

# An Outline of the History of Waka in the Edo Period

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## 【The keynotes】

In this paper I will try to briefly sketch in English a whole picture of the history of waka in the Edo Period, together with the results of the latest study of it. Recently, Shinpen-kokka-taikan (新編国歌大観) has become available on-line and this has greatly advanced the study of expressions of waka as well as the study of kadan-shi (歌壇史, History of poetry salons). In particular, the study of waka in the Edo Period developed at a dramatic rate during the past quarter of the century. It is very significant for the study of waka-shi (和歌史, History of waka) and of Edo literature (近世文学) that this has created the new paradigm “from tosho (堂上, Emperor and Court noble) to jige (地下, The others)”, which has become a common ground of understanding among researchers.

In the Edo Period, waka literature, like kangaku (漢学, Study of Chinese classics) and kanshi (漢詩, Chinese poetry), falls under ga (雅) and it was a necessary way for Court noble, an essential culture for samurai, and the very best hobby for common people that could satisfy their ambition to rise in the world. During the first term of the Edo Period (from the establishment of the shogunate to genroku, 幕初～元禄/1603-1703) waka was popular among tosho (堂上). So it is very important to keep in mind the fact that as jige-kajin (地下歌人, Poets of jige) became active over time, it also interacted closely with zoku (俗). In the second term of the Edo Period (from hoei to tenmei, 宝永～天明/1704-1788), it has created the new paradigm “from jige (地下) to chiho (地方)”.

Here I take the position that Kinsei (近世) is equal to the Edo Period (江戸時代), and I will divide it into three terms for the sake of

discussion. I define the time from the establishment of the shogunate (幕初, 1603) to genroku (元禄, 1703) as the first term, the time from hoei (宝永, 1704) to tenmei (天明, 1788) as the second, and the time from kansei (寛政, 1789) to keio (慶応, 1867) as the third. We can say that the first term corresponds to the 17th century, the second to the 18th century, and the third to the 19th century. Or if we focus on what happened, we can also say that the first is the Period of tosho (堂上), the second the transitional Period from tosho (堂上) to jige (地下), and the third the Period of jige (地下), especially kokugakuha (国学派, The Japanese classics), respectively. I will try to briefly sketch out each term. At the end of the paper, I provide a list of recent major works on waka in the Edo Period, hoping that it will be helpful for those who are interested.

【日本語要旨】

### 近世和歌史概説

本稿は、近世和歌史の全体像を、最新の研究動向を踏まえながら英文で簡潔に綴ったもの。歌壇史や和歌表現の研究を軸として、近年の和歌史研究の進展には目を瞠るものがあるが、中でも近世和歌の研究はこの四半世紀で飛躍的に進歩した。〈堂上から地下へ〉というパラダイムが確立し、研究者相互の共通理解となったことは、和歌史研究においてもまた近世文学研究においても非常に大きな意味がある。

江戸時代において、和歌は漢学漢詩文と並んで終始〈雅〉の領域に属しており、公家にとっては必須の「道」、武家にとっては抜き差しならない「教養」、そして庶民にとっては上昇志向を満ち得る上々の「趣味」でもあった。江戸前期に堂上が領導していた和歌は、徐々に時代が下るにつれて地下歌人の活躍が目立つようになり、〈俗文学〉とも広く深く交渉するようになっていった。江戸中期には、〈地下から地方へ〉というパラダイムも確立する。

本稿では、近世和歌史を前期（幕初から元禄まで）、中期（宝永から天明まで）、後期（寛政から慶応まで）の三期に分ち、それぞれ「堂上の時代」「堂上から地下への過渡期的時代」「国学派全盛の時代」と定義した上で、各時期の特質を可能な限り広い視野をもって概述、末尾には研究案内を兼ねて、近年を中心に主要な研究文献を掲出した。

## Introduction

Many articles on Japanese literature have been produced overseas for a long time that are written in Japanese by researchers in the world. They include articles on *Genji-monogatari* (源氏物語, The Tale of Genji, c.1010), Basho (芭蕉, 1644-94), and Natsume Soseki (夏目漱石, 1867-1916). Moreover, Haiku (俳句) is now loved by people all over the world as HAIKU.

