

was surrounded on top of Mt. Kuai-chi. Years later the situation was reversed and Yüeh destroyed Wu. Under King Kou-chien, Yüeh was Leader of the States. The story exists in several versions; cf. *Shih chi* 41 (*Mémoires historiques* 4.420-433).

<sup>8</sup> For the career of Li Ssu in Ch'in, see Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier*.

<sup>9</sup> Fu Yüeh's term as a convict is mentioned in *Mo tzu* (*SPTK* ed.) 2.9b; according to *Chuang tzu* 3.11a-b he became a star in the sky after being advisor to the Shang ruler Wu-ting.

<sup>10</sup> In *Tao te ching* B.10b the question follows immediately after the line about fortune and calamity; cf. note 6.

<sup>11</sup> This proverbial expression occurs in Huai-nan tzu (*SPTK* ed.) 15.11a and *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (*SPTK* ed.) 16.18a. In the former it is used to emphasize the need for effort at the right time: the best arrow needs a bow to send it far, etc. In the latter it is a warning against attempting to cope with that which is "stirred up", in particular a ruler. In the present context the arrow and water are examples of things at the mercy of an outside force: even so all of creation, man included, is driven by the impersonal workings of the Way. For 旱 "drought" read 悍 "violent" with *Huai-nan tzu* (Li Shan, Ssu-ma Chen, Wang Hsien-ch'ien).

<sup>12</sup> *Chuang tzu* 6.3b: "[The sage] neither thinks ahead nor predicts" 不思慮, 不豫謀.

<sup>13</sup> This develops the smelting simile that occurs in *Chuang tzu* 3.18a: "Now one might take Heaven and Earth as a great forge and the Creator as a great smith . . ." (Li Shan). This follows the comparison with the metal wilfully leaping up in the crucible and insisting on being made into a Mo-yeh blade.

<sup>14</sup> *Chuang tzu* 3.9b: "Human form is only one of the myriad transformations that never have an end." (Li Shan.)

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*: "Exceptionally one achieves human form, and so takes it as occasion for rejoicing."

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 6.16a: "Viewed in the perspective of the Way, there is no such thing as precious or cheap in creation; in the perspective of things, one values his own self and despises others." (Li Shan.)

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 1.29b: "Of things some are certainly so and some are certainly right; but there is no thing which is not so and no thing which is not right." (Li Shan.)

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 4.7a-b: "The mean man will sacrifice everything in the pursuit of gain, the gentleman for fame, the Great Officer for his house, the sage for All-Under-Heaven. Thus, while these several persons have different occupations and varying reputations, they are alike in sacrificing themselves to the detriment of their natures."

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 8.27b: "If his authority is not great, the proud man is grieved."

<sup>20</sup> The passage cited by Wang Nien-sun (*HSPC* 84.7b) from *Kuan tzu* (*SPTK* ed.) 13.4a shows how this line is to be understood: "[The sage] is neither enticed by his preferences nor repelled by his aversions."

<sup>21</sup> Read 或 as 惑 (Yang Shu-ta, *漢書窺管*, 285).

<sup>22</sup> Read 億 with *Shih chi* (Wang Nien-sun).

<sup>23</sup> After Wang Nien-sun.

<sup>24</sup> *Chuang tzu* 3.26b: "Relax the limbs, renounce perception, leave form, and reject knowledge, becoming one with the All-Pervasive—this is what is meant by 'sitting and forgetting'" (Li Shan). For 自喪 see *ibid.* 1.18b: 今者吾喪我.

<sup>25</sup> For 坻 *HS* has 坎, the hexagram *k'an*, standing for danger. Either reading gives essentially the same sense—he does not struggle to surmount obstacles—but *ti* is preferable as continuing the river metaphor.

<sup>26</sup> *Chuang tzu* 6.3b is identical. (Li Shan)

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 10.14a: "Floating like an unfastened boat."

## BASHÔ'S JOURNEY OF 1684

by DONALD KEENE

### INTRODUCTION

In the eighth moon of 1684 the celebrated *haiku* poet Matsuo Bashô (1644-94) set out from Edo on a journey to his birthplace in Iga Province, some hundreds of miles away. He was not to return until the fourth moon of the following year. His journey took him considerably beyond Iga, to Mount Yoshino, Nara, and Kyoto, and finally back along the Kiso Road to Edo. Much of the way was on foot over mountainous roads, an arduous enough undertaking for a man in good health, but almost unthinkable for the sickly and prematurely aged Bashô.

The immediate occasion for the journey was the death of Bashô's mother in Iga during the previous year. Bashô's poor health prevented him from leaving early enough to attend funeral services, but he was determined to make the journey. In the opening verse of his *Journey of the Year 1684*<sup>1</sup> he says that he is even prepared for death on the way. Perhaps he exaggerated the danger, but there is no doubt that he was willing to undergo great hardships. More than filial piety was involved: Bashô felt that the time had come to create a new style of *haiku*, and he was convinced that the most effective preparation for it was to leave Edo and travel through the countryside for fresh inspiration. The importance of leaving in 1684 may have stemmed from the fact that it was the first year of a new cycle, an auspicious time for making changes.<sup>2</sup>

Bashô in 1684 was still groping towards what was to be his distinctive style of *haiku*. He had already shown his dissatisfaction with the superficial humour of the Danrin School, but its influence was still apparent in his verse. Such Danrin mannerisms as the prominent use of Chinese vocabulary and allusions persist in the *Journey*, though not as markedly as in works of a short time previous. Earlier in 1684, for example, Bashô was writing such verses as "I would ask you about the *haikai* of China, flying butterfly".<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Kasshi ginkô* 甲子吟行 means literally "a poetry-making journey of the *kasshi* year". *Kasshi* corresponds to the first year of the Jôkyô era, or 1684. The journey extended into 1685.

