

Editing Identity: Literary Anthologies and the Construction of the Author in Meiji Japan

by

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## Table of Contents

List of Figures	iii
Chapter	
I. Introduction	1
II. The Names of the Author	8
III. Literary Circles and Corporate Authorship	54
IV. Social Provenance and the Invention of Saikaku	95
V. In Memoriam	148
VI. Reproducing the Author	193
Bibliography	248

## List of Figures

### Figure

1	1 <i>Bungakkai</i> 17 (May 1894)	...	26
2	2 <i>Kokumin no tomo</i> 69 (January 1890)	...	29
3	3 Kyōka and Kōyō	...	48
4	4 “Shain meiji sho”	...	61
5	5 “ <i>Bungakkai</i> dai ichi-gō ga uketaru hihyō”	...	77
6	6 “Kōshoku ichidai onna”	...	99
7	7 Saikaku as illustrated in the inside front cover of <i>Kōtei Saikaku zenshū</i>	...	128
8	8 Aikakuken	...	132
9	9 <i>Sakuhin</i> 1(3) (May 1932)	...	140
10	10 [Higuchi Ichiyō]	...	178
11	11 Front cover of <i>Bizan zenshū</i>	...	203
12	12 Front cover of <i>Bizan zenshū</i>	...	204
13	13 Higuchi Ichiyō’s writing sample	...	221
14	14 Kitamura Tōkoku’s writing sample	...	222
15	15 [Higuchi Ichiyō]	...	239
16	16 [Higuchi Ichiyō]	...	240
17	17 [Kitamura Tōkoku]	...	241
18	18 “Kōyō Sanjin in 1892”	...	242

19 Kawakami Akira	...	243
20 “Bizan, 1889”	...	244

## Chapter I

### Introduction

“Editing Identity: Literary Anthologies and The Construction of the Author in Meiji Japan” problematizes widespread acceptance of anthologies of authors’ “complete works” as both transparent and authoritative compendia of Japanese literature. In the Meiji period (1868-1912), they enjoyed a sudden boom in popularity and have played a crucial role as access points for the study of literature ever since. Through their construction of authors via their *oeuvres*, as well as effacing multiple versions and contexts through the acts of selecting and re-presenting texts in a homogeneous format, editors of anthologies have long influenced the boundaries of “Japanese literature.” Anthologies present to us writers with coherent, stable identities, remaking historical individuals into essentialized “authors.” Yet anthologies’ representations of authorship could not be more different from the context in which they emerged: Meiji authorial identities were complex, manifesting as performances by entire literary coterie as well as single writers using a number of pseudonyms.

Literary anthologies, whether organized by chronology, genre, or individual author, are the primary access points through which we encounter Japanese literature both in Japan and elsewhere. In particular, the classroom study of literature is often conducted largely using works reprinted in anthologies that provide a particular context by juxtaposing them with others that are deemed to be most relevant: poems surrounded by

other poems, works by individual authors bound up with only the writing of those authors themselves. Compared with the original context in which the majority of these works were first published and read, anthologies represent a profound reorganization of information that has undeniable consequences for the ways in which literature can be read, questioned, and discussed.

I first came to the topic of author-centric anthologies while reading works by Mori Ōgai, one of the most well-known Meiji authors, for a graduate seminar. The course materials were all taken from various authoritative anthologies, such as those containing Meiji writing or, in this case, *Ōgai zenshū* (*The Complete Works of Ōgai*), a multi-volume set that takes up considerable space on the library shelf. The course also included a weekly skimming of the *Yomiuri* newspaper, contemporaneous with the works that we read, and a colleague discovered the original publication of an essay by Ōgai in the newspaper during the week that we read that essay as reprinted in the anthology. Remarkably, nearly everything about the essay was different between the two versions: even the title had been changed. “Shōsetsuron” had been completely rewritten between the time of its initial publication in 1889 and its compilation in the much later anthology. There was no indication of this, however, and the anthology dated its revised version of “Shōsetsuron” as January 1, 1889.

Even putting aside the vastly different experiences of reading “Shōsetsuron” on the front page of a newspaper, surrounded by articles on a wide variety of topics as well as advertisements, and reading it in bound volume alongside essays from Ōgai that ranged widely in publication year, it was impossible to ignore the textual differences between the two versions of the essay. Most important, I realized that by accessing this

essay only through *Ōgai zenshū* – by far the most readily available printing, and the only feasible source for some readers – one would be fundamentally misled as to the content of the essay that readers in 1889 would have found in the *Yomiuri*. Our understanding of Ōgai’s intellectual positions and development has the potential to be determined by an anthology that presents revised material as though it were written and published much earlier in his career. Moreover, our understanding of the field of Meiji literature itself is altered if we look only at the version presented in *Ōgai zenshū*. Although many scholars will turn to the archive rather than the anthology in their specialized work, *Ōgai zenshū* remains the first-line, trusted reference for Mori Ōgai and serves as an authoritative resource.

With this in mind, I began to question not only the place of anthologies in our study of Japanese literature and their impact on our understanding of texts and the field, but also where individual authors’ anthologies had come from in the first place. How did this now-pervasive genre start and when? What context gave rise to them and how did they fit in with what came before, and with the works that they contain? What impact does the form and organization of an anthology have on our understanding of the information that it contains? Turning to the Meiji period, I discovered that the first individual authors’ anthologies – *kojin zenshū*<sup>1</sup> – were published in 1894 and 1897, and that before this time, the *kojin zenshū* as we now know it did not exist. With *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū* and *Ichiyō zenshū*, the anthologies of Ihara Saikaku and Higuchi Ichiyō, a boom of *kojin zenshū* began, and they quickly went from a new genre of literary organization to an authoritative, scholarly institution. Yet they began not as editions for academic study, but rather as memorials and homages to the friends and idols of their

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<sup>1</sup> 個人全集

editors, both historical authors and those recently deceased. These anthologies purported to collect the “complete” works of their subjects, and in doing so, attempted likewise to create a “complete” author – one with a single, knowable, stable name, both defining and defined by the works associated with that name. They created authors out of individual, living writers: identities that exist only in relation to the contents of “complete” anthologies, and ones that serve at the same time to make sense of those texts. They are contextualized only by themselves, with their texts to be read only in light of each other, and here in an individual anthology, the author becomes entirely self-contained.

Of course, at the time that these authors’ works were first published, they were neither written nor read in a vacuum. Moreover, they were not produced in isolation; contrary to the Romantic stereotype of the author as a solitary genius writing alone, works of literature are produced collectively, involving both writer and editor, and especially in the Meiji period, possibly other individuals. In the 1880s and 1890s, a great deal of writing was done by those who belonged to literary clubs and coteries, and they collectively published their works in coterie magazines imbued with the personality of the group. Writers published under many pseudonyms, rather than sticking with a single, stable name as posthumous anthologies would; at the same time, multiple writers produced work together and the attribution ranged from anonymous to multiple pseudonyms, and even to collective pseudonyms – one name for multiple writers or even an entire group. When these works were published, they appeared alongside writings by other authors in magazines and newspapers, and were often reviewed as parts of these wholes rather than the isolated works of individuals.

There is a stark difference between the presentation of literary works in Meiji



magazines, newspapers, and individual books, and their presentation in individual authors' anthologies. Works in an anthology have a limited context: the author, and each other. In other words, they – the *oeuvre* – and the author are one and define each other. Organizing works by author encourages chronological and comparative readings, and readings that attempt to locate development of an authorial voice and style over the course of a career. It discourages broader, flatter readings, those that place works in the physical and intellectual context of their original publication; synchronic readings are significantly more difficult in this context than diachronic. At the same time, chronology itself falls away in the face of a timeless author, one whose consistent identity can, and does, contextualize the earliest works just as much as the last. The posthumous identity created by the simple act of associating a specific body of “complete works” with a particular name is one that did not exist at the time any of the works were written, published, and first read, but after the publication of an authoritative *kojin zenshū*, becomes the primary context for understanding both author and works. The very boundaries of what we can ask, know, and communicate about literature are subtly constrained and shaped by this genre of anthology, one that promotes authorial identity as the fundamental organizing principle for literary works. Given that these anthologies are often the primary access points for Japanese literature – the reprintings that make access widespread in the first place – the influence of author-centric organization must be confronted.

This dissertation fundamentally engages with the reasons for and impact of the emergence of author-centric anthologies in the 1890s and 1900s in Japan. I ask what kind of objects these anthologies are, how they came to be, and what influence they had, and

continue to have, on their subjects. At the same time, I also investigate the conditions of literary production that existed immediately prior to and alongside the production of the first author-centric anthologies in the period of 1894-1912. My focus is on the myriad practices of writing and publishing that existed in the late 1880s and 1890s, as well as the multiple performances of authorship that took place at sites of publishing such as newspapers and literary magazines. I look too at how contemporary readers and critics responded to literary works: not at their evaluations of the works' meanings themselves, but who they considered to be the author and how they saw the influence of media on the structure of the text. In doing so, I aim to peel back the layers of later literary reorganization – such as that performed by anthologies – that obscure the reality of writing and authorship in the mid-Meiji period, and at the same time, illustrate the powerful impact that author-centric anthologies have had on our ability to understand these conditions of literary production. Through a comparison of these practices to the representation of authors in anthologies, I demonstrate that *kojin zenshū* worked to create an entirely new kind of authorship within their covers, paradoxically emerging from a literary scene in which authorship was anything but singular or consistent.

The author-centric anthologies of the 1890s and early 1900s were thoroughly embedded in the literary social scene, and so I also take up what they meant as textual objects when they were produced. Four of the five case studies discussed in this dissertation are those of authors whose anthologies were compiled in the immediate wake of their death, and in compilation, construction, and paratext (including prefaces), they show themselves to be functioning as memorial objects for those who had suffered a tragic loss of a friend. They are simultaneously archives honoring (and encapsulating) the

dead, and a vehicle for the bereaved colleagues to shape authorial identity for posterity through their eulogizing prefaces. Far from being the scholarly sources that they have become now, author-centric anthologies in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were clearly social objects that functioned in a framework of group memory and mourning.

Author-centric anthologies construct a kind of authorship that is now the primary way in which we understand Meiji writing, and literature more broadly, but the idea of authorship that we find in them is completely anachronistic.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, this idea of authorship obscures the reality of reading and writing in the Meiji period that is crucial for our understanding of literary production and literary history; ultimately, it limits and determines the questions we may ask about literature in the first place. Here, the reader will find a more nuanced portrayal of the literary world of the 1880s-1910s that questions both how literary work was done and responded to, and how author-centric anthologies emerged from this field to construct a new type of authorship that is now widely accepted. Ultimately, “Editing Identity” advocates for a new way of understanding authorship and literary production in the Meiji period, and for a new context for understanding the ubiquitous anthologies that play such a key role in the study of Meiji literature.

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<sup>2</sup> As a number of scholars, including Martha Woodmansee, argue, the idea of the author as solitary genius likely has never applied to literary production in any age or situation.

## Chapter II

### The Names of the Author

It is often said that Mori Ōgai penned one of the most influential critiques of what is arguably the best-known work of a legendary Meiji author: “Takekurabe,” by Ichiyō, the pseudonym of Higuchi Natsuko.<sup>3</sup> This review appeared in the fourth issue of the literary magazine *Mesamashigusa*, which carried a long review column covering a variety of new works, written collectively by a group of well-known authors and critics from Kōda Rohan to Ōgai to Saitō Ryokuu. Yet, although this review is cited numerous times in literary analysis of Ichiyō herself, as well as of other Meiji authors, the bibliographic reference is completely inaccurate: listing the author as “Mori Ōgai” misleads the reader by claiming that the column was attributed to that name. In reality, it only later carried the name “Ōgai” (without the surname “Mori”) and at the time that “Takekurabe” was reviewed, Ōgai was using Shigurenoya, an entirely different pen name.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the column was co-authored by Ōgai, Rohan, and Ryokuu, and thus cannot be attributed to Ōgai alone. Attributing the review only to Ōgai takes it – and its interpretation – out of its original material, temporal, and intellectual context entirely. We no longer see that it belonged to a literary magazine, as a part of a long, regularly published column that was written and

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<sup>3</sup> 一葉 and 樋口夏子 (1872-1896). Her given name in the official family register is Natsu 奈津. This story is now attributed to Higuchi Ichiyō 樋口一葉, the most common accepted reference to the writer who frequently used the pseudonym Ichiyō alone when she published her work.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g., Charles Shirō Inouye, *The Similitude of Blossoms: A Critical Biography of Izumi Kyōka, Japanese Novelist and Playwright* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998): 382, and Robert Danly, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981): 148, 306. The column was originally Datsutenshi [Kōda Rohan], Tōsenbō [Saitō Ryokuu], and Shigurenoya [Mori Ōgai], “Sannin jōgo,” *Mesamashigusa* 4 (April 1896): 35-49.

attributed to a collective of writers, many of whom were publishing their own work alongside it in the same magazine. Moreover, naming Ōgai as the author here obscures a possible misattribution at the core of the reference. If we examine the column itself, because of its collective authorship we find that it is impossible to positively identify any part of it with just one authorial name, even if it is possible to spend time associating certain styles with the known style of an involved writer. In other words, the original “Takekurabe” review – part of a longer, collectively-attributed column – lacked attribution on its own, and it is doubtful that those not intimately familiar with the literary world might have guessed that specific sections were penned by the hand of Mori Rintarō, the writer who used the name “Ōgai.” At its core, this column is at once doubly pseudonymous – each writer using his own pseudonym at the head of the column and taking on different named roles within it, as will be discussed below – as well as anonymous and collaborative. In every way, the review resists attempts to put its writers in terms of the more familiar image of the author: individual, named, attributable, with a coherent and identifiable body of works.

The kinds of authorship encountered in this review column have serious implications for literary study: they fly in the face of accepted ideas of the author as a single individual with a consistent name and identity. Ignoring the context of works published in literary magazines of the mid-to-late Meiji period does not simply put us at risk for losing their contemporary interpretation and reception by the writers' colleagues and critics. It is imperative to restore Meiji works to their specific historical and material context in order to fully understand the ways in which they were written, presented in print form, and received at the time. Such a method of literary analysis might be dismissed as overly specific and unnecessarily focused on

contemporary reception; the meaning of a work may still be discerned without consulting an original serialization or the context in which a review appeared. Because practices of writing in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century took place in a literary landscape that accommodated and even encouraged many types of authorship, however, ignoring the original publication venue and the ways in which authorial names were signed puts us at risk for misattributing literary works themselves and obscuring an important context for understanding their production and consumption. In looking to historical literary analysis, we cannot stop at citing a reprint of a work in an author's later anthologies that take it out of its historical context and anachronistically assign a different, later pseudonym to it as though that were the original attribution that contemporary readers would have seen.

It is perhaps unintuitive now to conceive of an individual writing without a consistent name, and at times without an authorial name at all. In light of 21<sup>st</sup>-century notions of intellectual property rights, it is not stretch to assume that a writer would desire credit, if not hope for some measure of fame, in addition to payment for a written work. Yet even if a writer uses a consistent pen name, the Meiji lack of association between given name and creative work prevents admiration from flowing directly to the writer; the high praise for Ichiyō found in *Mesamashigusa* stops at her pen name, and the historical Higuchi Natsuko is never mentioned. Other writers used multiple, inconsistent pen names quite often in comparison to Ichiyō, and this practice hardly leaves a chance for an individual writer's own name to persist for posterity. Indeed, most Japanese writers before the 20<sup>th</sup> century are now known by their surnames and pen names, such as Ozaki Kōyō, rather than given names (in this case, Ozaki Tokutarō).<sup>5</sup> Why was this type of fluid and unstable authorial identity practiced,

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<sup>5</sup> 尾崎紅葉 and 尾崎徳太郎, respectively. It is also important to note that the names we use now

then, and why was there no resistance or outcry? Within a framework of consistent authorial names, singular pseudonyms, and 21<sup>st</sup>-century, creator-based intellectual property rights, it is difficult to comprehend why writers participated in this system at all.

One answer is simply that this was one norm that existed at the time, rather than there being an assumption of singular, consistent authorship – the individual genius solely responsible for a creative work – as described above.<sup>6</sup> In fact, it seems that the prevailing norm in the mid- to late Meiji period was a *lack* of consistent, individual authorship. While a type of authorship using a single pen name and consistently signing one’s works (as far as we now know) was quite prevalent, it was less so than writers who chose multiple pen names, wrote anonymously, and composed together with others – sometimes signing the work with multiple individual names, but sometimes working together under a single group name without attributing the work to the individuals who made up that group. Writers at this time had a plethora of options available to them for “authoring” their creative work.

It is more productive to think about authors at this time not as individual entities – even multiple, fluid, and dynamic ones – but as performances. Here, performances may be undertaken by single or multiple individuals, in a variety of combinations, each of which may be credited or anonymous. The performers can be approached as individuals or simply considered a collectively anonymous group, but always engaging in the act of performing in order to create an authorial identity – one

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conflate the historical individual with the authorial pen name quite a bit more than was done in the Meiji period. Kōyō was known as “Kōyō,” among other pseudonyms, followed by appellations typical of writers. For example, he most commonly wrote – and was addressed – as Kōyō Sanjin 紅葉山人. His last name was less commonly used, and when it was, he was in the role of editor, using his full legal name. In other words, Kōyō was not established as “Ozaki Kōyō” until near his death, such as when serving as editor of *Saikaku zenshū*.

<sup>6</sup> I do not mean to imply that the stereotype of the singular author is the only way in which authorship is now understood, nor that the reader will conceive of authorship as singular. However, this is how the author is presented in author-centric anthologies, and so is an appropriate point of comparison.

that does not preexist that performance. Regardless of the way in which the individuals behind the performance of authorial identity are received by the audience, it remains that an “author” is being created by historical writers in signing (or not signing) names to their work. In the act of performing authorship, writers are thus creating authorial identity and a written work simultaneously. With this, they move the focus of reception away from themselves as living individuals and toward the dual creation itself.

Even an author such as Ichiyō, who consistently used one pen name with almost all of the works that she published, can be considered a performance rather than a stable individual. This authorial name does not predate or exist independently of her works, and thus came into being along with the creation of a body of literature: it is intimately tied to and defined by those works. Higuchi Natsuko, the writer, on the other hand, can be seen as the individual who both produced works such as “Takekurabe” and also performed the authorial name of Ichiyō. In other words, a historical individual engaging in the act of writing and publishing created her own authorial identity, and the “author” is created through a performance – one that takes place at the site of writing and publishing a work – that exists separately from and because of the writer. The circumstances become more complex when a given historical writer performs authorship with a multiplicity of names, or even anonymously, that each define, and are defined by, a particular set of works associated with those names. In this way, writers even create more than one *oeuvre* by virtue of the multiple names with which they perform authorship. It is imperative to keep this distinction between “author” and “writer” in mind in considering the performance and function of the authorial name in Japan’s late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Who is the Author?**



*Kōyō zenshū*, a recent anthology of novelist Ozaki Kōyō's "complete works," contains a volume rarely seen in Japanese compilations of individual authors' works: a separate collection of co-authored works, with a complete bibliography of everything that Kōyō put his name to during his lifetime.<sup>7</sup> Given that this prolific writer was also an editor, the leader of a prominent literary group, and the teacher of a number of protégés, it is unsurprising that this list – consisting not just of co-authored and collaborative works, but of works edited and "overseen" by Kōyō – is quite long. Not all works are included in the volume; rather, it contains works that are both written by Kōyō – not simply edited – and not already published elsewhere. These are works, then, that can be considered to primarily be "by Kōyō," despite the fact that many are described in the accompanying reference guide as "original author unclear" when implying that they were either translations or plagiarism of works by other writers.<sup>8</sup>

Matsumura Tomomi, in the Japanese-language introductory essay to this volume, remarks,

It is perhaps unheard of for an individual author's anthology (*kojin zenshū*) to contain a volume of co-authored works, but rather, on this point, we find a particular characteristic of the literary world surrounding Kōyō. There, modern novels (*kindai shōsetsu*), [generally] read as belonging to a specific author and reflecting the interior of that author, can be shown to have another dimension.<sup>9</sup>

Matsumura argues that this is, in reality, no exceptional case: lending one's name to others' texts, editing, rewriting, and co-authoring were common at the time when Kōyō wrote in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yet Matsumura's statement is revealing of an accepted idea of authorship and literary writing that he is reacting to: the image tends to be that of the individual writer, laboring over his or her works in solitude, and

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<sup>7</sup> Ozaki Kōyō. *Kōyō zenshū*, vol. 12, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Matsumura Tomomi. "Kaidai," in *Kōyō zenshū*, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 1999), 524-534.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 521.

serving as the wellspring of genius from which creative works are born. A modern, Romantic idea of the author colors our readings of such works, and as Matsumura puts it, we see those works as belonging to –being owned by – and simultaneously revealing an individual writer’s interiority. We look to the individual author for meaning, while simultaneously ignoring this “other dimension” of the conditions of literary production, which are often far from the imagined solitary work of the individual. In doing so, we conflate the authorial identity performed in writing and publishing with the historical writer or writers who composed the work in question. The concept of separating the writer from the author and the common practice of collaboration are not historically new phenomena, but are different from an image of the author that has come to be widespread in the past few centuries. The Romantic author – an individual genius who creates in solitude – has become one stereotype of artistic endeavors, and it is difficult to imagine this authorship taking place anywhere other than the individual’s site of lonely creation. Yet this image is far from the reality of the circumstances of writing and book production, as well as the very function and manifestation of the “author” itself. Performances of authorship are collective, fluid, and multiple – as well as unstable – and those who contribute to the production of literary works are both numerous and occupy a variety of roles.

The example of Mori Rintarō participating in a review column that was not attributed definitively to any one author – rather, it was attributed to three authorial names, all of which were obscure pseudonyms – illustrates the collectivity and instability of authorship in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Japan. Yet long after the fact, scholars tend to anachronistically attribute other pseudonyms of these three writers to the column, even going as far as to claim that portions of each column can be ascribed to one of the three individual writers, as in the case of the name of Ōgai being

connected with praise of Ichiyō's "Takekurabe." This kind of attribution could not be further from the reality of how authorship was performed in the column, with no authorial name attributed to any one portion. Indeed, with this particular column attributed to three pseudonyms, it is impossible to tell if one writer contributed small portions or if all three collaborated on the overall writing and editing. It is clear, however, that performances of authorship and the idea of intellectual property have changed drastically between the time when the column was written and the later attributions of certain sections to a single, anachronistic pseudonym of Mori Rintarō.

Where did the idea of singular, consistent authorship as presented in author-centric anthologies come from, then, and from what conditions? By looking at case studies from the 1880s and 1890s that demonstrate various performances of authorship – including pseudonymous, anonymous and collective – we may begin to understand the landscape of writing practice and authorship that existed at the time that the first author-centric anthologies were published. At the same time, we must understand these conditions in order to appreciate the profoundly different kind of authorial performance that we find in the cases of early anthologies of individual authors' work themselves. This analysis will focus on the conditions of literary production in Japan in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, in order to understand the practices of writing and publishing – as well as of authorial attribution and identity – that gave rise and context to the compilation of the first individual authors' anthologies of "complete works" in the period from 1894-1912.

Martha Woodmansee describes the idea of the "modern author" as one who is "an individual who is the sole creator of unique 'works'" and whose place as "a special participant in the [book] production process" is due to that very originality: "a by-product of the Romantic notion that significant writers break altogether with

tradition to create something utterly new, unique – in a word, ‘original.’”<sup>10</sup> Thus, we can date this idea of authorship to a specific artistic and literary movement located in time and place: as Woodmansee argues, it is “the radical reconceptualization of writing” laid out in Wordsworth’s 1815 *Essay, Supplementary to the Preface*, one that “represents a mystification” of writing practices and processes of literary production. It holds up the idea of individual genius being the source of the act and product of authorship, rather than locating it in the multiple roles of writing, editing, and bookmaking, and abstracts the craft of writing itself into the transfer of genius from mind to paper.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the location of authorship moves from that of craft and production to a specific stage in the writing process, and it re-presents the practice of writing as solitary and found solely in an individual possessed of genius. The realities of corporate writing and multiple types of authorship – located in sites other than the individual writer – are obscured and erased entirely with this notion. Not only is this idea of authorship entirely anachronistic when looking at late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Japan – an idea of authorship that should not be seen as missing or expected, but rather that largely did not exist at the time – but, Woodmansee stresses, it is likely not descriptive of how the practice of writing occurred in at any time in the past or present.

Indeed, at the time that Wordsworth was writing, literary production in Japan involved a multitude of professionals working together to create a woodblock-printed book. Peter Kornicki stresses that book production was a collective effort, and that authors, compilers, and editors all began to make their identities clear in their publications beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century at the beginning of texts.<sup>12</sup> In some genres,

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<sup>10</sup> Martha Woodmansee. “On the Author Effect: Recovering Collectivity,” in *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, ed. Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 16-17.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000): 233.

such as nativist studies (*kokugaku*<sup>13</sup>), everyone putatively involved in the production of the text itself (as opposed to the physical book) was listed in a hierarchy of “authors” and, according to Kornicki, reflected a desire to present the book as a statement to a particular scholar or school in the field.<sup>14</sup> The idea of distinct writers involved with production and responsible for the text was not new by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, then, and the identity of the writer was communicated to readers frequently through prefaces – the statement “the author says” (*sakusha iwaku*<sup>15</sup>) used to address readers regularly beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – and sometimes with a portrait purporting to be the historical individual, all creating a public authorial identity for the writer or writers. There were multiple types of authorship performed depending on the type of text, however, such as a Chinese Confucian work of scholarship as opposed to a light work of fiction; no one “author” existed as a reified concept independent of the text.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, writers used a large number of authorial pen names at this time, performing multiple identities as well, and creating a situation in which it is difficult to know who “really” wrote what – and in which it is perhaps beside the point to attempt to track down a single individual to hold responsible for a collective effort.

Woodmansee locates a making of the myth of solitary, genius authorship within a similarly large-scale collaborative effort in the West, Samuel Johnson’s 1779-1781 *Lives of the Poets*, which “contributed decisively to the differentiation of ‘authoring’ from ordinary literary labor by establishing a pantheon of great authors whose ‘works’ differ qualitatively from the sea of mere writing.”<sup>17</sup> In other words, the

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<sup>13</sup> 国学

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 231.

<sup>15</sup> 作者曰く. Ibid., 233.

<sup>16</sup> Three types of authors identified by Kornicki are the supposed authors of Chinese texts (*sen* 撰); authors of scholarly writing, including Chinese authors (*cho* 著); and authors of popular fiction (*saku* 作). Ibid., 227.

<sup>17</sup> Woodmansee, 18. The writer and translator Uchida Roan published a volume of criticism on Johnson in 1894, and thus he would likely have been known to at least some of the Japanese writers

mythical author's origins lie completely within collective, collaborative writing and literary production, and in this case, between poets, booksellers, and Johnson himself, who both took from other writers and wrote copiously for – and with – others to publish with their own names.<sup>18</sup> Just as with the case of Ozaki Kōyō above,

It is the chief object of modern textual scholarship to identify in all of this [ghostwriting and collaborative] writing those words that originated uniquely with Jonson so that they can be properly credited to him, and a definitive *oeuvre* can be established. [...] [Scholars] presume a proprietary authorial impulse which Jonson apparently did not himself feel.<sup>19</sup>

The act of creating a set of great poets, genius authors, with works that can be set apart from all others as such works of genius, is thus profoundly at odds with the conditions that allowed for it. As I will argue, this is the same set of circumstances that allowed for a similarly canon-making act of production, the author-centric literary anthology of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Japan. “Authorship” was something that could be located elsewhere than in the (mythical) solitary writer, including in at the site of a publication, and practices of writing were much more collaborative and varied than a volume of works attributed to a single, consistent individual “author” allow for.

### **The Name of the Author: Authorial Performances in Time and Place**

The idea of pseudonyms as a norm in literary production is hardly limited to Japan, but it is rare to find writers explicitly discussing their motivations for employing them. Surprisingly, there exist two cases of writers doing exactly this – explaining both how and why they used pen names that are now well known to us – at temporally close points in history, and it is to an analysis of one of these complex cases that I now turn. Below, I will address the second case, that of a writer who is

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discussed here, all of whom were acquainted with Roan and published in the same venues. Uchida Roan, *Jonson* (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1894).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 18-23.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 23. With the case of Kōyō, we see instead a recuperation in his 1999 volume of collaborative works of work that might not otherwise qualify as truly “his” because of its having been collaboratively or ghost written, but the idea that a writer both wrote for and borrowed from others throughout his career still holds.

already familiar to us: Mori Rintarō. As an introduction to the issues involved with the use of pseudonyms in a specific historical case, as well as writers' self-awareness of crafting their authorial identities, I will first discuss an English writer's lucid explanation.

We find a well-known example of authorial names that don't correspond exactly to individuals elsewhere in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only a few decades before the anthologies discussed here were being produced, in the (male) pseudonyms and authorial identities of women writers in England and France. It is no longer any surprise to hear that *Jane Eyre* was written by Charlotte Brontë rather than Currer Bell, and that her sisters were named Emily and Anne, not Ellis and Acton.<sup>20</sup> At the time their novels were originally published, however, readers needed to be informed – repeatedly – of the authors' "true" identities, often by Charlotte Brontë herself. Were Currer, Ellis, and Acton all the names of one person, as many thought? Was *Wuthering Heights* "an earlier and ruder attempt" by the author of *Jane Eyre*?<sup>21</sup> Charlotte took the matter into her own hands in 1850, after the deaths of her sisters; in more than one reprinted edition of *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*, she wrote a lengthy biographical preface seeking to explain away "the little mystery" of their names and "distinctly to state how the case really stands."<sup>22</sup> In other words, now that the authors were dead and their novels well known, it became necessary to clear up misconceptions about people who could no longer defend themselves but who must

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<sup>20</sup> Although the works of the Brontë sisters were first translated later, beginning with *Jane Eyre* as installment in the *Sekai taishū bungaku zenshū* anthology of world literature (1930), Charlotte Brontë is first mentioned in Tokuda Shūsei's *Lectures on the Study of English Literature* (*Eibungaku kōwa*), published by Tōadō in 1908. There is no mention of her earlier pen name, suggesting that the acceptance of the Brontë sisters' given names as their authorial names had become widespread by this time.

<sup>21</sup> This explanation is remarkably similar to the detailed discussion that Mori Rintarō provides regarding one of his own pen names, which will be addressed below, and it is for this reason that I include the example of the Brontë sisters despite the difference in historical circumstances. Currer Bell, "Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell," in Ellis Bell and Acton Bell, *Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1851), 9.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

have been discussed widely among readers curious about their identities. The names Acton and Ellis Bell no longer satisfied their audience and had to be both done away with and explained: who were the Bells, *really*?

According to Charlotte Brontë in her preface, the “Bells” chose their names out of a sense of privacy and a strongly masculine conception of authorship based in their experience of literary critics’ discussions of women writers:

... we did not like to declare ourselves women, because – without at that time suspecting that our mode of writing and thinking was not what is called ‘feminine’ – we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, this choice of pen names was an attempt at personal and emotional preservation through obscurity – “Emily was not a person ... on the recesses of whose mind and feelings, even those nearest and dearest to her could, with impunity, intrude unlicensed” – but also a performance, one of masculinity and pseudonymity. This performance of authorial identity achieved the effect of anonymizing the works, for “Currer Bell” had no real identity off the page, and Charlotte Brontë’s personal identity did not accompany that of Currer Bell into the literary world when she published. In other words, Brontë was unknown, and Currer Bell became the author himself, defined wholly by the works to which his name was put. Brontë even writes of Bell as though he is an actor in his own right, speaking of her own writing as conducted by herself, or “I,” but of the one who tried *Jane Eyre* at publishing houses as Bell: she uses the pronoun “he” with no warning or explanation, as though it were natural to think of the acts of writing and publishing as different sites of authorship.<sup>24</sup> As will be apparent in the case of Mori Rintarō, as well, this discussion of authorial identity in the third person indicates a profound split between the “author” and

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 8.



“writer” that must be kept in mind when considering pseudonymous writing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The use of pen names is nothing new to literature or its study. Not all writers find themselves in the same context as the Brontë sisters, as women and outsiders to the literary and publishing system, and not all pen names are performed in the same way or for the same reasons. Yet in all cases, investigating the names that writers use – the pen names of single or multiple writers, a given name as-is, or even lack of a name entirely – reveals much about the fundamental institution and culture of authorship in a given moment and place. Brontë is unusually forthcoming and clear about both the origins and use of her own pen name, her reasoning, and the limits of its use. Yet this case and Brontë’s explanation of it gives us only one answer to the question of what it means for a writer to use a pen name – or many – or to write anonymously.

The use of pseudonyms and the types available to artists and writers varies by region and time, and from the Edo period (1600-1867) in Japan there have been a number of cases in which pseudonyms might be used by figures ranging from painters to actors. These names are not necessarily like those of the Bells, which deliberately obscured a private identity, and might not be used with the intent of hiding an artist or writer from public notoriety. Rather, they invite, once again, a focus on the performance of authorship, based in making a work public, participating in a long-lived house’s artistic line, or writing in a particular genre. It is a case of an individual combined with artistic partners, whether they are fellow creators in close proximity or those who also participate in a given mode of creation. A salient example of a kind of artistic name that does not exist in a one-to-one relationship with a historical individual is that of kabuki theater stage names, and in particular the case of one such

as Ichikawa Danjurō. This name is inherited, although the actors who succeed each other in the use of the name are not necessarily related by blood, and is bestowed after an actor has begun his career; thus, as with the name of an author, this identity does not pre-exist its performance. Moreover, as a name inherited from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the present, “Ichikawa Danjurō” both takes on meaning over time and also gives that accumulated meaning to its performance by each successive generation.<sup>25</sup> It is an identity that exists on a different time scale than that of the individual actors that perform it, and yet cannot exist apart from its use in the theater.<sup>26</sup>

The fiction writer now best known as Shikitei Sanba is an informative example of the complexity of Edo-period names, both in terms of literary or artistic pseudonyms and the use of different names in daily or public life.<sup>27</sup> According to a recent biographical dictionary, Sanba had several types of names outside of his literary activities: his family name (Kikuchishi), given name (Taisuke), a Chinese name (Kyūtoku), and an alternate name by which he was generally known (Nishinomiya Tarō).<sup>28</sup> His literary pen names include, but are not limited to, Yūgidō, Shiki Sanjin, Honchōan, Sharakusai, Kokkeidō, and Gesakusha, some of which are plays on the genres in which he wrote.<sup>29</sup> He would have used these names in different circumstances and at different times in his life, thus challenging later notions of a constant, official, legal name that remains with a person throughout his or her lifetime. At a time when the name recorded in a family register or census could differ from the names used even outside of literary or artistic realms, it is profoundly

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<sup>25</sup> The current manifestation of this name is Ichikawa Danjurō XII.

<sup>26</sup> Ichikawa Danjurō and other kabuki stage names are only one case of inherited, generation-spanning artistic names, and other notable cases are found particularly in the visual arts. Particularly well known is the name of Utagawa 歌川, an inherited surname taken by artists of the Utagawa school, including the famous Edo-period *ukiyo-e* print artist Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797-1862).

<sup>27</sup> 式亭三馬 (1776-1822).

<sup>28</sup> Respectively, the names are 菊地氏, 泰輔, 久徳, and 西宮太郎. “Shikitei Sanba,” in *Asahi Nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1994): 777.

<sup>29</sup> 遊戯堂, 四季山人, 本町庵, 洒落斎, 滑稽堂, and 戲作舎, respectively. Ibid.

anachronistic to assign single, consistent names retrospectively to writers such as Sanba. Moreover, this practice would not have been far from the minds of those living in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when many Japanese had been born in its first half and would have likely taken on multiple names earlier in their lives. Even Higuchi Natsuko, born in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, had several different given names: Natsuko, Natsu (written with different characters, and officially listed in her family register), and again a different written version of Natsu (using *hiragana* script rather than Chinese characters).<sup>30</sup> The instability of her name, despite her generally consistent use of the single pseudonym Ichiyō, illustrates that naming practices even in the 1870s and later were fluid and multiple.

A lack of commitment to a single authorial name and identity are key to writing at this time: it was the norm for writers to adopt multiple pen names, sometimes within the same issue of a given publication, and were able to use the meaning of the characters making up the pseudonym to inform or reflect the content or genre of the work. This is found in more than just prose fiction, and includes short essays, reviews, collective anonymous works under names generally understood to be representing more than one writer, and, as found pre-Meiji, separate and distinct pen names for writing traditional forms of Japanese poetry.<sup>31</sup>

A informative example of a short-lived pen name is that of the bibliophile best known as Awashima Kangetsu's use of “Aikaku-ken” – a pun meaning “I love [Ihara]

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<sup>30</sup> Consulting the online database Kotobank, which collects entries from a number of biographical dictionaries, reveals that these dictionaries generally disagree with each other on which version is her “real” name (*honna* 本名), but that her name as listed in the official register was written as 奈津. Asahi shinbunsha and Voyage Group, Inc., “Higuchi Ichiyō to wa,” Kotobank, <http://kotobank.jp/word/樋口一葉> (Retrieved May 10, 2012).

<sup>31</sup> I use the word “traditional” quite deliberately here: this represents all forms of poetry other than “new form poetry” found in the Meiji period (*shintaiishi* 新体詩). This amorphous category, in turn, referred to everything not found in established forms of Japanese poetry such as *haikai*, *renka*, and *chōka*. Thus, a writer could also be using a separate pseudonym for *shintaiishi* as opposed to other genres of poetry.

Saikaku” – when writing essays that celebrated and imitated Saikaku’s style and content as interpreted by Kangetsu.<sup>32</sup> The name headed single-page stories and was sometimes prefaced with “Asakusa” as the location of the author, a downtown neighborhood whose name in turn invokes a reference to Saikaku’s focus on popular entertainment districts when he wrote in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> These essays were published in *Bunko* and *Shōbungaku*, coterie journals affiliated with the literary group Ken’yūsha, which was also known for its respect for and imitation of what its members interpreted as Saikaku's style and content. By using “Aikaku-ken” in the specific publishing venue of Ken’yūsha’s magazines, Kangetsu was able to effectively associate himself with Saikaku on multiple levels and play on readers’ knowledge of the earlier author. It was a move that required no long-term commitment on Kangetsu’s part to the pseudonym, for he soon divorced himself of it when his colleagues complained of its overuse.<sup>34</sup> Instead, this pen name is one that has the most meaning in a specific historical moment, and its reference is to a time not only when Kangetsu himself was an obsessive collector of Saikaku’s work, but also when Saikaku himself was being popularized by Kangetsu’s friends and colleagues after a long period in which he was virtually unknown. Saikaku was in the larger literary conversation of the early 1890s, and “Aikaku-ken” was yet another part of an ongoing dialogue. It spoke for itself, and perhaps has little relevance outside of the playful space of Ken’yūsha’s publications and the specific discourse of the literary world at the time it was used.

Not all pen names at this time were so short-lived or lighthearted, although most writers used at least one and sometimes many. Kitamura Montarō, a Romantic

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<sup>32</sup> 淡島寒月 (1859-1926). The pseudonym is 愛鶴軒.

<sup>33</sup> For example, he used this name with the essay “Sozoroaruki” in *Bunko* 17 (March 1889), and the “Hyaku bijin” series of short stories in *Bunko* 21, 23 (July 1889), and 27 (October 1889).

<sup>34</sup> Awashima Kangetsu. “Meiji jūnen zengo,” in *Bon’un’an zatsuwa* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999): 34. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.

writer and founder of *Bungakkai* magazine, is a case of a writer who experimented with the use of a wide variety of names.<sup>35</sup> Now best known as Kitamura Tōkoku, he played off the name “Tōkoku” in several iterations (including Tōkoku, Tōkoku-an, and Kitamura Tōkoku), as well as an alternate reading of the same characters, Sukiya.<sup>36</sup> His other known pseudonyms include Tōkō, Sen’u, Datsuu, Den’ei, Fūnanshi, and Museishi.<sup>37</sup> To complicate matters further, he wrote one of his major works of poetry, *The Prisoner’s Poem* (*Soshū no shi*) under his legal name, Kitamura Montarō, and it was advertised as such, rather than with a pseudonym.<sup>38</sup> Given that Tōkoku wrote only for a few years of his life (he died at the young age of 26), this is an extraordinary number of identities that he acted out via authorial names.

Kitamura Montarō’s many pen names are on display for us in the first issue of *Bungakkai* to feature his work after his death. Some posthumous work is found in this issue under two different pen names that he used regularly in the magazine: “Tōkoku” and “Sen’u.”<sup>39</sup> Even though the posthumous work of a single individual is being published here in his honor and for those interested in reading what he left behind, the work is not attributed to that deceased, historical individual (in this case, Kitamura Montarō). There is an authorial performance at the site of each publication; Sen’u and Tōkoku are still such separate entities that their works are able to be published almost next to each other while retaining an authorial differentiation. Moreover, not only does this issue contain works by Tōkoku and Sen’u – two different pen names – but it also features memorials to Tōkoku as both “Sen’u shi” and “Kitamura Tōkoku.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> 北村門太郎 (1868-1894).