On the other hand, such articles do not include many on waka literature. I think that this is due to various factors—I hope you won't be offended if I say this—such as the following: first, there are only a few translations of waka works and if there are, they are mostly translated into English and rarely into other languages; second, there are no high-quality textbooks written in foreign languages that reflect the results of the latest studies of waka literature; and third, there are few translations of Japanese articles on waka literature. In the first place, we should address and discuss seriously the question of how to translate verses such as waka. Moreover, we are faced with the fundamental problems of how to treat a coded language of kago (歌語, poetic word) and utamakura (歌枕, poetic place), and how to translate rhetorical expressions such as engo (縁語, associated word), kakekotoba (掛詞, pivot word) and honkadori (本歌取, allusive variation). We must recognize that it is not easy to overcome these difficulties.

Nevertheless, we have certain results about major fields such as *Man'yoshu* (万葉集, Collection of Myriad Leaves, pre-785), *Kokinshu* (古今集, Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems, c. 905) and *Shinkokinshu* (新古今集, New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems, c. 1205). We also have an epoch-making bilingual book published recently, *Waka Opening Up to the World: Language, Community, and Gender* (Haruo

SHIRANE, KANECHIKU Nobuyuki, TABUCHI Kumiko, JINNO Hidenori, Bensei publishing, 『世界へひらく和歌—言語・共同体・ジェンダー—』, ハルオシラネ・兼築信行・田淵句美子・陣野英則, 勉誠出版, 2012). This book is a collection of original articles by front-line researchers and is made up of five chapters: Chapter 1 WAKA AS WORLD LITERATURE, Chapter 2 WAKA AND GENDER, Chapter 3 COMMUNITY AND CANON, Chapter 4 LANGUAGE AND POETICS, and Chapter 5 MATERIAL CULTURE AND MEDIA. The book contains careful descriptions of topics ranging from *Man'yōshū* (万葉集) to modern tanka (近代短歌, modern short poem) and including ten'no (天皇, Emperor), reizei-ke (冷泉家, Poetic House of Reizei), joryu (女流, Women Poets), waka in The Tale of Genji (源氏物語の和歌), rhetoric (修辞), karon (歌論, Waka treatise, Waka poetics), chushaku (注釈, Commentary), format of waka books (歌書の装訂), kohitsu-gire (古筆切), kaishi (懷紙), tanzaku (短冊) and gasan (画賛, Pictorial art and waka), together with discussions of latest research on them. As the title of the book shows, it is intended to make waka literature accessible to readers in the world. I believe that it is a remarkable piece of work that provides a firm basis for the international study of waka literature in the future.

However, I feel it unsatisfactory that there are no high-quality books summarizing the latest results of the study of the history of waka literature. Recently, *Shinpen-kokka-taikan* (新編国歌大観) has become available on-line and this has greatly advanced the study of expressions of waka as well as the study of kadan-shi (歌壇史, History of poetry salons). In particular, the study of waka in the Edo Period developed at a dramatic rate during the past quarter of the century. It is very significant for the study of waka-shi (和歌史, History of Waka) and of Edo literature (近世文学) that this has created the new paradigm “from tosho (堂上, Emperor and Court noble) to jige (地下, The others),” which has become a

common ground of understanding among researchers.

Against this background, in this paper I will try to briefly sketch in English a whole picture of the history of waka in the Edo Period, together with the results of the latest study of it. Of course, I don't mean to give too much meaning to writing in English, but I do this wishing that researchers and students overseas will find out the present situation of the study of waka in the Edo Period. I am not sure how well I can achieve this goal, but I would like to ask the reader to keep my intention in mind when reading this paper.

### Definition of the History of Waka in the Edo Period

When does Kinsei (近世) begin in waka-shi (和歌史)? Or when does it end?