<sup>2</sup> See for example Asô Isoji, *Bashô* (Tokyo, 1957), p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Morokoshi no haikai towan tobu kochô*. See Katô Shûson, *Bashô Kôza* I, Part II, p. 303. (This volume will henceforth be abbreviated Katô.)

butterfly immediately suggested to Danrin poets the episode in which Chuang Tzu dreamed he was a butterfly; without a knowledge of the allusion the verse is almost meaningless. In the *Journey*, however, Bashō was at pains to “naturalize” poetic ideas derived from Chinese literature. One verse was twice recast in this effort.<sup>4</sup> Bashō did not give up borrowing words and images from earlier Chinese and Japanese writings, but he was no longer content with verse which could appeal mainly to fellow members of a coterie.

The opening verse *Nozarashi wo kokoro ni kaze no shimu mi kana* (“Realizing that my body may lie exposed in a field, how the wind sinks into my flesh!”) gave rise to an alternate title *Nozarashi Kikō* 野晒紀行 literally “Exposed in a Field Travel Account”. Other titles for the work found in old texts include *Bashō-ō Michi no Ki* and *Kusamakura*.<sup>5</sup> The date of composition of the diary is not indicated by Bashō, but most probably it was between the middle of 1685 and the eighth moon of 1687, when Bashō left Edo for Kashima. Several contemporary texts are extant, one supposedly in Bashō’s own hand.<sup>6</sup> Apart from the differences in title, there are few important variants. The earliest printed edition is that of the *Hakusenshū* 泊船集 (1698), compiled by Itō Fūkoku 伊藤風國 (d. 1701). There are many modern editions, most of which include explanatory material. I have found the most useful commentary to be that of Yokozawa Saburō in *Bashō Kōza*, vol. VIII. There is a German translation of the *Journey* by Professor Horst Hammitzsch.<sup>7</sup>

The *Journey* is important not only because of its place in Bashō’s own career, but because of the development it marks in a characteristic Japanese literary form, the travel-diary. This was the first of Bashō’s five works in this genre, the last of which was the celebrated *Oku no Hosomichi*. Earlier works in the travel-diary form (such as *Tōkan Kikō*, written in 1242) usually consisted of prosaic descriptions of a journey interspersed with unrelated poems. Bashō once criticized these works: “Of course anyone can keep a diary with such entries as ‘On this day it rained . . . in the afternoon it cleared . . . at that place is a pine . . . at this place flows a river called

<sup>4</sup> Bashō’s pupil Hattori Tohō 服部土芳 (1657–1730) described this process in *Akazōshi* 赤冊子 (c. 1710). “At first the poem ran *Bajō nemuran to shite zammū zangetsu cha no keburī*. The opening line was changed to *Uma ni nete*. Later Bashō decided that the poem should not have such a jingling rhythm, and he changed it to *tsuki tōshi cha no keburī*.” (Nose Asaji, *Sanzōshi Hyōshaku*, p. 132.)

<sup>5</sup> The former name is found in *Hakusenshū* (see Hagiwara Ragetsu, *Oku no Hosomichi*, Kaizō Bunko, p. 168); the latter was used by Morikawa Kyoriku 森川許六 (see Iwata Kurō, *Bashō no Bungaku*, p. 124).

<sup>6</sup> This text was reproduced in 1932 by Meiji Shoin. It is noteworthy in that it contains two or three word descriptions of illustrations which are now lost.

<sup>7</sup> In *Nachrichten* of Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., Hamburg, Nr. 75, pp. 3–24.

Such-and-such’; but unless sights are truly remarkable, they shouldn’t be mentioned at all.”<sup>8</sup> In Bashō’s travel-diaries, beginning with the *Journey*, the prose is almost as concise and evocative as the poetry, and the transition between the two is therefore more smoothly made than in the older diaries. Bashō was eventually able in *Oku no Hosomichi* to fuse the two elements perfectly. Even in this less successful work the verses are sometimes so closely related to the prose that it is impossible to understand them without the accompanying descriptions. For example, the verse “When I take it in my hand it melts in the warmth of my tears, this autumn frost” was composed as Bashō held in his hand a lock of his dead mother’s hair. One may find a meaning in this verse even without the prose introduction given by Bashō, but its full sense is apparent only when one knows that Bashō was using the word “frost” to describe his mother’s white hair.

The historical importance of the *Journey* can hardly be exaggerated, but as literature it does not compare with some of Bashō’s later works in the same form. Despite his intention of breaking away from the old conventions and using fresh language to describe the sights before him, allusions to Chinese and Japanese literature are still prominent in this work. Bashō undoubtedly found such allusions a convenient way to enrich his private experiences with those of the poets of the past, but readers today are likely to find that recondite allusions destroy the immediacy of Bashō’s perceptions.

For Bashō the verses composed on the journey were far more important than the prose. This may explain why the last third of the *Journey* consists almost entirely of *haiku*, with hardly more than a line of accompanying description. The new style of travel-diary, so auspiciously begun, breaks down, though some of the *haiku* are beautiful enough to make us forgive this lapse. Other *haiku* are little more than greetings to Bashō’s various hosts—appropriate salutations to inscribe in guest-books, but not necessarily worthy of preservation here.

