiku" Hisajo quotes a famous haiku by Shizunojo. It was the first *joryū* haiku to be featured in the top position in *Hototogisu*,[50] and it is not too dissimilar to the children's rhyme, even though in the haiku the persona must be the mother:

> 短夜や乳ぜり泣く児を須可捨焉乎 5-7-8
>
> **mijikayo** ya/ chi zeri naku ko o/ sutecchimaoka (summer)
>
> **short night** –/ milk/breast-demand crying child (o.p.)/ shall chuck out (i.p.)
>
> short night –
>
> shall I chuck out this baby
>
> crying for milk?
>
> 1920

Yet due to the educational goal, particularly among the middle class, of producing Good Wives and Wise Mothers this attitude was on the wane. Other factors were also at work. Karatani Kōjin

[48] Mariko Asano Tamanoi. *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 56 – 64.
[49] Tamanoi. *Under the Shadow of Nationalism* , 78.
[50] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 37.

has explained the emergence of children's literature which took place in Japan from 1911 as a development from the new 'interiority' that resulted from the discovery of "literature" and the use of the colloquial style of *genbun itchi*.[51] He stresses that the concept of the child – no longer regarded as a small adult engaged in rigorous training or work, but a being valued for its playfulness and naiveté – should be seen historically, as a product of the reorganization and mechanization of labour in modern societies.[52] In this context, it becomes apparent that the positive, affectionate tone of most of Hisajo's haiku about her children had an especially modern, progressive flavour.

Motherhood also encompasses the mother's experience of herself. Although Hisajo did not start to write haiku until her second and final child, Mitsuko, was already born,[53] even at that early stage in her career she asserted a strong female, bodily presence in her haiku by writing on breast-feeding:

歯莖かゆく乳首かむ子や花曇 6-7-5

haguki kayuku/ chikubi kamu ko ya/ ***hanagumori*** (spring)

itchy gums/ nipple-biting-child –/ **hazy spring weather**

itchy gums

the baby bites the nipple –

hazy spring weather

before 1929

[51] Karatani Kōjin. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Translated by Brett de Bary. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1993), 114 – 117.
[52] Karatani. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 121 - 123.
[53] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 75.

This haiku was probably written in 1917 or 1918 when Mitsuko was still unweaned, two or three years before Shizunojo's. The *kigo*, juxtaposed in the old-fashioned combination style, prompts the reader to look for a cognitive equivalence between it and the rest of the haiku. The warm milk flowing into baby is both refreshing and cloudy, like newly opening blossoms and the atmosphere of hopeful transition as winter is finally left behind. The itchy gums, too, are a sign of the early spring-time of life – in the same way as trees bud and flower, the baby is growing and teething.

Another very early haiku points at the physical costs involved in motherhood:

ホ句のわれ慈母たるわれや夏痩せぬ 5-7-5

hoku no ware/ jibo taru ware ya/ ***natsu yasenu*** (summer)

haiku (p.p.) me/ loving-mother me –/ **summer weight-loss-ended up**

the haiku me

the loving mother me –

I got scraggy this summer

1918

Here the *kigo* 'summer weight loss' supplies whatever imagistic content there is in the haiku. The originality of the piece lies in its application of a conventional phrase to an entirely new situation. For men, loss of weight and listlessness was recognized as an undesirable consequence of summer. For overworked women who became what would be considered unattractive – skinny and worn – as well as exhausted, the threat of losing weight was a more existentially threatening concern. Even so, a light touch is conveyed by the carefully crafted parallelism and sound patterning achieved through the repetition of 'ware.' '*Hoku no ware'* suggests a perfect fit. '*Jibo taru ware'* - '*taru'* carries the sense of just about good enough.

Hisajo's haiku about mothering cover a large range of emotions and the aestheticizing impulse noted in her haiku about housework is less apparent there. In some, the mother appears as a participant, active both in terms of her domestic tasks and as a thinking presence. This poem is a long way from the narrow range of grammar and syntax used in much of Shiki's nature haiku:

假名かきうみし子にそらまめをまかせけり 7-7-5

kana kaki umishi/ ko ni ***soramame*** *o/ makasekeri* (summer)

ABCs write-tired of/ child-to **broad beans/** have given job

for the child

sick of writing ABCs

I've given the job of the broad beans

1918

唐黍を焼く子の喧嘩きくも厭 7-5-5

tōkibi*o yaku/ ko no kenka/ kiku mo iya* (autumn)

sweet corn (o.p) cooking/ children (p.p.) fighting/ hear already sick of

I'm so tired of hearing

the children fight

over cooking sweet corn

1918

朱唇ぬれて葡萄うまきかいとし子よ 6-7-5

kuchi nurete/ ***budō*** *umaki ka/ itoshigo yo* (autumn)

red lips wet/ **grapes** delicious (i.p)/ dear child!

your moist red lips

are those grapes yummy

my darling child?

1920

姉ゐねばおとなしき子やしゃぼん玉 5-7-5

ane ineba/ otonashiki ko ya/ ***shabondama*** (spring)

big sister away since/ docile child –/ [blowing] **soap bubbles**

with her big sister away

she's such a good girl –

blowing soap bubbles

before 1929

縫ふ肩をゆすりてすねる子暑さかな 5-8-5

nuu kata o/ yusurite suneru ko/ ***atsusa*** *kana* (summer)

sewing shoulder (o.p.)/ shaking sulky child/ **the heat**

a sulky child shaking

my shoulder as I'm sewing

the heat!

before 1929

In these five haiku, mother and children are presented as fully embedded in the activity of the home, a place where educating, cooking, squabbling, eating, playing and sewing all happen, sometimes simultaneously. Except for the third, the emphasis is not primarily pictorial. Although, in the last one, the postures of both mother and child can easily be imagined, the emphasis remains on the emotional state of each and the emotional tenor of their interaction. The rhetorically juxtaposed *kigo*, 'the heat,' is cognitively integrated. It not only externalizes the child's impatience and irritation and the mother's frustration but gives a reason for their feelings. Interrelated emotional states, whether directly or indirectly addressed, also form the main focus of the other two haiku. In the first, the mother's resourcefulness and care is balanced by the child's relief and pride; in the second the children's anger provokes the mother's annoyance. While they are less pictorial than the portraits of the housewife alone, the mention of specific items, like the broad beans, sweet corn, soap bubbles, grapes, red lips brings some visual concreteness to each scene.

There is little work in either Shiki's or Kyoshi's corpora that present groups of people, let alone domestic scenes. The only parallels in their corpora with these haiku by Hisajo are Shiki's vivid portrait of his sister:

鋸に炭切る妹の手ぞ黒き 5-7-5

nokogiri ni/ ***sumi*** *kiru imo no/ te zo kuroki* (winter)

saw with/ **charcoal** cuts sister (p.p.)/ hands! black

sawing charcoal

my sister's hands

are so very black

1894

And Kyoshi's much later portrait, presumably of one of his daughters:

姉の留守妹が炊く蕨飯 5-7-5

ane no rusu/ imōto ga taku/ ***warabi****meshi* (spring)

big sister away/ little sister (s.p.) cooks/ **bracken** rice

big sister away

little sister cooks –

bracken rice

1935

In both cases, the poet has simply taken the stance of an observer. Hisajo, too, wrote many haiku about her children in which she herself appears less overtly. The following two examples are typical:

風邪の子や眉にのび来しひたい髪 5-7-5

kaze *no ko ya/ mayu ni nobikishi/ hitaigami* (winter)

cold [= illness] (p.p.) child –/ eyebrows has grown to/ fringe

child with a cold –

her fringe

has grown towards her eyebrows

1920

草摘む子幸あふれたる面かな 5-7-5

kusa tsumu ko/ sachi afuretaru/ omote kana

flowers and grasses [probably Japanese mugwort] picking child/ happiness overflowing/ face!

child picking mugwort

overflowing with happiness

her face

before 1929

Both of these haiku allow the reader to imagine a scene. Yet, even though the mother is not directly involved in the action her moods, as well as the moods of the children, can easily be imagined by the reader. The first is the most pictorial of the four, and the *kigo* has been skilfully and seamlessly integrated into the subject matter of the haiku. Since all the space in the haiku has been taken up with description, the child's misery and the mother's rueful attitude – she should cut the child's hair but at the same time she should let her be – have to be inferred. In the second one, no *Shin Saijiki kigo* was used, but '*kusa tsumu*' is a candidate *kigo*. It is likely that these delighted children are picking Japanese mugwort in anticipation of the treat of *kusamochi* or mugwort dumplings.

Other haiku portray Hisajo as a mother, thinking about her absent children:

バナナ下げて子等に歸りし日暮れかな 6-7-5

banana sagete/ kora ni kaerishi/ higure kana

bananas carrying/ children to return/ day drawing to a close!

bringing bananas

I return to the children –

it is getting dark!

1918

吾子に似て泣くは誰が子ぞ夜半の秋 5-7-5

ako ni nite/ naku wa ta ga ko zo/ yowa no ***aki*** (autumn)

my child like / crying whose child/ midnight in **autumn**

just like mine

whose child is crying?

autumn midnight

1920

In the first one, she offers a candidate *kigo* – bananas – reminiscent of her own tropical childhood. The cheerful colour of the fruit contrasts in a painterly way with the dusk, and changes the pensive or sad mood conventionally associated with that time of day into joy and anticipation. The second comes from "Shinshū Gin [Shinshu Poem]," a loose series of 165 haiku composed while Hisajo was living separate from Udai, under her mother's care in 1920. There the *kigo* 'autumn' is used with all its conventional, melancholy resonance. Hisajo's longing for, and anxiety about her absent children fits precisely with the culturally established feelings associated with both the season and the time of day.

CONCLUSION

Hisajo's education – both at school and through the mass media – offered her a vision of a more stimulating and fulfilling way of being a woman than had been available to her mother's or grandmother's generation. "Kitchen Miscellanies" allowed her to publish and develop as a haiku poet. Yet, even as middle-class women became its new niche market, they were expected to reflect

their most generic social role in the haiku they contributed to the *Hototogisu*. This expectation was discriminatory and condescending, but it was one that yielded surprisingly fruitful results. Unintentionally, "Kitchen Miscellanies" had asked for haiku that was rooted in economic and social relations.

Contemporary male writers without private means were likely to make a living from journalism, other aspects of the publishing business, teaching, medicine, or to occupy administrative positions. Lacking labour saving devices, women poets, like Hisajo, who could not afford domestic help, were faced with constant and gruelling chores. Reflecting upon their daily experience, as *shasei* style composition asked them to do, naturally reinforced their awareness of the injustice of their social position. It may also have sharpened their sense of embodiment. Thus, it was probably the theme of women's work – suggested by the apparently highly constraining topics of cooking pots and chopping boards – that encouraged *joryū* haiku poets to begin experimenting with portraiture and self-portraiture. Developing gender specific topics, off limits to and of little or no interest to men, they wrote haiku that were like nothing that had ever been seen before. These poems were quietly revolutionary.

Consigned to domesticity by social norms, as well as by "Kitchen Miscellanies," Hisajo explored what a housewife's experience could offer haiku. By doing so, she and her contemporary *joryū* haiku poets significantly expanded the range of the genre. Their influence is probably present in the haiku that some important male haiku poets wrote about their children. Keene praises Nakamura Kusatao (1901 – 1983), noting that his work is strikingly different from that of Shūōshi and Seishi because it embraces human subjects.[54] The following haiku gave its name to Kusatao's own haiku magazine, *Banryoku [Ten Thousand Kinds of Green]:*

万緑の中や吾子の歯生え初むる 5-7-5

[54] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 157 – 158. Keene's description of Kusatao suggests he shared other characteristics with Hisajo, including the use of wide-ranging reference including to Chinese and Western literature.

banryoku no/ naka ya ako no ha/ haesomuru

ten-thousand-green (p.p.)/ in – my baby's teeth/ sprout-begin

amid all this green

my baby's teeth

are sprouting

1939

While some of the content is similar, the contrast in tone and meaning between this haiku by Kusatao with Hisajo's breast-feeding haiku, discussed above, is striking. Where for Hisajo the teething child is experienced through an intimate physical relationship, both as at one with and asserting its difference from herself – literally separating by biting – for Kusatao, the child's budding teeth are another expression of the burgeoning of spring. There is little *shasei* imagery in his haiku. The powerful expression '*banryoku*' takes its force not from its sensuous realism, but from the expansive abstraction of the huge number and the power of the colour word which despite also being an abstraction presses itself vividly on the reader's visual imagination. It is this *kigo* candidate – *banryoku* does not appear in the *Shin Saijiki* – that takes pride of place.

I have shown that the pictorial bias of *shasei* haiku meant the conventional associations of Hisajo's *kigo* are often suppressed by both cognitive and grammatical integration. This new freedom in handling *kigo* allowed Hisajo to produce quite new vignettes which are flexible enough to self-consciously capture particular moments in history. They document the material culture and common tasks of housework, of her time and place, as well as indicating something of the relationship between mothers and children as it was facilitated by the Good Wives and Wise Mothers ideology.

Shasei is one driver behind the aestheticization of some of these vignettes. But the Neo-Confucian ideal of the virtuous person who used poetry composition to establish an ideal harmony with the cosmos and thereby transcend personal challenges is also discernible. Some less authoritarian Daoist influenced values may well have been present as well. A reframing of *kigo* according to a cosmology in which yin was not subordinate to yang would certainly have been more female-friendly. It was not an argument which Hisajo ever explicitly developed. In so far as she aimed to create an idealized version of aspects of her life as art in her haiku, Hisajo's commitment to spiritual growth may have reinforced her dependence on Kyoshi and the Hototogisu *kessha*. On the other hand, writing haiku was a genuinely transforming experience and a major source of happiness for her.

Nevertheless, if these portraits comprised the extent of her achievement, her work would be of far less interest today than it is. Other haiku in which Hisajo was unable to find enough beauty in the mundane to compensate her for her oppressed position, and which directly confronted and implicitly protested the difficulties of her life will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PSYCHOLOGICAL SELF-PORTRAITURE

In her essays Hisajo repeatedly encouraged younger women haiku poets to explore their individuality, and in "Taishō Joryū Haiku" she embraced the attitude of what she called 'modern women,' or those who 'are bold, liberated and not afraid to express their thoughts and feelings.'[1] It was a rather different project from the one that involved her in presenting, however sharply, images of herself as modern housewife and mother. While the haiku discussed in the previous chapter do convey a range of feelings and attitudes, they generally arise from the scene presented in the haiku. In this chapter, I introduce another group of haiku written in the Taisho era in which Hisajo expresses a subjectivity frequently at odds with what was expected of her. In particular, I will discuss at length two of Hisajo's most celebrated haiku, both of which indicate that Hisajo had a complex and sophisticated grasp of her predicament. In the first, her famous Hanagoromo Haiku, she presents a woman who is both embodied and objectified in her corporeality. It employs techniques she was to use far more frequently in her second period, and uses the ambiguity inherent in the omission of the grammatical subject to suggest a great deal, indirectly and in a coded manner, about the position of women. In the second, the Nora Haiku, which was part of a short informal sequence that represented a turning point in her career, she exposes the tensions between a Good Wife's domestic role and the complexity of her mental life.

THE AMBIGUITY OF SELF-PORTRAITURE: THE *HANAGOROMO* HAIKU

The objectified and highly gendered presentation of the women portrayed in Hisajo's haiku is again very different from the way in which both Shiki and Kyoshi project their presence through their haiku. Although Shiki's illness is the ever-present ground against which his haiku are projected, he does not often mention parts of the body in his haiku. When he does the reader is encouraged to see them as if through Shiki's own eyes. In six of the haiku in his corpus his

[1] Sugita Hisajo. "Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [The Modern Characteristics of Women's Haiku in the Taishō era]" In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo],* edited by Ishi Masako. 159 - 186. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1928/2007), 163.

physical presence is signalled by direct or indirect mention of his own hands – arguably the part of our bodies we look at most often. In other examples, Shiki's figure is more apparent, but even in these haiku he generally refers to sensations, like the feeling of his naked sweaty body sticking to a wall, or his jacket caught by the wind, which are only available to the person experiencing them. Such work lacks the distanced pictorial vividness typical of his nature haiku – nevertheless, as this example demonstrates, it communicates a great deal of sensuous clarity in a direct and powerful way to the reader:

しぐるゝや蒟蒻冷えて臍の上 5-7-5

shigururu *ya/ konnyaku hiete/ heso no ue* (winter)

drizzling –/ devil's tongue gone cold/ navel (p.p.) on

it's drizzling –

devil's tongue gone cold

on my navel

1896

The main topic here is boredom and misery – transcended perhaps, but an investigation into some of its constituent parts. '*Konnyaku*' is a starchy, more or less tasteless, edible substance, like a very stiff jelly used, in this case, to warm Shiki's stomach.[2] While shape and colour are not specifically mentioned and the *konnyaku* is presumably out of sight, the concreteness of the images and the overlap between the grey of the rain and the grey of the *konnyaku* allows the reader fragments of a picture of Shiki-as-invalid.

[2] The connotations of 'devil's tongue' are an artefact of translation into English.

Kyoshi's presence in his corpus is far less physical. It mainly intrudes as the implied subject of a verb or through the expression of a conventional, whimsical or poignant thought. Although he once mentions wearing a quilted jacket, he never uses reference to body parts to achieve an objectified, pictorial self-portrait. The following is a typical example of his implied presence is the following:

主客閑話蝸牛竹をのぼるなり 6-7-5

shukaku kanwa/ ***dedemushi*** *take o/ noboru nari* (summer)

host and guest quiet talk/ **snail** bamboo/ climbs

host and guest talk quietly –

a snail

climbs bamboo

1908

In Hisajo's (self-) portraits, however, the motifs of female clothing, hairstyles and accessories make the figure generally easy to visualize. While these signs of femininity may have been so thoroughly integrated into her sense of identity that they pressed themselves upon her during the composition process, it is also possible that, since the male perspective was the default perspective, she chose them strategically, to efficiently establish an unmistakably female presence. As it meant the sacrifice of extra morae that any male poet would have had available to use for other purposes, Hisajo's decision to present these figures as women was clearly a priority. Ironically, their objectified nature means the real subject of her portraits is often ambiguous. Except where she uses *ware* (self), which appears in numbers 5, 29, 69, 90, 102, 105 and 190 in her corpus, and *waga* (my), which appears in numbers 12, 159, 160, whether or not the woman who appears in her haiku is intended to be read as a self-portrait is left to readerly interpretation.

As her Hanagoromo Haiku shows, this ambiguity can be extremely fruitful. Portraying a woman undressing, it is likely to polarize reader identification on the basis of their own gender. Most women readers, but few men, would find it easy to identify with this activity. Conversely, more men are likely to find watching such a scene – even if only in their mind's eye – an erotically charged experience. Thus, women are more likely to processes it kinaesthetically, men visually. Either way, the haiku is sensuously rich:

花衣ぬぐや纏る紐いろ々　5-7-6

hana*goromo/ nugu ya matsuwaru/ himo iroiro* (spring)

flower-garment/ take off as cling/ ties various colourful (sexy)

peeling off

the blossom viewing kimono

coloured ties cling

1918

Tanabe assumes this haiku is a self-portrait. She praises it as a fully mature work, 'a haiku about female self-love' in which Hisajo was 'already beginning to become intoxicated with narcissism.'[3] Ueno agrees. Noting that the word *hanagoromo* originally referred to a particular style of court dress for women during the Heian period, she suggests that in this haiku Hisajo is 'overflowing with the narcissism of comparing her body with that of a [noble] woman from ancient times.'[4] I read this haiku in quite a different way. The fact that *hanagoromo* refers originally to an ancient form of dress could well mean that this woman is not Hisajo at all.

[3] Tanabe Seiko. *Hanagoromo Nugu ya Matsuwaru…Waga Ai no Sugita Hisajo. [Peeling Off the Cherry Blossom Viewing Kimono Clinging....the Sugita Hisajo I Love]*. (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1982/2006), 137.
[4] Ueno Sachiko. *Josei Haiku no Sekai [The World of Women's Haiku]*. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 88.

Since in an essay in 1975, [5] Laura Mulvey used the term the 'male gaze' to explain how in Hollywood films camera angles are used to reduce female characters to mere 'raw material' for the (male) viewer's gratification, [6] many theorists have used that notion to investigate the workings of the power relations between men and women. Taking that as my guide, I read the Hanagoromo Haiku as both an exploration and a critique of the experience of sexual objectification, an expression of the anguished knowledge that female beauty exists relative, on the one hand, to elaborate gender-specific conventions and relative to the attitude of the observer, on the other.

Written in 1918, the Hanagoromo Haiku was the first poem that earned Hisajo significant praise from Kyoshi. [7] He saw it as a mature product of *joryū* haiku, in the sense that it could only have been written by a woman:

> This haiku, as does not need to be explained, presents a woman removing her cherry blossom viewing kimono. As there are two or three or more ties around the hips, when a cherry blossom viewing kimono is removed these ties get caught up by the kimono and undressing is not an easy process. Certainly neither the form nor the colour of these ties is the same. Scarlet and purple and other colours get caught up in the various layers of the kimono as it comes off, which is probably quite annoying. Perhaps it would be better to say that rather than irritation, this scene harmonises the charming mood, the gorgeous mood evoked by cherry blossom viewing, with a delighted amusement in the various colours of the straps. Men's kimono have only a single sash, so the fact of the various straps portrayed by this haiku does not apply. For women's kimono too, this haiku is the first to use these various ties, a reality that would be difficult to experience, or even to observe, for one who is not a woman. That is to say, this haiku hold as special place as is a woman's haiku, one with characteristics a man would never be able to imitate and I appreciate it for that reason.[8]

---

[5] Sharalyn Orbaugh. "The Body in Contemporary Japanese Women's Fiction." In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A. Walker, 119 - 64. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 121.
[6] Laura Mulvey. "Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Audience." In *The Audience Studies Reader*. edited by Will Brooker and Deborah Jermyn, 133 – 42. (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2003), 141.
[7] Ueno. *Josei Haiku no Sekai*, 89.
[8] quoted in Ishi Masako. "Nenpu: Sugita Hisajo." In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, 236 - 58. (Tokyo: Bungei Bunko, 2007), 241 – 242.

Hisajo wrote her own commentary long after reading what Kyoshi had written, and may have been influenced by his interpretation. However, her emphasis is more sensuous than his, and unlike him she wavers between an objective and a subjective amplification of the subject matter:

> When a woman comes home after viewing cherry blossom she peels off layer after layer of her cherry viewing clothes and their various coloured straps from around her hips fall and cling around her ankles. Entwined in the clothes she is removing, she feels slightly annoyed. This evokes the not unpleasant tiredness felt after cherry blossoming viewing and gives an impression of movement. The aesthetic beauty of the complicated colours is boldly expressed.[9]

Just as Kyoshi had done, Hisajo makes the pun on *iroiro* (various, or literally, multi-coloured) explicit. Instead of his 'delighted amusement,' she identifies a mixture of pleasure and annoyance in the woman's mood and is keen to emphasize her haiku's aesthetic appeal and its boldness.

While the mere six words of the haiku can be read either from the point of view of a woman undressing or that of a man/woman observing the action, a male/female axis also appears in the poem through the implied dimension of the cherry blossoms. If blossom viewing kimono are clearly associated with women, cherry blossoms were – at the time of writing – associated with men. In ancient times they were a symbol of female beauty and a trigger for orgiastic fertility rites, but from 1872 when conscription was made universal in Japan, these flowers had been deliberately linked by the state with the samurai ideal. Once that prestigious class was disbanded and the one-time privilege of bearing arms was extended to conscripts, it was useful to hold up a beautiful image linked with the samurai mystique as a means of forging a very high level of morale and dedication within the modern army. The connection with cherry blossoms was the refusal to cling to life. Just as cherry blossoms fall at a slight touch of the wind, soldiers were expected to freely sacrifice their lives for the nation as symbolized by the emperor.[10] Ironically, given these

[9] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 176.
[10] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalism.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 13.

associations with death, the lightness of the cherry blossom, in contrast to the clinging straps, may also signal the comparative freedom of men as opposed to the various ties that bound women. Maegawa, himself a man, makes the persuasive point that this poem illustrates how women are restricted by just those features that make them sexually attractive.[11]

A gendered dichotomy is also present in the second, public/private, axis in the poem. In her exploration of the layers of unspoken meaning in *hokku*, Hiraga urges readers to pay particular attention to the poet's choice of graphs. For historical reasons discussed earlier, Chinese characters carry masculine and public connotations and the simpler forms of the hiragana feminine, private ones.[12] The word *hanagoromo*, which takes up the entire five morae of the first part of the haiku, is represented by two Chinese characters. By analogy, the woman dressed up for a ritual, customary outing is present in her most public state.

At home in the privacy of her room the woman can undress. The word *nugu* is matter of fact, but even undressing is difficult. There is a shift of attention from a general action (taking off a garment) to a detail of the process of undressing. *Matsuwaru* (clinging and coiling about), which holds up the action midway, is presented by the most complex character in the middle of the haiku. The haiku finishes with a repeat mark, which in the actual text is a far more simplified one that can be achieved by the fonts available to me. Maegawa notes this repeat mark mimics in its shape the ties it helps characterize.[13] The repetition of the vowels *i-o-i-o-i-o* in *himo iroiro* also enacts the repeated activity of untying the variety of ties that hold any kimono ensemble together. As the reader passes through the word *iro* (which may also be a reference to sexuality as can be seen in words like *iroonna*, a 'mistress' or 'sexy woman'), the haiku fades into the repeat mark that

[11] Maegawa Hiroshi. "<Amanogawa Hara ni Kushi Suru> Hisajo Sugita Gendai Joryū Haijin no Sentakusha [On the Flood Plain of the Milky Way She Combs Out Her Hair" Sugita Hisajo a Pioneer Modern Female Haiku Poet]" (1998). Accessed 16 March, 2010. http://ci.nii.ac.jp.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/naid/110000468862
[12] Masako K. Hiraga. *Metaphor and Iconicity: A Cognitive Approach to Anaysing Texts*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 11.
[13] Maegawa. "Hisajo Sugita Gendai Joryū Haijin no Sentakusha," 36.

finishes it. The vivid kimono and its ties lie in a tangle around her ankles. One interpretation is that at her most private, the woman herself almost disappears.

While Hisajo was surely aware of the sexual power and colourful beauty presented in the Hanagoromo Haiku and the allure of the picture it presents to the male gaze, I do not read it as an intoxicated celebration of her own beauty. The double reading yielded by the tension between the Other perspective and the subject position points to the woman's simultaneous consciousness of embodiment and objectification and thence of her vulnerability. Tanabe's and Ueno's conviction that this haiku expresses Hisajo's narcissism, sits uneasily with contemporary descriptions Hisajo gives elsewhere of herself as haggard and aging. Moreover, in a passage from "Taishō Joryū Haiku" Hisajo quotes two haiku by other contemporary women haiku poets, Namijo and Wakajo,[14] both of whom use the same *kigo* in association with undressing:

くずれ座す汝がまわりの春の帯 5-7-5

kuzurezasu/ nare ga mawari no/ ***haru*** *no obi* (spring)

sitting-in-a-slumped position/ you (p.p) surroundings (p.p.)/ **spring** (p.p.) obi

sitting in a slumped position
your spring obi
all around you

date not traced

花衣ずりおちたまる柱かな 5-7-5

hana*goromo/ zuriochitamaru/hashira kana* (spring)

[14] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 176.

flower-garment/ slipped down-gathered/ pillar!

the blossom viewing kimono

has slipped in a heap

by the pillar

date not traced

While I cannot find the relative dates, these two pieces suggest that it is possible that Hisajo's inspiration for the Hanagoromo Haiku came from reading similar work by other women. Either way, these haiku were clearly written in response to one another, and Hisajo made no attempt to hide it.

Another erotically charged haiku in Hisajo's oeuvre mentioned by Ueno is also unlikely to be a simple self-portrait.

羅に衣通る月の肌かな 5-7-5

usumono *ni/ so tōru* ***tsuki*** *no/ hadae kana* (summer and autumn)

silk-gauze garment through/ penetrating **moon**-[light] (p.p.)/ skin!

through silk gauze

moonlight passes

to the skin!

1932

This haiku was written when Hisajo was in her early forties, during her second period when she made frequent reference to mythological, legendary and historical women in her work. The phrase

'*so tōru*' suggests the figure of Sotōrihime, or Princess Sotoshi, who was later worshipped as a goddess of poetry.[15] Her name comes from the legend that her beauty was so great that it shone through her clothes. According to the *Kojiki*, Sotōrihime and her brother Karu fell in love and committed love suicide. Another possible referent for this poem is Kaguyahime, the Shining Princess, the heroine of the *Taketori Monogatari (The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter)*. In that story, Kaguyahime came from and returned – much pursued but resolutely unmarried – to her birthplace on the moon. Neither reference resonates in any way with Hisajo's personal circumstances. Moreover, the fact that Hisajo's haiku contains a reversal – the light shines through the cloth towards, not from, the body – ironizes any reference to these two resplendent beauties. Even if it was a self-portrait, it was not a self-intoxicated one.

As with the Hanagoromo Haiku, the image evoked by the Usumono Haiku depends upon where the reader locates themselves in relation to the figure. Again, a man would be less likely to identify with a figure dressed in a light, possibly translucent kimono. However, the *kigo* points to a reading in which the welcome sensation of coolness on a humid evening is powerfully felt.

This is not to deny that both haiku evoke the sexiness of a woman who knows what it is to be at ease with her own body. Other haiku in Hisajo's corpus convey a similar impression, with less erotic force. For example:

髪巻いて夜長の風呂に浸りけり 5-7-5

kami maite/ ***yonaga*** *no furo ni/ hitari keri* (autumn)

hair rolled up/ **long night** (p.p.) bath in/ soaked

my hair rolled up

[15] "Death of Prince Karu and Princess So-Tohoshi." In *The Kojiki* 1919/2005. Translated by Basil Chamberlain. Accessed 2nd July, 2014. http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/kj/kj150.htm .

I soaked in the bath

on this long autumn night

1919

Even that haiku was written at the limits of conventional propriety which decreed that middle-class, female flesh was not supposed to be exposed except in the utmost privacy of the home. It took middle-class women an entire morning to dress and do her make-up for an early afternoon appointment.[16] Not only was self-disguise mandatory, but the process entailed the pain inflicted by hairstyling and the tight obi as well as a huge amount of lost time. In other words, the restrictive dress and grooming required to transform oneself into a publicly presentable version of womanhood was a source of considerable oppression.

NORA AND A FRUSTRATED DIRECTION

Yet another haiku that documents distress yet represents a hurdle in Hisajo's career is her Nora Haiku. One of her most well-known – it has been translated by Rexroth, Keene, Ueda, Sato and Yachimoto[17] – it reflects upon her choice to return to Udai and her children, with the promise that she would reduce her involvement in haiku to the level of a hobby. Two years later, in 1922, this and two companion haiku were published in *Hototogisu*. Of all her work, it is in these haiku Hisajo came closest to the idiom of feminism.

[16] Elise K. Tipton. "How to Manage a Household: Creating Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan." *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2009): 95 – 110, 101.

[17] Kenneth Rexroth and Ikuko Atsumi, eds. *Women Poets of Japan*. New York: New Directions Book, 1977, 79; Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 135; Makoto Ueda,ed. *Far Beyond the Field: Haiku by Japanese Women* [in Japanese and English]. Translated by Makoto Ueda. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). 93; Hiroaki Sato. *Japanese Women Poets: An Anthology*. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), 249; Yachimoto, Eiko. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 5 Hisajo's Haiku in the Taishō Period (1917 - 1926)." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 4, no. 4 (2009): 1 - 13, 7.

In 1910, the phrase New Women, which became closely associated with Taisho era feminism, was first introduced to Japan by Tsubouchi Shōyō, who advocated female autonomy and opposed women's subordinate legal status.[18] The expression remains strongly identified with the views and lifestyles of supporters of the magazine *Seitō*, first edited by the high profile feminist, Hiratsuka Reichō, but another somewhat more 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers' friendly group, the Shinshinfujinkai [True New Woman's Association], also claimed they were New Women.[19] By 1913, four years after Hisajo's marriage, the 'New Woman' was receiving general attention in newspapers and magazines.

Hisajo's Nora Haiku refers to the heroine of Henrik Ibsen's (1828 – 1906) *A Doll's House*, a prototypical, international New Woman text. The heroine, Nora, leaves her husband and children when, after having taken grave risks on her husband's behalf, she realises both that he would sacrifice her for his good name and that he values her only as someone he can pet and train.[20] *A Doll's House* then, publicized the oppression of women within marriage, and particularly a form of oppression hitherto invisible because the husband generally appears in love, benign and indulgent. Due to Nora's decision, at the end of the play, to abandon the familiar safety of her home, despite her husband's pleading and her own admission she had no concrete plan of action, she became an international emblem for the authentic individual's blind but passionate choice for autonomy whatever the costs.

The question of whether or not to remain in a restrictive marriage had first surfaced in Japan, not among women, but among the (male) participants of the Naturalist Movement. These anti-Confucians were highly critical of the traditional family system which in Japan trapped men as well as women in a net of sometimes highly onerous obligations.[21] The same group were behind

[18] Dina Lowy. *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity*. (London: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 9.
[19] Lowy. *The Japanese "New Woman,"* 100.
[20] Henrik Ibsen. *A Doll's House*. Translated by Frank McGuinness. London: Faber and Faber, 1879/1996.
[21] Sharon H. Nolte. *Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers 1905 - 1960*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 63 – 66.

the first production of *A Doll's House* in Japan in 1912. The director, Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871 – 1918), had already left his wife to live with the actress and singer Matsui Sumako (1886 – 1919) who played Nora in the production. But there were some fully committed female supporters as well. Matsui, who like Nora, was the epitome of the 'New Woman,' was manifestly able to acknowledge her own talents, aspirations and desires. The Tokyo audience was therefore particularly aware that the play was not simply Shimamura's display of a new and different kind of sexual liaison – in itself a familiar sort of thing among well-to-do men.

Although *A Doll's House* exposed how wives were infantilized by their patriarchal husbands, its reception, in Tokyo, was complex. Even some of the most progressive Japanese women were generally not convinced that Nora had chosen wisely. Hiratsuka Raichō was only one of a number of progressive women who had censored Nora for acting impulsively, without true self-knowledge.[22] Nora's walking out on her children as well as leaving her husband contributed to the shock value of the play. It was not, however, a viable solution for most real-life mothers. Hisajo had faced such a choice herself and knew intimately the cost involved.

Hisajo wrote her Nora Haiku ten years after the Tokyo production. In it she speaks for herself, and women and mothers like her, who cannot pay the price of leaving their unhappy marriages:

足袋つぐやノラともならず教師妻 5-7-5

tabi *tsugu ya/ Nora to mo narazu/ kyōshizuma* (winter)

tabi mending –/ Nora also not to be/ teacher's wife

mending tabi

not to be Nora

the teacher's wife

[22] Hiratsuka Raichō. *In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun: The Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist*. Translated by Teruko Craig. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 168.

1922

However, by then the context had once again changed. If public opinion had been heavily against Nora in 1912, by 1921, the year Hisajo returned to Udai, views about the wife's obligations in loveless and oppressive arranged marriages was changing. This shift was in part because of a scandal involving Yanagihara Akiko (1885 – 1967), the illegitimate cousin of the emperor who had fled an oppressive marriage to live with her lover, a young social activist. Yanagigahara, a *tanka* poet who was usually known by her penname, Byakuren, had used her media profile to gain support for her plight and many in the public had responded with sympathy.[23] The same year, Kuriyagawa Hakuson (1880 – 1923), a literary critic and public intellectual, also helped popularize the notion that arranged marriage hindered the development of a "modern personality" for both husbands and wives through the newspaper serialisation of his *Kindai no Ren'ai [Views of Love in the Modern Era]*.[24] It was not merely a matter of more liberal attitudes. Revisions to the Civil Code allowing married women more property and parental rights and easier access to divorce were under consideration by a special committee by 1925.[25]

However, if restrictions were loosening in some places, they were tightening in others. Richard Reitan argues – in agreement with Hiratsuka Raichō, who saw political advances like suffrage as simply a means to the real goal[26] – that the aspect of the 'New Woman' image that was most 'dangerous' to the patriarchy was its espousal of 'personalism' (*jinkaku shugi*) or the full development of the individual's potential.[27] However, if personalism's 'ideal' of 'the actualization of ends freely set by the individual' was taken seriously, it stood in clear opposition to the 'national morality (*kokumin dōtoku*) movement[28] which was gathering force with time. That

[23] Michiko Suzuki. *Becoming Modern Women: Love & Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature & Culture*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp. 73 – 75.
[24] Suzuki. *Becoming Modern Women*, 70 – 72.
[25] Miriam Silverberg. *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 67.
[26] Richard Reitan. "Claiming Personality: Reassessing the Dangers of the "New Woman" in Early Taishō Japan." *positions: east asia cultures critique* 19, no. 1 (2011), 90.
[27] Richard Reitan. "Claiming Personality," 84.
[28] Reitan. "Claiming Personality, 85.

movement demanded loyalty and self-sacrifice of each individual to the Japanese people, symbolized by the person of the emperor. By the Taisho era the uneasy alliance of self-development and Good Wives and Wise Mothers ideology which had shaped Hisajo's education was under considerable pressure. In 1918, a governmental committee recommended a greater focus on 'national morality' in the curriculum taught to girls.[29]

Given the public support for a more female-friendly revision of the Civil Code, Hisajo's Nora haiku may have been read as a smart and rhetorically daring application of current issues to haiku. After all, the poem rejects Nora's solution. Yet, for those who were sensitive to the anti-national morality stance implicit in the full meaning of personalism, it may have signalled something of the 'danger' (or riskiness) to which Reitan points. For Hisajo, it was a deeply felt poem that encapsulated her personal predicament through reference to a wider social context. Reflecting upon it in "Taishō Joryū Haiku," she comments:

> Under the dim light which she has drawn close to her work, she is mending old *tabi*. Her face is thin from [the stresses of] her life and her eyes have lost their youthfulness. Having been awakened by a time of transition, this wife has many troubles, and is surrounded by contradictions. Nevertheless, she can refuse neither customs nor her children, but must proceed to the end stoically and with resignation. The middle section of this haiku, proclaiming she cannot become Nora from *A Doll's House*, reflects real distress. Taking up various themes from the woman question, [this haiku is] a social drama rendered in miniature.[30]

At the centre of this haiku is the contrast between Nora as a representative of the Westernized, individualistic ethic of personalism, and the *kigo*, *tabi*, ankle length split toe socks worn by both men and women as part of traditional Japanese dress. Knowledge of Ibsen's play implied connection with international trends of thought. *Tabi*, however, put the whole question of Nora and self-development into a concretely Japanese context. The need to mend those *tabi* also

[29] Reitan. "Claiming Personality," 85.
[30] Sugita. "Taishō Joryū Haiku," 166 – 167.

suggested a degree of poverty and drudgery not immediately associated with a comfortable, sophisticated life-style of the typical play-goer. That the loan word, Nora, is written in katakana makes the contrast all the stronger.

