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Issues relating to notes from the hut of delusion - Bashō's returns from his wanderings

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論文の日本語レジュメ

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レジュメ

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式子内親王の和歌に於ける「漢詩的のよの」起源の要素

本論文では、式子内親王といった中世前期の歌人の四首の短歌は検討され、その「漢詩的のよの」・アジア本土の多様な種類・層のインターテキストと、そのインターテキストが伝授されたテキスト(私家集・物語)は考慮される。そして、享受・撰取という文学的現象と、和歌の特徴である和漢概念も再考・再定義される。本論文の結果によると、式子内親王のような中世前期の歌人の和歌に於ける「漢詩的のよの」インターテキストは、広く認識された唐詩論のみでなく、唐以前・唐以後の宋詩論も重要である。従って、古代・海外からインスピレーションを受けた『新古今和歌集』の時代に、式子内親王がその時代の直前期の和歌の革新者として表示される。

Keywords: Princess Shikishi, ancient Chinese poetry, early medieval poetry, *wakan*, Tang poetics, Song poetics, intertextuality

ISSUES RELATING TO NOTES FROM THE HUT OF DELUSION – Bashō’s returns from his wanderings

A close examination of the writings of Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694), his prose and poetry, reveals at least two key turning points in the way he saw the world, his ethical views and aesthetic preferences. No doubt there were more such changes on a smaller scale, but these two were diametric.

I wrote about the first of them – which occurred in 1684 – in my 2007 book. The change consisted in a switch from exhorting new students to fight for the school’s growth and future to appealing to them to seek spiritual freedom in the impermanence as well as constancy of events and phenomena (*fuekiriyūkō*). It should be kept in mind that the word “freedom” (Jap. *jiyū*¹), according to Confucian ethics, sounded pejorative, like egoism – literally, “everything according to your own nose”. In the end, it became important for Bashō to encourage his students to joyfully accept everything that the present moment brings – with simplicity and child-like wonder.

I came to this conclusion, having consulted the views of such Japanese scholars as Ogata Tsutomu, Matsuo Yasuaki, Kuriyama Riichi, Hori Nobuo and Muramatsu Tomotsugu², in the course of interpreting one of three 36-verse *renku* compositions collected in an anthology entitled *A Winter Day* (Jap. *Fuyu no hi*)³.

The second turning point, which took place over a span of several years starting in the autumn of 1689 when Bashō returned from a long journey that he wrote about in his travel diary *Narrow Road to the Deep North*⁴ (*Oku no hosomichi*), will be the subject of this article. I will endeavor to present texts that were written between 1689 and 1693, although those that “should have been written, but were passed over in silence”, I believe, were even more important.

¹ This word appears to have entered Japanese social, political and personal discourse in the positive sense of “freedom” only after the transformation of Japan under the Meiji Restoration.

² See the bibliography in Żuławska-Umeda 2007:235–7.

³ See chapter four in Żuławska-Umeda 2007: 46–134

⁴ Thus in Donald Keene’s translation ; we have also *The Narrow Road to the Interior*, as in Helen Craig McCullough’s interpretation, *Bashō’s Narrow Road to a Far Province* as Dorothy Britton interpreted, etc.

When reading the texts that have survived from that period, I get the impression that Bashō encountered Christians who had gone into hiding in the north-east provinces of Honshu island and learned something about their faith, their martyrdom, or at least opinions about their situation. Mysterious letters written by the poet to his students strengthen this impression. In this context, the title he gave his travel diary several years after returning home acquires deeper significance ... *Oku no hosomichi*⁵ also means “paths that lead to the depth of one’s self”, into the “depth of the heart”, to “the experience of depth”. Also, paths that lead “to ultimate things”, to “future things” or, “into recesses hidden from the world”, and even into “the secret of matters and things”.⁶

Clearly, he was changed by this journey. I will attempt to show what the poet’s internal transformation consisted of.

The hypothesis of this article is that Bashō returned from his wanderings in north-east Japan a changed man – in terms of his sensibility, literary style, the way he saw the world and, above all, it seems to me, his deepened awareness of the increasingly concealed life of the Christian community. The evidence, if not proof, I adduce for this claim rests on information I collected during the following three phases of my research:

1. Comparing Bashō’s writings before and after his 1689 journey, including his reflections on those travels published three years afterwards in his so-called travel diary *Narrow Road to the Deep North*.
2. Presenting the history of Japanese Christians (a story that has never been told in its entirety), who, at the time Bashō took his epic journey, had already gone deep underground, praying in forests, at various Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. Increasingly repressive regulations and purges against Christians under the country’s military dictatorship cast light on the history of their underground communities.
3. Tracing the route that Bashō took with his companion Sora, who, as we know, secretly performed a mission under order of the *bakufu*: to search and purge Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines of the remnants of Christian communities who still met there.

These tasks will be discussed sparingly – in proportion to the spatial limitations of this article – and not necessarily in the order listed above. However, I am aware that if there existed texts unambiguously indicating that Bashō’s views had changed in the ways I assert they did, their author would probably have suffered or even perished as a sympathizer of Christianity⁷ considering the policies in effect under the ruling Tokugawa clan.

⁵ The name *Oku* specifies northeast Japan only geographically (Jap. *Michinoku* or *Okushū*) – that is, the general destination of Bashō’s wanderings in 1689.

⁶ Cf. *Kōjien, Great Dictionary of the Japanese Language*, VI edition, electronic version, Sharp, entry: *oku*

⁷ Cf. Tubielewicz 1984:257–320.

We can look upon the texts I have chosen – after analyzing the historical, social and ideological setting of XVII-century Japan – as containing encoded messages conveying content not yet perceived in Bashō's oeuvre. It's a subject capacious enough for a lengthy monograph. This is also why I touch upon only a few of the most important issues in this article.