Perhaps the most important *haiku* composed on this journey was *Michinobe no mukuge wa uma ni kuwarekeri*—“The rose of Sharon by the side of the road was eaten by my horse”. This verse unfortunately loses everything in translation.<sup>9</sup> The reader must visualize the scene, perhaps in terms of Bashō’s two prefatory notes “On horseback” and “Before my eyes”. Bashō is riding along, not paying much attention to the road, when his horse suddenly lowers its head and devours a white flower. Only then does Bashō become aware of the flower, its whiteness, and its brief moment of glory. Some Japanese commentators believe that Bashō intended to give a moral lesson with the verse—the flower was eaten because it chose to blossom

<sup>8</sup> *Oi no kobumi*. Ebara Taizō and Yamazaki Kiyoshi, *Bashō Bunshū*, p. 252.

<sup>9</sup> I do not wish to imply that *all* *haiku* lose everything in translation; some have been very successfully translated by Harold Henderson and others.

conspicuously by the road instead of in humble safety within a field. But what is most striking in the verse is Bashô's evocation of his sudden awareness of beauty in the moment of its destruction. Such flashes of understanding were the object of his travels, and in this verse Bashô gave expression to real experience rather than to intellectualized emotions. This development in his art was so important that many critics have found in the poetry composed in the *Journey* the true beginnings of his *haiku* style.

## TRANSLATION

When I set out on my journey of a thousand leagues I packed no provisions for the road.<sup>10</sup> I clung to the staff of those pilgrims of old who "slept by moonlight late at night and took their refuge in Nature".<sup>11</sup> I left my tumbledown cottage on the river<sup>12</sup> in the autumn of 1684, the eighth moon. The wind sounded strangely cold.

Nozarashi wo	Whitened bones in a field—
Kokoro ni kaze no	I see them now—at the thought
Shimu mi kana	How the wind chills my flesh. <sup>13</sup>
Aki tô tose	Autumn, this makes ten years—
Kaette Edo wo	Now I really mean Edo
Sasu kokyô	When I say "home". <sup>14</sup>

Rain fell the day I crossed the barrier,<sup>15</sup> and all the mountains were hidden in cloud.

Kirishigure	Fog filtering down—
Fuji wo minu hi zo	A day I don't see Fuji
Omoroshiki	Really intrigues me. <sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Apparently an allusion to Chuang Tzu: "He who travels a thousand *li* must supply himself with provisions for the road." (Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of China*, p. 71.)

<sup>11</sup> From a poem by the Abbot Yen Hsi-wen 雁溪閑; quoted in Yokozawa Saburô, *Bashô Kôza*, Vol. VIII, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> Bashô's hut on the Sumida River at Fukagawa had been rebuilt the previous year after a fire.

<sup>13</sup> Ishiko Sekisui (in *Nozarashi Kikô Suienshō*) traced this verse to Saigyô's *Toribenowo kokoro no uchi ni wake yukeba imaki no tsuyu ni sode zo sobotsuru*: "When I push my way forward with thoughts of Toribeno in my heart, the sleeves of my garment are wetted with dew." (Quoted in Katô, p. 310.) Toribeno was the place near Kyoto where corpses were burned; there is thus a similarity of conception between the two poems though Bashô's is obviously the superior.

<sup>14</sup> Various commentators have pointed out that "autumn" (*aki*) often means merely "time", but I have preferred to say "autumn" because that is in fact the season. Bashô had spent twelve and not ten years in Edo. The verse was inspired by *Crossing Sang-ch'ien*, a poem by Chia Tao (788-843) quoted in Katô, p. 313.

<sup>15</sup> The Barrier of Hakone, where travellers were formerly examined.

<sup>16</sup> Matsukura Ranran 松倉嵐蘭 (1647-93) wrote in *Fuji Fu* 富士賦, "My teacher never in all his life wrote a poem about Fuji or Yoshino." (Fuji Otoko, *Fûzoku Monzen Tsûshaku*, p. 205.) The present verse is one of several on Fuji Bashô actually

A man named Chiri<sup>17</sup> was my helper and companion on this journey and showered me with every kindness. He is a person who might well be described as "completely understanding in his associations and faithful to his friends."<sup>18</sup>

Fukagawa ya	Goodbye, Fukagawa!
Bashô wo Fuji ni	The banana-tree I leave,
Azukeyuku	Fuji, to your care. <sup>19</sup>

Chiri

As we walked along the Fuji River we noticed a child of about three pitifully weeping. Had his parents, no longer able to withstand the buffeting of the waves of the floating world, yet unwilling to cast the child into the river, abandoned him here instead to live a bit longer, perhaps just the span of a dew-drop's life? My heart went out to the tender lilac-stems that tonight might be scattered or withered tomorrow by the autumn wind.<sup>20</sup> I threw him some food from my sleeve, and as I passed the words came:

Saru wo kiku	What would poets who grieve
Hiito sutego ni aki no	For monkeys say of this child forsaken
Kaze ika ni	In the autumn wind? <sup>21</sup>

How did this come about? Were you hated by your father, neglected by your mother? No, it is not that your father hates you or that your mother has turned her back on you. This is all the doing of Heaven, and you can only lament your unhappy fate.

It rained the day we crossed the Ôi river.

Aki no hi no ame	A rainy autumn day
Edo ni yubi oran	Counted on fingers in Edo:
Oikawa	We are at Ôi River. <sup>22</sup>

Chiri

wrote, but Ranran's statement was essentially true: Bashô wrote about *not* seeing Fuji, rather than describing its glories. Perhaps Bashô, accustomed as he was to seeing Fuji from his hut, was intrigued by a Fuji-less landscape.