These are very difficult questions, because we have a lot of answers. According to the view of waka commonly held by today's poets, it seems appropriate to say that it starts in the period of SANJONISHI Sanetaka (三条西実隆, 1455-1537) and ends before the appearance of MASAOKA Shiki (正岡子規, 1867-1902). Here, while having this view in mind, I take the position that Kinsei (近世) is equal to the Edo Period (江戸時代), and I will divide it into three terms for the sake of discussion.

However, it is not easy to do so, because there are several opinions on how to divide the Edo Period into three. Here I define the time from the establishment of the shogunate (幕初, 1603) to genroku (元禄, 1703) as the first term, the time from hoei (宝永, 1704) to tenmei (天明, 1788) as the second, and the time from kansei (寛政, 1789) to keio (慶応, 1867) as the third. We can say that the first term corresponds to the 17th century, the second to the 18th century, and the third to the 19th century. Or if we focus on what happened, we can also say that the first is the Period of tosho (堂上, Emperor and Court noble), the second

## An Outline of the History of Waka in the Edo Period

the transitional Period from tosho (堂上) to jige (地下, The others), and the third the Period of jige (地下), especially kokugakuha (国学派, The Japanese classics), respectively.

It is now common to understand Kinsei-bungaku-shi (近世文学史, The history of Edo Period literature) in terms of the concepts of ga (雅, Traditional literature) and zoku (俗, Sub-cultural literature). Waka literature, like kangaku (漢学, Study of chinese classics) and kanshi (漢詩, Chinese poetry), falls under ga (雅) and it was a necessary way for Court noble, an essential culture for samurai, and the very best hobby for common people that could satisfy their ambition to rise in the world. The backbone (thought or literary theory) of kangaku (漢学) always had a great influence on kagaku (歌学, Study of waka) in various ways and the craze of kyoka (狂歌, comic verse) grew out of the prosperity of waka.

So the study of waka literature belongs to the study of ga (雅), but it is very important to keep in mind the fact that as jige-kajin (地下歌人, Poets of jige) became active over time, it also interacted closely with zoku (俗). I think it is also important to try to study poets by looking at the general spirit of the period across all genre without being confined inside kadan (歌壇, Poetry salons). And I also think it remains to be worked on to investigate the poetry style of individuals as well as kafu-shi (歌風史, History of poetry style), both of which clearly fall behind the study of poets, karon (歌論, Waka treatise, Waka poetics), and kadan-shi (歌壇史, History of poetry salons). We should discuss the poetry style objectively in terms of phraseology, unlike the common practice of the pre-World War II period, which selected arbitrarily from each collection of poems and gave impressionistic reviews.

We also need to study kasho (歌書, Books of waka), both for shahon (写本, Manuscripts) and for kanpon (刊本, Printed books). It is

very important to study not only high quality shahon (写本) as well as kinri-bon (禁裏本, Books of the Imperial Court) but also circulated shahon (写本) and kanpon (刊本).

Now what is Kinsei waka (近世和歌, Waka literature of the Edo Period)? How do we find the properties of the waka works? What is the difference between Kinsei waka on the one hand and Chusei waka (中世和歌, Waka literature of Kamakura, Nanbokucho, Muromachi and Azuchi-momoyama Period) and Kindai tanka (近代短歌, Short poem of modern) on the other? Although it may seem premature to study the subject without knowing the details first, it is most important to look at the whole while at the same time going into the details. I will try to sketch out the history of waka in the Edo Period by looking at both the whole picture and its pieces.

## The First Term of the Edo Period

: from the establishment of the shogunate to genroku (幕初～元禄／1603-1703)

\* 17th century, Period of tosho (堂上, Emperor and Court noble)