Let's take a look at the intellectual foundation from which Bashō arose and drew his historical, philosophical and literary knowledge. For Bashō, the height of erudition was the ability to read and understand Chinese texts (which in Japan's intellectual spheres was, and continues to be, the norm). He relied – particularly in the field of natural philosophy, which he pursued at the beginning of his career in his own school – on the writings of Laozi (Jap. *Rōshi*, VIII-V century B.C.E) and Zhuangzi (Jap. *Sōshi*) as well as Chinese Tang (Jap. *tōshi*) dynasty poetry and Buddhist scriptures (Jap. *budden*). In order to go beyond the boundaries of *haikai* under the *danrin* school led by Nishiyama Sōin (1605~1682), of whom he had been an apprentice, Bashō learned the poetics and memorized entire works by Du Fu (Jap. *Toho*, 712–770), Li Bai 'a (Jap. *Rihaku*, 701–762), and Bo Qu Yi (Jap. *Hakurakuten*, 772–846). Previously, during his apprenticeship in the *teimon* school under master Matsunaga Teitoku (1571~1653), he read and memorized the Japanese classics, including *Collected Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Kokinwakashū*, 905), *The Tale of Genji* (*Genjimonogatarii*, early XI century) and medieval essays, discovering their Chinese roots over time.

So the erudite Matsuo Bashō advised his students to educate themselves in the classics. This advice even became a rule of his *haikai* school⁸. Yet he himself was well aware of the impossibility of adapting the great Chinese literary works to brief and expressively spare Japanese poems. Moreover, he was highly determined – as he reveals in the introduction to his *Records of a Travel-Worn Satchel* (*Oi no kobumi*)⁹ – to devote his life to the *haikai* style, aesthetics, poetics and finally its ethical principles. These principles led him – after returning from his journey to the North described three years later in *Narrow Road to the Deep North* (*Oku no hosomichi*, written c. 1692) – to another goal, which was wandering. And to the supreme value of “not-having”, including not having satisfaction in creating things, not having popularity and not having a large number of students. It's as if he reconciled himself – faithful henceforth in every instance to his new *credo* – to not revealing his own genius in its entirety, to leaving merely a shadow of it in his minimalist verses, to a “great and intended waste of spirit”. This is a key moment in the poet's creative output. While he continued to draw upon the classics, he no

⁸ One of the six conditions that a *shōfū* school apprentice must satisfy is “not a poor knowledge of classical Chinese and Japanese writings”.

⁹ As in the case of *Narrow Road to the Deep North*, a diary from a trip taken in 1689, the text of *The Records of a Travel-Worn Satchel* (Jap. *Oi no kobumi*), from a much shorter journey in 1687–88, was written during 1690–92, thus retrospectively and with some philosophical intent.

longer did so in a literal manner. He appears to have adapted them to fit a particular purpose – perhaps it was directing the thoughts of some less sophisticated or less sensitive reader (say, a carefully censoring government official with superficial knowledge of “long-ago things”) toward the ancient sages. In reality, however, he was writing about himself, in an absolutely unpopular manner in the “fleeting and light-hearted” world of *ukiyo*.

This is how the introductions (which I cite below) to both of Bashō’s travel diaries can be interpreted. He shows his attributes in them, which take shape in the course of describing his spiritual wandering: frailty (Jap. *shiori*), which is no longer only the frailty of the transient world, and in this sense a category of beauty, but his own frailty, his own weakness (*usumono, kaze ni yabureyasuki koto*), yielding to spirituality and moving away from the corporeality and concreteness characteristic of Chinese philosophers (*fūrabō*); yielding to his own madness (*fūkyō*) as justification for deviating from social norms; and finally begging (*kojiki*), expecting everything to be provided by Heaven, the Creating Force (*ten, tenchi, zōka ni shitagau*) or the gods (*kami*).

*Included amidst these hundred bones and nine openings is IT¹⁰. In the mean time, let’s call this something by the name Wind-Borne¹¹. Truly, don’t you feel in it an existence that’s frail, brittle, easily blown away by the slightest puff of wind? It has long valued “mad verses” above all else. Until in the end it built its life on them [...]*¹².

The months and days are the pilgrims of the ages. The years that come and go are like voyagers¹³. Those who spend their lives aboard ships or who greet their old

¹⁰ See chapter two of Marcin Jakoby’s Polish translation, 2009 “On the unity of beings” in *Zhuangzi*, also known as *The True Scripture of the Southern Flower* (chin. *Zhuangzi. Nanhua zhenjing*), ascribed to the Chinese Taoist philosopher Zhuangzi living in the 4th–3rd century B.C.E. Bashō devoted much attention for some time to that great philosopher’s writings which were full of surrealistic humor. Marcin Jakoby in his 2009 Polish translation of *Zhuangzi* rendered the word “it” as “their true ruler” and the entire passage as follows: “We have a hundred bones, nine openings, six internal organs, and each of these things is in its place and as it should be. Which of them is the closest to us? [...] Are all of them our servants? [...] Or are they our masters and servants in turn? There exists, however [among them] their true ruler.” Bashō used the word *mono* “thing” or “it” (according to the Polish translation from Chinese).

¹¹ Jap. *Fūrabō*, the pseudonym Bashō began to use in 1689 – literally: “wind-tugged monk”, or “he who allows himself to be swept along by gusts of wind” (also: *fūkyō no hito*, “madman in spirit”). See: John 3:8, *King James Bible*: “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit”.