The third term, '*kyōshizuma,*' has an interesting relationship to modernity. Teachers were not only trained and employed by the modern Japanese state, but were the first of its direct representatives the average Japanese person would meet. As their job was to inculcate the state's "advanced" values, they could be expected to do the same at home as well. Their wives were, thus, doubly subject to the injunction to be Good Wives and Wise Mothers. Implicitly promised self-development, they were not allowed enough to disturb the *status quo*. In Hisajo's case, although she had married Udai in the expectation of a bohemian life-style, she found herself pressured on every side to be conventional. There is a depth of protest in these seventeen morae that Hisajo does not explore in her commentary.

The Nora haiku was originally published in *Hototogisu* with two other related pieces. One of these, which probably portrays Hisajo reading *A Doll's House*, was introduced in Chapter Six, but I shall quote it again, here:

戯曲よむ冬夜の食器つけしまま 5-7-5

gikyoku yomu/ ***fuyu yo*** *no shokki/ tsukeshi mama* (winter)

play read/ **winter night** (p.p.) dishes/ soaking have been left

reading a play –

the winter night's dishes

left soaking

1922

The third was one of very few haiku in her *Collected Haiku*, to feature Udai as a subject:

冬服や辞令を祀る良教師 5-7-5

fuyu fuku *ya/ jirei o matsuru/ ryō kyōshi* (winter)

winter clothes –/ enshrines the appointment notice on the family-altar/ the good teacher

winter clothes –

the good teacher

enshrines his appointment notice on the family altar

1922

There is a subtle tone of contempt in this third haiku. The phrase the 'good teacher' inevitably recalls that of Good Wife. Hisajo, who had believed Udai would continue to pursue his painting in Paris after their marriage, expressed frustration at his conformity. The juxtaposed *kigo* in this haiku is a relatively new coinage which probably refers to Western style winter clothes of the sort that were worn as school uniform or, as in this case, worn by people occupying a public role. Since at home he would have most likely followed the custom and worn Japanese style clothing, this *kigo* reinforces the focus on Udai in his capacity of school teacher. It seems that, for Hisajo, his placing his employment notice on the family altar without even taking the time to get changed was, symbolic of the conventional attitudes that accompanied his job. It was a step too far towards punctiliousness.

The haiku caused intense marital discord.[31] Hisajo had not only publicized her unconventional values, but had potentially exposed Udai to ridicule. According to generic Confucian norms which were still strongly felt by many, a wife was subordinate to her husband and virtue for her meant

[31] Yumoto Akiko. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai [The World of the Haiku Poet, Sugita Hisajo]*. (Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 1999), 114.

obedience. A man who could not control his wife was more than inadequate: he was immoral. If he abdicated his role and allowed his wife to be wilful, he was particularly harshly judged. [32] Udai was already viewed with some pity as Hisajo's husband by the neighbourhood.[33] If he did not rein her in, that pity could turn into contempt.

In fact, the bitterness of the often vocal discord between the couple, once in love, must have been common knowledge among their neighbours. Again, it centred, on Hisajo's side, on the values that a teacher represented. Ishi comments on her parents' relationship as follows:

> According to the memory of the editor, Udai was not an unpleasant person. Rather he was literal minded, and he criticised Hisajo for her desire to divorce him day and night. In those times men completely ruled their families, so a quarrel continued until Hisajo flew out of the house in tears. Udai was stubborn to the point of neuroticism, and had to go on until he had got her attention and made Hisajo angry. If Hisajo was angered she was the more intense of the two. Udai was always the one who persisted until he had provoked her. Hisajo's complaint that she disliked middle school teachers was not the simple fact of the matter. She criticised Udai's personality in a blaming kind of way.[34]

As I explored Hisajo's oeuvre, I was surprised (and somewhat disappointed) to find that the Nora Haiku was not representative of a trend in her work. The family friction these pieces caused meant that, although she had promised to reduce her haiku writing before, Hisajo now actively sought other forms of distraction and generally maintained a minimal haiku output. In the section of her *Collected Haiku* in which the haiku are dated by year there are 204 for 1920, the year in which she spent time in her mother's care and wrote "Shinshū Gin [Shinshū Poem]," one for 1921 (the year in which she returned to Udai), twenty-seven for 1922 (the year in which she wrote the Nora Haiku), seven for 1923, five for 1924, thirteen for 1925, ten for 1926, eleven for 1927, nineteen for

[32] Janet A Walker. *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 39.
[33] Ren Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto [Notes on Sugita Hisajo]*. (Kitakyushu: Urayama Shobo, 1978), 81.
[34] Ishi. "Nenpu," 243.

1928, twenty-eight for 1929, seven for 1930, thirteen for 1931. Only in 1932 did her production jumped to 81 as her second period began in earnest.[35] Even more significantly, Hisajo stopped writing haiku in the style of the Nora Haiku.[36] Indeed, neither the Good Teacher Haiku nor any later haiku she may have written that touch upon Udai or her marriage appear in Hisajo's *Collected Haiku*.

Hisajo did preserve some earlier work that had revealed glimpses of her married life. They include:

言葉少く別れし夫婦秋の宵 5-7-5

kotoba sukunaku/ wakareshi fūfu/ ***aki*** *no yoi* (autumn)

words few/ have parted husband-wife/ **autumn** (p.p.) early-evening

with barely a word

the husband and wife have parted –

autumn twilight

1920

栗むくや夜行にて發つ夫淋し 5-7-6

kuri *muku ya/ yakō nite tatsu/ tsuma sabishi* (autumn)

peeling **chestnuts** –/ night travel depart/ my husband lonely

peeling chestnuts –

leaving on a night journey

[35] These numbers do not capture the total number of haiku she wrote in each of those years –numbers that it is almost impossible to calculate – but they do give some indication of the sharp drop in her haiku writing, firstly after her intial promise to Udai and secondly after the Nora Haiku.
[36] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai,* 271.

my lonely husband

1920

Had she continued to document their failing relationship, she might have explored a confessional tone new to haiku to produce ground-breaking work. Instead, when she began publishing haiku in significant numbers once more, she had dropped her focus on domesticity and wrote far less about her present circumstances. In fact, it can be argued that the loose sequence of three centring on the Nora Haiku mark the end of her first period. Thus, this haiku must be regarded as pivotal in her development.

While the conflict with Udai was the proximal constraint that made it difficult, if not impossible, for Hisajo to continue writing in the Nora Haiku vein, others were at work as well. Social norms about conflict and the airing of conflict, Kyoshi's narrowing attitude to acceptable content for haiku, Hisajo's isolation from like-minded women and her own hope that writing haiku could be a transforming experience that would deliver her from the pain of her daily life all contributed to her inability to take this promising direction further.

EXPRESSIONS OF DISTRESS

Other of Hisajo's haiku expressing distress at the restrictions applied to women have a confessional tone. The following three express difficult states of mind through the description of a woman's behaviour. While all contain material that cannot be visualized, each also evokes a sharp picture. Together they capture physical and psychological tension brought about by the needs of decorum imposed upon a woman needing to leave the house; theatrical despair; and the extreme physical weakness of an invalid. As the last two come from "Shinshū Gin," and written as a time of extreme mental torment for Hisajo, they are almost certainly self-portraits:

板の如き帯にさゝれぬ秋扇 6-7-5

ita no gotoki/ obi ni sasarenu/ ***aki ōgi*** (autumn)

board (p.p) likeness/ sash insert-cannot/ **autumn fan**

stiff as a board

the autumn fan cannot be squeezed

under the sash

1919

秋宮に髪むしり泣く女かな 5-7-5

aki *miya ni/ kami mushiri naku/ onna kana* (autumn)

autumn shrine at/ hair roughly [tearing] weeping/ woman!

in an autumn shrine

tearing at her hair

a weeping woman!

1920

粥すゝる匙の重さやちゝろ蟲 5-7-5

kayu susuru/ saji no omosa ya/ ***chichiro mushi*** (autumn)

rice gruel sip/ spoon (p.p.) weight –/ **cricket**

sipping rice gruel

the weight of the spoon –

cricket song

1920

The next two haiku express difficult states of mind less pictorially. Even so, they also contain material which can be visualized:

寒風に葱ぬく我に絃歌やめ 5-7-5

samukaze ni/ ***negi*** *nuku ware ni/ genka yame* (winter)

cold wind in/ **onions**-pulling-up me for/ singing-to-the-shamisen stop

as I pull up onions in the cold wind

for my sake

stop it shamisen![37]

1919

葡萄投げて我儘つのる病婦かな 6-7-5

budō *nagete/ wagamama tsunoru/ byōfu kana* (autumn)

throwing **grapes**/ wilfully violent/ a sick woman!

throwing grapes

wilfully violent

a sick woman!

1920

Except for the *kigo*, red spider lily, in the second one, the next two contain no pictorial material at all:

[37] The ungrammaticality of the translation is a reflection of the original.

個性まげて生くる道わかずホ句の秋 5-8-5

saga magete/ ikuru michi wakazu/ hoku no ***aki*** (autumn)

personality distorted/ life path don't know/ **autumn** of *hokku*

I don't know how to live

and distort my personality

this autumn of haiku

1920

われにつきゐしサタン離れぬ曼珠沙華 7-7-5

ware ni tsukiishi/ satan hanarenu/ ***manjushage*** (autumn)

was stuck to me/ Satan has let/ go **red spider lily**

Satan was stuck to me,

but has let go

red spider lily

1922

Such haiku find no consolation in "nature." Instead they address, against Kyoshi's explicit instruction, 'the conflicts and entanglements of human affairs.'[38] Written as Hisajo struggled with her desire to write and in the face of Udai's opposition to her vocation, they press the reader to consider the social context and the power relations from which they arise. When Hisajo resumed haiku seriously again in 1926, such work would no longer be acceptable for *Hototogisu*.

[38] (Also quoted in Chapter Five.) Kawasaki Nobuhiro. "Taishōki no Kyoshi [Kyoshi in the Taisho Era]." In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies],* edited by Imai Fumio and Matsui Toshihiko Yamaguchi Seishi, 65 - 84. (Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974), 66.

Close to the end of her writing career, when Hisajo realized that Kyoshi was not going to publish any more of her work in *Hototogisu*, she gave vent to the following. They do not appear in her collection but are quoted by Ishi: [39]

張りとほす女の意地や藍ゆかた 5-7-5

haritōsu/ onna no iji ya/ ai ***yukata*** (summer)

stretch-persist-to-the-end/ woman's willpower –/ indigo **yukata**

obstinate

a woman's willpower –

indigo yukata

1937

虚子ぎらひかな女嫌ひのひとへ帯 5-7-5

Kyoshi girai/ Kanajo kirai no/ ***hitoe obi*** (summer)

Kyoshi-hating/ Kanajo-hating/ **unlined sash**

hating Kyoshi

and hating Kanajo

this unlined sash

1937

These haiku – in which the only concrete elements are the *kigo* – have left *shasei* far behind. The first haiku turns on a pun. *'Iji o haru'* means to be obstinate, while *'kimono no araihari'* entails

[39] Ishi Masako. "Nenpu," 251.

dismantling a kimono and stretch drying all the parts, a job that requires a great deal of effort. Both of the *kigo* in these haiku symbolize persistence. Indigo is insoluble in water and so does not fade no matter how often it is washed. (When, in order to get an intense blue, powered dye is packed into the cloth by pressure instead of being properly fixed by dyeing, it will, of course, wash out.) The sash is long. It goes on and on. The fact that the clothes mentioned are cotton (not silk) suggests a tough, almost working-class stance of resistance. Not long afterwards, however, Hisajo's persistence gave out and she stopped writing haiku.[40]

The fact that Hisajo did not continue writing haiku with the same enthusiasm once the chances of publication had become far more limited suggests that neither the release of self-expression nor the goal of personal or spiritual growth were her primary motivators. Haiku had given her a social role that transcended that of housewife, mother and part-time teacher, enabling her to reflect upon and contribute to social discourse, by establishing – although often at a distance – connection with others.

REVISITING NORA

In 1939, Hisajo wrote a manuscript copy of the haiku she wanted published in a posthumous collection.[41] One revision she made was to the Nora Haiku, and the version that appeared in the first edition of her *Collected Haiku* substituted *shiko* (ugly) for Nora:[42]

足袋つぐや醜ともならず教師妻 5-7-5

tabi *tsugu ya/ shiko to mo narazu/ kyōshizuma* (winter)

[40] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin [Sugita Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]*. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 256.
[41] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 10.
[42] Teraoka Aoi. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byōseki: Tsukurareta Densetsu [Posthumous Medical Examination of Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo: A Manufactured Legend] (*Kumamoto: Kumamoto Shuppan Bunka Kaikan, 2005), 130.

tabi mending –/ugly also not to be/ teacher's wife

mending tabi

not ugly either

the teacher's wife

1944

At first glance, it appears that towards the end of her life Hisajo wished to repudiate any earlier wishes that she could win freedom like Nora. However, in her mid-fifties with both her children married, but still a teacher's wife – and presumably still needing to mend *tabi* – Hisajo may have been thinking about the obverse side of the matters that had troubled her over twenty years before. If the state had wished to both educate women and confine them in the home as Good Wives and Wise Mothers, it had done so in part so they could bring up sons prepared to die for their country.

By the 1930s, the character 醜 for 'ugly' would have immediately brought to mind the expression '*shiko no mitate,*' which was used in military propaganda to promote and elevate the self-sacrificing devotion of Japanese soldiers. Translated in Jim Breen's online dictionary as 'the humble shield of our Sovereign Lord,' by Ohnuki-Tierney as 'ugly shield,'[43] and by J. L. Pierson as 'insignificant shield,' the phrase comes from a group of eighty of so poems by frontier guards (*sakimori*) from the twentieth book of the *Man'yōshū*. The poem in Pierson's translation seems an unremarkable expression of feudal sentiment:

> From today, without looking back, as my great Lord's insignificant shield, thus it is I who have gone out! [44]

[43] Ohnuki-Tierney. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalism*, 76.
[44] J.L. Pierson, ed. *Book XX, Man'yōshū*. Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1963), 79.

Nevertheless, as Kato and Ohnuki-Tierney agree, its sentiment was unrepresentative.[45] Kato explains that only about a third of the poems written by the frontier guards, sent to Kyushu from the eastern provinces to guard against possible invasion from China or Korea in the eighth century, dealt with their military duties. Most were like the following examples, poems of longing for lovers, wives, mothers or parents:[46]

> When I see the pine trees, standing along the road in a row, it is like those, whom I left at home, seeing me off![47]

> Without knowing which way I had to travel, not saying a word to my Father and Mother, ah how regrettable it is now![48]

Teraoka explains the phrase *shiko no mitate* that was taught as a military morale booster to the youngest grades in school, had gained such currency that it was a staple of pro-war poetry.[49] He interprets Hisajo's use of it as a message of fanatical commitment to Kyoshi in which she was promising him loyalty to the bitter end.[50] However, it seems to me that a refusal to accept the hegemony of imperial orthodoxy – whether the target of such feeling was the actual emperor or Kyoshi in his roles as the national haiku arbiter – is more consistent with the meaning of the words. The haiku now reads '*not* be ugly (like an ugly shield)' and so simply reframes the subversive position of the earlier version in terms more relevant to the historical moment. If Nora had proved an impossible choice, Hisajo had not been afraid to publically criticizing the 'good teacher.' My own view is that Hisajo maintained her critical stance.

---

[45] Kato, Shuichi. *A History of Japanese Literature: From the Man'yōshū to Modern Times*. Translated by Don Sanderson. (Richmond: Japan Library, 1997), 38 – 39.
[46] Kato. *A History of Japanese Literature*, 38.
[47] Pierson, ed. *Book XX, Man'yōshū*, 81.
[48] Pierson, ed. *Book XX, Man'yōshū*, 82.
[49] Teraoka Aoi. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byōseki*, 130 – 13
[50] Teraoka. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byōseki*, 137.

The revision of the Nora Haiku is not Hisajo's only haiku that can be interpreted as critiquing militaristic propaganda or militarism itself. Eight years earlier, in 1932, in the context of the undeclared war with China precipitated by the Manchurian Incident and after the assassination, in May, of the Prime Minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi, by ultra-nationalist junior navy officers intent on a *coups d'état*,[51] she had written the following:

壇の浦見渡す日覆まかせけり 5-8-5

*Dannoura/ miwatasu **hiōi**/ makase keri* (summer)

Dannoura/ looking across **sunshield**/ relied upon

looking across

the sweep of Dannoura

I relied on my sunshield

1932

Dannoura, near where Hisajo lived, is the stretch of water where the Taira Clan were finally defeated in a battle with the Minamoto Clan in 1185. This event, which was related in the epic poem, *Heike Monogatari*,[52] marked the end of the Heian period and the end of the courtly culture during which Japan's greatest female poets, novelists and diarists had flourished. It was the outcome of this battle that led to the samurai rule of shoguns and a precipitous loss of status for women. The humour in Hisajo's poem – which suggests that the poem's persona would much rather wear a sunshield (probably here referring to some version the dark, sunshade-like peak on a military cap) than wield a literal shield – quietly debunks the militarist attitudes that were already inflamed among the public. Hisajo's haiku can be read as suggesting a contrary view: it would be

[51] W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894 - 1945*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 180.
[52] Helen Craig McCullough, ed. *The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford: (Stanford University Press, 1988), 373 – 380.

better to rely on whatever could take the glare out of the over-heated public mood, which supported Inukai's assassins' demands for a more aggressive policy in China. [53]

If this interpretation seems far-fetched, it is important to remember that any direct expression of hostility to militarism was unwise in conservative circles. Keene notes that Nakamura Kusatao (1901 – 1983) refrained from contributing any poetry to *Hototogisu* during the war because he feared his 'unfounded reputation of being a "dangerous thinker" might affect Kyoshi.'[54] Similarly, Katō Shūson (1905 – 1993) needed to write somewhat obscurely 'to escape being censored or even imprisoned.'[55] Hisajo's unease with militarism will be investigated in more detail in the next chapter.

NARCISSISM AND THE HISAJO LEGEND

The reader will remember that both Tanabe and Ueno described the Hanagoromo Haiku as narcissistic. Since Hisajo not only produced self-portraiture, but that self-portraiture was sometimes of an erotic nature made her vulnerable to that characterization. The connotations of Narcissism are certainly exploited in the Hisajo Legend. The almost hypnotic power of that word to provoke disgust was a powerful weapon in that campaign to discredit her work.

However, accusations of narcissism were not limited to Hisajo. Consistent with the desire to limit them in their own special corner of the literary field discussed in Chapter Six, Japanese women writers in general were routinely attacked as narcissistic.[56] In France too, Simone de Beauvoir noted that assertions of female inferiority were justified by the claim backed by Freudianism that

[53] Mikiso Hane. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*. 3rd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 271.
[54] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 157
[55] Keene. *Dawn to the West*, 162.
[56] Tomoko Aoyama and Barbara Hartley. "The Narcissistic Woman Writer." In *Women Critiqued* edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 76 - 82. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2006), 76.

‘narcissism is the fundamental attitude of all women.’[57] Aoyama and Hartley explain that, when used in Japanese literary criticism, the first connotation of narcissism is simple self-assertion. Thus, when Tanabe and Ueno link Hisajo with narcissism their primary intention is to signal approval of the (disturbing) power and originality of her work – or for what she herself, in her commentary on the Hanagoromo Haiku, called its ‘boldness.’ Yet, as has already been pointed out, the assumption that only men could achieve ‘the objectivity necessary to write superior works’ was endemic in Japanese literary field throughout the twentieth century. Generally speaking, the women writer was defined by her ‘imitative nature, her physicality, and her vanity.’[58] In other words, the use of narcissism as a term of praise was a risky undertaking, especially in respect to women’s writing.

Indeed, the multiple meanings of narcissism have been very useful when male writers wished to condescend to their female counterparts. Often women’s most effective social power arises from their ability to enact a conventionally male-pleasing, feminine role. The (middle class) Japanese women of Hisajo’s generation were expected – as legal and economic dependents – to groom and dress themselves in a way that demanded a great deal of their time. Spending long hours in front of the mirror, they were labelled vain. Deprived of educational opportunities to begin with, their beauty regime further reducing the time they might have spent on reading, writing and so forth, they were then labelled frivolous. They were censured by conservative commentators if they ventured from the confines of the home, particularly if they were engaged in pleasure-seeking, but mocked for having nothing to write about but themselves and their limited circle.[59] To the degree that women complied with gender norms, their writing was likely to be impoverished. Those who

[57] Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex*. Translated by H. M. Parshley. (London: David Campbell Publishers Ltd., 1993), 661.
[58] Rebecca L. Copeland. “A Century of Reading Women's Writing in Japan: An Introduction.” In *Woman Critiqued: Translated Essays on Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 1 - 20. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 3.
[59] Rebecca L. Copeland. “The Feminine Critique: “Womenliness” and the Woman Writer.” In *Woman Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland, 21 - 27. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), 5.

did not were criticised for writing self-consciously "modern" work catering to the lowest of tastes.[60] Or they were despised (or sometimes praised) as "masculinized" women.[61]

Since such value is placed on feminine beauty, but most women fall far short of their internalized image of the accepted ideals, their reflection too easily provokes the shame, frustration or disappointment that can accompany powerlessness. Women's consequent need for reassurance was advanced by Mishima Yukio – who laid proud claim to the epithet of narcissism for himself – as evidence that female narcissism is of an inferior sort, trapped in compensatory self-delusion. By contrast, he was the sort of narcissist who produces – and this claim, at least, was undoubtedly true – real art. [62]

A stream of transgressive – anti-Confucian – male, self-preoccupation became prominent from the late Meiji era when the I-novel became the prestige genre. Men endlessly described the events in their lives, their feelings and their fantasies (particularly but not only about women), and were praised for their sincerity.[63] Metaphorically speaking, such I-novels offered the women who figure in them as the Other in Simone de Beauvoir's sense[64] only distorting, disempowering mirrors. When such authors disclose amatory secrets, as Shimazaki Toson's *Shisei [The New Life]* did about an affair with his niece, it was the female partner who was liable to severe social consequences.[65]

If women had little to write about but themselves, their impoverishment was not a trivial subject. As the source of unreliable and painful self-knowledge, artistic (as well as literal) mirrored images

---

[60] Joan E. Ericson. "The Origins of the Concept of 'Women's Literature.'" In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A Walker 74 - 115. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) , 87.
[61] Ericson. "The Origins of the Concept of 'Women's Literature,'" 89 - 90; 81.
[62] Mishima Yukio. "On Narcissism." Translated by Tomoko Aoyama and Barbara Hartley. In *Woman Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 83 - 87. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 83.
[63] Edward Fowler. *The Rhetoric of Confession: Shishōsetsu in Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Fiction*. (Berkley University of California Press, 1988), 43.
[64] Simone de Beauvoir. Translated by H. M. Parshley. (London: David Campbell Publishers Ltd., 1993), xl.
[65] Fowler. *The Rhetoric of Confession*, 110.

of women were in urgent need of interrogation. The dissimulation and self-censorship required to approximate the conventional image were particularly burdensome and destructive. For women, like Hisajo, who were subjected to crippling standards of self-restraint, both physical and psychological self-portraiture were necessary steps to liberation. As an individual, Hisajo wished to go beyond manipulating herself and others. She valued self-expression. She wanted to be able to (take off her clothes and) relax.

The fact that Hisajo's haiku, while more erotic than much haiku, only rarely hint at sexual desire can make her work seem significantly less daring than the passionate *tanka* of Akiko Yosano's *Midaregami [Tangled Hair]*.[66] But this lack was also a strength. As a haiku (rather than a *waka*/tanka) poet, Hisajo worked in a genre that had defined itself as not-love-poetry. Locked in conflict with Udai, and most probably without any other lover, she was not prompted to write about romantic love and she could concentrate on other matters.

The male art of the Taisho and early Showa eras was not interested in freeing women from the victimization implicit in the male gaze. Only women could do that. Self-portraiture allowed them to adjust, or adjust to, the inevitable discrepancies between the first person and the third person perspective. If real images can be idealized, conventional images can be confronted by more realistic ones. Hisajo presents her readers with images of women who despite their domesticated context have an aestheticized glamour. She also presents us with tired, scrawny, distraught, angry, irritated, frustrated and rueful women. In so doing, she increased the range of images of women available for contemplation and comparison. Other women could then recognize aspects of themselves in these new images, and they too could contribute further self-portraits.

Unconventional or anti-conventional self-images easily fade. Art can capture them and make reflection easier. Yet, due to the strong hold of internalized norms, only a collaborative project

[66] Yosano Akiko. *Tangled Hair: Selected Tanka from Midaregami*. Translated by Sanford Goldstein and Seishi Shinoda. (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1987).

between people of courage and goodwill can guarantee the stability and acceptability of images that violate previously accepted standards. In other words, a new and lasting understanding arises most easily from dialogue with similarly seeking others. I would claim that the ultimate value of Hisajo's self-portraiture was that it opened such a dialogue.

However, Hisajo does not seem to have felt fully requited by any interlocutor. Her confessional prose often returns to the theme of loneliness and the spiritual comfort she gained from haiku. On the one hand, haiku allowed her to bear her isolation, and at even allowed her to feel self-sufficient. On the other, she reached out though her relationships with Hashimoto Takako and Nakamura Teiko, through *Hanagoromo*, through Shiragikukai (the group of young women haiku writers she mentored), through her essays about *joryū* haiku and through her role as haiku selector for *Karitago* and other publications for communion with other women haiku poets. But Kyoshi was her focus. Yumoto's hypothesis about this matter – while unconventional from the point of view of Freudian theory which would suppose childhood trauma – is consistent with the known facts:

> Hisajo had an irrepressible, intense longing for intimacy with others which was not simple desire for the opposite sex and which may have had its roots in the affection she received from her parents. However, her marriage partner could not replace their tender care or make the dreams she had entrusted to him come true. To the degree stable family life receded, her feelings of lack and loss drove her to project all her adoration onto haiku. An idea that she could be saved by haiku grew more and more strongly rooted, and likewise her attachment to Kyoshi, whom she loved and respected. This, however, instead [of being reciprocated] provoked a backlash from him.[67]

Hisajo does not seem to have recognized that Kyoshi's main concerns were for his personal power and status, the prosperity of his family, and the continued growth of his *kessha*, and it is clear that what she wanted of him was unrealistic. In so far as she could, or would, not see who he was, her ability to maintain an accurate reflection of herself in her work was undermined. For all that his

[67] Yumoto. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai*, 270.

attitudes to her proved cold, exploitative, dominating and cruel, it is very likely that, bombarded with letters and telegrams, he was confused and frightened by the intensity of her need. That Hisajo stopped writing when he persisted with his rejection and it became difficult for her to publish her work indicates that haiku alone could not supply the spiritual consolation she had believed it delivered her.

CONCLUSION

Although I have separated Hisajo's Taisho era oeuvre into three groups for ease of analysis, her *Collected Haiku* does not read that way. Miniatures from nature are found beside landscapes. The kinds of portraits of women and children involved in domestic tasks discussed in Chapter Six are found beside the psychological self-portraiture discussed here. Each category gains by its association with the others. Because the more pictorial work must have been provoked by scenes that Hisajo found significant or beautiful, the entire range together presents a larger portrait of her life and her engagement with it. The reader becomes privy to her changing moods and key events in her marital crisis, and the material environment in which both were embedded. For this reason alone, these haiku provide a valuable document. Hisajo's haiku, and in a supplementary way her essays too, offer some insight into how the ideology of Good Wives and Wise Mothers could impact on the daily life of an individual.

However, Hisajo's Taisho era haiku should be first and foremost judged as poetry. In so far as Hisajo worked within the range of formal constraints endorsed by Shiki and Kyoshi, as she generally did, she was not an innovative poet. On the other hand, what she did with those constraints was quite different. She did not share Shiki and Kyoshi's passionate commitment to promoting Japanese national prestige through haiku. Her personal concerns were shaped by her own historical moment, including how her gender was constructed and how gender issues impacted upon all her relationships. The result was a fresh approach to a range of new subject matter.

At the same time, Hisajo was highly attuned to what Jakobson called the poetic function of language[68] and employed an impressive range of techniques in her haiku. Two generations after Shiki, she had fully absorbed his lessons about *shasei* and took seriously haiku's affinity with other arts and literary genres. In Chapter Six, I quoted a passage from "Where Should Women's Haiku Go From Here?" in which she recommends women haiku poets look at paintings and read various kinds of poetry, reconfirming Shiki's connection of haiku with other arts, especially other forms of literature. At the same time, she benefited from the fact that Kyoshi's more neo-classical tastes encouraged her generation to once again look back to Bashō for inspiration. On the other hand, she lived in a culture where film (rather than just photography) was restructuring everyone's perception of the world. Her openness to these influences allowed her to approach both *kigo* and *shasei* in a flexible and resourceful manner. Hisajo's haiku was more responsive to the movement and texture of "modern" life than either Shiki's or Kyoshi's.

It is impossible to place the formal constraints under which Hisajo operated in any set relationship to one another. She gave the various elements from which she constructed her haiku a different emphasis depending on the piece. The documentary impulse of *shasei* resulted in work that ranged across a spectrum from haiku that approached representational painting at one end to lyrical, almost confessional pieces at the other. In some cases, she showed sympathy with naturalism. In others, she used material in a symbolic manner. In some of her haiku, the *kigo* is foregrounded by juxtaposition or by the way it contrasted in language function or register in a *ga/zoku* manner with the rest of the piece; in other work the *kigo* is so thoroughly integrated that it is likely it would be overlooked by those for whom identifying the *kigo* was not an automatic reading strategy. In some of her haiku an impression of stasis was achieved by the suppression of all language associated with movement and the passage of time; in other pieces word choice and a montage-like use of cutting techniques were employed to produce a dynamic impression. Finally, constraint placed upon the sound palette – including repeated and contrasting sounds as well as the default rhythm

[68] Richard Bradford. *Roman Jakobson: Life, Language, Art*. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 81.

or any departure from it – was more important in some haiku than in others. While the operation of multiple formal constraints meant the range of possible options became increasingly tight during the composition process, Hisajo enlarged the range of meanings haiku could express. Her most complex pieces are at once concrete and exquisitely controlled to suggest politically and personally pertinent layers of significance.

According to the trend of the time, Hisajo's haiku was generally stimulated by real events, small and large. In the case of the conflict that arose with Udai over depicting him in her haiku, they also made her stop writing. Although Hisajo did produce a small number of haiku in the meantime, she was not fully engaged with the haiku establishment again until it had commenced the seismic shift the resulted from Shūōshi's resignation from Hototogisu. Thereafter, the writing strategies she had employed in the Taisho era became less viable. Although it is impossible to calculate precisely the effect the gap between her first and second period had on Hisajo's development as a poet, her distance from Hototogisu in those years put her at a disadvantage as she did not keep up with the changes in Kyoshi's poetics and did not maintain her position within the *kessha*. On the other hand, this isolation helped her to maintain her individual trajectory.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SECOND PERIOD HAIKU SEQUENCES

After attempting to use it as another form of release, Hisajo drifted away from the church as her closest contacts there left Kokura. She resolved to return to writing haiku in 1926 during a period of illness following her sister's death,[1] but her second period began slowly. She had a brief burst of activity in 1929, the year she wrote the Yamahototogisu Haiku, and by 1932 was again writing significant numbers of impressive haiku once more. Rather than attempting to transfigure everyday domestic experience, the key haiku in her second period present a world of memory – sometimes personal, but more often historical or mythical. Where they touched on present circumstances, they tended to do so in an oblique manner.

Udai's opposition to Hisajo revealing too much of their private life and Kyoshi's revised haiku poetics were not the only reasons for this changed approach. During the 1920s, the New Women style personalism that had propelled so much of her first period work was becoming old-fashioned. Young women were better educated and had more disposable income than ever had before and those from working class backgrounds took on a greater range of jobs, earning enough to support themselves and sometimes their children as well. The journalistic rage, if not the sociological reality, was now the Modern Girl.[2] Although it avoided that term, *Nyonin Geijutsu [Women's Arts]*, a new radical women's journal first published in July 1928, took female autonomy and sexuality for granted[3] in a way women in Hisajo's position could never do. In comparison to the literature the best younger women were producing, Hisajo's earlier portraits of a housewife caught in the contradictions of Good Wives and Wise Mothers ideology risked appearing quaint.

---

[1] Ishi Masako. "Nenpu: Sugita Hisajo [A literary timeline for Sugita Hisajo]" In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, 236 - 58. (Tokyo: Bungei Bunko, 2007), 245.
[2] Miriam Silverberg. *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 69.
[3] Silverberg. *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, 61.

Hisajo's research into *joryū* haiku and into the stories and history of her general area may also have contributed to her turn away from explicit self-portraiture. As her children grew she was freed from some of the burdens of childcare and had more time to take short trips to places of historical interest. In response she wrote haiku that often combined material from relevant sources with her own on-the-spot observations. Gender issues still remained a major concern, but rather than taking a domestic focus, the new work features legendary or mythical women and addresses the changing status of women in Japanese history. Some haiku even evokes a time when matrilocal customs were still in place and women had more structural power. Hisajo may have been influenced by Takegoshi Yosaburō's bestselling *2,500 Years of Japanese Civilisation*.[4] Whether that was an influence or not, that there had been a time in which Japanese culture had been more women-friendly was becoming generally known. It was a preoccupation Hisajo shared with other women writers, most notably the feminist and anarchist scholar and writer Takamure Itsue who, according to Patricia E. Tsurumi, Takamura 'linked men, modern society, and the West and found them all equally hateful.' Instead, Takamure looked to early Japanese history for a 'world in which women were highly respected beings who received appropriate reproductive and child-care support and loved passionately without the harmful restrictions of matrimony.'[5] Hisajo may have come to a similar position.

There was obvious overlap, too, with the traditions of writing associated with the "woman's hand" which were brought to the fore when Meiji intellectuals constructed a new literary canon appropriate to their vision of a Japanese nation state, as I discussed in the Introduction. Associated images from ancient times were used also for crudely nationalistic purposes after Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933 when public opinion hardened against the West. Silverberg who comprehensively studied the woman's magazine, *Shufu no Tomo [Housewife's Friend]*, notes that from the mid-1930s onwards, it began to feature a 'garish, multi-coloured

[4] Oguma, Eiji. *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images*. Translated by David Askew. (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), 76.
[5] Patricia. E Tsurumi. "Visions of Women and the New Society in Conflict: Yamakawa Kikue Versus Takamure Itsue." In *Japan's Competing Modernities*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, 335 - 57. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998) 342.

insets of mythical Japanese female figures' in the places once reserved for 'Hollywood starlets.'[6] Hisajo does not discuss these trends in the essays I have available to me and may not have had worked-out positions of her own on the issues of Japan's relationship to modernity, to the West or to China. Nevertheless, the ambiguity of this material gave her the tools that enabled her to extend her critical stance, without needlessly exposing herself to the danger of being thought a critic of the status quo.

If on returning to Hototogisu, Hisajo was forced to work according to even narrower constraints than she had done in her first period, there was one constraint with which she refused to comply: Kyoshi's rejection of haiku sequences. Hisajo had often grouped her haiku by a common theme or with a narrative thread or both, and from 1918 began to give some of these groups titles. For example, "Shinshū Poem, August 1920", which she subtitles "165 haiku composed on my sickbed," comprises a haiku journal writing during the months she was separated from Udai. The first 54 of these haiku are only incidentally related, much like diary jottings, but then there comes an untitled group of seven haiku, all but one of which use the summer *kigo kusa ikire* (the smell of new mown grass). Organized so that they span a full day, the language of all seven is tightly interrelated. From that time, groups of haiku linked by repetition-plus-minor-variation is found in Hisajo's work with growing frequency.

In Chapter Three, I discussed at length Kyoshi's complex attitude to and growing disapproval of haiku sequences and Shūōshi's enthusiastic promotion of them. In fact, both Kyoshi and his daughter, Tatsuko, wrote multiple haiku on the same topic at a sitting and published the results as they wrote them. Examples in Kyoshi's corpus include numbers 25 and 26 and numbers 40 and 41. In fact, as Sakamoto explains, Kyoshi allowed groups of haiku provided each one could be read as a stand-alone poem.[7] However, in the 1930s, Hisajo's sequences acquired more power and more centrality in her work and she began to use the order in which the haiku appeared to suggest

[6] Silverberg. *Erotic Groteque Nonsense*, 161.
[7] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin* [Sugita Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 144.

meanings that were difficult to express more explicitly. Kyoshi did not recognise the validity of this strategy and he was unlikely to accept all the haiku from one sequence for publication, particularly if the sequence was a long one. When he did publish haiku from the sequences discussed below he selected only one or two haiku and often reordered them, even combining haiku from one sequence with haiku from another. Without opposing Kyoshi, in at least apparent support of Shūōshi, Hisajo could not object to having her work treated this way.