<sup>36</sup> The three Tōkoku variations are 透谷, 透谷庵, and 北村透谷.

<sup>37</sup> 桃紅, 蟬羽, 脱羽, 電影, 風南子, and 無性子, respectively. See “Kitamura Tōkoku,” in *Nihon kindai bungaku jiten*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977): 493, and “Kitamura Tōkoku,” in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979): 303.

<sup>38</sup> Kitamura Montarō. *Soshū no shi* (Tokyo: Shunshōdō, 1889).

<sup>39</sup> 透谷 and 蟬羽, respectively.

<sup>40</sup> 蟬羽子 and 北村透谷, respectively. The remembrances of Tōkoku are Tokuboku’s “Sen’u shi o

Thus, we can see that the fluidity of authorial identity here was not limited to the prerogative of writers to portray themselves as they wish when publishing; it involved the response of readers and colleagues to the author and authorial name as well.



第十七號

蟬羽子を吊ふ  
 悪夢  
 北村透谷を悼む  
 夢見草  
 夢方丈記  
 觸髅舞  
 狂ひのいり  
 流水日記  
 時文

一夕蝸牛。俳諧史傳。新刊。盛影。

明治廿七年五月三十日

孤破蟬克暗殘透禿  
 蝶蓮羽水光花谷木

Figure 1. *Bungakkai* 17 (May 1894): front cover. “Sen’u” is found third from the left, and “Tōkoku” second from the right.

A focus on primary sources and the pseudonyms signed to first-edition copies

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tomurau” and Zanka’s “Kitamura Tōkoku o itamu.”

of literary works may seem at first glance overly pedantic, but it is crucial to consider the implications that a pen name would have for the meaning of a work at the time of its publication. Attributing Kangetsu's essays to any name other than "Aikaku-ken" would remove much of their meaning, derived from intertextual references to the work of Ihara Saikaku as well as the information the name gives us about Kangetsu's position as a writer. At the same time, while we now refer to Kitamura Montarō as "Tōkoku" uniformly, it is clear from his – and his colleagues' – use of pseudonyms when attributing his work that his authorial identity was far from set. Using "Kitamura Tōkoku" as the authorial name for all of his work may be convenient, but it is a misattribution and can cause a misunderstanding of the interpretive context in which he wrote, published, and was read. In order to understand how profoundly different the authorial identity presented in, for example, *Tōkoku zenshū* (*The Complete Works of Tōkoku*, 1902), and the work that that anthology does to posthumously form Tōkoku as an author with a consistent name, we must first consider just how fluid and prone to change the authorial name was before its compilation. The Tōkoku who published in the early 1890s was not the same Tōkoku that we find in his later anthologies; the latter encompasses everything that can be attributed to any name that Kitamura Montarō might have used, whereas the earlier Tōkoku wrote far less. Moreover, this misattribution obscures completely the context in which he wrote. The case studies below will explore further the relationship between author, name, and writer, in authorial performances ranging from individual attribution to anonymous and collective writing.

### **Pseudonymous Writing and The Case of Ōgai Mori Rintarō**

It is generally accepted that "Maihime," an influential work of short fiction published in 1889, was written by Mori Ōgai, a combination of the surname and pen

name of Mori Rintarō, a writer and surgeon. Yet if we look at the novel in its published form in 1889, in a literary supplement of the magazine *Kokumin no tomo*, we find that it is written by “Ōgai Mori Rintarō” – a dual given and pen name.<sup>41</sup> Here, Mori Rintarō uses his legal name in a way that few other writers did in the Meiji period: he uses it as part of his authorial name.<sup>42</sup> This is in striking contrast to the other authors found in the supplement alongside “Maihime,” for they are all listed in the table of contents with their chosen pseudonyms and a writerly affix (here, “Kōyō Sanjin,” “Nansui Gaishi,” and “Bimyosai Shujin”), as opposed to any parts of their legal names.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ōgai Mori Rintarō. “Maihime,” *Kokumin no tomo* 69 (January 1890), literary supplement.

<sup>42</sup> Further complicating the issue of authorial and personal identity in this case is that Mori Rintarō wrote “Maihime” in the first person, a rarity for the time. He uses the pronouns *ware* 我 and *yo* 余.

<sup>43</sup> 紅葉山人、南翠外史, and 美妙齋主人, respectively.



目録

國民之友	明治二十三年	平民的運動の新現象	博堂	生	一五
特別寄書	歸朝者の買直	詩歌の精神及び餘情	博堂	友吉	一二
藻鹽草	一語千金	木戸孝允君の物語	久野	居後	一六
雜錄	坂東武者	三國同盟及意大利の地位	北邨	散士	二八
批評	李氏經濟學	小牧陣始末記	上		二六
	埃及近世史	日本考古提要			二九
	露子	駁邪鐵槌			三〇
	近刊雜誌	近刊雜誌			三一
	奇男兒	東京各新聞の社説			三三
					三四
時事	新年の改革	内閣官制			三六
	慶賀すべき新現象	内閣の坐席			三七
	警視廳	地方官の淘汰			三八
	内務大臣の訓令	内閣の方針を公示せよ			三九
	教員と政談	新狂言			四〇
	三國同盟	地獄			四〇
	保守中正派	板垣君の再興			四〇
	自由黨の再興	關西自由黨			四〇
	板垣君今後の進退如何	政黨瓦解の時代			四〇
	時事日記				四二
附錄	新舞姬	醉沈	美妙齋主人		四二
	拈華微笑	紅葉山人			四一
	新華破魔弓	南翠外史			六一
	國民之友第五卷總目錄				六九
	明治廿二年自七月至十二月自第五十五號至六十八號十四冊				八二

Figure 2. Kokumin no tomo 69 (January 1890): table of contents. The literary supplement authors are named in the lower left-hand corner.

This is not simply a case of transparency; it does a great deal to equate Mori Rintarō's own life with his identity as an author. In his 1889 short essay on the novel, "Shōsetsuron," he similarly signs his legal name, as well as a reference to yet another

scholar, revealing his background as a student of German: “Dr. Mori Rintarō, after Dr. Rudolph von Gottschall’s *Study*.”<sup>44</sup> It is the same Dr. Mori Rintarō who attended medical school and studied abroad in Germany, and who thought about the future of the Japanese novel using medical analogies. The very same Dr. Mori Rintarō, appending a pseudonym rather than leaving out his legal name, then wrote an acclaimed story about a Japanese student abroad in Germany in “Maihime.” This created another layer of meaning on top of the authorial performance of Mori Rintarō: a doctor who wrote serious criticism on the front page of a popular newspaper, and the leader of a new coterie who wrote criticism of the theater in the 1889 first issue of his coterie’s small magazine, *Shigarami zōshi*. It is this writer who then became, and performed, Ōgai as the author of a serious novel published in the prestigious literary supplement of *Kokumin no tomo*.

Yet not all of Mori Rintarō’s writing is attributed to his own name; a biographical dictionary reveals that he used some 26 pseudonyms other than “Ōgai,” at the least, in his lifetime.<sup>45</sup> Some works are signed simply with “Ōgai” as Mori Rintarō’s entire authorial name, such as the later editions of the *Mesamashigusa* review column, or they may be signed with “Shigurenoya,” as were the earlier installments of that same column.<sup>46</sup> In the case of criticism, we encounter both “Ōgai Gyoshi” and “Mori Rintarō” with no pseudonym attached at all.<sup>47</sup> Why, then, did Mori Rintarō perform Ōgai and Shigurenoya as *Mesamashigusa* critics in 1896, Ōgai Mori Rintarō as a novelist and Ōgai Gyoshi as a translator in 1890, and Dr. Mori

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<sup>44</sup> The authorial attribution on the essay reads, “(Cfr. Rudolph von Gottschall, Studien.) 医学誌 森林太郎。” Igakushi Mori Rintarō, “Shōsetsuron,” *Yomiuri shinbun*, January 1, 1889.

<sup>45</sup> “Mori Ōgai,” in *Nihon kindai bungaku jiten* vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 364.

<sup>46</sup> The *noya* 舎 portion of Shigurenoya adds further meaning to the name: it hearkens back to earlier in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and this is a suffix used by many other writers – especially those in Ken’yūsha, a coterie that embraced earlier fiction – to mark their names as literary.

<sup>47</sup> See Mori Rintarō. “Engeki kairyō ronsha no henken o odoroku,” *Shigarami zōshi* 1 (October 1889): 4-8.

Rintarō in 1889 – all authorial names used to write or talk about literature, and some at the same time?

We are lucky that Mori Rintarō is not just transparent about his use of pseudonyms, but reflective and forthcoming about their meaning for him, his reasons for their use, and the personal conflict that they sometimes provoked in him. He speaks twice to readers in print about the practice of using multiple pseudonyms as well as a given name, and he clearly expresses ambivalence about retaining the same pseudonym – various forms of “Ōgai” – over time. In “Ōgai Gyoshi to wa tare zo,” published in the *Fukuoka Daily News* on January 1, 1900 and written with the name “Mori Rintarō,” Ōgai gives a detailed account of the literary world of the days in which the pseudonym Ōgai Gyoshi was active.<sup>48</sup> In other words, it is the story of literary production and consumption over a decade before, beginning with the birth of “Ōgai Gyoshi” in its use for penning literary criticism for the magazine *Kokumin no tomo* in the late 1880s. It was not limited to this use, however, and works of translation are also attributed to this name.<sup>49</sup> Yet, according to Mori Rintarō, the name “Ōgai Gyoshi” (sometimes shortened to “Ōgai” or used as a prefix to his full name, such as “Ōgai Mori Rintarō”) became a magnet for attacks against himself and his work. If he had not invested his authorial identity so completely in this name, we might say that Ōgai Gyoshi worked effectively as a decoy, keeping criticism and petty attacks away from Mori Rintarō himself, and focused on his authorial name instead. Indeed, it is for this reason, Mori Rintarō informs us, that he gave up the use of Ōgai Gyoshi altogether: by getting rid of this name, he could dodge the attacks that had

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<sup>48</sup> Mori Rintarō, “Ōgai Gyoshi to wa tare zo,” *Fukuoka nichinichi shinbun*, January 1, 1900.

<sup>49</sup> Kuraisuto, “Akuinroku (sono ichi),” trans. Ōgai Gyoshi, *Kokumin no tomo* 80 (April 1890): 25. “Kuraisuto” is a Japanese transliteration of a German name, possibly Kleist, as J. Thomas Rimer notes in his *Mori Ōgai* that he translated this writer, whose full name is unclear. J. Thomas Rimer, *Mori Ōgai* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), 24.

been aimed at it, and still emerge “alive” himself.<sup>50</sup>

For Mori Rintarō, the pseudonym acted in a way that contrasts with Curren Bell and his “brothers:” it gave a focal point to his enemies for attacking his ideology and work, and attracted those attacks to the specific sites at which he performed the identity of Ōgai rather than deflecting them. Here, they were drawn directly to Mori Rintarō *as an author*, a writer of fiction (*shōsetsuka*<sup>51</sup>). In other words, Ōgai Gyoshi was not a decoy for criticism and attacks; rather, it was their primary target. Though this was only one of the roles that Mori Rintarō played in his daily life, and a secondary one at that, it quickly began to invade his work as a physician as the novelty of his writing permeated the workplace and colored his colleagues’ views of him. Thus, despite the attacks being drawn toward the author “Ōgai” rather than to Mori Rintarō himself, because he was the historical individual engaged in performing authorship with that identity, he could not help but feel those attacks personally, regardless of whether they were directed at his legal name or not.

Mori Rintarō speaks repeatedly of having “killed Ōgai” as he describes his withdrawal from the literary world upon the folding of his literary magazine, *Shigarami Zoshi*, and his reluctance to publish under that or any other name. He published anonymously at first, apparently using the name “Ōgai” – one that was recognizable to readers – in the review column of the second magazine that he edited, *Mesamashigusa*. Even here, he speaks of “Ōgai” in the third person, as though that were not another name for himself akin to a nickname. It is as though “Ōgai” is not just his “alter-ego,” as he puts it, but a separate identity altogether. In fact, this is remarkably similar to Brontë’s references to Curren Bell in the third person, even using the male pronoun to refer to her own “alter-ego.” This identity seems to be

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<sup>50</sup> Mori Rintarō, “Ōgai Gyoshi to wa tare zo.”

<sup>51</sup> 小説家

partly autonomous and detached from Mori Rintarō himself, a shell of an “author” serving as a surrogate for Mori Rintarō the writer (as opposed to the student, the doctor, or the military officer). There is a tone of acceptance at the end of the essay, and one of hope: “Ōgai” is dead, but Mori Rintarō lives on, presumably to continue to write using names other than Ōgai (this essay was published when he had only written four works of fiction, and he would go on to write more).<sup>52</sup>

When reflecting on the use of pseudonyms in the issue of *Kokumin no tomo* that carried “Maihime,” it is clear that Ōgai had a unique approach to the use of an authorial name. None of the other authors included used a given name, as discussed above, and Ōgai’s name stands out as it points to him as a historical individual – as a *writer* in addition to *author*. It indicates exactly who wrote the piece, as opposed to the author created at the moment of publishing the text, and moves the performance of authorship closer to Ōgai himself than he later would like. It encourages the conflation of Mori Rintarō the surgeon and military figure with Mori Rintarō the critic and Mori Rintarō the novelist; all three of these identities are wrapped up in the same historical individual. With official uses of his name in multiple realms – including as a student in Germany – Ōgai differs from a writer such as Ozaki Tokutarō (named above as Kōyō Sanjin), who never used his given name when writing fiction, and none of whose multiple pen names would have been used in an official capacity.

Even before this retrospective piece, Mori Rintarō is candid about his use of the pen name “Ōgai,” and not just by making his identity as an individual clear by affixing it to his legal name. In a lengthy piece addressed to the readers of a literary magazine that he edited, *Mesamashigusa*, he specifically reminds them, or perhaps informs them for the first time, that the name “Ōgai” is “one that I use when I am

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

writing [fiction].”<sup>53</sup> Despite his fame at this point, he still must remind readers – even the self-selected segment that reads literary magazines – that he, the editor, is the same person that writes under the name “Ōgai.” Moreover, he speaks about the other editors of *Mesamashigusa* with their legal names – such as “Kōda Shigeyuki” for Kōda Rohan and “Ozaki Tokutarō” for Ozaki Kōyō – rather than with their literary pseudonyms, with which they signed their work in the magazine, thus likely confusing readers further. Despite his earlier efforts, Ōgai’s authorial identity is far from consistent: sometimes “Ōgai” is attached to the surname “Mori,” but at other times we find it with “Gyoshi” (literally, “Ōgai the fisherman”), and still others alone. In *Mesamashigusa* in particular, the name “Ōgai” was used numerous times by itself as he both wrote parts of review columns and penned his own articles. Readers could be excused for not being able to keep track of who was using the name, and the fact that “Ōgai” could be associated with the legal name “Mori Rintarō.” Ōgai himself divulges to readers of the *Fukuoka Daily News* in his later piece that he purposely published only anonymously and with the pseudonym “Ōgai” in *Mesamashigusa*, never using his given name or the full “Ōgai Gyoshi” in that venue in the hope that he could avoid the associations from his previous literary career.

The individual named Mori Rintarō performs a number of authorial identities and names that are not necessarily associated with each other, despite all being associated with him after the fact, as the originator of the works that he wrote under each of the names. Just as he had to explain to readers that “Mori Rintarō” was in fact “Ōgai,” it is reasonable to expect that his contemporaries would not have been able to account for every one of his pen names and would likely have not known that many pieces were written by the historical Mori Rintarō. Even if he had different reasons,

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<sup>53</sup> Mori Rintarō, “Dokusha shokun ni tsugetatematsuru kotoba,” *Mesamashigusa* 43 (March 1900): 2. Dated January 1900.

Ōgai used authorial names with the same multiplicity and fluidity that Kitamura Montarō and Awashima Kangetsu demonstrated in their own venues. The performance of authorship, however, does not take place at the site of Mori Rintarō the historical individual, whose legal name in itself is also a kind of performance when it accompanies a piece of writing. This “Mori Rintarō” is an appellation that acquires its meaning at the site of writing, whether it is criticism in the newspaper or in a coterie journal or as an editor speaking to his readers, and one that can accumulate additional meaning depending not just on context, but on the names that are layered on it when publishing. Yet for Ōgai, using the same name in two unrelated roles still poses a problem: he cannot escape the literary association of his name from bleeding into the professional identity of the other. It would perhaps have been a very different situation if Ōgai had never used “Mori Rintarō” in his name when publishing “Maihime,” or if he had determined to publish anonymously or only with a pseudonym from the beginning, as he had done in *Mesamashigusa*.

Ōgai stands out from the norm in his later years, publishing all of his novels after 1900 using “Mori Rintarō.” Yet, as is clear from my references to him here, he is now known uniformly as “Mori Ōgai,” a name that he only rarely used when his work was first published in the Meiji period. “Mori Ōgai” has become a convenient anachronism but one that also obscures entirely his multiple authorial identities when alive, presenting him as an author in the same way that we now refer to the pseudonymous writers that appeared alongside his “Maihime” in *Kokumin no tomo*: Yamada Bimyō (Bimyōsai) and Ozaki Kōyō (Kōyō Sanjin). In reality, their use of pseudonymous and given names when writing and publishing could not have been more different, even if that is no longer clear to us. It is only by understanding that the use of multiple pen names, and even killing one of them off, was common and

accepted that it is possible to also appreciate just how strange the case of Ōgai Mori Rintarō was – and is.

### **Anonymity and the Performance of Writing**

One of the most famous authors in the history of Japanese literature is a woman whose name is unknown to us, but a reference to her has become so well known that it is accepted as though it were her historical name. Murasaki Shikibu,<sup>54</sup> the author of *The Tale of Genji*, is now referred to with a two-part posthumous pen name: Murasaki is the name of a well-loved character in the novel, and Shikibu indicates her father's position at the Heian court (794-1185). Murasaki Shikibu herself, the historical individual, is unknown to us except through her writing and references made to other works, and her identity itself – or what we would now consider a legal and personal “identity” of a given and family name – is inaccessible. Yet she wrote at a time in which anonymous writing was not an exception, and we have a number of court ladies' diaries whose authors are known by the name of the diary itself, or by their known male relatives' names: Michitsuna's mother, Izumi Shikibu, the Sarashina Lady.

This example demands more consideration than as simply an anecdote that demonstrates the presence of anonymous writing in Japanese literary history. Rather, it reflects a norm of naming – or lack thereof – at the time when these women's diaries, novels, and poetry were being written: that of the taboo of personal names when referring to high-ranking individuals. As Herbert Plutschow describes in detail, “people in positions of authority were called preferably by the buildings they lived in, the gates they proceeded through, the places [...] where they dwelled, and by their

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<sup>54</sup> 紫式部 (d. 1014?).



offices or titles.”<sup>55</sup> Thus, the situation of Murasaki Shikibu and others is no longer as obscure – expecting a name other than a male relative’s title, rather than a personal name, would not have been appropriate in any situation, and had little to do with writing fiction. Women would have been “named” according to their place of residence or gate, and thus, for example, the Sarashina Lady’s name based in the province of which her father was a governor makes sense.<sup>56</sup> Still, there is something remarkable about one of these retroactive authorial names, and that is that part of the name of an author such as Murasaki Shikibu is based in the very fiction that is attributed to it: it is entirely self-referential, and brings its allusion to *The Tale of Genji* to the author’s other writing with the naming of, for example, *The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* (*Murasaki Shikibu nikki*).

Although the number of recent works of fiction whose authors are unknown is significantly lower, that does not mean that every published piece is attributable to an author, or even to an implicit writer whose identity is only indirectly known through a chosen pseudonym, and anonymous writing is found frequently in the Meiji period as well. However, unlike works that may simply be missing a name, such as *The Tale of Genji*’s lack of clear authorial attribution, these works are explicitly ascribed to “anonymous” authors, and even to well-described, nameless writers. It is this specific attribution to no one at all, in place of an author’s name, that sets these works apart from those historical cases in which authorship simply can’t be resolved or in which it was the norm to avoid the use of family and personal names in referring to individuals in all situations, and which raises the question of how anonymity is being used. What does it imply about writers that would decline, or even refuse, attribution for their work, and what does it say about the uses of anonymous writing?

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<sup>55</sup> Herbert Plutschow, *Japan’s Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political, and Social Context* (Kent, England: Japan Library, 1995), 43.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

Although there are any number of works lacking authorial attribution, or which are even attributed simply to “anonymous,” a short story published in the magazine *Iratsume* from February to June of 1891 raises significant questions about what an attribution to an anonymous writer means, as well as how that attribution is made. This novel does not simply lack an attribution, nor does its writer – or writers – obscure his or her identity with vague terms. Rather, it is written by “a Kanda schoolgirl,” placing its author squarely within a specific district of Tokyo then full of students, giving readers an instant picture of her.<sup>57</sup> Through this simple phrase, readers would approach this story with expectations: a female writer, from a social class that would allow her to attend school in Tokyo, and one located at the center of the nation rather than its periphery. She is a schoolgirl not just anywhere, but in the center of the capital and the largest city in the country – the center of everything, including the literary world of the time. Given that the serial work itself is “An Untitled Story,”<sup>58</sup> the authorial name says far more about its content, style, and value. In fact, the very lack of a title speaks volumes about a lack of literary aspirations on the part of the author herself; with no pen name and no title to the work, readers may have had no choice other than to write it off as frivolous scribbling, or even an anonymous, experimental side project of a more established author.

The use of the anonymous here with a specific attribution – a nameless schoolgirl from Kanda – is an effective way to both prepare readers for the experience of the novel, both in content and in terms of their own expectations, and also set the tone of the issues of the magazine that serialized it. By simply using a descriptive anonymous attribution rather than leaving it as an untitled short story ascribed to no one, *Iratsume* emphasizes that it is a place where a Kanda schoolgirl without literary

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<sup>57</sup> The pseudonym is *Kanda ichi-josei* 神田一女生.

<sup>58</sup> *Mumei shōsetsu* 無名小説.

fame or ambition could nonetheless publish serialized fiction; thus, it is a place that welcomes female writers, on some level, and that will take their work seriously enough to carry it. Yet at the same time, embracing an explicitly untitled story attributed to an anonymous schoolgirl could have more serious consequences for the magazine itself, for readers could also imagine that it highlighted how far *Iratsume* had sunk. The magazine carried “An Untitled Story” through its final issue, and the publication ended seemingly without warning, as though it were already a foregone conclusion that it wouldn’t last much longer.

Indeed, despite its place in a legitimate literary magazine, there are few reasons for contemporary readers to have taken the “An Untitled Story” seriously: it appeared at the end of *Iratsume*’s life and ended abruptly along with the magazine itself. Moreover, as the magazine was both edited by Yamada Bimyō and published a number of his works, it is not hard to imagine the “Kanda schoolgirl” as one of his own disciples – a relationship that could easily transform into romantic involvement. Rebecca Copeland gives an account of Bimyō’s relationship with Tazawa Inafune, who he was to briefly marry before her death, that rings strangely true here: Inafune came to Tokyo to study at a school in Hitotsubashi, not far from Kanda, and began to visit Bimyō as soon as she arrived – becoming both his disciple and later his wife. Thus, the fact that the author is noted as a schoolgirl cannot be separated from the context of *Iratsume* specifically, at a time when Bimyō was both its editor and a regular contributor as well as a promoter of his female disciples’ work.<sup>59</sup>

At the same time, there is a parallel here between the above Heian use of place or occupation names in place of taboo personal names to refer to a person, and specifically to a woman. There is a danger, as we have seen with the Brontës, for

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<sup>59</sup> See Rebecca Copeland, “The Meiji Woman Writer,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57 (2) (December 1997): 399-400.

women in “going public” as authors and a tradition within women’s writing to have the author lack a personal or even family name. Is the “Kanda schoolgirl” simply following in the example set by Heian women referred to only by location or male relations? Given that nearly a thousand years had passed between *The Tale of Genji* and “An Untitled Story,” this is too large a leap to make. Still, it speaks to the type of woman who might write a story for *Iratsume* – originally a feminist publication – because the occupation of the author is that of the schoolgirl herself. She is not the daughter or mother of a modern Meiji man: instead, she is a modern Meiji woman, active on her own in the given location of Kanda, independent of male associations. Moreover, she is not named after, and collapsed with, her own work, but rather has an independent occupation and is able to be associated with activities other than her writing.

The authorial identity has stopped short of being given its own personal name – whether that be a completely fabricated pen name or one tied to a family or even given name – but it differs, then, from Murasaki Shikibu and Michitsuna’s mother just as much as it resembles them. The Kanda schoolgirl is her own person, even if she is unable or unwilling to bare a fixed identity in the pages of *Iratsume*, just as her work stands for itself – the fiction of a schoolgirl – despite its hesitant lack of a title. In fact, hers is the opposite situation from that of Murasaki Shikibu: the untitled work must be understood in terms of the schoolgirl, rather than the other way around. Yet it remains that, unlike men who used pen names rather than referred to themselves as schoolboys, this author is not considered – and does not consider herself – a writer by occupation; rather, she is a schoolgirl by occupation, perhaps one whose writing should not be taken seriously by readers male or female.

Interestingly, the Kanda schoolgirl here is specified as singular, and it is not

left up to the reader's imagination as to whether she writes alone or collectively. It is hard to imagine the lone schoolgirl as writing together with a coterie of like-minded friends, as Bimyō himself had done with his start in the Ken'yūsha literary circle, and the authorial name almost precludes this possibility. After all, she is primarily a schoolgirl, not a writer; how many Meiji women were both writers and students? While this was a norm for men, as Rebecca Copeland argues, women had no such infrastructure for collaborative writing and publishing their work in venues that they themselves controlled.<sup>60</sup> Although the singular authorial name does not mean that "An Untitled Story" wasn't written by multiple writers, it does clearly convey that the reader wasn't meant to picture multiple schoolgirls writing the novel together. Yet a question does remain: are we to read this as the work of a single, anonymous teenager, or as the work of an archetypal schoolgirl – one that could encompass all schoolgirls generally and stand in for any given one? Each case gives a strikingly different impression of the author of this work, and our vision of the writers behind it – singular or plural, male or female, old or young – color our readings, just as its lack of title and its presence in *Iratsume's* pages influence how we interpret and understand it. Thus, vague authorial name of the "Kanda schoolgirl" has profound implications for reader reception and our own understanding of how Meiji readers would have responded to such a novel.

The Kanda schoolgirl is hardly the only unnamed author to appear in Meiji publications, and others are more deliberately anonymous. The literary coterie magazine *Bungakkai* carried in three issues pieces that were attributed directly to "Anonymous" (*mumeishi*<sup>61</sup>). These were not pieces that simply lacked attribution,

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<sup>60</sup> Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000): 225.

<sup>61</sup> 無名氏

such as the Heian women's writing referenced above, and they gave no indication of the sort of person the nameless author was, other than a typically gendered suffix *shi*, or Mr., following the "Anonymous."<sup>62</sup> Thus, like the Kanda schoolgirl, it is implied by the *shi* that "Mr. Anonymous" is a single gendered individual, but we as readers still have no way of knowing how many writers are truly behind that singular author. The case of *Bungakkai*'s "Mr. Anonymous" truly challenges the concept of the work as attributable and of the author as a nameable entity, if not one that can be concretely identified with a real, historical individual, likewise with a single name.

Yet at the same time, "Mr. Anonymous" does give us some information about the author. In the first place, it allows us to identify an author, and it performs authorship anonymously, rather than leaving a work completely unsigned. The latter case might allow the reader to assume that the magazine's editorial staff had written it and ascribe it to those specific people, rather than to an unnamed individual. In fact, the magazine's *jibun*<sup>63</sup> section, which gives current analysis and reviews of literature and other publications, carried a number of unattributed pieces alongside the occasional review or essay attributed to a pseudonym. "Mr. Anonymous" is far more deliberate. It implies not that he could be anyone, but that he is an individual who desires to remain unnamed even while asserting some kind of identity. Moreover, this identity is asserted alongside the rest of the writers for *Bungakkai*, who all use pen names, and is listed with their names as though it is its own kind of pseudonym. In the eleventh issue of *Bungakkai* (November 1893), "Mr. Anonymous" critiques the literary group Ken'yūsha and is listed on the front cover's table of contents as though his name is yet another among a group of named authors. A poem was authored by the

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<sup>62</sup> 氏. While this suffix is most often seen with the names of men, it is also used with the name of Higuchi Ichiyō, a female writer, in pieces that reference her after her death.

<sup>63</sup> 時文

same entity in the previous issue, and in the twelfth issue, “Mr. Anonymous” submits a story that includes a short narrative of its path to publication – including a reading by Kōda Rohan, a major figure in the literary world. Thus “Mr. Anonymous” begins to build an identity issue by issue, regardless of whether these were separate writers behind the name. He has a personality and connections to the literary elite, including his implicit connections in putting himself on par with the Ken’yūsha group in order to discuss them. He is an author who is able to engage Ken’yūsha, one of the most prominent literary coteries of the time, and who is able to speak about interacting with Rohan, even if he declines to adopt a pen name other than “Mr. Anonymous.”

*Bungakkai*’s “Mr. Anonymous” is not the only such authorial “person” who published at this time, and should not be considered as a phenomenon particular to that magazine and its associated literary group. The general interest magazine *Kokumin no tomo* likewise carried literary criticism and reviews written by a “Mr. Anonymous.”<sup>64</sup> In “*Shincho hyakushu* no. 8 *Bōrin*,” he (gendered with the suffix *shi* again) engages in a lengthy critique of *Bōrin*, an installment in the *Shincho hyakushū* series of short monthly novels.<sup>65</sup> It begins with a scathing consideration of whether the novel had either been translated, rehashed from old material, or “borrowed” from a Western source, before pursuing the writer’s interest in finding out if it were in fact a rewritten Western novel through a close analysis of the text. Just as with *Bungakkai*, the “Mr. Anonymous” here is free to critique *Bōrin* without associating that criticism directly with a pseudonym, but at the same time, creates an authorial identity more concrete than if the piece had simply been unattributed, as were many of *Kokumin no tomo*’s reviews. It stands out precisely because it is *attributed*, although not to a pen

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<sup>64</sup> Rather than *Mumeishi* 無名氏, the *Kokumin no tomo* author uses the name *Tokumeishi* 匿名子.

Literally the difference is that the *Bungakkai* author is “Mr. No Name” and the *Kokumin no tomo* author “Mr. Anonymous.”

<sup>65</sup> Tokumeishi. “*Shincho hyakushū* dai hachi-gō *Bōrin*,” *Kokumin no tomo* 75 (March 1890): 37-38.

name that can be consistently followed or even traced back to an identifiable person. “Mr. Anonymous” is signed just as a name would be, with enough information (a singular, gendered suffix) to give the reader a tantalizing glimpse at who the writer might be, and in the end perhaps saying as much as a one-off pseudonym might: that the writer does not wish to be tracked or build up a concrete authorial identity, but doesn’t want to disappear into the publication entirely, either.

“*Shincho hyakushū* no. 8 *Bōrin*” itself ends with a discussion of pseudonyms and anonymity. According to “Mr. Anonymous,” the novel itself was published with the attribution of “Author Unknown”<sup>66</sup> and he spends some time considering that “some people are saying it’s the work of Bizanjin,<sup>67</sup> others are saying it’s Sazanami Sanjin,<sup>68</sup> and then there are other people who say it’s the first effort of a new writer who hasn’t yet set foot in the *bundan* [literary world].”<sup>69</sup> After analyzing reasons why it is unlikely to be either of these two established authors, he hazards a guess that it is yet a third, Shuntei Kyūka, an alternate pseudonym of Maruoka Kyūka, whose writing he has seen in the Ken’yūsha magazine *Bunko* under the name “Haru ...”<sup>70</sup> The guessing concludes with a decision that “if that ‘Haru...’ in *Bunko* indicates ‘Shuntei Kyūka,’ then it’s likely that the X.Y.Z. [a common Meiji indication of an anonymous writer] who wrote *Bōrin* is also that Kyūka.”<sup>71</sup> It is clear here that Meiji readers were just as interested in who might be behind an “anonymous” appellation as any other, and that using “anonymous” – “X.Y.Z.,” “author unknown,” or even the audacious “Mr. Anonymous” – was a bold act filled with meaning. It incited guessing from

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<sup>66</sup> *Sakusha fuchi* 作者不知

<sup>67</sup> 眉山人. Later known as Kawakami Bizan 川上眉山 (1869-1908); a Ken’yūsha co-founder.

<sup>68</sup> 澁山人. Also known as Iwaya Sazanami 巖谷小波 (1870-1933); a Ken’yūsha member.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 38. The NACSIS Webcat electronic catalog entry for both the original 1890 edition and a later reprint list the author as “X.Y.Z.” The writer’s identity seems to have never been resolved.

<sup>70</sup> 春亭九花, 丸岡九花, and 春. . . , respectively. “Shun” is another reading for the same character, “haru,” meaning “spring.” Best and later known as Maruoka Kyūka 丸岡九華 (1865-1927); a Ken’yūsha member.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.



readers and wondering about the identity of the writer aloud in review columns, and marked the novel as one that is almost unfinished in its openness to readers' interpretation based on their conclusions about the author. For the author of *Bōrin*, his (or her) identity did anything but disappear in anonymity: just as much as the novel, it became the topic of discussion itself.

### **Collaborative Authorship**

Until this point, I have considered cases that can only be viewed as solitary authorial performances: singular pseudonyms and anonymous writing that clearly communicates, through suffixes to the anonymous name, that the author should be interpreted as a single individual.<sup>72</sup> Collective and collaborative authorship was also widespread at this time, however, and this collectivity was a kind of authorial performance as well. Collaborative authorship further problematizes the notion of the author as a single, solitary figure, and forces us to move our attention toward the writing and publishing processes behind a work and its authorial name – both of which involve more than a writer in isolation. Cases of collaborative and multiple authorship in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Japan encompass a range of writing practices, from mentorship to co-authorship and even serial authorship of a single novel, passed from writer to writer, so that each is responsible for one installment, but no one writer is responsible for the novel as a whole.

It is now generally accepted that an influential novel in modern Japanese literature, the 1887 *Ukigumo*, was written by one man using the pseudonym Futabatei Shimei.<sup>73</sup> Yet at the time of its publication and even a year after, in its second printing, *Ukigumo* was not attributed to Futabatei Shimei alone, or even primarily. Instead, as

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<sup>72</sup> This is differentiated from the writing process behind the authorial name, which involves, at the least, both a writer and an editor, thus differing significantly from “the author” as a solitary figure.

<sup>73</sup> 二葉亭四迷 (1864–1909).

an October 1888 advertisement in the literary magazine *Miyako no hana* claimed, the novel was “co-authored” (*gassaku*<sup>74</sup>) by Harunoya Shujin<sup>75</sup> and Futabatei Shimei, with Harunoya’s name listed first.<sup>76</sup> Harunoya, now better known as Tsubouchi Shōyō<sup>77</sup> – an influential literary and theater critic himself – was Shimei’s mentor and his name had more weight than the as-yet unpublished Shimei. The name of the author here has a central place in advertising and giving value to the book as commodity, and it is no wonder that a publisher would prefer to put a more well-known and respected name on the cover of a new novel – particularly one that struck out in the strange new style of attempting to join vernacular speech and written language, something that was only beginning to be attempted in Japan.<sup>78</sup> An experimental novel might have a chance at selling and being taken seriously with an established author’s name on it, especially given Shōyō’s recent and widely read critique of Japanese fiction and analysis of how novels should be written in his *Essence of the Novel* (*Shōsetsu shinzui*, 1885). The cover of the first edition of *Ukigumo*, in fact, carried the name of Tsubouchi Shōyō exclusively, and Shimei’s pen name was not to be found on the title page or in the colophon.<sup>79</sup> It was only in the 1888 edition that he began to have credit for the novel that we now attribute solely to his name, and by 1892, the attribution had switched entirely to Shimei alone.

At the time, however, this joining of a mentor’s name with a disciple would not have stood out as strange. Collaborative writing, including the idea that a mentor’s

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<sup>74</sup> 合作

<sup>75</sup> 春の屋主人

<sup>76</sup> Harunoya shujin and Futabatei Shimei, *Ukigumo*. Advertisement, *Miyako no hana* 1 (October 1888): 12.

<sup>77</sup> 坪内逍遙 (1859-1935)

<sup>78</sup> This is referred to as *genbun itchitai* 言文一致体, the union of spoken and written language. Prior to this time, and even for decades after *Ukigumo* and its contemporaries, written Japanese was a language separate from the spoken vernacular save for dialogue in some fiction.

<sup>79</sup> The colophon of the 1887 edition of *Ukigumo* lists Tsubouchi Yūzō as the author. Tsubouchi Shōyō is a pen name, whereas Yūzō is the given name of the historical individual. Tsubouchi Yūzō, *Shinpen Ukigumo* (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1887). An 1892 printing, on the other hand, only lists “Futabatei Shimei” as the author (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1892).

teachings were in some way a collaborative act and that the student’s writing may have been edited or even co-written with the mentor, was a norm rather than an anomaly, and *Ukigumo* is not the only case of co-authorship to be found in the 1880s and 1890s. As discussed above, Ozaki Kōyō co-wrote, edited, or oversaw so many of his disciples’ works of fiction that an entire volume could be added to his 1990s anthology of complete works, and that volume itself leaves out everything that did not claim to be actually co-authored by Kōyō. In other words, there is a large amount of fiction that carried Kōyō’s name in the 1890s that was not even included in his recent anthology, even if his pen had participated in the editing (and possibly in the rewriting). As Woodmansee points out, the idea of the Romantic author as producing works separate from the rest, and the myth of the act of writing being separate from the other aspects of literary production, limits the understanding of “authorship” to the act of writing a first draft, alone, with no input from one’s mentors or colleagues. Yet it is clear from the way that Kōyō’s name was attributed to works that he simply “oversaw”<sup>80</sup> that in the 1880s and 1890s, the acts of editing, reading over, and approving were just as much a part of authorship as was writing – and there was not necessarily an assumption that the writing was conducted alone.

Just as Shōyō lent his name to *Ukigumo*, Kōyō did the same for his students, including lending his name as a full co-author to the novel *Nanigashi*, also attributed to Kyōka.<sup>81</sup> The names are listed in order that prioritize Kyōka – “Kyōka, Kōyō, co-authors,” – and it is left to the reader to wonder: was it truly co-written? What would co-writing mean in this case? The attribution gives no other information than that both were involved somehow, whether in the roles of editing, writing a manuscript, or

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<sup>80</sup> *Kōyō etsu* 紅葉閱

<sup>81</sup> Izumi Kyōka 泉鏡花 (1873-1939), Meiji writer and Kōyō’s student. *Nanigashi* なにがし was also the pen name that Kōyō when writing works with both Kyōka and another student, Tayama Katai: rather than listing two names, only the name *Nanigashi* was listed. Matsumura, 535-536.

generating ideas. It resists entirely the idea that roles can be clearly delineated in literary production, that writing takes place in solitude, and that the “work” is the direct production of individual genius.

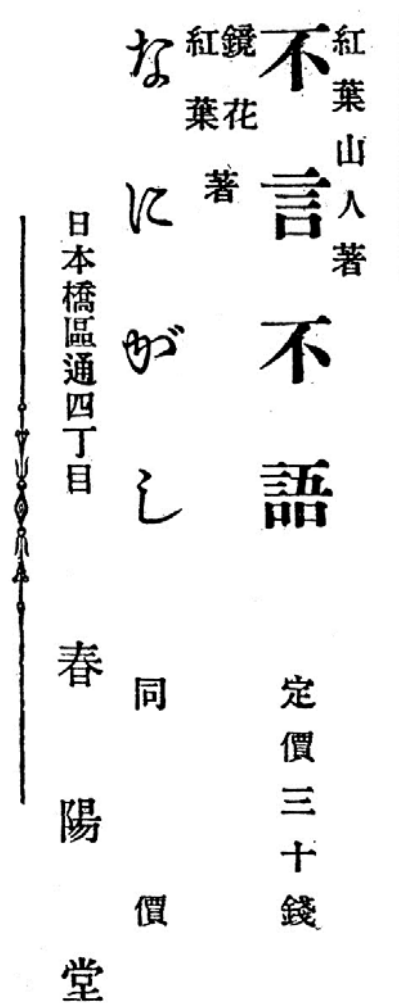


Figure 3. Kyōka and Kōyō, co-authors. *Nanigashi*. Advertisement in *Bungakkai* 30 (June 1895).