<sup>17</sup> Naemura Chiri 苗村千里 (1647-1716).

<sup>18</sup> An allusion to Chuang Tzu. See Lin, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup> Bashô's hut in Fukagawa had a banana-tree (*bashô*) in the garden from which he derived his name as a *haiku* poet.

<sup>20</sup> An allusion to *The Tale of Genji*. See Waley's translation of Part I, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> T'ang and later Chinese poets frequently expressed grief over hearing the doleful cries of monkeys, and the theme passed over also into Japanese poetry. Bashô's action in passing by the child has been the subject of much discussion by Japanese critics, some censuring his indifference, others insisting that he had no choice under the circumstances. Kuwabara Takeo (in *Daimi Geijutsu Ron*, p. 83) offers the interesting suggestion that the whole episode is a piece of decorative fiction, but Yamamoto Kenkichi (in *Bashô*, p. 56) argues that the event took place as described. Many other interpretations have been offered; the simplest is probably that in Bashô's day an abandoned child was far more common a sight than today.

<sup>22</sup> That is, friends in Edo, counting the days on their fingers, imagine that by now Bashô and Chiri have reached the Ôi River.

On horseback:

Michinobe no	Rose of Sharon
Mukuge wa uma ni	At the side of the road:
Kuwarekeri	Eaten by my horse. <sup>23</sup>

A waning moon hung pale in the sky, but it was very dark on the path at the base of the mountain. I let my whip dangle over the horse and rode several leagues before cock-crow. The "lingering dream" of Tu Mu's *Early Departure* was suddenly shattered when I arrived at Sayo no Nakayama.<sup>24</sup>

Uma ni nete	I dozed on my horse
Zammu tsuki tōshi	Half in dreams: the moon was distant
Cha no keburi	And smoke rose from tea. <sup>25</sup>

I called on Matsubaya Fūbaku<sup>26</sup> who lives in Ise, and rested my legs at his house for about ten days. I wear no sword at my side, but carry an alms wallet around my neck and a rosary of eighteen beads<sup>27</sup> in my hand. I resemble a priest, but the dust of the world is on me. I look like one of the laity, but my head is shaven. Here they consider everyone with a shaven head to belong to the tribe of priests, and they would not allow me to enter the Shrine.<sup>28</sup> That evening I visited the Outer Shrine. The shadows were deepening under the First Torii, and sacred lanterns flickered here and there. From the holy peak came a wind fragrant with pines, penetrating my flesh and stirring profound emotions.

Misoka tsuki nashi	The last of the month, no moon;
Chitose no sugi wo	A storm holds in its embrace
Daku arashi	The thousand-year cedar. <sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Detailed analyses of this poem may be found in Katō, pp. 319–22; Yamamoto, pp. 57–9; and Shida Gishū, *Bashō Haiku no Kaishaku to Kanshō*, pp. 281–6. Kyoriku considered it to be the poem in which Bashō achieved the highest realm of poetry (see Fujii, p. 615), and for Sodō it was one of two masterpieces composed on the journey (*Kashi Kikō-batsu*, in *Haisho Shūran*, Vol. VI, p. 297).

<sup>24</sup> Sayo no Nakayama was famous because of Saigyō's poem. See Hammitzsch, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Kuwabara says that by modern standards this poem would be judged a work of plagiarism: not only are the first two lines directly derived from a Tu Mu poem, but the words 茶煙 may be found in another well-known poem by the same author. (*Daini Geijutsu Ron*, pp. 85–6.) But as Kuwabara recognizes, Bashō was interested here in perfection of wording, and he was not ashamed to have borrowed his images.

<sup>26</sup> Also known as Suikōdō Fūbaku 垂紅堂風瀑, the compiler of several well-known *haikai* works.

<sup>27</sup> Rosaries normally had 108 beads, but Bashō's abbreviated version had only one-sixth that number.

<sup>28</sup> The section beginning "I wear no sword" and ending here is found after the poem *Misoka tsuki nashi* in *Hakusenshū*. I have followed the order given in the MS. version reproduced by Meiji Shoin.

<sup>29</sup> Most modern critics favour this interpretation, but Katō (p. 327) believes that Bashō himself threw his arms around the tree.

A stream flows through Saigyō Valley.<sup>30</sup> I watched women washing potatoes:

Imo arau	Potato-washing
Onna Saigyō naraba	Women, were I Saigyō
Uta yoman	I'd write an <i>uta</i> . <sup>31</sup>

On the way back that day we stopped at a teahouse where a woman named Butterfly said, "Make a *haiku* on my name!" She held out a piece of white silk and I wrote:

Ran no ka ya	A fragrance of orchids—
Chō no tsubasa ni	Incense burning into the wings
Takimono su	Of a butterfly. <sup>32</sup>

On visiting a hermit's thatched cottage:<sup>33</sup>

Tsuta uete	Ivy planted here,
Take shigo hon no	And four or five bamboo stalks
Arashi kana	Rattle in the wind. <sup>34</sup>

At the beginning of the ninth moon I returned to my old home. The day-lilies in my mother's room had been withered by the frost; there was no trace of them now.<sup>35</sup> Everything had changed from what it used to be. My brother's hair was white at the temples and his brows were wrinkled. "We are still alive," was all he said. Then, without a word, he opened his relic bag. He said, "Pay your respects to Mother's white hairs! This is Urashima's magic box—see how your brows have greyed!"<sup>36</sup> For a while I wept.