During this term waka was popular among tosho (堂上). Toshō refers to the Emperor and Court nobles. First, GOMINO-IN-kadan (後水尾院歌壇, Gomino Emperor poetry salons), which followed GOYOZEI-IN-kadan (後陽成院歌壇, Goyozei Emperor poetry salons) in the end of the Azuchi-momoyama Period, was in full flourish. Kokin-denju (古今伝授, Instruction on *Kokinshū* and waka) by HOSOKAWA Yusai (細川幽齋, 1534-1610) was transmitted to GOMINO Ten'no (後水尾天皇, 1596-1680) by way of HACHIJO-no-MIYA TOSHIHITO Shin'no (八条宮智仁親王, 1579-1629), which established a special form of kagaku (歌学), the gosho-denju (御所伝授, Instruction in the Imperial Court about *Kokinshū* and

waka). Then GOMINO Ten'no (後水尾天皇) officially announced *Kinchu-gogakumon-ko* (禁中御学問講, 1621) and strongly encouraged accomplishments arts such as waka and renga (連歌, linked verse). The completion of kinri-bunko (禁裡文庫, The Imperial library) full of high-quality shahon (写本) is a remarkable fact. Court nobles such as ASUKAI Masaaki (飛鳥井雅章, 1611-1679) and KARASUMARU Sukeyoshi (烏丸資慶, 1622-1669) received kokin-denju (古今伝授) from GOMINO-IN and worked hard together to push forward kyutei kadan (宮廷歌壇, Court poetry salons). This produced a large amount of gokai waka (御会和歌, waka of Court poem), which were not simple enough to regard as having the “plain style of waka works by nijoha (二条派, Poetic school of Nijo)”, as traditional reviews do. They show their diligent work and refinement, and became a living best model for jige (地下) poets. Then there came along REIGEN-IN-kadan (靈元院歌壇, Reigen Emperor poetry salons), where gosho-denju (御所伝授) was formally organized by adding tenioha-denju (てにをは伝授, Instruction on particles) at its first stage, and NAKANOIN Michimochi (中院通茂, 1631-1710), SHIMIZUDANI Sanenari (清水谷実業, 1648-1709), MUSHANOKOJI Sanekage (武者小路実陰, 1661-1738) and others worked hard on kado (歌道, the art of composing waka poetry). Note also that the famous reizei-ke (冷泉家, poetic house of Reizei) was revived by REIZEI Tametsuna (冷泉為綱, 1664-1722) and REIZEI Tamehisa (冷泉為久, 1686-1741) at the time. In this way, kyutei kadan (宮廷歌壇) around genroku (元禄, 1688-1703) was as active as the GOMINO-IN Period.

On the other hand, HOSOKAWA Yusai's (細川幽齋) kagaku (歌学, study of waka) was introduced to MATSUNAGA Teitoku (松永貞徳, 1571-1653). As a result, niyo-ke-ryu (二条家流) spread widely and steadily among jige (地下). KITAMURA Kigin (北村季吟, 1624-1705) and KATO Bansai (加藤磐齋, 1625-1674) took over MATSUNAGA Teitoku's



chushakugaku (注釈学, study of commentary), and MOCHIZUKI Choko (望月長孝, 1619-1681) took over kagaku (歌学). The kagaku school of MOCHIZUKI Choko was later taken over by HIRAMA Choga (平間長雅, 1636-1710) and ARUGA Chohaku (有賀長伯, 1661-1737). There were two other schools, KAGAWA Sen'na's (香川宣阿, 1646-1735) and KAWASE Sugao's (河瀬菅雄, 1647-1725). The three schools of kamigata-jige (上方地下, the other poets of the Kyoto-Osaka), working separately, had many new poets in their local areas in the mid-Edo Period and contributed greatly to the increasing population of poets. Note that many of the haiku poets called teimon (貞門) and danrin (談林), such as YAMAMOTO Saimu (山本西武, 1610-1682), KONZE Keian (金勝慶安, 1648-1729), and OKANISHI Ichu (岡西惟中, 1639-1711), studied two kinds of poems, waka and haikai (俳諧). And some in the kogido (古義堂) school of ITO Jinsai (伊藤仁斎, 1627-1705) and ITO Togai (伊藤東涯, 1670-1736) composed waka poems. In future work we need to consider carefully these as well as waka by confucianists and waka by the schools of gansuido (含翠堂) and kaitokudo (懷徳堂).