This advertisement is opaque in that it does not tell us the individual roles that Kōyō and Kyōka took on: did one “primarily” write, or did both write equally? Did they divide labors or write the entire manuscript together? This is reflected in the collaborative volume of Kōyō’s anthology, where the roles often cannot be explained neatly and the actions of each individual involved cannot be clearly explained. Moreover, there is the further complication of Kōyō’s frequent “borrowing” from

other sources, including lifting the plot and characters of Western novels wholesale for use in his own works. In the reference essay that accompanies the volume, each work is presented with the attributions that it carried when published, but the writer of the essay attempts to go further and identify who “really” wrote each work (and on which source Kōyō was basing his own work). This research is frustrated, however, by the fact that some of the works must be placed in the category of “it is unclear who wrote it and where it came from.”<sup>82</sup> It is clear to us that Kōyō had a hand in them; it is unclear, however, who else had a hand in it – for example, writing the original (Western-language) novel on which Kōyō based his work – and how to characterize Kōyō’s role in this kind of involuntary literary collaboration that would now simply be called plagiarism or theft. Applying the idea of intellectual property to the time that Kōyō wrote is an anachronism, however, as is any attempt to clearly delineate literary production into the role of the writer-as-author versus everyone else. The collective that produced a multiply attributed work is something that we must envision as larger than the sum of its parts; its composition as a group of individuals can be uncovered, but the way in which they worked cannot be reduced to a list of credits.

There are examples of collaborative novels, attributed to multiple authors, that do attempt to delineate who wrote which part, however, and they highlight the complex relationship between authorship and ownership that the Romantic notion of the author takes for granted. *Monkey Tiger Snake*<sup>83</sup> is a co-authored work of short fiction serialized in the Ken’yūsha coterie magazine *Bunko* in 1889, with each part attributed to a different Ken’yūsha author.<sup>84</sup> This work stands out in that implies no

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<sup>82</sup> Matsumura, 523-533.

<sup>83</sup> *Enkoja* 猿虎蛇

<sup>84</sup> In order, they are Sazanami sanjin 漣山人 (Iwaya Sazanami); Bizanjin 眉山人 (Kawakami Bizan); Shian Gaishi 思案外史 (Ishibashi Shian); Shuntei Kyūka 春亭九華 (Maruoka Kyūka); Gyosanjin 漁山人 (Tada Gyosan); and Makei Koji 麻溪居士 (Yamamoto Makei). The initial advertised authors and the order in which they would write was completely ignored as the novel went on, and

collective ownership of the whole outside of the Ken'yūsha association, and is listed in advertisements as being by “group members together” rather than by the specific writers responsible for each part.<sup>85</sup> Rather, each writer “owns” his part only, and the writer’s freedom of imagination is allowed in just that part. It is, however, allowed entirely, as the announcement for the serial (entitled “Collaborative Fiction”<sup>86</sup>) explains:

To begin with, a collaborative story is a single story written by several people. The order is decided by drawing lots and the first to go will provide the topic as well as the characters. After that, the second [writer] takes up his brush according to his own ideas and continues with “perhaps this is like that” – the third and fourth do this as well. From the start the respective ideas aren’t being written together, and so the heroes turn out to be villains, the women you thought beauties to be monsters. [...] even the style of writing is not the same [throughout]. You have *genbun’itchitai*<sup>87</sup> and you have *gazoku setchū*.<sup>88</sup> The strange part of the collaborative story is that it can’t be planned out and it’s full of events as surprising as a mouse biting a cat, all according to the whims of each writer.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, each individual writer has control over that section – enough control to change the course of the story entirely, and complete freedom to make “heroes turn out to be villains,” but the control stops there. In the next section, all of those alterations may be undone, even if the story suffers for it. There is some individual control over the parts of the novel, but no individual – or even collective – control over the planning of the entirety. At the same time, its ownership falls into the hands of no one and everyone, a complete departure from the idea of intellectual property resting in the hands of its originator.

This serial is a combination of the multiple types of authorship that have

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in particular, Ozaki Kōyō did not play his part as the writer of the first installment. The novel ran in issues 21-25 and ended in issue 27.

<sup>85</sup> *Shain ittō* 社員一統. The *sha* here refers to Ken'yūsha, which is literally “a group of friends of the Inkstone.”

<sup>86</sup> *Gassaku shōsetsu* 合作小説. Because this is a relatively short, serialized piece, I translate *shōsetsu* as story or fiction here, rather than “novel.”

<sup>87</sup> 言文一致体. A style of writing that attempted to mimic spoken language in writing.

<sup>88</sup> 雅俗折衷. A style of writing combining literary written language with vernacular dialogue.

<sup>89</sup> “Gassaku shōsetsu.” *Bunko* 19 (April 1889): 515.

already been discussed: at once, it is a collection of pseudonymous individual pieces, a collaborative effort, and in the end, a cohesive whole that is anonymous in nature. The “Ken’yūsha members” have the potential to be anyone in the group, and each can be seen as standing in for all of the others. It is the Ken’yūsha collective that has “authored” *Monkey Tiger Snake*, the initially untitled serial that only gained its name once the first installment was published. From the explanation to readers of what form the serial will take, it is clear that the idea of authorship and ownership in terms of central planning and overall responsibility were linked in the minds of *Bunko*’s readers and writers alike; the collectively written serial is “strange” for each part being subject to a different person’s whims. Yet at the same time, *Bunko* has intellectual space for such an experiment, and even though the idea of writing together sequentially and letting the novel’s path travel as it goes along is “strange,” it is not inconceivable.

The above discussion has mostly focused on an idea of an author that precedes and accompanies works, but we must also consider the meaning of the authorial name as something that is produced by those works themselves, and by the readers that encounter and respond to them. In any consideration of the relationship between a collection of writing purporting to be an author’s complete works and that authorial identity itself, it is imperative to consider the multi-way relationship between text, paratext, name, and author, in which each component both gives meaning to and simultaneously restricts the interpretation of the others. Michel Foucault asks how a text “points to this ‘figure’ [of the author] that ... is outside it and antecedes it,” and begins to answer this question by stressing this relationship between the author and

the works that determine the meaning of that author's name.<sup>90</sup> The author's name, Foucault writes, "performs a certain role with regard to narrative discourse, assuring a classificatory function."<sup>91</sup> We can think of this authorial name, then, as a convenient way to categorize works so as to give them meaning by defining them each in relation to all of the others, describing and conscribing boundaries of interpretation for both individual pieces of writing and for the authorial identity itself. After all, what is an author if not the work attributed to that name, and any other authorial names associated with that overarching entity? The meaning inherent in the authorial name is something that we may think of as unable to precede the works that it is assumed to have created, and rather is something separate from the hands that produced those texts themselves. Authorship is a kind of performance at the site where that authorial name and text are linked: always in a context, whether that be a publishing venue or unpublished manuscript, circulated or not, and never the product and reflection of solitary individual genius.

Returning to the example of Ōgai and Ichiyō – or rather, Shigurenoya, his fellow co-authors, the parts played by the fictional president, the fan, the second fan, and Ichiyō – in *Mesamashigusa's* collaborative literary review column, we can see multiple types of authorship being performed that are tied up in the text itself. The performances of the president and the two fans do not exist prior to or independently of the column's dialogue; Shigurenoya does not exist outside of the works to which his name is signed. Mori Ōgai here only exists retroactively, for later scholars who have determined that his name ought to be assigned to the column despite never having been signed to it when it was published, and perhaps unknown to readers at the time. Thus, the authorial name to which the famous *Mesamashigusa* column is

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<sup>90</sup> Michel Foucault. "What is an Author?" in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2006), 281-283.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.



attributed long after the fact is an anachronism that obscures the 1896 authors of the “Takekurabe” review in all of their complexity. The next chapter turns to the relationship of media and corporate authorship, and further investigates the idea of an authorial name and identity as inextricable from the texts with which it is associated.

### Chapter III

#### Literary Circles and Corporate Authorship

The previous chapter began by asking what it means to attribute the *Mesamashigusa* literary magazine review of Higuchi Ichiyō's "Takekurabe" to Mori Ōgai, when his name is not found on the column in the way that we now refer to him. Rather, he wrote under a variety of names, as well as anonymously, and it is both anachronistic and misleading to take works out of context after the fact and attempt to affix to them the name of "Mori Ōgai." It obscures the varied and rich landscape of writing practices, as well as performances of authorship themselves, that were widespread in Japan in the 1880s and 1890s, and prevents us from fully understanding the context that informed, and indeed made possible, both production and reception of literature at this time. Later interpretations of this review tend to artificially construct a direct, single connection between Ōgai and Ichiyō and are reflective of ideas of authorship that began to be represented in the mid-to-late 1890s and onward, in the form of individual authors' anthologies of "complete works" – beginning, no less, with that of Higuchi Ichiyō. *Ichiyō zenshū* reorganizes her works under a single authorial name and identity, conflating it with that of her identity as a historical person, contextualizing those works in terms only of each other and constructing an authorial identity out of that *oeuvre*. Author-centric anthologies such as *Ichiyō zenshū* create a gap between the collective, cooperative way in which work was both produced and received at this time, and the representation of literary production and reception as singular and attributable to a specific, concrete individual.

While literary analysis has often tended to focus on literature produced by the author as a solitary individual, it is clear that the reality of writing practices in Meiji Japan defy this categorization. The innovative literature that defines this period, such as Ichiyō's "Takekurabe" and Yamada Bimyō's experiments with unifying spoken and written Japanese, was often published within a system of coterie magazines that fostered experimental writing within the context of a group, under pseudonyms, anonymously, and collaboratively. Reception also followed a framework of collective authorship and attribution; a concept of corporate authorship was widespread. This is demonstrated in commentary on works found in literary journals, and even in more mainstream review columns. Major literary magazines often attributed works to the coterie journal in which they appeared as a primary "author," listing the publication but not the writer in the title of a review, and critiqued entire issues as self-contained collections of literature. In return, some coterie magazines even reprinted others' reviews of their own previous issues as evaluations of their very identities.

From these reviews and coterie magazines' self-definitions as group endeavors within their own pages, we can gather that one valid definition of authorship at this time was that of a publication and its holistic identity. This type of authorship is less a collection of individuals working together as individuals in a group, and is rather manifested in the media that results from that collaboration and group effort. Coterie magazines and more major publications alike, such as *Bungakkai* and *Kokumin no tomo*, featured a "newspapers and magazines" (*shinbun zasshi*<sup>92</sup>) column in every issue to keep readers updated on their reviews. Organized by publication rather than author, main editor, or even genre or topic, these columns categorize the world of literature as sites of writing

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<sup>92</sup> 新聞雑誌

and publishing.<sup>93</sup> These sites are fundamentally collective, forming the body of work of a group of writers – here, those who write for a specific outlet – under a name that includes all of their work. The publication, then, becomes the body of work into which an individual writer’s efforts are placed, and serves as the context for evaluating the writing that appears within its pages. The magazine – especially the coterie magazine, with an explicit group affiliation – takes the form of a kind of anthology of writing itself, published at that social and collaborative site of authorship. One of the most well-known examples of this phenomenon are the reviews of the literary magazine *Bungei kurabu*’s special issue on women writers, which assess the issue as a whole rather than focusing on individual authors and their works independent of the publication. Yet even outside the special case of a themed issue, rather than organizing by author or genre, as is typical of a literary anthology, magazines create the borders of their own *oeuvres* with the physical limits of their covers; within their collections fall all works that are authored together at the place of publication. Here, the performance of authorship shifts from the act of the individual writer to a collaborative act between writers, editors, and publishers.

In reviews of entire magazine issues such as the special *Bungei kurabu* women’s issue, we also see a focus on and even fascination with media itself, rather than solely on a text that transcends the pages that it is printed on, or an authorial identity that is independent of publication venue. The publication is not taken to be an author in the Romantic sense of an individual genius producing creative work independent of others, nor is it simply a sum of individual authors doing so, putting their work together collectively for publication. Rather, this phenomenon includes a sense of the publication –

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<sup>93</sup> The review columns also include books published as standalone volumes, and those are categorized by publisher as well.

and works published outside of periodicals as well – as a different entity altogether, one whose attributes include not only the act of production but the physical medium of production as well. Their limits are partly ideological and social, but are also physically obvious. Inside those boundaries, articles, literary works, and advertisements are literally placed alongside one another, creating a detailed paratext for each item that constantly informs its meaning to the reader. A literary work can be defined in size by the number of issues in which it was serialized, and that very format influences the way in which it is written. Ultimately, to pay attention to the magazine or newspaper as the site of authorship is to place emphasis on publication rather than the act of an individual writing or an editor revising. It further emphasizes the medium of publication as well, rather than encouraging a treatment of a work as a collection of words that transcends the paper it is printed on.

Yet anthologies that emerge at this time in the 1890s and after are organized differently, in a way that is more familiar to 21<sup>st</sup>-century audiences. They take author, genre, and time period as their organizing principles, and place literature anachronistically into these categories as though it had originally been produced within the context of a single author's cohesive body of work, or within the broad field of "Japanese classics."<sup>94</sup> With Meiji literature, this kind of reorganization is not trivial: it fundamentally alters the context in which literature can be interpreted, and erases from our view a major way in which works were received by their contemporary readers. Along with the materiality of a work, the site of authorship changes as well. It shifts from a collaborative act in the periodical in which it first appeared, to a book filled with works by the same author, all typeset in the same way and on the same blank paper free of the interference of others'

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<sup>94</sup> The first such anthology was a series of classics up to the 1500s, *Nihon bungaku zensho*, published by Hakubunkan from 1890-1892.

writing. Does the “author” then change from a collaborative one involving multiple writers and editors – and the publication’s own identity as well – to the individual writer as “author?” With author-centric anthologies, authorship shifts to the new medium itself, and that medium serves to define the author as synonymous with a bound, delimited body of works.

If we ignore collective authorship as a crucial aspect of the literary world that was clearly recognized and revealed within the discourse of print magazines, we lose not only the context of reception, but that of the act of literary production as well. In other words, with re-categorization in an author-centric anthology, the publication to which these works were originally attributed – serving as a kind of corporate author in addition to an individual writer – is effaced. Rather, anthologies invent an author, usually singular, to be held responsible for the works after the fact, even as they invent a body of work that should be associated with that author. Organizing works in this way – as if it were the only or even primary way in which they were viewed when they were first published – blinds us to the work of collective authorship that played a major role in producing those works, and which cannot be ignored when trying to understand writing as it was practiced in the 1880s and 1890s. Authorship as it was performed in the mid-Meiji period was not that of an individual author with a single name. Here, it was often collective, collaborative, and even interpreted as nearly anonymous within a group or publication name. Both writers and readers understood this implicitly and would have had this context in mind as they wrote and responded to literature. It is thus a context that we cannot ignore: we must take this reality into account in order to understand both the foundations for and power of anthology production in the mid-Meiji period.

## The Voice of the Publication

Publications found in the 1880s and early 1890s clearly marked their group affiliation and collective nature in their first issues in a number of ways, ranging from member lists in the coterie magazine *Garakuta bunko*<sup>95</sup> to editorial prefaces in the women-oriented *Iratsume*<sup>96</sup> and *Miyako no hana*.<sup>97</sup> The printing of an editorial statement in the first issue resembles a sort of manifesto for a magazine, stating both its theme and goals along with its editorial personality and even the names of individuals that make up its group of core contributors. These statements typically appear before any other content, letting the reader know exactly what to expect and forcing the reader to contextualize what he or she encounters in light of the magazine's stated intent. It is a first step toward establishing a consistent overall voice for a publication, one that holds together everything that it publishes as a single body of work with the magazine's name itself as a kind of author. Meiji literary magazines illustrate a diverse set of approaches toward an editorial voice that highlights or obscures the group behind it to varying degrees, and these editorial styles have consequences for the ways in which a publication is constructed as a collective author itself.

In the mid-to-late 1880s, we see a movement toward subsuming individual voices in the corporate authorship of a publication; yet at the same time, there is a somewhat different and far more complex example in the coterie magazine *Garakuta bunko*, and it is here that our discussion of the voice of the publication will begin. *Garakuta bunko* has a unique and interesting publishing history: its first eight issues were hand-written manuscripts, passed from member to member of the Ken'yūsha literary coterie, and were

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<sup>95</sup> 我楽多文庫

<sup>96</sup> いらつめ

<sup>97</sup> 都の花

not sold. The ninth through sixteenth issues were printed, but likewise not for sale. The following sixteen issues were sold, albeit not in great quantities, and it is to these printed, sold issues that I refer here; copies of the unsold issues are now lost to scholars and no reprints were ever made. *Garakuta bunko* is one case in which collective identity and collaborative space is obvious from the very first printed, sold issue of the journal.<sup>98</sup> Not only is the literary club Ken'yūsha listed as the publisher, the group's identity is clearly defined and made synonymous with *Garakuta bunko* itself through membership lists printed in the magazine's first issue. The member rolls can hardly be taken at face value, in keeping with *Garakuta bunko*'s droll character; the first is listed as "Mr. Anonymous" (*mumei dōjin*<sup>99</sup>) and other members are allegedly living as far away as Belgium.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Here I refer to the first issue that was both printed and sold, in May 1888; therefore, I exclude the prior issues when I give dates for its publication. Prior to this, from 1885-1888, sixteen issues were circulated among members with the first eight hand-written and the ninth through fifteenth printed, and were not for sale.

<sup>99</sup> 無名道人

<sup>100</sup> "Shain meiji sho." *Garakuta Bunko* 1 (May 1888): 15-16.



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Figure 4. "Shain meiji sho," *Garakuta bunko* 1 (May 1888): 15.

This membership list creates a strange mix of the real and the fantastical or fictional. The members' pseudonymous identities are truly unknowable in the sense that

they cannot be definitively tied to historical individuals; they are performances in the purest sense, and there is no way of knowing if any or all of the names are simply fabricated. Yet they are associated with real, geographical locations, creating a link between the made-up world of Ken'yūsha's membership rolls and the concrete reality of Tokyo in the 1880s. Even Ozaki Kōyō's personal trips to Osaka and Kyoto made the pages of its successor *Bunko*,<sup>101</sup> linking "Kōyō Sanjin" to the historical individual that performed that authorial name, tracing the movements of a pseudonym through a space known to be real. (Whether he actually traveled to these locations or simply imagined a journey to write in *Bunko* is similarly unclear.) Yet without this connection to something concrete and recognizable as "real," the membership of Ken'yūsha would have been far less convincing to a reader as being based in real individuals, as opposed to being entirely a playful joke in keeping with the rest of the publication's attitude.

These details, such as the places in which Ken'yūsha members resided, who introduced whom to the group, Kōyō's journeys, and the news in 1889 that *Bunko* would be separated from an official list of Ken'yūsha members, were likely to have only been interesting to other members of Ken'yūsha.<sup>102</sup> This focus on its own members helps to create an insular feeling for Ken'yūsha's coterie magazines and cements their aims as being the promotion and advancement of the literary club itself. The magazines' very insularity turns their focus inward to create a publication that is by writers and for writers, unconcerned with outsiders' understanding of even something as simple as a membership roll, and perhaps deliberately obscuring it: if one is not part of the collective, the magazine won't and *shouldn't* be comprehensible. Without membership in Ken'yūsha and

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<sup>101</sup> 文庫

<sup>102</sup> [Advertising section.] *Bunko* 25 (August 1889): n.p.

intimate knowledge of the group, the reader would be completely lost; it is necessary to be part of the group that forms the corporate author of *Garakuta bunko* and *Bunko* to even understand the purpose and content of the magazines.

Other aspects of *Garakuta bunko* and *Bunko* convey an expectation that producers and readers would be Ken'yūsha members as well and further reinforce the sense of insularity, by using language and references that those outside of the group would not immediately understand, and dedicating space for exchanges between Ken'yūsha members and with their critics. Each issue contains columns that were common to many magazines, such as serialized fiction and poetry, those that told of events and news from around Tokyo, and reviews of recent literary works. There was also an active section of letters to the editor, giving readers a glimpse of exchanges between Ken'yūsha leader Ozaki Kōyō and his detractors and critics, such as former Ken'yūsha member Yamada Bimyō<sup>103</sup> and prominent critic Ishibashi Ningetsu.<sup>104</sup> Yet these familiar sections were obscured with names that gave hints as to their contents through jokes and plays on words, rather than simply using established standards.<sup>105</sup> For a non-Ken'yūsha reader, the overall impression is that of overhearing a lively conversation between old friends mostly interested with their own circle, and only partly understood without a long history of reading the magazines or of group membership itself. Thus, there is a collaborative aspect to both reading and writing here: the writing took on the form of a conversation among members of a club, barely meaningful without other writers producing work in the same spirit and readers with knowledge of the group who are in on the joke.

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<sup>103</sup> 山田美妙 (1868–1910).

<sup>104</sup> 石橋忍月 (1865–1926). See e. g., “Bimyōsai no tegami,” *Bunko* 17 (March 1889): 364–365, and “Ningetsu Kyoshi no tegami,” *Bunko* 19 (April 1889): 499–501.

<sup>105</sup> Kawai Suimei, “Ken'yūsha no *Edo murasaki*,” *Waseda bungaku* (April 1927): 17.

What do these details from the life and inside knowledge of Ken'yūsha members tell us about the magazine, and about the collaborative authorship that takes place within? These details, which would ordinarily not be provided to readers in any other publication, do not tell us much more than who was allegedly involved in the group and the fact that we are not partial to Ken'yūsha's inside jokes. But the presentation of those details provides a great deal of information, and in this way they give us both a spatial and temporal illustration – a multi-layered map – of the world of Ken'yūsha and *Garakuta bunko*'s production. *Garakuta bunko*'s membership rolls are organized by place, and through this give us a guide to the very physical space that the publication's contributors and readers take up. They are concentrated in a north-central area of Tokyo in Iidamachi, Kanda, and Koishikawa, with a few outliers in the eastern district of Asakusa, and a handful further afield in other cities.<sup>106</sup> But it is not only this physical map that we gain from reading the Ken'yūsha member list: in a column beneath the members' names are listed the individuals who introduced them to Ken'yūsha, with the space left blank for the founding members. The members are not listed in order from founder to inductee, even within the geographic boundaries. Instead, the reader's eyes travel over a long list of names that form a huge collective, with their social as well as physical ties clearly outlined. Not all intermediaries are original members of Ken'yūsha, and so there is a time lapse with various names – some are founders, others knew the founders, and yet others were introduced by those who were brought to Ken'yūsha second- or third-hand.

This detailed introduction to Ken'yūsha itself gives even a casually curious reader a vivid picture of not only who makes up this collective – the producer of *Garakuta bunko*, even if not every individual is a contributor – but how they do so. Although

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<sup>106</sup> “Shain meiji sho,” 15-16.

Bizan,<sup>107</sup> Shian Gaishi,<sup>108</sup> and Kōyō Sanjin<sup>109</sup> sign their names as “pillars of Ken’yūsha” (and editors-in-chief), they do not stand for the entire group. Instead, Ken’yūsha itself is enumerated in full, with its entire list of members printed in a way that makes their connections to the group explicit and that makes the geographic, social, and temporal composition of the group clear to the reader. It is a living collective that gives meaning to, and is given meaning by, not just the works that it published in *Garakuta bunko*’s pages but by its thoroughly articulated membership, its geographical boundaries, and its complex social interconnections. *Garakuta bunko* as a work of corporate authorship is undeniable here, as it is clearly associated directly with the mass of names that make up the Ken’yūsha group – in turn, *Garakuta bunko*’s publisher – as well as the physical locations in which they are grounded. It is a way of linking the corporate author of *Garakuta bunko* back to reality, taking it out of the realm of pure fiction and creating a geographically bounded, collective author: not simply a list of individuals, but a complex entity rooted in social ties and physical location.

Not all magazines were as transparent as *Garakuta bunko*; it is the only literary publication that gives such a list of all members and locations of the group that publishes it, rather than simply a table of contents indicating contributors to a given issue. It is more common to see statements signed by the main editor or editors of the publication and they serve as representatives of a larger, unarticulated group, conveying a consensus to the reader with the implication that those producing the publication are behind it. *Miyako no*

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<sup>107</sup> 眉山. Now better known as Kawakami Bizan 川上眉山 (1869-1908). Bizan is discussed at length in Chapter V.

<sup>108</sup> 思案外史. Now better known as Ishibashi Shian 石橋思案 (1867-1927). He is no relation to Ishibashi Ningetsu.

<sup>109</sup> 紅葉山人. Now better known as Ozaki Kōyō 尾崎紅葉 (1868-1903). He is discussed further in Chapter II and Chapter VI.

*hana*, another literary magazine, started out with a grand mission in 1888, intending to do nothing less than change the face of the nation's development by improving its literature. Editor Nakane Kiyoshi<sup>110</sup> introduces the reader to the magazine with a preamble that takes up the first several pages of the first issue.<sup>111</sup> The fact that Nakane publishes his own work in the same issue, but under the pseudonym Meikasei,<sup>112</sup> illustrates not only the fluidity of authorial names at this time, but the highly collaborative nature of these journals. Just as Shian and Kōyō were both editors of and major contributors to the Ken'yūsha coterie magazines, Nakane is both editor and contributor in the very first issue of *Miyako no hana*. He plays multiple roles here, as his choice of pen names implies: his given name, Nakane Kiyoshi, is provided as the editor's name in the colophon (presumably for legal reasons), while the preface is signed with a literary pen name, Kōtei Senjin.<sup>113</sup> Although the same historical individual is behind each of these names, there is nothing connecting them explicitly in the magazine, and readers would not necessarily have known that they were all identities being performed by the same writer. This implied lack of division between the editorial office and literary contributors suggests a close relationship among those whose task it is to produce the magazine and those who produce its content. With Nakane speaking for the magazine as an editor and also contributing a literary work under yet another pseudonym, it is no stretch to see him speaking for the other contributors here as well: he both belongs to this group and presumably selects who and what will be a part of it. Nakane is a representative of the collective endeavor of *Miyako no hana*, an editor with a literary pen name used to

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<sup>110</sup> 中根淑 (1839–1913). Now better known as Nakane Kōtei 中根香亭.

<sup>111</sup> Kōtei Senjin [Nakane Kōtei]. "Hakkō no yueyoshi." *Miyako no hana* 1 (October 1888): 1-4.

<sup>112</sup> 迷花生

<sup>113</sup> 香亭遷人

compose the editorial introduction to the fundamental aims and character of the magazine.

The women's magazine *Iratsume*, first published in 1887, had, like *Miyako no hana*, a focus on development and progress, and was also known for containing a great deal of ex-Ken'yūsha member Yamada Bimyō's work.<sup>114</sup> It did not begin as a literary magazine, and in fact sought to exclude literature and arts from its main sections, but by the end of its life it had come to include lengthy submissions of fiction and poetry, in particular from Bimyō. In the previous chapter, we saw this magazine as the publisher of "An Untitled Story" by "a Kanda schoolgirl," and its focus on young women and women students is present from the very beginning. Indeed, its mission of advancing women's education and their place in society could not be more clear, for it begins its first issue with a 12-page preface entitled "The Purpose of Publishing *Iratsume*" that is nothing less than a manifesto on the importance of women's education to Japan's ability to "stand shoulder to shoulder with the various Western nations."<sup>115</sup>

*Iratsume*'s preface is notable not just for its length and confident, serious attitude, however. Like *Garakuta Bunko* and its Ken'yūsha contributors, it stresses the collective, speaking with an editorial voice and calling on "all who are passionate about women's education" to take part in its mission along with the anonymous existing members of the magazine's staff.<sup>116</sup> Its manifesto, despite its extraordinary length, is unsigned and uses a plural pronoun, *yosei*,<sup>117</sup> throughout in order to convey the beliefs of the "individuals"

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<sup>114</sup> Here, he overwhelmingly used the pen name Bimyōsai 微妙齋, sometimes preceded by his surname Yamada 山田. He also served as *Miyako no hana*'s editor in its later years.

<sup>115</sup> "Iratsume hakkō no shushi." *Iratsume* 1 (July 1887): 2.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>117</sup> 余儕. This could also be read *yosai* and it is unclear which pronunciation the *Iratsume* editors intended.

(*mono*<sup>118</sup>) who exist among them. *Yosei* is used frequently in expressing the purpose of the publication, stressing the collective whose work has gone into publishing the magazine, and who exist as its voice, both in this preface and presumably throughout the magazine in terms of what is selected and who participates. No names are mentioned, and the individuals who make up the whole are subsumed into *Iratsume*'s mission, "so crucial to our nation at this moment."<sup>119</sup>

Coterie magazine *Shigarami zōshi* is even more explicitly collective, with its own inaugural issue in 1889 beginning with "On the Character of *Shigarami zōshi*,"<sup>120</sup> signed by "S. S. S.," or Shinseisha.<sup>121</sup> This literary group's name translates literally to "The New Voice Society," and its use of "voice" (*sei*) here is appropriate, for *Shigarami zōshi* serves as the communication outlet for a like-minded society of writers centered on founder Mori Ōgai. Not content with the bold "literature and criticism" accompanying its title on the cover, the members of Shinseisha spend the first four pages of their newly published magazine explaining to the reader just what sort of publication it will be. Shinseisha deliberately uses the word "character" in the title of its preface as a prelude for the issues that will come after, setting up the publication as a site of collective writing with a distinctive "author" resulting from the writers' efforts in *Shigarami zōshi* itself, and is careful to portray itself as an organization literally speaking in one voice as S. S. S. This is significantly different from Ken'yūsha's first issue of *Garakuta bunko*, for, although the many listed members and editors are clearly part of the group rather than individual contributors to the magazine, *Garakuta bunko*'s preamble is signed by Shian Gaishi, and

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<sup>118</sup> 者

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>120</sup> 新聲社

<sup>121</sup> S. S. S. "Shigarami zōshi no honryō o ronzu." *Shigarami zōshi* 1 (October 1889): 1-4.



the many introductions and celebratory pieces that are included are attributed to individual writers. In other words, they are signed with individual pen names, not with the collective “Ken’yūsha.” Shinseisha, on the other hand, does not spell out its membership in a roster, nor does it specify its leaders, when articulating the “character” of its magazine. In its portrayal of itself, it is truly an anonymous collective, one in which individual identity may be less important than contributing to the group *oeuvre*. *Shigarami zōshi*, then, is a place in which Shinseisha members publish, but more importantly, is a constantly developing, yet cohesive, body of work that they create together at this site of collective authorship.

The collective voice of a publication is not limited to the preface of its inaugural issue, however. As mentioned above, many magazines spent at least a page reviewing other publications in each issue and it is uncommon to find an attribution to a name.<sup>122</sup> One column in particular stands out for its unique performance of collective authorship: “Sannin jōgo,”<sup>123</sup> later renamed “Unchūgo,”<sup>124</sup> in the literary magazine *Mesamashigusa*. Taking up a sizeable portion of each issue, the column was written collectively, first attributed to three names and later to up to seven, and included writers and critics whose names would have been well known to literarily informed readers. The names appeared together as a block of attribution next to the headline of each column. No one name has prominence compared to the others, and there is no indication of who wrote which section.

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<sup>122</sup> This is, as discussed in the previous chapter, different from reviews signed as “Anonymous.” They simply lack attribution of any kind, helping to establish the character of the journal itself by implying that the staff as a whole (or any one person on it) wrote the reviews and take collective responsibility for them.

<sup>123</sup> 三人冗語

<sup>124</sup> 雲中語. The column was renamed in the sixth issue and the authorship increased from three names to seven (June 1896).

At the same time, however, the column is not one in which the writers disappear into a collaborative whole, as with the *Iratsume* and *Shigarami zōshi* prefaces. It differs strikingly from other review sections in that each part is associated with a different role that is being played, a stereotype with its own voice. In the fourth issue alone, they range from “the president” to a connoisseur of fiction, the fan, the verbal abuser, “one who sees the good points,” the logical one, the linguist, the nosy one, the old woman, the young woman, the idle talker, and the student.<sup>125</sup> These various roles are performed in the column despite the fact that it is attributed to only three authorial names (Datsutenshi, Tōsenbō, and Shigurenoya).<sup>126</sup> Although we may assume that the variety of roles are the performances of the three writers whose pseudonyms are listed as the authors of the column, we still cannot make definitive claims as to who wrote what, especially because this collaborative environment of co-authorship may encourage multiple writers to contribute to a single role’s voice.

Mori Ōgai's participation in this column is an example of the futility of attempting to differentiate the writers behind the column and assign pseudonyms to the various parts – a two-fold anachronism, given that the column was not attributed to “Mori Ōgai” in any way until the sixth issue, when the name “Ōgai” began to be used. Indeed, doing so defeats the purpose of the column’s multi-vocal performance and obscures the playful way in which it was written. At the time, it would have been understood that particular

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<sup>125</sup> Respectively, these are 頭取, 小説ずき, ひいき, わる口, 理屈, 語学者, さし出る, 老婆, むすめ, むだ口, and 書生. Datsutenshi [Kōda Rohan], Tōsenbō [Saitō Ryokuu], and Shigurenoya [Mori Ōgai]. “Sannin jōgo,” *Mesamashigusa* 4 (April 1896): 35-49.

<sup>126</sup> 脱天子, 登仙防, and 鍾礼舎, respectively. These three names are lesser-known pseudonyms of the column’s writers, known as Kōda Rohan, Saitō Ryokuu, and Mori Ōgai. Thus, the identities of the writers themselves were obscured multiple times from readers, while performances of authorial identity took place on two levels – both with a pseudonym and by taking on a series of voices within the column itself.

“types” were the personalities of each pen name associated with the column, but these were not explicitly associated and the connection would have thus been limited to those current with the literary establishment. It required specific knowledge that not all readers may have had, and this fact implies that while Ōgai lent multiple pen names to the column as a whole and the personalities of those names to the performance of the conversation, Ōgai's pseudonyms and his identity as a historical writer (Mori Rintarō) cannot be attributed to specific quotations from the column in a straightforward manner.

A glowing review of Higuchi Ichiyō's seminal work “Takekurabe” in the fourth issue of *Mesamashigusa* is often attributed to Ōgai by name, however, and cited as evidence of Ichiyō's favorable reception among a specific section of the literary elite. While it may indeed have been the historical writer Mori Rintarō penning some sentences that celebrated her work, there are multiple voices involved and there is no guarantee that any one voice was being performed by him alone. Moreover, it must be reiterated that this column is not signed by Ōgai; it is signed by three pseudonyms that are not readily connected with the three well-known writers behind them, who more commonly used the names Ryokuu, Rohan, and Ōgai. Importantly, this connection may not have been clear at all to readers at the time. The “Takekurabe” review itself not only does not carry the name of “Ōgai” (as later installments would), but it is written in the form of a dialogue between “the president,” “a fan,” and “a second fan.” Ōgai himself writes in his 1900 article “Ōgai Gyoshi to wa tare zo” that at this time he wrote anonymously in *Mesamashigusa*.<sup>127</sup> With obscure pen names and the performance of anonymous roles within the column, Ōgai and his colleagues speak in a collectively anonymous voice. It is possible to guess at what Ōgai contributed given the variation in style and, in particular,

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<sup>127</sup> Mori Rintarō. “Ōgai Gyoshi to wa tare zo.” *Fukuoka nichinichi shinbun*, January 1, 1900.

his habitual use of German words, but assigning the name “Ōgai” – found nowhere in or on the column itself – to sections written by “the president” and “a second fan” misses the point. It introduces a fundamental misunderstanding of how this column was written and received, as well as how it helps to create and perform the voice of the publication.

The distinction between “author” and “writer” must be kept in mind in thinking about the *Mesamashigusa* column as well as its review of “Takekurabe,” which features multiple levels of authorial performance. While we may attempt to track down exactly which sections were written by the historical individual Mori Rintarō – here, the man I call the “writer” – this makes less sense when thinking about how the column itself was written. Fundamentally, it is a collaborative effort on the part of at least three writers, and it is impossible to know how they wrote the column. Did they sit down together and talk about how to write each section, or did each one of them write independently and combine their reviews? Given that the column takes the form of a dialogue, it would make sense to think of the writers collaborating in person, even talking out the conversation as they wrote it. Each has his own role to play, not only by performing his authorial identity – the pseudonym signed at the beginning of the column – but also by performing a variety of voices and personas through acting out the “president” and the “fan.” These performed identities are manifestations of authorship, and it is difficult in such a situation to argue that it is more important to uncover which writer performed which part, rather than understanding the whole as a complex performance in itself. While *Mesamashigusa* is an extreme case, it is nonetheless informative in its separation of the historical writer – with no name signed anywhere on the column – from his or her authorial performance, the multiple names to which the column is explicitly attributed.

## The Collective *Oeuvre*

When the magazine *Bungei kurabu*<sup>128</sup> published a special issue full of women writers in December of 1895, the “ladies’ fiction” (*keishu shōsetsu*<sup>129</sup>) issue, it created nothing short of a spectacle. The issue was illustrated with photographs of the female contributors, and despite a run of 30,000 copies, it sold out and the issue had to go into a second printing.<sup>130</sup> It was full of some of the most well-known women writers of the time and was a stark change from the usual male lineup of the literary establishment. As could be expected, there were a number of responses to that issue as a whole when it was published.<sup>131</sup> Given its explicit themes of genre and gender, it is fitting that these reviews treated it more as an anthology than a magazine. After all, the works were included precisely because they were written by women, and “women’s literature” – a thematic, delineated body of works in itself – begs to be responded to as a whole.

The women’s issue of *Bungei kurabu* was hardly the only one evaluated in this way, however. Reviews of other issues crop up in literary magazines like *Bungakkai*<sup>132</sup> without any need for a special theme. These reviews tend to be relatively simplistic, consisting a summary of the primary works in each issue, then a quick overall comment that gives a general impression of the whole, such as, “being the year-end issue, it somehow made us feel a little lonely.”<sup>133</sup> General-interest magazine *Kokumin no tomo*,<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> 文芸倶楽部

<sup>129</sup> 閨秀小説

<sup>130</sup> Rebecca Copeland provides a vivid account of both the physical characteristics and implications of this issue of *Bungei Kurabu* in *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000: 215-225.

<sup>131</sup> For two detailed responses, see Hachimenrō [Miyazaki Koshoshi], “Keishū sakka o yomite,” *Kokumin no tomo* 278 (January 11, 1896): 34-36, and Seitarō [Saitō Ryokuu], “Kongōsho,” *Mesamashigusa* 1 (January 1896): 1-20. Copeland provides an extended analysis.

<sup>132</sup> 文学界

<sup>133</sup> “Bungei Kurabu dai ni-kan dai jūgo-gō.” *Bungakkai* 48 (December 1896): 34.

<sup>134</sup> 国民之友

too, follows this formula and critiques individual works at length under the *Bungei kurabu* banner; it also ends with a quick overall reflection.<sup>135</sup> Thus, this is a case of works being organized according to their place of publication, and as magazines carried a number of works published side-by-side, this led to side-by-side, if not comparative, reviews as well. It is a mirror of the original publication, with the associations between works published together in the same issue being retained in review columns, even if no other association exists, thematic or otherwise. In the case of cursory reviews primarily interested in informing readers what was published in a given issue, or even in *Kokumin no tomo*'s occasional longer reviews, the goal is to review works themselves but to categorize them in a way that is contrary to notions of individual writers as the primary organizing principle. This doesn't necessarily mean that the reviews are holistic or comparative: even in reviewing a whole volume of *Bungei kurabu*, *Bungakkai* sticks with listing details of the works that were most prevalent. The only overall comment here is the observation that there are various places where one can see the mark of Higuchi Ichiyō – namely, that she wrote several stories that appeared in the magazine that year.<sup>136</sup> This point is backed up not by an analysis of the themes across works, but rather by a listing of a few key stories' characters and main points – still more of a summary than a critique, but in keeping with the content of *Bugakkai*'s reviews of single works and single issues as well. Ultimately, reviewing by issue or even volume rather than author does not change the character of a *Bungakkai* review; instead, grouping by publication serves to orient the reader to the works being reviewed, and is used as an organizing principle in the same way that author or genre might be used later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>135</sup> “Bungei Kurabu.” *Kokumin no tomo* 345 (April 10, 1897): 42-43.

<sup>136</sup> “Bungei kurabu dai yon-kan.” *Bungakkai* 51 (March 1897): 23.

Yet *Bungei kurabu* was not remarkable for being reviewed issue-by-issue; *Kokumin no tomo* even had a column in every issue entitled simply “newspapers and magazines” (*shinbun zasshi*<sup>137</sup>) that informed readers of what was happening in the periodical world, and this sometimes included literary and coterie magazines.<sup>138</sup> In 1888 reviews of both *Garakuta bunko* and *Miyako no hana* appeared in *Kokumin no tomo* and, somewhat unlike the later single-issue *Bungei kurabu* reviews, were evaluated on the whole or with representative pieces, rather than as collections of separate but related works. *Garakuta bunko* is like a bunch of “bric-a-brac ... lined up in an antiques store” that is full of writing on love, passions, the entertainment districts, and works reminiscent of Edo-period *kokkeibon* and *sharebon*.<sup>139</sup> In other words, it has a character as a whole, one that will presumably not just color reception of its works but dictate the style and form of its content to begin with. *Miyako no hana*, too, is summed up as “[a magazine] that is sure to win praise” and one that will stand up to the one that already came before it in the field – namely, *Garakuta bunko*.<sup>140</sup>

How were publications and writers responding, in turn, to this kind of reception? The journal *Bungakkai* is a good example of how reviews of first issues, and presumably of later issues as well, were not just accepted but encouraged, and taken as part of the journal’s very identity. This magazine, first published in 1893, featured special sections on bright colored paper in its second and third issues that reprinted reviews of the inaugural issue from other publications.<sup>141</sup> *Bungakkai* is clearly celebrating that there

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<sup>137</sup> 新聞雑誌

<sup>138</sup> Nor was *Kokumin no tomo* alone; many magazines, including *Bungakkai* and all of Ken’yūsha’s coterie journals, carried review columns dedicated to other periodicals.