Te ni toraba	Taken in my hand
Kien namida zo atsushi	It melts in the warmth of tears—
Aki no shimo	This autumnal frost.

Pursuing our journey into the province of Yamato, we arrived at a place called Takenouchi in Katsuragi County. This is Chiri's native town, and we rested ourselves for a few days.

<sup>30</sup> The site of Saigyō's retreat, not far east of the modern town of Uji in Ise.

<sup>31</sup> Some commentators suggest that the famous anecdote about Saigyō and the courtesan of Eguchi is here referred to; it is certainly difficult to imagine Saigyō writing an *uta* about women washing potatoes.

<sup>32</sup> The butterfly alighting on an orchid is permeated with its scent, just as fine silks sometimes had perfumes burned into them.

<sup>33</sup> Identified in *Oi Nikki (Haisho Taikei)*, Vol. IV, p. 44) as one Roboku 羅牧.

<sup>34</sup> It has been suggested that the bamboo stalks are simply poles up which the ivy climbs, but most modern critics believe that the bamboo is also growing.

<sup>35</sup> Some commentators take this whole sentence as meaning simply "My mother was dead and nothing remained of her." There is an allusion to the *Shih Ching* (see Yokozawa, p. 71).

<sup>36</sup> Urashima received a jewelled box similar to Pandora's; opening it he suddenly aged many years.

At a house deep in the bamboo forest:

Wata yumi ya	Cotton-whipping bows—
Biwa ni nagusamu	The sound of lutes brings pleasure
Take no oku	Deep in the bamboos. <sup>37</sup>

We visited the Taima Temple on Futami Mountain. The pine in the garden looked at least a thousand years old, and was big enough "to hide an ox".<sup>38</sup> Though this tree is inanimate, its connection with Buddha has kept it from harm by a woodsman's axe. How fortunate, and how inspiring.

Sô asagao	Priests and morning-glory,
Iku shinikaeru	How often dead and reborn!
Nori no matsu	The pine of the Law. <sup>39</sup>

I trudged alone far into Yoshino. The mountains really stretch on and on, and white clouds lie piled on the peaks. A smoky rain buried the valleys, here and there interrupted by the huts of the mountain folk, very small. To the west, the sound of a tree being felled; to the east, the echo. The voices of the bells of many temples found a response deep in my heart. Many of the men who from ancient times have come to these mountains to forget the world have obtained a refuge in the poetry of China and Japan. Indeed, would it not be proper to call this mountain Lu Shan, like the one in China?<sup>40</sup> I passed the night in a small temple.

Kinuta uchite	Strike your fulling-block
Ware ni kikase yo ya	And let me hear it, won't you?
Bô ga tsuma	Wife of the temple. <sup>41</sup>

The remains of Saigyô's thatched hut are reached by pushing some two hundred yards to the right, beyond the inner shrine, over what is scarcely a woodsman's trail. A steep valley lying in between produces a most powerful impression. The "clear spring dripping through the rocks"<sup>42</sup> does not appear to have changed since Saigyô's time, and its water still falls drip-drop.

Tsuyu toku toku	The dew falls drip-drop:
Kokoromi ni ukiyo	Would I could dip myself here
Susugabaya	And wash away the world.

<sup>37</sup> The bow was used for whipping impurities out of the raw cotton. Its sound is compared to that of the *biwa*.

<sup>38</sup> Another allusion to Chuang Tzu.

<sup>39</sup> The priests and morning-glories come and go, but the tree remains.

<sup>40</sup> A mountain in Kiangsi famous for its scenery, and the retreat of many priests and poets.

<sup>41</sup> The sound of the fulling-block was a hackneyed winter image; Bashô wants his stay to be typical. At a few of the Yoshino temples the priests married, and their wives helped them run the temples as inns.

<sup>42</sup> Allusion to a poem by Saigyô. See Hammitzsch, p. 18.

If Po I had lived in Japan he would certainly have rinsed his mouth at this spring, and had Hsü Yu been told of it, this is where he would surely have washed his ears.<sup>43</sup>

By the time I had climbed the mountain and descended its slopes, the autumn sun was already slanting and, leaving unvisited many famous sites, I went directly to worship at the Emperor Godaigo's tomb.<sup>44</sup>

Gobyô toshi hete	The tomb has stood many years—
Shinobu wa nani wo	Grass of longing, tell me, what
Shinobugusa	Are you longing for? <sup>45</sup>

From Yamato I went through Yamashiro and thence to Mino over the Ômi Road. Beyond Imasu is Yamaka, which is the site of Tokiwa's old grave.<sup>46</sup> Ise no Moritake<sup>47</sup> once wrote of "an autumn wind resembling Lord Yoshitomo" and I had wondered where the resemblance lay. Now I wrote:

Yoshitomo no	Yoshitomo's heart
Kokoro ni nitari	Is what it most resembles—
Aki no kaze	This autumnal wind.

At Fuwa:<sup>48</sup>

Aki kaze ya	A cold autumn wind
Yabu mo hatake mo	Over bamboo-groves and fields:
Fuwa no seki	This was Fuwa Barrier.

I went on to Ôgaki where I stayed at Bokuin's house.<sup>49</sup> When I set out from Musashi Plain it was with the thought that I might leave my bones in some lonely field.

Shini mo senu	Journey's end
Tabine no hate yo	And still I have not died:
Aki no kure	The end of autumn. <sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> These two well-known figures of ancient China frequently were evoked as men of incorruptible purity. The second part of the sentence is ambiguous and may mean "if [Yao] told Hsü Yu [of his plans to make him his successor] this is where . . ."