All the sequences discussed in this chapter were written after the Manchurian Incident in October 1931, the pretext for an undeclared war that resulted in the Japanese take-over of Manchuria. It was an act of aggression that had wide ramifications. Particularly after the bombing of Shanghai in January 1932, the actions of the Japanese military drew sharp condemnation from the League of Nations, leading to Japan's withdrawal from that body.[8] Domestically, the coverage of these events in the mass media was both extensive[9] and propagandistic.[10] The actions of the Kwantung army were greeted with enthusiastic support at home, including from most people who had hitherto taken a radical line against the state.[11]

The conflict in China altered the daily lives of many women at home in Japan. In support of the soldiers on the front, women and girls raised money, packing parcels, supporting families at home and farewelling and greeting the troops.[12] While these activities might have been a welcome chance to contribute to public life for some, at the same time, mothers were expected to urge their sons to die for the Emperor. Fantasies of feminine purity and self-sacrifice were fully indulged. 'One of the most-repeated stories' involved 'the beloved young wife of Lieutenant Inoue' who

[8] Mikiso Hane and Louis G. Perez. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey (3rd Edition)*. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2012), 275.
[9] Sandra Wilson. *The Manchurian Crisis and Japanese Society, 1931 - 1933*. London: Routledge, 2002, 22.
[10] Wilson. *The Manchurian Crisis*, 30.
[11] Wilson. *The Manchurian Crisis*, 219.
[12] Wilson. *The Manchurian Crisis*, 197.

committed suicide so that he could fight 'unhindered by worry on her behalf."[13] In other words, the war reinforced and essentialized gender stereotypes.

No doubt, Hisajo's experiences as a woman to date would have led her to have a markedly negative reaction to such stories and stereotypes. Unlike many other women of her generation, she also understood from personal experience the repercussions hostilities can have on civilians. The insurgency in Taiwan had probably contributed to the death of her younger brother and had continued to present real dangers to her family during their stay there. Perhaps it is natural then, that some of Hisajo's second period work takes a critical stance, however obliquely, to the rise of militarism.

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM PILLOW SEQUENCE

The first of the six sequences discussed in this chapter has no connection – except perhaps by inversion due to some Daoist associations – with current events at all. In 1932 Hisajo collected and dried over 7,000 wild chrysanthemums over about a month and used them to fill a pillow she made for Kyoshi's sixtieth birthday.[14] This present was accompanied by a group of haiku on the same subject referring to the early Chinese recluse-poet, Tao Yuanming, whose work I briefly touched upon in Chapter Six. It was an impressive gift, unique – there is no mention of a pillow in Tao Yuanming's poem, and so Hisajo's association was a new one – yet suitable to Hisajo's restricted means.

Tao Yuanming was famous for a short poem translated as "Drinking Wine" which contains the line: '採菊東籬下' which has been translated as, 'I pick fence-side chrysanthemums at will.'[15] As I mentioned earlier, this line was so closely associated with Tao Yuanming that, particularly in

[13] Wilson. *The Manchurian Crisis*, 201.
[14] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 91.
[15] Xu Yuan Zhong, ed. *Songs of the Immortals: An Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry*. Translated by Xu Yuan Zhong. (Beijing: New World Press, 1994), 28 – 29.

Chinese literati influenced circles, any mention of chrysanthemums immediately brought him to mind. This line is understood as an allusion to the customary practice, which he apparently followed, of steeping chrysanthemum petals in wine to make a longevity potion. In the context in which it appears in his poem, the reference is simultaneously an expressive of a hope for a long life and the identification of death with a transcendent immortality. [16] In the same poem, another couplet also suggests the possibility of imaginative reclusion (helped by a certain amount of alcohol) even for those living in urban centres:

> Among the haunts of men I build my cot,
>
> There's noise of wheels and hoofs, but I hear not.

Hisajo may have intended her reference to these lines to suggest that despite his busy life directing Hototogisu from his office in the centre of Tokyo, Kyoshi was also emotionally distanced from his surroundings and in perpetual imaginative contact with nature, as benefits a "sage." Certainly, the link with eternal youth was an elegant reference to Kyoshi's landmark birthday.

Teraoka quotes nine chrysanthemum pillow haiku which he claims comprise Hisajo's entire sequence.[17] Sakamoto mentions Hisajo published fifteen haiku on that theme in the first issue of *Hanagoromo*.[18] The four quoted below are included in the *Collected Haiku* with a headnote, "Four Haiku about Making a Chrysanthemum Pillow from Dried Chrysanthemums," and for reasons of space I will limit my discussion to them.

> 愛蔵す東籬の詩あり菊枕 5-7-5
>
> *aizō su/ tōri no shi ari/* ***kikumakura*** (autumn)

[16] Susan E. Nelson. "Tao Yuanming's Sashes: Or, the Gendering of Immortality." *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 1-27, 6 - 8

[17] Teraoka Aoi. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byōseki: Tsukurareta densetsu [Posthumous Medical Examination of Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo: A Manufactured Legend] (*Kumamoto: Kumamoto Shuppan Bunka Kaikan, 2005), 97 – 98.

[18] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 84.

love-store/ eastern fence poem exists/ **chrysanthemum pillow**

there's a beloved poem

about the eastern fence –

chrysanthemum pillow

ちなみぬふ陶淵明の菊枕 5-7-5

chinami nuu/ Tōenmei no/ ***kikumakura*** (autumn)

by association sewing/ Tao Yuanming (p.p.)/ **chrysanthemum pillow**

by association

sewing Tao Yuanming's

chrysanthemum pillow

白妙の菊の枕をぬひ上げし 5-7-5

shirotae no/ ***kiku no makura*** *o/ nui ageshi* (autumn)

white cloth (p.p.)/ **chrysanthemum pillow**/ finished sewing

made of white cloth

the chrysanthemum pillow

I finished sewing

ぬひ上げて菊の枕のかほるなり 5-7-5

nuiagete/ ***kiku no makura*** *no/ kaoru nari* (autumn)

sew-completed/ **chrysanthemum pillow**(p.p.)/ fragrant is

now it is finished

the chrysanthemum pillow

smells fragrant

1932

As these are occasional poems, the *kigo*, which is fully integrated as the main subject, operates as a greeting and links both parties. Hisajo had recently moved house to an area called Kikugaoka (Chrysanthemum Hill) and Masuda suggests this fact influenced her kigo choice.[19] Hisajo also had a special fondness for wild chrysanthemums because her father had loved them and had planted them randomly in his garden.[20] The fact that these haiku were sent with the chrysanthemum pillow that Hisajo made for Kyoshi means that they come as close as possible to overcoming the gap that inevitably opened between the writer's and reader's experience when distance was a factor.

The four haiku fall into two pairs, the first of which establishes the connection with Tao Yuanming, while the second celebrates the completion of the pillow. In the second pair Hisajo portrays herself indirectly as a woman sewing. This recalls the Nora Haiku, but in this case, the mood is serene, presumably because sewing a chrysanthemum pillow is a voluntary, creative task. Also, the sensuous experience of sewing smooth, luxurious cloth would have been very different to darning rough, old *tabi*. Although the meanings are layered, each of these haiku avoids the pitfall of trying to say too much. The repetitions and variations, including three references to sewing, and two to finishing, mean that only small pieces of new information are added as the sequence progresses. This lightening of the interpretive load for the reader balances the extremely formal and compressed classical Japanese, which functions to convey Hisajo's respect to Kyoshi as her teacher. The Sinified expression '*aizō su*' (love-store) which begins the sequence, ostensibly refers to Hisajo's attitude to Tao Yuanming's poem. 'By association' they also describe what Hisajo is doing in the whole process of creating the pillow. '*Shirotae*' (white cloth), on the other hand, is an

[19] Ren Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto [Notes on Sugita Hisajo]*. (Kitakyushu: Urayama Shobo, 1978), 183.
[20] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 91.

old Japanese word which appears in the universally familiar, *Hyakkunin Isshū*.[21] Thus, the four poems "sew together" in a graceful and original way reader and writer and heritage elements from both China and Japan.

Kyoshi initial response to this gift was very positive. He sent Hisajo a gracious answer which he later published in his *Zōtō Kushū (Collection of Gift Exchange Haiku*).[22] However, it seems that disciples around Kyoshi who were unfriendly to Hisajo, found her gesture excessive and flirtatious. They seem to have pushed this line, making him displeased with her, and causing her gesture to backfire.[23]

BECOMING A GOOD WOMAN

In August, 1932, five of Hisajo's haiku were featured, for the first time, on the opening page of *Hototogisu*, the most prestigious position in the magazine, establishing her as a top-ranking haiku poet. Three of these were written on the topic of Buddha's birthday and two were from the Yang Guifei Sequence which will be discussed discussed in the next section.

The Buddha's birthday festival or Hanamatsuri (the flower festival), which forms the context of the haiku discussed here, is conducted on 8th April. According to custom, people bring a flower offering to the temple and queue to pour sweet tea over the body of a statue of the Buddha, usually represented as a standing two or three year-old child. [24] Judith Snodgrass has shown that from 1925 this festival became a large-scale, celebratory event proclaiming a distinctively Japanese and Buddhist take on modernity, with a pan-Asianist flavour.[25]

---

[21] Joshua S. Mostow. *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 145.
[22] Teraoka. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byōseki ,* 98.
[23] Masuda. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto,* 198 – 199.
[24] Judith Snodgrass. "Performing Buddhist Modernity: The Lumbini Festival, Tokyo 1925." (*Journal of Religious History* 33, no. 2 (2009): 133 – 48), 134.
[25] Snodgrass. "Performing Buddhist Modernity," 139 - 140.

In Hisajo's *Collected Haiku* the three featured haiku are directly followed by what may have been intended as a thematically connected fourth:

ぬかづけばわれも善女や佛生會 5-7-5

nukazukeba/ ware mo zennyo ya/ ***busshōe*** (spring)

when I prostrate myself/ I too good woman –/ **Buddha's birthday**

when I bow

I'm a good woman too –

Buddha's birthday

無憂華のき蔭はいづこ佛生會 5-7-5

muyūge no/ kikage wa izuko/ ***busshōe*** (spring)

asoka tree (p.p.)/ shadow where?/ **Buddha's birthday**

where's the shadow

of the asoka tree?

Buddha's birthday

灌沐の淨法身を拜しける 5-7-5

kanmoku no/ jōhōshin o/ haishikeru

pour-bath (p.p.)/ pure law-body (o.p.)/ worship

anointing

the pure body of the law

I worship

男の子うまぬわれなり粽結ふ 5-7-6

otokonoko/ umanu ware nari/ ***chimaki*** *musubu* (summer)

boy child/ not having borne I/ ***chimaki*** tie up

although I've never had

a son

I tie up *chimaki*[26]

1932

Surprisingly, the third haiku in this group lacks a *Shin Saiji kigo*. However, both '*kanmoku*'(anointing) and '*jōhōshin*'(pure body of the law) can be read as candidate *kigo* referring to the Buddha's Birthday festival, and Kyoshi must have accepted at least one of these. Also surprisingly, only the second of these four haiku lacks some element of (psychological) self-portraiture. Moreover, the authorial presence is underlined by the use of a first person pronoun (*ware*), a strategy Hisajo only uses rarely. This un-*kachō fūei*-like approach was presumably acceptable to Kyoshi since Hisajo – ostensibly – portrays herself in a posture of passionate submission. Submission was precisely the attitude Kyoshi was keen for his followers to take towards "nature," here symbolized by the Buddha child. In his *kanshō* for this haiku he wrote:

> Although only about worshipping Buddha on his birthday, in the expressions '*jōhōshin*' (the pure body of the law) and '*haishikeru*' (I worship) a powerful feeling of longing for the Buddha emerges.[27]

Kyoshi may also have also read the first haiku as an expression of Hisajo's attitude to himself, particularly given it was written in the same year as his own special birthday. Irritated with her as he often seems to have been at this stage in their relationship, he may have taken it as a admission

[26] Chimaki are sticky rice cakes tied up in bamboo given as offerings on Boy's Day (now Children's Day), May 5th.
[27] quoted in Ishi. "Nenpu," 248.

of wrong-doing and a promise to reform. “The Great Learning for Women [Onna Daigaku],” a Neo-Confucian text which continued to have relevance for Kyoshi’s generation,[28] held:

> The only qualities that befit a woman are gentleness, obedience, chastity, tenderness and placidity.[29]

Obedience and placidity were qualities that both Udai and Kyoshi found lacking in Hisajo. Kyoshi may have reasoned that the devotion a woman should have towards her husband would surely be owed equally to someone in his position. Read according to those assumptions, the haiku suggests that the rebellious female disciple is struck by a profound realization of her folly and takes self-abasement to religious heights. Yet, as Sakamoto has argued, the apparent submission can be read ironically.[30] Firstly, there is some ambiguity in the verb form, an unusually complex one for haiku. ‘*Nukazukeba*’ can mean either “when I prostrate myself” or “if I prostrate myself.” No doubt, Hisajo intends her readers to assume that she bowed, but whom or what confers the status of being a ‘good woman’ upon her, and how long that status would last are unanswered questions. Indeed, in the context of Buddha’s birthday, ‘good woman’ can be translated simply as a female believer.

Hisajo, of course, had her own ideas of what it was for her to be “good,” and she was well-aware that her values often did not match those of the society in which she lived. Her putative affairs had given her the reputation of a “bad woman” in Kokura, and bowing to the Buddha would not change that situation. Being “good” remains an insoluble dilemma when two opposing sets of values are at play. Not least of the ironic contrasts set up in this haiku is the one between the simple act of bowing and the demanding discipline of self-development and poetic composition to which Hisajo did unequivocally submit. While Kyoshi may have read this first haiku as a

---

[28] Rebecca L. Copeland. “Introduction: Meiji Women Writers.” In *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland and Melek Ortabasi, 1 - 28. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 13.
[29] Kaibara Ekken. “Onna Daigaku [The Great Learning for Women].” Translated by Basil Chamberlain. In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 262 - 67. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 262.
[30] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 100.

confession or apology, I read it as yet another reflection on the theme of the gap between one's felt and one's attributed identity, so important in Hisajo's work. Also, in terms of rhetorical strategy, it shares with the Hanagoromo Haiku a distracting surface which conceals a deeper protest with the latter only easily apparent to similarly placed (women) readers or others somehow already in the know. The emotional tone is open to readerly interpretation, but could range from amused to guilt-stricken.

Expressed as a question, the second poem in the sequence is also grammatically unusual for a haiku. Once again the reader is directed to the interiority of the persona. By asking about the whereabouts of the asoka – literally 'flowering sorrow-less' – tree, Hisajo presents herself as, at least somewhat, identified with Buddha's mother, Maya, who gave birth, painlessly, grasping a branch of that tree. The contrast of Maya's erect posture with the prostration in the previous poem may be significant. The act of bearing the Buddha involved no loss of dignity. Nothing about this mythical birth is realistic. The Lotus Sutra states that since vaginal birth involves impurity, Bodhisattvas and Buddhas were born through their mother's right armhole.[31] In other words, although Maya represents motherhood, her story involves a rejection of the birthing process. For some the notion of a "clean" and presumably painless transition to motherhood might be blissful. For more embodied women, the message it conveys can only be unsettling. Although it is know that the birth of Masako had been a particularly difficult one, where Hisajo stands on that issue is unclear.

The question suggests that for the poem's persona no sorrow-less tree seems to be available. As the word tree – one of the first Chinese characters learnt by Japanese children – has been written in hiragana, the haiku throws particular emphasis onto the word '*kage*.' It is written in a character that refers to the 'shade of a tree' or 'cover, shelter, hiding' but which when combined with the honorific "o" means the 'Buddha's blessing' or 'help or aid.' In other words the persona holds

[31] Haruko Okano. "Women's Image and Place in Japanese Buddhism." In *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda, 15 - 28. (New York: The Feminist Press, 1995), 20.

faint hopes of shelter or deliverance. If the first haiku was, indeed, a message to Kyoshi, this second one could be read as an appeal. On a more universal level, it gestures towards gap between the ideals and aspirations represented by the religious imagery, on the one hand, and the nature of quotidian reality, on the other. Again, a range of emotional tone, from resigned to desperate, could be attributed to it.

The third haiku simply records an instance of the practice of bathing the statue of the child Buddha. The language has been carefully crafted, particularly from the point of view of character choice. The first compound (*kanmoku*) is established Sino-Japanese, but the second (*jōhōshin*) is only found in Chinese. The first four characters all use the radical for water. The fifth means body. In sequence they visually enact the ritual. The elevated language suggests a moment in which interior and exterior viewpoints coalesce. The fact that this haiku follows one alluding to the Buddha's birth points to an association between anointing and giving birth. For every baby being bathed is almost the first social experience.

The final haiku takes place almost a month after the Buddha's birthday. As Hisajo did not signal where the Buddha's birthday sequence ends, it is possible she did not intend this final poem to be a part of it. However, it links to the first in the sequence through the relatively uncommon use of '*ware*,' and links to the entire group by the fact that it, too, is about the possession (or in Hisajo's case the lack) of a son.

In this context, the absence of the sorrow-less tree may indicate Hisajo's acknowledgement of present sorrow. The responsibility associated with bearing and educating sons was one of the darkest elements of the Good Wives and Wise Mothers policy. Hara quotes from Mori Arinori, who became the first minister of education in 1887:

> The models for women are a mother nurturing her child; a mother teaching her child; her son coming of age and being conscripted to go to war and leaving his mother with a good-bye; a son fighting bravely on the battlefield; and a mother receiving a telegram of her son's death in the war.[32]

It is possible that when she wrote this final haiku, only months after the Manchurian and the Shanghai Incidents, Hisajo was thinking of all those "good women" of her generation who, in obedience to state policies, were forced to "submit" and put a brave face on their son's death on the battlefield.

THE YANG GUIFEI SEQUENCE

When they were featured as the top poems in *Hototogisu*, the three explicitly Buddha's Birthday Haiku were combined with two from the Yang Guifei Sequence. That sequence refers to a famous beauty of imperial China and beloved consort of the Tang emperor, Xuanzong (685 – 762). Yang Guifei was accused of leading her emperor into misrule and was executed by strangulation, and it is her death that forms one focus of Hisajo's sequence. The combination Kyoshi chose reinforced the theme of female prostration set up by a literal reading of the Nukazukeba Haiku. It also destroys the integrity of the Yang Guifei Sequence itself.

The Japanese name for Yang Guifei (719 —756), is Yō Kihi. In the sequence, her name is introduced through the name of a variety of cherry tree, *yōkihizakura*,[33] which operates as the *kigo* in these haiku. The official *kigo* status of *yōkihizakura* is complicated by its specificity. Although he mentions some general types of cherry blossoms under his entry for *sakura* in his *Shin Saijiki*, Kyoshi does not mention any specific variety. Nevertheless, since the fourth haiku of this sequence appears as one of Kyoshi's example haiku in his *saijiki*, *yōkihizakura* should be understood

[32] Kimi Hara. "Challenges to Education for Girls and Women in Modern Japan: Past and Present." In *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda, 93 - 106. (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York 1995), 96.
[33] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 101.

according to the criteria set up by this thesis as a *kigo* candidate, elevated by his approval to full *kigo* status.

Knowledge of the broader circumstances of Yang Guifei's death is essential for a full understanding of Hisajo's sequence. Briefly, in the second half of Xuanzong's reign, the An Lushan rebellion forced the court to flee the capital. Since Xuangzong's guards believed Yang Guifei's family was responsible for inciting An Lushan to rebel, the emperor, afraid and placed under pressure, reluctantly agreed to Yang Guifei's execution, mid-flight. According to a famous poem, "The Everlasting Regret" by the famous Tang poet, Bai Juyi, (772–846) – a favourite in Japan from the Heian era onwards – Xuangzong never recovered from this grief.

Hisajo's sequence reads as follows:

At Hachiman Public Club 6 Haiku

掃きよせてある花屑も貴妃櫻　5-7-5

haki yosete/ aru ***hana*** *kuzu mo/ Kihi****zakura*** (spring and spring)

swept together/ the flower rubbish too/ Imperial consort cherry **blossoms**

swept together

the rubbish of flower petals –

Imperial consort cherry blossoms

花房の吹かれまろべる露臺かな 5-7-5

hana*busa no/ fukaremaroberu/ rodai kana* (spring)

flower tassel (p.p.)/ blown-tumbled/ balcony!

a tassel of flowers

blown and rolling over

on the balcony!

風に落つ楊貴妃櫻房のまゝ 5-7-5

*kaze ni otsu/ Yō Kihi**zakura**/ fusa no mama* (spring)

wind by dropped/ Yang Guifei **cherry blossoms**/ tassels as they are

dropped by the wind

Yang Guifei cherry blossoms

still in tassels

むれ落ちて楊貴妃櫻房のまゝ 5-7-5

*mure ochite/ Yō Kihi**zakura**/ fusa no mama* (spring)

group fallen/ Yang Guifei **cherry blossoms**/ tassels as they are

fallen in a group

Yang Guifei cherry blossoms

still in tassels

むれ落ちて楊貴妃櫻尚あせず 5-7-5

*mure ochite/ Yō Kihi**zakura/** nao asezu* (spring)

group fallen/ Yang Guifei **cherry blossoms**/ as yet not faded

fallen in a group

Yang Guifei cherry blossoms

not yet faded

きざはしを降りる香なし貴妃櫻　5-8-5

*kizahashi no/ oriru kaori nashi/ Kihi**zakura*** (spring)

steps to garden (p.p.)/ descending scent without/ Imperial Consort **cherry blossoms**

descending the steps to the garden

without any scent

Imperial Consort cherry blossoms

1932

In this sequence, Yang Guifei and the blossoms named after her share the characteristics of marvellous beauty cut down before it has faded. In Witter Bynner's translation of Bai Juyi's poem the execution of the consort is symbolically indicated by the line: 'None would pick up her hairpin fallen to the ground.'[34] In Hisajo's sequence this hair ornament – an important motif which returns at the end of Bai Juyi's poem as a gift from the dead Yang Guifei sent to Xuanzong via a Daoist shaman as a symbol of her love – have been transmogrified into the fallen cherry blossoms. That symbolism was not Hisajo's personal variation. The custom of wearing cherry blossoms in the hair, associated with ancient fertility rituals, is mentioned the *Man'yōshū*.[35] Thus, both Chinese and Japanese traditions are fused in an impressive and powerful way in this image.

Like the Chrysanthemum Pillow sequence, this sequence uses repetition and minimal variation to knit the sequence strongly together. The repeated keywords reinforce the way the still fresh flowers lying in disarray on the ground function as a symbol for Yang Guifei's death. Significantly,

[34] Xu Yuan Zhong, ed. *Songs of the Immortals: An Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry*. (Beijing: New World Press, 1994), 78. In other translations, for example, Kraft, James ed. *The Chinese Translations (the Works of Witter Bynner)*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1978, 161, Yang Guifei's hair ornaments are described as 'flowery.'

[35] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalism*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 32.

Yang Guifei is not named in full either in the first or the last haiku of the sequence. These two framing haiku stand in a paradoxical relationship to one another.

The first refers to 'cherry blossom rubbish' that had been 'swept together.' For a reader aware of Hisajo's oeuvre, this rather domestic image links back to those haiku on the general subject of women at work in the garden from Hisajo's first period. Paradoxically, it represents both the beginning and end of the poem. Its initial position suggests it sparked the composition process, but in terms of the poem's narrative, it represents the final outcome. If this haiku were isolated from the rest of the sequence, a reader might suspect the 'imperial consort' refers to Yang Guifei simply on the basis of intertextual knowledge. However, another reader might equally plausibly identify that referent with a Japanese woman. Taking the pile of blossoms as a starting point, the dominant story told by the rest of the sequence is the story of a storm (or at least a sufficiently gusty wind) that had ripped the blossoms in 'tassels,' unnaturally, from the trees. This is the "vulgar" or '*zoku*' reading of the poem.

The final haiku, on the other hand, suggests an earlier point in a completely different narrative (the "elegant" *ga* reading) set in an alternative world. That story is less about the fate of some flowers than the person they represent, an imperial consort who 'without any scent' walks down the steps to view the cherry blossoms. Appearing as the last haiku in the sequence the opening scene of this second story carries significant dramatic irony. At the end of Yang Guifei's story her body lies, like rubbish, on the ground. Any seductive feminine scent that she might have worn when she was alive would be soon enough overpowered by the smell of putrefaction. Does this haiku complete the story of Bai Juyi's poem, with Yang Guifei as a scentless Immortal living in a Daoist paradise? Or does it begin it with the picture of an impulsive, nature-loving young woman venturing out to enjoy the blossoms even before she has completed her toilette? The mystery asks the reader to begin rereading the sequence, through which both *zoku* and *ga* stories are intertwined. On a second reading, it becomes clearer that the middle section simultaneously tells the story of the violence of the wind and the story of the imperial guards. The energetic verb-dense description of the

blossoms ‘rolling over,’ ‘fallen’ and ‘dropped’ equally evokes the struggle accompanying the murder of Yang Guifei. If the order of these haiku is disturbed by choices like Kyoshi made in his selection for *Hototogisu*, the complex effect of this imagery is lost.

Hisajo’s sequence is an excellent example of how, in response to the need to escape formal brevity, indigenous Japanese poetry can draw on a range of strategies. Pivot words (*kakekotoba*), words that allowed a form of highly sophisticated punning, had been thoroughly explored in *waka*.[36] Here, *yōkihizakura* refers both and equally to a variety of cherry blossoms and to an already highly symbolical historical personage. The presence of such devices means that readers were primed to expect multiple layers of coded message. At the same time, writers could point to one meaning and deny another.

The appearance of the three Buddhist birthday poems and the two about Yang Guifei as the top featured poems in *Hototogisu* provoked a dismissive response by a number of reviewers (all male) published in the anti-Kyoshi, pro-New Haiku magazine, *Amanogawa*, with which Hisajo had once had close ties. They saw Kyoshi’s choice as another example of favouritism and of the refusal to countenance serious, up-to-date subject matter. The only commentator who did not pan these haiku was Hisajo’s close friend Kanzaki Ruru. He, however, read them as a expression of Hisajo’s personal ‘*jōnetsu*’ (passion) and ‘*nikukan*’ (sensuality), identifying her with Yang Guifei. Upset by his comments, Hisajo wrote a strongly worded refutation of his interpretation, which was published in the next issue of *Amanogawa*, arguing she was simply writing about flowers, beauty and transience.[37] This incident caused a breach in her relationship with Ruru, and Sakamoto believes it probably contributed to Hisajo’s decision to abandon *Hanagoromo*.[38] However, since Yang Guifei, who was frequently portrayed with a flute or lute can be taken as a symbol for female artists, and given that Hisajo was also feeling betrayed by Kyoshi under the influence of his

[36] Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner. *Japanese Court Poetry*. (London: The Cresset Press, 1962), 203.
[37] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 108.
[38] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 111.

"guards," Ruru's hunch that Hisajo identified herself to some extent with Yang Guifei was probably more accurate that she was willing to acknowledge.

In her refutation, Hisajo uses the word, *keikoku* (courtesan) to characterise Yang Guifei. The word derives from the Neo-Confucian notion that a ruler's infatuation with beautiful women can ruin his country. In fact, the love affair between Yang Guifei and the Emperor Xuangzong was frequently referred to as a justification for the misogynist elements in their thought by Neo-Confucian thinkers.[39] Again, within living memory, this ideology had been active at the highest levels in public life.[40] The support of the emperor Komei (1831 – 1866), Meiji's father, for the shogunate was attributed to his effeminacy and the 'pampering' he had received from the women of his court and it was used to justify a completely novel form of education for his son.[41] Fifty or sixty years later, Yang Guifei, the paramount symbol of the power of women to "corrupt" good government, remained relevant and in urgent need of reclamation.

Hisajo's sequence provides a commentary on Bai Juyi's poem that foregrounds female experience. Instead of the reader being wrung with pity for Xuanzong's guilt and grief, her sequence provokes pity for Yang Guifei. In Bai Juyi's poem Yang Guifei's death is presented with that voyeuristic combination of beauty and violence which is exactly what Mulvey objected to as symptomatic of the 'male gaze.' In Hisajo's poem the death takes place off screen. The beauty of cherry blossoms, already celebrated for their transience, is cut short just as Yang Guifei's beauty (also necessarily transient) is destroyed prematurely by her murder.

THE USA SHRINE SEQUENCE

[39] Brett Hinsch. "Metaphysics and Reality of the Feminine in Early Neo-Confucian Thought." *Women's Studies Int. Forum* 11, no. 6 (1988): 591-98. p. 597 – 598.
[40] Sekiguchi Sumiko. "Gender in the Meiji Renovation: Confucian 'Lessons for Women' and the Making of Modern Japan." Translated by Michael Burtscher. *Social Science Japan Jounal* 11, no. 2 (2008): 201- 21.
[41] Ohnuki-Tierney. (2002). *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalism*, 69.

Hisajo's second appearance as the top featured poet in *Hototogisu* was in July, 1933 with the five haiku of Usa Shrine sequence.[42] Although ostensibly a nostalgic expression of Shinto devotion, this sequence also has a hidden feminist message. Once again, Kyoshi praises these haiku for their 'ardour' (*netsujō*).[43] He cautions readers against imitating the language used in these pieces, stressing that it is the strength of Hisajo's feelings – which, of course, he could only guess at – not the unusual words that makes the haiku praiseworthy.

Usa Jingu or Usa Great Shrine is in Oita Prefecture in easy travelling distance from by Kokura. It is considered the second most important shrine in Japan, after Ise Jingu.[44] Although Usa Shrine is the original shrine dedicated to Hachiman, the god of war, Hisajo makes references only to things associated with women and loss:

Usa Shrine Five Haiku

うらゝかや齋き祀れる瓊の帶 5-7-5

uraraka *ya/ itsuki matsureru/ tama no obi* (spring)

glorious –/ enshrined/ jewel (p.p.) sash

glorious –

the jewelled sash

enshrined here

春惜しむ納蘇利の面は青丹さび 5-7-5

haru oshimu*/ nasori no men wa/ aoni sabi* (spring)

[passing of] spring regretting/ Nasori (p.p.) mask/ dark green patina

[42] Ishi. "Nenpu," 249.
[43] cited in Ishi. "Nenpu," 249.
[44] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 119.

regretting spring’s passing

the nasori mask’s

dark green patina

雉子鳴くや宇佐の盤境禰宜ひとり 5-7-5

kiji *naku ya/ Usa no iwasaka/ negi hitori* (spring)

green pheasant cries –/ Usa (p.p.) sacred rocks/ senior-shrine-priestess one-person

a green pheasant cries

at the sacred rocks of Usa

a single priestess

丹の欄にさへづる鳥も惜春譜 5-7-5

ni no ran ni/ saezuru tori mo/ ***sekishun****fu* (spring)

vermillion (p.p.) railing on/ chirping birds also/ **regret spring [passing of**] sing

on the vermillion railing

chirping birds also

sing their regrets at spring’s passing

藤挿頭す宇佐野女禰宜は今在さず 5-7-5

fuji *kazasu/ Usa nyo negi wa/ ima masazu* (spring)

wisteria decorating-hair/ Usa female senior priest/ now no longer exists

Usa senior priestess

with wisteria in her hair

no longer there

1933

This sequence does not have a narrative structure, but is constructed like a list poem. Nevertheless, each poem links to the subsequent one in such a way that altering this order would weaken the aesthetic appeal of the sequence. It consists of at least one celebratory and either two or three elegiac haiku, as the third haiku in the sequence can be read either as celebratory or elegiac, depending on whether one understands the setting to be the present or the past. (It can also be given a double reading, allowing both.) The cumulative effect puts heavy emphasis on the final phrase, '*ima masazu*' (no longer exists). The word choice shows a clear pattern of colour reference, a constraint which increases the cohesion of the sequence as a whole. While this information is not explicitly stated in the haiku, the enshrined sash is said to be embroidered with jewels of five colours.[45] The next two haiku have green (explicitly and implicitly) as their key colour; the fourth vermillion and the fifth, the purple of wisteria. As the shrine does not put the sash out for public viewing, it is unlikely that Hisajo actually saw it.[46] However, Sakamoto mentions that Hisajo used to make friends with priests and other caretakers of the historical sites she visited and question them to gain deeper knowledge of those places before she began to write.[47] She may, therefore, have elicited a close description of the sash from another person.

Uraraka, the first word of the first haiku, most unusually for a *kigo*, is an adjective, but it expresses a degree of bright beauty that can only be attributed to spring. By contrast, the dominant mood of the rest of the sequence is set by the *kigo haru oshimu*, or in its Sinified form *sekishun*, the passing of spring. In her use of personification in this sequence Hisajo may well be referencing Bashō's famous:

行く春や鳥啼き魚の目は泪

[45] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 119.
[46] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 120.
[47] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 98.

yuku haru *ya/ tori naki uo no me/ wa namida* (spring)

passing spring –/ bird(s) cry fish(es) (p.p.) eye(s)/ (t.p.) tears

departing spring –

birds cry, in the fishes'

eyes are tears[48]

However, what Hisajo seems to be lamenting here is not simply the end of the end the spring of 1933. Neither is it only the end of the springtime of her own life. Rather it is the loss of a way of life. The jewelled sash that symbolises the beauty of spring is supposed to have belonged to the semi-legendary Empress Jingū, who is described as follows in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*:

> Aided by a pair of divine jewels that allowed her to control the tides, she is said to have begun her bloodless conquest of Korea in 200, the year in which her husband died. According to legend, her unborn son Ōjin, later deified as Hachiman, the god of war, remained in her womb for three years, giving her time to complete the conquest and return to Japan.[49]

Hisajo's use of this legend makes it most unlikely she had any insight into the frustration and anger felt by many of the Koreans living under Japanese rule. However, in the context of a lament over the loss of female power, reference to the Empress Jingū who was supposed to have conquered Korea peacefully may indicate – given Hisajo's criticisms of male arrogance – that she thought the actual state of affairs there could have been handled better if more "feminine" qualities were employed. On the other hand, even if this haiku is read as Hisajo wish for the Korean insurgency and harsh Japanese response to cease and a peaceful harmonious solution emerge, it in no way indicates that Hisajo was troubled by Japan's imperial ambitions *per se*.

---

[48] This translation is from David Landis Barnhill. *Bashō's Haiku*. New York, State University of New York Press, 2004), 88.

[49] "Jingū." Encyclopaedia Brittanica. Accessed 15th March, 2014. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/303999/Jingu.

According to Ishi the nasori dance referred to in the next haiku originated in Korea,[50] and it is the Korean connection that links it to the previous one. Sakamoto explains the mask was coloured with a type of greenish black earth[51] and that colour may similarly link this haiku to the next. The '*kiji*,' is a pheasant, the male of which has a green breast and body. In this third haiku the pheasant seems to give voice to the lamenting but silent mask. Its cries are taken up by the song birds in the fourth haiku.

It is possible that the pheasant in the third haiku is not actually, despite its name in English, green at all. It may stand for the female (and therefore speckled brown) pheasant, Nakime, a messenger of the gods, who was shot dead by Ame-no-Wakahiko in a story about subduing the earth in the *Kojiki*.[52] Either way, by extension the pheasant stands for the priestess herself, who is vividly evoked with wisteria in her hair in the last haiku, only to have her inexorable absence asserted in the last word of the sequence. It is known that the Usa priestess, who showed herself at the three rocks that formed the original shrine, was a very powerful figure until the Kamakura period.[53] It is the waning of her power under the influence of samurai culture, then, that is lamented in the sequence as a whole.

THE CHIKUZEN HAKATA FORTIFICATIONS SEQUENCE

The final time Hisajo was the top featured poet in *Hototogisu* was in May 1934.[54] The fourth of the five haiku published was the final poem from the Chikuzen Hakata Fortifications Sequence. Like the Usa Shrine Sequence, it uses ancient words and cultural material from the *Man'yōshū*. This time Hisajo refers to the soldiers stationed away from home (*sakimori*), but she does not draw her material from the group of poems in Book Ten of the *Man'yōshū* written in the voices of these

[50] Ishi. "Nenpu," 145.
[51] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 119.
[52] "The-Heavenly-Young-Prince." In *The Kojiki* 1919/2005. Translated by Basil Chamberlain. Accessed 12th March, 2014. http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/kj/kj038.htm
[53] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 119.
[54] Ishi. "Nenpu," 250.

soldiers from which the notorious phrase '*shiko no mitate,*' discussed in the previous chapter, comes. Instead, she takes it from Book III. The expressions '*iza kodomo*' (come/hurry up, comrades/boys)[55] and '*iso no kusa ne*' (herbs of the rocky shore)[56] are both found in that volume. Moreover, the expression '*tamamo karikemu*' (reaping fine seaweed) found in the poem about Tekona quoted below closely correlates with the *kigo* in three of these four haiku and appears only two poems before the one containing '*iso no kusa ne.*'

In these haiku, Hisajo does not ask the reader to imagine these soldiers in their war-like aspect. Rather, they seem to be engaged in – or remembering their wives, lovers or other women engaged in – the conventionally feminine task of gathering food from the wild. It is a task Hisajo that was fond of herself.[57] Pierson translates the poem about Tekona as follows:

> To my memory comes spontaneously the beautiful girl Tekona who will have cut and reaped the fine seaweed bending and yielding (with the waves) in the bay of Mama in Katsuśika. [58]

He glosses 'fine seaweed' (*tamamo*) as 'edible weed used for ceremonies or marriages,' associated with ideas of long life and happiness. As his translation shows, the bending of the seaweed is at once literal and a metaphor for the graceful and (probably sexually) accommodating movements of the beautiful girl.