¹² Matsuo Bashō, *Z podróźnej sakwy z dodaniem Dziennika podróży do Sarashina* [*The Records of a Travel-Worn Satchel, together with A Visit to Sarashina Village*] translated into Polish by Agnieszka Żuławska-Umeda. Warszawa: Sen. 1994, p. 11.

¹³ Only at this point does Bashō refer more literally to a text by Li Bai (title according to Jap. lection) entitled *Shunya tōri’en ni en suru no jo* (*Introduction to the Spring Feast in Peach Orchards*),

age without letting go the bridle are forever journeying, and their homes are wherever their travels take them. Ancient sages sometimes died on the road, and I too for many years have been stirred by the wind, which frays the white clouds and leaves me ceaselessly longing to roam. [...] the sky had barely been swathed in mist, which heralds the new spring, when I was seduced by the power of an unknown god¹⁴ and felt in my heart the mad desire to pass through the gate at Shirakawa¹⁵. [...] ¹⁶.

There were also political reasons for this attitude. The brief verses, their fragmentary expression and hard-to-grasp content eluded censorship under the *bakufu*, the totalitarian military state. This government – particularly after putting down the rebellion of *rōnin*, peasants and Christians on Shimabara peninsula (1637~38), when shōgun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604~1651) decided to definitively purge Japan of Christian communities – began to see signs of illegal Christian activity everywhere (in publications as well as behaviors that deviated from neo-Confucian norms). This stance by the *bakufu* took the form of the gradually implemented (from 1661 to 1672) system called *shūmon-aratame* (“renewal of faith”), which was meant to force people to declare their membership in a Buddhist temple (*tera’uke*). These declarations were registered in the *shūmon ninbetsu chō*, or Registers of Religion Adherents¹⁷. They also served as population registries. Looking at the history of this period, specifically the totalitarian system of XVII century Japan, when large pogroms against Christians were no longer necessary¹⁸, we find that purges aimed at the remnant underground Christian community were still occurring on an ongoing basis¹⁹.

in: *Kobun shinpō* (*Treasures of the Classics*): *Sore tenchi wa banbutsu no gekiryō ni shite, kōin wa hyakudai no kakyaku nari* “here heaven and earth are wayfarers only in the wandering of all things, and the light of day and darkness of night are pilgrims of the ages and generations” (translation AZU).

¹⁴ In the original: *sozorokami* – a word that no editor of this text has ever entirely explained, though it’s lexical meaning is: *of unknown origin, unknown, unnamable, surprising god, or God?...*

¹⁵ Shirakawa no seki, one of the three important barriers (road blocks) in Northeast Japan, located in present-day Fukushima prefecture. Passing through it meant crossing into Japan’s frontier and entering a very different, little-known world on the fringe of civilization. Ever since the *Man’yōshū* (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*, 8th century), this name has evoked important connotations (*utamakura*): remoteness from the royal court, from the cultural center, solitude, exile. These associations are revived by Bashō.

¹⁶ Matsuo Bashō 2002:257. In the original Polish article, all Japanese excerpts were translated by Agnieszka Żuławska-Umeda.

¹⁷ Cf. Saitō 1981:9

¹⁸ The *bakufu* conducted the last great pogrom against Christians in Owari province in 1663, killing over 200 people. Thereafter only groups or individual Christians remained, who went deep underground and faced a broad range of punishments if revealed (applicable also to their families), ranging from being forced to tread on holy pictures (*fumie*), individual restrictions, imprisonment (so-called *kirishitan yashiki*), to banishment, torture and cruel executions. See: *Kirishitan iseki to junrei no tabi, mappu, gaidobukku* [pilgrimage in the footsteps of the Christians, maps, guide books]. Ōsaka: Aishinkan, 1981, p. 176.

¹⁹ See Kroehler & Kroehler 2006.

For example, in 1673 the Tokugawa *bakufu* ordered verification of all documents of former Christians who had rejected their faith. In 1681 the daimyō of Aizu han, Hoshina Masakata (1669–1731; the family acceded to the Matsudaira clan, *aoi* crest, in 1699), increased the reward for denouncing a Christian to 500 pieces of silver. In 1687 the fifth Tokugawa shōgun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709), officially prohibited the mistreatment of all living creatures. The ban, however, did not apply to people, and especially to Christians. In 1688, a board was posted in every village of Aizu listing the names of family members and descendants of executed Christians, the so-called *Ruizokuchō*.²⁰ Persons appearing on the list were condemned to ostracism (Jap. *mura hachibu*).

Two years after these events Bashō left his home in Fukagawa, which his students had funded and built for him. This was in the spring, on the 20th day of the 3rd lunar month (May 9, according to our solar calendar) in the second year of the Genroku era (1689). He was 46 years old at the time. He was accompanied by his friend and student Iwanami Sora (1649–1707; later known by the name Kawai), whom he had only recently met and who proved to be an official of the daimyō Matsudaira clan of Nagashima han, and toward the end of his life, a secret agent of the shogunate. Sora was to perform a special role in this journey and was a great help to his *haikai* master when crossing well-guarded roadblocks and provincial borders.

Several years ago a previously unknown letter written by Bashō²¹ was found, which was addressed – as Muramatsu Tomotsugu believes – to a samurai in Edo named Kanaemon. It was dated 20 January 1689, thus a little less than two months before the poet set off on his journey to the North. In it, Bashō laments – *kinō yori namida otoshigachi nite*[...] (“I’ve done nothing but cry since yesterday [...]”) – that his student Rotsū²², who was supposed to have accompanied him on the long trip, suddenly (three days earlier) disappeared from Edo and set off in the opposite direction, toward the former capital of Kyoto. If Rotsū had left voluntarily, Bashō would probably have rebuked him sharply, not despaired. Yet despite the rumors and backbiting he must have heard from his students, Bashō steadfastly defended Rotsū and respected him for his extraordinary approach to life and his good *haikai* poetry. He was highly protective of Rotsū, as he knew that his student had been

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Found by chance by the curator of the Bashō Museum in Yamadera Temple in the city of Yamagata. Ogata Tsutomu and Muramatsu Tomotsugu have authenticated it.