<sup>139</sup> “Garakuta bunko: dai jūni-gō, Ken’yūsha hakkō,” *Kokumin no tomo* 25 (July 1888): 31-32.

<sup>140</sup> “Miyako no hana: dai ichi-gō, Kinwandō hakkō,” *Kokumin no tomo* 33 (November 1888): 34.

<sup>141</sup> *Bungakkai* no. 2, February 1893, and *Bungakkai* no. 3, March 1893.

were a number of substantial responses to its publication, even as far away as a Kyūshū newspaper. It is notable that these responses tend not toward critique or judgment, but toward describing the stated mission, character, and content of the journal, often in the context of the editors' previous work at the woman-oriented periodical *Jogaku zasshi*<sup>142</sup> – and indeed, *Bungakkai*'s first cover claimed its origins with the phrase “Jogaku zasshi” (“women’s education magazine”) as a prefix to the magazine’s title.

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<sup>142</sup> 女学雑誌



# 『文學界』第壹號が受けたる批評

(前號のつゞき)

●経世新聞の評 文學の事言易くして難はるかたし、幾も文學雑誌が、口を極めて抱負の大なるを示すと雖も、未だ能く其誠に體到したるものあるを見ず、今女學雜誌より文學界なるものを出す、彼は曰く『唯名を求めず實をなす、實に勉め窮みて新道の爲めに髪分を盡し、隠れたる秀才を同好の間に紹介し、又初學の人々の爲に懇ろに備へんとを期すべし』平々坦々として俗なるが如しと雖も却て是れ時流を離れたるなり、文學の責任亦た重きを負はざるが如しと雖も却て是れ謙謙の厚きを示したる者なり。看るへし、無聲の『琵琶法師』有聲の詩なる、亮木の『吉田兼好』天知の『阿佛尼』殊に大和田建樹の『女歌仙集』の如きに至ては近來の好文字なるへし、(二月十九日發兌)

●海南新聞の評 本誌發行の趣旨は蓋く同好の士と俱に趣味百ふべからざる文界に逍遙し兼ねて後進者の爲めに指導者たらんとを期するにありて本誌所載の要目は琵琶法師、吉田兼好、阿佛尼、文章の道、富嶽の詩神を想ふ、漫詩、等其外附録には女歌仙集、兼好法師家集、阿佛尼の文集あり何れも有價の文字ならざるなく新道に志あるもの、好留伴たり好齋を稱するに於て得易からざるを信ず、(二月十八日發行)

●東京朝日新聞の評 文學雜誌社より發行する文學界第一號(再版)は此經世に公にせられたり編中琵琶法師、吉田兼好、阿佛尼等は尤も面白く其外文學上に裨益を興ふるもの亦甚多し、(二月廿八日發行)

●福島民報の評 巖本善次氏の文章道中に曰く作文の人は先づ作心の入たる可からず修辭の士は先づ修辭の士ならざる可からず嚴然として謹慎覺念の情清く氣澄み邪氣遠く散し聖智大に満きて而して眉を潔白の紙に向ひ蕭然として筆鋒を下し万古磨滅す可からざるの印刷を遺すべしと要し此誌の生れたる體れたる秀才を同好の間に紹介するの目的に出で本誌には古藤庵の琵琶法師亮木の吉田兼好天知子の阿佛尼北村透谷の富嶽の詩神を想ふ等を載せ別に附録として大和田建樹氏の女歌仙集譯義及び兼好法師家集などを掲げ尙ほ彼の早稲田文學に似たる新年現象

「文學界」第一號が受けたる批評

新刊雜誌、群書一環あり次體よりは新刊紹介、女文編、時文評論及び新小説等も掲ぐる由蓋し基督教的文學の一現象として見る可く横村氏久氏の日本評論を男文學とせば是れは女文學とも云ふへし、(二月十九日發行)

●宗教の評 潮流は大に盛れり文學社會の潮流は七八年來あまり來り今や其の極點に達し評論的に進めり然れども勢熱は何時か冷む可く時流は一時のものなりれば時流につれ熱度で浮かれて生れ出てたるものは亦一時のものなり其の根本的の主義を以て立つ者の外は皆冷却して去り唯唯に早稲田文學しからみ草紙の評論的文學雜誌が生き残れるのみ而して是は一は英文學の趣味を帯び一は國語文學の趣味を含む。今や此間に處して一種の特色を帯びて生れ出でたるものあり何ぞ女學雜誌の文學界是れ也記者は其一號發行雜言に記して「別に一派の聲を立てんとぞ此冊子の志にあらず」と云ふと雖も第一號所載の琵琶法師(悲劇)吉田兼好、阿佛尼、文章の道、富嶽の詩神を想ふ、漫詩、附録に女歌仙集、兼好法師家集、阿佛尼の文集等其幽麗清冽にして高深なる其林裁の清定にして豫政ある既に一時風異りたるものなり記者大に勵め世人は記者の手になる文學雜誌の出づるを待つや久し矣、(第十七號)

●文藝の評 琵琶法師は三遊亭子母意牡丹燈籠をドラマの形にならひてものせしもの吉田兼好は亮木の一篇徒然草を以て色法師の心性高嶺なりし改よしを論ぜしもの阿佛尼は天知子の筆談好と共に本編の體をならむ女學子の文章道は文章の巧にして眞なきものは數千萬言といへども眞摯なる一句に及ばず作文の人は中心の人たれ修辭の人は修辭の人たれといふにあり次に透谷子の富嶽の詩神を想ふ古藤庵の律詩六篇其次は紫雲新年雜譯群書一遊等附録として大和田建樹氏の女歌仙集譯義と兼好法師の家集と文しらべ等あり早稲田文學この誌を評して曰く眞摯語最なる創作文字を上すべき好修辭なり固ち今最格なる體裁を具へて隠れたる秀才を同好の間に紹介せんと掲言する一雜誌云々我等亦批評を加へざるべし(第十七號)

●眞理の評 文學雜誌其文章の趣味あるの故を以て其名久しく文壇に響けりしが今固新たに「文學界」なる雜誌を發行せり旬日にして再版を出だすに至りたるを見るも大に時好に適したるものあるが如し知らず其極めて均主臭きは何のぞ透谷の「吉田兼好」、「阿佛尼」の二篇の如きは一獨特の人物評にして一詩一言悉く涙の結晶なり吾人亦涙を以て之を感む、(四十號)

Figure 5. "Bungakkai dai ichi-gō ga uketaru hihyō." Bungakkai 3 (March 1893): 1.

The reviews are setting up expectations and a context for the character of the works that will make up Bungakkai by extrapolating this from how the journal has positioned and

introduced itself. By including these responses prominently within its own pages – as though they are part of *Bungakkai* too – it is embracing a view of itself as having a cohesive identity, rather than as a collection of works primarily to be evaluated by author, that happen to be collected in a single magazine. They are to be viewed primarily as part of the *Bungakkai* publication and its collective *oeuvre*.

### **Author by Association**

What of reviews of those works that appeared in other magazines, outside of overall impressions of entire issues? Critiques of individual works certainly filled the pages of every periodical. Yet it is remarkable, from the perspective of literature based in genre and singular authors, to see that works were attributed to the journals that published them just as often as to individual writers. It is possible, then, for reviews to emphasize the collected works of multiple writers foremost, whereas the a single writer, while still stressed as the one responsible for the work, is not seen as important enough to the context to name in the title of the review and sometimes not even mentioned in the review at all. Returning to the original reception of Meiji works thus not only reveals the widespread nature of corporate authorship, but also a wide variety of writing and reviewing practices. Use of authorial names at this time was far less consistent than it would be later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it is important to keep in mind that when anthologies take work out of this context and attribute it to a single “author,” they completely obscure these practices and thus the ways in which Meiji works were written, published, and read.

Several reviews by representative Meiji critic Ishibashi Ningetsu (here, Fukushū Gakujin) of Ozaki Kōyō’s short novels are demonstrate a focus on corporate authorship:

the reviews' titles don't mention the author, but rather the publications in which they appeared. Moreover, they are worded in a way that conveys a distinct sense of the publication itself as a kind of author. One is entitled “*Bunko*'s *Kyō ningyō*”<sup>143</sup> while the others are a two-part review of “*Shincho hyakushū*'s *Irozange*.”<sup>144</sup> Although they go on to mention the author right away, the way in which *Ningetsu* does so likewise stresses the importance of the place in which the work appeared. “*Kōyō Sanjin*'s *Kyō ningyō*, which he serialized in *Bunko*, has at last come to an end,” *Ningetsu* informs the reader, as though the serialization in *Bunko* is just as key as the fact that the work was written by *Kōyō*.<sup>145</sup> Although many other reviews, especially in the literary magazine *Mesamashigusa*, tersely let the reader know that “the author is” a certain individual at some point, *Ningetsu* makes a point of explaining that it was not only serialized, but where specifically it appeared. Similarly, another review only a few issues before in the same magazine of translator Shiken Koji's *Hachawan* uses the title “*Shinshōsetsu*'s *Hachawan*” and informs the reader right away that “*Shiken Koji*'s serial translation in *Shinshōsetsu*, *Hachawan*, has just come to an end.”<sup>146</sup> It uses a compound word for “serial translation” (*yakusai*<sup>147</sup>) that emphasizes both attributes of the work at once – the serial, then, having just as much importance placed on it as the fact that it is a translation, and the place in which that serial appeared.

*Irozange*, likewise, has its site of publication emphasized, and here it appeared as

<sup>143</sup> Italics original. Fukushū Gakujin, “*Bunko no Kyō Ningyō*,” *Kokumin no tomo* 47 (April 1889): 39-40.

<sup>144</sup> Italics original. Fukushū Gakujin, “*Shincho Hyakushū no Irozange*,” *Kokumin no tomo* 48 (April 1889): 35-36; Fukushū Gakujin, “*Shincho Hyakushū no Irozange (setsu zengō)*,” *Kokumin no tomo* 49 (May 1889): 38-39.

<sup>145</sup> Fukushū Gakujin, “*Bunko no Kyō Ningyō*,” 39. The story actually began when the magazine was named *Garakuta bunko*.

<sup>146</sup> Kanpeki-sei, “*Shinshōsetsu no Hachawan*,” *Kokumin no tomo* 44 (March 1889): 37. This translator is now better known as Morita Shiken 森田思軒 (1861-1897).

<sup>147</sup> 訳載

the first installment of a series of novels by new writers. Not only was Kōyō's novel first, it was published as a book on its own rather than a serial in a small coterie magazine, and on fine paper, with clear type and a colorful cover. Unlike many of his other works, this was no simple serial in a magazine or newspaper; it was a physically high-quality installment in a more prestigious series, and it perhaps had more to do with *Shincho hyakushū* than with Ken'yūsha. For any reader who had picked up the book or was excited about the next novels— including Kōda Rohan's *Fūryū butsu* — the knowledge of the *Shincho hyakushū* series would have meant something. Indeed, it would have been just as meaningful for a reader who only saw advertisements or had heard of it from a friend or in a bookshop. Being *Shincho hyakushū's Irozange* perhaps meant something even more than Kōyō's name, especially at this early stage in 1889 when he had just begun to publish outside of Ken'yūsha-based media.

Ningetsu puts a great emphasis on the physical, tactile experience of a work's media in both of his reviews of Kōyō's works. Not only does he specify that *Kyō ningyō* is “serialized” in *Bunko* rather than simply appearing there, his critical analysis illustrates a section that lasted too long: “the chatter of the female students spanned three issues of *Bunko*.”<sup>148</sup> Although Ningetsu refers to the length of sections in terms of sentences in other sections of the review, it would be hard to make sense of this particular criticism without referring to the *Bunko* serial or knowing that *Kyō ningyō* had not appeared in book form yet. His *Irozange* review is even more explicit in contextualizing the work within its series and as a one-off work of fiction within it, spending the entire introduction on *Shincho hyakushū* and not mentioning *Irozange* itself until the reader has been thoroughly informed about the series. Even the publisher's name comes before that

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<sup>148</sup> Fukushū Gakujiin. “*Bunko no Kyō Ningyō*,” 39.

of Kōyō, the author of the novel itself.

At this time, the first in a series of new fiction [that can be read in one issue] has come out from Yoshioka Shoten (and in addition to fiction there will also be papers on politics and engineering). The series is called *Shincho hyakushū* and the length is the equivalent of ten issues or so of the fiction that appears in this publication [*Kokumin no tomo*], and the time it takes [to read] is also tremendous. Just now I felt a twinge of regret at [seeing] scattered unsold books with their rare and exquisite words. It is difficult to put it next to this publication. Now, the first work carried in this series is a tragic novel entitled *Ninin bikuni irozange*, come from the brush of the illustrious commander at the center of Ken'yūsha, Kōyō Sanjin.<sup>149</sup>

It is surprising that an author influential enough to appear in the first installment of *Shincho hyakushū* would have his name relegated to the body of a review of that work, but Kōyō is hardly alone. A review of a later installment in *Shincho hyakushū* by novelist and collector Sanmai Dōjin is similarly entitled “*Shincho hyakushū* No. 7 *Shōkaroku*.”<sup>150</sup> Just as with *Irozange*, the emphasis is on this series of new novels as a growing body of work in itself, rather than on the author as the primary context for his own work, even emphasizing *Shōkaroku*'s place in the series. The first work in the series, *Irozange*, is not given the honor of highlighting its status as the inaugural novel in the title of Ningetsu's reviews, and this may simply be inconsistency and the whims of the reviewers. Still, it motions toward the fact that *Shincho hyakushū* was building an identity of its own, if gradually. It is more important here to the critic to introduce the novel as part of the collective body of work that is the series of new novels, *Shincho hyakushū*, rather than part of the body of work of that individual writer.

A reviewer's focus on media is not unique to *Kokumin no tomo*, and in particular is found in *Mesamashigusa*'s lengthy review columns written by some of the most famous names in the literary establishment (including an older Kōyō). The anonymously

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<sup>149</sup> Fukushū Gakujiin, “*Shincho hyakushū no Irozange*,” 35.

<sup>150</sup> Kōchō Inshi, “*Shincho Hyakushū dai nana-gō Shōkaroku*,” *Kokumin no tomo* 71 (January 1890): 37-38.

written column's review of Ōzawa Tensan's novel *Meian* makes this point explicit, as its author(s) evaluate the work in light of its being a serial in the magazine *Shinshōsetsu*.<sup>151</sup> The author is an aside before they make their concluding evaluation based on the novel's publication in *Shinshōsetsu*: their concise notice that "this is Ōzawa Tensan's work" falls at the very end of the review, as though it wraps up the plot summary. It is just another detail to point out, and yet another person's name to offer up, as though the author is a minor character in the writing of his own story. Their conclusion is that "*as a serial in a newspaper* it's all right, but as for those multiple installments adding up to a novel, it simply doesn't hold up."<sup>152</sup> Here, the focus on media is not simply to emphasize to the reader the publication in which a work was published. Rather, the reviewers in *Mesamashigusa* focus on the shortcomings of the media itself, as if it is an essential part of the authoring of a work. Were *Meian* written as a single volume in the first place, the reviewers imply, it may have turned out better.

What does a reviewer's focus on form and place have to do with collective authorship, and with publications as authors rather than individuals? After all, all of these reviews focus on the works themselves – rather than a publication's contents as a cohesive whole – and the *Kokumin no tomo* reviews focus explicitly on the individual writer's role and responsibility after initially explaining to the reader where they can be found. Still, we can see that there is a recognition that the publication and its form shape and limit what can be accomplished by the individual – in this case, the limits, and

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<sup>151</sup> I assume multiple implied authors here because the column was typically written by at least three attributed authors.

<sup>152</sup> This work is not the more well-known *Meian* by Natsume Sōseki, which was published much later in 1916. Coincidentally, that too was a serial, published in the newspaper *Asahi shinbun*. "Unchūdokugo," *Mesamashigusa* 34 (January 1899): 17. Emphasis original. This installment of the column has no author listed.

limitations, of serial format. Kōyō's writing spans *Bunko* rather than appearing as a single installment, and *Meian* is disjointed primarily because of its serial format; if only the writers had had the chance to publish their fiction as standalone volumes, the reviewers imply, they may have hung together. The place of these works – the collectively authored publication – is one that readers know is a collaborative effort by assorted writers, and with this strong emphasis on place, reviewers put works squarely into that context. This, in turn, limits the horizons of readers' interpretations as well. The reviewers are not critiquing works in the context of others by the same author. In fact, without reading Ningetsu's reviews of *Kyō ningyō* and *Irozange* in the same sitting, one might never guess that they were both written by Kōyō, so different is the main thrust of the criticism, and so conspicuously absent is any kind of comparative review between these two works published so temporally close together.

*Kyō ningyō* is taken to task for having no “ideology” and no overarching point other than realism, and this critique is conflated with the writer himself; yet *Irozange* has no such shortcoming, according to Ningetsu's reaction. With *Irozange*, however, there may be little need for such an argument when dealing with a more widely distributed novel appearing outside the Ken'yūsha context. With a change of publication – and a move to a more prestigious one at that – we find a new place of authorial performance, one that guides Ningetsu's attention to other aspects of *Irozange* and away from Kōyō's “lack of ideology” as an author. This is a key point, as *Kyō ningyō* was serialized in *Bunko*, Ken'yūsha's coterie magazine, and Kōyō is identified right away in Ningetsu's review as the “well-reviewed president of Ken'yūsha” itself.<sup>153</sup> Publishing in *Bunko* essentially meant publishing with Ken'yūsha; they were, after all, the publisher listed in

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<sup>153</sup> Fukushū Gakujiin. “*Bunko no Kyō ningyō*,” 39.



the colophon. Especially given his role as a leader of the group, Kōyō's publication in *Bunko* contributed to the voice and, indeed, *oeuvre* of that magazine; he was the head of Ken'yūsha, publishing his novels in the voice of Ken'yūsha, among other Ken'yūsha members. Indeed, within *Bunko*'s pages, “pillar of the society” (*shakan*<sup>154</sup>) Shian Gaishi (a co-founder of Ken'yūsha) writes a lengthy “*bōhyō*” of *Irozange* – a word that could be taken to mean an abusive or “blind” review, or alternately, a review of one's own work.<sup>155</sup> This play on words makes sense given that both Shian and Kōyō are leaders and founders of Ken'yūsha, and thus part of the same group. The review is simply entitled “Pillar of the Society Kōyō Sanjin's *Irozange*,” introducing Kōyō as a leader of Ken'yūsha without the need to specify which “society” Kōyō and Shian hold up, reflecting an assumption that that same society is the one to which *Bunko* belongs.<sup>156</sup> This is Ken'yūsha reviewing Ken'yūsha, and we see the same insularity in this instance of Shian's *Bunko* review that we did in the membership rolls of *Garakuta bunko*; the magazine itself, and all content in it, is absolutely inseparable from Ken'yūsha as a group and as a corporate author. It is no wonder that Ningetsu saw an opportunity to criticize Kōyō's “lack of ideology” – a point that was used to attack Ken'yūsha more generally, and specifically Kōyō as its leader – in his review of a *Bunko* work.

If we read Ningetsu's reviews later along with a copy of Kōyō's *Kyō ningyō* or *Irozange* reprinted in, for example, the first *Kōyō zenshū* (*The Complete Works of Kōyō*), these criticisms make less sense, as the works have been taken out of their original

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<sup>154</sup> 社幹

<sup>155</sup> 盲評. This translates literally to “blind review” and is a play on *bōhyō* 妄評, or “self-review.”

<sup>156</sup> Shakan Shian Gaishi [Ishibashi Shian], “Shakan Kōyō Sanjin chaku *Irozange* mōhyō,” *Bunko* 22 (June 1889): 65-70. The self-promotion does not stop at a lengthy review in Kōyō's own *Bunko*, for it is immediately followed by a full-page advertisement, in Japanese woodblock print style, for *Irozange* itself.



material context and placed anachronistically next to only the works of Kōyō himself, rather than in series associated with new novelists or magazines associated with a specific coterie.<sup>157</sup> Without looking at the relatively short format of *Bunko* and the several-page installments of *Kyō ningyō*, we cannot imagine how long that section of dialogue went on in three issues of the magazine. Even more important, we may imagine Ningetsu's critique as completely focused on the works themselves, rather than on their place of publication and those magazines' associations in 1889. In comparison to *Kyō ningyō*, was *Irozange* – the novel that launched Kōyō's career – ideological enough for Ningetsu, or was it sufficiently distanced from Ken'yūsha for the critic to focus less on Kōyō's reputation and more on the work itself? While we cannot have definitive answers to these questions, Ningetsu's reviews themselves gesture toward an explanation. Kōyō is introduced as the leader of Ken'yūsha in the review of *Bunko*'s *Kyō ningyō*, and this association is made absolutely clear to the reader, whereas in a review of *Irozange* in the same year, the work is first placed in the context of appearing first in *Shincho hyakushū*, with Kōyō's being “in the midst of Ken'yūsha” secondary. As a part of *Shincho hyakushū*, *Irozange*'s place in a body of work is that of the first in a series of novels by writers from various (and sometimes no) groups and with varying “ideologies,” whereas *Kyō ningyō*, as a part of *Bunko*'s *oeuvre*, is trapped in the middle of work with no ideology as represented by their leader, Kōyō, and that novel itself.

### **The Publication and Authorial Identity**

This view of works as part of the place, voice, and oeuvre of a publication, rather than only an individual writer, has implications beyond understanding initial responses to

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<sup>157</sup> Ozaki Tokutarō [Ozaki Kōyō], *Kōyō zenshū* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1904). Ningetsu's reviews can be found in his own anthology of complete works, *Ishibashi Ningetsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 1995).

them. It lays bare the essential role of place as a context for interpreting works, of form in shaping their content and meaning, and publication as a site of authorial performance. What influence, then, does reprinting have on works, as in an anthology? What do anthologies obscure in the context of collaborative writing within magazines, and interpretation of works as attributed to publication first and individual writer second? Looking at works as though collected in an anthology is an apt way to describe reviews that ascribe authorial responsibility primarily to magazines or other publications rather than an individual writer, but in 1897 we have the case of a literal anthology that names Ichiyō as the primary, and only, author. Its works are collected from a number of sources, ranging from the minor, short-lived magazine *Musashino* to coterie journal *Bungakkai*, literary magazine *Bungei kurabu*, and variety magazine *Taiyō*. In fact, her anthology's editor states this explicitly in the preface, thanking the editors of various publications for contributing her work to the volume.<sup>158</sup> Thus, in order to create an anthology of Ichiyō's "body of work," the editors by necessity took the works out of context and placed them in a new, invented one – one that changes the limits of possible interpretations of Ichiyō's works in the process. In *Mesamashigusa*'s review column, the context is seen as sufficiently different from a magazine issue – a collaboration by multiple writers – to warrant a review within the context of Ichiyō's body of works as presented in her anthology. Despite both publications bearing her name, and the work presumably not having been rewritten posthumously, the authors of this review contextualize it specifically as a part of her new anthology.<sup>159</sup> They even declare that it is part of an

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<sup>158</sup> [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Ichiyō zenshū*, ed. Ōhashi Matatarō [Ōhashi Otowa] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, January 1897), 2.

<sup>159</sup> The editor of Ichiyō's 1897 anthology emphasizes in his preface that those involved avoided using their red pens and restrained themselves from editing Ichiyō's work whenever possible. *Ibid.*, 2.

intended series of reviews from this anthology that *Mesamashigusa* did not have the opportunity to review when they were first published.

The majority of the writers discussed so far used a range of pen names throughout their writing careers, sometimes even publishing in the same issue of a magazine with multiple authorial names. Yet there is an exception to this pattern in Ichiyō, now better known as Higuchi Ichiyō, the prose fiction pen name of writer Higuchi Natsuko (who in turn used at least two sets of characters for her first name, sometimes written only as “Natsu,” during her lifetime).<sup>160</sup> From the beginning of her short story publication in the short-lived *Musashino*, through her long affiliation with *Bungakkai*, and finally her publication in the large-circulation, mainstream *Taiyō* variety magazine as well as the larger-circulation literary magazine *Bungei kurabu*, Ichiyō was Ichiyō. For the majority of her career, the only variation was that Ichiyō's name was only sometimes followed by *joshi*,<sup>161</sup> a standard honorific meaning “the lady,” or the equivalent of “Ms. Ichiyō.” Even the introduction to the reprinted version of *Musashino*'s three issues remarks on her name as standing out amidst the ever-changing pen names of its male contributors, who sometimes used multiple appellations in a single issue.<sup>162</sup>

We might conclude from this consistent, simple pseudonym that Higuchi Natsuko (hereafter “Ichiyō”) maintained a strong, single authorial identity throughout her publishing career. In name, this is clearly the case, and indeed, she is an exception in that her work was typically reviewed in the context of her own identity and other works, or

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<sup>160</sup> This means that Ichiyō's work published in her first anthology was mostly attributed properly under the name of “Ichiyō,” in the umbrella title *Ichiyō zenshū* – a rarity in the world of author-centric anthologies. Her second anthology, however, began to integrate her *nikki* and *zuihitsu* under the name of Ichiyō as well – the former making up the entire first volume of the set – and in this began to lean toward misattribution in that the works were never published, let alone under a specific authorial name.

<sup>161</sup> 女史

<sup>162</sup> Kōno Toshirō. “Fukkokuban *Musashino* kaisetsu,” in *Fukkokuban Musashino* (Tokyo: Yūshōdō shuppan, 2004): 10.

with other women writers in mind. In this way, Ichiyō stood out as a kind of celebrity author, and her fame bears this out. But through changing affiliation from a small-time magazine, published by a man with whom her relationship became scandalous, to a serious literary coterie focused on women's writing and women's rights, to the major literary publications of the day, we can see her trajectory and the context in which she both wrote and published changing. There is also a definite shift reflected by that publishing, as *Bungakkai*, started by Kitamura Tōkoku after his work on *Jogaku zasshi*, began to publish some of her most famous work “secondarily” after it had begun: *Takekurabe*, which began in the context of the coterie magazine but after its serialization began, was republished in *Bungei kurabu*, a major literary journal. Her work in *Bungakkai* stopped soon after this, and she published exclusively in larger-circulation magazines until her death – the mourning of which is her next mention in *Bungakkai*.

Any writer's movement toward greater fame will be reflected in his or her venues of publication. Interpretation and analysis of Ichiyō's literature has often contextualized it within her own biographical details, and this focus on biographical context started early with the explicit association of Ichiyō's life with her story “Nigorie” in Kōda Rohan's preface to the second edition of her anthology of “complete works,” the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū*. Even in the 1897 first edition, whose preface focuses on mourning her death rather than literary analysis, does so in a very specific context: one that leaves out her *Bungakkai* years almost entirely, due to its centering on editor Ōhashi Otowa's experience of the writer. As Otowa was both a member of the Ken'yūsha coterie and a publisher uninvolved in the writing of the *Bungakkai* coterie, he may be excused from writing in detail about her years of affiliation with that magazine. Instead, his task here is

to legitimize himself as an editor through illustrating his close association with Ichiyō herself, and to construct her authorial identity in terms of her young and tragic death.

This shifting authorial identity is important to understanding Ichiyō and her reception at the time she was publishing, and not simply a thought exercise after the fact. A telling example of the changing context of the *oeuvre* in which a work is contextualized when read in an author-centric anthology rather than a magazine is that of Ichiyō's "Nigorie." While this work was reviewed at the time it was published and Ichiyō is explicitly focused on as the author – rather than a publication's *oeuvre* as the primary context – the review column in *Mesamashigusa* found it necessary to review the work itself two years after the fact, after it was published in Ichiyō's first anthology in 1897. This column specifically takes on its publication in the context of the anthology, *Ichiyō zenshū*, despite the fact that *Mesamashigusa* had reviewed "Nigorie" in comparison with "Wakaremichi" in its first issue. This review is not substantially different in content from others that contextualize works by publication, especially when we think of them as collective bodies of works, even if not all written by the same individuals. The *Mesamashigusa* reviewers position it specifically in the anthology, as with any other compilation of literary works: "This is the first work that appears in *Ichiyō zenshū*."<sup>163</sup> The review contains the same plot summary and scattered impressions that are typical of those we have already seen; it even ends with a quick one-sentence summarization of the reviewers' impressions. (In this case, despite the criticisms outlined by the reviewers,

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163 Rohan [Kōda Rohan], Ryokuu [Saitō Ryokuu], Gakkai [Yoda Gakkai], Ōgai [Mori Ōgai], Tōson [Shimazaki Tōson], Kōyō [Ozaki Kōyō], and Shiken [Morita Shiken]. "Unchūgo: Nigorie." *Mesamashigusa* 15 (March 1897): 1-3.

“there are of course a number of Ichiyō's skillful turns in this story.”<sup>164</sup>)

*Mesamashigusa*'s commentary on the work is substantially different in content from other publications' reviews of the same work, such as Uchida Roan's response in *Kokumin no tomo* that specified it as published in *Bungei kurabu*, and compared Ichiyō's accomplishments and failures in the story with other writers active at the time rather than with her other works. Indeed, he does this deliberately, comparing Ichiyō a number of times with “male writers of today” as well as the world of “women's writing,” and naming the young men whose works were appearing alongside hers (though not necessarily in the same issue as “Nigorie”), including Izumi Kyōka and Kosugi Tengai.<sup>165</sup> Still, although Roan's review focuses on Ichiyō as an individual writer – perhaps to be expected, given her rising fame even in 1895 – he approaches her work in a completely different context. His frame of reference is one of a collection of writers, rather than a collection of her other works, and one that places it in the varied, potentially unlimited activities of the multiple literary worlds surrounding her (those of the literary establishment and of women writers). It is a substantially different context than one of a collection of a single, deceased writer's presumably static – even dead – and recently invented, clearly delineated *oeuvre*.

A substantially different approach is found in *Mesamashigusa*'s earlier reviews of Ichiyō's works, which tend toward comparing them with her existing *oeuvre*, although they admittedly also frame her work within the context of women writers more generally. Here, their reviews of Ichiyō's fiction stand out from the rest of their columns, for she is one of the only writers whose works are subjected to a comparative review with their

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<sup>164</sup> Rohan, Ryokuu, Gakkai, Ōgai, Tōson, Kōyō, and Shiken. “Unchūgo.” *Mesamashigusa* 15 (March 1897): 3.

<sup>165</sup> Roansei [Uchida Roan], “Ichiyō joshi no *Nigorie*”, *Kokumin no tomo* 266 (October 1895): 27-28.

existing body of work. One explanation for this is Ichiyō's fame: even the illness that would eventually kill her was announced in a Tokyo newspaper, and as a talented woman writer, she was greatly sought after in the literary establishment in the three years that she was active.<sup>166</sup> By the time the *Bungei kurabu* women's fiction issue came out – which featured two stories by Ichiyō – she had already published much of what she would before her death, giving reviewers an ample body of work to compare with her newer pieces. Not only had she written the majority of her eventual body of works, but because she was active for only a few years, this meant that they were being published one after another, and would be fresh in reviewers' minds (or even being published simultaneously). Ichiyō, despite her two years with *Bungakkai*, did not belong to any particular literary club or movement, and so could not be contextualized within a specific group's ideology. She did, however, belong to the group that was being called “lady authors” (*keishū sakka*<sup>167</sup>). There was automatically something to compare her writing to – other women – and so in this sense, Ichiyō was just as contextualized in the world of her contemporaries as any other writer reviewed by *Mesamashigusa* and other magazines. It would be a mistake to take this to mean that Ichiyō's celebrity ensured her a stable authorial identity before her death. She stands out as a special case with her consistent name and male reviewers' constant interest in scrutinizing her fiction, but does not give us a true exception to the pattern of writers' works being evaluated primarily within a collective context.

The question with this case, rather, is why a collection of works under the umbrella of Ichiyō's name invited a review of a story written over a year before and

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<sup>166</sup> Robert Danly. *In the Shade of Spring Leaves* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981): 161.

<sup>167</sup> 閨秀作家

already critiqued both in *Mesamashigusa* and elsewhere, despite their claims that “Nigorie” had not yet been reviewed in their pages. Although Ichiyō was already being celebrated as an author in original reviews of this story, there was no opportunity to explicitly take on the work within the context of her entire *oeuvre* because it did not yet exist at all, let alone in such a shape that the chronologically later *Nigorie* could be taken as the “first” of her works. While an author’s complete body of works is something that must necessarily be invented upon his or her death – and even then, may not be a static collection of works over time – the collection of works currently being published in a variety of media is available as a living context that is constantly changing and informing interpretations of a writer’s ongoing work. There is a fundamental difference in the types of interpretation that these contexts allow. Both looking back at a magazine’s past and an author’s past encourage assessing works as they compare to a static, limited body of work that has already been written. The living, contemporary context of the literary world in which a work may be evaluated is broader, more complex, and integrated through various social and literary networks; it is a web of possible interpretations through comparison between and association with various publications. The context of a publication is not that of an individual author’s previous works; it is what is contained in the issue, and what has been published in the magazine in the past, although a review’s content would of course be influenced by that writer’s work having already appeared in the same or affiliated publications.

*Mesamashigusa* review's focus on this work's place “at the head” of *Ichiyō zenshū* presents a contrast with earlier reviews: Roan focuses on the story in the context of its publication and the activities of its immediate contemporaries, but for *Mesamashigusa*,



despite not chronologically being one of Ichiyō's first works, "Nigorie" has become the first to represent her *oeuvre* simply as the result of its placement in her anthology. Yet at the same time, *Mesamashigusa*'s reviewers implicitly make a point that is even more important: *Ichiyō zenshū* allows Ichiyō's *oeuvre* to exist, because it has constructed and delimited a body of works considered to be hers, attributable to her authorial name. They are her legitimate works, which may be compared with each other and evaluated in light of the whole, and works that do not contribute to this idea of her authorial identity – her poetry, for example – are excluded as being beyond the bounds of these limits. The anthology, through its invention and construction of Ichiyō's "body of work" – what was considered appropriate by editors, and even what was simply available to them by the goodwill of others – thus creates not only an author here, but enforces a limited space in which the author may be interpreted: that of herself. That space is of herself and her own works.

In *Mesamashigusa*'s review, we can already see the power of author-centric anthologies as they came onto the scene in the late 1890s. The implications for the construction of authorial identity and representation of authorship, and thus a changing concept of authorship as a consequence, are enormous. A single review points toward an erasure of the original context of Ichiyō's work in favor of her own newly-invented *oeuvre* as constructed in her first anthology, the 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū*. The body of works encompassed by her anthology of "complete works" would continue to shape her identity as an essentialized author, rather than contemporary writer. Its second edition was published in 1912 with the addition of her diary (*nikki*<sup>168</sup>) – a poetic piece of writing that is a major factor in her coming to be compared primarily to great women writers who

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<sup>168</sup> 日記

lived hundreds of years in the past and were known for their *nikki* literature as well. The contents of an anthology are hardly limited and defined by a preexisting authorial identity that they are selected to represent. We must understand them as creating authorial identity as well, by providing a clearly delimited context in which we can, and must, understand the work of the author contained therein, at the same time that they work to obscure any other methods of reception and interpretation.

*Ichiyō zenshū* will be taken up in the fourth chapter, but before an analysis of that book is undertaken, I will turn to the first author-centric anthology that purports to contain the “complete” works of a literary writer: the 1894 *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*, which collects the writing of the 17<sup>th</sup> century author now best known as Ihara Saikaku. This anthology led the way in providing an example for how an anthology of “complete works” could construct an authorial identity based in, and also informing, that body of works itself. Moreover, *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū* was compiled and edited by the very Ken’yūsha members discussed above, and intricately tied in with the collective social milieu of the literary scene in the late 1880s and early 1890s. It is crucial to keep in mind the multiple ways in which authorship was being performed in the writing of this time, and the collectively authored spaces in which it was largely published and received, in order to comprehend the marked shift in the portrayal of the author as a single, consistent entity beginning with *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū* and continuing into the anthologies that succeeded it.

## Chapter IV

### Social Provenance and the Invention of Saikaku

The first author-centric anthology of its kind, the 1894 *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū* (hereafter, *Saikaku zenshū*) purports to collect the complete works of 17<sup>th</sup>-century author Ihara Saikaku, now considered a canonical figure in Japanese literary history but largely unknown before the 1890s.<sup>169</sup> This compilation, the first time that any of Saikaku's works were printed in book form with movable type or brought together under a single authorial name, represented a change not only in the way that it was possible to read and respond to Saikaku himself, but a wholesale invention of the author as represented therein. *Saikaku zenshū* represents an invention of authorship that would have far-reaching consequences for the Japanese literary canon and the possibilities for the interpretation of his works. The texts we now consider to be Saikaku's *oeuvre*, those that form the basis of the canonized author's identity and a crucial part of the foundation of what is considered "Japanese literature" both in Japan and elsewhere, came from this deliberately constructed archive. Within this anthology and at its moment of compilation in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Saikaku was transformed, via archival methods and literary genealogy, into an institution unto himself through the presentation of private collections as a cohesive and self-evident body of work, simultaneously creating, and delimited by,

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<sup>169</sup> 校訂西鶴全集. Ihara Saikaku. *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*. ed. Ozaki Kōyō and Watanabe Otowa (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1894). The title translates to *The Edited Complete Works of Saikaku* and hereafter I will refer to it as *Saikaku zenshū*.

the author's Meiji identity.

The Ihara Saikaku of the time before and leading up to *Saikaku zenshū*'s publication and the Ihara Saikaku that exists today are remarkably different figures. While Saikaku is certainly known as a legendary poet to this day – nicknamed the “twenty-thousand verse man” for an alleged marathon session of linked verse – he is now regarded even more as a masterful early writer of prose fiction in the style of a later short story or novel. Donald Keene dedicates one of the only three chapters on fiction to Saikaku's works in his work on early modern arts and literature, *World Within Walls*, while a similar chapter for Saikaku's *haikai* poetry is not included; meanwhile, a more recent Columbia anthology of early modern literature dedicates the sole author-focused Edo fiction chapter to Saikaku as well, and does not mention him within the poetry section at all.<sup>170</sup> In his own time as well as later, however, Saikaku was known largely as a poet, and his prose works were almost entirely forgotten for nearly two centuries after they were written at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Saikaku himself – writing under a variety of pen names and not uniformly under the name “Ihara Saikaku” – was almost unknown save for a few references by writers such as Shikitei Sanba and Kyokutei Bakin in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was by chance that a few dedicated collectors began to unearth his prose fiction from the dust of used bookstores in the 1880s.<sup>171</sup> Although his works were reprinted in movable type in coterie magazines and minor publications before *Saikaku zenshū*, it wasn't until this anthology in 1894 that his works were available in mass circulation. It is partly thanks to *Saikaku zenshū* that Ihara Saikaku has become the prose

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<sup>170</sup> Donald Keene, *World Within Walls* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976) and *Early Modern Japanese Literature, an Anthology, 1600-1900*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

<sup>171</sup> It was through the writing of Santō Kyōden that one collector heard of Saikaku. Awashima Kangetsu, “Meiji jūnen zengo,” in *Bon'un'an zatsuwa* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 32-33.

fiction author that has become so well known over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The anthology itself is a watershed in that it is the first of its kind: it is both author-centric and makes the rhetorical claim of “completeness” with the title *The Complete Edited Works of Saikaku* (*Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*). Though author-based organization and criticism (such as in Bakin’s *Edo mononohon sakusha burui*) and anthologies themselves were not new at this time, *Saikaku zenshū* was the first to advertise a self-contained collection that contained all known and available work by Saikaku: the complete Saikaku himself, defining and defined by the works contained therein. It was the only such literary anthology in existence in 1894, and would remain so until the 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū* (*The Complete Works of Ichiyō*) anthology of Higuchi Ichiyō’s works. Yet it is crucial to start examining Meiji anthologies with *Saikaku zenshū* not simply because it was first, but because it is remarkably transparent in its construction, revealing connections between archives and anthologies as well as the discovery and invention of an author based on the work of a historical writer. *Saikaku zenshū* serves as a window onto the processes and individuals that were involved in the making of an anthology in the mid-1890s, and allow us to see a part of book production that is typically not transparent – the very reason for investigating the usually opaque genre of anthologies in the first place.