Here is Hisajo's sequence:

> **From Haiku with Headnote: Chikuzen Hakata Fortifications against the Mongol Invasion**
>
> あだ守る筑紫の破魔失うけに来し 5-7-5

[55] j. l. Pierson, ed. *Book III Man'yōshū*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1933), 64.
[56] Pierson, ed. *Book III, Man'yōshū*, 197 – 198.
[57] Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin [Sugito Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]*. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 97.
[58] Pierson, ed. *Book III, Man'yōshū*, 195.

ada mamoru/ Chikushi no ***hamaya****/ uke ni kishi* (winter)

enemy protection against/ Chikushi (p.p.) **exorcism arrow**/ to get have come

I have come to get

a Chikushi exorcism arrow

for protection against enemies

防人の妻戀ふ歌や磯菜摘む 5-7-5

sakimori no/ tsuma kou uta ya/ ***isona tsumu*** (spring)

soldiers long ago garrisoned on the borders (p.p.)/ wife love song –/ **rocky beach vegetables picking**

the love songs

of soldiers garrisoned here long ago

gathering seaweed from the rocky shore

元寇の石壘はいづこ磯菜摘む 5-7-5

genkō no/ toride wa izuko/ ***isona tsumu*** (spring)

Mongol invasion (p.p.)/ forts (t.p.) where/ **rocky beach vegetables picking**

where were the forts

against the Mongol invasion?

gathering seaweed from the rocky shore

磯菜つむ行手いそがんいざ子ども 5-7-5

isona tsumu*/ yukute isogan/ iza kodomo* (spring)

rocky beach vegetables picking/ that way let's hurry/ my dear youngsters

gathering seaweed from the rocky shore

let's hurry that way

my dear youngsters

1934

The forts at Hakata mentioned in the headnote were built during the Kamakura period, which was almost half a millennium later than the time when the precursor poems for this sequence were written. Thus, three different time periods – including Hisajo's own – are superimposed in this sequence. The context of the defences built against attempted invasion of Japan by the Mongols of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) also reminds the reader of how, even without direct engagement, war can result in disaster. Although two typhoons or divine winds (*kamikaze*) prevented the invaders from landing, widespread dissatisfaction about the costs of maintaining these defences in Kyushu led to the collapse of the Kamakura government was closely tied to.[59] When Hisajo stood on the shore, the forts that had once dominated the area had been reduced by time to occasional ruins that were not obviously apparent, as the question about their whereabouts indicates.

The first haiku of the sequence operates like a preface set in the present. A conventional New Year talisman bought at a shrine is purchased for protection against evil. Why an exorcism arrow from Chikushi is needed is not explained, but Hisajo as was still petitioning Kyoshi to write a preface for her, she may have sought protection from those people in his circle whom she felt were hostile to her. The link with the ruins of the ancient fortifications is obviously the theme of self-defence. If Hisajo was preoccupied with the war that had not long finished in China, she may have also intended an ironic contrast with industrial weapons of war in her reference to the exorcism arrow. Wilson notes that radio lectures addressed to women during the aftermath of the Manchurian

[59] Ishii Susumu. "The Decline of the Kamakura Bakufu." In *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 3: Medieval Japan* edited by Kozo Yamamura, 128 - 74. Accessed 16th March, 2014. (Online: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 130.

Incident waxed 'lyrical about everything from the automatic rifle to the anti-aircraft gun.'[60] In comparison an talisman (like the 'sunshield' in the Dannoura Haiku) is almost amusingly benign. This interpretation is only possible within the context of the whole sequence.

The last three haiku in the sequence seem to recreate events from the distant past. Once again, repetition is used to create coherence. The repetition of the *kigo* is obvious, but there is a more subtle sound patterning as well. 'Tsuma' (wife) echoes '*tsumu*' (pick) and '*genkō*' (Mongol invasion) resonates with '*izuko*' (where) '*isona*' (rocky beach vegetables) '*iso gan*' (let's hurry) and '*iza kodomo*' (my dear youngsters).

Sakamoto mentions that in an essay published in *Amanogawa*, Hisajo explains that '*iza kodomo*,' which is an ancient affectionate term used for followers or people of lower status, refers to the women haiku poets who were her pupils or followers.[61] When she was making concrete plans for the publication of her collection in the mid-1930s, Hisajo originally intended to call it *Isona [Seaweed]*.[62] There is an obvious link between this name and Tatsuko's magazine *Tamamo [Beautiful Seaweed]*, a word that is both found in the poem about Tekona and which referred back to a 1774 women's only anthology of *haikai* poetry also called *Tamamo*.[63] In this context, seaweed seems to be a reference to *haikai*/haiku written by women, making this sequence an assertion of Hisajo's continued leadership in the area of *joryū* haiku. If Hisajo had already rudely expressed unmistakably unfriendly rivalry towards Tatsuko over the first issue of *Tamamo*, as Yoshiya was later to assert, it is most unlikely that Kyoshi would have published this haiku in the top position in *Hototogisu*. That rumour, then, cannot be taken seriously.

THE CRANE SEQUENCE

[60] Wilson. *The Manchurian Crisis*, 200.
[61] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 134. (I was not able to source the original.)
[62] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 145.
[63] Eiko Ikegami. *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 188.

Hisajo's "Crane haiku" is a bravura display of sixty-one haiku written in 1935 while she was visiting the Yashiro Basin in Yamaguchi Prefecture to see the hooded cranes that winter there.[64] Though few remain today, these birds were very impressive: Yachimoto mentions that their wingspan can reach 180 centimetres.[65] Unlike the five sequences I have just discussed, this one has a strongly *shasei* orientation.

Once again, Hisajo advances candidate *kigo*. In her 1934 essay, "Tsuru Tsukuru [Cooking Crane]" Hisajo tells of being given part of a crane from Korea by one of her haiku students. In the course of preparing a meal from this meat Hisajo mentions that she opened the *saijiki* on her desk to look up *tsuru no hōchō*, cooking crane, or literally 'crane's kitchen knife.'[66] While this is the only reference to her *saijiki* Hisajo makes in the work to which I have access, its appearance here suggests its importance in her life. However, '*tsuru no hōchō*' does not appear in the *Shin Saijiki*, which only lists '*tsuru kaeru*' (cranes return home) as a spring *kigo* and '*tsuru kitaru*' (cranes arrive) as an autumn *kigo* and does not mention the alternate expressions, '*tsuru*' '*yakaku*' or '*tazu*,' that Hisajo uses in her sequence. Yachimoto comments that these haiku were written in December and that when *tsuru* appears by itself it is a winter *kigo*[67] (a point with which the *Nihon Dai Saijiki* agrees). Shirane explains that the crane motif had a seasonal aspect, but also, like other emblems of longevity such as the pine tree and turtle, transcended seasonality.[68] Had Hisajo felt obliged to keep using Kyoshi's more long-winded *kigo*, the repetition would have made it very difficult to avoid boring the reader over an extended sequence.

As with much of Hisajo's haiku, one of the most striking things about the sequence as a whole is its use of colour. It begins with Hisajo's arrival during the night. The black, grey and white

---

[64] Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 138.
[65] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 7 Hisajo's Last Challenge." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 5, no. 6 (2010): 1 - 15, 11.
[66] Sugita Hisajo. "Tsuru Tsukuru [Cooking Crane]" In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]*, edited by Ishi Masako. 142 – 145 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1922/2007) , 143.
[67] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo's Last Challenge," 11.
[68] Haruo Shirane. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 138 – 139.

plumage of the cranes is extended to other things in the landscape including the moon, moonlit mountains, moonlit haystacks, frost and frequent mention of shadows. (The experience of looking skyward at the cranes is emphasized by frequent reference to the moon, sun and sky in haiku not presented below.) This largely monochromatic section parallels the aesthetic of ink brush drawing, but also of cinema. Although movies were a normal part of Japanese life by the 1930s,[69] the first colour movie was not produced in Japan until 1951.[70]

As with the other sequences discussed in this chapter, Hisajo applies the technique of repetition plus slight variation. She also employs dynamic *shasei*. Since it was written from observation, reading the series is a little like watching a documentary film in which there are various views of the cranes in their environment. Indeed, the metaphor of camera movement is useful in describing the dynamic effect of these haiku. The elements that make up the context of the action – the mountain fields with their reaped stubble, dry grasses and haystacks as well as the high peaks and open sky – are introduced gradually and progressively. However, Hisajo also inserts her own presence into the work. For example, she mentions the cranes' reaction to her as she walks towards them. This technique breaks the picture plane and anchors the experience of the cranes in actual rather than idealized space.

Twelve Consecutive Haiku from the Middle Section of "Crane haiku"

群鶴の影舞ひ移る山田かな

gunkaku no/ kage maiutsuru/ yamada kana

flock of cranes (p.p.)/ shadows dancing-move elsewhere/ mountain fields!

the shadows of a flock of cranes

[69] Isolde Standish. *A New History of Japanese Cinema*. (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005), 34 - 35

[70] Standish. *A New History of Japanese Cinema*, 358.

move gracefully elsewhere –

mountain fields!

鶴の影舞ひ下りる時大いなる 5-7-5

tsuru *no kage/ maioriru toki/ ōi naru*

crane (p.p.) shadow/ dance-descends when/ large becomes

as the cranes

fly gracefully downward

their shadows grow larger

遠くにも群鶴うつる田の面かな 5-7-5

tōku ni mo/ gunkaku usturu/ tanomo kana

far even/ flock-of-cranes project/ paddy (p.p.) surface!

even far away

the shadows of a flock of cranes

on the paddy field surface!

舞ひ下りる鶴のかげあり稲城晴 5-7-5

maioriru/ tsuru no kage ari/ ***ina****gibare* (autumn)

dance-descending/ cranes (p.p.) shadows have/ **hay**stacks fine weather

gracefully descending

the cranes' shadows –

haystacks in fine weather

枯れ草に舞ひたつ鶴の翅づくろひ 5-7-6

kare kusa *ni/ maitatsu tsuru no/ hanezukuroi* (winter)

dried grass in/ dance-stand crane (p.p.)/ feather-groom

in the dried grass

the cranes stand up gracefully

and groom their feathers

歩み寄るわれに群鶴舞たてり 5-7-5

ayumi yoru/ ware ni gunkaku/ maitateri

walking-approaching/ me towards flock of cranes/ dance-stand

as I walk towards them

a flock of cranes

stand up gracefully

大嶺にこだます鶴の聲すめり 5-7-5

ōmine ni/ kodamasu tsuru no/ koe sumeri

high peaks to/ echo cranes (p.p.)/ voices clear-were

from the high peaks

the echoing crane voices

were clear

近づけば野鶴も移る刈田かな 5-7-5

chikazukeba/ yakaku mo utsuru/ ***karita*** *kana* (autumn)

get-closer-when/ field cranes also move-elsewhere/ **reaped paddy fields**!

as I get closer

the cranes in the fields also move elsewhere

reaped paddy fields!

群鶴を驚かしたるわが歩み 5-7-5

gunkaku o/ odorokashitaru/ waga ayumi

flock of cranes (o.p.)/ have startled/ my footsteps

my footsteps

have startled

a flock of cranes

翅ばたいて群鶴さつと舞ひたてり 7-7-5

hanebataite/ gunkaku satto/ maitateri

wings beating flock of cranes suddenly dance-flew off

beating their wings

a flock of cranes suddenly

took off gracefully

大空に舞ひ別れたる鶴もあり 5-7-5

ōzora ni/ maiwakaretaru/ tsuru mo ari

open sky in/ dance-separate/ cranes also there are

there were also cranes

separating gracefully

in the open sky

三羽鶴舞ひ澄む空を眺めけり 5-7-5

sanba tsuru/ mai sumu sora o/ nagamekeri

three cranes/ dance clear sky(o.p.)/ gazed at

three cranes flying gracefully

I gazed at

the clear sky

1935

The main focus of these haiku is on the cranes' activity, but it is portrayed as something ecstatic and transcendent. Many of the verbs describing the actions of the cranes are modified by the addition of the noun '*mai*,' which means dance, to suggest the gracefulness of their movements. The first haiku offers a long shot, not of the cranes themselves but of their shadows moving across the surface of fields, indicating the weather is sunny. Although actual birds are not mentioned, they must of course be there, so this haiku economically sketches a complex scene in very few words. The second haiku presents a more close-up shot of a single shadow expanding as the bird lands and then once again the visual field opens up, this time to 'far away.' These three haiku closely follow typical scanning movements made by an observer in the midst of such a situation. The next two haiku introduce some more details of the landscape and again moves from a long shot to a close-up. The image of the grooming cranes harmonizes well with the dried grasses, asking the reader to use their imagination to supply details of texture.

But the cranes' world is not without fear and anxiety. In the sixth haiku the poet is introduced as one cause of the cranes' restlessness. They cry out, perhaps in alarm, with voices loud enough to

echo from the mountain peaks. They continue to move away, and then when sufficiently startled, take flight. A smaller group separates from the flock as they fly. In the last haiku, the poet, who had begun by watching their shadows on the surface of the earth, stares upward at just three cranes flying in the blue of an open sky.

Perhaps because they would not let her approach them, Hisajo does not use her highly developed skills in selecting the kind of detail that evokes a precise very close up image in this sequence. Nevertheless, the sixty-one haiku present a sufficiently varied set of images to capture a rich, detailed impression of her perceptions of these powerful and beautiful birds.

CONCLUSION

It must speak to Hisajo's deepest desires that she wrote so many titled sequences, some of considerable length, particularly during her second period. Although *Hototogisu* had published small groups of thematically linked haiku, once haiku sequences became a factor in the breach between Kyoshi and the New Haiku poets in the early 1930s, there was no chance of a longer group of haiku with a clear beginning and end appearing there. Her two childhood sequences had appeared in the non-aligned *Haiku Kenkyū*. A handful of crane haiku appeared in the February 1935 *Hototogisu*,[71] but no longer in charge of her own magazine, Hisajo could only have expected the publication of the entire sequence if she managed to publish her haiku collection. Ironically, the existence of these very sequences may have decreased the likelihood of that happening.

Echoing the words of Kuwabara Takeo (1904 – 1988), who famously wrote haiku could never adequately address the issues pertinent to modern literature,[72] Yachimoto has argued that Hisajo

[71] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 7 Hisajo's Last Challenge." *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 5, no. 6 (2010): 1 - 15, 11.
[72] Kuwabara Takeo. "Modern Haiku: A Second-Class Art." Translated by Mark Jewel. Accessed 15th March, 2014. http://www.simplyhaiku.com/SHv4n1/features/Kuwabara.html.

was hampered by 'the genre of haiku that was so fragile as art.'[73] I agree that haiku lost far more than it gained when it was forced to stand independently as the shortest poetic genre in the world. *Hokku* were one product of an approach to poetry which, based on collaboration, broke formal wholes into smaller modules. Much of Bashō's work too loses a great deal taken out of the context of his prose. The pressure Kyoshi placed on his followers to write only self-contained 5-7-5 poems was not backed by tradition. Sequences were, and remain, one way of creating innovative work with materials and techniques inherited from the *haikai* tradition.

Writing from her own experience as a renku poet Yachimoto assessed the frustrations of writing isolated haiku as follows:

> In contrast with the process through which each haiku is bundled with others' submissions and assessed by Kyoshi one by one without any context, it was natural for some dedicated Hototogisu haijin to think that they should have a better chance to acquire the authoritative "I" by writing *gunsaku*, or a group of haiku on the same topic and sending them as one submission.[74]

But an expression of an 'authoritative "I"' in which the poems – and headnotes – from an entire oeuvre was of course what Kyoshi frustrated by refusing to support Hisajo's desire to have her complete collection published. While his own haiku were never ripped from their context by the publication process demanded by *Hototogisu*, he freely re-contextualized the work of others through selection and also by his interpretative commentary. To the frustration of his most ambitious followers, and ultimately to Kyoshi's own cost, *Hototogisu* seems to have had room for only one fully expanded ego. Today, the voice of poets like Hisajo can only be heard by reading each haiku in the wider contexts of their oeuvre, life and times.

---

[73] Yachimoto, Eiko. "Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement Chapter 4 Is a Haijin a Poet? Is a Haiku Art?" *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 4, no. 2 (2009): 1- 8, 6. http://www.simplyhaiku.com/SHv4n1/features/Kuwabara.html.
[74] Eiko Yachimoto. "Hisajo's Last Challenge," 8.

Hisajo consistently adapted terms from a variety of different kinds of discourse, from ancient to contemporary, in her haiku. While the "Crane Haiku" built upon Hisajo's facility for *shasei* haiku, the five other sequences discussed in this chapter have an entirely different style. The only trace of *shasei* composition apparent is that fact that each of them involved lived experience, whether making a pillow or visiting an historical site.

In so far as Hisajo's haiku was driven by love of unusual vocabulary, her immersion in old texts allowed her to develop that trend even further. Her use of archaic expressions and allusions on the one hand and highly Sinified expressions on the other is paralleled by motifs and thematic material drawn from China and Japan, as well as Okinawa and even Korea. Kyoshi's increasingly neoclassical taste certainly encouraged her to use what could be regarded as traditional allusions. At the same time, her allusions often both obscure and point to messages that Kyoshi would not have found acceptable.

Uneasiness about the war with China and protest about the degraded status of women seem to be at work behind the rather challenging surface of at least three of these sequences. But if Hisajo wished to live in a more pluralistic world than Kyoshi's, she was not hostile to him – except perhaps until she finally understood the implacability of his rejection of her. Although her Chrysanthemum Sequence may have been part of a charm offensive targeted at persuading Kyoshi to supply a preface for a collection of her haiku, it was also an expression of the profound regard in which, as all her biographers agree, she held him.

Lest I seem to be over-romanticizing Hisajo by suggesting that she was not comfortable with the militaristic direction in which her country was heading, I would like to quote Stephen Vlastos who, after listing a large range of 1930s cultural practices – he misses haiku – that 'actively collaborated

with militarism and imperialism,'[75] goes on to praise the 'many examples of creative responses by ordinary people who resisted the norms and values that conservative elites and the state sought to impose.'[76] I claim, here, that Hisajo was merely one of those ordinary people who in a small way resisted an ideology that was profoundly unfriendly to her. The fact that she remained loyal to Kyoshi and Hototogisu, despite everything, is the plainest evidence that her critical stance was intuitive, personal and not always attuned to her best interests. Anyone with an intellectual grasp of power relations would have considered distancing themselves from Hototogisu once the tension between Kyoshi and Shūōshi descended into frank animosity. Moreover, such a person would have made a far greater effort than Hisajo did to retain control of her own magazine and fledgling *kessha*. It may be that Hisajo was not always conscious of the critical implications of what she wrote. That would not mean that those implications are not viable.

[75] Stephen Vlastos. "Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History." In *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Tradtions of Modern Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos, 1 - 16. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 15.
[76] Vlastos. "Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History," 16.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated innovation in the domain of haiku from the last decade of the nineteenth century until around 1936. Since the field is impossible to address comprehensively within the scope of this study, I have approached it by taking the haiku of Sugita Hisajo as a case study. Hisajo's work represents a limit case because of the way it reflects both her unusual upbringing and her gender, both of which informed the innovations she brought to haiku. As she was a member of Hototogisu, the overwhelmingly dominant haiku school, the dilemmas she faced as a poet throw light on the mainstream development of the genre. As one of the leaders of the *joryū* haiku movement, Hisajo was always regarded as a pioneer and unusually accomplished haiku poet. Her later treatment at the hands of Kyoshi and his circle both exposes the ferocious factionalism that divided the various haiku schools in the first half of the twentieth century, and the ruthless sanctions that Kyoshi was prepared to wield.

Although a small number of women had always written *haikai*, it was not until Kyoshi opened the Kitchen Miscellanies column in *Hototogisu* that women's haiku – or *joryū* haiku – became a viable movement. No doubt partly in an attempt to expand the readership of *Hototogisu*, Kyoshi intended to foster a stable of leading women poets to deal with themes that men would not be able to treat. Although haiku poets just like other women writers were routinely condescended to, *joryū* haiku was more than just haiku written by women. Unlike other *joryū* literature, it had a certain amount of internal consistency, particularly in its use of portraiture and self-portraiture, and the women who regularly published in the same magazines would have been well-aware of one another's work.

The reader will remember that I approached my task by asking three questions about Hisajo's work: How is it innovative? What facilitated this innovation? What constrained possible innovation? To answer them, I first needed to establish the nature of the domain. Shaped by the

enormous changes that Japan underwent in the second half of the nineteenth century, “haiku” is best understood as a new development. By severing *hokku* entirely from *renga* in order to promote it as a form of “literature,” Shiki created a genre that was in some respects significantly more constrained than *hokku*. It was also one that carried a heavy ideological burden. For both Shiki and Kyoshi haiku seems to have functioned as a marker of their national “identity,” even a consolation for those ways in which Japan, as seen from the standpoint of Social Darwinism, struggled to make a place for itself among the top tier of developed nations. Both men characterized haiku as a “unique” Japanese contribution to world literature. Since its brevity and its *kigo* were the two characteristics cited for this uniqueness, neither could be compromised. Even when it was not a pressing issue for individual poets, the cultural nationalism of these two national haiku arbiters continued to guide compositional choices by determining the twentieth century definition of haiku. Nevertheless, Kyoshi could not evade the pressure of modernity. Haiku was different after Shiki and no neoclassical narrowing of its content could change that.

Yet, the new domain of haiku was inherently unstable. To be regarded as a prestigious form of literature representative of the superior achievement of the Japanese people, it needed to maintain its boundaries and not stray either into the territory of senryu, or that of Western-influenced “free” verse. A sense of embattlement hardened its self-consciously policed constraints. The resulting insistence on brevity meant that there were severe limitations on what it could say, particularly once haiku sequences were rejected.

To transcend triteness and triviality, the ingenious use of metaphor, metaphor-by-analogy, irony, allusion and other forms of intertextuality as well as unstated contextual information – often related to experiences or events in the writer’s life – was necessary. One drawback with the new importance given to biography was that it reinforced a tendency, general in contemporary Japanese literature, to see the work as offering access to an exemplary human being. Even highly praised work could be tainted by *ad hominum* slurs, if these were severe enough. It was, of course, on such a basis that Kyoshi was able to undermine Hisajo’s reputation for so many decades.

Further instability was inherent in the tension between *kigo* and *shasei*. While the pool of *kigo* did expand in a pragmatic manner over the period investigated, the category only made sense epistemologically on the basis the pre-modern, largely Neo-Confucian, worldview that had produced it and its particular vision of "humanity" and "nature." Politically, control over the *kigo* pool, on the basis of convention and taste increased the already excessive power of gate-keepers like Kyoshi. Yet, due to haiku's brevity, *kigo* fulfilled important functions. It acted as a charismatic device and an effective way of mobilizing allusions, which made it arguably more important in haiku than it had been in the world of *haikai*. The observational thrust of *shasei*, by contrast, undermined just this intertextual bias. *Shasei*'s emphasis on "reality" and critique of convention drove haiku towards a more literalistic, mimetic (and therefore limited) presentation of the poet's actual, mundane world. Shiki's *shasei* style work was most fruitful, when he strove to make his haiku as painterly as possible. While it was still novel, the *shasei* approach produced work that was sharp and fresh. However, once this strategy had been used over tens of thousands of haiku, it was bound to become tired. Indeed, however much they represented opposing worldviews, *shasei* needed *kigo* or equivalently functioning devices to create an internal contrast within each poem and create a tension that enabled to poet to generate unspoken meanings and aesthetic effects.

The contradictions inherent in *kigo* and *shasei* and the different conceptions of both "nature" and "humanity" they implied were particularly problematic for women. *Kigo* ultimately linked back to the religious aspect of Neo-Confucianism according to which the poet perfected his humanity by harmonizing it with the principles of nature as they were experienced through seasonal change or the operation of yin and yang. Since feminine yin was regarded as inferior and masculine yang superior, this spiritual path confronted women with the metaphysical intractability of their supposed limits. *Shasei*, on the other hand, was based upon an individualistic perspective that was easily allied to liberalism, including positive attitudes to gender equality, and its tendency was to increase female empowerment. Over time, and despite the protests and then defection of some of the most successful and ambitious Hototogisu poets, Kyoshi increasingly emphasized the former,

advocating haiku as a means of escaping suffering and the ego. However, that did not mean that he abandoned *shasei*. Rather, he conflated it with a Japanese (originally Chinese) style of painting, *kachōga*. Shūōshi was accurate when he accused Kyoshi of collapsing the distinction between art and "reality."[1] He did the same with literary and literal reference, generating further tensions that had both bedevilled and vivified the haiku domain. By the 1930s Kyoshi had driven himself into a corner from which he was praising the highly and pedantically literalistic style of Takano Sujū (1893 – 1976).[2] He came to believe (or write as though he believed) that the best haiku were steps towards self-transcendence through meticulous description, and that the poetic goal was to achieve "objectivity" by means of, and in order to achieve, the suppression of the individual personality.

When Hisajo first began to write haiku, however, Kyoshi's position was far less extreme. The timing of her debut was very lucky. It would have been almost impossible for a woman in her position to write haiku for publication before the launch of the Kitchen Miscellanies column in *Hototogisu*. As it was, she was welcomed and encouraged. Certainly she faced domain constraints in terms of the poetics she received, but the formal haiku restrictions that Kyoshi advocated at the time allowed for self-expression in a way that suited Hisajo very well.

During the Taisho era, the tensions between *kigo* and *shasei* were such that *shasei* was beginning to overpower *kigo* and yet both remained potent forces. The exploration of these tensions as well as the use of *shasei* to included dynamic, filmic effects and its extension into portraiture and self-portraiture by Hisajo and other *joryū* haiku poets generated many interesting haiku. Indeed, *kigo* and prosodic norms should probably be regarded as enabling constraints during her first period. In terms of thematic material, she and other contemporary *joryū* haiku poets benefitted from the

[1] Sato, Hiroaki. "Shūōshi's 'Nature's Truth' and 'Truth in Literary Arts.'" *Modern Haiku* 38, no. 3 (2007): 25 – 49.

[2] Sato's article is mainly comprised of a translation of Shūōshi's essay. In it Shūōshi quotes haiku by Sujū such as: 'Licorice buds make up a line spaces in between.' Other examples include, 'An ilex leaf drops on the earth then turns upside down,' which is very similar to Kyoshi's own number ten, and 'One petal damaged a magnolia flower opens,' which is not much more than a reduced version of Kyoshi's number thirty-one in the corpus. Sato. "Shūōshi's 'Nature's Truth' and 'Truth in Literary Arts,'" 36.

considerable insight afforded by the struggles to which their gender had condemned them. They also paradoxically benefitted from the fact that less was expected of them. When they wrote in ways that would have been considered lax or self-obsessed in a man they were indulged. At this point then, it was the easing of constraints that made these innovations possible. Yet, the marginalized and therefore novel perspective that Hisajo brought to haiku was a product of many role constraints that were typically applied to women and particularly to educated, middle-class, married mothers. Because she extended the subject matter of haiku to issues which passionately engaged her, even many of the injustices she was subject to can be thought of as enabling constraints for her work.

Hisajo dealt with these themes in a variety of ways. At times, she expressed passionate protest, directly. At times, she did so indirectly. At other times, she used her writing as a means of escape or consolation. Some of her haiku presented an aestheticized world of "nature" within which even busy mothers and housewives, often presented through complex portraiture and self-portraiture, could be transfigured by association. Hisajo's sequences, which show the influence of New Haiku poets, were also driven by her dearest concerns. It is in that work that her mastery of a variety of techniques can be seen at its most developed. These techniques ranged from montage to repetition; from the suppression of vocabulary and grammar indicative of the passage of time, to the opposite; from listing to narrative; from the choice of apposite detail to the choice of a resonant allusion; and from ironic objectivism to confessional lyricism.

Nevertheless, the difficulties Hisajo faced in her writing life resulted in a number of new starts, and she often withdrew from promising developments before she had barely begun to explore them. If the restrictions she experienced due to her gender gave her material and helped determine her interest in an advocacy of *joryū* haiku, they also encouraged self-censorship. This effect is most powerfully illustrated by her withdrawal from haiku under pressure from Udai and her apparent, subsequent resolution to write nothing about her private life. A tiny handful of her haiku do document the tensions in her marriage. If she had attempted to develop such work systematically

the results would have been truly revolutionary for the genre. They would also have been unpublishable within the confines of Hototogisu. Hino Sōjō, who was expelled from Hototogisu at the same time as Hisajo, had been harshly criticised by Kyoshi for writing a sequence entitled "Miyako Hoteru (The Miyako Hotel)," a fictional piece about the first night and morning of a honeymoon.[3] No doubt, Kyoshi would have had even more difficulties with the use of haiku to explore marital conflict. Even Hisajo, herself, would have probably seen no benefit in writing a body of haiku – as opposed to individual poems – that simply expressed anguish, frustration and anger and lacked any impulse towards transcendence.

When Hisajo returned to writing haiku in her second period, she could not return to the style of the work she had developed during the Taisho era. Like many other ambitious Hototogisu poets Hisajo was challenged by the further constraints that *kachō fūei* placed on an already extremely constrained genre. The fact that she responded by plunging herself into research, reviewing the haiku of her contemporaries and comparing it to the *hokku* written by women from the Tokugawa era reveals how resourceful she was. Instead of applying *shasei* in a literalistic manner, she responded by reverting to a strongly intertextual approach, drawing on the *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū* as well as on old established customs and festivals for material. That strategy was acceptable as far as Kyoshi was concerned since it underlined haiku's "traditional" and uniquely "Japanese" character. However, by making references to paradigmatic female figures from the past, Hisajo was able to subtly convey complex attitudes towards important issues in the present, including the oppressed status of women and the Manchurian Incident.

There are, even so, many signs in Hisajo's work that she may have liked to push her work in directions that were not acceptable within Hototogisu. This tendency is most obvious in her sequences. Her "Crane Haiku" approached her material through close observation of the birds' behaviour and habitat. It also used montage, dynamic *shasei* and colour in a filmic manner. Her

[3] Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era Volume Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 136.

historical sequences used references to women of the past to suggest a complexly-felt critique of the present. Her sequences about her childhood captured a vivid sense of place and took haiku into the territory of personal memoir. Each of these approaches broached new directions for haiku that could have been profitably pursued if the publishing environment had been different.

What Hisajo wanted from haiku seems to have been disparate and somewhat contradictory. She adjusted to Kyoshi's *kachō fūei* position with apparently calculated resourcefulness. But at the same time, she appears to have accepted, at least some of the time, Kyoshi's position that the correct pursuit of haiku entailed escape from the self and the inevitable suffering being a self involves. She was ambitious for both self-sufficiency and recognition. Even in disgrace, she remained extremely keen to have a collection of her haiku published after her death. Yet, and not simply because of pressure from Udai, she periodically withdrew from the world of publication, competition and factionalism. She spoke at various times – including on the closure of *Hanagoromo* – of her resolve to write haiku simply for the sake of her spiritual and psychological well-being. This resolution proved unsustainable. Her loss of status and a sure venue for publication was followed by a sharp decline in her output. Perhaps writing simply for herself was not a viable option for Hisajo. Or perhaps, the drop in her output was a reaction to the trauma of the public, generalized and irredeemable nature of the humiliation she was forced to undergo.

Hisajo's biggest mistake was to relinquish her magazine, *Hanagoromo*. It had provided her with a power base from which she could encourage, guide and participate in the joint project of the development of *joryū* haiku. With it, she was always sure of having a place to publish her work of criticism as well as her haiku. It is probable that as the first independent woman occupying such a position of influence – Tatsuko's achievements cannot be entirely separated from her father's – Hisajo was bound to have suffered consequences from the threat she represented to many male haiku poets. Without *Hanagoromo*, Hisajo was very vulnerable, particularly as she had enemies in the circle around Kyoshi. By not explicitly rejecting *kachō fūei, s*he had also alienated people in the New Haiku camp, particularly in the group associated with *Amanogawa*. Other women poets

were keen to replace her in the pages of *Hototogisu* and, ironically, two of the most successful of these, Hashimoto Takako and Nakamura Teiko, were women she had earlier mentored. While Hisajo did publish some haiku in the non-aligned magazine *Haiku Kenkyū* after 1936, she never again had a secure platform for her work.

This thesis has investigated innovation and constraint in Hisajo's work both in order to illuminate both her oeuvre and wider issues. Much work remains to be done. In terms of Hisajo's oeuvre, the first necessity is the translation of a larger body of her poetry and some of her prose to make both available to readers interested in haiku who can read English but not Japanese. Research is also needed into the relationship between *joryū* haiku and contemporary haiku written by men; between it and the wider literary field; and between it and the wider world of contemporary artistic endeavour in Japan. A reliable critical biography of Kyoshi and a history of Hototogisu and studies of rival schools of haiku, particularly Hekigotō's New Trend (Shinkeikō) Haiku and Shūōshi's New Haiku (Shinkō) movement, would also be significant additions to the understanding of twentieth century haiku for English readers. A more detailed understanding of twentieth century haiku up to and including World War II would be valuable in its own right. It would also be interesting historically, sociologically and for what it has to offer the very large English-language haiku community.

As I explained in the introduction, my initial desire to write a thesis on haiku was to investigate whether the formulaic qualities that increasingly emerged in English-language haiku across the early years of the millennium indicated problems simply within that limited field or were a product of undue domain constraints that biased haiku to sterile repetition in the parent genre. Because it is not only an "invented tradition," but a transplanted one as well, English-language haiku is doubly vulnerable to mystification. Lacking those elements in the wider culture, like the ubiquitous motifs in art and design and seasonal customs which support the use of *kigo*, or the huge body of poetry and nature of the stress in the language which support the haiku prosody in Japanese, English-language haiku is forced to ground itself more generally. This means there is an unfortunate

tendency to view haiku as a product of "Eastern wisdom." The rules of the domain, which interact awkwardly with the larger cultural matrix for non-Japanese poets, are then fetishized. For those who reject the spiritual traditions underlying haiku and approach it through, for example, Imagism, the need for a *kigo* is simply an arbitrary constraint, but one with which they feel they must comply for definitional reasons. As the experimental work produced by Oulipo shows, arbitrary constraints can set interesting artistic problems, and so they are not necessarily to be eschewed simply because they are arbitrary. Not recognizing their arbitrariness, or failing to understand the underlying worldview from which they emerged, however, may be more problematic.

The consequences of Kyoshi's worldview on Western haiku poets are apparent even among the best informed. The Haiku Society of America, which was founded in 1968 by Harold G. Henderson and Leroy Kanterman, [4] is the longest running, most influential and most ambitious of all the international haiku associations. Nevertheless, it has on its webpage a short guide to writing haiku and senryu which contains typical but mystifying statements. For example:

> Once you open your "haiku eye", it never closes…You will start noticing small things…a blade of grass swaying in the wind, bird songs, raindrops striking a puddle...
>
> So, what are haiku? In a nutshell, haiku are one-breath poems; they are picture poems. The haiku poet uses words to paint a picture without adding personal thought or feelings to the poem. In haiku the poet must "show, don't tell." Strong haiku can evoke an emotional response in the reader, an extraordinarily wonderful thing to experience when reading these concise poems.

Despite its gross over-simplification, the characteristics shared by this explanation of haiku and Kyoshi's *kachō fūei* are obvious. Under its influence, it is commonly argued that English-language haiku should aim at "objective" transparency and avoid figures of speech, like similes and metaphor or other language-based effects. This ideal means that haiku that obviously do so –

[4] "Haiku Society of America." Accessed 15th October, 2014. http://www.hsa-haiku.org/.

certain metaphors, in particular, are often not identified as such – or otherwise make demands of the reader are judged rather harshly, and may well be refused publication. However, as I hope is now clear, such an approach is most unhelpful for reading the work of haiku poets, like Hisajo, who present readers with complex work and multiple challenges of interpretation. Even where her work appears transparent and conjures images of vivid material presences in the reader's mind it may, in fact, contain layers of symbolic elements or allusions.

Instead of enticing the prospective poet with an impossible notion of perceptual innocence in which the 'haiku eye' somehow allows produces a 'one breath poem,'[5] this thesis returns again and again to haiku's historicity. It has attempted to demonstrate that the constraints of any living domain are under constant negotiation and that nothing, haiku included, offers access to "true" or universal insight into "nature," "humanity" or anything else. Taking such an "anti-essentialist" position has become so commonplace that it would risk triteness, if essentialism were not so common – and understandably common too, given the enduring power of Hototogisu – among the English-language haiku community.

The Introduction to this thesis began with a sketch of Mihaly Csikzentmihalyi's notion of domain constraints and their relationship to both Creativity and tradition. When the skills of an individual closely match the task at hand, particularly where innovation meets constraint, the highly gratifying subjective experience that Csikzentmihaly calls flow arises.[6] I would like to add further dimensionality to this model. Domain constraints are not the only ones that set the challenges that provoke creative solutions. Although Hisajo's case is somewhat extreme, it demonstrates that, for writers, the compositional constraints under which they work form a matrix of nested contexts centred upon their demographic status and thence upon their own personal concerns. All these constraints impinge simultaneously upon their choices. While it is not possible that any writer be

[5] Kenneth Yasuda. *The Japanese Haiku* Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1973 (1957), 34.
[6] Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*. (New York: HarperCollins, 1996) 110 - 113.

aware of all the constraints that are in play, some emerge as salient – and perhaps in need of modification – for one individual while others emerge as salient for another. Nevertheless, even factors that do not strongly concern a writer may determine something of the nature of their work. For example, the issues of cultural nationalism were far more salient for Shiki and Kyoshi than for Hisajo, and yet to the extent that they shaped the haiku domain as she knew it they also guided her compositional choices.

It is not the absence of constraint then, but the ability to play with or transcend constraint that makes creativity possible. Both the nature of Hisajo's haiku and what she wrote about her experience of writing it indicates that she was well-acquainted with flow. Certain kinds of constraint, however, cannot be mastered. Hisajo was finally defeated and silenced the constraints of hegemonic power relations that cripples people and renders them confused. Nevertheless, I am confident that her legacy is an invigorating one that will inspire future readers to engage whole-heartedly in attempting to re-envision – whether through art or otherwise – their own circumstances.