²² Rotsū (1649–1738) – his family name was Yasomura, which itself sounded “bad”: phonetically, it sounded like Jesus (*Yaso* in the 16th-century Japan), and graphically it consisted of three elements: two number 8’s and a 10 together with the noun “group”, “village”. According to some scholars who focus on the Edo period, such as Kawashiri, Christians sometimes modified their family or given names so that they contained a cross element – the number 10 or a tree. We do not know why Rotsū, beginning in 1673, was forced to lead the life of a wandering beggar. In 1685 he joined Bashō’s school. Once again he had to leave until finally, in the spring of 1689, he briefly met his beloved master in Ōgaki, as Bashō was on his way back home from the North.

wandering the country and begging since 1674 – and, in contrast to his master, not of his own free will...

Then, by peculiar coincidence, the man who was to be Bashō's travel companion suddenly turned out to be the mysterious²³ Sora. Sora had lived in Fukagawa nearby Bashō for barely two years. He quickly became the poet's friend and student, chopped firewood for him and carried water to his cottage from a well. Repeatedly, during their journey to the North, he would suddenly disappear then rejoin Bashō unexpectedly, having performed secret tasks known only to himself.

They followed the east coast of Japan as they headed north, traveling from Fukagawa to Senjū – Sōka – Furukawa – Muro no Yajima – Nikkō – Kurobane – through the temples of Unganji and Sesshōseki – passing through Shirakawa no seki in April – Sukagawa – Kōriyama – Nihonmatsu – Fukushima – Iizuka – Kasajima – Iwanuma – Sendai – Matsushima – Tome – the road block Ichi no Seki in May – Toima – Hiraizumi, whence their route turned to western Japan across Honshū island – to Iwateyama – Naruko – Shitomae road block on the border of the land of Dewa – Obanezawa – Ōishida – Haguroyama – Tsurugaoka in June – through Muyamuya no seki road block to Kusakata – returning to Sakata – Ōyama – through Nezu no seki road block to the land of Echigo – to Niigata at the beginning of July – spending a week in Kanazawa in the middle of July – Yamanaka – returning to Komatsu at the beginning of August – crossing the border of the land of Kaga – Shiokoshi in Echizen – Maruoka – Fukui – through Uguisu no seki road block – to Tsuruga in mid-August – Tanegahama – (now called Irohama) – Nagahama – to Ōgaki as the month came to a close.

Does Bashō come back home? His home in his adult and creative life was in Edo, in Fukagawa, on the east coast of Japan. His family home was in Ueno, in Iga province – in western Japan. His spiritual home was perpetual wandering. And that's the home he chose. In early September he left the friendly confines of Ōgaki to bow to the goddess Amaterasu at the Ise Grand Shrine at the close of his long pilgrimage. Yet he was to go further. In late September he stayed at his brother's residence, at their family home, for two months. At the end of November the wind pushed the restless poet toward the heart of ancient Japan – Nara, Kyoto, Ōtsu – where he briefly went into seclusion on the south shore of Biwa Lake, in an area called Zeze. He greeted New Year 1690 there. But on the third day of New Year celebrations he headed off to his brother's. In the privacy of the family home, amid simple everyday activities, he came to adopt a new aesthetic value which would

²³ Toda 2005 considered him to be a member of the Matsudaira clan. According to Muramatsu 2002, Sora was a *ninja*, or shogun's spy. Kawashiri 1992:45 writes about Sora's second incarnation as Mito Mistukuni, a member of the shōgun's family. According to Kawashiri 1992:52–55, he organized the trip to the North in order to find texts of the Apocalypse of St. John, as he was interested in prophetic scriptures, which sounds improbable). In any case, Sora must have had a powerful patron who issued passes of safe-conduct and enabled him to roam freely around the country.

leave its mark on the final period of his roaming and creative work. This value was *karumi*, lightness, though not only lightness of poetic expression. It encompassed a sense of detachment toward fleeting life, a feeling of freedom, even a certain disregard²⁴ for the world. As if *this* world was no longer the most important.

While on a year-long academic visit to the University of Tokyo five years ago, I had the occasion (during day-long conferences devoted to *haikai* held once a month) to speak with historians specializing in the Edo period as well as literature experts who had studied Matsuo Bashō. Some interesting conclusions were reached, including: “the fact that Bashō came into contact with Christians during his journey around the northern wilderness of Japan in 1689 should be written about more boldly...” Perhaps this poet encountered the Christian faith and became starkly aware of the reality of the earlier pogroms? Presumably he knew that his travel companion, Sora, was a spy for the shogun and had a concrete mission to accomplish. That mission was to comb Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines in search of praying *kakurekirishitan* (crypto-Christians)²⁵.

The last chapter of the travel diary *Oku no hosomichi*: Ōgaki, where Bashō spent time in early September 1689.

My former student Rotsū greeted me in Port Tsuruga and accompanied me all the way to the land of Mino. He helped me with his horse, and thus we entered the city of Ōgaki. We were then joined by fleet-footed Sora, on his way back from Ise, and Etsujin galloping on his steed. We gathered in the home of my student Jokō, a vassal of Ōgaki han. Other knights were there, too – Zensen, Keikō father and son as well as many people close to me who had come to greet me day and night. And everyone seemed to want to see the one who had returned to life – full of joy, warmth yet also concern. I felt great weariness and was exhausted by the hardships of the journey, and yet – the sixth day of September I was already on my way to the temple at Ise so that, four days later, I could bow there to our gods. I boarded a boat –

Hamaguri no futami ni wakare iku aki zo

It is difficult
to get the meat out of clams
I'm leaving in fall

²⁴ Cf. the verb *karonzuru* ‘to treat things too lightly, disregard, disdain.’