*Saikaku zenshū* stands out to the reader immediately in that it contains so much material *about* Saikaku. It begins with two prefaces written by the editors themselves, as opposed to most other volumes of the *Teikoku bunko* (*The Imperial Library*) series; the prefaces of the other installments, if present, were written by the authors of the works contained within and were those originally attached to the works themselves in their previous printings in the Edo period (1600-1867). For Saikaku, however, it seems that

more information was needed to orient and introduce readers to the author. One *Saikaku zenshū* preface is a short biography focusing on the history of his literary life and the milieu of his time, while the other is a lengthy critique citing historical criticism and arguing for his importance as a realist and faithful cataloger of Genroku period (1688-1704) customs. The anthology ends with a large appendix that reprints a few works related to Saikaku in full, rather than only ones written by him.

It is also full of information about the source texts used, both the edition and the contemporary owner, noted prominently next to the title of almost every work contained in the anthology. This point is especially striking, as no other anthologies of this time identify contemporary owners of the texts that make up their content outside of the *Teikoku bunko* series, although those individuals were involved at a fundamental and crucial level. Compared with other *Teikoku bunko* installments, too, only *Saikaku zenshū* does this in any comprehensive way. For example, the story “Kōshoku ichidai onna” is identified as having been in the collection of Saikaku fan and Ken’yūsha associate Awashima Kangetsu, a personal friend of editor Ozaki Kōyō.

好色一代女 (貞享三年板)

卷之一

淡島氏所藏

老女隱家

舞曲遊興

都に是沙汰の女尋ねて

昔物語を聞けば

一代のいたづら

さりとば浮世の志やれるもの

今もまだ美しき

清水の初櫻に見し幕の内は

一ふしのやさしき娘

いかなる人の所縁ぞ、親は

あれを知らずや祇園町のそれ

今でも自由になるもの

Figure 6. "Kōshoku ichidai onna," in *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*, ed. Watanabe Otowa and Ozaki Kōyō (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1894): 309.

*Saikaku zenshū* stands out from other anthologies that came later in the way that it

makes the process of its construction – and the invention of Saikaku as an author – explicit. The anthology strongly emphasizes personal contributions and private collectors, clearly stating from whose collection each work has been lent for typeset reproduction. Meanwhile, it also strives to make a case for Saikaku’s legitimacy as a worthwhile author in two prefaces written by editors who had themselves become linked with Saikaku’s style in the literary world outside the anthology. *Saikaku zenshū* is thus a rich case for analysis of the ways in which an anthology can be read as an object that is both socially as well as intellectually constructed, and at the same time, it highlights the pieces that are missing in other anthologies of this kind. Through the collection’s own attributions of works to the private collectors from which they came, the strong social network that made its compilation and promotion possible is revealed in detail by the identification of names such as that of Kangetsu. Moreover, in the case of Kangetsu in particular, that name was inseparably associated with those of the editors, giving us evidence for the social origin of a collection of texts that is usually left unstated and can only be inferred. Through an analysis of this anthology's construction in its historical context, the interconnected worlds of writing, publishing, collecting, and reading at this dynamic moment in can be made visible and their implications for the establishment of a narrative of Japanese literature laid bare.

### **Establishing an Archive**

*Saikaku zenshū*, the first “complete” anthology of Ihara Saikaku’s works, was typeset and published on a large commercial scale by Hakubunkan in 1894, and was edited by two members of the Ken’yūsha literary group, Ozaki Kōyō and Watanabe



Otowa, whose magazines *Garakuta bunko* and *Bunko* were discussed previously.<sup>172</sup> It takes up two volumes of a larger series, *Teikoku bunko*, which focused on reprinting early modern literature for a late 19<sup>th</sup>-century audience. *Saikaku zenshū* itself is a kind of archive in physical form, an object created within the context of Saikaku's popularization and the discursive space in which he was imagined. Its form, content, and positioning are key to understanding anthologizing as a factor in the institutionalization and legitimization of a modern "Ihara Saikaku" within a still-contested Japanese literary history, at a time when the definition of "literature" itself was far from settled.

The *Teikoku bunko* series leading up to Saikaku consists of more popular works from the Edo period, printed on relatively inexpensive paper with a clear typeface and little prefatory material. They are not inexpensive enough to be easily accessible to the masses, but the series – advertised as large, handsomely-bound books available via subscription – is clearly intended to be not just for display, but for pleasure and reading, perhaps in one of Tokyo's new public libraries. The series starts off with well-known classics that were still being actively read, not to mention being adapted into kabuki plays, depicted in famous series of prints (such as artist Utagawa Kuniyoshi's series of warriors from *The Water Margin*), and even immortalized in popular tattoo motifs. It includes works that were already popular at the time: Takizawa Bakin's *Eight Dogs*, Tamenaga Shunsui and Ryūtei Tanehiko's works of light fiction, timeless tales of samurai loyalty such as *A Treasury of Loyal Retainers*, and classic Chinese novels like *The Water Margin* and *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. These were living works of literature: they were books that a lay person in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century might consider ones that should

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<sup>172</sup> 尾崎紅葉 (1868-1903) and 渡辺乙羽 (1869-1901). Otowa later married into the Ōhashi family, at the head of Hakubunkan and changed his name to Ōhashi Otowa; he also edited and published *Ichiyō zenshū* in 1897.

be familiar to anyone who would endeavor to be well read, or simply necessary to understand the discursive space of popular culture. Through the titles and content of its volumes alone, the *Teikoku bunko* series makes a strong assertion of its importance and value to its subscribers and may have cultivated a desire to access it by those without means to purchase it. These were hardly books that could be considered “discoveries” whose literary genealogies – and even contents – needed to be established and legitimized. The *Teikoku bunko* versions of these books, often typeset and distributed on a large scale for the first time, likely filled a pre-existing demand that could support a subscription service of thick, hardback editions.

Yet as *Teikoku bunko* proceeds, there do appear volumes that defy this characterization of the series as a whole. An early installment, later continued in further volumes and nestled among collections of popular tales of love and comedic works, is entitled simply *A Complete Collection of Rare Books* (*Chinbon zenshū*<sup>173</sup>). Regardless of whether the works contained therein would be completely new to the average reader, the very usage of this word is stands out, for when collector Miyazaki Sanmai later recalled the 1880s – immediately prior to the publication of *Teikoku bunko* – he noted specifically that the word “rare books” (*chinbon*) did not even exist.<sup>174</sup> Thus, *Teikoku bunko* had conceptually expanded over time to include not only works that already defined an ad hoc canon of popular and accepted works of what could be considered “literature” at a time when no formal canon yet existed, but also heretofore unknown books that would never have been accessible to the reader if not typeset and distributed through this very series. Saikaku, too, is placed within this context, and as he was completely forgotten among

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<sup>173</sup> 珍本全集

<sup>174</sup> Sanmai Dōjin [Miyazaki Sanmai], “Watashi to Saikaku,” *Kōchō* 5 (1906): 12.

popular readers for two hundred years, his volumes join *Chinbon zenshū* as otherwise-inaccessible discoveries to entice readers who had never been able to read them in such a form. At the same time, he is positioned as a kind of new classic, on par with well-known favorites as an author who should become part of the *Teikoku bunko* reader's personal canon.

A remarkable feature of this anthology that has already been introduced is its specification, on the title page of each work, not only which edition the source text was taken from, but also the private library from which that text was lent. This stresses an outlook on the text as a unique physical object located in a particular historical moment, and one with multiple variations in different printings and even different lineages. But it also stresses a social bibliography, marking the text's place in a contemporary literary network. This is the first step in a chain of ownership reaching back through time, but the chain ends here with collectors active in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. There is no indication of the bookshop where the artifact was purchased, a friend who lent it, or owners prior to the current collector. The "ownership" of the text is firmly situated in the social networks of the contemporary literary and antiquarian worlds, with the function of provenance largely social as well. The information lends legitimacy by showing that the text came from an established private library, a nameable person who could be held to account, and a concrete position within that contemporary network.

While we can hardly describe the actions of the *Saikaku zenshū* editors as "archiving" in any sense, or indeed simplify the practice of archives into a single verb, concepts from and issues in archival theory are effective in both shedding light on and problematizing the process of constructing an anthology: collecting, selection,

compilation, and publication. In order to understand the specifically relevant issues in a broad and nuanced way before applying them to the case of *Saikaku zenshū*'s production, it is necessary to first establish definitions of the foundations of archival principles and practice as they have developed over time from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and to highlight current questions in the field that are just as pertinent to author-centric anthologies as they are to the management of records. From here, I will briefly outline relevant archival thought as well as major points that inform my argument, and explain their applicability to theoretical questions that are central to anthology production.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the modern science of archival theory and practice came into existence at roughly the same time as the compilation of *Saikaku zenshū*, with the Dutch *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives* published in 1898.<sup>175</sup> As Terry Cook notes, this manual did not come into existence in a vacuum, but rather in the context of hundreds of years of archival practice in a variety of settings. Still, it was the first time that archival principles and suggestions for practice was put into writing, and thus had a major influence of the field in the through its large number of translations (including into non-Western languages).<sup>176</sup> This work focused, as archival theory would for a number of decades, on the importance of archival description: describing records, and the best way of doing so. Wendy Duff and Verne Harris outline two approaches that have generally been taken to this day, and it is in one particular strategy that we find a particularly applicable concept for *Saikaku zenshū*: the concept of provenance. In the approach of *respect de fonds*, which stresses keeping records together in their original order and separate from the records generated by other bodies, the two operating

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<sup>175</sup> Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift," *Archivaria* 43 (Spring 1997), 4.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

principles are those of provenance and original order. The *fonds*, here, is a set of records. It is provenance that speaks most to us in making sense of *Saikaku zenshū*'s particular level of detail, not only regarding the origins of the "records" themselves – here, the bibliographic information of the first editions of published works – but which also records the social avenue that the record followed as it found its way into the anthology. Provenance, according to Duff and Harris, "requires the identification of the whole of the records created and/or accumulated and used by one [body] and that these be preserved or described as one fonds." This "protects the evidential value of records and makes visible the acts and deeds from which the records emanate" – a central value of archival practice.<sup>177</sup>

Missing from this equation in *Saikaku zenshū*, strangely, is both specific information about the actual text that was contributed to the anthology (rather than bibliographic information about the first editions of works, which may or may not have aligned with the source texts lent to the editors), and also any further information about whose hands the texts passed through to reach the contemporary collectors. Despite the fact that these were all purchased at used bookstores – none of whose names are mentioned in the anthology – and passed through countless hands on their path from new books to used over the course of nearly two centuries, we do not find highlighted in the anthology the previous owners' name stamps and seals that must have peppered the source texts.

Given this, it is fair to ask how provenance applies here, with so much information missing. It is the information that we do have – not just full bibliographic details of the

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<sup>177</sup> Wendy M. Duff and Verne Harris, "Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings," *Archival Science* 2 (2002), 267.

works' first editions but also concrete information on the contemporary owners of the texts – that suggests that provenance in one sense, as well as appropriately describing unique materials, was a priority for those who compiled *Saikaku zenshū*. In this sense, especially because the Saikaku texts were rare by the time they were collected in the 1880s, the focus on the context of those materials makes sense; they had become worthy of archives over time, even if they were commonplace at the time they were originally printed. The attribution of contemporary owners on the title page of each work turns them from free-floating works of fiction into concrete, unique texts that belong to specific individuals, and were thus acquired as unique objects under a specific, unrepeatable set of circumstances.

Even if their compilation in *Saikaku zenshū* transformed those objects into reified, reprintable “texts,” the printed works that were owned by collectors and contributed to the project were rare and difficult to come by the 1880s and 1890s. The listing of contemporary owners on each work's title page strongly implies not only that the compilers wish to thank by name those who made the anthology possible, but also that they consider important the paths by which those texts made their way into a collection printed in movable type for the first time. It is as though the compilers are interested not just in origins – although they appear to restrict this to the publication data of the first edition of a work, not necessarily that of the source text – but also in uses and in context, even if it is contemporaneous and not historical. In this anthology, despite the works being printed in a uniform manner, all bound together chronologically as if this were the natural order of their presentation, the texts are still being treated as unique objects whose context must be preserved to some degree. That context is not a lineage of ownership

stamps, however: it is a contemporary social context, and limited to that.

The idea of provenance is particularly helpful in understanding why *Saikaku zenshū* includes not only bibliographic information about each work, but also a kind of social bibliography in printing the contemporary collector from whom each text was borrowed in order to create the anthology. By including information about who owned each source text and from which collection it came, we learn its chain of custody to a certain extent as well as its uses over time, even if limited to the anthology compilers' contemporaries. This information can be broken down into two types of provenance. Provenance in the archival sense is just this: information about an object's origins and context over time gives it evidential value and, in this case, legitimacy. We know from a work's source text belonging to Awashima Kangetsu, for example, that it comes from a collector whose private library is likely to contain old, clean copies of texts that were painstakingly sought out by a determined fan with the money to purchase expensive editions from used bookstores. Texts from Kangetsu's library were the real thing, a source text worth using in an authoritative collection of Saikaku's work. We also know that it comes from an archive, of a sort, of other Edo texts and, in this case, a large number of Saikaku texts, and thus have a sense of the other records that surround it.

Yet at the same time, this provides us with a wealth of information about social use and social origins as well: Kangetsu was published in the journals of the influential literary coterie Ken'yūsha, whose leaders had taken to experimenting with Saikaku's style and promoting it as literature worthy of reading and imitation even two hundred years after its writing. Kangetsu himself had openly experimented with Saikaku's style and even signed his works with pen names that openly alluded to the Edo writer's

pseudonyms, as discussed in the second chapter. Thus, any reader informed about the literary world of the time would have understood both the archival provenance that was being communicated through bibliographic and collection information, and also the social provenance that the naming of collectors provided as well. While the name of a collector indicates in a literal sense who possesses the text itself, their context outside of the anthology communicates who *socially* possesses Saikaku: the literary groups with whom the collectors and anthology editors are affiliated.

*Saikaku zenshū*'s clarity in revealing the archival process and drive behind its construction invites a critical engagement in terms of archival theory and practice, and an analysis based in the concept of provenance. Without provenance, an artifact's origins are thrown into question and its authenticity can't be established. Because archival study and practice places just as much importance on the uniqueness, authenticity, and context of objects and texts as their content, establishing an unbroken history from origins to the present is crucial. We can see this concept at work in the high value that collectors Awashima Kangetsu and Miyazaki Sanmai recall placing on texts whose prior owners were both known and famous, as well as what they considered to be rare first editions, as they sought out such books and were willing to pay handsomely for them.<sup>178</sup> In the compilation and presentation of *Saikaku zenshū*, this pre-Kangetsu lineage may not be accessible to us, but nonetheless the editors place considerable emphasis on establishing provenance and making it explicit, at the same time as they focus on the source texts themselves as unique.

The question remains as to why this information is communicated to the reader

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<sup>178</sup> See Awashima Kangetsu, "Ihara Saikaku zatsuwa," in *Bon'un'an zatsuwa*, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 88, and Miyazaki Sanmai, "Watashi to Saikaku," 14.



here: is it simply a drive to be as transparent as possible by including the name of each “owner” of the source text in this way? Kangetsu was not the only active collector of Saikaku’s works, but his library makes up the bulk of the anthology’s content. He is recognized for his role in contributing the source text for this work, and this is typical of the other, more minor collectors included in the two volumes. It is likely that collectors as serious as Kangetsu and his colleagues would have been highly invested in preserving accurate and detailed bibliographic information, even in a collection of reprinted material. This is obvious from the preface as well; the excerpted works of criticism are cited from individual printings (unique books, coming from unique print runs) rather than with simply a date, and on top of this, it includes a complete list of Saikaku’s known works, some titles followed with question marks, that is documented as having come from a specific catalogue. No editor responsible for a compilation would have admitted so transparently that he or she simply couldn’t find accurate information about the texts included, if not for a great concern with bibliographic honesty and completeness – a statement more for other bibliographers rather than the lay reader. Their painstaking records are a major contribution to posterity, moreover; Kangetsu’s collection completely burned during the fires that accompanied the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake and so this anthology and subsequent editions would have become one of few resources left for Saikaku texts.

While *Saikaku zenshū* is unique among anthologies of its time in its specification of contemporary archival sources, it is far from the only work that communicates this information. The literary magazine *Mesamashigusa*, featuring Mori Ōgai, Ozaki Kōyō, Kōda Rohan, and other members of the literary establishment, ran more than one article

that consisted simply of a list of bibliographical information about series of works. “Nishizawa bunko kyōgen sakusho” details the humorous plays that make up the collection found in one Yasuda Yokoami’s private archive, even providing the tables of contents for individual volumes: a kind of voyeurism for those who could not get ahold of such archaic tomes themselves, and one that gives us insight into the readership of literary magazines in the 1890s.<sup>179</sup> Moreover, this particular listing of books was part of an entire series, first enumerating and then explicating volumes in Yasuda’s particular archive. *Mesamashigusa*’s articles were not limited to Yasuda’s collection, nor to a certain genre of books. Another article is an exhaustive index of all known “works about amorous love” (*kōshokubon*<sup>180</sup>) in the vein of Saikaku’s famed series about the adventures of various men and women – perhaps providing information to collectors reading that magazine to aid in identifying their own archival finds.<sup>181</sup>

While provenance traditionally encompasses the path of ownership of an object chronologically, from its original creation to the present, social provenance is also synchronic and spatial: its focus is on the living collectors through whose hands the texts passed in order to make up a part of *Saikaku zenshū*. Thus, we see an interest in knowing where texts come from – a literary interest at the level of the physical object, and in specifying editions as unique rather than works as abstracted entities. Yet where they come from is more of a spatial question, rather than a chronology from original printing to present typeset version of an edition, or even where that edition resides. There is an undeniable interest in the now – which editions are located in which currently existing

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<sup>179</sup> “Nishizawa bunko kyōgen sakusho: Yasuda Yokoami shozōbon,” *Mesamashigusa* 32 (October 1898): 36-48.

<sup>180</sup> 好色本

<sup>181</sup> “Kōshokubon mokuroku,” *Mesamashigusa* 21 (July 1897): 43-44.

libraries, and where they inhabit the space of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century networks of collectors. Whether intentionally or not, this anthology traces the social path of Saikaku's texts through a contemporary literary scene. By specifying that the majority of the source material came from Awashima Kangetsu's private library, it marks Saikaku as largely belonging to him; with the prefaces written by editors Kōyō and Otowa, it marks the lineage of *Saikaku zenshū* as that of Ken'yūsha. For contemporary readers familiar with the literary scene and even simply the influences that informed recent, well-known publications, this context would have been inseparable from their readings of the anthology. This mutually strengthens the bonds between Kōyō's group and the author that they had invented and shaped into what became known as "Saikaku," both in terms of association and in their attempt to emulate his style to create a legitimate modern Japanese literature. *Saikaku zenshū* functions as a kind of Ken'yūsha archive, and the "present moment" in which both his genealogy and the provenance of his texts end is a deliberately constructed one.

The social provenance included within *Saikaku zenshū* gives us a rare window onto the construction of the anthology itself, and also onto the process of literary legitimization. But it would have done more than that for some of the anthology's contemporaries. For readers with knowledge of the literary scene, it deliberately placed Saikaku within a literary movement and gave the anthology a kind of currency that a less contextualized collection might have. Moreover, it gave the figures involved in its compilation an opportunity to construct their own "present moment" as an endpoint to their Saikaku genealogy – one in which they can solidify their association with Saikaku, and try to create a relationship of mutual legitimacy. Social provenance forces us to examine a

text's context at a specific point in time in order to understand not just its meaning, but why it exists in the first place. While the content of a text may remain technically the same between different printings or at different times, the changing and quickly forgotten social context of its production and reception precludes any kind of fixed meaning as an object unto itself.

### **The Discovery of Saikaku**

The owners of *Saikaku zenshū*'s source texts are clearly identified in the anthology itself, but the question remains of how those source texts were acquired in the first place, and why. Given that the author we now know as Ihara Saikaku was relatively obscure at the time leading up to *Saikaku zenshū*'s publication, that it would be compiled at all and, moreover, included in a series of much more popular works of fiction, seems unlikely now. The explanation lies in the collecting of Saikaku's works by a few, passionate fans from used bookstores in the mid-to-late 1880s, and the reprinting of these works among literary coterie members in their coterie journals. This period is often called the "Genroku revival" (Genroku being the reign era in which Saikaku wrote) or a "rediscovery" of Saikaku. Here, however, I will argue that the initial collecting period was not a rediscovery, but a true discovery of Saikaku as an author of prose fiction, one who did not previously exist with such an authorial identity or even the authorial name of Ihara Saikaku. His promotion and establishment as a legitimate author in the 1890s can be understood as a part of this timeline that begins in the 1880s and makes up the context for the anthology's construction and reception. Initial collecting of early editions of Saikaku's prose works was largely conducted during the mid-1880s, and was followed by a period of simultaneous reprinting of his works in various magazines, promotion of his

works as worthy literature, and adaptation of his style by prominent young writers in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

While Saikaku as a historical writer was nothing new, his authorial identity and the boundaries of his *oeuvre* constructed in *Saikaku zenshū* were. Absolutely essential to understanding the Saikaku constructed in this anthology is an aspect of his work that is now taken for granted: prior to this period, Saikaku was known as a linked verse (*haikai*) poet, rather than primarily for his prose. Yet despite his fame as one of the greatest *haikai* masters who ever lived – the “the 20,000 verse man”<sup>182</sup> – the anthology itself contains no poetic works, even while it goes so far as to include prose works that were not even written by Saikaku. The semi-complete bibliography in the preface, painstakingly constructed from an 18th-century catalogue, similarly does not contain any reference to Saikaku's works other than the prose he began to write only at the end of his career.<sup>183</sup> The Saikaku here is truly a discovery: an unearthing of a previously unknown writer of prose fiction whose work could be considered worthy of value in a canon of Japanese literature that was only beginning to be shaped at the time.

It is this stage that I refer to as Saikaku’s “invention” as an author; now that he was discovered as a prose fiction writer, the promulgation and adaptation of a select set of his works helped to establish an authorial identity that did not exist prior to this moment. The promotion of Saikaku as an author culminated at the time that *Saikaku zenshū* was published in 1894, and was accompanied and followed by discourse in many outlets on his literary merit, his place in literature past and present, and his influence on

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182 *Niman'ō* 二万翁. This name comes from Saikaku's legendary composition of over 23,000 verses in a single sitting. Ozaki Kōyō and Watanabe Otowa, “Ihara Saikaku,” in Ihara Saikaku, *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*, 1.

183 Ozaki Kōyō and Watanabe Otowa, “Saikaku Zehi,” in Ihara Saikaku, *Kōtei saikaku zenshū*, 19-20.

contemporary writers. This third stage of Saikaku invention, then, can be called a time of the establishment of literary legitimacy, when, through mass reproduction of his works in an anthology, he became an authorial institution unto himself: Saikaku as a modern author, and not simply an obscure curiosity.

Saikaku's discovery was characterized by literary critic Yone Noguchi, writing only a few years later in 1904 for an American audience, as his having been "picked out ... from a waste-basket of a certain second-hand shop in Kanda" by those disillusioned with the West and determined to resurrect what they considered traditional Japanese literature – but both in spirit and in historical fact, nothing could be further from the truth.<sup>184</sup> The discovery of Saikaku in the 1880s took place not by chance, but by the deliberate efforts of well-read collectors who, fascinated by the references they encountered in the essays and memoirs of their favorite Edo authors, spent untold hours haunting any number of bookstores in Tokyo looking for rare or valuable editions of his works, even going as far afield as Osaka in hopes of coming across a good find to "store carefully away in a book box."<sup>185</sup>

The discovery of Saikaku began with this serious and intentional collecting, with digging up old publications in used bookstores, waiting day after day for a proprietor to offer up the right edition or to suggest a certain other shop, and the thrill of finding new and rare works. In a talk given decades later to an antiquarian book society, entitled "Saikaku and I," novelist and collector Miyazaki Sanmai<sup>186</sup> dwells on the tactile, emotional, and social experience of collecting in the 1880s. Sanmai vividly recalls searching for Saikaku's works: he depicts the districts and bookstores that he haunted; the

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<sup>184</sup> Yone Noguchi, "The Evolution of Modern Japanese Literature," *The Critic* 3, no. 44 (March 1904): 262.

<sup>185</sup> Sanmai, 12.

<sup>186</sup> 宮崎三昧 (1859-1919).

appearance and prices of all of the editions that he found; the personalities of the shop owners; and taking meandering walks with his literary acquaintances. His characterization of this period stands out as one of constant and crucial social interaction between collectors.

From that point [when I became acquainted with Saikaku's work], I became quite close with those three, Ozaki Kōyō, Kōda Rohan,<sup>187</sup> and Awashima Kangetsu.<sup>188</sup> At Kangetsu's invitation, 'the rare book club,' as we called it, got started up. You see, unlike our clubs and mutual interest groups of today, there was just absolutely nothing out there for us.<sup>189</sup>

It was these four, as well as fellow bibliophile Uchida Roan<sup>190</sup> and editor Watanabe Otowa, who make up the cast of characters in the invention of Saikaku. Kangetsu, Rohan, and Roan all leave us with details of their time collecting and enjoying Saikaku, and all were known widely at the time as the ones who both introduced and evangelized Saikaku to the literary world.<sup>191</sup>

Sanmai and Kangetsu, of course, were not the only collectors of Saikaku's works, and not every fan could afford to purchase the original editions from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, despite their relatively low price. At this time, Sanmai recalls, "even the word 'rare book' did not yet exist."<sup>192</sup> The possibility of pooling resources, including tips on which works were actually authored by Saikaku (he, like other authors, used multiple pen names), suggestions for other new books or authors, as well as simply finding like-minded colleagues, were based entirely on social networks that formed in bookstores and through

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<sup>187</sup> 幸田露伴 (1867-1947).

<sup>188</sup> 淡島寒月 (1859-1926).

<sup>189</sup> Sanmai, 12.

<sup>190</sup> 内田魯庵 (1868-1929).

<sup>191</sup> While all wrote and published fiction and essays, Kōyō and Rohan stand out from the others in becoming known as two of the most talented writers of the day and are now considered the major novelists of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>192</sup> Sanmai, 12.

collectors as intermediaries.

These intermediaries were the ones who provided access in the first place, too. Kangetsu recounts showing the Saikaku texts he had begun to collect to both Kōyō and Rohan, and even gives the date: sometime after he moved to Yushima, Tokyo, in April 1880, and 1886.<sup>193</sup> It is here that we encounter handwritten circulation in the days before commercial typeset versions were available. Saikaku's works circulated, at the least, to Kōyō and Rohan through Kangetsu's collection, and from these borrowed texts they painstakingly hand-copied their own to keep.<sup>194</sup> This is an important aspect of Saikaku's discovery and promotion in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for the very writers who adapted his style to their own work, Ozaki Kōyō and Kōda Rohan, were still teenage students at the time and able to read his works only by borrowing them from Awashima Kangetsu. Thus, the very discovery of Saikaku – the first step toward his 1894 anthology – was mediated by an older mentor, one whose goodwill and encouragement helped to cultivate their existing interest in early modern fiction.

Not only did these young men regularly encounter each other in their bookstore circuit and traverse the same physical space day after day, they also depended almost completely on their relationships with the booksellers themselves in order to conduct their collecting in the first place. As Sanmai remembers, his time in Osaka – the birthplace of Saikaku himself – was spent looking passionately for books that he expected to be “relatively more abundant,” but “no matter how many days [he] spent and how vigorously [he] searched for them, there were absolutely none to be found.”<sup>195</sup> In

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<sup>193</sup> Awashima, “Meiji jūnen zengo,” 32.

<sup>194</sup> Katsumoto Sei'ichirō, “Rohan to Kōyō,” in *Rohan zenshū furoku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1980), 23-24.

<sup>195</sup> Sanmai, 13.



three years, he managed to find only one book. Yet, upon returning to Tokyo, several years later he “went on a whim to Saitō’s [bookstore] in Ikenohata, and upon asking [the proprietor] if he had any old books, Mr. Saitō grinned proudly and responded that he had some things to show” him. It was at this visit that Sanmai discovered a trove of Saikaku’s works, including the famous *Kōshoku ichidai otoko*,<sup>196</sup> and “cried out, ‘What an old copy!’” before happily snapping it up.<sup>197</sup>

It was only through a connection with this specific bookseller, and not just the presence of the books, that Sanmai was able to make the discovery; Saitō showed a warm attitude and familiarity with Sanmai’s educated approach, addressing him as *sensei*, as though speaking to an expert. At yet another bookstore, although Sanmai found nothing to buy “no matter how many times [he] went,” because the atmosphere of the “mom and pop” store was so agreeable, he found himself staying there “chatting for about half a day” at a time, and finally his persistence paid off: “smiling, they told me they’d been waiting for me and pulled out a copy of *Budō denraiki*.”<sup>198</sup> Without such persistence and an established social relationship, Sanmai might have spent his years just as he had in Osaka, without making such a pleasing discovery. Although his collection does not make up a part of *Saikaku zenshū*, he gives a vivid account of the experience of collectors at this time, and makes it possible to picture those who did contribute their manuscripts to the project operating within the same socially based system. The social networks crucial to creating a Saikaku archive and forming the basis for his promotion as a specific kind of author, then, were not just those of the literary establishment and prominent authors whose names have been passed down through time. Without personal relationships built

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<sup>196</sup> 好色一代男

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>198</sup> 武道伝来記. Ibid., 14.

up over time with booksellers – as well as their own, largely uncredited research, discovery, and goodwill – we might not have the body of work collected in Saikaku’s first anthology and thus passed down as his *oeuvre* over time.

### Constructing an Author

Perhaps the greatest feat of *Saikaku zenshū* is to portray a historical writer as a singular, unified author – one with a consistent identity and cohesive body of work that is both defined by, and defines, that authorial identity. The first step in this construction of authorial identity is the choice of a name, and here, despite the variety of names by which Saikaku was known when he wrote, *Saikaku zenshū* does not disappoint: its first preface is entitled “Ihara Saikaku,” thus establishing a name for the entity that the anthology will construct. This process is just as transparent as the writing of collectors’ names on the title page of each work, for the biographical preface begins by immediately listing the names by which Saikaku went when he was alive, and illustrates the wide variety of pseudonyms that originally accompanied his works when they were published in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Shōjuken Saikaku<sup>199</sup> was an outstanding *haikai* poet,” it begins, “whose surname was Ihara. There isn’t a lot of detail on his popular names, but his first pen name was Kakuei,<sup>200</sup> and in his later years he changed it to Saikaku.<sup>201</sup> As for the pseudonym Niman’ō [the twenty-thousand verse old man], it was after he recited 23,000 verses before the Sumiyoshi Shrine [in Osaka].<sup>202</sup>

The biography ends by referring to yet another name carved upon his gravestone, Sankō Saikaku.<sup>203</sup> Yet the preface gives no reason for using “Ihara Saikaku” – a combination of

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<sup>199</sup> 松寿軒西鶴

<sup>200</sup> 鶴永

<sup>201</sup> This name uses a variant for the second character: 西鵬.

<sup>202</sup> Ozaki and Watanabe, “Ihara Saikaku,” 1.

<sup>203</sup> 仙皓西鶴. It is possible that this is a posthumous name, but still includes the pseudonym Saikaku rather than a historical given name, or even a second posthumous name.

a historical personal name and a literary pseudonym – as the name that would be officially adopted to refer to this author. It is a mix of historical personage and literary presence that lends a concrete feel to an otherwise mutable identity. The appellation “Ihara Saikaku” creates an author from a mix of names that, despite not truly existing outside of authorial name and *oeuvre*, nonetheless becomes something real, an identifiable individual in the course of literary history and one that can be grasped entirely within a single anthology’s covers. In fact, as the preface itself claims, “after the wind and rain of two hundred years, all that remains is [... his] gravestone [...] yet along with the remains of his home in Kamayamachi, the biography of this great man is hardly so distant to us.”<sup>204</sup>

The anthology presents the origins of Saikaku as an author by including criticism from historical sources, such as *Genroku taiheiki* and Kyokutei Bakin, and it embeds long excerpts within Kōyō and Otowa’s preface even as they make their own argument as to the important aspects of Saikaku’s work and his place in literary history. Their narrative of criticism becomes at the same time a chronological account, an afterlife of the author in a way, and fundamentally a history of reception. The prefaces begin with “Ihara Saikaku,” a straightforward historical account of his life and writing that focuses on his work as a linked-verse (*haikai*) poet – for which he was best known until this point – and emphasizes that he had multiple pseudonyms, of which “Saikaku” was used only late in his life when he began writing prose fiction. It is short, however, and the editors move quickly on to “An Analysis of Saikaku” (“Saikaku zehi”).<sup>205</sup> “It is difficult to convey a person [to readers], and even more so to really analyze them,” they begin, “but talking

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>205</sup> Ozaki and Watanabe, “Ihara Saikaku,” 1-2; Ozaki and Watanabe, “Saikaku zehi,” 3-20.

about Saikaku from our perspective now should be seen as most difficult, with two hundred years having gone by.”<sup>206</sup> They stress the different customs and norms of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and wonder if they are in an age when they can truly understand him as an author. It is no wonder that they begin to turn to historical reception as soon as they make their own attempts at a summary of his literature and an analysis of its value, even as they stress that the historical criticism comes from a different perspective – one of moralizing – rather than their own appreciation of Saikaku’s sharp observational skills and genius at writing realistic prose fiction.<sup>207</sup> It is by implication that we gather that moralistic readings of Saikaku fundamentally miss the point: the Meiji reader should evaluate Saikaku as a writer with a certain form and style, rather than judge his content, just as Kōyō and Otowa do.

Kōyō and Otowa devote a number of pages to their own analysis before turning to others, however, and one cannot help but understand Saikaku primarily as both a realist and as an elegant writer from the tone of their critique. “Saikaku truly reproduced his time and the people who lived in it,” they write. “With ideas of genius and a serious power of the pen, along with objectively observing the elegance of the time, unable to add embellishment” – did this not, Kōyō and Otowa ask, “make him a true writer?”<sup>208</sup>

After all,

... just like resplendent jewels, [his works] shine forth with a brilliant voice. With this, those men of letters who came after Jōkyō [1684-1688] and Genroku [1688-1704] can also adore the fascinatingly elegant beauty and emotions of those times – he was a complete master. On top of this, his books excel at giving the reader knowledge of the customs of the time – but they aren’t short histories. Truly, Saikaku turned his clear and piercing gaze upon the world of his time and exposed

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<sup>206</sup> Ozaki and Watanabe, “Saikaku zehi,” 2.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 3-5.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 12.

the ghosts and demons from inside every hidden place.<sup>209</sup>

It is this revealing of what is hidden – what lies beyond the surface, or *rimen*<sup>210</sup> – that is just as important to the editors as simply depicting what is immediately apparent to an observer. They imply that Saikaku’s observational skills allow the reader to not only experience the scene of Genroku life, but also gain an appreciate for what it was like to actually live that life.

The preface takes a striking turn as it immediately begins to cite countless examples of details that Saikaku faithfully recorded in his stories – clothing, hairstyles, and more – for over three pages, and continues with a comparison of two works that are accounts of different festivals of the Genroku period. It reads more like an event calendar than a story with a customary plot and narrative, and the choice of these quotations reflects the importance of such realistic detail to the anthology’s editors. Kōyō and Otowa again praise this at the end of their three-page excerpt: “Ihara Saikaku truly depicted the people of his time” with his depth of descriptive skill.<sup>211</sup> Saikaku as presented here in the excerpt is practically a documentarian with cohesive plot and character development relegated to the background. Yet Kōyō and Otowa would take issue with this characterization, for they liken Saikaku to genres of dramatic narrative fiction – fiction that focused on plot and human emotions – that came long after his time, such as *ninjōbon* and *haishi shōsetsu*, despite the anachronism.<sup>212</sup> Their mention of these later genres – ones that were still being reprinted in woodblock (and sometimes movable type) form into the Meiji period and with which readers would be intimately familiar – again brings Saikaku into the

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

<sup>210</sup> 裏面

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>212</sup> 人情本 and 稗史小説, respectively. Ibid., 4.

Meiji conversation of Japanese literature.

Yet, despite their glowing assessments of Saikaku's power of expression in both describing the mundane details of life and of human emotions, the editors note that the "analysis" that succeeded his widely mourned death was none other than *Genroku taiheiki*, a work of satire that takes Saikaku to task for his "tales of amorous love" (*kōshokubon*) with such severity that the author finds himself depicted in hell.<sup>213</sup> The editors lament that this is the only "critique" at such an early period, and yet seem to be willing to take anything so long as it treats Saikaku as an author worthy of sustained discussion, one who had made enough of an impact with his prose fiction as to elicit such a response from another Genroku writer.

Although the excerpt included from *Genroku taiheiki* itself is quite lengthy, the editors still find room to include several more pieces of historical criticism. They select one from 18<sup>th</sup>-century fiction writer Hiraga Gennai,<sup>214</sup> who, despite introducing Saikaku as the 20,000 verse man and an accomplished poet, manages to address the *kōshokubon* as well, suggesting a trend in the works of Saikaku that had the most impact in the mid-Edo period outside of his poetry – or perhaps suggesting a trend in what Kōyō and Otowa valued in his works, and so decided to include in their preface. The quoted material ends with a section by Kyokutei Bakin,<sup>215</sup> a major novelist and literary critic whose influence was still felt during the time in which the anthology was compiled, not to mention during the formative years of those who edited and contributed to the volumes.

His longer piece on Saikaku is quoted in full and resembles the *Saikaku zenshū* prefaces themselves: it attempts to educate the reader about Saikaku himself, as though a

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>214</sup> 平賀源内 (1728-1780).

<sup>215</sup> 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848). In the preface, he is cited as Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴.

full recounting of his life and literary activities is necessary to introduce readers to a new, unfamiliar writer. It suggests that by the time Bakin wrote, in the 1800s, Saikaku had disappeared from common knowledge. His analysis is a thorough recounting of both Saikaku's *haikai* poetry accomplishments and as well as his gifts with writing fiction; he stresses Saikaku's identity as a poetic master (*haikai-shi*<sup>216</sup>), while also being "particularly triumphant in terms of his light fiction (*gesaku*)."<sup>217</sup> Bakin's critique stands out in its attempt at completeness and objectivity, almost a reference guide to Saikaku, providing a detailed recounting of his literary activities over the course of his life. Its presence in the preface feels appropriate given that the anthology's attempts at completeness mirror those of Bakin himself. Moreover, it is possible that Bakin's name could lend legitimacy to an essay that would otherwise simply be a collection of every source the editors could manage to find that addressed Saikaku in some way, especially given that readers of their generation would still be quite familiar with him and would have read his works in their formative years.<sup>218</sup>

The editors' last act in the preface is to attempt a comprehensive list of Saikaku's works taken from an historical catalogue, and express their hopes that the reader gained something from their exhaustive analysis. These final words again stress to the later reader just how unknown Saikaku had been, and the tremendous task that faced the anthology editors in making readers aware of his works: "It is only in order to give people, by implication, some way to know [of him] that we include these various

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<sup>216</sup> 俳諧師

<sup>217</sup> Takizawa Bakin [Kyokutei Bakin], "Enseki shūshi," quoted in Ozaki and Watanabe, "Saikaku zehi," 16.

<sup>218</sup> On the readership of late Edo fiction at this time, see P. F. Kornicki, "The Survival of Tokugawa Fiction in the Meiji Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41, no. 2 (December 1981): 461-482. He notes that Tsubouchi Shōyō's influential book on what fiction ought to be, *Shōsetsu shinzui* (*The Essence of Fiction*), specifically attacks Kyokutei Bakin as what fiction ought *not* to be, reflecting his readership and influence at the time; likewise, he also notes that there were a huge number of Bakin reprints in the first half of the Meiji period (his study covers the period up to 1889).

analyses of Saikaku by historical writers.”<sup>219</sup>

There are two key elements of attempted legitimization in the Kōyō and Otowa’s second preface. First is the inclusion of Saikaku critique from multiple sources, lending him credence as an author who has existed continuously as such through time, and especially as one who wrote *kōshokubon*, the works that the editors hold up as worthwhile, realistic prose fiction. They then connect Saikaku as an author to the present moment by embedding that critique in their own, which focuses on Saikaku's value as a realist and even an anthropologist. But just as important is what Otowa and Kōyō do for themselves: they link themselves to these historical critics as the living end of Saikaku's critical genealogy, a part of this strain of literary history. By association, the line reaches all the way to their literary group, Ken’yūsha, as well – those who not only engaged and praised Saikaku but also emulated him in their own work, integrating their interpretations of his style into contemporary, living literature.