The above-mentioned are what happened in Kyoto. In Osaka, SHIMOKOBE Choryu (下河辺長流, 1627-1686) and KEICHI (契沖, 1640-1701) introduced a new style into the study of Japanese classics (古典学) such as *Man'yoshu* (万葉集, pre-785). In Edo, there were many notable poets such as YAMAMOTO Shunsho (山本春正, 1610-1682) and OKAMOTO Soko (岡本宗好, ?-1681) of the school of KINOSHITA Choshoshi (木下長嘯子, 1569-1649), as well as SHIMIZU Sosen (清水宗川, 1614-1697), TODA Mosui (戸田茂睡, 1629-1706) and HARA Anteki (原安適, ?-1716?). So we need to consider Edo kadan (江戸歌壇, Edo poetry salons) from a broad perspective, taking BASHO (芭蕉, 1644-1694), rin-ke (林家, house of Rin) and mito-ke (水戸家, house of Mito) into consideration. Moreover, samurai (武家) in various places studied

## An Outline of the History of Waka in the Edo Period

and enjoyed waka under the influence of their daimyo (大名, feudal lord) with much intellectual appetite. The duties in Edo-hantei (江戸藩邸, Samurai residence of feudal domain in Edo) due to sankin-kotai (参勤交代, daimyo's alternate-year residence in Edo) provided a place for the exchange of information and this was the absolute key point for transcribing and disseminating texts of kasho (歌書), especially shahon (写本). It is also important to note that niyo-ke-ryu (二条家流) spread steadily to other places by way of jige poets (地下歌人).

We should recognize that kasho kanpon (歌書刊本, printed books of waka), seihan (整版, makeup books), circulated among jige (地下), as opposed to kinri-bunko (禁裡文庫), shahon (写本), among tosho (堂上). Although kasho kanpon often have problems with the text, most books including senju (撰集, selected poems), kashu (家集, collected poems) and karon kagaku (歌論歌学) were published as kanpon (刊本) in the genroku Period. Kasho kanpon should be considered to have played an extremely important role in the intellectual basis and culture of jige poets (地下歌人) and particularly in their diligent study of waka.

In the genroku period poets often created poems describing scenery and this tendency appeared in their teaching of their pupils, too. According to karon-shi (歌論史), they attached importance to *Kokinshu* (古今集, c. 905) and *Sandaishu* (三代集, first three imperial poetry anthologies, c. 10-11th. c.), and excluded *Gyokuyoshu* (玉葉集, Collection of round Leaves, 1312) and *Fugashu* (風雅集, Collection of Elegance, 1346) as having a different style, but we often find the wording of *Gyokuyoshu* and *Fugashu* in the waka works of tosho and jige. I find this to be a very interesting fact.

## The Second Term of the Edo Period

: from hoei to tenmei (宝永~天明/1704-1788)

\* 18th century, transitional period from tosho (堂上) to jige (地下, the others)

REIGEN-IN-kadan (靈元院歌壇) grew lively and we find a lot of remarkable results, for example, *Kyoho-senshu* (享保千首, 1730), but its centripetal force became weak bit by bit after REIGEN-IN (靈元院) passed away in 1732. However, this is merely a relative way of understanding comparing GOMINO-IN-kadan (後水尾院歌壇) and REIGEN-IN-kadan (靈元院歌壇). In fact, the power of tosho (堂上) was pretty strong in SAKURAMACHI-kadan (桜町歌壇, Sakuramachi Emperor poetry salons), too, which followed REIGEN-IN-kadan.

On the other hand, the influence of kamigata-jige (上方地下) spread during kyoho (享保) and daimyo (大名) in various places, connected closely to Kyoto, had a strong interest in kagaku (歌学). In Edo MATSUI Yukitaka (松井幸隆, 1643-1717 af.), who was a pupil of NAKANOIN Michimochi (中院通茂), went down to Edo during shotoku (正徳) and built up a foundation of Edo-tosho-ha (江戸堂上派, Poetic school of tosho in Edo). Soon vassals of the shogun (幕臣) from REIZEI Tamemura (冷泉為村, 1712-1774), such as ISHINO Hiromichi (石野広通, 1718-1800) and HAGIWARA Soko (萩原宗固, 1703-1784), took a lively part. We should also note their relationship to those such as OTA Nanpo (大田南畝, 1749-1823) who developed tenmei-kyoka (天明狂歌, comic verse of tenmei).