²⁵ Cf. Muramatsu 2002, Kawashiri 1992.

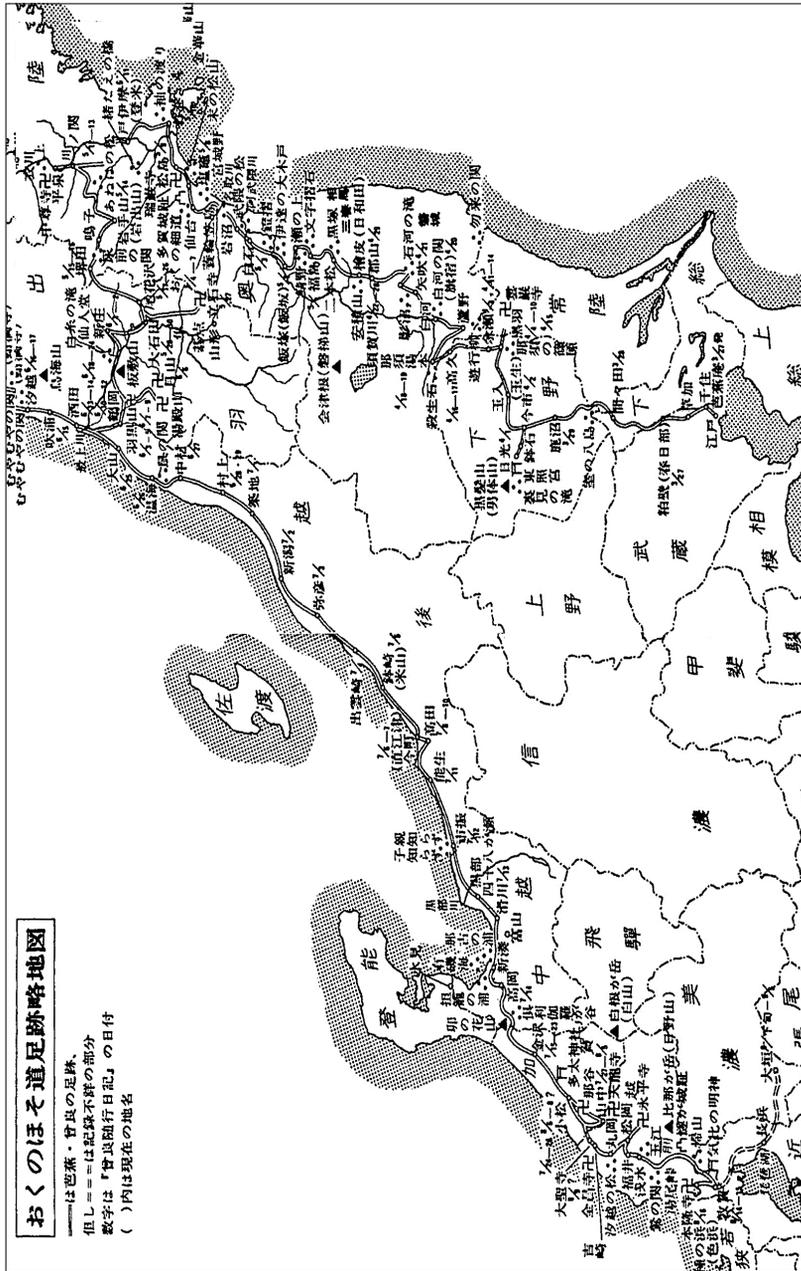


fig. 1. Map of the journey taken by Basho and Sora in Narrow Road to the Deep North. The places where encounters could have occurred with kakurekirishitan (crypto-Christians), their descendants, memories and stories about them and their graves are: Sendai, Nihonmatsu and, above all, the vicinity of Aizu, the Aizune Mountains and Bandaisan*.

* See Matsuo Basho 2002.

Bashō bares his soul to us in this passage. Rarely in his writings does he do so in such a direct manner. Seemingly contrary to the Buddhist precept of not getting attached to people because it's a source of suffering, this teacher of "being in solitude" seeks warmth, and particularly the presence of Rotsū – a student whom others rejected, who evidently was unjustly accused of some unnamed (in the texts we have) "guilt", about whom he made concerned inquiries in his letters, and for whom or, it seems, in whose cause he borrowed a considerable amount of money²⁶. The matter must have been urgent and extremely important, as if someone's life were at stake. This is borne out by Bashō's letter to Suganuma Kyokusui, which is written with great humility, nearly beseechingly, and ends with a request for discretion. He sent it from Edo in 1693 (during a brief stay there).

As the *Notes from the Hut of Spiritual Purification* cited below show, Bashō needed such purification after returning from his great journey. We find out a great deal about the poet from an allusion in this text to the song of Yamazaki Sōkan²⁷ – about welcoming the lowest of the low, perhaps even those who "are not counted among people" (*hinin*). Who belonged to this group in XVII-century Japan? The *eta* caste – tanners, executioners, gravediggers and Christians.