Hisajo's legacy suggests that, provided over-rigid, ideological prescriptions and proscriptions are avoided, that English-language haiku will not only to continue to generate absorbing problems, but that the heritage elements from *haikai* (and elsewhere) haiku poets can draw upon will contribute to new, ingenious solutions. Finally, the investigation of *kigo* undertaken in this thesis strongly suggests that English-language haiku poets need to develop theories that are congruent with their own cultural context about why it should or should not be a mandatory element in their work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Addiss, Stephen. *The Art of Haiku: Its History through Poems and Paintings by Japanese Masters*. London: Shambhala, 2012.

Aoyama, Tomoko, and Barbara Hartley. "The Narcissistic Woman Writer." In *Women Critiqued* edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 76 - 82. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2006.

Aoyama, Tomoko *Reading Food in Modern Japanese Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Archer, Margaret S. *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Archer, Margaret S. *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Archer, Margaret S. *The Reflexive Imperative in Late Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Ariga, Chieko M. "Who's Afraid of Amino Kiku? Gender Conflict and the Literary Canon." In *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda, 43 - 60. New York: The Feminist Press, 1995.

Arnheim, Rudolf. *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye (The New Version)*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Aston, William G. *A History of Japanese Literature*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899.

Bachnik, Jane M. "The Two "Faces" of Self and Society in Japan." *Ethos* 20, no. 1 (1992): 3-32.

Baetens, Jan, and Jean-Jacques Poucel. "Introduction: The Challenge of Constraint." *Poetics Today* 30, no. 4 (2009): 611 - 33.

Barnhill, David Landis. *Bashō's Haiku*. New York, State University of New York Press, 2004.

Barnhill, David Landis, ed. *Bashō's Journey: The Literary Prose of Matsuo Bashō*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.

Bary, Wm. Theodore de, and John A Tucker. "Confucian Revisionists." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur F. Tiedemann, 185 - 248. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Beasley, W.G. *Japanese Imperialism 1894 - 1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. Translated by H. M. Parshley. London: David Campbell Publishers Ltd., 1993.

Befu, Harumi. *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001.

Beichman, Janine. *Masaoka Shiki His Life and Works*. Boston and Worcester Cheng & Tsui Company, 2002.

Beichman, Janine. *Embracing the Firebird: Yosano Akiko and the Birth of the Female Voice in Modern Japanese Poetry*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Bernstein, Gail Lee. "Introduction." In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. 1 - 14. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Berthrong, John. "Confucian Piety and the Religious Dimensions of Japanese Confucianism." *Philosophy East and West* 48, no. 1 (1998): 1 - 21

Bin Akio. *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: Kindai Haiku no Media [Kyoshi and Hototogisu: The Media of Modern Haiku]*. Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 2006.

Blyth, Reginald Horace. *Haiku* Volume I Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1949

Blyth, Reginald Horace. *Haiku* Volume II Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1950

Blyth, Reginald Horace. *Haiku* Volume III Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1952

Blyth, Reginald Horace. *Haiku* Volume IV Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1952

Blyth, Reginald Horace *The Genius of Haiku: Readings from R.H. Blyth on Poetry, Life and Zen*. The British Haiku Society, 1994.

Boot, Willem. "Confucianism in the Early Tokugawa Period." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition Second Edition* edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 29 - 82. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Bourdieu, Pierre *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Cambridge [England]: Polity Press, 1993.

Bradford, Richard. *Roman Jakobson: Life, Language, Art*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

"British Haiku Society." Accessed 15th October, 2014. http://britishhaikusociety.org.uk/.

Brower, Robert H., and Earl Miner. *Japanese Court Poetry*. London: The Cresset Press, 1962.

Butler, Judith *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York Fordham, 2005.

Byerly, Alison. "Effortless Art: The Sketch in Nineteenth Century Painting and Literature." *Criticism* 41, no. 3 (1999).

Cain, Nicole M., Aaron L. Pincus, and Emily B. Ansell. "Narcissism at the Crossroads: Phenotypic Description of Pathological Narcissism across Clinical Theory, Social/Personality Psychology, and Psychiatric Diagnosis." *Clinical Psychology Review* 28 (2008): 638-56.

Carter, Steven D. "Rules, Rules and More Rules: Shōhaku's *Renga* Rulebook of 1501." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43, no. 2 (1983). 581 – 642.

Carter, Steven D. “Mixing Memories: Linked Verse and the Fragmentation of the Past.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48, no. 1 (1988).): 5 – 45.

Chamberlain, Basil Hall. “Bashō and the Japanese Poetical Epigram.” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 30 (1902): 243-362.

Chozanshi Issai. *The Demon's Sermon on the Martial Arts: And Other Tales*. Translated by William Scott Wilson. Boston: Shambala, 2012.

Clancey, Gregory, and Orihara, Minami. “The Nature of Emergency: The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Crisis of Reason in Late Imperial Japan.” *Science in Context* 25, no. 1 (2012): 103 - 26.

Copeland, Rebecca L. “Introduction: Meiji Women Writers.” In *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland and Melek Ortabasi, 1 - 28. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Copeland, Rebecca L. “A Century of Reading Women's Writing in Japan: An Introduction.” In *Woman Critiqued: Translated Essays on Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 1 - 20. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Copeland, Rebecca L. “The Feminine Critique: “Womanliness” and the Woman Writer.” In *Woman Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland, 21 - 27. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Crockatt, Philip. “Freud's ‘On Narcissism: An Introduction’.” *Journal of Child Psychotherapy* 32, no. 1 (2006): 4-20.

Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly. *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*. New York: HarperCollins, 1996.

Czarnecki, Melanie. "Bad Girls from Good Families: The Degenerate Meiji Schoolgirl." In *Bad Girls of Japan*, edited by Laura Miller and Jan Bardsley, 49 - 63. New York Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

“Death of Prince Karu and Princess So-Tohoshi.” In *The Kojiki* 1919. Translated by Basil Chamberlain. Accessed 2nd July, 2014. http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/kj/kj150.htm

Edgerton, Samuel Y. *The Mirror, the Window, and the Telescope: How Renaissance Linear Perspective Changed Our Vision of the Universe*. London: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Ericson, Joan E. “The Origins of the Concept of ‘Women's Literature.’” In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow, Janet A Walker and 74 - 115. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Fister, Patricia. “Female *Bunjin*.” In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. 108 - 130. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Fowler, Edward. *The Rhetoric of Confession: Shishōsetsu in Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Fiction*. Berkley University of California Press, 1988.

Frederick, Sarah. "Not That Innocent: Yoshiya Nobuko's Good Girls." In *Bad Girls of Japan*, edited by Laura Miller and Jan Bardsley. 65 - 79. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Freiner, Nicole L. *The Social and Gender Politics of Confucian Nationalism: Women and the Japanese Nation-State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Freud, S. "On Narcissism." Translated by James Strachey. In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume Xiv (1914-1916): On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works* 67-102. London: Hogarth Press, 1914.

Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice : Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982

Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan from Tokugawa Times to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

"Haiku Society of America." Accessed 15th October, 2014. http://www.hsa-haiku.org/.

The Haiku Society of America Twentieth Anniversary Book Committee, ed. *A Haiku Path: The Haiku Society of America 1968 - 1988*. New York: Haiku Society of America, Inc., 1994.

Hanagoromo Haijin Sugita Hisajo [Cherry-Viewing Kimono: The Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo]. Edited by Nakanishi Yukiko, Mireiko Take, and Eiko Imakawa. Kitakyushu: Kitakyushu Shiritsu Bungakukan, 2011.

Hane, Mikiso. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*. 3rd ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001.

Hane, Mikiso. *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*. 2nd ed. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2003.

Hara, Kimi. "Challenges to Education for Girls and Women in Modern Japan: Past and Present." In *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda, 93 - 106. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York 1995.

Harris, Frederick. *Ukiyo-E: The Art of the Japanese Print*. Tokyo: Tuttle, 2010.

Hasegawa Izumi. "Contemporary Women's Literature." Translated by Tomoko Aoyama and Barbara Hartley. In *Women Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 87 - 95. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Hasegawa Kai. "Time in Saijiki." *Japan Review* 14 (2002): 151 - 72.

Henderson, Harold Gould, *An Introduction to Haiku : An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Bashō to Shiki*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1958

Hekman, Susan J. *Gender and Knowledge: Elements of a Postmodern Feminism*. Cambridge Polity Press, 1990.

Hickman, Money L. "Painting." In *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, edited by Money L. Hickman, 93 - 179. New Haven: Yale University Press in assocation with Sun & Star 1996 and Dallas Museum of Art, 1996.

Higginson, William J. *The Haiku Seasons: Poetry of the Natural World*. New York: Kodansha, 1996.

Hinsch, Bret. "Metaphysics and Reality of the Feminine in Early Neo-Confucian Thought." *Women's Studies Int. Forum* 11, no. 6 (1988): 591-98.

Hiraga, Masako K. "Eternal Stillness: A Linguistic Journey to Bashō's Haiku About the Cicada." *Poetics Today* 8, no. 1 (1987): 5 - 18.

Hiraga, Masako K. *Metaphor and Iconicity: A Cognitive Approach to Anaysing Texts*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Hiratsuka Raichō. *In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun: The Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist*. Translated by Teruko Craig. New York Columbia University Press, 2006.

Hiromoto, Katsuya. "The Quiet Joy of Peace and Harmony: Kyoshi Takayama's Life and Literature." *The Hiyoshi Review of English Studies* 53 (2008): 31 – 73.

Hirota, Aki. "Manufacturing the Mad Woman: The Case of Poet Sugita Hisajo." *US-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 36 (2009): 12 - 41.

Hobsbawn, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger, 1 - 14. Cambridge: Canbridge University Press, 1983.

Hototogisusha. "Kyoshi Ichizoku No Keizu [Kyoshi's Family Tree]." Accessed 7th June, 2013. http://www.hototogisu.co.jp/.

Hsu, Francis L. K. *Iemoto: The Heart of Japan*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1975.

Ibsen, Henrik. *A Doll's House*. Translated by Frank McGuinness. London: Faber and Faber, 1879/1996.

Ikegami, Eiko. *Bonds of Civility: Aethetic Networks and the Origins of Japanese Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Ikegami Kōsanjin. "Hisajo to Sono Haiku [Hisajo and her Haiku]." *Haiku Kenkyu [Haiku Studies]* 7, no. 9 (1950): 25 - 33.

Inabata Teiko, ed. *100 Works of Kyoshi: Kyoshi Hyakku [One Hundred of Kyoshi's Haiku]*. Translated by Aya Nagayama and James W. Henry III. Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2010.

Ishi Masako. "Atogaki [Afterword]" In *Sugita Hisajo Kushū* [The Collected Haiku of Sugita Hisajo] edited by Ishi Masako. Tokyo, Kadokawa Shoten, 1969.

Ishi Masako. "Nenpu: Sugita Hisajo. [A Literary Timeline for Sugita Hisajo]" In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Masako Ishi. 236 - 56. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2007.

Ishi Masako and Matsui Toshihiko. "Sugita Hisajo Hashimoto Takako Taishō Nenpu [A Comparative Timeline for Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako]. In *Sugita Hisajo to Hashimoto Takako: Futari No Bijin No Monogatari [Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto*

Takako: A Tale of Two Beautiful Women] edited by Yamada Katsuhiko, 346 - 82. Tokyo: Bokuyōsha, 1988.

Ishii, Tatsuro The Festival of the Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine *Theatre Research International* / Volume 12 / Issue 02 / June 1987, pp 134 - 147
DOI: 10.1017/S030788330001347X, Published online: 23 January 2009

Jakobson, Roman. *The Framework of Language*. Michigan: Michigan Studies in the Humanities, 1980.

Jacobson, Roman. "Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry." In *Verbal Art, Verbal Sign, Verbal Time*, edited by Krystyna Pomorska and Stephen Rudy, 37 - 46. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.

Jansen, Marius B. *The Making of Modern Japan*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000.

"Jingū." Encyclopaedia Brittanica. Accessed 15th March, 2014. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/303999/Jingu.

Kaibara Ekken. "Onna Daigaku [The Great Learning for Women]." Translated by Basil Chamberlain. In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 262 - 67. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Kato, Shuichi. *A History of Japanese Literature: From the Man'yōshu to Modern Times*. Translated by Don Sanderson. Richmond: Japan Library, 1997.

Karatani Kōjin. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Translated by Brett de Bary. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1993.

Kawamoto Kōji. *The Poetics of Japanese Verse*. Translated by Stephen Collington, Kevin Collins and Gustav Heldt. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 2000.

Kawasaki Nobuhiro. "Taishōki no Kyoshi [Kyoshi in the Taishō Era]." In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies]*, edited by Imai Fumio, Matsui Toshihiko and Yamaguchi Seishi, 65 - 84. Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974.

Keene, Donald. *World within Walls; Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600 - 1867*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Keene, Donald. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era.* Vol. One, Fiction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984.

Keene, Donald. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era.* Vol. Two, Poetry, Drama, Criticism. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984.

Keene, Donald. "Haiku and the Democracy of Poetry as a Popular Art." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 344 - 60. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Kraft, James ed. *The Chinese Translations (the Works of Witter Bynner)*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1978.

Kuwabara Takeo. "Modern Haiku: A Second-Class Art." Translated by Mark Jewel. Accessed 15th March, 2014. http://www.simplyhaiku.com/SHv4n1/features/Kuwabara.html.

Laozi. *Daodejing*. Translated by Edmund Ryden. Oxford Oxford University Press, 2008

Li, Jin and Howard Gardner. "How Domains Constrain Creativity: The Case of Traditional Chinese and Western Painting." *American Behavioral Science* 37, no. 1 (1993): 94 - 101.

Liu, Wu-Chi. *A Short History of Confucian Philosophy* New York: Dell Publishing, 1955.

Lowy, Dina. *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity*. London: Rutgers University Press, 2007

Mackie, Vera. *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism 1900 - 1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Maegawa Hiroshi (1998) " <Ama no Kawara ni Kushi Kezuri> Sugita Hisajo gendai Joryū Haijin no Senkusha [On the Flood Plain of the Milky Way She Combs Out Her Hair" Sugita Hisajo a Pioneer Modern Female Haiku Poet]" *Journal of Edogawa Women's Jr. College* 13, 33-49 Tokyo. Accessed 16 March, 2010. http://ci.nii.ac.jp.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/naid/110000468862

Masaoka Shiki. "Haijin Buson [The Haiku Poet Buson]" (1899). Published electronically 2010. Accessed 3rd September, 2011. http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000305/files/47985_41579.html.

Masaoka Shiki. "E [Painting]." (1900). Published electronically 2011. Accessed 24th November, 2011. http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000305/files/50380_39296.html.

Masaoka Shiki. Searchable database of his haiku. Matsuyama, Japan: Shiki Kinen Hakubutsukan (Shiki Memorial Museum). Accessed 3rd February, 2008. http://sikihaku.lesp.co.jp/community/search/index.php

Masuda Ren. *Sugita Hisajo Nōto [Notes on Sugita Hisajo]*. (Kitakyushu: Urayama Shobo, 1978).

Masui Sachiko "Shinkō Haiku Mukiha to no Mondai [The Problem of New Haiku and the Adovocates of Seasonless Haiku]." In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies]* edited by Yamaguchi Seishi. Imai Fumio & Matsui Toshihiko 1974, Tokyo Yūbunshoin

Matsui Toshihiko. *Kindai Haironshi [A History of Modern Haiku Poetics]*. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1965.

Matsui Toshihiko. "Takahama Kyoshi Nenpu [A Literary Timeline for Takahama Kyoshi]." In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies]*, edited by Imai Fumio, Matsui Toshihiko and Yamaguchi Seishi, 369 - 440. Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974

Masui Toshihiko "Daisanki: Shōwa Zenki no Kyoshi. [The Third Period: Kyoshi in Early Shōwa]" In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies]*, edited by Imai Fumio, Matsui Toshihiko and Yamaguchi Seishi, 85 - 103. Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974.

Matsuoka, Hideaki. "Local, Global and Beyond: Anthropological Approach to Haiku." *World Haiku* 3 (2007): 68 - 75.

McCullough, Helen Craig. Introduction. *Tales of Ise*. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1968.

McCullough, Helen Craig, ed. *The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Merrit, Helen and Nanako Yamada. *Woodblock Kuchi-E Prints*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Miner, Earl. *Japanese Linked Poetry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Minichiello, Sharon A. "Introduction." In *Japan's Competing Modernities*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, 1 - 21. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Mishima Yukio. "On Narcissism." Translated by Tomoko Aoyama and Barbara Hartley. In *Woman Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 83 - 87. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Miyake, Lynne K. "*The Tosa Diary*: In the Interstices of Gender and Criticism." In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A Walker, 41 - 73. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Mizuhara Shūōshi, Kato Shuson and Yamaguchi Seishi, ed. *Nihon Dai Saijiki*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983.

Morris, Mark. "Buson and Shiki: Part One." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44, no. 2 (1984): 381 - 425.

Morris, Mark. "Buson and Shiki: Part Two." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, no. 1 (1985): 255-321

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. "The Invention and Reinvention of 'Japanese Culture'." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 3 (1995): 759 - 80.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. 'Becoming Japanese: Imperial Expansion and Identiy Crises in the Early Twentieth Century.' In *Japan's Competing Modernities*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, 157 - 80. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*. New York M.E.Sharpe, 1998.

Morton, L. "Japan, Poetry of." In *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth Edition* , edited by Stephen Cushman, Clare Cavanagh, Jahan Ramazani and Paul Rouze. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Mostow, Joshua S. *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshū in Word and Image*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

Motte. Warren F. Jr. "Raymond Queneau and the Aesthetic of Formal Constraint." *Romantic Review* 82, no. 2 (1991): 193 - 209.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Audience." *The Audience Studies Reader* edited by Will Brooker and Deborah Jermyn. 133 - 142. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2003.

Nakayama Kazuko. "The Subject of Women's Literature and the Transformation of Its Consciousness.' Translated by Joan E. Ericson and Yoshiko Nagaoka. In *Women Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 145 - 52. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Natsume Sōseki. *Botchan [Little Master]*. Translated by Joel R Cohn. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2005

Natsume Sōseki. *Wagahai wa Neko de Aru [I am a Cat]* Translated by Aiko Ito and Graeme Wilson. Rutland, Vermont. : Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1972

Nelson, Susan E. "Tao Yuanming's Sashes: Or, the Gendering of Immortality." *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 1-27, 6.

Nickelsen, Kärin. "Draughtsmen, Botanists and Nature: Constructing Eighteenth-Century Botanical Illustrations." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 37, no. 1 (2006): 1–25.

Nolte, Sharon H. *Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers 1905 - 1960*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Nolte, Sharon H., and Sally Ann Hastings. "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women, 1890 - 1910." In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. 151 - 74. Berkeley: California University Press, 1991.

Nosco, Peter. "The National Learning Schools." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 481 - 519. New York: University of Columbia Press, 2005.

Odo, Franklin. *Voices from the Cane Fields: Folksongs from Japanese Immigrant Workers in Hawai'i*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014. Accessed 5th September, 2014. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199813032.001.0001.

Oguri Fūyō, Yanagawa Shu'yō, Tokuda Shūkō, Ikuta Chōkō and Mayama Seika. "'On Women Writers.'" In *Women Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland, 33 - 40. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1908/2006.

Oguma Eiji. *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images*. Translated by David Askew. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002.

Oguri Fūyō, Yanagawa Shun'yō, Shūkō Tokuda, Ikuta Chōkō, and Mayama Seika. Translated by Rebecca L. Copeland. "On Women Writers." In *Women Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 33 - 40. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
.

Okano, Haruko. "Women's Image and Place in Japanese Buddhism." In *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda. 15 - 28. New York: The Feminist Press, 1995.

O'Neill, P.G. "Organization and Authority in the Traditional Arts." *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 4 (1984): 631 - 45.

Orbaugh, Sharalyn. "The Body in Contemporary Japanese Women's Fiction." In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A. Walker, 119 - 64. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Owens, Susan. *The Art of Drawing: British Masters and Methods since 1600*. London: V&A Publishing, 2013.

Pang-White, Ann A. "Zhu Xi on Family and Women: Challenges and Potentials." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 40, no. 3 - 4 (2013): 436 - 55.

Peterson, Richard A. “Five Constraints on the Production of Culture: Law, Technology, Market, Organizational Structure and Occupational Careers.” *A Journal of Popular Culture* 16, no. 2 (1982): 143 - 53.

Pierson, J. L., ed. *Book III, Man'yōshū*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933.

Pierson, J. L., ed. *Book XX, Man'yōshū*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963.

Qiu, Peipei. *Bashō and the Dao: The Zhuangzi and the Transformation of Haikai*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2005.

Rathbun, William J. “Japanese Painting in the Edo Period.” In *Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School of Japanese Painting*. 23 - 61. St Louis: The St Louis Art Museum, 1980.

Reitan, Richard. “Claiming Personality: Reassessing the Dangers of the ‘New Woman’ in Early Taishō Japan.” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 19, no. 1 (2011): 83 - 107.

Rexroth, Kenneth, and Ikuko Atsumi, eds. *Women Poets of Japan*. Translated by Kenneth Rexroth and Ikuko Atsumi. New York: New Directions Book, 1977.

Robertson, Jennifer. “The Shingaku Woman: Straight from the Heart.” In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. 88 - 107. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Ruskin, John. *The Elements of Drawing; in Three Letters to Beginners*. New York: J. Wiley, 1869.

Ryan, Marleigh Grayer. *The Development of Realism in the Fiction of Tsubouchi Shōyō*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975.

Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin [Sugito Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]*. Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008.

Sang-Hun, Choe. “Japanese Poetry Persists in Korea, Despite Disapproval.” *New York Times* 27 Mar. 2008. Accessed 3rd September, 2014.

Sakaki, Atsuko. “Sliding Doors: Women and Chinese Literature in the Heterosocial Literary Field.” In *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature*, 103 - 42. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Sasaki Johei. “Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School.” Translated by Miyeko Murase and Sarah Thompson. In *Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School of Japanese Painting*, 21 - 61. St. Louis: The St. Louis Art Museum, 1980.

Sato, Hiroaki ed. *Japanese Women Poets: An Anthology*. New York: M.E.Sharpe, 2007.

Sato, Hiroaki. “Shūōshi's ‘Nature's Truth’ and ‘Truth in Literary Arts.’” *Modern Haiku* 38, no. 3 (2007): 25 - 49.

Schalow, Paul Gordon, and Janet A Walker. “Introduction.” In *The Woman's Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women's Writing*, edited by Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A Walker. 1 - 16. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Schuessler, Jennifer. “An Old Chinese Novel Is Racy Reading Still.” *The New York Times*, 2013. Accessed 5th September, 2014.

Sekiguchi Sumiko. “Gender in the Meiji Renovation: Confucian ‘Lessons for Women’ and the Making of Modern Japan.” Translated by Michael Burtscher. *Social Science Japan Journal* 11, no. 2 (2008): 201- 21.

Sekiguchi Sumiko. “Confucian Morals and the Making of a ‘Good Wife and Wise Mother’: From ‘Between Husband and Wife there is a Distinction’ to ‘As Husbands and Wives be Harmonious.’” Translated by Michael Burtscher. *Social Science Japan Journal* 13 no 1 (2010), 110 – 111

Sekikawa Natsuo. *Shiki Saigo No Hachinen [the Last Eight Years of Shiki's Life]*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2011.

Shinada Yoshikazu. “Man'yōshū: The Invention of a National Poetry.” Translated by Kevin Collins. In *In Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 31 - 50. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Shirane, Haruo. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Shirane, Haruo. “Introduction: Issues in Canon Formation.” In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 1 - 27. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Shirane, Haruo. *Classical Japanese a Grammar*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Shirane, Haruo. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Shōsetsu Shinzui: The Essence of the Novel by Tsubouchi Shōyō. Translated by Nanette Twine. Accessed 28th April, 2012. http://archive.nyu.edu/html/2451/14945/shoyo.htm#electronic

Silverberg, Miriam. *Erotic Groteque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Snodgrass, Judith. “Performing Buddhist Modernity: The Lumbini Festival, Tokyo 1925.” *Journal of Religious History* 33, no. 2 (2009): 133 - 48.

Standish, Isolde. *A New History of Japanese Cinema*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005.

Steben, Barry, Mary Evelyn Tucker, and Ian Jamese McMullen. “The Spread of Neo-Confucianism in Japan.” In *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 83 - 142. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Sugisaki Kazuko. “A Writer's Life: A Biographical Sketch.” In *The Spirit House and Other Stories*, 7 - 30. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1995.

Sugita Hisajo. “Kahan ni Sumite [Living by the River].” In *Sugita Hisajo to Hashimoto Takako: Futari no Bijin no Monogatari (Sugita Hisajo and Hashimoto Takako: A Tale of Two Beautiful Women)* edited by Katsuhiko Yamada. 70 - 106. Tokyo: Bokuyōsha, 1988.

Sugita Hisajo. “Minami no Shima no Omoide [Memories of Southern Islands]” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 48 - 57. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1918/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Fukuro Naku [Owl Cry].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 58 - 69. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1918/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Omoide no Yama to Mizu [Memories of Mountains and Water].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 92 - 94. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1919/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Zabon no Hana o Saku Goro [When the Pomelo Flowers Bloom].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 43 - 47. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1920/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Ryūgan no Ki ni Sumu Hitobito [The People who Live by the Longan Tree].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 70 - 91. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1920/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Yoake Mae Kakishi Tegami [A Letter Written Before Dawn].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 111 – 117. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1922/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Izushi Made [As Far as Izushi].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 95 - 103. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1924/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Haiku ni Yomigaerite [Reborn through Haiku].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 118 - 23. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1927/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Taishō Joryū Haiku no Kindaiteki Tokushoku [The Modern Characteristics of Women’s Haiku in the Taishō era].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 159 - 186. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1928/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Aso no Funen o Toku Nagamete [Viewing the Smoke from Mt Aso in the Distance].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 128 - 35. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1929/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Nihon Shin Meishō Haiku Nyūsenku [The Winning Haiku of the Japanese New Scenic Spot Haiku Competition].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 154 - 56. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1931/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Joryū Haiku o Midoku Su [An Appreciation of Women’s Haiku].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 187 - 92. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Joryū Haiku to Jidaisō [Women’s Haiku through Changing Times].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 209 - 17. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Sakura o Yomeru Ku: Kokon Joryū Haiku no Hikaku [Haiku about Cherry Blossoms: A Comparison of Old and New Haiku].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 193 - 208. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Ochitsubaki [Fallen Camellias].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 136 - 41. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1932/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Joryū Haiku no Tadoru beki Michi wa Nahen ni? [Where Should Women’s Haiku Go from Here?].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 218 - 21. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1932/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Tsuru Ryōriru [Cooking Crane].” In *Sugita Hisajo Zuihitsushū [A Collection of Essays by Sugita Hisajo]* edited by Ishi Masako. 142 - 45. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1934/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. “Hikosan o Noboru [Climbing Mt Hiko].” In *Hisajo Sugita Zuihitsushū*, edited by Masako Ishi. 149 - 53. Tokyo: Kōdansha, untraced/2007.

Sugita Hisajo. *Sugita Hisajo Kushū. [Sugita Hisajo Collected Haiku]*. Edited by Ishi Masako. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1969.

Susumu, Ishii. “The Decline of the Kamakura Bakufu.” In *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 3: Medieval Japan* edited by Kozo Yamamura, 128 - 74. Accessed 16th March, 2014. (Online: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Suzuki, Michiko. *Becoming Modern Women*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2010.

Suzuki, Tomi. “Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature.” In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature,*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 71 - 95. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Takahama Kyoshi. “Kuniko no Tegami [Kuniko's Letters].” In *Tsubakiko Monogatari [The Tale of Tsubakiko]*, 96 - 144. Tokyo: Chuokōronsha, 1951.

Takahama Kyoshi. *Kyoshi Ichinichi Ikku [Kyoshi, One Haiku Per Day]*. Edited by Hoshino Tatsuko Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1965.

Takahama Kyoshi. *Haiku No Tsukuriyō [How to Write Haiku]*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakkei Shuppan, 2009.

Takahama Kyoshi, ed. *Shin Saijiki [New Saijiki]*. Tokyo, Sanseidō, 2010.

Takahama Kyoshi. *100 Works of Kyoshi*. Edited by Teiko Inabata. Translated by Aya Nagayama and James W. Henry, III. Victoria B.C.: Trafford Publishing, 2010.

Takahashi Takako and Tsushima Yūko. “Female Sexuality and the Male Gaze: A Dialogue between Takahashi Takako and Tsushima Yūko.” Translated by Maryellen Toman Mori. In *Women Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 119 - 34. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Takamitsu Kōnoshi. “Constructing Imperial Mythology: Kojiki and Nihon Shoki.” Translated by Iori Joko. In *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, 51 - 67. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Takamura Itsue. *The 1918 Shikoku Pilgrimage of Takamura Itsue: An English Translation of Musume Junreiki*. Translated by Susan Tennant Bowen Island, Canada: Bowen Publishing, 2010.

The Tale of Genji: Legends and Paintings. Edited by and with an Introduction by Miyeko Murase. New York: George Braziller, 2001.

Tamanoi, Mariko Asano. *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Tanabe Seiko. *Hanagoromo Nugu ya Matsuwaru…Waga Ai no Sugita Hisajo. [Peeling Off the Cherry-Blossom Viewing Kimono Clinging....The Sugita Hisajo I Love]*. Tokyo: Shueisha, 1982/2006.

Tanaka Miyoko. "Narcissism, Cynicism, and the Writing of Women." Translated by Tomoko Aoyama. In *Women Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 95 - 100. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Teraoka Aoi. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Byōseki: Tsukurereta Densetsu [Posthumous Medical Examination of Haiku Poet Sugita Hisajo: A Manufactured Legend]* Kumamoto: Kumamoto Shuppan Bunka Kaikan, 2004.

"The-Heavenly-Young-Prince." In *The Kojiki* 1919/2005. Translated by Basil Chamberlain. Accessed 12th March, 2014. http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/kj/kj038.htm

Thomas, Julia Adeney. "Naturalizing Nationhood: Ideology and Practice in Early Twentieth Century Japan." In *Japan's Competing Modernities*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, 114 - 32. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Tierney, Robert Thomas. *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Tipton, Elise K. *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History* (2nd edition). London: Routeledge, 2002.

Tipton, Elise K. "How to Manage a Household: Creating Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan." *Japanese Studies* Vol 29 issue 1. (2009): 95-110

Tōta Kaneko. *Konnichi no Haiku: Furuike no <Wabi> yori Damu no <Kandō> e [Today's haiku: from the "Wabi" of the Old Pond to the "Wow" of a Dam]*. Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1965.

Tsurumi, Patricia E. "Visions of Women and the New Society in Conflict: Yamakawa Kikue Versus Takamure Itsue." In *Japan's Competing Modernities*, edited by Sharon A. Minichiello, 335 - 57. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Tucker, Mary Evelyn. "Religious Dimensions of Confucianism: Cosmology and Cultivation." *Philosophy East and West* 48, no. 1 (1998): 5-48.

Tucker, Mary Evelyn, Tetsuo Najita, Richard Minear, and Marleen Kassel. "Varieties of Neo-Confucian Education." In *Source of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 249 - 93. New York: University of Columbia Press, 2005.

Twine, Nanette. "The Genbunitchi Movement. Its Origin, Development, and Conclusion." *Monumenta Nipponica* 33, no 3 (1978): 333-356.

Twine, Nanette. "Standardizing Written Japanese. A Factor in Modernization." *Monumenta Nipponica* 43, no. 4 (1988): 429-54.

Ueda, Makoto. *Matsuo Bashō*. New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1970.

Ueda, Makoto. "Bashō on the Art of the Haiku: Impersonality in Poetry." Chap. 7 In *Japanese Aesthetics and Culture: A Reader* edited by Nancy G. Hume, 151 - 75. New York: State University of New York Press, 1995.

Ueda, Makoto. *Modern Japanese Haiku an Anthology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Ueda, Makoto. "Introduction." In *Modern Japanese Haiku an Anthology*, 5 - 23. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Ueda, Makoto. *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983.

Ueda, Makoto. "Introduction." In *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary*, edited by Makoto Ueda. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Ueda, Makoto, trans. *Light Verse from the Floating World: An Anthology of Pre-modern Japanese Senryu*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Ueda, Makoto, trans. *Far Beyond the Field: Haiku by Japanese Women*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Ueno Sachiko, *Josei Haiku no Sekai [The World of Women's Haiku]*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1989

Uno, Kathleen S. "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor." In *Recreating Japanese Women: 1600 - 1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein. 17 - 41. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Vlastos, Stephen. "Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History." In *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Tradtions of Modern Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos, 1 - 16. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Wada Shigeki. "Meijiki no Kyoshi [Kyoshi in the Meiji Era]." In *Takahama Kyoshi Kenkyū [Takahama Kyoshi Studies]*, edited by Matsui Toshihiko and Yamaguchi Seishi Imai Fumio, 41 - 63. Tokyo: Yūbunshoin, 1974.

Wakakuwa Midori. "Three Women Artists of the Meiji Period (1868 - 1912): Reconsidering Their Significance from a Feminist Perspective." Translated by Naoko Aoki. In *Japanese Women: Few Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda. 61 - 73. New York The Feminist Press, 1995.

Walker, Janet A. *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Watson, Burton, ed. *Masaoka Shiki: Selected Poems*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

"The White Hare of Inaba." In *The Kojiki* 1919/2005. Translated by Basil Chamberlain. http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/kj/kj028.htm.

Wilson, Sandra. *The Manchurian Crisis and Japanese Society, 1931 - 1933*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in Light of the English Haikai Installment 1: Courtesy Visit.” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 3, no. 10 (2008): 1 - 7.

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in Light of the English Haikai Installment 2: Chapter 1 Who Introduced Hisajo.” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 3, no. 11 (2008): 1 - 5.

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement Chapter 2: Glass Ceilings of Hisajo Renaissance.” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 3, no. 12 (2008).

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement Chapter 3: Kyoshi and the Irony of Shiki's Modern Haiku Movement.” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 4, no. 1 (2009): 1 - 7.

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement Chapter 4 Is a Haijin a Poet? Is a Haiku Art?” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 4, no. 2 (2009): 1- 8

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 5 Hisajo's Haiku in the Taishō Period (1917 - 1926).” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 4, no. 4 (2009): 1 - 13.

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 6 Hisajo's Haiku at the Second Peak of Her Creativity.” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 5, no. 2 (2010): 1- 9.

Yachimoto, Eiko. “Hisajo in the Light of English Haikai Movement: Chapter 7 Hisajo's Last Challenge.” *Sketchbook: A Journal for Eastern & Western Short Forms* 5, no. 6 (2010): 1 - 15.

Yamamoto Kenkichi. *Gendai Haiku [Modern Haiku]*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 1998/1964.

Yamanouchi, Hisaaki. *The Search for Authenticity in Modern Japanese Literature*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Yasuda, Kenneth. *The Japanese Haiku* Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1973 (1957).

Yosano Akiko. *Tangled Hair: Selected Tanka from Midaregami*. Translated by Sanford Goldstein and Seishi Shinoda. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1987.

Yosano Akiko. “What Is ‘Womanliness’?” Translated by Laurel Rasplica Rodd. In *Woman Critiqued*, edited by Rebecca L. Copeland. 40 - 46. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Yoshiharu Suenobu. *Masaoka Shiki Jūgun Su [Masaoka Shiki Goes to War]*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011.

Yuasa, Nobuyuki. “Introduction.” In *Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches*, edited by Nobuyuki Yuasa. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966.

Yuasa, Nobuyuki. *The Year of My Life: A Translation of Issa's Oraga Haru*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Yumoto Akiko. *Haijin Sugita Hisajo no Sekai [The World of the Haiku Poet, Sugita Hisajo]*. Tokyo: Honami Shoten, 1999.

Zhong, Xu Yuan, ed. *Songs of the Immortals: An Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry*. Translated by Xu Yuan Zhong. Beijing: New World Press, 1994.

Zhou, Zuyan. *Daoist Philosophy and Literati Writings in Late Imperial China: A Case Study of the Story of the Stone*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2013.

Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi). "A Treatise on *Jen*." In *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Wing-Tsit Chan, 593 - 97. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963)

Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi). "Spiritual Beings and Spiritual Forces (Kuei-Shen)." In *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Wing-Tsit Chan, 643 - 46. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 645.

Xu, Judith Chuan. "Poststructuralist Feminism and the Problem of Femininity in the Daodejing." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 19, no. 1 (2003): 47 - 64.

APPENDIX ONE: SHIKI'S HAIKU CORPUS

1891

1. 紫陽花や壁のくづれをしぶく雨 5-7-5

ajisai *ya/ kabe no kuzure o/ shibuku ame* (summer)
hydrangeas (k.)/ wall (p.p.) crumbling (o.p.)/ splashing rain

hydrangeas
on the crumbling wall
the splashing rain

2. 岩々のわれめわれめや山つゞじ 5-7-5

iwa iwa no/ wareme wareme ya/ yama ***tsutsuji*** (summer)
rocks rock (p.p)/ fissure, fissure (k.)/ mountain **azaleas**

in every fissure
of every rock –
mountain azaleas

1892

3. 手の内に蛍つめたき光かな 5-7-5

te no uchi ni/ ***hotaru*** *tsumetaki/ hikari kana* (summer)
hands (p.p.) within/ **firefly** cold/ light!

in my hands
a firefly's cold
light!

4. 下駄箱の奥になきけりきりぎりす 5-7-5

getabako no/ oku ni nakikeri/ ***kirigirisu*** (autumn)
shoe cupboard (p.p)/ depth in singing!/ **cricket**

singing at the back
of the shoe cupboard
a cricket!