At the same time, innovative poets called by kogaku-ha (古学派, Poetic school of the Japanese classics), for example, KADA-no Azumamaro (荷田春満, 1669-1726) and KAMO-no Mabuchi (賀茂真淵, 1697-1769), became active gradually. They made shaky a corner of jige-nijo-ha (地下二条派, Poetic school of Nijo in Jige), who strongly controlled santo (三都, Kyoto, Osaka and Edo). Soon TAYASU Munetake (田安宗武, 1715-

1771), who was the second son of the 8th General TOKUGAWA Yoshimune (徳川吉宗, 1684-1751) appeared in ken'mon (県門, Poetic pupil of KAMO-no Mabuchi), who respected Man'yo-cho (万葉調, style of *Man'yoshu*). TAYASU Munetake made KADA-no Arimaro (荷田在満, 1706-1751) write the karon (歌論) *Kokka-hachiron* (国歌八論, 1742), which, with arguments for and against it, caused the so-called *Kokka-hachiron-ronso* (国歌八論論争, controversy of *Kokka-hachiron*). Most important, I think, is the fact that he denied the authority of traditional kagaku (歌学) and appreciated the literary quality of waka by releasing it from morality. Although tosho (堂上) were still active, the situation with waka was changing slowly and steadily.

KAMO-no Mabuchi (賀茂真淵) found out masurawo-buri (ますらをぶり, manliness) in *Man'yoshu* (万葉集) and respected the ancient simple and honest human heart. Ken'mon (県門) produced a great many talented individuals in various parts of the country, for example, ARAKIDA Hisaoyu (荒木田久老, 1746-1804) in Ise, TANI Mashio (谷真潮, 1727-1797) in Tosa and KATO Umaki (加藤宇万伎, 1721-1777) in Edo. But the most important of them were ken'mon-shiten'no (県門四天王, the big four of pupil of KAMO-no Mabuchi), namely, KADORI Nabiko (楫取魚彦, 1723-1782), TACHIBANA Chikage (橘千蔭, 1735-1808), MURATA Harumi (村田春海, 1746-1811) and KATO Umaki (加藤宇万伎). Chikage, who established the style of combining poetry, calligraphy and painting, and Harumi, who was unrivaled in Chinese and Japanese poetry, formed edo-ha (江戸派, Poetic school of Edo), which later advocated *shinkokincho* (新古今調, style of *shinkokinshu*). Edo-ha produced a great many talented individuals, for example, SHIMIZU Hamaomi (清水浜臣, 1776-1824), KISHIMOTO Yuzuru (岸本由豆流, 1788-1846) and INOUE Fumio (井上文雄, 1800-1871), and opened up a new perspective for the study of Japanese classics.

KATO Umaki (加藤宇万伎) taught wagaku (和学, the Japanese classics) to UEDA Akinari (上田秋成, 1734-1809). I guess that kamigata-ken'mon (上方県門) steadily permeated around UEDA Akinari. OZAWA Roan (小沢蘆庵, 1723-1801), who Akinari ardently admired, had been a pupil of REIZEI Tamemura (冷泉為村) but later established his own style, and his *tadakoto-uta* (ただこと歌, Poetry of un verse words)—I compose a poem logically by my words by myself when I think of facts now “*Furu-no-nakamichi* (布留の中道, 1800)” —is very famous. *Daiei* (題詠, composing a waka on a given theme), which had begun in Insei-ki (院政期, Period of government by a retired Emperor, 1086-1192) and continued for a long time, now came to a big turning point.