Sharakudō no ki

Notes from Sharakudō hut, an abode of spiritual purification, from the hermitage of my student Chinseki

March 1690

The mountains feed your inborn nature with their silence, the rushing water soothes vehement emotions²⁸. He who lives here feels good – between the mountains and a rushing brook, between these two: silence and ceaseless motion. His

²⁶ See: Muramatsu, 1985, letter no. 31. It's addressed to a rich student from Zeze, Suganuma Kyokusui, a land owner (*teishu*) and co-author of a renku poem from 1694 entitled *A Summer Night (Natsu no yo)*, who offered his beloved master the Genjūan hut on the shore of Lake Biwa. Kyokusui, a samurai's son, was to spear a representative of the clan elders, castellan Soga Kendayū, in 1717. Bashō, who died twenty years earlier, called his pupil "a brave warrior" (*yūshi Kyokusui*) and used to say that he "is not an average man" (*tada mono ni arazu*).

²⁷ Yamazaki Sōkan (d. circa 1539, lived about 80 years), *haika* teacher and poet, compiled the first ever *renga* anthology in *haikai* style, *Shinsen Inutsukubashū (New Selection of Dog poetry from Tsukuba)* in his later years. Bashō and his students considered his poetry, together with the Arakida Moritake (1473~1549) anthology entitled *Moritake senku [1000 Verses of Master Moritake]*, published in 1536, to form a kind of foundation for the *haikai* poetics of their own times.

²⁸ Bashō recalls verses from the *Confucian Analects* (Jap. *Rongo*) here: "The knowing man is gladdened by brooks; the ethical man, by mountains; the knowing man is movement; the ethical man, motionlessness and silence. The knowing man enjoys life, the ethical man lives long". That which is as steady as mountains is inborn human nature (Jap. *sei*); vehement emotions, unsteady passions (Jap. *jō*) move and flow like a mountain brook.

given name is Chinseki; his family name, Hamada²⁹. Wherever he looks, beautiful views are drawn in his eyes – which is why he composes *haikai*³⁰ with feeling. That which is cloudy around him acquires transparency; that which is sullied begins to shine with purity. Thus his pseudonym – *Sharakudō*³¹, Abode of Spiritual Purification. He hung a banner³² from his gate with the words of warning: “Scribes, erudites – stay away from my doorsill!” The funny thing was that he added one more caste to the four into which he divided his guests, our Yamazaki Sōkan, in a jocular song:

<i>Jō wa kozu</i>	Nobles – stay away
<i>chū wa kite inu</i>	the middle class may stay in the garden
<i>ge wa tomaru</i>	the low-born may come in for the night
<i>futayo tomaru wa</i>	two nights’ accommodations
<i>gege no ge no kyaku</i> ³³	only for the lowest of the low

More yet: the cottage has two rooms, each accommodating four and a half mats. Chinseki is thus heir to the simple beauty of poverty of two tea masters: Sen no Rikyū³⁴ and Takeno Jōō³⁵ – though not entirely, because he does not recognize their rules and precepts. When planting trees and arranging stone paths he is guided rather by lightness of heart, humor and a plain look. Returning to the landscape: the bay is like a sumptuous tray, serving up lots of treats and wonders. It has the shape of

²⁹ Hamada Chinseki (1667~1737), doctor, student of Bashō in the Ōmi province school, resident of Zeze. He first met his master only in 1689. A year later (1690), during Bashō’s stay in Genjū’an, at the Hut of Delusion, he had so thoroughly assimilated his master’s teachings that he was able to edit *Hisago (The Gourd)* that year, and two years later, in Edo, the *renku* collection *Fukagawa shū* (‘Fukagawa anthology’). Later he tried, though unsuccessfully, to participate in the Osaka group of Bashō students. Five years after his master’s death, he returned to Zeze, where he wrote and taught *haikai* in keeping with the aesthetic value of *karumi*. In the last years of his life, however, he lost his lightness, sense of humor and flair as he strove to conform to poetic rules too rigorously.

³⁰ In the original, Bashō praised his student thus: *kuchi ni fūga o utaete* (“from his lips he was able to sing forth top-flight poetry – in spiritual and aesthetic terms, in commoner as well as aristocratic terms”).

³¹ Literally: “a temple in which one can wash away and cast off worldly filth”

³² In the original this is a neologism Bashō composed from two Chinese characters sounded in Japanese lection (*kaiban*), with the first meaning “commandment” (sansk. *śīla*), and the second “decorative banner used as a sign of praise to Buddha or Bodhidsatva” (sansk. *patākā*).

³³ This song by Sōkan is from *Kokkei Taiheiki [Everything on Humor in Poetry]*, from a compendium of knowledge about the history of *haikai*, published in the late 1670s.

³⁴ Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591), student of Takeno Jōō, *sadō* (tea ceremony) master, founder of the Senkeryū school and clan, creator of a style of architecture, interior design, aesthetic and ethical principles of tea culture.

³⁵ Takeno Jōō (1502–1555), student of Murata Jūkō, *sadō* master. He preferred tiny, ascetic rooms and plain, spare utensils for brewing and serving tea.

a sleeve between two flaps of a robe: the left-hand one, to the southeast, is Seta with its evening afterglow; the right-hand one, to the northwest, is Cape Karasaki and its rainy nights. And the sleeve, like an arm that tenderly embraces the Lake, is directed northeast toward Mikamiyama, the Three Peaks. Lake Biwa's shape brings to mind a lute – the sigh of the wind through the pine tree branches is attuned to the whisper of its waves. To the west in the distance you can see Mount Hiei, to the north of it, the lofty peak Hira, and then, behind its back, you have the peaks Otowa and Ishiyama. Pin a twig of cherry blossoms in your hair from the slopes of Nagara and you will see the pale face of the moon staring at itself in Mirror Peak – one of the Three Peaks, the one lying farthest to the east. And as a Chinese poet says³⁶ – “everything is beautiful like delicate or strong make-up changing every day”. You can guess by now who rules Chinseki's heart – those views, those clouds, wind, all of Nature.