5. 両岸の紅葉に下す筏かな 5-7-5

ryōgan no/ momiji ni kudasu/ ikada kana (autumn)
both banks (p.p)/ **autumn [maple] leaves** along go-downstream/ raft!

red maple leaves
along both banks
the raft sails downstream

6. 凩や自在に釜のきしる音 5-7-5

kogarashi *ya/ jizai ni kama no/ kishiru oto* (winter)
winter winds –/ adjustable hook on/ kettle (p.p)/ creaking sound

winter winds –
on its hook
a kettle creaking

7. さらさらと竹に音あり夜の雪 5-7-5

sara-sara to/ take ni oto ari/ yoru no ***yuki*** (winter)
rustle-rustle/ bamboo on sound is/ night (p.p.) **snow**

rustle-rustle
it is the sound of bamboo –
snow at night

1893

8. 奥山や人こぬ家の門かざり 5-7-5

*okuyama ya/ hito konu ie no/ kado-**kazari*** (winter)
deep in the mountains –/ people-don't-come house (p.p.)/ **new year decoration** (for gate)

deep in the mountains –

on the gate of a house where no one comes
new year decorations

9. わびしさや囲炉裏に煮える榾の雪 5-7-5

wabishisa ya/ irori ni nieru/ hota no ***yuki*** (winter)
lonely-poverty –/ sunken hearth on simmered/ kindling (p.p.) **snow**

loneliness –
on the kindling in the sunken hearth
snow simmered

10. 裏窓の雪に顔出す女かな 5-7-5

uramado no/ ***yuki*** *ni kao dasu/ onna kana* (winter)
back window (p.p.)/ **snow** into face puts out/ woman!

back window –
a woman puts her face
out into the snow

11. 無住寺の鐘ぬすまれて初桜 5-7-5

mujūji no/ kane nusumarete/ ***hatsuzakura*** (spring)
lack-priest temple (p.p.)/ bell stolen/ **first cherry blossom**

the abandoned temple's
bell's been stolen –
first cherry blossoms

12. 野辺の草草履の裏に芳しき 5-7-5

nobe no kusa/ zōri no ura ni/ kōbashiki
paddock (p.p.) grass/ *zori*[1] (p.p.) underside on/ fragrant

the paddock grass
on the soles of my *zori*
smells good

[1] Traditional Japanese sandals.

13. 夕月やほのぼの白き蚕棚 5-7-5

yūzuki *ya/ hono-bono shiroki/* ***kaiko****-dana* (spring)

evening moon –/ faintly-faintly white/ **silkworm** shelves

evening moon –
just a hint of white
the silkworm shelves

14. 風吹て萍動く花ながら 5-7-5

kaze fuite/ ***ukikusa*** *ugoku/ hana nagara* (summer)

wind blows/ **duckweed** moves (like an animal)/ flowering even though

a gust of wind –
the duckweed shifts about
even though it's flowering

15. 窓ならぶ長屋つゞきの蚊遣哉 5-7-5

mado narabu/ nagaya tsuzuki no/ ***kayari*** *kana* (*kayaribi* is an autumn *kigo*)

windows in line/ tenement houses continuing (p.p.)/ **mosquito coils!**

lined up in each window
of the tenement houses
mosquito coils!

16. 夕立や雨戸くり出す下女の数 5-7-5

yūdachi *ya/ amado kuridasu/ gejo no kazu* (summer)

evening [=heavy] shower –/ shutters pull out/ maids (p.p.) number

evening shower –
pulling out the shutters
lots of maids

17. .木の末に遠くの花火開きけり 5-7-5

ki no sue ni/ tōku no ***hanabi****/ hirakikeri* (autumn)

tree tips at/ distant **fireworks**/ have opened!

above the tree tops
distant fireworks
have opened!

18. 蓮の花咲くや淋しき停車場 5-7-5

hasu *no hana/ saku ya sabishiki/ teishajō* (summer)
lotus (p.p.) flowers/ flowering – lonely/ train station

lotus flowers
in bloom –
a lonely train station

19. 裸身の壁にひつゝくあつさ哉 5-7-5

hadaka *mi no/ kabe ni hittsuku/* ***atsusa*** *kana* (summer and summer)
naked body (p.p.)/ wall against stick to/ **the heat**!

my naked body
sticks to the wall –
the heat!

20. 鯉はねて月のさゝ波つくりけり 5-7-5

koi hanete/ ***tsuki*** *no sazanami/ tsukurikeri* (autumn)
carp leaps up/ **moon** (p.p.) ripples/ has made!

a leaping carp
has made ripples
on the moon!

1894

21. Looking At a Picture of Bashō

われは巨燵君は行脚の姿かな 6-7-5

ware wa **kotatsu**/ kimi wa angya no/ sugata kana (winter)
me (t.p.) **brazier**/ you (t.p.) pilgrim (p.p.)/ appearance!

here's me by my heater
and you
in your pilgrim's get up!

22. 紫陽花や青にきまりし秋の雨　5-7-5

ajisai *ya/ ao ni kimarishi/* ***aki no ame*** (summer and autumn)
hydrangea –/ blue has ended-up-as/ **autumn rain**

the hydrangeas –
have ended up as blue
autumn rain

23. 冬木立五重の塔の聳えけり 5-7-5

fuyu kodachi*/ gojū no tō no/ sobiekeri* (winter)
winter grove of trees/ five storied pagoda (p.p.)/ towering up!

leafless grove –
how the pagoda
towers up!

1895

24. .汽車過ぎて烟うづまく若葉哉 5-7-5

kisha sugite/ kemuri uzumaku/ ***wakaba*** *kana* (summer)
train passing/ smoke eddy/ **new leaves**!

from a passing train
smokes eddies –
the new leaves!

25. 一桶の藍流しけり春の川 5-7-5

hito-oke no/ ai nagashikeri/ ***haru no kawa*** (spring)
one bucketful (p.p.)/ indigo/ has been poured!/ **spring river**

one bucketful
of indigo has been poured –

the spring river

26. 涅槃像仏一人は笑いけり 5-7-5

***nehan**zō/ hotoke hitori wa/ waraikeri* (spring)
Buddha-entering-nirvana-picture/ Buddha-one-person (t.p.)/ smiled!

a picture of Buddha's death bed –
he alone
smiled

27. 一銭の釣鐘撞くや昼霞 5-7-5

*issen no/ tsurigane tsuku ya/ hiruga**sumi*** (spring)
one sen (coin) for/ hanging bell hit –/ daytime **haze**

paying a coin
to hit the bell –
a hazy day

28. *Chin-chou*

梨咲くやいくさのあとの崩れ家 5-7-5

nashi saku ya/ ikusa no ato no/ kuzure ie
pears in flower –/ battle (p.p.) aftermath (p.p.)/ destroyed house

flowering pear tree –
after the battle
a destroyed house

29. 城跡や大根花咲く山の上 5-8-5

*shiro ato ya/ **daikon hana** saku/ yama no ue* (spring)
castle remains –/ **daikon**[2] **flowers** bloom/ mountain top

castle ruins –
daikon flowers bloom

[2] A long white radish.

on the top of the mountain

30. <u>In Suma</u>

暁や白帆過ぎ行く蚊帳の外 5-7-5

akebono ya/ shiroho sugiyuku/ ***kaya*** *no soto* (summer)
dawn –/ white sail goes past/ **mosquito net** outside of

dawn –
a white sail slips past
the mosquito net

31. <u>In Suma</u>

なつばおりわれをはなれて飛ばんとす 5-7-5

natsu-baori*/ ware o hanarete/ toban to su* (summer)
summer jacket/ me (o.p.) to leave/ tries to fly

my summer jacket
parts from me
tries to fly off

32. 涼しさや石灯籠の穴も海 5-7-5

suzushi*sa ya/ ishidōrō no/ ana mo umi* (summer)
coolness –/ stone lantern (p.p.)/ hole also (the) sea

how cool –
even through the hole in the stone lantern
the sea

33. 御仏も扉をあけて涼みかな 5-7-5

mihotoke mo/ tobira o akete/ ***suzumi*** *kana* (summer)
Buddha also/ doors (o.p.) opened/ **cooling off**!

even the Buddha's doors
are propped open –

cooling off!

34. 罌粟咲いてその日の風に散りにけり 5-7-5

keshi *saite/ sono hi no kaze ni/ chiri ni keri* (summer)
poppies flower/ that day (p.p.) wind in/ have scattered!

poppies flower –
that same day's wind
have scattered them

35. 人かへる花火のあとの暗さ哉 5-7-5

hito kaeru/ ***hanabi*** *no ato no/ kurasa kana* (autumn)
people go home/ **fireworks** (p.p.) after (p.p.)/ darkness!

they go home
after the fireworks
the darkness!

36. 説教にけがれた耳を時鳥 5-7-5

sekkyō ni/ kegareta mimi o/ ***hototogisu*** (summer)
sermons by/ polluted ears [= ears polluted by sermons] (o.p.)/ **lesser cuckoo**

for those
ears polluted by sermons –
the lesser cuckoo

37. 夕焼や鰯の網に人だかり 5-7-5

yūyake ya/ ***iwashi*** *no ami ni/ hitodakari* (autumn)
sunset –/ **sardine** (p.p.) nets at/ crowd of people

sunset –
around the sardine nets
a crowd of people

38. 蜘蛛殺す後の淋しき夜寒哉 5-7-5

kumo *korosu/ ato no sabishiki/* ***yosamu*** *kana* (summer and autumn)
spider killed/ afterwards (p.p.) lonely/ **cold-night**!

killing the spider –
afterwards a lonely
cold night

39. 行く秋をしぐれかけたり法隆寺 5-7-5

iku aki *o/* ***shigure*** *kaketari/ Hōryūji* (autumn and winter)
passing autumn/ **drizzling**-about-to/ Horyuji[3]

the passing of autumn
winter drizzle about to fall
Horyuji

40. Stopping at a Teashop and Hōryūji Temple

柿食えば鐘が鳴るなり法隆寺 5-7-5

kaki *kueba/ kane ga naru nari/ Hōryūji* (autumn)
persimmon while eating/ bell rings/ Horyuji

as I eat persimmon
a bell rings –
Horyuji

41. 行く秋の我に神なし仏なし 5-7-5

yuku aki *no/ ware ni kami nashi/ hotoke nashi* (autumn)
passing autumn (p.p.)/ me-for god(s) none/ Buddha(s) none

autumn passes
no gods for me
no Buddhas

42. 武家町の畠になりぬ秋茄子 5-7-5

[3] The name of the oldest temple in Japan.

buke machi no/ hatake ni narinu/ ***aki nasubi*** (autumn)
samurai town(p.p.)/ vegetable-plots-in grew/ **autumn eggplants**

samurai town
in the vegetable plots grew
autumn eggplants

43. 拾団扇遊女の顔のあはれなり 5-7-5

*sute-**uchiwa**/ yūjo no kao no/ aware nari* (summer)
discarded **fan**/ prostitute's face (p.p.)/sad and pitiful is

a discarded fan –
the prostitute's face
is so sad

44. Taking leave of Sōseki

行く我にとどまる汝に秋二つ 5-7-5

yuku ware ni/ todomaru nare ni/ ***aki*** *futatsu* (autumn)
leaving me for/ staying you for/ **autumns** two

I leave
you stay –
two different autumns

45. Nara

千年の煤もはらはず仏たち 5-7-5

sennen no/ ***susu mo harawazu****/ hotoketachi* (=*susuharai*, winter)
thousand years (p.p.)/ **soot also not wiped** off/ Buddhas

a thousand years
of accumulated soot –
Buddhas

46. 鋸に炭切る妹の手ぞ黒き 5-7-5

nokogiri ni/ ***sumi*** *kiru imo no/ te zo kuroki* (winter)
saw with/ **charcoal** cuts sister (p.p.)/ hands! black

sawing charcoal
my sister's hands
are so very black!

47. 汽車道の一段高き冬田かな 5-7-5

kishamichi no/ ichidan takaki/ ***fuyuta*** *kana* (winter)
train tracks (p.p.)/one step higher/ **winter fields**!

the train tracks
one step higher –
winter fields!

48. 無精さや蒲団の中で足袋をぬぐ 5-7-5

bushōsa ya/ ***futon*** *no naka de/* ***tabi*** *o nugu* (winter)
laziness –/futon within/ **tabi** (o.p.) take off

how lazy!
pulling off my socks
under the covers

49. 旭のさすや檐の氷柱の長短 5-7-5

hi no sasu ya/ noki no ***tsurara*** *no/ naga-mijika* (winter)
sun (p.p.) pierce –/ eaves(p.p.) **icicles** (p.p.)/ long-short

pierced by the sun –
under the eaves
short icicles long icicles

50. 煤払や神も仏も草の上 5-7-5

susuhaki *ya/ kami mo hotoke mo/ kusa no ue* (winter)
year-end **housecleaning** –/ gods too buddhas too/ grass on

end of year house cleaning –

gods and buddhas
out on the grass

1896

51. 春風にこぼれて赤し歯磨粉 5-7-5

haruk*aze* *ni/ koborete akashi/ hamigaki-ko* (spring)
spring breeze in/ spilling red/ tooth powder

spilling in the spring breeze
red
toothpowder

52. 蒲団干す下にいちごの花白し 5-7-5

futon *hosu/ shita ni* ***ichigo*** *no/ hana shiroshi* (winter and summer)
futon airing/ underneath strawberry (p.p.)/ flowers white

beneath the airing
bedding
white strawberry flowers

53. 赤飯の湯気あたたかに野の小店 5-7-5

sekihan no/ yuge atataka ni/ no no komise
red-beans-and-rice (p.p.)/ steam warmness in/ field (p.p.) small shop

the steamy warmth
of red beans and rice
in a little rural shop

54. 連翹や束ねられたる庭の隅 5-7-5

rengyō *ya/ tabaneraretaru/ niwa no sumi* (spring)
forsythia –/ bundled up/ garden (p.p.) corner

forsythia –
bundled up
in a corner of the garden

55. 歌書俳書紛然として昼寝かな 5-7-5

kasho haisho/ funzen to shite/ ***hirune*** *kana* (summer)
tanka books, haiku books/ in disorder/ daytime **nap**!

tanka and haiku books
strewn everywhere –
a daytime nap!

56. 夏嵐机上の白紙飛び盡す 5-7-5

natsu *arashi/ kijō no hakushi/ tobitsukusu* (summer)
summer storm/ desktop (p.p.) white paper/ blown off completely

summer storm –
the papers on the desk
blown away

57. 炎天や砂利道行けば蝶の殻 5-7-5

enten *ya/ jarimichi yukeba/* ***chō*** *no kara* (summer and spring)
blazing sky –/ gravel road when go on/ **butterfly** (p.p.) husk(s)

blazing sky –
when I go down the gravel road
husks of butterflies

58. 稲妻や盥の底の忘れ水 5-7-5

inazuma *ya/ tarai no soko no/ wasure-mizu* (autumn)
lightning –/ basin (p.p.) bottom (p.p.)/ forgotten water

lightning –
in the bottom of a basin
left over water

59. 朝霧や一人火を焚く普請小屋 5-7-5

*asa****giri*** *ya/ hitori hi o taku/ fushin-goya* (autumn)
morning **fog** –/ one person fire (o.p.) starts/ construction workers' shed

morning fog –
someone starts a fire
the construction workers' shed

60. さいかちに秋の日落つる小窓かな 5-7-5

saikachi *ni/* ***aki no hi*** *otsuru/ komado kana* (autumn)
honey locust in/ **autumn sun** goes down/ small window!

the autumn sun
goes down through the honey locust
a tiny window!

61. 小刀や鉛筆を削り梨を剥く 5-8-5

kogatana ya/ enpitsu o kezuri/ ***nashi*** *o muku* (autumn)
little knife –/ pencil (o.p.) sharpens and/ **pear** (o.p.) peels

my penknife –
sharpens pencils
peels pears

62. 梨むくや甘き雫の刃を垂るる 5-7-5

nashi *muku ya/ amaki shizuku no/ ha o taruru* (autumn)
peeling **pear** –/sweetness drops [=drops of sweetness]/ blade dripping

peeling a pear –
drops of sweetness
are dripping from the blade

63. 砂の如き雲流れ行く朝の秋 6-7-5

suna no gotoki/ kumo nagareyuku/ asa no ***aki*** (autumn)
sand similar to/ clouds flow away/ morning (p.p.) **autumn**

like sand
clouds flow away
autumn morning

64. 榎の実散る此頃うとし隣の子 5-7-5

e no mi *chiru/ kono koro utoshi/ tonari no ko* (autumn)
hackberry tree (p.p.) fruit scatter/ recently distant [from me]/ next-door (p.p.) child(ren)

the hackberry's fruit scatter –
distant recently
the children next door

65. しぐるゝや蒟蒻冷えて臍の上 5-7-5

shigururu *ya/ konnyaku hiete/ heso no ue* (winter)
drizzling –/ devil's tongue gone cold/ navel (p.p.) on

it's drizzling –
devil's tongue gone cold
on my navel

66. 行く秋の鐘つき料を取りに来る 5-7-5

yuku aki *no/ kane tsuki ryō o/ tori ni kuru* (autumn)
passing autumn (p.p.)/ bell fees (o.p.)/ come to get

passing autumn
they come to get
the bell ringing fee

67. 古庭や月に湯婆の湯をこぼす 5-7-5

furuniwa ya/ ***tsuki*** *ni* ***tampo*** *no/ yu o kobosu* (autumn and winter)
old garden –/ in the **moon**light **water bottle** (o.p.)/ hot water pour out

old garden –
in the moonlight
emptying the hot water bottle

68. <u>Sickbed Snowfall: Four Poems (1)</u>

雪ふるよ障子の穴を見てあれば 5-7-5

yuki *furu yo/ shōji no ana o/ mite areba* (winter)
snow falling!/ shoji (p.p.) hole/ if look [though] see

it's snowing!
I can see it
though the hole in the shoji

69. Sickbed Snowfall: Four Poems (2)

いくたびも雪の深さを尋ねけり 5-7-5

ikutabi mo/ ***yuki*** *no fukasa o/ tazunekeri* (winter)
many times/ **snow** (p.p.) depth (o.p.)/ have asked!

again and again
I have asked
how deep the snow is!

70. Sickbed Snowfall: Four Poems (3)

雪の家に寝ていると思うばかりにて　6-7-5

yuki *no ie ni/ nete iru to omou/ bakari nite* (winter)
snow (p.p.) house in/ lying (in bed) I think/ only am [= I only think I am lying in bed]

only thinking
of how I'm lying
in a snowy house

71. Sickbed Snowfall: Four Poems (4)

障子明けよ上野の雪を一目見ん 6-7-5

shōji akeyo/ Ueno no ***yuki*** *o/ hitome min* (winter)
open the shoji!/ Ueno's **snow** (o.p.)/ glimpse want to see

open the shoji!
I want to see a glimpse
of the Ueno snow

1897

72. Sick in Bed

四時に烏五時に雀夏の夜はあけぬ 6-6-8

yoji ni karasu/ goji ni suzume/ ***natsu*** *no yo wa akenu* (summer)
four o'clock at crows/ five o'clock at sparrows/ **summer** night broke

crows at four
sparrows at five –
the summer dawn broke

73. After I'm dead

柿食いの俳句好みしと伝ふべし 5-8-5

kaki *kui no/ haiku konomishi to/ tsutau beshi* (autumn)
persimmon eating (p.p.)/ haiku lover/ tell should

tell them
I was a persimmon eating
haiku lover

74. 我今年牡丹に病んで菊に起きし 5-7-6

ware kotoshi/ ***botan*** *ni yande/* ***kiku*** *ni okishi* (summer and autumn)
me this year/ **peonies** with sickened/ **chrysanthemums** with got up

this year
sickened at peony time
got up with the chrysanthemums

75. つり鐘の蔕のところが渋かりき 5-7-5

tsurigane no/ heta no tokoro ga/ shibukariki
hanging bell [persimmon] (p.p.)/ caylx(p.p.) place (s.p.)/ has become tangy

near the calyx
of the hanging bell persimmon

it’s become tangy

76. フランスの一輪ざしや冬の薔薇 5-7-5

Furansu no/ ichirinzashi ya/ ***fuyu*** *no bara* (winter)
France (p.p.)/ bud vase –/ **winter** rose

a French
bud vase –
winter rose

77. Sent to Hekigotō who is in the hospital with smallpox

寒かろう痒かろう人に逢いたかろう 5- 8-6

samu*karō/ kayukarō hito ni/ aitakarō* (winter)
cold, I guess /itchy, I guess, people/ wanting to meet, I guess

guess you’re cold
itchy
and in want of visitors

1898

78. .幼子(おさなご)や青きを踏みし足の裏 5-7-5

osanago ya/ **aoki o fumishi**/ ashi no ura (spring)
little child –/ **green (o.p.) stepped on**/ feet (p.p.) soles

little child –
the soles of its feet
have stepped on new grass

79. 昼顔の花に乾くや通り雨 5-7-5

hirugao *no/ hana ni kawaku ya/ tōriame* (summer)
bindweed (p.p.)/ flowers on dry/ passing rain [= tropical storm]

the bindweed
flowers are drying –

passing summer storm

80. 人力の森に這入るや蝉時雨 5-7-5

jinriki no/ mori ni hairu ya/ ***semi****-shigure* (summer)
rickshaw (p.p.)/ forest enters –/ **cicada** shower

the rickshaw
enters a forest –
cicada shower

81. 夏草やベースボールの人遠し 5-7-5

natsugusa *ya/ beesu-booru no/ hito tōshi* (summer)
summer grass –/ baseball (p.p.)/ people [= players] far away

summer grass –
the baseball players
are far away

82. この頃の蕣藍に定まりぬ 5-6-5

kono goro no/ ***asagao*** *ai ni/ sadamarinu* (autumn)
these days/ **morning glories** indigo/ [it has become] settled

these days
all the morning glories
are definitely indigo

83. ある僧の月も待たずに帰りけり 5-7-5

aru sō no/ ***tsuki*** *mo matazu ni/ kaerikeri* (autumn)
a certain priest/ **moon** too not waiting for/ went home

a certain priest
without waiting for the moon either
went home

84. 凩や松葉吹き散る能舞臺 5-7-5

kogorashi *ya/ matsuba fukichiru/ nōbutai* (winter)
winter wind –/pine needles blown about/ nō stage

winter wind –
pine needles are blown about
a nō stage

1899

85. 雪残る頂一つ国境 5-7-5

yuki *nokoru/ itadaki hitotsu/ kuni-zakai* (winter)
snow remains/ peak one/ province border

snow remains
on just one peak
on the province border

86. りんご食うて牡丹の前に死なんかな 6-6-5

ringo *kuute/* ***botan*** *no mae ni/ shinan kana* (autumn and summer)
apple eat/ **peonies** in front of/ want to die!

I want to die
eating apples
in front of some peonies!

87. 干柿や湯殿のうしろ納屋の前　5-7-5

*hoshi****gaki*** *ya/ yudono no ushiro/ naya no mae* (autumn)
drying **persimmons** –/ bath (p.p.) behind/ in front of the shed

drying persimmons –
behind the bathhouse
in front of the shed

88. 鶏頭の十四五本もありぬべし 5-7-5

keitō *no/ jūshi-go hon mo/ arinubeshi* (autumn)
cockscombs (p.p.)/ fourteen or fifteen even/ there must be

cockcomb flowers
there must be
fourteen or fifteen

89. 鶏頭の皆倒れたる野分かな 5-7-5

keitō *no/ mina taoretaru/* ***nowaki*** *kana* (autumn and autumn)
cockscombs/ are all prostrate/ **typhoon**!

the cockscomb flowers
are all prostrate
typhoon!

90. のら猫の糞して居るや冬の庭 5-7-5

nora-neko no/ fun shite iru ya/ ***fuyu*** *no niwa* (winter)
stray cat/ is [it] defecating?/ **winter** garden

a stray cat
what? is it defecating?
the winter garden

1900

91. 新年の白紙綴ちたる句帖哉 5-7-5

shinnen *no hakushi/ tojitaru/ kuchō kana* (winter)
new year (p.p.)/ white paper bound up/ haiku notebook!

the new year's
bound sheets of white paper
haiku notebook!

92. 筆ちびてかすれし冬の日記哉 5-7-5

fude chibite/ kasureshi ***fuyu*** *no/ nikki kana* (winter)
brush worn out/ blurry **winter**/ diary!

worn out brush
blurry winter

diary!

1901

93. 五月雨や上野の山も見飽きたり 5-7-5

samidare *ya/ Ueno no yama mo/ miakitari* (summer)
May rains –/ Ueno (p.p.) mountains also/ sick-of-seeing

May rains –
I'm sick of seeing
Ueno's mountains anyway

1902

94. たらちねの花見の留守や時計見る 5-7-5

tarachine no/ ***hanam****i no rusu ya/ tokei miru* (spring)
mother (p.p.)/ **cherry blossom viewing** (p.p.) house-guard –/ clock watch

mother viewing cherry blossoms
I'm home alone –
clock-watching

95. 薔薇を剪る鋏刀の音や五月晴 5-7-5

bara *o kiru/ hasami no oto ya/* ***satsukibare*** (summer and summer)
rose(s) cutting/ scissors sound –/ **May fine weather**

the sound of scissors
cutting roses –
fine weather in May

96. 南瓜より茄子むつかしき写生哉 5-7-5

kabocha *yori/ nasu muzukashiki/ shasei kana* (autumn)
pumpkin more than/ eggplants difficult/ sketch from life!

eggplants
are harder than pumpkins –

sketching from life

97. 草花を画く日課や秋に入る 5-7-5

kusabana o/ egaku nikka ya/ ***aki*** *ni iru* (autumn)
plants and flowers (o.p.)/ painting daily routine –/ **autumn** enter

with a daily routine
of painting plants and flowers –
autumn begins

98. 栗飯や糸瓜の花の黄なるあり 5-7-5

kuri*meshi ya/* ***hechima*** *no hana no/ ki naru ari* (autumn and autumn)
chestnuts and rice –/ sponge gourd flowers/ yellow are

chestnuts and rice –
the sponge gourd flowers
are yellow

99. 黒きまで紫深き葡萄かな 5-7-5

kuroki made ni/ murasaki fukaki/ ***budō*** *kana* (autumn)
black as far as/ purple deep [= deep purple]/ **grapes**!

an almost black
deep purple –
grapes!

100. 糸瓜咲て痰のつまりし仏かな 6-7-5

hechima *saite/ tan no tsumarishi/ hotoke kana* (autumn)
sponge gourds bloom/ phlegm packed-with/ honoured corpse!

sponge gourds in bloom –
this phlegm packed
honoured corpse!

APPENDIX TWO: KYOSHI'S HAIKU CORPUS

1893

1. 餅もすき酒もすきなりけさの春 5-7-5

mocha *mo suki/ sake mo suki nari/ kesa no* ***haru*** (winter and spring)
rice cakes too like/ sake too like do/ this morning (p.p.) **spring**

I like sake
and ricecakes too –
a morning in spring

2. 京女花に狂はぬ罪深し 5-7-5

kyō onna/ ***hana*** *ni kuruwanu/ tsumibakashi* (spring)
Kyoto woman/ **flowers** not-mad-about/ sin profound

a Kyoto woman
not cherry blossom mad –
what a sin!

1896

3. 怒濤岩を嚙む我を神かと朧の夜 8-7-5

dotō iwa o kamu/ ware o kami ka to/ ***oboro no*** *yo* (spring)
surging waves rocks/ (o.p.) gnaw myself (i.p.) god (i.p.)/ **misty moonlit** night

surging waves gnaw the rocks –
I feel myself a god
this misty moonlit night

4. 面白い話の中へ春の月 5-7-5

omoshiroi/ hanashi no naka e/ ***haru no tsuki*** (spring)
interesting/ conversation the middle of into [=comes into the middle of]/ **spring moon**

into the middle of
an interesting conversation

the spring moon

1900

5. 遠山に日の當りたる枯野かな 5-7-5

tōyama ni/ hi no ataritaru/ ***kareno*** *kana* (winter)
distant mountain on/ sunlight (p.p.) touched/ **withered field**!

on a distant mountain
sunlight has touched
a withered field!

1902

6. 汐ひいて日と海苔麁朶の中に在り 5-7-5

shio hiite/ hi to ***nori*** *soda no/ naka ni ari* (spring)
tide recedes/ sun and **laver** driftwood/ among is

the tide is recedes –
the sun amidst
laver and driftwood

7. 村塾やすでに蚊の出る竹の秋 5-7-5

mura juku ya/ sudeni ***ka*** *no deru/* ***take no aki*** (summer and spring)
village cram school –/ already **mosquito** (p.p.) appearance/ **bamboo (p.p.) autumn**

village cram school –
already the mosquitoes are out
bamboo harvest time

8. 子規逝くや十七日の月明に 5-7-5

Shiki yuku ya/ jūshichinichi no/ ***getsumei*** *ni*
Shiki passes–/ seventeenth day (p.p.)/ **moonlight** in

Shiki passes –
in the light of the moon

two days past the full

1904

9. 大海のうしほはあれど旱かな 5-7-5

taikai no/ ushio wa aredo/ ***hideri*** *kana* (summer)
ocean (p.p.)/ current even so/ **drought**!

the ocean
has currents but even so
this drought!

1906

10. 桐一葉日当たりながら落ちにけり 5-7-5

kiri hitoha*/ hi atarinagara/ ochi ni keri* (autumn)
paulownia one leaf/ sun touching while/ has fallen!

one paulownia leaf
touched by the sun
has fallen

11. 座を挙げて恋ほのめくや歌るた 5-7-5

za o agete/ koi honomeku ya/ uta ***karuta***[4] (winter)
at a party/ love glimmers –/ **poetry playing cards**

at a party
love glimmers –
poetry playing cards

12. 主客閑話蝸牛竹をのぼるなり 6-7-5

shukaku kanwa/ ***dedemushi*** *take o/ noboru nari* (summer)

[4] A card game in which contestants compete to match the beginning of a *waka* from *the Ogura HyakuninIsshū* with its end. The beginnings of the poem is read and the ends of all the poems still in the game are displayed for people to snatch at the first opportunity. Some of the poems used in this game are famous love poems.

host and guest quiet talk/ **snail** bamboo/ climbs

host and guest talk quietly –
a snail
climbs bamboo

1908

13. 金亀子擲つ闇の深さかな 5-7-5

koganemushi*/ nageutsu yami no/ fukasa kana* (summer)
gold beetle/ flung away darkness (p.p.)/ depth!

a gold beetle
flung away into the depth
of the darkness

14. 螽とぶ音杼に似て低きかな 5-7-5

inago *tobu/ oto osa ni nite/ hikuki kana* (autumn)
bush cricket(s) flying/ sound loom shuttle resembles/ low!

bush crickets flying –
a low sound
like a loom shuttle!

1913

15. 小さき蚤足を食ひ居り花葵 5-7-5

chisaki ***nomi****/ ashi o kui ari/ hana* ***aoi*** (summer and summer)
small **flea**/ leg (o.p.) eaten has/ **hollyhock** flower(s)

a little flea
has bitten my leg –
hollyhock flowers

16. 春風や闘志抱きて丘に立つ 5-7-5

harukaze *ya/ tōshi idakite/ oka ni tatsu* (spring)

spring breeze –/ fighting spirit embracing/ hill on stand

spring breeze –
full of fight
I stand on a hill

17. 一つ根に離れ浮く葉や春の水 5-7-5

hitotsu ne ni/ hanareuku ha ya/ ***haru no mizu*** (spring)
one root from/ separated floating leaves –/ **spring (p.p.) water**

from their one root
the separate leaves afloat –
water in spring

18. 草摘みし今日の野いたみ夜雨来る 5-7-5

kusa tsumishi*/ kyō no no itami/ yau kitaru* (spring)
[edible] plant picking/ today (p.p.) field damage/ evening rain comes

picking wild greens
today we damaged the fields –
the evening rain comes

19. 時ものを解決するや春を持つ 5-7-5

toki mono o/ kaiketsu suru ya/ ***haru*** *o matsu* (spring)
time things (o.p.) solves?/ **spring** (o.p.) wait for

time
may solve things –
waiting for spring

20. 鎌倉を驚かしたる余寒あり 5-7-5

Kamakura o/ odorokashitaru/ ***yokan*** *ari* (spring)
Kamakura (o.p.)/ make surprised/ **lingering cold** there is

Kamakura
is surprised by

the lingering cold

1915

21. 鶯や卒然として霞める日 5-7-5

uguisu *ya/ sotsuzen to shite/ kasumeru hi* (spring and spring)
Japanese bush warbler –/ suddenly/ mists over day

bush warbler –
suddenly
the day mists over

22. 窓の灯に提灯行くや草の露 5-7-5

mado no hi ni/ chōchin iku ya/ kusa no ***tsuyu*** (autumn)
window (p.p.) light towards/ paper lantern goes –/ grass (p.p.) **dew**

the paper lantern
approaches the lit up window –
dew on the grass

23. 東に日の沈みゐる花野かな 5-7-5

hingashi ni/ hi no shizumiiru/ ***hanano*** *kana* (autumn)
east in/ sun (p.p.) being sunk/ **field of flowers**!

in the east
the still sunken sun –
a field of flowers!

1916

24. これよりは戀や事業や水温む 5-7-5

kore yori wa/ koi ya jigyō ya/ ***mizu nurumu*** (spring)
from now on (t.p.)/ love and business and/ **water**[5] **warming up**

[5] This is not water for tea but the natural flowing water of the springs and ponds after any winter ice has melted.

from now on
love and business
and bodies of water warming up

25. 大空に又わき出でし小鳥かな 5-7-5

ōzorani/ mata wakidedeshi/ ***kotori*** *kana* (autumn)
big sky to/ again gushing forth/ **little birds**!

towards the open sky
once again gushing forth –
little birds

26. 木曾川の今こそ光れ渡り鳥 5-7-5

Kisogawa no/ ima koso hikare/ ***watari tori*** (autumn)
Kiso River (p.p.)/ now [emphasis] shining/ **migratory birds**

the Kiso River
shining right now
migratory birds

1917

27. 蛇逃げて我を見し眼の草に残る 5-7-6

hebi *nigete/ ware o mishi me no/ kusa ni nokoru* (summer)
snake flees/ me (o.p.) saw eyes (p.p.)/ grass in remain

the snake flees
the eyes that saw me
remain in the grass

28. 人間吏となるも風流胡瓜も曲がるも亦 6-7-10

ningen ri to/ naru mo fūryū/ ***kyūri*** *no magaru mo mata* (summer)
person official/ becomes even so poetry-mad/ **cucumber** (p.p.) crooked also the same

a bureaucrat
can be elegant

just like a crooked cucumber

29. 葛城の神みそなはせ青き踏む 5-7-5

Kazuraki no/ kami misonawase/ ***aoki fumu*** (spring)
Mt. Kazuraki (p.p.)/ goddess please look/ early **spring grass step on**

Mt Kuzuraki, goddess,
please watch us
step on the new spring grass

1918

30. 梶の葉にかえて芭蕉に星のうた 5-7-5

kaji no ha *ni/ kaete* ***bashō*** *ni/ hoshi no uta* (autumn and autumn)
paper mulberry leaves on/ instead of **banana** [leaves] on/ star [festival] song

on banana
instead of paper mulberry leaves –
Tanabata songs

31. 秋天の下に野菊の花弁欠く 5-7-5

*shūten no/ shita ni no****giku*** *no/ kaben kaku* (autumn)
autumn sky/ beneath wild **chrysanthemum** (p.p.)/ petal(s) missing

beneath the autumn sky
a wild chrysanthemum
with missing petals

32. 夏のつき皿の林檎の紅を失す 5-7-5

natsu no tsuki*/ sara no* ***ringo*** *no/ beni o usu* (summer and autumn)
summer moon/ plate (p.p.) **apple** (p.p.)/ red loses

summer moon –
the apple in the plate
loses its red

33. 能すみし面の衰え暮れの秋 5-7-5

nō sumishi/ men no otoroe/ ***kure no aki*** (autumn)
nō has finished/ mask (p.p.) decline/ **late (p.p.) autumn**

the play finished
the nō mask loses strength –
the end of autumn

1919

34. 囀の庭横切って飛びたるは 5-7-5

saezuri *no/ niwa haba kitte/ tobitaru wa* (spring)
twittering (p.p.)/ garden width cross/ fly away !

twittering
they cross the garden
and fly away

35. この松の下に佇めば露の我 5-8-5

kono matsu no/ shita ni tatazumeba/ ***tsuyu*** *no ware* (autumn)
this pine tree (p.p.)/ under when-stand/ **dew** (p.p.) myself

when I stand
under this pine –
myself a drop of dew

1920

36. 灣を抱く雪の山々は北海道 5-8-6

wan o daku/ ***yuki*** *no yama yama wa/ Hokkaidō* (winter)
bay (o.p.) embrace/ **snowy** mountains (t.p.)/ Hokkaido

Hokkaido –
snowy mountains on mountains
embrace a bay

37. どかと解く夏帯に句をかけとこそ 5-7-5

doka to toku/ ***natsu obi*** *ni/ ku o kake to koso* (summer)
thud with loosened/ **summer obi** on/ haiku (o.p.) write [demanded]

with a thud
she let lose her summer obi –
"Write a haiku!"

38. 冬帝先ず日をなげかけて駒ケ岳 6-7-5

tōtei mazu/ hi o nagekakete/ Komagatake
winter-god first/ sun (o.p.) throw/ Mt. Komagatake

the god of winter
throws the first sun shaft on
Mt Komagatake

1921

39. .山に向いて獨り畑打つ男かな 6-7-5

yama ni muite/ hitori ***hata utsu****/ otoko kana* (spring)
mountain facing/ alone **field plowing**/ a man!

facing the mountain
plowing a field alone –
a man!

1924

40. 囀の高まる時の落椿 5-7-5

saezuri *no/ takamaru toki no/* ***ochitsubaki*** (spring and spring)
twittering (p.p.)/ swells when (p.p.)/ **falling camellia**

as the twittering
crecendos
a falling camellia

41. 囀の高まり終わり静まりぬ 5-7-5

saezuri *no/ takamari owari/ shizumarinu* (spring)
twittering (p.p.)/ swelling finished/ quiet

the twittering
swells and subsides
into silence

42. 左右の百合皆動きをり迎ふかに 5-7-5

sau no ***yuri****/ mina ugoki ori/ mukau ka ni* (summer)
left and right **lilies**/ all moving are/ greeting (i.p.) as though

lilies to left and right –
they are all bowing
as though in greeting

1925

43. 白牡丹といふといへども紅ほのか 5-8-5

haku ***botan****/ to iu to iedomo/ kō hono ka* (summer)
white **peony**/ called even so/ red slightly (i.p.)

though it's called
a white peony –
just a hint of red?