<sup>44</sup> Godaigo, the first sovereign of the Southern Court, died in Yoshino in 1339.

<sup>45</sup> *Shinobu*, the hare's-foot fern, is the homonym of a word meaning "to recall the past".

<sup>46</sup> Tokiwa was the mistress of Minamoto no Yoshitomo (1123-1160). Yoshitomo is sometimes thought of as an extremely cruel man who killed his father and brother, but Bashô seems to have considered him to be a tragic, lonely figure.

<sup>47</sup> Arakida Moritake (1473-1549), a Shinto priest of the Ise shrine, was often styled the "ancestor" of *haikai* poetry.

<sup>48</sup> The Barrier of Fuwa was one of the three famous barriers of ancient Japan and figures frequently in poetry. It was abandoned by the end of the Heian Period, and poets generally wrote of its desolation.

<sup>49</sup> Tani Bokuin 谷木因 (1646-1725).

<sup>50</sup> Bashô may have felt that the most difficult part of the journey was over; otherwise *hate* is hard to understand. *Aki no kure* usually means "autumn nightfall" in *haikai* poetry, in contrast to *kure no aki* for "late autumn". However, Yokozawa (p. 79) and others agree that it probably means the latter here.

At the Hontô Temple in Kuwana:

Fuyu botan	Winter peonies—
Chidori yo yuki no	Sanderlings, you should be called
Hototogisu	Cuckoos of the snow! <sup>51</sup>

Weary of sleeping every night in strange lodgings, I got up from bed while it was still dark and went out to the beach.

Akebono ya	At break of day
Shirauo shiroki	The white-bait are
Koto issun	One inch of whiteness. <sup>52</sup>

I worshipped at Atsuta. The shrine grounds were terribly ravaged. The earthen wall had tumbled down and was hidden now in clumps of weeds. At one place ropes had been stretched to show where a small shrine had stood, at another a stone marker had been placed telling the name of the god once worshipped here. The shrine, buried as it was under a rank growth of mugwort and longing-grass, was actually more affecting than in full splendour.

Shinobu sae	Even the longing-grass
Karete mochi kau	Has withered; I buy stale cakes
Yadori kana	At a wayside booth. <sup>53</sup>

On the way to Nagoya I wrote these poems:

Kyôku	<i>A Comic Verse</i> <sup>54</sup>
Kogarashi no	In this wintry wind
Mi wa Chikusai ni	I must look exactly like
Nitaru kana	Chikusai, don't I? <sup>55</sup>
Kusa makura	Sleeping on a journey—
Inu mo shigururu ka	Is some dog being rained on too?
Yoru no koe	The voices of night.

<sup>51</sup> Both the peony and the cuckoo are normally associated with summer; seeing a winter peony Bashô likens the sanderling (a winter bird) to the cuckoo.

<sup>52</sup> Bashô may have been influenced in writing this poem by a line of Tu Fu. See Katô, p. 355.

<sup>53</sup> Ebara and Yamasaki, (*Bashô Kushû*, p. 256) suggest that the cakes are stale, intensifying the loneliness of the poem. I have followed this interpretation.

<sup>54</sup> An immense number of pages has been consecrated to the question whether or not the word *kyôku* is inside or outside the poem. Yokozawa (p. 82) gives the main reasons for believing the word to be part of the poem; Shida Gishû (in *Bashô Tembô* pp. 190-94) rather intemperately dismisses the compilers of the *Hakusenshû* and *Akazôshi* (who first supported this view) as clumsy and ignorant. I am inclined to agree with Yokozawa, but have followed Shida and the majority in making this translation.

<sup>55</sup> Chikusai was an impoverished quack doctor, the hero of the *Chikusai Monogatari* by Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579-1638). Chikusai was supposed to have composed a kind of comic *uta* known as *kyôka*; hence, Bashô's use of the prefatory word *kyôku*.

On walking to see a famous snow-view:<sup>56</sup>

Ichibito ya	Men of the city!
Kono kasa urô	I'll sell you my bamboo-hat,
Yuki no kasa	A snow umbrella. <sup>57</sup>

On seeing a traveller:

Uma wo sae	This snowy morning
Nagamuru yuki no	I stare even at a horse,
Ashita kana	Much less a man. <sup>58</sup>

After spending a day on the coast:

Umi kurete	The sea darkens—
Kamo no koe	The cries of the wild ducks
Honoka ni shiroshi	Are faintly white. <sup>59</sup>

As I spent my days in travel, untying my straw sandals at this place and putting down my staff at that, the year drew to a close.

Toshi kurenu	The year has ended.
Kasa kite waraji	Still I wear a bamboo hat
Hakinagara	And sandals of straw.

I murmured these words over and over. New Year I spent in a mountain hut.<sup>60</sup>

Ta ga muko zo	Whose son-in-law is that
Shida ni mochi ou	Bringing rice-cakes and fern fronds
Ushi no toshi	This year of the Ox? <sup>61</sup>

On the road to Nara:

Haru nare ya	The spring has come!
Na mo naki yama no	Over nameless mountains
Asagasumi	The morning mist. <sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> At the house of Hôgetsu 抱月 near Nagoya.

<sup>57</sup> I have followed Katô (p. 366) in giving two meanings for *kasa*, the form in which the verse appears in the MS. However, Ebara and Yamasaki note (*Bashô Kushû*, p. 227) that the characters 笠 and 傘 were interchangeable at the time.