In my opinion, the major contribution of MOTOORI Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730-1801) lies in his study of classics like *Kojiki* (古事記, 712) and *Genji-monogatari* (源氏物語, c.1010), of waka and of language, and though he created many waka for his life, they are not excellent. However, I believe that his capacity for feeling the pathos developed in *Shibun-yoryo* (紫文要領, 1763) and *Isonokami-no-sasamegoto* (石上私淑言, 1763 af.) was epoch-making in that it released literature from a model thought of Confucianism and Buddhist scholarship, and declared the independence of literature.

And I think we should also note women poets such as the three big women poets of Gion (祇園の三才女)—KAJI-jo (梶女, ?-?), YURI-jo (百合女, 1694-1764) and MACHI-jo (町女, 1728-1784)—and the three big women poets of ken'mon (県門の三才女)—YUYA Shizuko (油谷倭文子, 1733-1752), UDONO Yonoko (鶴殿余野子, ?-1788) and TOKI Tsukubako (土岐筑波子, 1716?-?), as well as waka works by hi-kurodo (非蔵人, odd-job man of a Shinto priest for the Imperial Court), for example, HASHIMOTO Tsunesuke (橋本経亮, 1759-1805), who, while being a pupil of OZAWA Roan (小沢蘆庵), was also related to MYOHAIN-no-

miya SHIN'NIN hosshin'no (妙法院宮真仁法親王, 1768-1805).

### The Third Term of the Edo Period

: from kansei to keio (寛政～慶応／1789-1867)

\* 19th century, jige (地下), especially kokugaku-ha (国学派, The Japanese classics)

After OZAWA Roan (小沢蘆庵) died, KAGAWA Kageki (香川景樹, 1768-1843) stood head and shoulders above the others. He caught a chance of energetic activity by adoption into kagawa-ke (香川家, poetry house of Kagawa), which was a kado-ke (歌道家, poetry house of the art of composing waka) of jige (地下). The hallmark of this term is the dominance of good lineage by various schools of kokugaku (国学, study of Japanese classics), such as suzunoya-ha (鈴屋派, Poetic school of Suzunoya), to which MOTOORI Haruniwa (本居春庭, 1763-1828) and MOTOORI Ohira (本居大平, 1756-1833) belonged, and hiratagaku-ha (平田学派, ideological school of Hirata), to which HIRATA Atsutane (平田篤胤, 1776-1843) belonged. However, from a broad perspective, it is possible to consider this term to be the time of KAGAWA Kageki (香川景樹) and keien-ha (桂园派, Poetic school of KAGAWA Kageki). Of course, we should not forget KAMO Suetaka (賀茂季鷹, 1752-1841), who was well versed in waka, kyoka (狂歌, comic verse) and calligraphy. Given that tosho (堂上), such as KOKAKU kadan (光格歌壇, Kokaku Emperor poetry salons), kept their influence, we can also take up SHIBAYAMA Mochitoyo (芝山持豊, 1742-1815) and CHIGUSA Arikoto (千種有功, 1797-1854). Moreover, we have to take into consideration work by MATSUDAIRA Sadanobu (松平定信, 1758-1829), who was a senior councilor of the Tokugawa shogunate. Nevertheless, it does seem that after the end of kansei (寛政) and kyowa (享和) (before and after 1800), waka certainly

spread into jige (地下), especially, of the kokugaku (国学) type.

I believe that KAGAWA Kageki played a central role in this term, both for the quality of waka works and karon (歌論) and for the number of pupils, which is said to be three thousands. His remark “Waka is singing, waka is not logical” (*Kagaku teiyo* (歌学提要, 1850)) was a sensational one. It is noteworthy that he regarded shirabe (調べ, rhythm and literary quality) as the concept of literary quality inherent in waka, rather than as the mere rhythm. Kageki respected kokin-cho (古今調, style of *kokinshu*) and took a serious view of jokei (叙景, a scenery sketch), attaching importance to poems of koto-ni-tsuki wori-ni-furetaru (事につき折りにふれたる歌). As the result, waka was separated still more from daiei (題詠). When we read Kageki's waka works “*Keien-issshi* (桂園一枝, 1830) and *Keien-issshi-shui* (桂園一枝拾遺, 1850)” carefully, we sometimes find waka works based on the wording of *Man'yoshu* (万葉集), *Shinkokinshu* (新古今集), *Gyokuyoshu* (玉葉集) and *Fugashu* (風雅集), in spite of the fact that his style is generally called kokin-cho (古今調), a very interesting fact.