1926

44. 早春の鎌倉山の椿かな 5-7-5

sōshun *no/ Kamakura yama no/* ***tsubaki*** *kana* (spring and spring)
early spring (p.p.)/ Kamakura mountains (p.p.)/ **camellias**!

early spring
on the mountains of Kamakura
camellias!

45. 咲き満ちてこぼるる花もなかりけり 5-7-5

sakimichite/ koboruru ***hana*** *mo/ nakarikeri* (spring)
blooming-completely/ scattering **flowers** [cherry blossoms] also/ not-at-all!

in full bloom
with not a petal scattering
cherry blossom!

46. 芽ぐむなる大樹の幹に耳を寄せ 5-7-5

megumu naru/ taiju no miki ni/ mimi o yose
budding becoming/ big tree trunk to/ ear (p.p.) bring near

about to bud –
against the giant trunk
I rest my ear

47. 大空に伸び傾ける冬木かな 5-7-5

ōzora ni/ nobikatamukeru/ ***fuyu ki*** *kana* (winter)
big sky toward/ stretch-lean/ **winter tree**!

leaning and stretching
towards the open sky –
a winter tree!

48. 畑打って俳諧國を拓くべし 5-7-7

hata utte*/ haikai kuni/ hirakubeshi* (spring)
field plowing/ *haikai* country (o.p.)/ cultivate should

plowing the fields
we must cultivate
haikai country

49. 踏青や古き石階るばかり 5-7-5

tōsei *ya/ furuki sekikai/ aru bakari* (spring)
stepping on new grass –/ old stone steps/ only are

"stepping on new grass" –
there are only
old stone steps

50. 木々の芽のわれに迫るや法の山 5-7-5

kigi no me *no/ ware ni semaru ya/ nori no yama* (spring)
trees (p.p.) buds (p.p.)/ me compel –/ mountain temple

the budding trees
compel me –
mountain temple

51. この庭の遅日の石のいつまでも 5-7-5

kono niwa no/ ***chijitsu*** *no ishi no/ itsu made mo* (spring)
this garden (p.p.)/ **long spring day** (p.p.) rocks (p.p.)/ for ever

the rocks
of this garden's long spring day
last forever

52. 大夕立来るらし由布のかきくもり 6-7-5

ōyūdachi*/ kuru rashi Yuhu no/ kakikumori* (summer)
heavy showers/ coming-seem-to-be Mt Yuhu (p.p.)/ has become overcast

it looks like
heavy showers –
Mt Yuhu has become overcast

1928

53. 取り出す古き袷のたゝみ皺 4-7-5

toridasu/ furuki ***awase***[6] *no/ tatamijiwa* (autumn)
taking out [from storage]/ old **lined kimono** (o.p.)/ fold creases
taking it out

[6] A kimono with a lining worn in autumn and winter.

the fold marks
on the old lined kimono

54. 流れ行く大根の葉の早さかな 5-7-5

nagareyuku/ ***daikon*** *no ha no/ hayasa kana* (winter)
flowing away/ **daikon** (p.p.) leaf (p.p.)/ speed!

it flows away –
the speed
of the daikon leaf

55. ふるさとの月の港をよぎるのみ 5-7-5

furusato no/ ***tsuki*** *no minato o/ yogiru nomi* (autumn)
hometown (p.p.)/ **moon** (p.p.) harbour (o.p.)/ float across only

the moonlit harbour
of my hometown –
only sailing by

1929

56. 目つむれば若き我あり春の宵 5-7-5

me tsumureba/ wakaki ware ari/ ***haru no yoi*** (spring)
eyes when close/ young self am/ **spring dusk**

when I close my eyes
I am my young self –
spring dusk

57. 山吹の一枝絶えず雨の打つ 5-7-5

yamabuki *no/ hito eda taezu/ ame no utsu* (spring)
kerria (p.p.)/ one branch steadily/ rain (p.p) beating

on one branch of kerria
the steadily
beating rain

1930

58. 春の山歪つながらも圓きかな 5-7-5

haru no yama*/ ibitsu nagara mo/ maruki kana* (spring)
spring mountain/ even while irregular/ [is] round !

the spring mountain –
even though it is irregularly shaped
it's round too

59. 茨穂麥芥子など活けて句會かな 6-7-5

ibara homugi/ keshi *nado ikete/ kukai kana* (summer, summer, summer)
briar roses, **ears of barley**/ **poppies** and such arranged/ haiku meeting!

arranged briar roses
ears of barley, poppies and such –
haiku meeting!

60. 月を待つ椅子に對して東山 5-7-5

tsuki *o matsu/ isu ni taishite/ Higashiyama* (autumn)
moon (p.p.) awaiting/ chair faces/ Higashiyama

waiting for the moon –
Higashiyama
faces my chair

61. もの言ひて露けき夜と覚えたり 5-7-5

mono iite/ ***tsuyukeki*** *yoru to/ oboetari* (autumn)
something speaking/ that it was a **dewy** night/ realised

saying something
I realised
it was a dewy night

62. 帚木に影といふものありにけり 5-7-5

hahakigi ni/ kage to iu mono/ ari ni keri (summer)
broom grass [=bassiascoparia] for/ shadow as it is called/ there is!

the broom grass
has that thing
we call a shadow!

1931

63. 水の泡吹きちぎりとぶ秋の風 5-7-5

mizu no awa/ fukichigiritobu/ ***aki*** *no kaze* (autumn)
froth on the water/ blow-disperse-fly/ **autumn** wind

the froth on the water
is blown away –
autumn wind

64. 紅梅の紅の通へる幹ならん 5-7-5

kōbai *no/ beni no kayoeru/ miki naran* (spring)
red plum [blossom] (p.p.)/ red (p.p.) travel/ trunk must

the red
in the red plum blossoms
must travel through the trunk

65. 牡丹の日々の衰へ見つゝあり 4-7-5

botan *no/ hibi no otoroe/ mitsutsu ari* (summer)
peony (p.p.)/ days (p.p.) decline/ am watching

day by day
watching the peony
decline

66. 飛騨の生まれ名はとうというほととぎす 6-7-5

Hida no umare/ na wa Tō to iu/ ***hototogisu*** (summer)
Hida (p.p.) birth/ name “Tō” says/ **lesser cuckoo**

born in Hida
she[7] says she's called "To" –
lesser cuckoo

67. 寄附板にべつたり當る冬日かな 5-7-5

kifu ita ni/ bettari ataru/ ***fuyu*** *hi kana* (winter)
donation board on/ stickily shining on/ **winter** sun!

stickily shining on
the donation board –
the winter sun

68. 夕影は流るゝ藻にも濃かりけり 5-7-5

yūkage wa/ nagaruru mo ni mo/ kokarikeri
twilight shadows (t.p.)/ flowing seaweed too/ has darkened!

twilight shadows
and the flowing
seaweed too has darkened

1932

69. 年を經て再び那智の瀧に來し 5-7-5

toshi o hete/ futatabi Nachi no/ ***Taki*** *ni koshi* (summer)
years have passed/ once again Nachi/ **Waterfall** to have come

after all those years
once again I've come to
Nachi Waterfall

70. 花の雨降りこめられて謠かな 5-7-4

hana no ame*/ furikomerarete/ uta kana* (spring)
flower (p.p.) rain/ falling-shuts-us-up-indoors/ nō chanting!

[7] According to Inabata Teiko, ed. *100 Works of Kyoshi: Kyoshi Hyakku*. Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2010. p. 47an accompanying note mentions this haiku followed a conversation with a girl working at an inn in Kamikochi who repeated her name was Tō.

cherry blossom season rain
keeps us indoors –
nō chanting!

71. 生き甲斐のある思ひあり夏館 5-7-5

ikigai no/ aru omoi ari/ ***natsu yakata*** (summer)
reason for living (p.p.)/ feel/ **summer villa**

feel
I've a reason for living –
summer villa

72. 大風に湧き立つてをる新樹かな 5-7-5

ōkaze ni/ wakitatte oru/ ***shinju*** *kana* (summer)
gale in/ boiling up/ **new trees** [=trees covered in new leaves]!

boiling up
in the gale
trees in new leaf!

73. 黒板の低くて見えぬ夜学かな 5-7-5

kokuban no/ hikukute mienu/ ***yagaku*** *kana* (autumn)
blackboard (p.p.)/ low and can't be seen/ **evening classes**!

the blackboard is low
and can't be seen –
evening classes!

74. 秋風の急に寒しや分の茶屋 5-7-5

aki*kaze no/ kyū ni samushi ya/ wake no chaya* (autumn)
autumn wind (p.p.)/ quickly cold –/ hill (p.p.) teashop

the autumn wind's
sudden chill –
a teashop on a hill

75. 風鈴や主の居間と知られたり 5-7-5

fūrin *ya/ aruji no ima to/ shiraretari* (summer)
wind chimes –/ owner's living room/ realised

wind chimes –
that must be
the owner's living room

76. 自らその頃となる釣り忍ぶ 5-7-5

onozukara/ sono koro to naru/ ***tsurishinobu*** (summer)
as a matter of course/ "that time" it becomes/ **hanging ferns**

as a matter of course
it has become "that time" –
hanging ferns

1933

77. 一本の薄紅梅に冴返る 5-7-5

*hitomoto no/ usukō****bai*** *ni/* ***saekaeru*** (spring and spring)
one tree of/ pink **plum** [blossom] to/ [it is] **crisp and clear**

with this one tree
of pink plum blossom
crisp clear air

78. 船涼し己が煙に包まれて 5-7-5

fune ***suzushi****/ ore ga kemuri ni/ tsutsumarete* (summer)
boat **cooling off** [=cooling off in a boat]/ [I am] smoke in/ shrouded

cooling off in a boat –
I am wrapped
in smoke

79. .バス來るや虹の立ちたる湖畔村 5-7-5

basu kuru ya/ ***niji*** *no tachitaru/ kohan mura* (summer)
bus is coming –/ **rainbow** overarching/ lakeside village

the bus is coming –
a rainbow arches over
a lakeside village

80. 神にませばまこと美はし那智の滝 5-7-5

kami ni maseba/ makoto uruwashi/ Nachi no ***taki*** (summer)
god since it is/ truly beautiful/ Nachi (p.p.) **waterfall**

since it is a god
it is truly beautiful –
Nachi waterfall

81. 燈台はひくく霧笛は峙てり 5-7-5

todai wa/ hikuku ***mu****teki wa/ sobadateri* (autumn)
lighthouse/ low **fog** horn/ soars up

the lighthouse is short –
the fog horn
soars up

82. 襟巻きの狐の顔は別にあり 5-7-5

erimaki *no/* ***kitsune*** *no kao wa/ betsu ni ari* (winter and winter)
scarf (p.p.)/ **fox** [= fox collar] (p.p.) face (t.p.)/ elsewhere

the fox collar's
face
is somewhere else

83. 凍蝶の己が魂追うて飛ぶ 5-7-5

itechō *no/ ono ga tamashii/ ōtetobu* (winter)
frozen butterfly (p.p.)/ own spirit/ chase-fly

the frozen butterfly

flies after
its own spirit

1934

84. 落ち葉焚く過ぎゆく時雨見送りつ 5-7-5

ochiba *taku/ sugiyuku shigure/ miokuritsu* (winter and winter)
falling leaves burn/ passing shower/ see off

burning leaves
I see off
the passing showers

85. 大いなるものが過ぎ行く野分かな 5-7-5

ooinaru/ mono ga sugiyuku/ ***nowake*** *kana* (autumn)
huge/ things (s.p.) go past/ **typhoon**!

great big things
go past –
typhoon!

86. 船蟲の波に洗はれ何も無し 5-7-5

funamushi *no/ nami ni araware/ nani mo nashi* (summer)
sea slater(s) (p.p.)/ waves in washed/ nothing at all

sea slaters
washed away in the waves –
nothing is left

1935

87. 大いなり枯蘆原をとぶ鴉 5-7-5

ooinari/ kare ***ashi*** *hara o/ tobu karasu* (autumn)
huge/ withered **reed** plain (o.p.)/ fly crows

huge over

the withered reed plain
fly crows

88. 猫柳光り漁翁現れし 5-7-5

nekoyanagi/ hikari gyoō/ arawareshi (spring)
pussy willow/ shining fishing village headman/ has appeared

pussy willows
shining the fishing village headman
has appeared

89. 椿先搖れて見せたる春の風 5-7-5

tsubaki *saki/ yurete misetaru/ haru no kaze* (spring and spring)
camellia tips/ shaking showing itself/ spring breeze

showing itself
in the shaking camellia tips –
the spring breeze

90. .姉の留守妹が炊く蕨飯 5-7-5

ane no rusu/ imōto ga taku/ ***warabi****meshi* (spring)
big sister away/ little sister (s.p.) cooks/ **bracken** rice

big sister away
little sister cooks –
bracken rice

91. かまつかに驚きの目をめはりけり 5-7-5

kamatsuka *ni/ odoroki no me o/ meharikeri* (autumn)
goby minnow(s) [pseudogobio esocinus] at/ surprised eyes/ on the look out !

surprised at
goby minnows
eyes on the look out

92. 門低し芒芭蕉とかぶさりて 5-7-5

*mon hikushi/ **susukibashō** to/ kabusarite* (autumn and autumn)
gate low/ **pampas grass banana** [leaves] and/ cover over the top [like a hat]

a low gate
crowned with
pampas grass and banana leaves

93. 煙突の煙棒のごと冬の雨 5-9-5

*entotsu no/ kemuribō no goto/ **fuyu no ame*** (winter)
chimney/ smoke stick-like/ **winter rain**

chimney smoke
like a stick –
winter rain

94. 苔の上の霰をどりて面白し 6-7-5

*koke no ue no/ **arare** odorite/ omoshiroshi* (winter)
moss on/ **hail** dances/ what fun

on the moss
hail dances –
what fun

95. 觀音は/近づきやすし除夜詣 5-7-5

Kannon wa/ chikazuki yasushi/ joya mōde (winter)
Kannon (t.p.)/ closer easy/ **New Year Eve** shrine visit

Kannon
is easier to get close to –
New Year Eve shrine visit

96. 道のべに阿波の遍路の墓あはれ 5-7-5

*michi nobe ni/ Awa no **henro** no/ haka aware* (spring)
road side at/ Awa (p.p.) **pilgrim(s)** (p.p.)/ grave(s) appear(s)

along the roadside
the Awa pilgrims'
graves appear

1936

97. 椀ほどの竹生島見え秋日和 5-7-5

wan hodo no/ Chikubujima mie/ ***akibiyori*** (autumn)
soup bowl about (p.p.)/ Chikubu Island looks/ **beautiful autumn weather**

Chikubu Island
looks about the size of a soup bowl –
beautiful autumn weather

98. 古綿子着のみ着のまま鹿島立 5-7-5

furu ***watako****/ ki nomi ki no mama/ kashimadachi* (winter)
old **quilted jacket**/ wearing only wearing as usual/ set off on a journey

wearing my usual
old quilted jacket –
I set off on my journey

99. 夏潮を蹴って戻りて陸に立つ 5-7-5

natsushio *o/ kette modorite/ kuga ni tatsu* (summer)
summer current/ ploughed through returned/ land on stand

having ploughed the summer current
I've come back
and stand on land

100. 籐椅子にあれば草木花鳥来 5-7-5

tōisu ni/ areba sōmoku/ kachō rai (summer)
rattan chair in/ when grasses, trees/ flowers, birds come

when I sit my rattan chair
grasses, trees, flowers, birds

come

APPENDIX THREE: HISAJO'S HAIKU CORPUS

1918

1. 貧しき群におちし心や百合に恥づ 7-7-5

mazushiki mure ni/ ochishi kokoro ya/ ***yuri*** *ni hajizu* (summer)
masses among/ fallen heart –/ **lilies** against shamed

fallen to the level of the masses
my heart
is shamed before the lilies

2. 假名かきうみし子にそらまめをまかせけり 7-7-5

kana kaki umishi/ ko ni ***soramame*** *o/ makasekeri* (summer)
ABCs write-tired of/ child-to **broad beans/** have given job

for the child
sick of writing ABCs
I've given the job of the broad beans

3. 童話よみ盡して金魚子に吊りぬ 5-7-5

dōwa yomi/ tsukushite ***kingyo****/ ko ni tsurinu* (summer)
fairy tales read/ -used up **goldfish**/ child-for hung

all the fairy tales
read to exhaustion
I hung up goldfish for my child

4. 子等は寝し簷端の月に涼みけり 5-7-5

kora wa neshi/ nokiba no ***tsuki*** *ni/* ***suzumi****keri* (autumn and summer)
children sleep/ eaves' **moon[light]** in/ **cooled off**!

the children asleep
I cooled off
in the moonlight under the eaves

5. ホ句のわれ慈母たるわれや夏痩せぬ 5-7-5

hoku no ware/ jibo taru ware ya/ ***natsu yasenu*** (summer)
haiku (p.p.) me/ loving-mother me –/ **summer weight-loss-ended up**

the haiku me
the loving mother me –
I got scraggy this summer

6. 面痩せし子に新しき單衣かな 5-7-5

omoyase shi/ ko ni atarashiki/ ***hitoe*** *kana* (summer)
face wasted away/ child-for new/ **unlined kimono**!

for the child
with the wasted face –
a new light-weight kimono

7. 七夕や布團.に凭れ紙縒る子 5-7-5 (autumn)

Tanabata *ya/ futon ni motare/ kamiyoru ko* (autumn)
Tanabata –/ futon-on lolling/ paper-twisting child

Tanabata –
lolling on her futon
a child twisting paper

8. 銀河濃し救ひ得たりし子の命 5-7-5

ginga *koshi/ sukuietarishi/ ko no inochi* (autumn)
Milky Way luxuriant/ managed to save/ child's life

the luxuriant Milky Way –
my child's life
has been saved

1919

9. 父逝くや明星霜の松に尚ほ 5-7-5

chichi yuku ya/ myōjō ***shimo*** *no/ matsu ni nao* (winter)
my father has died/ – Venus **frost** (p.p.)/ pine tree on even so

my father has died –
the morning star
on the frosty pine tree even so

10. 秋晴や何を小刻むよその厨 5-7-6

akibare *ya/ nani o kokizamu/ yoso no kuriya* (autumn)
autumn-fine-weather –/ what small-chop/ elsewhere's kitchen

lovely autumn weather –
what's being chopped small
in someone else's kitchen?

11. 肥かけて冬菜太るをたのしめり 5-7-5

koe kakete/ ***fuyu na*** *futoru o/ tanoshimeri* (winter)
manure applying/ winter vegetables fatten/ can enjoy

having applied manure
I can enjoy
the winter vegetables get fatter

12. わが蒔いていつくしみ見る冬菜かな 5-7-5

waga maite/ itsukushimi miru/ ***fuyun*** *kana* (winter)
I sowed [them]/ affectionately look at/ **winter vegetables**!

I look affectionately at
the winter vegetables
I sowed

13. 唐黍を焼く子の喧嘩きくも厭 7-5-5

tōkibi*o yaku/ ko no kenka/ kiku mo iya* (autumn)
sweet corn (o.p) cooking/ children (p.p.) fighting/ hear already sick of

I'm so tired of hearing

the children fight
over cooking sweet corn

14. 春寒や刻み鋭き小菊の芽 5-7-5

harusamu *ya/ kizami surodoki/ kogiku no me* (spring)
spring cold –/ notched sharply/ small-chrysanthemum (p.p.) buds

spring cold –
sharply notched
aster buds

15. あたたかや/皮ぬぎ捨てし猫柳 5-7-5

atataka *ya/ kawa nugisuteshi/* ***neko yanagi*** (spring and spring)
warmth –/ skin take-off-throw-away/ **pussy willows**

the warmth –
throwing off their skins
pussy willows

16. 花衣ぬぐや纏る紐いろ々 5-7-6

hana*goromo/ nugu ya matsuwaru/ himo iroiro* (spring)
flower-garment/ take off as cling/ ties various colourful (sexy)

peeling off
the blossom viewing kimono
coloured ties cling

17. 花大根に蝶漆黒の翅あげて 7-7-5

hana daikon *ni/* ***chō*** *shikkoku no/ hane agete* (spring)
flowering daikon on/ **butterfly** lacquer-black/ (p.p.) wings raised

on a flowering daikon
a butterfly with raised
lacquer black wings

18. 夏痩や頬も色とらず束ね髪 5-7-5

natsu yase *ya/ ho mo iro torazu/ tabanegami* (summer)
summer weight loss –/ cheeks also colour not take the trouble/ bunched hair

summer weight loss
not bothering with makeup
scrunched up hair

19. 蝉時雨日斑あびて掃き移る 5-7-5

semi*shigure/ himadara abite/ hakiutsuru* (summer)
cicada shower/ sun blotches bathed-in/ sweep-shift

cicada shower –
bathed in sun blotches
I move as I sweep

20. 春の灯に心をどりて襟かけぬ 5-7-5

haru*no hi ni/ kokoro odorite/ eri kakenu* (spring)
spring (p.p) lamplight in/ heart dancing/ collar have attached

under spring lamplight
my heart is dancing –
I have attached the collar

21. 黄薔薇や異人の厨に料理會 5-8-6

*ki****sōbi*** *ya/ ijin no kuriya ni/ ryōrikai* (summer)
yellow **rose** –/ foreigner (p.p.) kitchen in/ cooking meeting

yellow rose –
in a foreigner's kitchen
a cooking lesson

22. バナナ下げて子等に歸りし日暮れかな 6-7-5

banana sagete/ kora ni kaerishi/ higure kana
bananas carrying/ children to return/ day drawing to a close!

bringing bananas

I return to the children –
it is getting dark!

23. 袂かむやまなじり上げて秋女 6-7-5

tamoto kamu ya/ manajiri agete/ ***aki*** *onna* (autumn)
sleeve biting –/ corner-of-eye raise/ **autumn** woman

biting her sleeve –
looking up from the corner of her eye
a woman in autumn

24. 白豚や秋日に透いて耳血色 5-7-6

shirobuta ya/ ***akibi*** *ni suite/ mimi chiiro* (autumn)
white pig –/ **autumn sun** by shone through/ ears blood-coloured

white pig –
the autumn sun shines through
blood coloured ears

25. 掻き合す夜寒の膝や机下 5-7-5

kakiawasu/ ***yosamu*** *no hiza ya/ tsukue shita* (autumn)
pulling clothes together/ **cold night** (p.p.) chilled knees –/ desk under

at my desk –
pulling my clothes
over my chilled knees

26. 髪巻いて夜長の風呂に浸りけり 5-7-5

kami maite/ ***yonaga*** *no furo ni/ hitari keri* (autumn)
hair rolling-in-a-bun/ **long night** (p.p.) bath in/ soaked

my hair rolled up
I soaked in the bath
on this long autumn night

27. 草刈るや萩に沈める紺法被 5-7-5

kusa karu *ya/ hagi ni shizumeru/ kon happi* (summer)
grass cutting –/ bush clover in submerged/ indigo happi coat

cutting grass –
submerged in the bush clover
an indigo happi coat

28. 菊畠に干竿躍りおちにけり 5-7-5

kiku*bata ni/ hoshizao odori/ ochi ni keri* (autumn)
chrysanthemum patch into/ laundry pole dancing/-has-fallen-down

the laundry pole
falls dancing down
into the chrysanthemum patch

29. 寒風に葱ぬく我に絃歌やめ 5-7-5

samukaze ni/ ***negi*** *nuku ware ni/ genka yame* (winter)
cold wind in/ **onions**-pulling-up me for/ singing-to-the-shamisen stop

pulling up onions in the cold wind –
for my sake
stop it shamisen!

30. 板の如き帯にさゝれぬ秋扇 6-7-5

ita no gotoki/ obi ni sasarenu/ ***aki ōgi*** (autumn)
board (p.p) likeness/ sash insert-cannot/ **autumn fan**

stiff as a board
the autumn fan cannot be squeezed
under the sash

31. 病蝶や石に翅をまつ平ら 5-7-5

*byō****chō*** *ya/ ishi ni tsubasa o/ mattaira* (spring?)
sick **butterfly** –/ stone on wings (o.p.)/ quite flat

sick butterfly –

its wings on a stone
quite flat

1920

32. 水ぬるみ網打ち見入る郵便夫 5-7-5

mizu nurumi*/ amiuchi miiru/ yūbinfu* (spring)
water warming up –/ fishing-net-throwing gaze-at/ postman

the water's getting warmer
gazing at a thrown fishing net –
a postman

33. 鬢かくや春眠さめし眉重く 5-7-5

bin kaku ya/ ***shunmin*** *sameshi/ mayu omoku* (spring)
the hair by her ear scratches –/ **spring nap** wakes up/ heavy eyebrows

scratching the hair by her ear
she wakes from a spring nap
with lowered eyebrows

34. 芥子蒔くや風に乾きし洗ひ髪 6-7-5

karashi maku ya/ kaze ni kawakishi/ araigami
mustard seed sow –/ wind in drying/ newly-washed-hair

sowing mustard seed –
newly washed hair
drying in the wind

35. さうめんや孫にあたりて舅不興 5-7-6

sōmen ya/ mago ni atarite/ shūto fukyō
somen noddles –/ grandchildren at directed/ father-in-law bad temper

cold noodles –
father-in-law's bad temper
directed at his grandchildren

36. 睡蓮や鬢に手あてて水鏡 5-7-5

suiren *ya/ bin ni te atete/ mizu kagami* (summer)
waterlilies –/ the hair by her ears to hand touch/ water mirror

waterlilies –
hand touching the hair near her ear
the mirroring water

37. 茄子もぐや日を照りかへす櫛のみね 5-7-5

nasu *mogu ya/ hi o terikaesu/ kushi no mine* (summer)
eggplants picking –/ sunlight (o.p.) reflects/ comb (p.p.) ridge

picking eggplants –
sunlight flashes
from the ridge of a comb

38. 汲みあてゝ朝寒ひびく釣瓶かな 5-7-5

kumi atete/ asa ***samu*** *hibiku/ tsurube kana* (winter)
ladle-hit/ morning-**cold** rings/ well-bucket!

striking the icy water
and ringing out in the cold morning –
a well bucket!

39. 葉鶏頭のいただきおどる驟雨かな 6-7-4

hageitō *no/ itadaki odoru/ shuu kana* (autumn)
Joseph's coat [plant] (p.p.)/ top dances/ sudden shower!

the top of the Joseph's coat
is dancing –
a sudden shower!

40. 炭つぐや髷の粉雪を撫でふいて 5-7-5

sumi *tsugu ya/ mage no ko****yuki*** *o/ nade fuite* (winter)
coal pour –/ bun (p.p.) specks **snow**/ stroke-wipe

she pours out coal –
brushes
specks of snow from her bun

41. 風邪の子や眉にのび来しひたい髪 5-7-5

kaze *no ko ya/ mayu ni nobikishi/ hitaigami* (winter)
cold [= illness] (p.p.) child –/ eyebrows has grown to/ fringe

child with a cold –
her fringe
has grown towards her eyebrows

42. 笑み解けて寒紅つきし前歯かな 5-7-5

emi tokete/ ***kanbeni*** *tsukishi/ maeba kana* (winter)
smile melting/ **winter rouge** stuck-to/ front teeth!

melting into a smile –
winter rouge stuck
to her front teeth!

From *Shinshū Gin [Shinshū Poem]* a group of 165 haiku

43. 紫陽花に秋冷いたる信濃かな 5-7-5

ajisai *ni/* ***shūreiitaru****/ Shinano kana* (summer and autumn)
hydrangeas-for/ **autumn** chill-has-caused/ Shinano!

an autumn chill
has touched the hydrangeas –
that's Shinano!

44. 濃霧晴れし玻璃に映れる四葩かな 6-7-5

*nō****mu*** *hareshi/ hari ni utsureru/* ***yohira*** *kana* (autumn and summer)
heavy-**fog** has cleared/ glass in reflected/ **hydrangeas**!

the heavy fog has cleared
reflected in the glass –

hydrangeas!

45. 秋宮に髪むしり泣く女かな 5-7-5

aki *miya ni/ kami mushiri naku/ onna kana* (autumn)
autumn shrine at/ hair roughly [tearing] weeping/ woman!

in an autumn shrine
tearing at her hair –
a weeping woman!

46. かくらんやまぶた凹みて寝入る母 5-7-5

kakuran ya/ mabuta hekomite/ neiru haha (summer)
heat stroke–/ her eyelids sunken/ falling asleep my mother

heat stroke –
with sunken eyelds
my mother is falling asleep

47. 葉洩日に碧玉透けし葡萄かな 5-7-5

hamorebi ni/ hekigyoku sukeshi/ ***budō*** *kana* (autumn)
leaf-leaked-sunlight in/ jasper transparent/ **grapes** !

in dappled sunlight
transparent jasper
grapes!

48. 葡萄投げて我儘つのる病婦かな 6-7-5

budō *nagete/ wagamama tsunoru/ byōfu kana* (autumn)
throwing **grapes**/ willfully violent/ a sick woman!

throwing grapes –
willfully violent
a sick woman!

49. 北斗爛たり高原くらき草いきれ 7-7-5

hokuto rantari/ kōgen kuraki/ ***kusa ikire*** (summer)
Ursa Major glitters/ plateau dark/ **smell of new mown grass**

Ursa Major glitters
the plateau's dark –
smell of new mown grass

50. にこにこと林檎うまげやお下げ髪 5-7-5

niko niko to/ ***ringo*** *umage ya/ osagegami* (autumn)
smiling [onomatopoeia]/ **apple** delicious –/ ponytail

all smiles
she enjoys an apple –
her ponytail

51. 廊通ふスリッパの音夜長かな 5-7-5

rō kayou/ surippa no oto/ ***yonaga*** *kana* (autumn)
corridor travel-back-and-forth/ slippers (p.p.) sound/ **long night**!

the sound of slippers
back and forth along the corridor –
the long night!

52. よべの野分を語る廊人旭を浴びて 6-8-7

yobe no ***nowaki****/ o kataru rō jin/ asahi o abite* (autumn)
last night (p.p.) **typhoon**/ (o.p.) telling corridor people/ sunlight-are-bathed-in

"last night's typhoon"
the people talking in the corridor
are bathed in morning sunlight

53. 朱唇ぬれて葡萄うまきかいとし子よ 6-7-5

kuchi nurete/ ***budō*** *umaki ka/ itoshigo yo* (autumn)

red lips wet/ **grapes** delicious (i.p)/ dear child!
your moist red lips –

are those grapes yummy
my darling child?

54. 粥すゝる匙の重さやちゝろ蟲 5-7-5

kayu susuru/ saji no omosa ya/ ***chichiro mushi*** (autumn)
rice gruel sip/ spoon (p.p.) weight –/ **cricket**

sipping rice gruel
the weight of the spoon –
cricket song

55. 言葉少く別れし夫婦秋の宵 5-7-5

kotoba sukunaku/ wakareshi fūfu/ ***aki*** *no yoi* (autumn)
words few/ have parted husband-wife/ **autumn** (p.p.) early-evening

with barely a word
the husband and wife have parted –
autumn twilight

56. 栗むくや夜行にて發つ夫淋し 5-7-6

kuri *muku ya/ yakō nite tatsu/ tsuma sabishi* (autumn)
peeling **chestnuts** –/ night travel depart/ my husband lonely

peeling chestnuts –
leaving on a night journey
my lonely husband

57. 吾子に似て泣くは誰が子ぞ夜半の秋 5-7-5

ako ni nite/ naku wa ta ga ko zo/ yowa no ***aki*** (autumn)
my child like/ crying whose child/ midnight in **autumn**

just like mine
whose child is crying? –
autumn midnight

58. 退院の足袋の白さよ秋袷 5-7-5

taiin no/ ***tabi*** *no shirosa yo/* ***akiawase*** (winter and autumn)
discharged-from-hospital/ kimono socks whiteness!/ **autumn lined kimono**

discharged
such white tabi!
a warm autumn kimono

59. 病み痩せて帯の重さよ秋袷 5-7-5

yami yasete/ obi no omosa yo/ ***akiawase*** (autumn)
illness wasted/ obi (p.p.) weight! / **lined autumn kimono**

wasted by illness
the obi is so heavy!
a warm autumn kimono

60. 個性まげて生くる道わかずホ句の秋 5-8-5

saga magete/ ikuru michi wakazu/ ***hoku no aki*** (autumn)
personality distorted/ life path don't know/ **autumn of *hokku***

I don't know how to live
and distort my personality –
this autumn of haiku

61. 螺線まいて崖落つ時の一葉疾し 6-7-6

rasen maite/ gake otsu toki no/ ***hitoha*** *hayashi* (autumn)
spiral coiling/ cliff [from] fall when (p.p.)/ **one leaf** fast

spiraling
as it falls from the cliff
one leaf at speed

62. 夫へ戻す子等の服縫ふ冬夜かな 6-7-5

tsuma e modosu/ kora no fuku nuu/ ***fuyu*** *yo kana*(winter)
husband to returning/ children (p.p.) clothes sew/ **winter** night!

sending my children back to my husband

I sew clothes for them –
winter night!

1921

63. 蚊帳の中より朝の指圖や旅疲れ 7-7-5

kaya *no naka yori/ asa no sashizu ya/ tabizukare* (summer)
mosquito net (p.p.) inside-from/ morning's instructions –/ journey-tiredness

from within the mosquito net
the morning's instructions –
tired from a journey

1922

64. 戯曲よむ冬夜の食器つけしまま 5-7-5

gikyoku yomu/ ***fuyu yo*** *no shokki/ tsukeshi mama* (winter)
play read/ **winter night** (p.p.) dishes/ soaking have been left

reading a play –
the winter night's dishes
left soaking

65. 足袋つぐやノラともならず教師妻 5-7-5

tabi *tsugu ya/ Nora to mo narazu/ kyōshizuma* (winter)
tabi mending –/ Nora also not to be/ teacher's wife

mending tabi
not to be Nora
the teacher's wife

66. 冬服や辞令を祀る良教師 5-7-5

fuyu fuku *ya/ jirei o matsuru/ ryō kyōshi* (winter)
winter clothes –/ puts the appointment notice on the family-altar/ the good teacher

winter clothes –

the good teacher
puts his appointment notice on the family altar

67. 遊女らの涼める前を通りけり 5-7-5

yūjora no/ ***suzumeru*** *mae o/ tōrikeri* (summer)
pleasure girls (p.p.)/ **cooling off** [place] in front of/ walked past

I walked past where
the prostitiutes are
cooling off

68. 春潮に流るゝ藻あり矢の如く 5-7-5

shunchō *ni/ nagaruru mo ari/ ya no gotoku* (spring)
spring tide in/ flowing seaweed [there]/ arrow (p.p.) likeness

in the spring tide
flowing seaweed
like an arrow

From The Autumn Moon and Cosmos 5 haiku

69. われにつきゐしサタン離れぬ曼珠沙華 7-7-5

ware ni tsukiishi/ satan hanarenu/ ***manjushage*** (autumn)
was stuck to me/ Satan has let/ go **red spider lily**

Satan was stuck to me,
but has let go –
red spider lily

70. コスモスくらし雲の中わく月の暈 7-7-5

kosumosu kurashi/ kumo no naka waku/ ***tsuki*** *no kasa*
cosmos [flowers] dark/ cloud (p.p.) centre gushes/ **moon** (p.p.) halo

cosmos flowers in darkness –
from the centre of a cloud gushes

the moon's halo

71. 枯柳に来し鳥吹かれ飛びにけり 6-7-5

kareyanag*i ni/ kishi tori fukare/ tobi ni keri* (winter)
bare [withered] willow to/-arrives-bird blown/-flew!

approaching a bare willow
the bird blown off course
flew away

1923

72. 雪道や降誕祭の窓明り 5-7-5

yuki *michi ya/ kōtansai no/ mado akari* (winter)
snowy road –/ nativity (p.p.)/ window glow

snowy road –
the nativity window
aglow

73. 姫著莪の花に墨する朝かな 5-7-5

*hime****shaga*** *no/ hana ni sumi suru/ ashita kana* (summer)
fringed **iris** (p.p.)/ flower for ink making/ morning!

a morning
on which I prepare the ink
for a fringed iris ink wash

1926

74. 山茶花の紅つきまぜよゐのこ餅 5-7-5

sazanka *no/ beni tsukimaze yo/* ***inoko****mochi* (winter and autumn)
camellia (p.p.)/ scarlet pound together!/ **wild boar** rice cakes

pound them together

with camellia scarlet!
wild boar rice cakes

1927

75. 晩涼やうぶ毛生えたる長瓢 5-7-5

banryō *ya/ ubumo haetaru/ nagahisago* (summer)
evening cool–/ lanugo sprouting/ long gourd

evening cool –
sprouting lanugo
a long gourd

76. 朝顔や濁り初めたる市の空 5-7-5

asagao *ya/ nigorisometaru/ machi no sora* (autumn)
morning glory –/ murky-has-begun-to-become/ town (p.p.) sky

morning glory –
starting to become murky
the industrial sky

77. 夕顔やひらきかゝりて襞深く 5-7-5

yūgao *ya/ hiraki kakarite/ hida fukaku* (summer)
moonflowers–/ opening-on-the-point-of/ creases deep

moonflowers –
beginning to open
deeply creased

1928

78. 枯色の華紋しみ出し瓢かな 5-7-5

kareiro no/ kamon shimideshi/ ***hisago*** *kana* (autumn)
wither-coloured (p.p.)/ flower pattern exuding/ **gourd**!

exuding

a bleached out brocade –
a gourd!