<sup>58</sup> I have added the last line to my translation, following the interpretation of the verse by Katô, pp. 367-9. I am reminded of the *haiku* by Onitsura, *Sakura saku koro tori ashi ni hon uma shi hon*—"When the cherry is in blossom, birds have two legs and horses four." Both verses express wonderment at common sights seen in circumstances of unusual beauty.

<sup>59</sup> A poem famous for its use of equivalence of the senses. Another example by Bashô is *Ishiyama no ishi yori shiroshi aki no kaze*—"Whiter than the stones of Ishiyama, the autumn wind."

<sup>60</sup> In Iga.

<sup>61</sup> Rice-cakes (*mochi*) and fern-fronds (*shida*) are both associated with New Year. The year of the Ox was 1685.

<sup>62</sup> Mountains celebrated in poetry were always worthy of being admired, but in the spring mist even "nameless" mountains have charm.

While in retreat at the Hall of the Second Moon:<sup>63</sup>

Mizutori ya	Water-dipping rite—
Kôri no sô no	The clatter of the pattens
Kutsu no oto	Of the frozen priests. <sup>64</sup>

I went to Kyoto and visited Mitsui Shûfû's house in the mountains at Narutaki.

*A Plum Grove*

Mume shiroshi	How white the plum-blossoms.
Kinô ya tsuru wo	Was it yesterday your cranes
Nusumareshi	Were stolen from you? <sup>65</sup>
Kashi no ki no	See how the oak-tree
Hana ni kamawanu	Stands there, indifferent
Sugata kana	To all those blossoms. <sup>66</sup>

On meeting Ninku Shônin<sup>67</sup> at the Western Cliff Temple in Fushimi.

Wa ga kinu ni	Sprinkle my cloak
Fushimi no momo no	With pearls of dew from Fushimi
Shizuku se yo	Blossoming peach. <sup>68</sup>

Crossing the mountains on the road that goes to Ôtsu:

Yamaji kite	Going a mountain road
Nani yara yukashi	Something or other charmed me:
Sumiregusa	The wild violets.

<sup>63</sup> The Nigatsudô, a part of the Tôdaiji in Nara. Every year from the first to the fourteenth day of the second moon the Mizutori celebration has been held. During one part of the rite, priests wearing wooden shoes run around the altar, deliberately making as loud a noise as possible.

<sup>64</sup> The line *kôri no sô* is so unusual that editors as far back as the eighteenth century have emended it to *komori no sô*—"priests in retreat". However, Katô explains the line as meaning that the priests are frozen like ice in their solemn attitudes because of the cold.

<sup>65</sup> An allusion to an anecdote about the Sung poet Lin Ho-ching 林和靖 (976-1028) who lived by a lake and "considered his plum-trees his wife and his cranes his son". Bashô compliments his host by likening him to the famous Chinese.

<sup>66</sup> It has been suggested that Bashô himself is meant by the sombre oak-tree, unmoved by the spectacle of spring.

<sup>67</sup> Also pronounced Ninkô 任口 (1606?-1686). At this time Ninku was a venerable holy man, but years before when Saikaku knew him, he was quite a lively figure in the world of *haiku* poetry. See Yamamoto, pp. 84-6.

<sup>68</sup> Fushimi (south of Kyoto) was noted for its peaches. Perhaps the verse indicates Bashô's desire to share in Ninku's great virtue and wisdom.

A view of the lake:<sup>69</sup>

Karasaki no	Pine of Karasaki
Matsu wa hana yori	Mistier even
Oboro ni te	Than cherry-blossoms. <sup>70</sup>

Sitting down at an inn for lunch:<sup>71</sup>

Tsutsuji ikete	Azaleas in a pot—
Sono kage ni hidara	In their shadow a woman
Saku onna	Slicing salted cod. <sup>72</sup>

Poem written on an excursion:

Nabatake ni	In the fields of rape
Hanamigao naru	With faces like blossom-viewers
Suzume kana	Look at those sparrows!

At Minakuchi I met an old friend I had not seen for twenty years:<sup>73</sup>

Inochi futatsu no	In our two separate lives
Naka ni ikitaru	It has lived all this time:
Sakura kana	The cherry has bloomed. <sup>74</sup>

A priest from the Isle of Hiru in Izu Province, a man who like myself had been travelling since autumn of the previous year, asked on learning my name if he might be my companion on the journey. He followed me as far as Owari Province.

Iza tomo ni	Come on! together
Homugi kurawan	We'll nibble on ears of wheat
Kusa makura	This poor man's journey. <sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Lake Biwa.

<sup>70</sup> Another verse which has occasioned much controversy. The ending in *ni te* seems too inconclusive for a *hokku*, though it was commonly used for the third verse in a linked-verse series. The verse also lacks a *hireji*. Pupils of Bashô advanced subtle reasons for these departures from established usage, but Bashô himself denied (in *Zôdanshû*) that anything more was involved than a simple perception. For a complete discussion, see Shida, *Bashô Haiku no Kaishaku to Kanshō*, pp. 29-34. It seems likely that the verse is derived from one by the Emperor Gotoba, *Karasaki no matsu no midori mo oboro ni te hana yori tsuzuku haru no akebono*.

<sup>71</sup> In the MS. version this line and the following two verses are omitted.

<sup>72</sup> This verse has been criticized on the grounds that it is merely a genre scene in which Bashô himself is not involved. Katô (p. 392) believes that it prefigures Buson.

<sup>73</sup> Hattori Tôhō, like Bashô a native of Iga. Tôhō was twenty-eight in 1685, the year of this meeting, and only nine when Bashô left Iga—rather young for Bashô to remember him. There is nevertheless good reason to trust the identification first made by Kawaguchi Chikujin 川口竹人 (d. 1764) in *Bashô-ô Zenden* (1762). (In *Kohaisho Bunko*, Vol. III, p. 12.)