Keien-ha (桂園派) was a galaxy of intellects. Among keimon-jittetsu (桂門十哲, the big ten poets of school of KAGAWA Kageki), KUMAGAI Naoyoshi (熊谷直好, 1782-1862) and KINOSHITA Takafumi (木下幸文, 1779-1821) were particularly active in this term. After HATTA Tomonori (八田知紀, 1799-1873), a pupil of KAGAWA Kageki, began to serve for Kunai-sho (宮内省, the Department of the Imperial Household) after the Meiji Restoration and was appointed to a kado-goyo-gakari (歌道御用掛, a general affairs official of the Imperial Household of the art of composing waka poetry), his pupils TAKASAKI Masakaze (高崎正風, 1836-1912) and KURODA Kiyotsuna (黒田清綱, 1830-1917) introduced the poetry style of keien-ha (桂園派) into outadokoro (御歌所, an office on waka of the Imperial Household). Their power was

maintained in this way, but at the same time the simple poetry style of *keien-ha* (桂園派) changed from plain to monotonous, and as a result, they produced a lot of poor waka works. This led their poetry style to be reformed later by MASAOKA Shiki (正岡子規, 1867-1902), as you know.

*Keien-ha* (桂園派) swept across Japan. One consequence of this is, in my opinion, that waka became completely accessible to ordinary people. This view is verified by the fact that many *ruidai-shu* (類題集, a group of waka according to theme), for example, *Ruidai-waka-fukugyokushu* (類題和歌鮫玉集, 1828-1854) edited by KANO Morohira (加納諸平, 1806-1857) and *Ruidai-waka-kamogawashu* (類題和歌鴨川集, 1848-1854) edited by NAGASAWA Tomoo (長沢伴雄, 1808-1859), were written at the time. In this sense, we can consider this term to be the time of *ruidai-shu*.

It is also essential to note that there were many noteworthy local poets in the closing days of the Tokugawa shogunate. TACHIBANA Akemi (橘曙覧, 1812-1868) of Echizen (Fukui prefecture), who was found out by MASAOKA Shiki in the Meiji Period, left the good waka work “*Dokuraku-gin*”, included in *Shinobunoya-kashu* (志濃夫迺舎歌集所収独楽吟, 1878). OKUMA Kotomichi (大隈言道, 1798-1868) of Chikuzen (Fukuoka pre.) developed the *karon* (歌論) of *deku-uta* (木偶歌, poem of a dunce) and insisted on creating poems based on facts. Others include RYOKAN (良寛, 1758-1831) of Echigo (Niigata pre.), who had a unique life, HIRAGA Motoyoshi (平賀元義, 1800-1865) of Bizen (Okayama pre.), who was also found out by MASAOKA Shiki in the Meiji Period, and women poets such as TAKABATAKE-SHIKIBU (高畠式部, 1785-1881), NOMURA Botoni (野村望東尼, 1806-1867) and OTAGAKI Rengetsu (大田垣蓮月, 1791-1875).

A lot of poems of holding ambition were created that reflected the age, and *choka* (長歌, long poem) became prosperous, too. Given that *kanshi*



(漢詩, Chinese poetry) became popular in this term, it is also important to consider the relationship between waka and kanshi in more detail (kanshi, like keien-ha (桂園派), gave rise to many monotonous poems by aiming at the plain and fresh poetry style of soshi-fu (宋詩風, style of the period of So in China).

## Conclusion

In this paper, I have described the history of waka in the Edo Period according to the times. Moreover, I have tried to discuss the facts in detail, though as briefly as possible, on the basis of the newest research results, rather than only sketch the facts. For further details I refer to reader to the works in the reference list at the end. I hope that this will lead you to join the research on the fertile world of the history of waka in the Edo Period.

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