The broad nature of the related works that are included as a body of Saikaku criticism and contextual material further indicates the author's situation in Japanese literary history at this point – barely included, by sheer lack of mention, in an otherwise voluminous body of historical sources written after his death – as well as the role of this archive in potentially legitimizing him within competing, changing narratives of what counts as Japanese literature. This anthology is not simply presenting what purports to be a complete body of works for a writer that has gained a fresh wave of popularity, although this is what it sets out to do. It is an attempt to turn Saikaku into a living, 19<sup>th</sup>-century author. In *Saikaku zenshū* he becomes an author of prose fiction, rather than just the *haikai* poetry he was previously known for, one whose identity encompasses and is

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<sup>219</sup> Ozaki and Watanabe, “Saikaku zehi,” 20.



legitimized by a literary chain of custody that works of criticism over time help to solidify, and one that spreads out through the contemporary social network that contributed to the anthology's construction.

Moreover, the preface implies through the very order in which these secondary sources are included that it is Kōyō and Otowa's analysis that we should keep foremost in our minds as we approach the contents of *Saikaku zenshū*. It is included first and takes up ten full pages of the preface, going into detailed analysis of both Saikaku's descriptive power as well as a comparative look at two texts – ones whose contemporary owners are again noted, as though this lends further credence to both the comparison and the collection itself.<sup>220</sup> Although a lineage is being constructed through the chronological inclusion of historical Saikaku criticism, it doesn't end with Ken'yūsha in this text; rather, it begins with Ken'yūsha. Through the form of the preface, they present themselves as the definitive, contemporary origin of Saikaku critique, the Meiji authorities on his relevance and on the salient points of his fiction. Despite the inclusion of so many other critiques, the editors do not engage with any of the historical criticism of Saikaku that they present in the preface. Rather, they deviate from it and offer their own, differing perspective, one that skips moral questions entirely and relegates those to the words of others – words that are themselves relegated to a moment in history in which literary criticism was not written from a Meiji perspective.

In part, then, the legitimacy that the anthology bestows on Saikaku and his works, as well as on their respective owners, is derived from a genealogy that looks back through literary history for origins, and reaches to Meiji collectors as the rightful owners of the content that makes up the Saikaku in this anthology. Yet the origins being established

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

here are not necessarily giving individual texts authenticity in themselves. Rather, it is Saikaku as an author himself who is being legitimized and presented as authentic, as a single entity with origins and importance in literary history, and thus in the making of a new modern Japanese literature.

The anthology does not stop at simply establishing a literary history of Saikaku in the preface: as indicated above, it actually includes longer works on Saikaku in an appendix, such as *Genroku taiheiki*, and reprints them in the same format as Saikaku's works. These related works themselves are just that, for they are known as criticism of Saikaku; *Genroku taiheiki*, accepted as the earliest related critique, includes Saikaku simply to show him sent to hell and wandering in suffering. Yet these are considered legitimate sources to be included in the "complete" Saikaku as he is being built by the editors, and this act highlights their discretion in deciding which works have value and should be preserved in their archive. Even the format makes it easy to forget that these appendices aren't written by Saikaku himself. Here, they become a seamless part of the body of works that make up "Saikaku." Thus, the complete Saikaku is not just the fullest collection possible of his known works – it is the most comprehensive collection of works that make up Saikaku as a literary institution put forth by these editors.

It is not simply what is included in *Saikaku zenshū* that helps to construct the author, however; it is also what is left out. Saikaku's work here is presented in chronological order and purportedly includes everything the editors could identify as a part of his *oeuvre*. However, as we have seen, they depended heavily upon their social connections to collectors – some of whom were affiliated with the same Ken'yūsha group of which Kōyō was a leader – and identifying a work as Saikaku's would not be the same

as actually obtaining a copy of that work, no matter how much catalogue research had been done. Thus, the “archive” contained with *Saikaku zenshū* is one that is very specific to a particular Meiji social group, and hardly an objective collection of all works that could possibly be obtained (if such a collection could exist at all). At the same time, we find in the anthology only prose works, despite numerous mentions in the two prefaces of Saikaku’s *haikai* mastery. Without inclusion of Saikaku’s poetry, this anthology can hardly be called the “complete” works of this writer. Rather, it is the “complete” works of the author named “Ihara Saikaku,” one who has been created out of whole cloth as a prose fiction writer who simply had a reputation as a poetic master.

We have already seen in the first two chapters that practices of writing, modes of reader reception, and performances of authorship in the 1880s and 1890s varied widely, and most important, differed greatly from later views of the author as synonymous with a single, individual writer’s work. At the same time, however, *Saikaku zenshū* – an anthology of select works advertised as “complete,” of a writer whose authorial name was chosen anachronistically – was being published within this rich landscape of writing practices, surrounded by and coming out of this literary context. Meiji anthologization, starting with *Saikaku zenshū*, created authors that did not previously exist and allowed them to be canonized, although we may take their fame and persistence over time for granted today. The Saikaku constructed here is a conflation of a writer who sometimes composed popular fiction – the historical individual behind the name of “Saikaku” – and a variation of one pen name used to write that fiction. Moreover, it equates the newly constructed authorial identity with a specific body of work that, in many cases, was never attributed to the name “Ihara Saikaku.” All of this comes together with a portrait of the

writer and a set of prefaces that orient the reader to the Saikaku being presented here with the specific perspective of editors who had a vested interest in popularizing and legitimizing their author.



Figure 7. Saikaku as illustrated in the inside front cover of *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*.

Ozaki Kōyō and Watanabe Otowa create their own version of Saikaku here as an author with a cohesive body of work and a single, constructed name, rather than as a writer of various genres while using a number of pen names. At the same time, they also

attempt to mutually legitimize themselves and Saikaku through their references to historical analysis as well as their own praise of his style. Still, it is impossible to understand the work they are undertaking without a glimpse of the Saikaku phenomenon that was taking place at the time of *Saikaku zenshū*'s publication. The anthology comes out of a context of Saikaku reprints in a number of outlets, including several coterie magazines; of articles written both in praise and using sustained critique; and of writers – especially those of the Ken'yūsha coterie – openly attempting to emulate Saikaku's style, even going so far as to adopt pen names that made playful references to his own. It is to this popularity and appropriation in the early 1890s that I now turn, to better understand Kōyō and Otowa's attempt at mutual legitimization, the critiques with which they begin the anthology, and, ultimately, what made this anthology possible at this moment in Japanese history.

### **Saikaku the Phenomenon**

In *Sensational Designs*, Jane Tompkins offers a typical definition of a classic work: “[one] that has withstood the test of time.”<sup>221</sup> Clearly, Saikaku – now considered a classic author of early modern fiction – does not stand up to this definition, but it is difficult to understand his resurrection simply from looking at standard literary histories that praise him as an innovative and talented 17<sup>th</sup>-century writer. It is as if he has always been considered a classic, and always will be. Yet, as Tompkins argues, “a literary classic is a product of all those circumstances of which it has traditionally been supposed to be independent” and is a part of a canon that “not only can but will change along with the

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<sup>221</sup> Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction 1790-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 3.

circumstances within which critics argue.”<sup>222</sup> Thus, in order to understand Saikaku’s elevation to a classic author worthy of a place in a canon of Japanese literature that was first created at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we must look to a historical moment in which debates were taking place about what counted as literature itself, how fiction should be written, whether Western literary forms should be adopted, and what ought to be considered modern Japanese literature – and a moment at which a specific literary coterie, Ken’yūsha, was actively promoting and adopting the style of Saikaku in their own work.

Just as the collection of Saikaku’s prose works followed several social avenues, so did the reprinting of those works.<sup>223</sup> Readers introduced to Saikaku in typeset versions not only experienced different source material in various editions contributed by different collectors, but also a myriad of literary and visual contexts. Yet these versions always carried the name “Ihara Saikaku,” and not any of his other numerous pseudonyms. Reading Saikaku in the magazine *Shigarami zōshi* (published by Mori Ōgai’s coterie Shinseisha) would lead the reader to understand his work in the context of other “classics” in its own appendix separate from the main body of the magazine, which was otherwise dedicated to current literature and criticism.<sup>224</sup> Meanwhile, Saikaku’s works were also published in the literary group Ken’yūsha’s *Bunko*,<sup>225</sup> as well as in the boys’ magazine *Shōnen’en*.<sup>226</sup> In these cases, Saikaku was presented as what we may call

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

<sup>223</sup> It is important to note that just as *Saikaku zenshū* contained no *haikai* poetry, Saikaku’s poetry was likewise not reprinted in these venues, thus establishing his identity further as a prose writer with the single name of “Ihara Saikaku.”

<sup>224</sup> Ihara Saikaku, “Kōshoku nidai otoko,” *Shigarami zōshi* 1 (October 1889): 47-48.

<sup>225</sup> Ihara Saikaku, “Kōshoku ichidai onna,” *Bunko* 24 (July 1889): 47-49.

<sup>226</sup> Ihara Saikaku, “Yakusoku wa yuki no asameshi,” *Shōnen’en* 55 (February 1891): 16-17. Despite the reprint of Saikaku’s work here in a youth magazine, it comes with a caveat that most of his other work is never to be read by boys!

“living literature;” it was integrated into sections that contained contemporary, even currently serialized, works, and surrounded by a huge number of literary styles being undertaken by writers of the day. Some, of course, even embraced Saikaku as a model for modern Japanese literature, and in particular Ken’yūsha was known for its heavy promotion of Saikaku. Publishing Saikaku in the context of their own coterie magazines would have encouraged readers to see him as current and relevant to the Meiji literary world, rather than an antiquarian fascination.

Saikaku’s reprints in Ken’yūsha publications were contextualized further by contemporary writers’ experiments in his style and attempts to imitate his content with references to current entertainment districts. This Saikaku adaptation even involved the use of specific pen names to make writers’ inspiration (and imitation) even more clear – a kind of homage by ones who had “built a shrine to the delightfully wanton Saikaku.”<sup>227</sup> Kangetsu, at that time literarily affiliated with Ken’yūsha via his publication in their literary magazines, went so far as try his hand in Saikaku’s style under the pseudonym “Aikakuken”, a play on words that translates to “one who loves Saikaku,” sometimes appending “Saiseiki” (“a remnant of Saikaku”).<sup>228</sup> These pen names appeared with alongside works by both Kōyō and Otowa, publishing in the same magazines.

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<sup>227</sup> Noguchi, 262.

<sup>228</sup> 愛鶴軒 and 西跡, respectively.

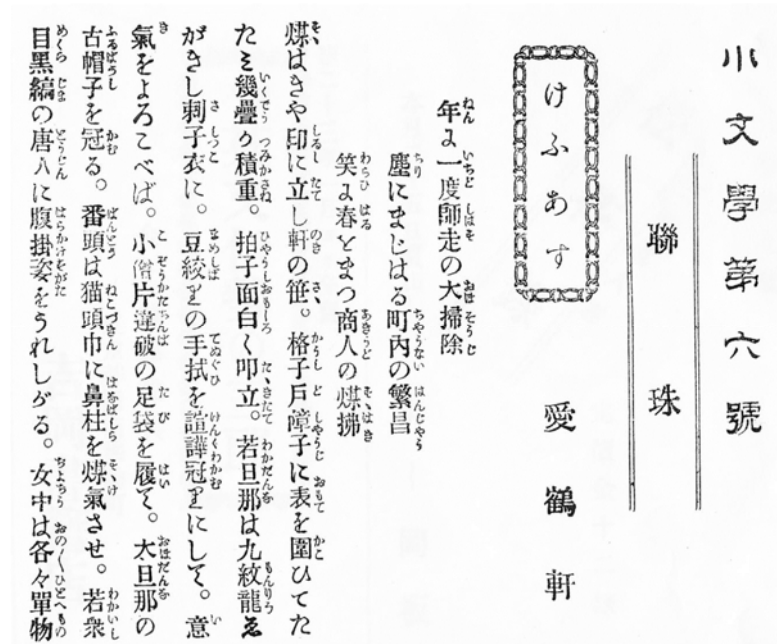


Figure 8. Aikakuken, “Kefuasu,” *Shōbungaku* 6 (December 1889): 2.

Kangetsu did this with such regularity that he recalls his becoming a general “nuisance in society” and asked Kōda Rohan to write a letter to the editors of the *Yomiuri shinbun* newspaper to announce the names’ retirement.<sup>229</sup> Both Kōyō and Rohan were also known for their early work modeled on their readings of Saikaku - so much so that their mourning of Saikaku as the “genius of the Genroku period” is observed by journalist Kisaki Kōshō in their poems left at Saikaku's Osaka gravestone, their mutual interest and name recognition emphasized with a quick mention of “those two, Rohan and Kōyō.”<sup>230</sup>

Somewhat more literally, collectors are referred to in publications – both in passing and in criticism of their own work – as the ones who brought on or sustained Saikaku's popularity. Kangetsu is referenced in more than one piece as having brought Saikaku into the world and being “the authority on Saikaku,” as Uchida Roan puts it in an article

<sup>229</sup> Awashima, “Meiji jūnen zengo,” 34.

<sup>230</sup> Kisaki Kōshō, “Saikaku no haka,” *Yomiuri shinbun*, November 14, 1889. The quote is from Rohan's poem.



naming and evaluating the “three greatest Japanese novelists” – including, of course, Saikaku as the most prominent.<sup>231</sup> The collector is referred to not as having adopted Saikaku into his style as more well-known and well-received authors had; rather, Kangetsu here is the one who undertook promotion in the sense of distribution and popularizing. In other words, his control of physical works as a collector and connoisseur – one who loved his collection so much that he adopted pen names more explicitly referential than his novelist friends – had a significant influence on the literary world, despite the fact that he himself was not pursuing literary writing as a primary path. Kangetsu's works attributed to “Aikakuken” were short and experimental, dabbling in adapting Saikaku's style and perspective to observing the entertainment districts of Tokyo, just as the legendary author had done with Osaka. Yet, although his publications appeared in Ken'yūsha journals, his recognized influence was not limited to that literary group already known for its love of Saikaku; another reference to Kangetsu, under the name Saiseiki, as having a crucial role in Saikaku's introduction is from an unaffiliated literary journal, *Iratsume*.<sup>232</sup>

Saikaku as an author is not only contextualized in terms of the specific individuals and groups that promoted him in the literary world; he is mediated by writers' personal and social experiences in their own attempts at literary criticism as well. While Uchida Roan, a critic and collector, maintains an emotional distance from the three “great novelists” he identifies in Japanese literary history, Rohan and Kangetsu stand out in their inability to refrain from effusive language when talking about their favorite author. Rohan and Kangetsu co-wrote a piece in 1889 in Ken'yūsha's *Bunko* entitled “Mourning Ihara

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<sup>231</sup> Fuchian Shujin [Uchida Roan], “Nihon shōsetsu no sandaika,” *Shōbungaku* 1 (October 1889): 11.

<sup>232</sup> Inuguchi. “Tsuretsure.” *Iratsume* 81 (March 1891): 136.

Saikaku” in which they collectively express their admiration by lamenting a death that took place two hundred years before. At the same time, they implicitly express their intellectual and social ties through co-authorship and the appearance of this work in a magazine published by their literary and social group.<sup>233</sup>

Rohan later published his critical essay “Ihara Saikaku” alone in the more mainstream periodical *Kokumin no tomo*, the longer work here ranging from historical treatment of Saikaku to current reception. Frustrated at “still having not seen any critical analysis of Saikaku’s writing,” Rohan sets out to do this here, meandering through everything from his own reading experience to debates on Saikaku’s level of learnedness (including opinions from both Kangetsu and Kōyō), to the fervent adoration that his colleagues show for the author.<sup>234</sup> Along with abundant historical and contemporary detail, and clear indication of extensive research into the topic of Saikaku's reception over time, Rohan includes reactions such as Uchida Roan's exclamation in another essay that while finishing Dostoyevsky's novels made him put his hand to his heart, Saikaku's books made him “forget [himself] completely, both in body and mind.”<sup>235</sup> Rohan’s own lengthy impression as a reader includes the new experiences that he had not only on his second reading of the works, but even on a third reading.<sup>236</sup> At the same time, however, Rohan's introduction to the piece shows him to be just as moved by Saikaku: he recounts a dream he himself had only a few weeks before in which he was strolling in a field with none other than Aikakuken, “discussing Saikaku as we went,” even specifying its date as May

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<sup>233</sup> Kashi Rohan [Kōda Rohan] and Aikakuken Saisei [Awashima Kangetsu], “Ihara Saikaku o tomurau,” *Shōbungaku* 1 (November 1889): 35 and *Shōbungaku* 2 (November 1889): 13-14.

<sup>234</sup> Koda Rohan, “Ihara Saikaku,” *Kokumin no tomo* 83 (May 1890): 27.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

7, 1890.<sup>237</sup>

Yet the article comes to a close on a more serious topic: where is the place of Saikaku in contemporary literary debates? Rohan struggles with placing him in either the realist (*shashin-ha*<sup>238</sup>) or idealist (*risō-ha*<sup>239</sup>) movements, although he concludes that “saying that he is a realist is probably closest to the mark.”<sup>240</sup>

Not only can we come to know the customs and feelings of people from two hundred years in the past as though we are looking at a mark on the palm of our hands, we can also see that even now the days and nights of events that Saikaku has painted for us are still occurring.<sup>241</sup>

At the same time, however, he finds value in Saikaku’s insight into the human heart, and in this he sees “a great idealist.” “There are a great number of places in which we see depicted the vicissitudes of the human heart, just as it is,” Rohan writes.<sup>242</sup> Not only do Kōyō and Otowa see Saikaku as part of a living conversation, an author that is appropriately described in terms used to evaluate contemporary literature, but Rohan does as well – and sees this as the *most* appropriate way to judge Saikaku’s merits. These critiques are all part of inventing Saikaku the Meiji author, one who writes prose fiction that is worthy of being evaluated on the same terms as other “modern” literature, with words borrowed from Western literary movements. Rohan brings Saikaku to the present completely, not just insisting that one can understand the past by reading his work, but that the events in Saikaku’s stories “are still occurring.” His stories are just as relevant to the Meiji reader as any other contemporary literature, and Saikaku can be considered a living (newly-invented) author rather than an obscure relic. This type of discourse is

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>238</sup> 写真派

<sup>239</sup> 理想派

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

essential for understanding the environment in which *Saikaku zenshū* was compiled and the audience which would have read it.

Aside from his own conclusions, Rohan, in detailing Saikaku's contemporary reception, paints a rich network of colleagues by name who have responded to Saikaku, including Roan as well as the well-known translator and author Morita Shiken.<sup>243</sup> Rohan's naming of others involved in the present Saikaku phenomenon resembles *Saikaku zenshū*'s list of source text owners: he links the invented author to a concrete literary social scene. These are but a small section of the list of writers that Kangetsu remembers distributing his Saikaku collection to, and "happily, because [Kangetsu] had [his collection of] Saikaku's books ... [he] was able to show them to all of these others," clearly fulfilling a desire to share what he considered great writing to those with a mutual interest.<sup>244</sup> Yet these were not colleagues who simply shared intellectual ties: as we have seen with Kangetsu, Otowa, Kōyō, Rohan, Roan, and Shiken (whose work appears next to Rohan's "Ihara Saikaku" article), these are a group of colleagues who published side-by-side in the same public space. Through co-authorship in the case of Kangetsu and Rohan's "Mourning Saikaku," we see these individuals writing together as well, with such close bonds as writers that one may ask the other to jokingly announce the death of a pen name in a Tokyo newspaper. Thus, the archive that is created in *Saikaku zenshū* by a set of editors and collectors is one that is not just contextualized by but buried in this network of intellectually, socially, and physically close writers – and in some cases, close friends. With Kōyō's group known for its association with, and promotion and emulation of, Saikaku as a Meiji author, they engaged with him as though on par with living

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<sup>243</sup> 森田思軒. 1861-1897.

<sup>244</sup> Awashima, "Meiji jūnen zengo," 32.

colleagues rather than as a long-dead writer to be analyzed from afar. This, in turn, made the very archive that the anthology creates a living invention as well. It is one inextricable from its contemporary context and from its social provenance as inscribed in the anthology itself.

### **Inventing Saikaku: Canonization and Legitimization**

Based in the context of the “Saikaku boom” of the early 1890s, the work of Ozaki Kōyō and Watanabe Otowa in constructing and prefacing *Saikaku zenshū* becomes more clear. As the leader of Ken’yūsha, Kōyō not only had a great deal at stake in attempting to popularize his favorite author, but also stood to benefit from the associated legitimization of his own experiments in Saikaku’s style – and stood to lose quite a bit if this legitimization failed. We can read the two prefaces of *Saikaku zenshū* in light of the reprinting of Saikaku’s works in Ken’yūsha journals, Rohan’s lengthy (and laudatory) critique, and Roan’s ranking of Saikaku among the “top three novelists” in Japanese literature. This allows us to better appreciate the mutual legitimization that takes place when two writers make the case for a previously unknown author whose style they have publicly embraced and even imitated – and more personally, collected and fervently read themselves.

The broad nature of the related works that are included as a body of Saikaku criticism and contextual material further indicates the author's situation in Japanese literary history at this point, as well as the role of this archive in potentially legitimizing him within competing, changing narratives of what counts as Japanese literature. *Saikaku zenshū* does not simply present what purports to be a complete body of works for a writer that has gained a fresh wave of popularity, although this is what it sets out to do. It is an

attempt to turn Saikaku into a living, 19<sup>th</sup>-century author: one of prose fiction, rather than just the *haikai* poetry he was previously known for, and one whose identity encompasses and is legitimized by a literary chain of custody that works of criticism over time help to solidify. Further, it is a chain of custody that spreads out through the contemporary social network that contributed to the anthology's construction.

In large part, the legitimacy that the anthology bestows on Saikaku and his works, as well as on their owners, is derived from a genealogy that looks back through literary history for origins, and reaches to Meiji collectors as the rightful owners of the content that makes up the Saikaku in this anthology. Yet the origins being established here are not necessarily giving individual texts authenticity in themselves. Rather, it is Saikaku as an author himself who is being legitimized and presented as authentic, as a single entity with origins and importance in literary history and in the making of a new modern Japanese literature.

Of course, the work of a single set of prefaces in an anthology alone cannot canonize an author, or even serve to establish him as a legitimate modern author. How was it, then, that Saikaku became a legitimated, even canonized author in this short period of time, from discovery in the 1880s to popularization in the 1890s, and part of a continued discussion about literature even to this day? It may be this very conversation – the ways in which Saikaku is relevant to it, and the focus of the conversation itself – that is key to our understanding of Saikaku's continued popularity and importance in narratives of Japanese literary history. Wendell Harris posits that canon formation is not “a work's acceptance into a severely limited set of authoritative texts,” but rather a

work's "introduction into an ongoing critical colloquy."<sup>245</sup> Literary canons themselves "propose entries into a culture's critical colloquy," and involve not simply texts but "texts as read."<sup>246</sup> Jane Tompkins, similarly, argues that "the canon not only can but will change with the circumstances within which critics argue."<sup>247</sup> Thus, the criteria for canonization – a word used out of convenience rather than accuracy – depend entirely on the historical moment in which a work is introduced, and on the moments that come thereafter. A work is not guaranteed perpetual popularity, but rather must have some qualities that continue to make it culturally relevant even as historical circumstances change.

At the time *Saikaku zenshū* was published, Saikaku's work had failed to meet this test: he had been almost entirely forgotten for two centuries. Yet in the 1880s and 1890s he began to get traction and was discussed and reprinted widely. In 1907 he was included in a 22-page comparative analysis, "*The Tale of Genji, Koshoku ichidai otoko, and Pere Amie*" in the literary and academic *Mita bungaku* magazine. It is significant that the magazine placed Saikaku's work – once forgotten and later censored by the Meiji government as lewd – next to both a recognized classic of Japanese literature as well as a Western work, as though his books on amorous love are on par with both.<sup>248</sup> As late as 1932, advertisements for Saikaku's "complete annotated *kōshokubon*" surrounded a critical piece on the future of popular literature, and alongside it ran a column of writers' and critics' opinions about Saikaku himself.<sup>249</sup> Remarkably, the advertisement here, too, places him in the same category as other classical Japanese literature that had been

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<sup>245</sup> Wendell Harris, "Canonicity," *PMLA* 106, no. 1 (January 1991), 111.

<sup>246</sup> Harris 111, 117.

<sup>247</sup> Tompkins, 4.

<sup>248</sup> *Saikaku zenshū* was initially banned from publication by the Meiji government, and was only able to be distributed after the offending passages had been obscured.

<sup>249</sup> Sōma Gyofū, "*Genji monogatari to Koshoku ichidai otoko to Beru, amii*," *Mita Bungaku* 1(3), 129-152. See the advertisements and articles in *Sakuhin* 5 (May 1932), 56-57.

considered as such before the Meiji period: annotated versions of *Taketori monogatari*, *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* (the diary of *The Tale of Genji*'s author), *Makura sōshi*, and *Saga nikki*. The phenomenon of Saikaku in the mid-Meiji period, then, was far from short-lived. What made him newly relevant in the 1890s, and so relevant in the historical circumstances that came afterward that he has entered an accepted academic canon of Japanese literature that persists to this day? In order to understand Saikaku's relevance both to Meiji readers and writers as well as to those that came after them, it is necessary to look at the contemporary context of literary movements and criticism as well as Ken'yūsha's place within it from which they promoted Saikaku himself.

原西鶴に就いて井  
 惜崎 勳  
 外國の同人雜誌あたりに出て  
 る人々の評語でも、作品でも、  
 それが外國人のものであると云ふ  
 ことで、この國では直ぐにこれを  
 無條件で受容れやうとするこ  
 の頃にあつて、われらの井原西  
 鶴のものが、改めて再吟味され、  
 そして、ほんたうに見なほすこ  
 とをすることが何れほど、いいこ  
 ちかわらないと思ひます。

大衆文藝の將來  
 上 司 小 劍  
 『大衆文藝は、何故に大衆的であるか』といふ問題が出されて、『砂繪は何故に甘いか』と質問  
 されたやうな気がした。  
 文明國ほど、砂繪の消費が多い、といつて、フランスの一統計家は、統計まで擧げてく  
 ぐ説明してゐたことがある。しかし、文明國ほど大衆文藝が盛んだ、と、砂繪と同じやうに  
 大衆文藝を取り扱ふことができるからか。  
 文明國へ行くほど、人間の話聲が低くなる、といふのは稀からしい。つまり、日本の様に、  
 『異國の高聲』といふのがあつたとき、野蠻人は大きな聲を出して話をするのだ。  
 ところが、このころは、文明國ほど、人間が都市に集中し、都市には聲が多いので、住民  
 も自然大きな聲を出さなければ、話が相手に聞えない、そこで、文明國の人間がだん／＼野蠻  
 國にあつて戻りして、高い聲で話をするやうになつたやうだ。  
 あまり、社會の雜音が甚だしいから、高い聲でやらなければ、人間の耳に入らない、耳に入  
 つても、聲を聞き取れない。この高い聲を必要とする文藝が、即ち大衆文藝なのだ。高い聲  
 で、砂繪の味をもつたその甘さ。それが大衆文藝なのだ。  
 しかし、こゝで一つ考へなければならぬことは、大衆文藝からおひ／＼に甘さの積度の減

原西鶴に就いて井

大衆文藝は何故に大衆的であるか

<p>文藝士 吉田九郎 著  <b>竹取物語全釋</b>                  定價一、〇〇                  送料〇、二〇</p>	<p>文藝士 小室由三 著  <b>紫式部日記全釋</b>                  定價一、五〇                  送料〇、二〇</p>	<p>文藝士 小室由三 著  <b>土佐日記全釋</b>                  定價一、〇〇                  送料〇、二〇</p>	<p>文藝士 栗原武一郎 著  <b>枕草子全釋</b>                  定價七、五〇                  送料〇、二四</p>	<p>山形高等學校                  教授 文學士 岡部美二二 著                  七二〇頁全一集                  口繪十葉地圖一集                  定價四圓三十錢                  送料二十八錢</p>
<p>元祿の世相を知                  り西鶴の心に入                  らんと欲せば、                  先づ此の好色物                  全釋を讀め!</p>				<p>元祿前後の世相描寫と戀愛描寫に、其の取調類縁の氣分を露らす、飾らず、極めて大                  膽に極めて辛直に平氣にやつてのけたものは、實に西鶴の好色物である。本書は西                  鶴研究家として有名な岡部氏が、門外不出の原本によつて西鶴の代表作たる                  好色五人女、好色一人女、好色一代男を、釋されたもので、其の形式は第一段に原                  文中の難語句を詳解を載せ、第二段に原文のまゝを示し、第三段にその創作に富                  むる現代語譯を掲げられてゐるから原文大分について西鶴の手法を味ふことも出来                  る。又それと對照して、現代譯の新しい好色物へ好色二代男、好色三代男、男色大                  らず、西鶴の研究家、解題、全釋以外の好色物、好色二代男、好色三代男、男色大                  らず、近代表譯者好色旅日記、極めて傑出した古今踏歩の名著であると云へやう。</p>

Figure 9. *Sakuhin* 1(3) (May 1932), 56-57.

Jane Tompkins argues that “novels and short stories ... offer powerful examples of



the way a culture thinks about itself, articulating and proposing solutions for the problems that shape a particular historical moment.”<sup>250</sup> This proposition can apply equally well to the work of anthology compilers and editors, as well as those who advertise and promote books and writers, and it is a useful way to think about the attempts at legitimization that we find in and around *Saikaku zenshū*. Saikaku himself was long dead by the 1890s, and his fiction had been written for a different audience at a very different historical moment. There was a major question in the Meiji period, though, that permeated most areas of society: what does modern Japan look like? Is Westernization appropriate, and if so, how would Japan appropriate and introduce cultural, scientific, and technological elements? In the area of literature, the question was similarly fundamental. Even as late as the 1890s, the question of what qualified as literature itself – the definition of “literature” – was an open one, and literary debates continued over the form, style, and content of both fiction and poetry. Moreover, there was a disconnect between advocating for Western-style novels and new uses of language in fiction, and what Japanese were actually reading: the earlier 19<sup>th</sup>-century fiction that was being disparaged in some literary circles was still popular and actively in circulation.<sup>251</sup> Thus, *Saikaku zenshū* was published at an extraordinarily turbulent historical moment, not just for literature, but for Japan as a whole, and it came at just the time when it had the potential to answer a fundamental question: what is the future of Japanese literature?

In analyzing the writing of histories of Japanese literature beginning in 1890, Michael Brownstein argues that “the revival of interest in pre-modern literature in the 1890s was part of a larger public reaction to the excesses of Japan’s Westernizing

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<sup>250</sup> Tompkins, xi.

<sup>251</sup> See Kornicki, “The Survival of Tokugawa Fiction in Meiji Japan.”

policies,” and in terms of writing and readership in the most general sense, this may be the case.<sup>252</sup> It was indeed at this time that the first histories of pre-modern literature were being written and through these, as well as departments in universities, that a pre-modern canon was being developed by academics. In addition, publishers began to print typeset versions of pre-modern works, largely fiction, and publish these on a mass scale, such as the series *Nihon bungaku zensho* (*The Complete Works of Japanese Literature*). In fact, the successor to this series was none other than *Teikoku bunko*, in which *Saikaku zenshū* was published. Yet *Teikoku bunko* reprinted popular works of Edo fiction, and in this way, can hardly be called part of a revival of pre-modern or even early modern literature. These were mostly living works that were still being read, even if they were printed using movable type for the first time in that series. It was the pre-Edo writing that had often become inaccessible and *Nihon bungaku zensho* would be the access point for Meiji writers to encounter what the series defined as the “classics.” They were mainly prose works, ones that fit with the larger discourse about the *shōsetsu* (often translated as “the novel”), the place of fiction in literature, and how that fiction should be written. It gave a set of “classics” to Meiji readers that shaped their view of what their own worthwhile, canonized national literature could look like.<sup>253</sup> Moreover, it took a place in an increasingly widespread discussion of what constituted “Japanese literature” itself, in the form of treatises, anthologies of excerpts, and textbooks, not to mention academic debates and even the formation of university departments.<sup>254</sup>

As we have seen above, Saikaku had certainly entered the conversation about what

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<sup>252</sup> Michael C. Brownstein, “From *Kokugaku* to *Kokubungaku*: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, no. 2 (December 1987), 436.

<sup>253</sup> Brownstein, 443-444.

<sup>254</sup> See Brownstein for an extended discussion of this movement in the 1890s and 1900s.

literature could and should be in the 1890s and later, and his relevance extended beyond the praise of his own fans. As early as January 1890, Aeba Koson began an article on two Edo playwrights by reminding readers of Saikaku's prominence as the foremost Genroku prose author, and introduced the first of the playwrights, Chikamatsu Monzaemon, as occupying that same lofty place in literary history.<sup>255</sup> Even a mention of Saikaku here is enough to contextualize his discussion of two writers from very different genres for readers of a general-interest magazine. Yet it was *Teikoku bunko* in which his works were first published – a series that can hardly be said to be engaging in the goal of establishing a canon of classic national literature, but rather one that reprinted popular, familiar works for a ready audience. In other words, Saikaku was entering a different kind of canon: a de facto canon of popular literature intended for reading and enjoyment, rather than study, and for some members of the literary elite, for imitation.

It is not uncommon for Saikaku's adoption and promotion to be seen as an act of resistance against Westernization, and of the adoption of Western literary styles and forms in particular. To be sure, the very idea that the Western novel (as interpreted by writers and critics) was the form that serious writers should pursue in order to produce valuable literature was nearly ubiquitous. It was Ken'yūsha in particular that is known as resisting the turn to the West, regardless of whether the description of their work as resistance is accurate, largely because of their focus on early modern literature, and Saikaku in particular. As Yone Noguchi, the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century critic put it for an American audience in 1904,

... the public were looking for some kind of reaction [against English literature]. They began to take up their kimonos again, leaving the badly fitting trousers behind. Saikaku Ibara [sic] – the foremost of the Genroku writers – was suddenly

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<sup>255</sup> Aeba Kōson, "Chikamatzu Monzaemon to Takeda Izumo," *Kokumin no tomo* 71 (January 1890), 28.

resurrected from the darkness of oblivion.<sup>256</sup>

Although we can certainly say that Saikaku was “resurrected from the darkness of oblivion” where he had more or less laid for centuries as far as popular readership is concerned, Noguchi’s depiction of resistance does not fit with the reality of Saikaku and his adoption. As we have already seen, Rohan contextualized Saikaku and the quality of his work not in a dichotomy of Western and Japanese literature, but rather placed him in a pantheon of historical writers (going on for nearly half a page) and assessing him using terms of movements to which Meiji writers belonged. At the same time, Kōyō and his colleagues did less resisting of Western style than simply avoiding it. Their lineage was that of *gesaku*, the playful late 19<sup>th</sup>-century fiction that was seen in literary circles as frivolous, hardly serious literature, and as we have seen earlier, their coterie magazine *Garakuta bunko* was reviewed as just this: a reminder of old junk that one might find in an antiques store. Yet at the same time, *Garakuta bunko* published fiction in genres of literature that not only had been popular recently, but as Peter Kornicki has demonstrated, remained popular throughout the first decades of the Meiji period and in active circulation via reprints and lending libraries.<sup>257</sup> In other words, Western literature and Saikaku were not mutually exclusive. Kōyō, and Genroku arts and letters more generally, were a true alternative alongside a continued adoption of Western literary styles and forms, not a last resort for those who refused to let go of the past. Moreover, that alternative in the form of Saikaku and other Genroku writers and artists was looked at in the very same framework as all other modern literature, as we have seen with Rohan’s internal debate over whether Saikaku should properly be referred to as a realist or

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<sup>256</sup> Noguchi, 262.

<sup>257</sup> Kornicki, “The Survival of Tokugawa Fiction in Meiji Japan,” 475-477.

idealist, words used by contemporary writers to describe themselves and each other. It was not a dead literature of the past, but a living literature to be engaged in the framework of the present.

This focus on where Saikaku falls in contemporary literary movements is telling of how he was being thought of by Rohan and other Meiji readers. As Jonathan Zwicker argues, the structure, style, and content of Saikaku's writing was strikingly different from other genres that were popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – including the very genres to which he had been likened in *Saikaku zenshū*'s preface, such as *ninjōbon*, which were focused on plot and action. Saikaku would have been just as “foreign” to Meiji readers as were some Western writers whose work similarly deviated from the plot-based novel, such as Tolstoy.<sup>258</sup> Thus Saikaku cannot be thought of as simply a turn to the past, toward earlier 19<sup>th</sup>-century fiction that was disdained by literary reformers like Tsubouchi Shōyō in his *Shōsetsu shinzui*. Rather, as Zwicker puts it, both Saikaku and Tolstoy “seemed to offer a new departure” from earlier 19<sup>th</sup>-century literature, and represented “a new type of reading” – what he refers to as “art for art's sake,” rather than novels read for plot.<sup>259</sup> The picture of Saikaku is much more complex than writing him off as the fixation of a group of writers “[taking] up their kimonos again,” and we must see him as the truly new invention that he was in the 1890s.

Although *Saikaku zenshū* attempts to establish a legitimate place for Saikaku within literary history and to present him as an important author of prose fiction, its task does not appear to be an attempt to narrate a comprehensive history of Japanese literary history as a whole, nor to establish an overarching canon or narrative based in literary ideology.

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<sup>258</sup> Jonathan Zwicker, *Practices of the Sentimental Imagination: Melodrama, the Novel, and the Social Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asia Center, 2006), 165.

<sup>259</sup> Zwicker, 171, 167-168.

Rather, the anthology tries to serve as the ultimate reference guide to a single author and to fundamentally invent that author as a subject, and it is situated in the midst of a period of widespread literary experimentation with the novel as a form and advocacy of competing styles. The history of Saikaku's anthologization in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century is one of a process thoroughly grounded in this historical moment, and in the social networks that were the foundation of and driving force behind the revival of Saikaku's – those of writers and critics taking an alternate path from a widespread turn to Western literature as a model. It is also an argument for Saikaku as an author, and a taking of a position that the type of work found within the anthology is worthwhile and legitimate as modern Japanese literature, worthy of being part of a concrete stance in contemporary literary debates. *Saikaku zenshū* enters the larger debate of what counts as Japanese literature that was taking place at the time, regardless of the intent of the editors, and had a profound effect on the place of Saikaku in an emerging canon of Japanese literature.

Ken'yūsha's central place in their version of Saikaku's literary genealogy is undeniable, and it is impossible to separate this literary context from our contemporary understanding of Saikaku's identity as an author. Rather than seeing Ken'yūsha as an influence on this understanding, we must recognize them as the individuals in which it is grounded. It was the members of Ken'yūsha who constructed the version of Saikaku that has been accepted, critiqued and analyzed, and used to narrate the history of Japanese literature since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. While this may no longer be primarily associated with Saikaku today, these individuals not only discovered, but invented the author of prose fiction that we know as Saikaku, through their promotion of his style and importance as literature worthy of reading and praise – and through their transparent

construction of his archive, setting the stage for the boom in anthologies of authors' "complete works" that would succeed it.

## Chapter V

### In Memoriam

In 1894, the same year that *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū* was published, a limited compilation of pieces by poet and essayist Kitamura Tōkoku appeared shortly after his death by suicide. This small anthology – the first of its kind that brought together works by a contemporary, literary Meiji writer – was followed in 1902 by a larger two-volume set, *Tōkoku zenshū*<sup>260</sup> (*The Complete Works of Tōkoku*), purporting in name to be the “complete works” of this writer. The history of *Tōkoku zenshū* raises the question of the role that anthologies played in mourning the dead, and this problem is also at the center of the second anthology of a Meiji writer, *Ichiyō zenshū*<sup>261</sup> (*The Complete Works of Ichiyō*). This 1897 volume of works by Higuchi Ichiyō was reprinted a number of times, with a larger, two-volume second edition by the same title in 1912. Both writers’ anthologies played a crucial role in their posthumous reconfiguration as authors, and served a double function as memorial objects for two social and literary groups mourning the deaths of prominent members.

Both writers’ deaths were significant in the literary world, and in Ichiyō’s case, created waves among a larger readership as well. Thus, their anthologies were published in a context of public recognition of their young and sudden deaths, and with a drive to

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<sup>260</sup> 透谷全集

<sup>261</sup> 一葉全集



recognize them as having a great influence; in fact, both the 1894 *Tōkoku shū*<sup>262</sup> (*The Works of Tōkoku*) and the 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū* were released within months of the writers' deaths. Despite his young age of 26, at his death Tōkoku was a major figure in the first Romantic movement in Japan, and had long been active as a poet and critic. His activities as a literary writer and critic started with his involvement in the women-oriented *Jogaku zasshi* magazine and continued to the periodical that he helped to found, *Bungakkai*. It was his colleagues from the *Bungakkai* coterie who hastily collected his published works in 1894, and then painstakingly unearthed “new” works from his papers for the 1902 edition. Ichiyō, meanwhile, had just begun her rise to fame and popularity when she died of tuberculosis at the age of 24, with her most well-known works initially published in 1895 and 1896, including many initial publications in *Bungakkai*. Due both to her connections in the literary establishment and to her growing popularity, just over a month after her death, *Ichiyō zenshū*, a single-volume anthology of her complete works, was released by her most recent publisher, Hakubunkan, and compiled by the same Ōhashi Otowa (formerly Watanabe Otowa) who co-edited *Saikaku zenshū*. This volume was followed by a second printing only five months later – reflecting the large and perhaps unexpected demand for the first publication of her works in book form – and a revised edition, again published by Hakubunkan, in 1912.<sup>263</sup> Ichiyō underwent a profound transformation since her death, from a young Meiji short story writer to such an important and, indeed, canonical author in Japanese literature that her photograph now graces the 5,000-yen bill.<sup>264</sup> Her memory and transformation into a key figure in Japanese

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<sup>262</sup> 透谷集

<sup>263</sup> As all of Ichiyō's work had previously appeared in serials, this was the first time that they were published in book form.