<i>Shihō yori</i>	this whole world
<i>hanabuki irete</i>	whirls in a storm of flowers
<i>nio no nami</i>	waves... a duck...

Bashō

Genjū`an no ki **Notes from the Hut of Delusion**

April – July 1690

Hidden behind the slopes of Ishiyama, behind Iwama peak, stands Mount Kokubu. Its name brings to mind the Kokubunji temples, erected for every land in the remote past. I cross narrow brooks winding at its foot, climb its steep slope and, after three hairpin turns and two hundred steps, arrive at the gate of Hachiman Temple.

Some believe that this holy statue is the incarnation of Amida Nyorai. Yet there are families for whom combining the Shintō and Buddhist religions in one holy figure is repugnant. On the other hand, how noble it is to equalize these two radiant lights. What an advantage it is for us – the dust of this world! No one is here these days, not a trace of a pilgrim. So I'm here alone. Just me and God³⁷. Silence. In this silence I see an abandoned hut, overgrown by mugwort³⁸, slanting, immersed in bamboo up to the eaves of its hole-filled roof. It gives shelter to

³⁶ Quotation from Sū Dōng Pō (Jap. *Sotōba* 1036 ~1101), a Chinese poet from the era of the Northern Sung dynasty.

³⁷ In the original: *Itodo kami sabi monoshizuka naru katawara ni, sumisuteshi kusa no to ari.*

³⁸ Yomogigusa (*Artemisia vulgaris*)

badgers and foxes. It's called Genjū'an, the Hut of Delusion or Dwelling of Spirits. It belongs to a monk whose name I don't know. I know only that his uncle was my beloved student, a brave samurai named Kyokusui, from the Suganuma clan. Eight years have passed already since he left behind nothing but that nickname: The Old One Who Shares his Dwelling with Spirits.

And I? Ten years have passed already since I left the clamor of the big city, and now my fiftieth year is fast approaching. And so? I am like a moth larva in a cocoon, but without a cocoon. I am a snail who has left behind its home. I burned my face in the harsh sun of the northern provinces and on the west coast of Kusakata, I injured my heels, traversing the sandy hillocks and wild beaches of the northern sea with difficulty, finally entrusting my body and soul this year to the rocking of the quiet waves of Lake Biwa. [...]

At this point Bashō gives us a full metaphor, deep poetic reflection on the paths of his own life, which I will skip here. I will only cite the ending, in which Bashō clearly states that his fate is to dwell with those who have departed this world... The strong desire to empathize with suffering, to contemplate past events, encounters and images from the year before, was not displayed in his poetic work. On the contrary: in raising his new value *karumi*, the lightness of seeing things just as they appear, he replaces his previous outlook with the joy that the present brings: "a clump of broad beeches in the summer". While this is a very Buddhist approach to experiencing the world, Bashō clearly writes that he has already passed through this stage; it is also not devoid of Christian ethics, which he may have encountered on his Way.

[...] And so I ponder in my heart the events of a lousy and vain life. There once was a time when I envied someone for his government career, and a time when I devoted myself to the teachings of Buddha behind the half-closed doors of a Zen school. Afterwards I spent years seeking beauty in the lyricism of nature, painting flowers and birds in poetry, and it was there that I saw my destiny, by finally becoming fully aware of my inability to devote my brush to tying together verses. "Like Bo Qu-Yi, who in his very bowels devoted himself to the gods of poetry, like old Du Fu I grew thin while binding speech. Though my stupidity is a far cry from their wisdom, and my writing from their verbal artistry, their fate and mine are the same – dwelling with the spirits".

Let that be the sum of my life. I'm going to sleep.

Mazu tanomu shii no ki mo ari natsu kodachi

All I desire
are clumps of broad beeches
in the summer



fig 2. The restored Genjū'an Hut, which lies within the present-day city of Ōtsu.

After returning home, Bashō shut himself in his cottage for an entire month, not letting anyone inside. We don't know what exactly he did at that time. His behavior cannot be attributed solely to despair over the loss of his beloved nephew... Bashō left many mournful poems, written in grief over the loss of beloved students. But not a single verse was left from this time of "closure". Evidently he did not write poetry.

Heikan no setsu
Why did I close my home?
July 1693

A dissolute life disgusts the truly noble man, as Confucius wrote. Buddha, too, placed his "Do not commit adultery"³⁹ – one might say – at the beginning of his Five Precepts. And yet – we are helpless in the face of desires that are impossible to

³⁹ The word *iro* is used in the original here, which can mean "carnal love" as well as "all deviations from the Way", when a weak man allows himself to be seduced by the colors of the external world.

ignore. Who could? We are weak and anything can happen! Here we have a couple lying together beneath a flowering plum tree on Dark Mountain, where no eye can spy them, captivated by the fragrance above all fragrances. If not for the Sentinel who stands guard over the tortuous paths of our hidden desires, how many mistakes and downfalls would we have to experience! Or, having shared a pillow as uncertain as a wave with an alluring fisherwoman, we then tug at her kimono sleeves in despair, and it's often the case that we have to sell our house or lose our lives. We wish to live to a serene old age, yet we inflict spiritual suffering on ourselves, greedily seeking fulfillment in food and mammon. Yet those who are unable to distinguish between good and evil, beauty and ugliness, will be forgiven far sooner. Our lives last seventy years⁴⁰ – and not always, and we are in our prime only for about twenty. Old age, when it first comes – it's like a dream for one night that has just passed. We weaken as we approach the age of fifty, and soon sixty draws near, and then we get uglier and uglier, closer and closer to the ground. We're asleep by the early evening, we awake at dawn, we ruminate on something, we hunger who knows for what. The stupider we are, the more nostalgic we get. Whoever excels in the arts only multiplies his sufferings, and in the end becomes a master of counting profits and losses. Skills prove merely to be a clever means for surviving in the world – in the diabolic world of the greedy and the impoverished. The greater the anger that accumulates in our hearts in response, the deeper we sink into muddy ruts, growing too weak to return to life. As the Old Man would say in the Taoist Southern Flower Scripture: stop considering what's worth and not worth doing; forget whether you are old or young. Seek solitude, some silence – maybe you will discover joy in your old age. Someone visits – so many unnecessary words are said. I go somewhere – I regret disturbing someone's tranquility. But I could, like the highly esteemed Junshi⁴¹, simply close the door, or like Togoro⁴², bolt the gate. Make the absence of friends a friend; poverty, the greatest wealth; and write to yourself like a fifty-year-old boor, informing yourself what you're banned from doing.