1929

79. 忍び来て摘むは誰が子ぞ紅苺 5-7-5

shinobikite/ tsumu wa ta ga ko zo/ beni ***ichigo*** (summer)
sneaking in/ to pinch them whose child is it/ red **strawberries**

sneaking in
to pinch the red strawberries –
whose child is it?

Undated up to 1929

80. 春暁の紫玉菜抱く葉かな 5-7-5

shungyō no/ murusaki tamana/ daku ha kana
spring dawn (p.p.)/ purple round-cabbage/ embracing leaves!

the spring dawn's
purple cabbage
embracing leaves!

81. 齒莖かゆく乳首かむ子や花曇 6-7-5

haguki kayuku/ chikubi kamu ko ya/ ***hanagumori*** (spring)
itchy gums/ nipple-biting-child –/ **hazy spring weather**

itchy gums
the baby bites the nipple –
hazy spring weather

82. 草摘む子幸あふれたる面かな 5-7-5

kusa tsumu ko/ sachi afuretaru/ omote kana
flowers and grasses [probably Japanese mugwort] picking child/ happiness
overflowing/ face!

child picking mugwort
overflowing with happiness
her face

83 .姉ゐねばおとなしき子やしゃぼん玉 5-7-5

ane ineba/ otonashiki ko ya/ ***shabondama*** (spring)
big sister away since/ docile child –/ [blowing] **soap bubbles**

with her big sister away
she's such a good girl –
blowing soap bubbles

84. 花ふかく躑躅見る歩を移しけり 5-7-6

hana fukaku/ ***tsutsuji*** *miru ho o/ utsurishi keri* (spring)
flowers deep/ **azelea** look step (o.p.)/ moved

deep in flowers –
I have taken a step
to look at the azelea

85. 縫ふ肩をゆすりてすねる子暑さかな 5-8-5

nuu kata o/ yusurite suneru ko/ ***atsusa*** *kana* (summer)
sewing shoulder (o.p.)/ shaking sulky child/ **the heat**

a sulky child shaking
my shoulder as I'm sewing
the heat!

86. 夏の帶翡翠にとめし鏡去る 5-7-5

natsu *no obi/ hisui ni tomeshi/ kagami saru* (summer)
summer(p.p.) obi/ tied up with a kingfisher knot/ mirror left

summer obi –
the kingfisher knot tied
I move away from the mirror

87. 洗ひ髪かわく間月の籐椅子に 5-7-5

*araigami/ kawaku ma/ tsuki no **tōisu** ni* (summer)
fresh washed hair/ dries while/ moonlight (p.p.) **cane chair** in

fresh washed hair –
in a moonlit cane chair
while it dries

88. 照り降りにさして色なし古日傘 5-7-5

*terifuri ni/ sashite ironashi/ furu **higasa*** (summer)
sun and rain in/ put up colourless/ old **parasol**

put up in sun and rain
the old parasol
has faded

89. 金魚掬ふ行水の子の肩さめし 6-7-6

***kingyo** sukuu/ **gyōzui** no ko/ no kata sameshi* (summer and summer)
goldfish scooping-/ for going-bathing (p.p.) child/ shoulders cold

scooping for goldfish
the shoulders of the bath-ready child
are cold

90. ゐもり釣る童の群にわれもゐて 5-7-5

***imori** tsuri/ warabe no mure ni/ ware mo ite* (summer)
salamander fishing/ a bunch of kids/ me too

salamander hunt –
a bunch of kids
and me too

91. 笑みをふくんで牡丹によせし面輪かな 7-7-5

*emi wo fukunde/ **botan** ni yoseshi/ omowa kana* (summer)

smiling/ coming close to the **peony**/ a round face

smiling
close up to the peony –
a round face

92 .白菊に棟かげ光る月夜かな 5-7-5

shiragiku ni/ mune kage hikaru/ ***tsuki****yo kana* (autumn)
white chrysanthemums on/ the shadow of the roof ridge shining –/ **moon**lit night

on the white chrysanthemums
shining to the roof shadow –
a moonlit night!

93. 北風の藪鳴りたわむ月夜かな 5-7-5

kitakaze *no/ yabu naritawamu/ tsukiyo kana* (wind)
north wind (p.p.)/ grove cry-out-twisted-by/ moonlit night!

north wind in the grove
twisted it cries out –
a moonlit night!

From "Taishō Joryū Haiku"

94. 紫陽花剪るや袂くわへて起しつつ 6-7-4

ajisai *kiru ya/ tamoto kuwaete/ koshitsutsu* (summer)
hydrangeas cut –/ sleeve hold-in-mouth/ helps [it] stand up-while

cutting hydrangeas –
sleeve in mouth
she helps the bush stand up

95. 水汲女に門坂急な避暑館 6-7-5

mizukumi me ni/ monzaka kyūna/ ***hisho yakata*** (summer and summer) 6-7-4
wáter-drawing woman for/ gate-slope steep/ **escape-heat-resort**

for the maid who brings the wáter
the slope to the gate is steep –
summer resort

1931

Six haiku on Hikosan[8]

96. 坊毎に春水はしる筧かな 5-7-5

bō goto ni/ ***shunsui*** *hashiru/ kakehi kana* (spring)
each monastery wing to/ **spring water** ran/ open bamboo waterpipes

to each monastery wing
open bamboo pipes
for running spring water

97. 谺して山ほととぎすほしいまゝ 5-7-5

kodama shite/ yama ***hototogisu/*** *hoshii mama* (summer)
echoing/ the **mountain lesser cuckoo**/ just as it likes

echoing
the mountain cuckoo –
just as it likes

98. 三山の高嶺づたひや紅葉狩り 5-7-5

Sanzan no/ takane zutai ya/ ***momijigari*** (autumn)
Sanzan (p.p.)/ peaks along –/ **gathering coloured leaves**

along the peaks
of Sanzan –
gathering autumn leaves

99. 秋晴れや由布にゐ向ふ高嶺茶屋 5-7-5

akibare *ya/ Yufu ni i mukau/ takane-jaya* (autumn)

[8] The name of a sacred mountain in northern Kyushu.

fine autumn weather –/Yufui facing/ high peak teahouse

fine autumn weather –
facing Yufui
a teahouse on the summit

100. 六助のさび鐵砲や秋の宮 5-7-5

Rokusuke no/ sabideppō ya/ ***ak****i no miya* (autumn)
Rokusuke (p.p.)/ rusted gun –/ **autumn** (p.p.) shrine

Rokusuke's
rusty gun –
the shrine in autumn

101. 橡の實のつぶて颪や豊前坊 5-7-5

tochi no mi *no/ tsubute oroshi ya/ Buzenbō* (autumn)
Japanese **horse chestnuts** (p.p.)/ stone-throwing wind-from-the-mountains/ Buzenbō

horse chestnut flinging
mountain gale –
Buzenbo

1932

102. ぬかづけばわれも善女や佛生會 5-7-5

nukazukeba/ ware mo zennyo ya/ ***busshōe*** (spring)
when I prostrate myself/ I too good woman –/ **Buddha's birthday**

when I bow
I'm a good woman too –
Buddha's birthday

103. 無憂華のき蔭はいづこ佛生會 5-7-5

muyūge no/ kikage wa izuko/ ***busshōe*** (spring)
asoka tree (p.p.)/ shadow where?/ **Buddha's birthday**

where's the shadow
of the asoka tree?
Buddha's birthday

104. 灌沐の淨法身を拜しける 5-7-5

kanmoku no/ jōhōshin o/ haishikeru
pour-bath (p.p.)/ pure law-body (o.p.)/ worship!

anointing
the pure body of the law
I worship

105. 男の子うまぬわれなり粽結ふ 5-7-6

otokonoko/ umanu ware nari/ ***chimaki*** *musubu* (summer)
boy child/ not having borne I/ ***chimaki*** tie up

although I've never had
a son
I tie up *chimaki*[9]

106. 壇の浦見渡す日覆まかせけり 5-8-5

Dannoura/ miwatasu ***hiōi****/ makase keri* (summer)
Dannoura/[10] looking across **sunshield/** relied upon

looking across
the sweep of Dannoura
I relied on my sunshield

107. 羅に衣通る月の肌かな 5-7-5

usumono *ni/ so tōru* ***tsuki*** *no/ hadae kana* (summer and autumn)
silk-gauze garment through/ penetrating **moon-**[light] (p.p.)/ skin!

[9] Chimaki are sticky rice cakes tied up in bamboo given as offerings on Boy's Day (now Children's Day), May 5th.
[10]Dannoura, near where Hisajo lived, is the stretch of water where the Taira Clan were finally defeated in a battle with the Minamoto Clan in 1185, leading to the beginning of samurai rule in Japan. The story is told in the epic poem, *Heike Monogatari [The Tale of the Heike]*.

through silk gauze
moonlight passes
to the skin!

Four Haiku about Making a Chrysanthemum Pillow[11] from Dried Chrysanthemums

108. 愛蔵す東籬の詩あり菊枕 5-7-5

aizō su/ tōri no shi ari/ ***kikumakura*** (autumn)
love-store/ eastern fence poem exists/ **chrysanthemum pillow**

there's a poem I love
about the eastern fence –
chrysanthemum pillow

109. ちなみぬふ陶淵明の菊枕 5-7-5

chinami nuu/ Tōenmei no/ ***kikumakura*** (autumn)
by association sewing/ Tao Yuanming (p.p.)/ **chrysanthemum pillow**

by association
sewing Tao Yuanming's
chrysanthemum pillow

110. 白妙の菊の枕をぬひ上げし 5-7-5

shirotae no/ ***kiku no makura*** *o/ nui ageshi* (autumn)
white cloth (p.p.)/ **chrysanthemum pillow**/ finished sewing

made of white cloth
the chrysanthemum pillow
I've finished sewing

111. ぬひ上げて菊の枕のかほるなり 5-7-5

nuiagete/ ***kiku no makura*** *no/ kaoru nari* (autumn)
sew-completed/ **chrysanthemum pillow**(p.p.)/ fragrant is

[11]Hisajo made a chrysanthemum pillow as a present for Kyoshi's sixtieth birthday.

now it is finished
the chrysanthemum pillow
smells fragrant

At Hachiman Public Club 6 Haiku

112. 掃きよせてある花屑も貴妃櫻　5-7-5

*haki yosete/ aru **hana** kuzu mo/ Kihi**zakura*** (spring and spring)
swept together/ the flower rubbish too/ Imperial consort cherry **blossoms**

swept together
the rubbish of flower petals –
Imperial Consort cherry blossoms

113. 花房の吹かれまろべる露臺かな 5-7-5

***hana**busa no/ fukaremaroberu/ rodai kana* (spring)
flower tassle (p.p.)/ blown-tumbled/ balcony!

a tassle of flowers
blown and rolling over
on the balcony!

114. 風に落つ楊貴妃櫻房のまゝ 5-7-5

*kaze ni otsu/ Yō Kihi**zakura**/ fusa no mama* (spring)
wind by dropped/ Yang Guifei **cherry blossoms**/ tassles as they are

dropped by the wind
Yang Guifei cherry blossoms
still in tassles

115. むれ落ちて楊貴妃櫻房のまゝ 5-7-5

*mure ochite/ Yō Kihi**zakura**/ fusa no mama* (spring)
group fallen/ Yang Guifei **cherry blossoms**/ tassles as they are

fallen in a group
Yang Guifei cherry blossoms

still in tassles

116. むれ落ちて楊貴妃櫻尚あせず 5-7-5

*mure ochite/ Yō Kihi**zakura**/ nao asezu* (spring)
group dropped/ Yang Guifei **cherry blossoms**/ as yet not faded

fallen in a group
Yang Guifei cherry blossoms
not yet faded

117. きざはしを降りる香なし貴妃櫻　5-8-5

*kizahashi no/ oriru kaori nashi/ Kihi**zakura*** (spring)
steps to garden (p.p.)/ descending scent without/ Imperial Consort **cherry blossoms**

descending the steps to the garden
without any scent –
Imperial Consort cherry blossoms

Eleven haiku about Suigō Onga[12]

118. 萍の遠賀の水路は縦横に　5-8-5

***ukigusa** no/ Onga no suiro wa/ jūō ni* (summer)
duckweed (p.p.)/ Onga (p.p.) water channels/ length and breadth

the Onga waterways
duckweed
in every direction

119. 菱の花咲き閉づ江沿ひ句帳手に　5-7-5

***hishi no hana**/ saki tozu/ ezoi kuchō te ni* (summer)
waterchestnut (p.p.) flowers / bloom wide open/ estuary follow haiku notebook in hand

the waterchestnuts

[12] This area, near where Hisajo lived, is celebrated in the *Man'yōshū*.

bloom wide open –
I follow the estuary notebook in hand

120. 菱刈ると遠賀の乙女ら裳を濡すも 5-8-6

hishi *karu to/ Onga no otomera/ mo o nurasu mo* (autumn)
waterchestnuts collecting while/ Onga young girls/ ancient skirts (o.p.) wet also

as they collect waterchestnuts
the maidens of Onga too
wet their ancient skirts

121. 菱の花引けば水垂る長根かな 5-7-5

hishi no hana*/ hikeba mizu taru/ nagane kana* (summer)
waterchestnut (p.p.) flowers/ when pulled up drip water/ long roots!

water chestnuts
when pulled up they drip water –
their long roots

122. 水ぬるむ巻く葉の紺の長かりし 5-7-5

mizu nurumu*/ maku ha no kon no/ nagakarishi* (spring)
the water's warming up/ curled leaf (p.p.)/ indigo (p.p.) lengthened-reason

the water is warming –
the curled leaf's
indigo has grown longer

123. 水底に映える影もぬるむなり 5-6-5

minazoko ni/ haeru kage mo/ ***nurumu*** *nari* (spring)
water bottom on/ shining reflections also/ **warming up**

on the bottom
the shining reflections
also warming up

124. 青すゝき傘にかきわけゆけどゆけど 5-7-6

ao susuki/ *kasa ni kakiwake/ yukedo yukedo* (summer)
green Japanese pampas grass/ umbrella with push through/ further and further

with my umbrella
I push through the green pampas grass
further and further

125. 泳ぎ子に遠賀は湖を上げ夾り 5-8-6

oyogi *ko ni/ Onga wa umi o/ agehasameri* (summer)
swimming children for/ Onga (t.p.) lake (o.p.)/ has built up-enclosed

for the children
to swim
Onga has made a lake

126. 千々にちる蓮華の風に佇めり 5-7-5

chijini chiru/ renge no kaze ni/ tatazumeri
in pieces scattering/ lotus (p.p.) wind in/ I stood still

in a wind
full of scattering lotus blooms
I stood stock still

127. 藻鹽焚く遠賀の港の夕けむり 5-8-5

moshio taku/ Onga no minato no/ yū kemuri
seaweed salt burn/ Onga (p.p.) port (p.p.)/ evening smoke

burning seaweed for salt –
at the port of Onga
evening smoke

128. もてなしの蓮華飯などねもごろに 5-7-5

motenashi no/ rengemeshi nado/ nengoro ni
hospitality (p.p.)/ lotus rice and so forth/ warmly

with warm hospitality
lotus rice
and so forth

Hachiman Steel Works[13] Annual Festival

129. かき時雨鎔爐は聳てり嶺近く 5-7-5

*kaki**shigure**/ yōro wa tateri/ mine chikaku* (winter)
fire**shower/** furnace (t.p.) soars up/ ridge near

sparks shower –
the furnace soars up
near the peak

1933

Usa Shrine[14] Five Haiku

130. うらゝかや齋き祀れる瓊の帶 5-7-5

***uraraka** ya/ itsuki matsureru/ tama no obi* (spring)
glorious –/ enshrined/ jewel (p.p.) sash

glorious –
the jewelled sash
enshrined here

131. 春惜しむ納蘇利の面は青丹さび 5-7-5

***haru oshimu**/ nasori no men wa/ aoni sabi* (spring)
[passing of] spring regretting/ Nasori (p.p.) mask/ dark green patina

regretting spring's passing
the nasori mask's
dark green patina

[13] This iron and steel works was one of the main employers in Kokura where Hisajo lived.
[14] Usa Jingu or Usa Great Shrine is in Oita Prefecture easily visited by Hisajo from Kokura. It is the original shrine dedicated to Hachiman, the god of war, but Hisajo makes references only to things associated with women and peace in this group of poems. Usa Shrine is considered the second most important shrine in Japan, after Ise Jingu.

132. 雉子鳴くや宇佐の盤境禰宜ひとり 5-7-5

kiji *naku ya/ Usa no iwasaka/ negi hitori* (spring)
green pheasant cries –/ Usa (p.p.) sacred rocks/ senior-shrine-priestess one-person

a green pheasant cries
at the sacred rocks of Usa –
a single priestess

133. 丹の欄にさへづる鳥も惜春譜 5-7-5

ni no ran ni/ saezuru tori mo/ ***sekishun*** *fu* (spring)
vermillion (p.p.) railing on/ chirping birds also/ **regret spring [passing of**] sing

on the vermillion railing
chirping birds also
sing their regrets at spring's passing

134. 藤挿頭す宇佐野女禰宜は今在さず 5-7-5

fuji *kazasu/ Usa nyo negi wa/ ima masazu* (spring)
wisteria decorating-hair/ Usa female senior priest/ now longer exists

Usa senior priestess
with wisteria in her hair
no longer there

Twelve Haiku about Chikuzen Ōshima[15]

135. 大島の港はくらし夜光蟲 5-7-5

Ōshima no/ minato wa kurashi/ ***yakōchū*** (summer)
Ōshima (p.p.)/ habour (t.p.) dark/ **phosphorescent creatures**

Ōshima harbour
is dark –
phosphorescent creatures

[15] This is another place near Kokura celebrated in the *Man'yōshū*.

136. 濤青く藻に打ち上げし夜光蟲 5-7-5

nami aoku/ mo ni uchiageshi/ ***yakōchū*** (summer)
green wave/ seaweed in have been thrown up/ **phosphorescent creatures**

green waves –
phosphorescent creatures
have been thrown up in the seaweed

137. 足もとに走せよる湖も夜光蟲 5-7-5

ashimoto ni/ haseyoru shio mo/ ***yakōchū*** (summer)
feet towards/ run this way tide too/ **phosphorescent creatures**

in the tide too
phosphorescent creatures
run towards my feet

138. 夜光蟲古鏡の如く漂へり 5-7-5

yakōchū*/ kokyō no gotoku/ tadoyoeri* (summer)
phosporescent creatures/ ancient mirror (p.p.) likeness/ have been floating

phosphorescent creatures
have been floating
like an ancient mirror

139. 海松かけし蟹の戸ぼそも星祭り 5-7-5

miru kakeshi/ ***kani*** *no toboso mo/ hoshi matsuri* (summer)
fragile seaweed hidden/ **crab**'s[16] narrow door also/ Star Festival[17]

beneath fragile seaweed
the crab's hidden door –
also part of the Star Festival

[16] It is possible this should be read 'ama' or female diver. See Sakamoto Miyao. *Sugita Hisajo: Bi to Kakuchō no Haijin* [Sugita Hisajo: A Beautiful and Noble Haiku Poet]. (Tokyo: Fujimi Shobo, 2008), 125 If so, the thematic material of the sequence becomes far more coherent.
[17] This entire group of poems is based on the Tanabata or Star Festival which was early imported from China and features the love story between a weaver and cowherd who are turned to stars and allowed to cross the Milky Way and meet only once a year.

The recitation at Ōshima Star Shrine

140. 下りたちて天の河原に櫛梳り 5-7-5

kudaritachite/ ***ama no kawa****ra ni/ kushi kezuri* (autumn)
decending to stand/ **Milky Way** (p.p.) flood plain/ combs out [her] hair

descending
onto the flood plain of the Milky Way
she combs out her hair

141. 彦星の祠は愛しなの木蔭 5-7-5

hikoboshi *no/ hokora wa kanashi/ na no kokage* (autumn)
cowherd boy (p.p.)/ small shrine (t.p.) lovely/ which tree shadows

the cowherd boy's
small shrine is lovely –
tree shadows

142. 口すゝぐ天の眞名井は葛がくれ 5-7-5

kuchi susugu/ Ama no Manai wa/ ***kuzu*** *ga kure* (autumn)
mouth rinse out/ Heaven (p.p.) True Word Well (t.p.)/ **arrowroot** in hidden

I rise out my mouth
at the Heavenly Well of the True Word
hidden in the arrowroot

A Panorami View of Genkai Nada

143. 荒れ初めし社前の灘や星祀る 5-7-5

aresomeshi/ shazen no nada ya/ ***hoshi matsuru*** (autumn)
get rough-began-to-get/ shrine-before open sea–/ **Star Festival**

the open sea before the shrine
began to get rough –
the Star Festival

144. 大波のうねりもやみぬ沖膾 5-7-5

ōnami no/ uneri mo yaminu/ oki ***namasu*** (summer)
huge waves (p.p.)/ undulations again have stopped/ **seasoned raw fish** on board

the undulations
of huge waves have stopped –
a fish meal on board

145. 星の衣吊すもあはれ島の娘ら 5-7-5

hoshi *no kinu/ tsurusu mo aware/ shima no kora* (autumn)
stars (p.p.) clothes/ hang up too/ touch-my-heart island (p.p.) girls

hung up too
Star Festival clothing[18] is touching –
the girls from this island

146. 乗りすゝむ舳にこそ騒げ月の潮 5-7-5
norisusumu/ he ni koso sawage/ ***tsuki*** *no shio* (autumn)
sailing along/ prow particularly noisy/ **moon** (p.p.) tide

sailing along
the prow is the noisest –
moonlit tide

1934

From Haiku with Headnote: Chikuzen Hakata Fortifications against the Mongol Invasion

147. あだ守る筑紫の破魔失うけに来し 5-7-5

ada mamoru/ Chikushi no ***hamaya****/ uke ni kishi* (winter)
enemy protection against/ Chikushi (p.p.) **exorcism arrow**/ to get have come

I have come to get
a Chikushi exorcism arrow

[18] The girls in that region write their wishes on clothing shaped pieces of paper before hanging them up on bamboo branches. See Sakamoto. *Sugita Hisajo*, 125

for protection against enemies

148 .防人の妻戀ふ歌や磯菜摘む 5-7-5

sakimori no/ tsuma kou uta ya/ ***isona tsumu*** (spring)
soldiers long ago garrisoned on the borders (p.p.)/ wife love song –/ **rocky beach vegetables picking**

the love songs
of soldiers garrisoned here long ago
gathering seaweed from the rocky shore

149. 元寇の石壘はいづこ磯菜摘む 5-7-5

genkō no/ toride wa izuko/ ***isona tsumu*** (spring)
Mongol invasion (p.p.)/ forts (t.p.) where/ **rocky beach vegetables picking**

where were the forts
against the Mongol invasion?
gathering seaweed from the rocky shore

150. 磯菜つむ行手いそがんいざ子ども 5-7-5

iso na tsumu*/yukite isogan/ iza kodomo*
rocky beach vegetables picking/ onwards let's hurry/ my dear youngsters

gathering seaweed from the rocky shore –
let's hurry onwards
my dear youngsters

151. 月涼しいそしみ綴る蜘蛛の糸 5-7-5

tsuki suzushi/ isoshimi tsuzuru/ ***kumo*** *no ito* (autumn and summer)
moon cool/ work-hard-at stitch together/ **spider** (p.p.) thread

in the cool of the moon –
hard at work stitching
the spider's thread

152. 相寄りて葛の雨きく傘ふれし 5-7-5

aiyorite/ ***kuzu*** *no ame kiku/ kasa fureshi* (autumn)
leaning towards one another/ **arrowroot vine** (p.p.) rain listening to/ umbrellas touch

leaning towards one another
listening to the rain on the arrowroot vine
our umbrellas touch

The place of my birth Kagoshima Six Haiku

153. 朱欒咲く五月となれば日の光り 5-7-5
zabonsaku*/* ***gogatsu*** *to nareba/ hi no hikari* (summer and summer)
pomelo blooming/ **May** when it becomes/ sun (p.p.) light

pomelos blooming –
when it's May
the light of the sun

154. 朱欒咲く五月の空は璃瑠のごと 5-7-5

zabon saku*/* ***gogatsu*** *no sora wa/ ruri no goto* (summer and summer)
pomelo blooming/ **May** sky/ like lapis lazuli

pomelos blooming –
the May sky
like lapis lazuli

155. 天碧し盧橘は軒をうづめ咲く 5-7-5

ten aoshi/ rokitsu wa noki o/ uzume saku (no *Shin Saijikikigo*)
sky [= heaven] blue/ summer mandarin (t.p.) eave(s)/ bury-blooming

celestial blue –
mandarins bury the eaves
with blossom

156. 花朱欒/こぼれ咲く戸に/すむ楽し 5-7-5

hana zabon*/ kobore saku to ni/ sumu tanoshi* (summer)
flowering pomelo/ spilling-blooming door/ house/ to live fun

flowering pomelos –
they scatter by the door
where it's fun to live

157. 風かほり朱欒咲く戸を訪ふは誰ぞ 5-7-5

kaze kaori/ ***zabon saku*** *to o/ tou wa ta zo* (summer)
wind fragrant/ **pomelo blooming** house (o.p.)/ visiting (t.p.) who?!

fragant wind –
who's that visiting
the house where the pomelos bloom?

158. 南国の五月は楽し花朱欒 5-7-5

nangoku no/ ***gogatsu*** *no tanoshi/* ***hana zabon*** (summer and summer)
south country (p.p.)/ **May** (p.p.) fun/ **flowering pomelo**

in the south country
in May the enjoyable
flowering pomelos

159. 朱欒咲くわが誕生月の空真珠 5-7-5

zabon saku/ *waga aretsuki no/ sora matama* (summer)
pomelo blooming/ my birth month's/ sky pure-jewel

pomelos blooming –
my birth month
sky pure as a jewel

13 haiku about Okinawa

160. 常夏の碧き潮あびわがそだつ 5-7-5

*toko****natsu*** *no/ aoki* ***shio abi****/ waga sodatsu* (summer and summer)
everlasting-**summer** (p.p.)/ blue **seawater bathing/** my upbringing

bathing in everlasting summer's
blue sea –

my upbringing

161. 爪ぐれに指そめ交はし戀稚く 5-7-5

tsumagure ni/ yubi some kawashi/ koi wakaku
impatiens-red/ fingers dye-take turns/ in love young

dyeing each others' fingers
impatiens red –
children in love

162. 栴檀の花散る那覇に入学す 5-7-5

sendan no/ hana chiru Naha ni/ nyūgaku su
bead tree (p.p.)/ flowers scattering Naha in/ start school

the bead tree
scattered its flowers in Naha –
I started school

163. 島の子と花芭蕉の蜜の甘き吸ふ 5-9-5

shima no ko to/ ***hana bashō*** *no mitsu no/ amaki suu* (summer)
island (p.p.) child with/ **flowering banana** (p.p.) nectar/ sweetness suck

with an island child
sucking the nectar
from banana flowers

164. 砂糖黍かじりし頃の童女髪 5-7-5

satōkibi/ kajiri shi koro no/ dōjogami
sugar cane/ chewing-did period (p.p.)/ (p.p.)/ little girl hair[cut]

crunching
on sugar cane –
my pudding bowl haircut

165. 榕樹鹿毛飯匙倩捕の子と遊びもつ 5-7-5

yōjukage/ ***habu****tori no ko to/ asobi motsu*
banyan shade/ **pit viper** caught (p.p.) child with/ play-hold

in the shade of a banyan
I played at holding them with a child
who caught pit vipers

166. ひとでふみ蟹と戯れ磯のあそび 5-7-6

hitode fumi/ ***kani*** *to tawamure/* ***iso no asobi*** (summer and summer)
starfish step on/ **crabs** with play/ **rocky-beach (p.p.) games**

starfish stomping
playing with crabs –
rock pool games

167. 紫の雲の上なる手毬唄 5-7-5

murasaki no/ kumo no ue naru/ ***temari*** *uta* (winter - unseasonal)
purple (p.p.)/ clouds above ring out/ **handball** songs

handball songs
ring out above
purple clouds

168. 海ほほづき口に含めば潮の香り 6-7-5

umi hōzuki*/ kuchi no ni fukumeba/ no ka* (summer)
sea snail eggs/ mouth if hold in/ the scent of salt water

sea snail eggs –
held in my mouth
the smell of the sea

169. 海ほほづき流れよる木にひしと生え 6-7-5

umi hōzuki*/ nagareyoru ki ni/ hishi to hae* (summer)
sea snail eggs/ floating-this-way [drift]wood on/ all their might with burgeon

floating this way

on a piece of drift wood
sea snail eggs burgeoning powerfully

170. 海ほほづき鳴らせば遠し乙女の日 6-7-5

umi hōzuki*/ naraseba tōshi/ otome no hi* (summer)
sea snail egg/ if make it sound distant/ small girl days

sea snail egg –
if I made it sound
those far ago small girl days

171. 潮の香のぐんぐんかわく貝拾ひ 5-7-5

shio no ka no/ gungun kawaku/ kai hiroi
sea water (p.p.)/ smell rapidly drying/ shell collecting

the scent of the sea –
drying off fast
while picking up shells

172. ひき残る岩間の潮に海ほほづき 5-7-6

hikinokoru/ iwa ma no shio ni/ ***umi hōzuki*** (summer)
receded-left/ rock spaces (p.p.) seawater in/ **sea snail eggs**

left behind by the tide
in the rock pools –
sea snail eggs

1935

From Trip to Izumo[19] Forty-Three Haiku

173. 椿咲く絶壁の底潮碧く 5-7-5
tsubaki *saku/ zeppeki no soto/ shio aoku* (spring)

[19] Izumo Grand Shrine is Shimane Prefecture on the north-west coast of Honshu and would have involved Hisajo in a trip of a number of days. The shrine is dedicated to Okuninushi the Shinto god of marriage. Hisajo retells a legend associated with him in the course of these 43 haiku. October is called the “godless month” in Japan because it is believed the other Shinto gods spend that month together in Izumo.

camellia blooming/ sheer-cliff (p.p.) bottom/ tide blue

camellia flower –
at the base of the cliff
the blue tide

174. 神代より變らぬ道ぞ紅椿 5-7-5

*kamiyo yori/ kawaranu michi zo/ aka**tsubak**i* (spring)
time of the gods since/ not changed path!/ red **camellias**

since the time of the gods
this path has not changed –
red camellias

175. 煖房に汗ばむ夜汽車神詣 5-7-5

***danbō** ni/ asebamu yogisha/ kami mōde* (winter)
heater by/ be sweaty night train/ gods visiting

sweating
from the night train heater –
a visit to the gods

Shin'yaba Gorge[20]

176. 大嶺に歩み迫りぬ紅葉狩り 5-7-5

ōmine ni/ ayumi semarinu/ ***momijigari*** (autumn)
big ridge on/ walking-got closer/ **gathering autumn leaves**

I got closer
to walking on the high ridge
gathering autumn leaves

177. 濃龍膽浸せる溪に櫛梳り 5-7-5

*ko**rindō**/ hitaseru tani ni/ kushikezuri* (autumn)

[20] In Oita Prefecture, Kyushu.

deep-coloured **gentians**/ immersed valley in/ combed hair

deep coloured gentians
immersed in a valley
I combed my hair

178. 深耶馬の空は瑠璃なり紅葉狩り 5-7-5

Shinyaba no/ sora wa ruri nari/ ***momijigari*** (autumn)
Shinyaba (p.p.)/ sky (t.p.) lapis lazuli is/ **gathering autumn leaves**

the Shinyaba sky
is lapis lazuli –
gathering autumn leaves

179. 耶馬溪の岩に干しある晩稲かな 5-7-5

Yabakei no/ iwa ni hoshi aru/ ***okute*** *kana* (autumn)
Yabakei (p.p.)/ rocks on left drying/ **okute**![21]

left drying
on the rocks of Yabakei –
mountain rice!

180. 自動車のついて賑はし紅葉狩り 5-7-5

jidōsha no/ tsuite nigiwashi/ ***momijigari*** (autumn)
car(s) (p.p.)/ arrival lively-bustle/ **gathering autumn leaves**

cars arrive
a lot of lively bustle –
gathering autumn leaves

181. 打ちかへす野球のひゞき草紅葉 5-7-5

uchikaesu/ yakyū no hibiki/ kusa ***momiji*** (autumn)
hitting back/ baseball (p.p.) echo/ grass **autumn leaves**

[21] A kind of late harvested rice only found in the mountains.

the echo
of a struck baseball –
autumn leaves on the grass

I See the Blue Tunnel[22]

182. 洞門をうがつ念力短い日も 5-7-5

dōmon o/ ugatsu nenriki/ mijikai hi mo
tunnel mouth (o.p.)/ to pierce willpower/ short days too

to pierce the cave mouth
takes willpower –
the days are short too

183. 嚴寒ぞ遂にうがちし岩襖 5-7-5

***genkan**zo/ tsui ni ugachishi/ iwa fusuma* (winter)
extremely cold!/ has finally pierced/ rock door

extremely cold!
he finally pierced
a door through the rock

184. 鎚とれば恩讐親し法の秋 5-7-5

*tsuchi toreba/ onshū shitashi/ nori no **aki*** (autumn)
hammer if-take-up/ love and hate intimate/ law (p.p.) **autumn**

if you take up a hammer
you become intimate with love and hate –
the law of autumn

Twelve Consecutive Haiku From the Middle Section of "Crane haiku"

185 群鶴の影舞ひ移る山田かな

[22] The Blue Tunnel is in Oita Prefecture, also in the Yakubei region. It was contructed with only hammer and chisel over a period of thirty years in the eighteenth century by the Buddhist asetic monk, Zenkei, in order to make a safe way for pilgrims to visit a mountain temple. A book about this legend called *Onshū no Kanata ni* was written by Kikuchi Kan (1888 – 1948) in 1919.

gunkaku no/ kage maiutsuru/ yamada kana
flock of cranes (p.p.)/ shadows dancing-move elsewhere/ mountain fields!

the shadows of a flock of cranes
move gracefully elsewhere –
mountain fields!

186. 鶴の影舞ひ下りる時大いなる 5-7-5

tsuru *no kage/ maioriru toki/ ōi naru*
crane (p.p.) shadow/ dance-descends when/ large becomes

as the cranes
fly gracefully downward
their shadows grow larger

187. 遠くにも群鶴うつる田の面かな 5-7-5

tōku ni mo/ gunkaku usturu/ tanomo kana
far even/ flock-of-cranes reflect/ paddy (p.p.) surface!

even far away
a flock of cranes reflected in
the paddy field surface!

188. 舞ひ下りる鶴のかげあり稲城晴 5-7-5

maioriru/ *tsuru no kage ari/ inagibare*
dance-descending/ cranes (p.p.) shadows have/ haystacks fine weather

gracefully descending
the cranes' shadows –
haystacks in fine weather

189. 枯れ草に舞ひたつ鶴の翅づくろひ 5-7-6

kare kusa ni/ maitatsu tsuru no/ hanezukuroi
dried grass on/ dance-stand crane (p.p.)/ feather-groom

in the dried grass
the cranes stand up gracefully
and groom their feathers

190. 歩み寄るわれに群鶴舞たてり 5-7-5

ayumi yoru/ ware ni gunkaku/ maitateri
walking-approaching/ me towards flock of cranes/ dance-stand

as I walk towards them
a flock of cranes
stand up gracefully

191. 大嶺にこだます鶴の聲すめり 5-7-5

ōmine ni/ kodamasu tsuru no/ koe sumeri
high peaks to/ echo cranes (p.p.)/ voices rang clear

from the high peaks
the echoing crane voices
rang clear

192. 近づけば野鶴も移る刈田かな 5-7-5

chikazukeba/ yakaku mo utsuru/ ***karita*** *kana*
get-closer-when/ field cranes also move-elsewhere/ **reaped paddy fields**!

as I get closer
the cranes in the fields also move elsewhere –
reaped paddy fields!

193. 群鶴を驚かしたるわが歩み 5-7-5

gunkaku o/ odorokashitaru/ waga ayumi
flock of cranes (o.p.)/ have startled/ my footsteps

my footsteps
have startled
a flock of cranes

194. 翅ばたいて群鶴さつと舞ひたてり 7-7-5

hanebataite/ gunkaku satto/ maitateri
wings beating/ flock of cranes suddenly/ dance-flew off

beating their wings
a flock of cranes suddenly
took off gracefully

195. 大空に舞ひ別れたる鶴もあり 5-7-5

ōzora ni/ maiwakaretaru/ tsuru mo ari
open sky in/ dance-separate/ cranes also there are

there were also cranes
separating gracefully
in the open sky

196. 三羽鶴舞ひ澄む空を眺めけり 5-7-5

sanba tsuru/ mai sumu sora o/ nagamekeri
three cranes/ dance clear sky(o.p.)/ gazed at

three cranes flying gracefully –
I gazed at
the clear sky

197. 旅衣春ゆく雨にぬるるまま 5-7-5

tabigoromo/ ***haru yuku*** *ame ni/ nururu mama*
travelling clothes/ **spring passing** rain in/ wet just as they are

travelling clothes –
the rain of the passing of spring
has soaked them

1937

198. 張りとほす女の意地や藍ゆかた 5-7-5

haritōsu/ onna no iji ya/ ai ***yukata*** (summer)
stretch-persist-to-the-end/ woman's willpower –/ indigo **yukata**

obstinate
a woman's willpower –
indigo yukata

199. 虚子ぎらひかな女嫌ひのひとへ帯 5-7-5

Kyoshi girai/ Kanajo kirai no/ ***hitoe obi*** (summer)
Kyoshi-hating/ Kanajo-hating/ **unlined sash**

hating Kyoshi
and hating Kanajo –
this unlined sash

Date Not Traced

200. 蝶追うて春山深く迷ひけり 5-7-5

chō *ōte/ haru yama fukaku/ mayoikeri* (butterfly)
butterfly chase /spring mountains deep/ became lost

chasing a butterfly
deep into the spring mountains
I lost my way