<sup>264</sup> In fact, the bill was printed soon after the image another canonical woman author, 10<sup>th</sup>-century Murasaki

literature was initially shaped, at least in part, by the 1897 and 1912 editions of *Ichiyō zenshū*.

After Tōkoku and Ichiyō's deaths, their bodies of work should theoretically remain static. Yet this is far from the case: *Tōkoku shū* and *Tōkoku zenshū* differ greatly in their contents, with *Tōkoku zenshū* containing a large number of previously unpublished works. The 1912 edition of *Ichiyō zenshū* includes an entire second volume of "new" work, added fifteen years after her death. The representation of the writers as authors themselves, achieved through eulogy-like prefaces and photographs, also changes drastically from their first, hurried anthologies to the later, more crafted editions. Consequently, even after their deaths, these writers' identities as authors continued to shift, mutually defined by and defining what came to be agreed upon as their authoritative *oeuvres*. Through providing copies in book format which may otherwise disappear along with the ephemeral sources in which they were previously recorded, these anthologies demonstrate the power of editors in limiting and shaping what is possible to interpret as an author's identity through the construction of an *oeuvre*. In the case of Tōkoku and Ichiyō, their works appeared almost exclusively in magazines, and often in coterie journals with limited print runs and audience; they were thus in immediate danger of disappearing permanently even soon after their initial publication.<sup>265</sup> With these fragile bodies of work as their source material, the anthologies of Tōkoku and Ichiyō played a significant role by determining, through preservation, the possibilities of

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Shikibu, appeared on the former 2,000-yen note. Murasaki Shikibu was discussed in the second chapter as the anonymous author of *The Tale of Genji*.

<sup>265</sup> As an extreme example, the first, handwritten and unpublished issues of Ken'yūsha's *Garakuta bunko* are no longer available to us. Even the published issues are only available in reprint form because of the foresight of some aging Ken'yūsha members in 1927, when the magazine had already become difficult to come by.

interpretation for not just these two authors, but for Japanese literature itself more broadly.

In addition to a purely literary function, these two anthologies also served as sites of group mourning and remembrance in the wake of traumatic death. In both cases, the editors mourned the authors in the anthologies through similar means: their prefaces resemble both eulogies and definitive interpretations of the “authors” themselves, focusing on the individual at least as much as on his or her works. The preface to Ichiyō’s earliest anthology includes vivid personal remembrances and frames the editor’s assessment of her career within his own experience as her poetry student. The 28-page preface to the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*, in which several major literary figures focus on mourning their friend’s passing and giving meaning to his life just as much as they comment on his works themselves, similarly testifies to the cathartic and commemorative function of the anthology. As anthologies, these two cases are profoundly different from *Saikaku zenshū*, an object constructed out of the writings of an individual whom the editors did not know personally; here we find editors remembering and honoring young writers who had just died, and with whom they were personally acquainted.

The prefaces from the various editions of both anthologies also reference numerous other figures in the literary and publishing worlds who were close to both the author and the editor, outlining both the literary field and the social network that surrounded the author. Through emphasizing personal experiences as well as social and professional connections – which we encountered earlier in a vividly illustrated form with Ken’yusha’s spatially-based membership list in *Garakuta bunko* – these anthologies ultimately serve to construct a picture of a literary field with a distinct membership that

both includes and is partly defined by the individual being anthologized. This move toward group inclusion reflexively attempts to legitimize both Ichiyō and Tōkoku, and ultimately serves to further legitimate the right of the editors to speak about and for them due to their direct connection to the deceased.

Just as with the case of *Saikaku zenshū*, the anthologies of Higuchi Ichiyō and Kitamura Tōkoku attempt the very practical task of collecting a body of work, and they simultaneously delineate and define an authorial identity through that pseudo-archive. They demonstrate a deep personal connection to the subject on the part of the editors, and a drive to both legitimize the authors and, if successful, those who advocate for their canonization. Yet in addition to these aspects, the anthologies of recently-deceased Meiji authors – the social contemporaries of the compilers, editors, publishers, and readers – create a kind of memorial object, one that serves as a way to mourn the passing of a colleague and friend while at the same time reinforcing the composition of a social group and the inclusion of the individual as a member. This chapter will explore the social function of the mid-Meiji anthology as well as the archival, and consider the anthologies of Higuchi Ichiyō and Kitamura Tōkoku as pioneers and models for anthology construction from the mid-1890s onward.

### **From Scraps to Poetry**

We already encountered the reprinting in an anthology of rare or ephemeral sources in *Saikaku zenshū*'s reproduction of collectors' copies of Ihara Saikaku's work painstakingly uncovered in used bookstores. With anthologies of contemporary authors' "complete works" – here, Meiji authors, in the 1890s – we might expect that the situation would change; in other words, that the anthologies would contain a collection of recently

published works that had not yet gone out of print. Especially in the cases of Ichiyō and Tōkoku, who had only published for a few years of their lives, it is surprising to find that the case is more similar to that of Saikaku than that of an author with works still circulating in book form. The key factor here is that their works appeared in ephemeral publications – magazines – and often in those that were coterie journals with lower circulation and fewer readers, or in variety magazines that readers would have thrown out after each weekly edition. Their works could potentially vanish from the public eye just as easily as had Saikaku in the 1700s and early 1800s.

As reprints, then, anthologies of these authors' "complete" bodies of work played a more literal role than the editors may have anticipated: they would become the new access points for the works of Ichiyō and Tōkoku, and through this become authoritative sources. The anthologies, while not necessarily containing all of the works that Tōkoku and Ichiyō ever wrote (and thus not "complete") would become the only reliable sources for their works, and thus the boundaries of the anthologies would become the new boundaries of the authors' *oeuvres* themselves. Because of their status as the only editions of their works in print, these anthologies would by default achieve primacy over the original, ephemeral editions (or even, as in the case of Ichiyō, reprints in multiple magazines), and would become the bodies of work that not just did persist over time, but *could* in the first place. This is not to say that these initial anthologies persistently dictated the full body of each author's work, as scholars undertaking archival research would expand the range of surviving works accessible through later anthologies, but they established a core group of works for each that would be able to persist where ephemeral magazines would not. While these anthologies' contents would not always dictate the

limits of an author's *oeuvre*, they established for a time what would not be lost.<sup>266</sup>

Both Ichiyō and Tōkoku were in immediate danger of having their works lost to time, moreover, as Ichiyō had never published a work in book form before her death and Tōkoku had relatively few works published as independent volumes by 1902. For both, posthumous anthologies were the first time that most readers would encounter their works in book format, and it would be the first time that their works were preserved in a more persistent format as well.<sup>267</sup> Here, I will first turn to Tōkoku's anthologies as a case of preservation and archival construction, and later to *Ichiyō zenshū*'s changing contents and their implications for her authorial identity.

The editors of Tōkoku's 1902 anthology of "complete works," *Tōkoku zenshū*, are explicit in preservation being a motivating factor for their project that aimed to compile as much of Tōkoku's work as possible. Editor Hoshino Tenchi writes in his preface that "it has been a long time since the single volume *Tōkoku shū* was created and published, and it has gone out of print," thus endangering a large collection of reprinted essays.<sup>268</sup> The *Tōkoku zenshū* project was begun to include as many of Tōkoku's works as possible, even those not previously published, but Tenchi explains the absence of Tōkoku's essay on Emerson ("Emerson") in the collection as having "already been published as a separate volume."<sup>269</sup> Presumably, one of his works that did appear in book form in 1889, *The Prisoner's Poem (Soshū no shi)*, was out of print and not easily accessible, as it

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<sup>266</sup> A key historical factor here is the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake, which caused widespread fires in Tokyo and Yokohama that burned much of the cities. This event would have made the ephemeral sources in which the work of Tōkoku and Ichiyō was originally published even more scarce, and increased later dependence on reprints in other volumes and limited facsimile editions of coterie magazines.

<sup>267</sup> In Ichiyō's case, this worked perfectly. *Ichiyō zenshū* went through more than 30 printings between 1897 and the second edition in 1912, preserving her works through redundancy at the very least.

<sup>268</sup> Hoshino Shinnosuke [Hoshino Tenchi], "Hanrei," in [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku zenshū*, ed. Hoshino Shinnosuke [Hoshino Tenchi] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1902), 1.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

appears within the pages of *Tōkoku zenshū* for posterity (unlike “Emerson”).

In the case of the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*, pieces published in magazines are not the only ephemeral sources reprinted for both contemporary access and posterity. His anthology contains both his diary and a number of unpublished pieces that were uncovered in his study by his surviving colleagues and deemed suitable for inclusion in the collection. This raises significant questions about what it means to construct an *oeuvre* within an anthology of an author’s works that purports to be complete. Tōkoku’s body of work here has been expanded to include unpublished, unfinished manuscripts found in his study after his death, which are published posthumously alongside other pieces that had already been completed and appeared in print, as though publication had always been intended but not yet achieved. This profoundly impacts the authorial identities that Tōkoku performed in his own lifetime, as opposed to the singular one constructed in that anthology, as well as the ways in which both types of works would be received by readers. Although this is an extreme case, it prompts us to ask whether there is ever a situation in which the *oeuvre* is *not* being actively constructed, and in which works are not being made to appear as a cohesive, consistent whole that has been invented by editors and publishers rather than writers themselves.

The 1894 *Tōkoku shū* must be raised here as a precursor to *Tōkoku zenshū*. *Tōkoku shū* was created almost immediately after Tōkoku’s death on May 16, 1894 – published in October of the same year – and was specifically compiled for his surviving friends to enjoy reading. In fact, this is how it was advertised in the pages of *Bungakkai* magazine, where many of his coterie friends and fans would likely see it. Moreover, it was not simply an anthology of works collected from various published sources. Every

one of the numerous essays included in the volume was an unpublished, possibly unfinished manuscript, brought together in print because, as a pre-publication advertisement puts it, “it would be a pity if the collection of Mr. Tōkoku’s manuscripts were to be scattered and lost” – but also because “his friends [...] look forward to reading it with pleasure.”<sup>270</sup> *Tōkoku shū* is part of a genre of miniature archives that were not uncommon at the time following its publication; a *Bungakkai* obituary for Higuchi Ichiyō announces in passing that a collection of fellow woman novelist Wakamatsu Shizuko’s surviving manuscripts would also be published in the time after her death.<sup>271</sup> It explicitly connects the ideas of preservation and mourning, and being able to know a writer through an archive of his or her manuscript. In other words, it attempts to construct an authorial identity through a body of work that feels more private and hidden from the public than the works readers would have encountered before the writer’s death.

While it appears that the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū* is remarkably transparent about its compilation and editing process, it is not simply editorial honesty that drives editor Hoshino Tenchi<sup>272</sup> to begin one of his prefaces by explaining that the volume will contain “numerous works as yet unknown to the public” including novels and a play.<sup>273</sup> These works are portrayed as still unpublished and languishing in Tōkoku’s study, yet worthy of being presented as hidden gems within his official “complete body of works, everything from age 25 to when he left this world at age 27.”<sup>274</sup> The connection between complete works and unpublished manuscripts is strongly linked here, as though it is necessary to

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<sup>270</sup> “Tōkoku ikō chikakan.” *Bungakkai* 18 (June 1894): n.p.

<sup>271</sup> “Higuchi Natsuko shi.” *Bungakkai* 48 (December 1896): 35.

<sup>272</sup> 星野天知 (1862-1950).

<sup>273</sup> Hoshino, “Hanrei,” 1.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.* There is disagreement among prefaces in *Tōkoku zenshū* as well as both editions of *Ichiyō zenshū* about the age at which the subjects actually died.



go beyond published works to truly discover Tōkoku as an author.

*Tōkoku shū* began to shape Tōkoku's posthumous identity as an author in yet another way, which raises questions about whether this type of collecting can truly be considered an "archival" act at all. While it works to preserve writings that might otherwise be lost, it does so in a way that removes basic context. As discussed in the first chapter, the writer Kitamura Montarō used a large number of pseudonyms (including "Tōkoku" and its alternate pronunciation, "Sukiya") over the course of his short lifetime and several of them appeared regularly in *Bungakkai*. The manuscripts found in his study after his death – or perhaps in the editorial offices of *Bungakkai* – may not have had "Tōkoku" attached to them, or even any pseudonym at all. It is telling that immediately after his death, the editors of *Bungakkai* magazine published several of his works there posthumously, and these did not uniformly carry the "Tōkoku" pseudonym. Yet *Tōkoku shū*'s title as well as its contents carry only one pseudonym: that of "Tōkoku," chosen "because it is the best known" by editor Hoshino Tenchi.<sup>275</sup> While this choice was likely a necessary one – listing a dozen of Tōkoku's pseudonyms in the title would have been unwieldy – it was also a crucial step in creating a single authorial identity for a writer who had previously had many. Thus, we must ask: whose archive is *Tōkoku shū*? With the erasure of multiple authorial names in favor of a uniform but anachronistic context, we lose a great deal, and in particular the unique circumstances of both writing and publishing. Especially in the case of unpublished manuscripts, there is no way to know how Kitamura Montarō would have chosen an authorial name, if any, if he ever decided to make them public. Here, rather than preserving the uncertainty along with the content,

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<sup>275</sup> [Hoshino Tenchi], "Reigen," in [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku shū* (Tokyo: Bungakkai zasshisha, 1894), n.p.

Tenchi makes the practical decision to erase possible authorial variations in favor of a single, consistent, and convenient name.

This name is carried forward into the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū* and there is no reference in any of its 28 pages of prefaces to “Tōkoku” being chosen from multiple authorial names for the anthology. We do find in his colleagues’ memories a reflection of his multiple authorial identities, as well as those of others; in particular, Hirata Tokuboku,<sup>276</sup> in “Bōyū o tomurau” (“Mourning My Friend”) refers often to Tōkoku as “Sen’u,” or “Cicada’s Wing,” a pseudonym that he manages to incorporate into wordplay elsewhere in his eulogy, but also uses “Tōkoku” in other parts of the text.<sup>277</sup> This piece is reprinted from an earlier version that Tokuboku published in *Bungakkai* in May 1894, immediately after Tōkoku’s death and before his name had been stabilized and made official by his surviving colleagues. It reflects the instability of names within the *Bungakkai* publication, where core members used multiple pseudonyms, sometimes within the same issue, and also wrote anonymously. Here, Tokuboku even refers to Shimazaki Tōson<sup>278</sup> by his early pen name of Musei,<sup>279</sup> one that is no longer used to refer to him but which he used in *Bungakkai* often around the time of Tōkoku’s death. Outside of this short preface, however, there are no references to Tōkoku as Sen’u despite it being commonly used in *Bungakkai*; the choice of a single name for works that were originally published with many pseudonyms is no longer justified or explained. Tōkoku has become “Tōkoku,” and through posthumous references such as *Tōkoku shū*’s title, his authorial name is no longer an open question.

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<sup>276</sup> 平田秃木 (1873–1943).

<sup>277</sup> The pseudonyms are 蟬羽 and 透谷, respectively. Hirata Tokuboku, “Bōyū o tomurau,” in [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku zenshū*, ed. Hoshino Shinnosuke [Hoshino Tenchi] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1902), 7–14.

<sup>278</sup> 島崎藤村 (1872–1943).

<sup>279</sup> 無聲

The active construction of an authorial identity for Tōkoku is not limited to his name. If his body of works is to contain unpublished, unfinished manuscripts of all kinds, as it does in *Tōkoku zenshū*, its contents, and thus the contents that define Tōkoku as an author, are an open question until editors make their decisions about the anthology's composition. In this case, although there is only one editor listed – Hoshino Tenchi – it is clear that he is not the only one who has made choices about what to “discover” among Tōkoku's papers, what constitutes a work that is worthy of publishing posthumously, and what to leave buried or lost. Shimazaki Tōson begins his preface, “Bōyū hago chō” (“A Journal of My Departed Friend's Scrap Paper,” by recounting a scene to the reader:

I took and collected Mr. Kitamura Tōkoku's tossed out works on scrap paper, piled high, from his study, preserving them in a corner of my bookshelf. One day I took them down from the shelf, dusted them off, and went to read them. I recalled my departed friend so vividly that it was as if he appeared before my eyes, and I fell into feelings of reminiscence that I could not bear. [...] Mr. Tōkoku put great effort into plays. Looking at the scrap paper strewn about his study, there were quite a few that are attempts at a play that didn't pan out. And he left his boxes full of verse, these too a great number of unfinished pieces.<sup>280</sup>

Tōson goes on to recite the name of every work he found in Tōkoku's apparently voluminous papers from the ages of 22 to 23 alone, taking up an entire page of the preface.<sup>281</sup>

Immediately after taking out the manuscripts, Tōson recollects what kind of man Tōkoku was: a “gentleman who loved gallantry and took pleasure in righteousness ... a poet whose exterior was relaxed, but inside was melancholy ... [and] a natural scholar

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<sup>280</sup> Shimazaki Tōson, “Bōyū hago chō,” in [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku zenshū* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1902), 15.

<sup>281</sup> It is not clear which years Tōson is referring to here. Hoshino Tenchi claims in his preface that *Tōkoku zenshū* contains his works from ages 25 to 27, but as Tōkoku's age at death is officially recorded as 25, they may be referring to the same time period.

and spirited critic.”<sup>282</sup> Here, Tōson seems to be both reading into Tōkoku’s manuscripts these characteristics that he uses to define his friend’s essential character, and also perhaps reading the melancholy, idealistic themes he finds in the works back into Tōkoku’s identity as an author and as a man. His thoughts quickly turn to mourning:

I can never forget him ... my close friend for whom my feelings run so deep. [...] Every time I look through my departed friend’s notes, I cannot bear thinking of the suffering of today’s poets.<sup>283</sup>

For anyone familiar with the circumstances of Tōkoku’s life and death, Tōson’s allusion to suffering poets could not but suggest but Tōkoku’s own suffering as a sensitive idealist – as just the sort of man that the prefaces endeavor to portray.<sup>284</sup> Tōson here sets up this association and also readers’ expectations of what they will find in *Tōkoku zenshū*; just as the readers encounter in the anthology the same “attempts at a play that didn’t pan out” and reprints of the “boxes full of verse” that Tōkoku left unfinished, perhaps they too will find their thoughts turning to the painful nobility of poets that Tōson paints so vividly in his account of preserving, collecting, reprinting, and re-reading.<sup>285</sup>

In Tōson’s care in both preserving and sorting through Tōkoku’s posthumous scraps, then, there is a significant amount of both culling and organization that takes place, and this is of course a necessary step in bringing the manuscripts to print without Tōkoku to oversee the process. As in *Tōkoku shū*’s bringing together of “manuscripts that would otherwise be scattered and lost,” however, there is no recognition of the highly subjective process that takes place before his “scrap paper” can become verse, plays, or

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<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>284</sup> Notably, the prefaces do not include Tōkoku’s life outside of *Bungakkai*, and in particular, his life as a Christian and political activist; these identities would also have led to his suffering, but here, it is only the sensitivity of the idealist poet that causes Tōkoku pain.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 17.

novels, nor of the complex relationship between authorship and ownership that we find in the tension between Tōson and the writing he finds. Instead, these unfinished pieces that now fill the pages of *Tōkoku zenshū* previously filled the boxes that Tōkoku left behind in his study, waiting to be discovered; in this preface, they are completely transparent.

Tōson would have had to make judgments about genre as well, but as he describes the pieces, they had already manifested themselves as poetry or snippets of a play before he even took them down from his bookshelf. His portrayal of this process gives the impression that Tōkoku's work was simply a raw archive that Tōson conveyed to the reader without any intervention other than making it accessible, and as though Tōkoku himself would not have been policing his "scraps" on some level as well. We cannot know whether Tōson's evaluation of the unfinished pieces as largely being efforts at writing plays is reflective of what he found in Tōkoku's study or simply what he himself had been looking for. Just as Ihara Saikaku was transformed from a *haikai* poet into a writer of short fiction, through compiling selections of unpublished work that even included Tōkoku's diary, Hoshino Tenchi and his colleagues were able to construct a vision of Tōkoku that both reflected and accommodated their memories of him – memories that in each preface are prompted and reinforced by readings of a certain selection of Tōkoku's works.

Kitamura Tōkoku is not the only writer whose unpublished works appeared for the first time in an anthology purporting to be complete; although *Ichiyō zenshū* did not contain such works before 1912, with the second edition in that year, it suddenly contained an entire second volume of diary entries and correspondence. In fact, this became the first volume of the set, literally foregrounding this "new" work. We must ask

where these texts came from and why it was appropriate in 1912 to publish this writer's diary as "literature." How is it that Higuchi Ichiyō's "complete" archive could also continue to expand and change form after her death, at a time when she was no longer able to give input on what is to be contributed to the public realm and what was to remain unseen?

Of course, we must not take "complete" too seriously here; it is more productive to think about this term as aspirational rather than literal. As with Tōkoku, the editors of *Ichiyō zenshū* clearly desired to make as many of her works public as possible, and took the idea of a piece of writing quite broadly: it is anything that Ichiyō put her pen to, rather than anything she had finished, edited, and voluntarily published. The archive was out of her hands at the time of her death, and it was up to her literary executors to decide what will and will not be published within a framework of discovery, editing, and subjective evaluation. Moreover, the anthology was also subject to the whims of publishers who had a still vague copyright law on their side. This is not a case of simply finding those pieces of writing, in any state, that may be considered the intellectual results of Higuchi Natsu's writing. It is the creation of that body of intellect, an archive of pieces that can be ascribed to the pen name of Ichiyō, and the literal creation of "Ichiyō" the author from this resulting body of works.

The 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū* was comparatively conservative in its selection of writing to include: all works had previously been published in a variety of magazines, none in book form – explaining the drive to reprint and make public her otherwise endangered writing – and were generally of the same type, short stories and novellas. Editor Ōhashi Otowa collected her works from a wide variety of people and sources; although he was

the publisher of two magazines that carried a number of Ichiyō's stories, *Bungei kurabu* and *Taiyō*, her earlier fiction had been scattered across publications, the inconsistency possibly exacerbated by the fact that Ichiyō herself belonged to no specific coterie other than the ever present category of women who write fiction.<sup>286</sup> Otowa is remarkably transparent about this stage in the construction of the anthology, thanking a number of people by name, including Hoshino Tenchi, the editor of *Bungakkai* and *Urawakagusa*, for contributing works. He does not stop there, however; he also names Saitō Ryokuu and Hoshino Tenchi as those who suggested cover illustrations, laments his own amateurish attempts at it, and then recounts that he asked “Mr. Takeuchi Keishū<sup>287</sup> to conceive of the illustration [of green leaves] on the cover” and “Mr. Suzuki Kason<sup>288</sup> to write the calligraphy for the painting.”<sup>289</sup> Apologetically and not a little dramatically, Otowa confesses to the reader that “just as a beautiful woman's appeal shines through no matter how she makes up her face, I hope that the result at least matches a little of the shine of the contents of the book.”<sup>290</sup>

Just as with *Tōkoku zenshū*, then, the reader has a vivid picture of the actual, physical process of constructing the anthology, but here the social connections of the editors are brought to the fore. Otowa's success in producing the volume was, as with Tōkoku's editors, profoundly contingent on connections to other publishers as well as writers, editors, critics, and painters, and he was dependent on their cooperation and goodwill. His status as one of the most influential people in the publishing industry at the

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<sup>286</sup> A major exception to this is the presence of Ichiyō's work in almost every issue of *Bungakkai* magazine, founded by Tōkoku, from its inception. She was not, however, a member of the coterie associated with that publication.

<sup>287</sup> 武内桂舟 (1861-1942).

<sup>288</sup> 鈴木華村 (1860-1919).

<sup>289</sup> Otowa Ōhashi [Ōhashi Otowa], “Koto no tsuide ni,” in [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Ichiyō zenshū* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1897), 2.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

time, as well as his involvement with the extremely large Ken'yusha coterie, would have made Otowa a particularly good choice for the editor of such a volume; not only did he have personal influence with a number of the necessary people for compiling manuscripts and obtaining permission to reprint them, he also had the commercial power of Hakubunkan, *Ichiyō zenshū*'s publisher, to distribute and market the book. The persistence of an archive of Ichiyō's work through time, then, was contingent on its editors, publishers, and distributors, and it may be through the persistence of an individual who happened to fulfill all of those roles that we have reprinted editions of her works today.<sup>291</sup>

Although Ichiyō's popularity was at its peak at the time of her death, she was not as well known as she would become after her death, and so many readers would be accessing her work for the first time through her anthologies rather than in magazines that would likely have been no longer accessible. Given that Ichiyō and her work may well have been primarily consumed by means of *Ichiyō zenshū* in the late 1890s, this construction of identity occupies a place of great influence over the perception and even collective memory of Ichiyō herself. Thus, Otowa exerted considerable power Ichiyō's very identity as an author through his interpretation and presentation of her work to an increasingly large audience, and in defining the meaning and value of her work and its position in the literary field of the time.

The 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū* went through dozens of reprintings and was followed in 1912 by a second, expanded edition; although it was still published by Hakubunkan,

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<sup>291</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence that the humble *Tōkoku shū*, which soon went out of print, was published by the Bungakkai coterie itself, whereas Hakubunkan – one of the largest publishers in Japan at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – sent *Ichiyō zenshū* through over thirty print runs. It should be noted, too, that Hakubunkan became the publisher of the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*, not least because *Bungakkai* had ceased publication well before then.



Otowa had died in 1901 and writer, translator, and critic – and Ichiyō’s personal friend – Baba Kochō<sup>292</sup> took over as editor. The writer of the volume’s preface changed as well, to Kōda Rohan,<sup>293</sup> a well-known Meiji novelist who both knew Ichiyō and helped to pen some of the major critiques of her work along with Saitō Ryokuu, novelist Mori Ōgai, and at times Baba Kochō as well. Thus, despite the passage of time, *Ichiyō zenshū* was still being edited and introduced by those who knew their subject personally and were profoundly affected by her death. Baba Kochō even begins his afterward to *Ichiyō zenshū* with apologizing that because he was so consumed by his personal memories of Ichiyō, he had to first get them out in the form of a biography.<sup>294</sup>

Not only were Kochō and Rohan thus invested in the creation and success of the collection but were also, like Otowa, in a position to ensure that success, even improving on the previous “complete” anthology with more content that could not have been obtained without familiarity with and access to the Higuchi family themselves. The core of short stories and novellas did not change from one anthology to the next – even the order is the same, although inexplicably some of the title spellings change – but the fiction, which now occupies the second volume of two, was added to. The additional work takes the form of three early stories written in 1891 and 1892, and a collection of essays written over the course of her career. The most major addition, however, is the first volume: just as long as the second, it contains several diaries and a collection of correspondence. The inclusion of this material more than doubled the size of Ichiyō’s preserved *oeuvre* and added three genres of writing to her previously limited body of

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<sup>292</sup> 馬場孤蝶 (1869-1940).

<sup>293</sup> 幸田露伴 (1867-1947).

<sup>294</sup> Baba Kochō, “*Ichiyō zenshū* no sue ni,” in Higuchi Natsuko [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Ichiyō zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1912), 573.

short fiction.

We have already seen that parts of Kitamura Tōkoku's diaries were included in his 1902 anthology, and thus may ask what is special about the case of Ichiyō and her *nikki*, or diary. The key difference here is gender: it is at this time, from the 1890s onward, that a “national literature” was beginning to be written and debated, and one major component of the Japanese classics was becoming women's prose literature from the Heian period (794-1185). Although some wrote tales, or *monogatari*, with *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, early 11<sup>th</sup> century) being held up in the Meiji period as the precursor to the modern novel, many wrote their own stories in the form of journals, the genre known as women's diary literature (*joryū nikki bungaku*). Written in classical Japanese, this literature could be argued to be “Japanese” on a basic level as opposed to the enormous amount of writing in Chinese published over the centuries, and according to Tomi Suzuki, it fit a gendered view of Japanese classical literature as feminine and elegant as well.<sup>295</sup> With this preexisting genre, Ichiyō's diary cannot be interpreted solely as an autobiography that testifies to her upstanding character, as Baba Kochō depicts it in his afterward to the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū*.<sup>296</sup> No matter how popular novels in a purportedly autobiographical vein were becoming at this time – the genre of *watakushi shōsetsu*, or “I-novel,” was forming in the late Meiji (1900s-1912) and Taisho (1912-1926) periods as well – and no matter how much interest existed in Higuchi Natsuko herself as a person on the part of her fans, the connection to *joryū nikki bungaku* from centuries in the past is inescapable.

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<sup>295</sup> Tomi Suzuki, “Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature,” in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 72-79.

<sup>296</sup> Baba, 573.

The inclusion of this diary in Ichiyō's official "archive" has profound consequences for how we now see her work, and how it was placed in the context of both social and literary history. She is no longer only a short story writer who empathized with the suffering of the lower classes and depicted them with skillful language; rather, she has become that *and also* a writer of women's diary literature, at a time when the latter genre was being canonized by the literary establishment in universities as an essential part of the Japanese classics. Koda Rohan prefaces the first volume of the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū* – her diary and correspondence – with an attempt to place Ichiyō in a pantheon of historical women writers rather than among her (male) Meiji colleagues, including those who are now widely known for their diary literature, and thus sealed her fate by both genre and intellectual positioning. With Rohan's preface as well as the very contents of the archive constructed in her memory, Ichiyō becomes in her 1912 anthology a woman writer first, and a Meiji writer second. Without this unpublished work being recovered from Ichiyō's own "scrap paper," we would have a very different author indeed.

### **Anthologies and Social Memory**

While *Tōkoku shū*, published hurriedly in 1894 immediately following Kitamura Tōkoku's sudden death by suicide at 26, gives us far less information about both the writer and those editing the volume than the 1902 edition, both vividly paint Tōkoku as a socially-connected author and emphasize the collaborative nature of the anthology's compilation. We can see the editors engaging in an establishment of social cohesion by identifying and reinforcing the composition of the literary group that Tōkoku had led, and to which they belonged as prominent members. Here, Tōkoku's death is not simply experienced by individuals rereading his reprinted works. As we have already seen,

*Tōkoku zenshū* was a carefully, painstakingly crafted homage to Tōkoku, full of unpublished manuscripts and diary entries. It is more a purported window onto the mind and soul of a writer and friend than a practical collection of his “complete” works in any sense. Yet we are, in reality, looking at a window onto the minds of the compilers, editors, and the writers of *Tōkoku zenshū*’s prefaces more than anything. Here, it is as though the word “complete” (*zenshū*) refers more to knowing Tōkoku himself completely or being able to hold his memory completely in one’s hands; it is a memory deliberately constructed by a handful of bereaved family and friends, presenting their own Kitamura Tōkoku to others. The editors and those who contributed prefaces are engaged in creating a specific, authorized “site” of remembrance together, one that marks their shared trauma and loss.

An outstanding feature of all of the prefaces included with *Tōkoku zenshū* – by editor Hoshino Tenchi and colleagues Hirata Tokuboku, Togawa Shūkotsu, and Shimazaki Tōson, as well as an anonymous preface – is their focus on recalling not just what sort of person Tōkoku was and the individuals’ sadness at his loss, but on his social nature and the specific times and places that they interacted with him. In particular, all bring up the last experiences they had with Tōkoku before his death while reflecting both on his character and on their own losses. There is a profound emphasis on personal, direct knowledge of Tōkoku that both gives the prefaces’ writers a kind of authority with which to speak about him, and also directs readers’ attention to an author defined by his friends’ experiences of loss.

Looking at the commemorative environment in which Tōkoku’s first anthology was compiled reveals the link that can be made between memory and identity. As Barbara

Misztal argues, “memory [...] becomes the main source of a group or personal identity” and “memory and identity depend upon each other since [...] what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity [of the object of remembrance].”<sup>297</sup> This process of remembering is two-way: Tōkoku is defined as an essential member of the Bungakkai coterie as he is simultaneously included in its ranks, and in this act, the members of the literary group shape their own identities within it as well. By providing a context for mourning and remembering Tōkoku through recalling their experiences and their firsthand knowledge of him, and doing so together as a set of collective prefaces within the same volume, they establish themselves as the legitimate heirs of Tōkoku, the owners of his memory. Through collective remembering of Tōkoku, the members of Bungakkai around the time of his death and after – and those who would have liked to be subsequently included in it – reiterate their allegiance to a group that is privileged to collectively remember him in both a personal and professional way. This act of remembrance is a complex series of associations that simultaneously defines Tōkoku and his colleagues, the legitimate membership of the Bungakkai coterie, and the place of those who occupy it.

Although publishing the names of those who wrote most of the prefaces to the 1894 and 1902 Tōkoku anthologies clearly delineates a group of those authorized to speak about and remember him, and to collaborate in shaping his memory, they also work to exclude others from that group. This can even be seen as the exclusion of some from legitimate membership in the coterie associated with *Bungakkai* magazine. The 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*'s final preface gives us crucial information about not just who helped to

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<sup>297</sup> Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2003), 133.

construct the book but who was even allowed to. Editor Hoshino Tenchi tells us that “as soon as they had heard about this book, a number of strangers sent in writings and endeavored to add a biography of Tōkoku as well” – the “writings” possibly being either their own or their saved clippings of Tōkoku’s works.<sup>298</sup> Rather than framing this as an outpouring of support for the memory of a shared, departed friend, Tenchi keeps them at a distance: they are an unnamed, unknown mass of individuals (*hitobito*) who happened to hear about the project, sending in unsolicited materials that would be inappropriate for inclusion in the book. Tenchi even goes on to dismiss the idea of a biographical sketch as “ostentatious.”<sup>299</sup> Despite the solicitation for manuscripts for the first *Tōkoku shū* in 1894, then, there is a need to keep the group of those authorized to collect and present them to a core set of legitimate *Bungakkai* members, those whose names may appear on or even within the prefaces. They are the ones who enjoy the status of being familiar with both Tōkoku and *Bungakkai* itself (the magazine as well as the group), as opposed to the unsolicited contributors – *michi*,<sup>300</sup> or unknown strangers.

The first *Ichiyō zenshū* was published in January 1897, only a few months after her death on November 25, 1896, and demonstrates itself to be just as much of a memorial object as the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*, despite its lack of lengthy eulogizing, unpublished manuscripts, and photographs. It is in the uniqueness of the book itself that marks it as a commemorative object: Otowa’s remembrances of his own time with Ichiyō were never reproduced in the later editions, and were not even included in reprints of the same edition as soon as just a few months later in June 1897. Unlike *Tōkoku zenshū*, this

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<sup>298</sup> Hoshino, “Hanrei,” 3.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> 未知

*Ichiyō zenshū* is not a site of group mourning other than in its consumption, for readers of this volume likely felt some connection with the shared loss of others in the death of a favorite writer, or even friend, whose illness was so public that it was announced in the *Yomiuri* newspaper. Rather, it is a site of mourning for Ōhashi Otowa himself, intended for others who were familiar with Ichiyō either personally or who had followed her career closely. Within this preface, we can clearly see his keen feeling of Ichiyō's loss in his own personal life, as well as the hard work that he put into creating the book itself; it gives the reader the impression of catharsis in the face of a loss implicitly shared with the audience through assumed knowledge and the use of language. The fact that this piece of the anthology is missing in reprints put out less than six months later from the same publisher strongly suggests a special quality for the first printing of the first edition, marking it as a kind of collector's item for deeply loyal fans and friends alike. Rather than the abstract idea of an anthology alone being an homage to Ichiyō, it is – intentionally or otherwise – this specific volume with all of its physical qualities that serves as a commemoration in the immediate wake of her very public death.

Of his personal experience, Otowa writes:

I heard news of [Ichiyō's] death and when I rushed to knock upon her gate, I smelled the smoke of incense. [...] Ah! I would never have a chance to speak with her again.<sup>301</sup>

This deep regret resounds through the end of the preface; Otowa nearly ends it with these words, the next few lines being only platitudes to her devotion to her sister and mother. It was near the end of her life, “just a few months before she took ill [...] when] I saw her a number of times and we became quite familiar.”<sup>302</sup> Yet although Otowa began to study

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<sup>301</sup> Ōhashi, 3.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

poetry with Ichiyō at that time,

[I soon] took a wife and [...] after that, my wife often became ill and I became quite busy. I wasn't able to see [Ichiyō] very often. On November 25, 1896, she finally succumbed to her illness and suddenly and unexpectedly passed away.<sup>303</sup>

Thus, the shock of her death came to someone who felt a closeness to her came just at a time when the opportunity to visit had disappeared, and one can sense that the grief at “never [having] a chance to speak with her again” could be more than simply a sentiment expressed for the benefit of readers.

It may be, however, that any sentiment penned solely to move readers of the preface would have been in the service of the book's purpose: not only to play a role as a project through which Otowa could perform his individual mourning through memorializing his friend, but to become a memorial object through which Ichiyō's surviving colleagues and fans could mourn her as well. Otowa's narrative of her death is remarkably short and assumes a prior knowledge on the part of the reader; in other words, he presumes that the reader would already have been following the news and progress of her illness as it had happened. He refers to a time that was “just a few months before she took ill” in which “she was turning out manuscripts [for ‘Nigorie,’ ‘Jusan’ya,’ ‘Warekara,’ and others] in truly wretched economic circumstances,” but frames the time in terms of his own personal life – when he married, studied poetry with Ichiyō, and published her works in his company's magazines – rather than informing the reader that this occurred in 1896, before the summer when she became ill with tuberculosis.<sup>304</sup> An obituary in *Bungakkai* magazine, on the other hand, specifies the timeline with extreme detail, noting that the last work it was able to publish in sister magazine *Urawakagusa* fell in April of

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 3.



1896 and that she became too ill to write that summer.<sup>305</sup> Yet the death was so public that it was even announced in Tokyo newspapers, and Otowa could reasonably expect that any fan or friend of Ichiyō would have followed the unfolding drama closely.<sup>306</sup> It would be those who were not ardent fans, who didn't read the literature columns of the newspaper, and perhaps were encountering her work for the first time through *Ichiyō zenshū*, that would hardly be able to follow the portion of Otowa's preface that gave this brief recounting of her life. The assumption on Otowa's part is that his audience would be grieving along with him, and would have been just as moved by her illness and death as he – moved so much to have been following it closely and to remember it in such chronological detail that he need not bother recounting it. Rather, he could heighten the sense of shared loss by narrating his own grief and Ichiyō as mediated by his experience, prompting readers to do likewise and take a moment to remember their own experience of their mutual friend and colleague, as if his preface could substitute for a wake.

With collective memory in mind, we can read this preface, and the very existence of the anthology itself, as an exercise of the group's desire to memorialize, to connect individual experiences with Ichiyō to a larger collective picture of who she was and how she should be publicly remembered. The compilation of the anthology itself was a collective process of both remembering Ichiyō and constructing her, and the consumption of it can be thought of it in a similar way: what is an anthology that advertises itself as an author's complete works if not a kind of total representation of the author's very identity? Through the purchase and consumption of this book, a reader – whether personally acquainted with her or not – can completely remember and experience Ichiyō through

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<sup>305</sup> “Higuchi Natsuko shi,” *Bungakkai* 48 (December 1896), 35.

<sup>306</sup> Robert Danly, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 163.

consuming what purports to be the entirety of her work. By owning all that is relevant to the Ichiyō constructed therein, it is possible for the reader to link individual memories and experiences of reading her works to the larger social understanding and memory of who she was, what her work means, and why she is relevant. Through the anthology, one's personal memory of reading and thinking about Ichiyō and her work may become linked to the collective idea of her identity and her career, enabling individuals to take part in a social and group memory through their own experiences.