⁴⁰ This could be a quotation from a poem by Du Fu (Jap. Jinsei nanajū korai mare nari. A human life rarely exceeds the age of seventy), as well as a simple Buddhist observation concerning impermanence. But, keeping in mind Bashō's mastery in maintaining appearances, we cannot rule out the possibility he is referring to Psalms 90: 3–6 and 10 (Citation from the King James Bible): “[...] Thou turnest man to destruction; and sayest, Return, ye children of men. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night. Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep: in the morning they are like grass which groweth up. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth [...]. The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away [...]”

⁴¹ Xunzi (Jap. *Junshi* or *Sonkei*, 298~238 B.C.E.), Chinese philosopher of the Warring States period.

⁴² According to Chinese legend from the XIV-century Sung Dynasty Chronicles, this man shut himself inside his home for 30 years.

Asagao ya hiru wa jō orosu mon no kaki

Bashō

Convolvulus flowers
and in broad daylight
I bolt the gate in the fence

会津の隠れ切支丹（キリシタン）

Hidden Kirishitan in Aizu

蒲生氏郷が会津の領主であった時（1590～）から会津はキリシタンの苗床的役割を経てきた。元和の末期（1614）に徳川幕府の厳しい切支丹禁止令が出されてから、東北の各地にキリシタンが移住して来た。寛永14年（1637）は島原の乱の年で弾圧が更に嚴重となり、キリシタン信者は心の安らぎの出来る所を求めて逃げて来た。

会津は山々に囲まれており、会津へ旅をする人々は山道の峠を利用した。山王峠には厳しい取締りの関所があったがそこを通らないで行く間道がいくつかあった。山王峠の西方には葡萄峠、山王峠の東方には板室峠の道などである。

会津での最初の殉教者の頃（1626）から会津での弾圧が嚴重となり、あるキリシタンが坂下、山郡、熱塩、喜多方などから北の出羽国（山形）へと向かった。田島や高田からキリシタンが柳津、只見を経て越後や佐渡のキリシタンと連絡することができた。山形を目指して逃げて来た人達の中の年寄りや子連れのが長旅に難渋し旅を断念、山奥に隠れ住み会津をとりまく尾根づたいや、村々には多くのキリシタンの遺跡が残っているのである。

As early as the 16th century many Kirishitan came to Gamo Ujisato's Aizu. This was a safe place where they could live and continue their Christian faith. Later, after Tokugawa Ieyasu's Edict of 1614 and again after the Shimabara Rebellion (1637), persecutions of the Kirishitan continued to intensify and many more Kirishitan fled to Aizu from southern Japan.

Aizu is surrounded by mountains. Roads suitable to travel over the mountains to and from Aizu were the Nikko Highway at Sanno Pass, which was a strict check point, or over the Budo Pass, which was west of the Sanno Pass. East of the Sanno Pass was the Itamuro Pass.

After the first martyr in Aizu (1626), when persecution of the Kirishitan intensified in Aizu, it is thought that many Kirishitan from Bange, Yamato, Atsushio and Kitakata fled northward to Yamagata. Kirishitan from Tajima or Takada had connections to the west through Yanaizu and then Tadami to Echigo and Sado Island. The elderly or those with little children often gave up the long difficult trips and hid in the mountains. There are many Kirishitan historic relics in the lonely villages among these mountain ridges surrounding Aizu.

Fig 3 Chapter 5, Page 55 from Kroehler & Kroehler 2006.

This statue of the goddess Kannon, Protector of Mothers in Childbirth, portrayed with a cross that was added by 17th-century Christians hiding in northeastern Japan, symbolizes the great difficulty of analyzing texts from that period and separating Buddhist from Christian motifs. Only a good knowledge of the history of Christians during that era can provide some basis for conducting research in its literature. Such research is difficult. Difficult not only because of the political

situation of the time but even more so by the *haikai* style in which Matsuo Bashō wrote. This style, which draws support from allusions to the past, does not tolerate clear-cut statements, particularly those concerning the realities of contemporary social life. Thus, it forces readers to use their imagination and fine-tune their sensitivity to words used sparingly. These words are like flickers – immediately extinguishable. They recall the famous Mirror of the Christians⁴³ that shows a large image of the crucified Christ on a smooth rock's surface when properly angled in relation to the sun. It's a kind of virtual image, because a mere tremble of the hand can make it disappear.



十字架を持つ柳津町久保田の安産観音像
The Kubota Kannon Statue (Yanaizu) Holding a Cross

Fig 4

⁴³ This treasure from the era is kept in the Museum of Crypto-Christians in a small, Japanese-style church preserved since the late 16th century standing next to the so-called Francis House (*Furan-shisuko no ie*) in Kyoto. Twenty-six Japanese Christians as well as Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries were led from this church to their martyrdom (crucifixion) in Nagasaki in the winter of 1597.