<sup>74</sup> Meaning that though the two men have changed, the cherry-tree has continued to blossom as in old days.

<sup>75</sup> I have supplied the words "poor man's" because that is what *homugi*, "ears of wheat", suggests.

This priest informed me that Abbot Daiten of the Enkaku Temple had passed away at the beginning of the first moon. I couldn't believe the news—it seemed like a bad dream. I wrote at once to Kikaku:<sup>76</sup>

Ume koite	Longing for plum-blossoms
U no hana ogamu	I bow before verbena
Namida kana	Behold these tears! <sup>77</sup>

Sent to Tokoku:<sup>78</sup>

Shirakeshi ni	In the white poppy
Hane mogu chô no	A butterfly tears off his wings:
Katami ka na	This is his keepsake.

I stayed for a second time with Tôyô.<sup>79</sup> When about to return to Edo I wrote:

Botan shibe	Grief over parting:
Fukaku wake izuru	From the peony heart, the bee
Hachi no nagori kana	Struggles to the surface.

I stopped at a hut in the mountains of Kai.

Yuku koma no	The horse I rode on
Mugi ni nagusamu	Is solaced with oats, and I
Yadori kana	With lodgings tonight! <sup>80</sup>

At the end of the fourth moon I returned to my hut. When I had rested from the fatigue of the journey I wrote:

Natsugoromo	My summer garments—
Imada shirami wo	I still have not quite finished
Toritikusazu	Picking out the lice.

<sup>76</sup> Enomoto Kikaku 榎下其角 (1661-1707). The letter may be found in Numami, *Kikaku Zenshû*, p. 61.

<sup>77</sup> Plum-blossoms are associated with the first moon, when Daiten died. They are also associated with scholars. The verbena (*unohana*) blooms in the fourth moon, when Bashô wrote the letter.

<sup>78</sup> Tsuboi Tokoku 坪井杜國 (1660?-1690), a young pupil of whom Bashô was especially fond. Katô (p. 401) suggests that the imagery in this poem indicates a relationship between the two men "beyond that of teacher and pupil". The poppy may have been used by Bashô because of Tokoku's verse *Keshi no hitoe ni na wo kobosu Zen* in *Fuyu no hi* (edited Kôda Rohan, p. 145).

<sup>79</sup> Hayashi Tôyô 林桐葉 (1650?-1712), For a biography, see Ishida Motosue, *Haibungaku Kôsetsu*, pp. 606-13.

<sup>80</sup> Probably a verse of greetings to someone who was thoughtful not only to Bashô but to his horse.

## LIU K'O 劉軻, A FORGOTTEN RIVAL OF HAN YÜ

by E. G. PULLEYBLANK

In *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i*<sup>1</sup> there is a passing mention of a certain Liu K'o, for whom Po Chü-i once wrote a letter of introduction. Liu K'o is not a famous name in Chinese literary history, indeed one will look in vain for so much as a reference to him in books on the subject. Nevertheless he must have had a considerable reputation in his own day, for in the *T'ang chih-yen* 唐摭言 (tenth century) it is said of him, "As an essayist he had a name equal to Han [Yü] and Liu [Tsong-yüan]" 文章與韓柳齊名.<sup>2</sup> This is high praise indeed. His few surviving pieces are hardly sufficient to warrant such a judgement and it is not my purpose to make exaggerated claims on behalf of a forgotten genius. Nevertheless he is an interesting minor figure in an important period of intellectual history and his career illuminates several diverse facets of the life of those times.

Liu K'o has no biography in the *T'ang* histories. There is a brief account of him in the above-quoted *T'ang chih-yen* and a somewhat longer passage in the *Yün-ch'i yu-i* 雲谿友議, a collection of anecdotal material from the end of the ninth century.<sup>3</sup> The details they give about his early career do not agree and the improbable stories told of him in the *Yün-ch'i yu-i* do not give much confidence in its reliability. Nevertheless they are at one in describing him as a man who, after devoting himself to Buddhism and Taoism, took up Confucian studies and passed the *Chin-shih* examina-

<sup>1</sup> A. D. Waley, *The life and times of Po Chü-i*, London, 1949, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>2</sup> *T'ang chih-yen*, 11, p. 120 (Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh ts'an-k'ao tz'u-liao hsiao ts'ung-shu).

<sup>3</sup> *Yün-ch'i yu-i* B, pp. 22, 23 (Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh ts'an-k'ao tz'u-liao hsiao ts'ung-shu). A text of the first part of this passage is contained in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 117. It contains a number of variants.

<sup>4</sup> The Ming *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* by Huang Tso 黃佐 evidently contained a biography of Liu K'o. I have not been able to see this but it was used by Juan Fu 阮福 in a biography which he compiled to accompany the *Liu Hsi-jen wen-chi*, an edition of his surviving works extracted from the *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* (abbreviated *CTW*) and reprinted in the second series of the *Ling-nan i-shu* in 1845. It is clear that Huang had nothing reliable to add to what can be found in Liu's works, the *T'ang chih-yen*, etc., but merely padded out the story with conventional formulas. Juan Fu also gathered together some other references to Liu K'o and his works from the *T'ang-shih chi-shih* of Chi Yu-kung 計有功, the *Lo-fu-shan chih* 羅浮山志, Sung bibliographies, etc. A biography based on Juan's, but re-edited and augmented with the material from the