Otowa's emphasis on his own individual experience does not preclude his creating in the preface an implied group of those who are privileged to officially remember, commemorate, and talk about Ichiyō. He recounts an interesting event in the history of the anthology: there was another, competing *Ichiyō zenshū* after her death, at least in theory. As Otowa recounts, Hoshino Tenchi, the editor of *Bungakkai* – in which a number of Ichiyō's early publications appeared and the very same magazine founded and edited by Kitamura Tōkoku – “also had a plan to make her writings public once more, but abandoned it when this anthology came into being.”<sup>307</sup> Happily, Tenchi agreed to contribute all of the materials he had collected to Otowa's project when he heard of it, according to Otowa himself, and for this Otowa “[thanks] him for his noble dedication,” presumably to the memory of Ichiyō and task of reprinting a complete set of works in the anthology.<sup>308</sup> Thus, we have a group of those who are allowed to speak about Ichiyō that does *not* include the voices of those involved with *Bungakkai* and its associated coterie, despite the fact that for much of her career Ichiyō published something in almost every issue of *Bungakkai*. Rather, it is Ichiyō's later publisher, Hakubunkan – the publishing

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<sup>307</sup> Otowa, 2.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

house that Otowa himself led – that is solely authorized here to collect and publish her work in a “complete” book form, and consequently shape her *oeuvre* and identity for posterity.

The others who are thanked by name for “consenting” to the reprinting of her work – such as “Mr. Takigawa, the publisher of *Musashino* [magazine], and Mr. Takase, the publisher of *Shinbundan* [magazine]” – are also in the publishing industry, and Otowa’s naming of those who helped to ensure the publication of Ichiyō’s works does not stop there.<sup>309</sup> He begins his story of his introduction to Ichiyō with Nakarai Tōsui,<sup>310</sup> a journalist who founded the journal *Musashino* and was a close friend who helped to publish Ichiyō’s first works; he follows this with Miyake Kaho,<sup>311</sup> a well-known woman writer who connected Ichiyō with the magazine *Miyako no hana*, introduced previously in the second chapter. From there, the line proceeds directly to Otowa himself and his publication of “reprinted and expanded” versions of her existing works, as well as new ones, in Hakubunkan’s (here, “my”) weekly *Taiyō* variety magazine and literary journal *Bungei kurabu*.<sup>312</sup> Yet this chronology, again, does not include *Bungakkai* or its editors at all, despite the fact that it was Miyake Kaho who introduced them to Ichiyō herself. Otowa’s recognition of her could just as well have included *Bungakkai* next to the name of *Miyako no hana*, but, notably, it does not, and this has consequences for the way in which readers can remember Ichiyō’s social as well as literary identity.

In its obituary for “Ms. Natsuko Higuchi,” however, *Bungakkai* makes exactly this connection with Kaho: it begins a detailed publication history with a mention of

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<sup>309</sup> Ōhashi, 2.

<sup>310</sup> 半井桃水 (1860-1926).

<sup>311</sup> 三宅花圃, 1868-1943.

<sup>312</sup> Ōhashi, 3.

Ichiyō's early work with *Miyako no hana*, as an orientation for the reader to understand when it was that she began to publish in their own magazine.<sup>313</sup> Similar to Otowa's preface, it is a history that leaves out Hakubunkan's role almost entirely, despite the simultaneous publishing of "Takekurabe" and other pieces in both Hakubunkan serials and *Bungakkai* in 1895 and 1896. In fact, the sole mention of Hakubunkan's staff, without a single reference to *Taiyō*, *Bungei kurabu*, or the Hakubunkan name itself, is an announcement that "it sounds like an anthology of her complete works [*zenshū*] is being planned by the two gentlemen Ōhashi Shintarō [Otowa's father-in-law] and Ōhashi Matatarō [Otowa], and gentlemen like Mori Ōgai and Kōda Rohan, and it will be coming out at the beginning of the new year [1897]."<sup>314</sup> Instead, the obituary dedicates half a page to a year-by-year account of the works that appeared in *Bungakkai* and *Urawakagusa*, emphasizing through the sheer volume of work published in *Bungakkai* – and prefacing the narrative by specifying that it "began with the third issue in March of 1893" – the close relationship between *Bungakkai* and Ichiyō herself. It even begins by making this bond clear to the audience – readers of *Bungakkai* – by claiming that "even as we feel nothing but grief at the passing of yet another great woman of letters who is known far and wide, we cannot help but mourn the loss of a dearly beloved friend of our group as well."<sup>315</sup> This obituary demonstrates a lengthy and important connection between the *Bungakkai* coterie and Ichiyō over the course of her career that cannot simply be dismissed, and yet this is exactly what Otowa does, leaving this crucial period of her publishing history for only the readers of *Bungakkai* itself to learn. Given the

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<sup>313</sup> Although the obituary is entitled "Ms. Higuchi Natsuko," the body of the text refers to her with her name in the opposite order, with her given name first.

<sup>314</sup> "Higuchi Natsuko shi." This is probably written by Hoshino Tenchi.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

ephemerality of *Bungakkai* as opposed to the large print runs of the book *Ichiyō zenshū*, it is not difficult to see whose narrative would have more influence on readers in the end, and this too has consequences for Ichiyō's authorial identity.

At the same time that he excludes some from the group of those involved with the compilation of *Ichiyō zenshū*, Otowa alludes to the authority of those involved in the editing process as those qualified and entitled to speak about other members of the literary establishment, and of course about Ichiyō herself. Perhaps deliberately, he frequently references the names of well-known figures as those with whom he worked intellectually: the preface begins by informing the reader that the book was originally supposed to be edited and proofread by critic Saitō Ryokuu. Otowa goes on to tell us that he “consulted the gentlemen Mr. Saitō Ryokuu and Mr. Togawa Shūkotsu” regarding the project, “conferred [once again] with Mr. Ryokuu” about the cover illustration, and “received evaluations [of the book] from Mr. Mori Ōgai and Mr. Kōda Rohan,” to name four influential men in the literary world at the time.<sup>316</sup> These references to the intellectual contributions of such individuals, some of whom who would almost certainly be recognized as literary authorities by readers, is as close as Otowa can get to the official approval of the literary world itself without taking them all on as official editors as well (as he did in fact attempt to do).

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<sup>316</sup> Ōhashi, 2.



Figure 10. [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Kōtei Ichiyō zenshū* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1904). This is a later reprint of the 1897 anthology and bears the same cover.

Thus, *Ichiyō zenshū* becomes *the* legitimate memorial for Higuchi Ichiyō, and Otowa consequently serves as her official curator: a keeper of her archive as well as the

very memory of her career, the originator of the official object of Ichiyō's memory. Ōhashi Otowa, as one of the most prominent members of the publishing industry of the 1890s and an affiliate of Ken'yusha, should not have had to justify his involvement in editing *Ichiyō zenshū*, nor defend his work to readers. Yet there is an element of self-legitimization in his preface: rather than attempting to legitimize Ichiyō, her fame and talent is largely taken for granted while it is her biography and Otowa's own actions that are commented upon. Her literary history, in fact, is seen largely through the lens of publishing, and at that, seems to be mentioned mostly to explain Otowa's own introduction to her work and the connections that enabled him to start publishing so much of it himself. Through recounting firsthand experience and even a kind of editorial authority through emphasizing his role as the one who brought her later works to a wide audience, Otowa conveys a sense that he is not just one who is entitled to speak about Ichiyō in introducing a work that memorializes her for the public, but that he is also the one that readers should be willing to listen to and trust. There is something implied in the relatively large amount of space dedicated to his immediate relationship to Ichiyō; if she considered him worthy of studying poetry with her as well as publishing so much of her work, and if he was close enough to her to have a such personal experience of her death, Otowa becomes invested in a way with Ichiyō's approval. At the same time, as we have seen elsewhere in the preface, the book itself has been vetted by two major literary figures invested with their own previous authority: Mori Ōgai and Kōda Rohan, both acclaimed writers, prominent critics, and Ichiyō's colleagues. With this, *Ichiyō zenshū* itself is thus completely "authorized" by the right people on all sides – an essential quality for a posthumous anthology.

This is not the first time we have seen attempts at editorial legitimacy in an anthology, and indeed by Ōhashi Otowa himself; just as with *Saikaku zenshū*, the editor and writer of the anthology's preface has a great deal at stake in its compilation and reception. It is an opportunity not just to complete a successful project and generate sales, but in these two cases, to promote a volume in which the editor is personally invested. This personal investment takes several forms, and despite the fact that Higuchi Ichiyō and Ihara Saikaku are separated by centuries, some of the same key elements manifest themselves in both the 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū* and 1894 *Saikaku zenshū*. In each case, Otowa's subject is a writer that provokes emotion in him as an individual, whether because he is an ardent fan or because he was personally acquainted with a writer who is not a part of any established canon of Japanese literature. By compiling a volume purporting to be the complete works of these writers and creating an identity for each of them as an *author* – one with a stable, consistent body of work that both creates meaning for, and is given meaning by, that authorial identity – Otowa is arguing for their importance as potential members of a then-forming body of works that should be read. *Ichiyō zenshū* and *Saikaku zenshū* both made it possible to read their works – literally, by reprinting works that would otherwise have been lost to ephemeral media and likely not preserved at all – and promoted them as works important and legitimate enough to preserve in the first place. The case of Ōhashi Otowa thus gives us a more complete picture of the complex process that is the editing of an anthology: it goes beyond the hard work of finding, collecting, editing, and bringing together a body of works deemed sufficiently “complete,” and extends to a personal stake in the anthology's role in legitimizing the writer as author at the same time as ensuring that it sells.



Despite the fact that the *Ichiyō zenshū* was reprinted only five months later in June of 1897, its preface was utterly transformed in that span of time. Otowa's profuse thanks and personal descriptions went missing entirely, and were replaced by a half-page biographical sketch of the most basic sort with no authorial attribution. Telling only when Ichiyō was born, where she lived, and when she died, it references no one in the literary world who helped her in getting her work published, let alone anyone who was involved in the compilation or editing of the anthology itself. This alteration suggests that there may have been a reason for the second printing other than simply an underestimation of demand. The reprint seems to be directed at a different, wider audience than the first version of the anthology, whose specific social references may have been directed at the members of the relatively small literary elite. Perhaps the audience for the reprinted anthology was not as interested in writers' social networks and the compilation process of the anthology, and purchased it for the sole purpose of reading Ichiyō's works. This also raises the question of whether the very presence of the first anthology altered the literary field by increasing Ichiyō's popularity, perhaps introducing her work to a wider audience than existed while she still lived. Her tragic death, too, surely played a part in her posthumous fame. New readers would have here been introduced to a different Ichiyō than those who purchased the first anthology, and would have known less about her social existence before her death. The focus here is on Ichiyō's work itself, with the basic details of her biography serving as the briefest orientation to the contents of the anthology.

This lack of reference to Ichiyō's social relationship to the literary world of the 1890s, and her portrayal as a solitary, isolated authorial figure, continues in Kōda

Rohan's preface to a revised edition of *Ichiyō zenshū* published in 1912 and edited by her friend Baba Kochō. Rohan's focus is almost exclusively on her identity as an author in the specific context of the history of Japanese women's writing. He laments that "for countless hundreds of years there was nothing resembling the kind of work [produced by great women authors of the past]." However, he notes, "into this age [of the Meiji period] came Ichiyō of the Higuchi family."<sup>317</sup> Not only is she portrayed here in a more isolated, less socially-connected way than before, the very background against which she is positioned has shifted as well, from the 1896 literary world to a group of women who lived in the Heian and Kamakura periods, nearly a thousand years before. The only salient aspects of Ichiyō's existence in the Meiji period here are those that are most ahistorical: the resemblance of the tragedy of her life (and, similar to Tōkoku, her suffering as an artist) to that of the characters that she wrote about. The 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū*, as we have seen, is about the living Ichiyō of 1896, and about the living social environment from which the book itself emerged; her authorial identity is embedded in that specific historical and social moment. The later reprints and second edition, however, address more of a dead author than a living one, and in this shift we begin to see a profoundly different authorial identity: one of a canonized, reified author whose literary reputation is at stake, rather than a recently deceased writer whom the readers are expected to mourn. From here, we will turn to the construction of reified authorial identities for both Ichiyō and Tōkoku, and begin with the case of the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū*'s profound transformation of its subject into a canonized author with an expanded body of work.

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<sup>317</sup> Kōda Rohan, [Untitled preface], in Higuchi Natsuko [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Ichiyō zenshū*, ed. Baba Kochō, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1912), 1.

## Archiving the Author

Just a few months before she took ill, [Ichiyō] was turning out manuscripts in truly wretched economic circumstances, each word filled with pathos and each phrase heartrending; it was superb writing that will truly prove everlasting. During this period I saw her a number of times and we became quite familiar, and I was struck by her ambitions; she had known only a little of half a career and yet she had already earned the great admiration of others. At that time, I took a wife and studied poetry with [Ichiyō]; after that, my wife often became ill and I became quite busy. I wasn't able to see [Ichiyō] very often. On November 25, 1896, she finally succumbed to her illness and she suddenly and unexpectedly passed away. She was 26 at the time of her death. I heard news of her death and when I rushed to knock upon her gate, I smelled the smoke of incense. [...] Ah! I would never have a chance to speak with her again. (Ōhashi Otowa, January 1897)<sup>318</sup>

The masterful women writers of our tradition are numerous. [...] This young woman [Ichiyō] poured ten thousand *koku* of crimson tears into the words she wrote, flooding her verse and prose with sincere passion, suffering her short life in this black soil, a talented beauty full of infatuation with oppressive suffering who felt deeply the human emotions of yesterday and today, causing us to shed tears of bitter lamentation. This was my Ichiyō. When we see this sort of thing in her longer pieces such as “Nigorie” we will say – no, this is truly not how things are. But in this world there are those whose fates are dealt to them arbitrarily. Look at how her talent burst into fame upon the writing of “Nigorie.” That is, when we think about it, don't we see a person just like her? Indeed, we find her there in the midst of “Nigorie”... (Koda Rohan, March 1912)<sup>319</sup>

While the first edition of *Ichiyō zenshū* followed her death almost immediately, published only a few months later in January 1897, the second edition in March 1912 was separated from the living Higuchi Natsuko by fifteen years. It is no surprise, then, that we find a profoundly different authorial identity for the Ichiyō contained within the two anthologies. One presents us with a living, socially embedded author completely defined by her time and place, in the old downtown area of 1890s Tokyo. She is surrounded intellectually, too, by the members of the literary elite who were her friends, colleagues, publishers, and fans: Otowa's preface both focuses on his own experiences as her main

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<sup>318</sup> Ōhashi, 3-4.

<sup>319</sup> Kōda, 1-2.

publisher in the last year of her career, as well as on previous publishers and others who lent their advice and manuscripts to the compilation of the anthology. It is this social world that surrounds the 1897 memory that makes up Ichiyō: a largely male, contemporary, and elite social world of literary figures in mid-Meiji Tokyo.

Fifteen years later, however, we find a “Miss Ichiyō, Ms. Higuchi” who is well on her way to becoming both without time and without place, other than a literary historical context with which to frame her legacy.<sup>320</sup> Her personality has changed from Otowa’s memories of a woman who “struck [him] with her ambitions” and “who had only known a little of half a career, and yet ... had earned the great admiration of others,” to a woman who is a manifestation of a tragic character straight out of her own fiction.<sup>321</sup> The situation, moreover, has changed from one in which readers are encouraged to remember and mourn Ichiyō as Higuchi Natsuko, the living person – along with Otowa in his preface and presumably as they reread her works – to one in which the memory is much more distant and there is instead urgency in novelist Kōda Rohan’s voice as he writes to defend Ichiyō’s literary reputation in the 1912 preface. Here, the drive is not to mourn and recall fresh grief, but rather to remember a great woman who died tragically – and to ensure that her writing is not forgotten.

We can understand immediately from Rohan’s preface to the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū* that the literary landscape has changed greatly since the death of Higuchi Natsuko. The Ichiyō of 1897 is no longer as immediately relevant as she had been, despite the first edition of *Ichiyō zenshū* going through more than 30 printings; instead, she is in danger of

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<sup>320</sup> The use of suffixes to the names here is fascinating. *Joshi* 女史 or “lady” is used for “Miss Ichiyō,” but *shi* 氏, usually gendered male, is used to refer to the family name of the historical person, Higuchi Natsuko. Kōda, 1.

<sup>321</sup> Ōhashi, 3.

being forgotten or, worse, being slandered. The preface focuses largely on placing her in a more permanent position in literary history among other great women writers, some from nearly a thousand years in the past, and at the same time on defending her reputation from those who would say that her depictions of beautiful, deep emotion in the midst of suffering were all simply the result of “great talent for painting a picture of a feckless individual who frets over empty rice bowls and sake cups, all while tricking others with a spiteful tongue.”<sup>322</sup> This criticism is nothing but the “abominable noise of ten thousand dogs” and here we also see Rohan’s deep investment in preserving Ichiyō’s reputation as an author: “in the life of every work there are bound to be enemies, from time immemorial, and I’ve already said as much, but with the humility that [Ichiyō] bore in her great pain, I have but one mind about her.”<sup>323</sup> Thus, he is able to combine here both intellectual and personal investment in constructing an authorial identity on behalf of Higuchi Natsuko that will live up to both her own life and to that of her works.

For Rohan, tragedy plays a dominant role in the construction of that authorial identity, although surprisingly, he does not mention any specific details of tragedy other than referencing her early death. In this preface, he establishes a solitary and semi-mythical figure whose life and writing are both defined by abstract ideas of misfortune and pity. Throughout this preface, Rohan explicitly links Ichiyō’s tragic life and its ability to “arouse pity and sympathy” with her two most famous works, “Takekurabe” and “Nigorie,” and even claims that “as a woman, Ichiyō resembled she who we encounter in the middle of ‘Nigorie.’”<sup>324</sup> “I’m doing a disservice to her writing by saying so,” he remarks, “but her succumbing to illness – even this was an aspect of Ichiyō’s

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<sup>322</sup> Kōda, 3.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

distinction.”<sup>325</sup> Here, Rohan is both essentializing Ichiyō and conflating her with the characters in her own stories. Her identity is made simultaneously more vivid and yet less human, as though she were nothing more than a tragic character in a novel or a shadowy figure from hundreds of years in the past. This tragic, essentialized Ichiyō is able to be placed – a lone Meiji figure – among a series of long-dead, idealized women writers, the “worthy women, brave women, beautiful women, some with talent, and some with learning” that Rohan refers to in his preface.<sup>326</sup>

Koda Rohan, in his preface, is doing considerably more to attempt to canonize Ichiyō than did Otowa; he seems to have something different at stake as a writer whose words will stand in for Ichiyō’s memory. He engages in defense of that memory, both against contemporary detractors, and more positively by placing her within a pantheon of respected women writers through the ages. Rohan does this by using his firsthand experience of her as a kind of evidence of her character and abilities as a writer, just as Otowa had done, but the tone of the preface is somewhat different even in remembering Ichiyō on a personal level. Rather than emphasizing that he knew Ichiyō firsthand and focusing on his own experiences with her, such as how he came to meet her or his memories of her death and funeral, Rohan instead tells the reader what kind of person Ichiyō herself was. He uses this personal knowledge as support for his claims about her suffering, hard work, and great writing, but does not make the preface about himself; it is entirely about his vision of Ichiyō the author, rather than Higuchi Natsuko as a historical individual who had a place in Rohan’s own life in the 1890s.

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 4. Strangely, Oriki, the protagonist of “Nigorie,” met a violent end, as opposed to dying of tuberculosis as Ichiyō had; Rohan’s analysis is highly inaccurate. Moreover, Oriki was a prostitute, not a writer and sometime shopkeeper.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., 1. Again, the comparison must be made with the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*: there, Tōkoku too becomes an essentialized “suffering artist,” in the same way as Ichiyō here.

This contrast in focus and tone between the two prefaces forces us to ask what caused the writers to recall Ichiyō from such different perspectives. One major factor here is the temporal distance between Ichiyō’s death and Rohan’s preface. Fifteen years had passed, and it was written in memory of Ichiyō but not in the immediate wake of her funeral, as a kind of eulogy following her young death and in the midst of the literary world’s keen feelings of mourning. It was a memorial to a friend, but one that attempted to establish her legacy rather than to remember her as a person and a writer, and ensure that she would persist over time without the need for the 1890s social scene as context for understanding her. Because of this temporal distance, the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū* is not an object of mourning in the way that the 1897 edition had been. Its preface serves the multiple functions of remembering a friend – not mourning, but recalling – and of immortalizing her as an author, both by establishing her identity and by beginning to preserve her *oeuvre* for posterity (a preservation both made possible and partially dictated by the contents of the first 1897 edition, no matter the intentions behind its compilation).

Rohan’s framing of Ichiyō is not the only significant change made to her identity in the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū*. This anthology also includes her diary, which had not been present in the previous editions.<sup>327</sup> In fact, Robert Danly asserts that the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū* was “the first true *zenshū* [anthology of complete works]” because of its “inclusion of Ichiyō’s diaries.”<sup>328</sup> This disagreement between the 1897 and 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū* about what constitutes her “complete works” highlights the difficulty of determining what, exactly, that phrase refers to at all. Moreover, it raises the question of what brought on the inclusion of the diary in the 1912 anthology. Although we could

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<sup>327</sup> It additionally contains several unpublished early stories, which are less relevant to the discussion here.

<sup>328</sup> Danly, 333.

explain its absence as simply the consequence of compiling the 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū* in only one month, its inclusion and Rohan's repositioning of Ichiyō in 1912 also reflect changing ideas about the narrative of Japanese literary history at that time.

The discourse of Japanese literary history in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, according to Tomi Suzuki, was one simultaneously ambivalent about and celebratory of women's writing in exclusively Japanese script (*kana*), particularly from the Heian period, as an essential part of Japanese national literature and, significantly, as a precursor to the modern novel.<sup>329</sup> This discursive field made it possible, and perhaps even necessary, for Rohan to maintain Ichiyō's relevance by linking her to Heian *kana* literature. Moreover, we can potentially see a complex relationship here between this discourse, Ichiyō's identity as an author, and her diary. Into this field, her diary could emerge as a legitimate piece of writing – something worth including in her “complete works” – and perhaps also as a way to maintain her relevance as an author. Ichiyō's diary could be leveraged to assert her relevance in a literary field in which Heian *kana nikki* were being lauded as a key part of the tradition of Japanese national literature. Indeed, her comparison to Heian women writers would not have been as meaningful in an era in which the genre of *kana nikki* was not being praised and even declared as crucially important. Yet the choice to include Ichiyō's diary – a lengthy and detailed account of her daily life in the Meiji period – contrasts with Rohan's decision to include so little concrete information about Ichiyō's historically-located existence in his preface to her work.

Although Ōhashi Otowa also compared Ichiyō's work to “the fine pieces of writing from long ago” rather than to her contemporaries' works, he also neglected to

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<sup>329</sup> Suzuki, 72-79.



specify exactly what those “fine pieces of writing” were.<sup>330</sup> Despite the disparity in subject matter between Ichiyō’s writing and that of women writers of the Heian and Kamakura periods, Rohan goes to great lengths to associate her with them rather than thematically-similar writers like Ihara Saikaku or with those who had been her Meiji contemporaries. This is a change from the comparisons of Ichiyō to Saikaku, for example, during her lifetime by her literary colleagues.<sup>331</sup> Moreover, the inclusion of Ichiyō’s diary in the anthology helps to solidify the literary association between Ichiyō and other female *kana nikki* authors, regardless of the gap in time and in subject matter between them. It is for this reason that I see both of these editorial decisions as intimately related: the reconstruction of Ichiyō as an isolated, tragic figure comparable to Heian women writers, and the inclusion of her diary at a time when *kana nikki* were beginning to be praised.

Tōkoku, too, is to be represented in the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū* by his own diary. Although it is not part of the tradition of women’s diary literature, his journal is included in the anthology and editor Hoshino Tenchi finds that it can stand for the author just as well, if not better than, any kind of short biography written by another. “[Many strangers] endeavored to add a biography of Mr. Tōkoku [to the anthology],” Tenchi recounts, “but rather than trying to write some ostentatious biographical sketch, the very diary and informal notes written in the gentleman’s own hand [...] ought to convey his life and character.”<sup>332</sup> Just as with Ichiyō, Tōkoku is able to tell his own story from beyond the grave, possibly without intending for any of these writings to become public, more

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<sup>330</sup> Ōhashi, 3.

<sup>331</sup> See Danly, 109-112, for the relationship between Ichiyō’s work and the Saikaku boom of the 1890s among the Meiji literary elite.

<sup>332</sup> Hoshino, “Hanrei,” 3.

eloquently than those who researched his life or even his close friends.

Yet that does not stop some of his friends from recalling what sort of man Tōkoku was in their prefaces, some at great length, and preparing readers for an encounter with his works with a certain preconceived image in mind. Of course, many readers, especially those already familiar with Tōkoku before his death, would approach the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū* with an important fact in mind: Kitamura Tōkoku died unexpectedly and tragically by suicide at age 25. The circumstances of his death surely colored the perspectives of some readers before opening the covers of *Tōkoku zenshū*, but those who read the prefaces written by Hirata Tokuboku and Shimazaki Tōson would have found a Tōkoku completely defined by this death read back into his melancholy character and actions at the end of his life.

Tokuboku sees a suffering, lonely figure as he remembers his friend, one that is inseparable from the suffering and loneliness he himself feels at Tōkoku's absence:

Mr. Sen'u, Mr. Kitamura Tōkoku, the sound of his noble spirit is in my ears even now. His figure in a lone struggle is still in my eyes. That is the strangeness of death. I cannot truly believe that he is gone. What is this silence, the tragedy of a death like his? What is this loneliness, the harshness of a death like his? And the dwindling feeling of him still overflows in my eyes. The sorrowful feeling of him overflows in my eyes. This is the strangeness of death. I cannot truly believe that he is gone.<sup>333</sup>

He then interweaves the tragic nature of Tōkoku's death with the tragic nature of his life, and again the tragedy of Tokuboku's own feelings upon writing the preface. A reader cannot help but see the entirety of *Tōkoku zenshū* as a site of mourning and loss, a tragic volume, after reading Tokuboku's words, which are representative of the prefaces on the whole.

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<sup>333</sup> Hirata Tokuboku, "Bōyū o tomurau," in [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku zenshū* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1902), 7.

In the gentle rain of a spring night, a lone poet considers by himself his bitterness, moving the brush only a little in writing the record of a short life: I have met the misfortune of mourning my dear friend. Surrounded by fog and reciting poetry into the wind, he who wandered far and wide like the wing of a cicada<sup>334</sup>, one morning leaving an intermittent voice and a solitary figure leaving its impression like the darkness of a leaf in smoke – it’s so terribly sad.<sup>335</sup>

Tōson, meanwhile, provides a detailed recounting of Tōkoku’s numerous changes of residence in the last years before his death, and that in each he took no enjoyment (*omoshikarazu*), even attempting to keep a mountain goat as entertainment but ultimately not being able to interest himself. In the end,

He found happiness in renting a home near a temple in Kōzu, [yet] with the sound of tears this dream of a butterfly was destroyed and he once again came up to the capital [Tokyo]; he returned to the old hall (*kyūdō*) at Shiba Park, and there he never woke again from his illness [depression]. Oh, he rises up before my eyes as the memories come [back] ...<sup>336</sup>

Tōkoku, here, has become one with his young and terrible death, forever succumbing to suffering and depression and unable to take interest in life, just as Ichiyō has become defined by her own wretched circumstances and youthful passing. They have been transformed in their anthologies, by both the paratext and by an equation of their lives with their works, into characters in their tragic stories: both the ones that they penned and those that they lived. Literary diaries and short, informal essays become more authoritative as autobiographies than another’s writer’s would be; thus, their historical selves begin to disappear as their identities as authors and artists are brought to the fore, as though their lives were lived by Ichiyō and Tōkoku, rather than Higuchi Natsuko and Kitamura Montarō. The historical narratives of their lives does not begin until their circumstances would move readers to tears and until they resonate with the editors’ ideas

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<sup>334</sup> A reference to Tōkoku’s pseudonym Sen’u 蟬羽, or “cicada’s wing.”

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Tōson, 23-24.

about how they ought to be remembered in perpetuity.

The Ichiyō and Tōkoku in the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū* and 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū* are profoundly separated from their historical identities, both due to prefaces that attempt to establish authorial identities interconnected with themes of tragedy in their lives – as well as, in the case of Ichiyō, a place within an ahistorical genre of “women writers” – and due to the contents of the anthologies themselves. Tōkoku becomes a posthumous writer of plays and a diary, while Ichiyō transforms into a writer in the long tradition of female diary literature, worthy of a place among women like the Heian-period Murasaki Shikibu. These anthologies serve as objects of memory, but through their memorialization of their subjects, play an active role in constructing them as authors for posterity, and preserving a specific *oeuvre* that would otherwise be so ephemeral as to soon become inaccessible. In the next chapter, we take up two further examples of the posthumous construction of authors’ *oeuvres* – those of Kawakami Bizan and Ozaki Kōyō – and turn to the physical construction of anthologies as objects that serve to construct authors’ identities.

## Chapter VI

### Reproducing the Author

Looking at *Bizan zenshū*<sup>337</sup> (*The Complete Works of Bizan*) on its bookshelf in the basement of Tokyo's Nihon University, one would never guess that it is actually two separate anthologies. It appears to be one long series of thick, beautifully produced volumes of Kawakami Bizan's works. It is among other such series of books, including its near neighbor *Kōyō zenshū*<sup>338</sup> (*The Complete Works of Kōyō*), a similarly-sized, six-volume set with the same kind of gold lettering; they are books that strike the viewer visually and are clearly intended to persist through time. They advertise themselves through their physical presence alone as authoritative, complete resources, the closest thing that ordinary readers can get to the archives of Kōyō and Bizan.

Upon closer inspection, however, the viewer may notice a small difference in the volumes of *Bizan zenshū*. Some have additional, thin red lettering on their spines that spells out “published by Hakubunkan” (*Hakubunkan hakkō*), whereas the others read “published by Shun'yōdō” (*Shun'yōdō hakkō*); the text is barely visible. While this is the only difference in appearance between the two sets of Bizan's authoritative 1909 anthology, it speaks volumes about the construction of the anthology and the impact of the practical issues of book production on ambitions as grand as bringing together an

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<sup>337</sup> 眉山全集

<sup>338</sup> 紅葉全集

author's *oeuvre* in a single place. *Bizan zenshū* is actually a double anthology, produced simultaneously and nearly identically by publishers Hakubunkan and Shun'yōdō in 1909, one year after Kawakami Akira's death (hereafter Bizan, his most well-known pseudonym). The two anthologies' appearances are the same, leading a casual reader to assume that all of the volumes are part of a single anthology, but their contents are completely different. The anthologies are an attempt at stitching an *oeuvre* together when Bizan's two biggest publishers could not come to an agreement about copyright and who would publish his posthumous archive.

In the previous chapters, I discussed anthologies and authorship from a literary standpoint, but here we will end by looking at the impact of book production's technological and legal frameworks on author-centric anthologies of "complete" works more broadly. It is impossible to draw conclusions about anthologies without looking at them as objects in themselves, especially given their importance as memorial objects in the wake of Meiji authors' deaths with a deliberate physical presence. Meiji anthologies reinforce their authoritative claims of being complete with an imposing appearance – finely-decorated hardback books, with *Saikaku zenshū*, *Bizan zenshū*, and *Kōyō zenshū* all taking the form of large, multi-volume sets. They are full of traces of the constructed author, including handwriting samples, short biographies, and photographs. Without imported book production technologies, such as lithography, movable type, and Western-style binding, these books could not have been displayed as physical reminders of the weight of an author's *oeuvre*, as *Bizan zenshū* is on university library shelves throughout Japan. Yet these anthologies are not as complete as they purport to be, and nor are they as uniform. Before examining the anthologies presented in previous chapters as a whole, we

will see that in the case of *Bizan zenshū* and *Kōyō zenshū*, the compilation of the anthologies themselves was more complex than the editors – and readers – would anticipate.

In both presence and content, some early author-centric anthologies come to us in a strange form. Two members of influential then 1880s and 1890s literary coterie Ken'yusha died in succession in the early 1900s – Ozaki Kōyō in 1903 and Kawakami Bizan in 1908 – and their imposing anthologies were compiled shortly thereafter. Hakubunkan published their six-volume *Kōyō zenshū* in 1904, while Hakubunkan and Shun'yōdō each published their own editions of *Bizan zenshū* in 1909. Each writer died relatively young – Kōyō at 35, Bizan at 40 – and yet both began writing early, before their twenties, and had full careers in comparison to writers like Higuchi Natsuko and Kitamura Montarō, who died after only several years of publishing. Indeed, Kōyō became one of the most prolific and well-known novelists of the mid-Meiji period, and Bizan published regularly for over twenty years; each had a relatively ample body of work with which to fill an anthology. Still, despite the seemingly straightforward prospect of simply reprinting those voluminous *oeuvres*, each anthology simultaneously distorts and, in the case of Bizan, makes surprisingly transparent the publishing record of these two writers. Both anthologies raise questions of how it is that works are chosen for inclusion, and the answers often indicate forces outside the immediate control of editors and even influential publishers, to say nothing of surviving families or other literary executors. Taking into account the problems caused by relatively new copyright laws and old ways of thinking about intellectual property (an anachronism here in itself), the power and stubbornness of competing publishers, and the dependence of writers' legacies on the

motivations and persistence of editors who were often friends, we can see through the case of these two major Ken'yusha figures that anthologies purporting to contain authors' complete works are far from transparent or self-evident.

### **The Changing Landscape of Meiji Copyright**

Before engaging the anthologies of these two Ken'yusha leaders, it is imperative to make clear the state of ownership rights of literary works – or lack of them – at the time their works were published and their anthologies were produced. This was a time of flux, when publishing was transitioning from woodblock printing to movable type (and both existed simultaneously for decades). Copyright law was itself being newly developed, and changed frequently with ordinances passed in 1869, 1875, and 1887 that both established author-based copyright and restricted freedom of the press; further restrictions on the press written into the constitution of 1889; and yet another legal revision came in 1899.<sup>339</sup> Although it may seem that changes to copyright law would be relatively minor, the laws reflected – and instituted – profound differences in how copyright was conceived of, and how it was practiced, in the time leading up to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The concept of copyright inherited from the late Edo period (1600-1867) was founded on the technology of woodblock printing, and was born of a practicality of the printing process rather than any ideas about intellectual property that would later be instituted in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The fundamental idea of copyright was that of ownership of printing blocks themselves, rather than any idea of owning a rarefied text that could

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<sup>339</sup> For further detail, see Hara Hideshige, “Kindai Nihon ni okeru shuppan no jiyū to chosakuken.” *Shuppan kenkyū* 26 (1996): 3-59.



transcend medium.<sup>340</sup> Moreover, the concept of organizing works by author as “intellectual property” – all derived from the same central source of a single writer in which authorship is solely located – did not exist at this time in the form that it would later take in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>341</sup> Looking back at the Meiji period, especially the early decades (1868-1888), with these later ideas of author-based copyright and intellectual property in mind is completely anachronistic and is a misleading way of understanding the ways in which copyright related to literary production, and the ways in which works were “owned” at the time. Even the word used for copyright before 1899 was *hanken* – “block rights” – whereas from the 1899 law forward, the word changed entirely to *chosakuken*, or “authors’ rights.”<sup>342</sup>

This crucial distinction is key to understanding the ways in which copyright factored into anthology production, for the writers whose works were being collected rarely owned the rights to them. Moreover, *hanken* – which resided in the publisher who purchased the work from the writer – was often bought and sold after the original publication, so that it could become nearly impossible to trace who owned the rights to reprint a work years after its initial publication.<sup>343</sup> Even after the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, anthologies featured a *hanken* notice rather than *chosakuken*; in other words, publishers still claimed ownership of the works, and did so through a word that emphasized physical medium – an object, rather than a text. Even *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*’s title page notifies readers that Hakubunkan owns the copyright to the works collected therein (through a

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<sup>340</sup> This is not to say that outright plagiarism or copying of a text was not punishable by law, but the fundamental point is that stealing or direct copying of blocks was considered copyright infringement.

<sup>341</sup> Of course, this does not mean that writers did not feel a sense of ownership over their works; despite changing ideas about authorship, ownership, and categorization of works, a lack of copyright law as we now know it does not preclude writers’ emotional attachment to the works they produce.

<sup>342</sup> 版權 and 著作權, respectively.

<sup>343</sup> We will encounter this issue below with *Kōyō zenshū*.

notice that it belongs to the “collection” of Hakubunkan, a standard way of expressing *hanken* rights). This would come as a surprise in a framework of intellectual property rights that creates expectations that “public domain” works such as Saikaku’s would not be copyrightable several hundred years after their initial publication.<sup>344</sup> Thus, it is clear from examining anthologies ranging from *Saikaku zenshū* to those of Tōkoku, Ichiyō, Kōyō, and Bizan that even after a change in copyright law to a focus on writers’ rights – *chosakuken* – the prevailing consciousness and practice of literary proprietorship still rested squarely with publishers and texts as objects, rather than any later idea of intellectual property. Both *Kōyō zenshū* and *Bizan zenshū*, examined below, were riddled with copyright issues when they were published, and so it is essential to keep these contemporary concepts in mind as they are discussed.

### **Restoring the Whole: The Double *Bizan Zenshū***

Bizan (Kawakami Akira),<sup>345</sup> now referred to as Kawakami Bizan, was a major writer of the mid-to-late Meiji period (late 1880s to early 1900s), and yet he is no longer widely studied or even well known as a Meiji author. He was, however, a pioneer of the concept novel (*kannen shōsetsu*), a distinct genre among competing contemporary movements of realism, idealism, romanticism, and naturalism, and had a twenty-year career of consistent publication. A fellow student and friend of Ken’yūsha co-founders Ozaki Kōyō and Ishibashi Shian, he was an initial member of this influential coterie, joining in 1886 while still in secondary school; he began his publication career in the initial, handwritten and hand-circulated issues of their magazine *Garakuta bunko*. Bizan was featured as an early entry in the *Shincho hyakushū* series of novels by new,

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<sup>344</sup> The notice is expressed as *Hakubunkan zōhan* 博文館蔵版.

<sup>345</sup> 川上眉山 (亮), 1869-1908. According to Hakubunkan’s *Bizan zenshū*, his name at birth was Ikutarō. “Kawakami Bizan shōden,” in Kawakami Akira, *Bizan zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1909), n.p.

promising writers, along with other major authors at the time such as Ozaki Kōyō and Kōda Rohan. Later, he also formed connections with the coterie associated with *Bungakkai* magazine, which focused on romanticism, experimental poetry, essays, and engagement with English literature.

Thus, he was intimately involved in mid-Meiji literary experimentation and collaboration with some of the most active writers of the time, and as such, wrote within their sub-world of the literary establishment, although this fact may no longer be gleaned from a lack of later scholarship and recognition.<sup>346</sup> By the year of Bizan's death, 1908, Ken'yūsha was no longer an influential force, with the death of its leader Ozaki Kōyō in 1903 and the movement of his disciples away from Ken'yūsha membership toward their own literary careers. Moreover, *Bungakkai* had ceased publication and, as discussed in the previous chapter, its founder, Kitamura Tōkoku, had taken his own life in 1894 while another well-known contributor, Higuchi Ichiyō, had died in 1897.<sup>347</sup> Continuing to publish new works in major magazines such as *Taiyō* up until the time of his death despite his style and content no longer being in keeping with major trends in the literary world (in particular, naturalism), Bizan ultimately ended his life prematurely by suicide in 1908.

The discussion of anthologies so far has explicitly focused, in one way or another, on the production of the book itself and on the book as an object, whether it is the

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<sup>346</sup> This is reflected in a simple search of the JapanKnowledge electronic database, which aggregates entries from a variety of dictionaries and encyclopedias in Japanese and English. No entry on Bizan gives more than approximately two short paragraphs of basic details, and most are limited to only several lines of assorted facts such as his birthplace, pseudonyms, given name, a few major works, and affiliations – often limited only to his Ken'yūsha membership.

<sup>347</sup> To name one prominent Kōyō student in particular, Izumi Kyōka is not known for being a Ken'yūsha member per se, but rather for his own unique style and content of writing. In other words, he and others did not continue the Ken'yūsha torch after Kōyō's death, and the core of the group seems to have consisted still of the original founders and members, such as Ishibashi Shian and Iwaya Sazanami, both editors of *Bizan zenshū*.

collections from which Ihara Saikaku's works were borrowed, or the contributions and processes that led to the compilation of *Ichiyō zenshū* and *Tōkoku zenshū*. Yet *Bizan zenshū* stands in contrast to these anthologies, in that its preface – identical in both editions, and thus referred to here in the singular – does not focus on Bizan himself but rather strictly on book production. Despite coming shortly after Bizan's death, in 1909, the preface does no memorializing; in fact, the only sign that this anthology compiles the work of a recently deceased writer is that it is edited by his “surviving friends,” as they sign their names in the preface, Ishibashi Shian and Iwaya Sazanami.<sup>348</sup> They begin their preface by stating that “first of all, there is something we must tell the readers about the publishing of *Bizan zenshū*” – in other words, the problems in publishing the anthology.<sup>349</sup> In this, the compilers are remarkably transparent and convey more information to readers than one might expect; after all, what is the purpose of explaining to readers the shortcomings and challenges involved in anthology production, other than a drive to convey complete honesty and a desire to account for the book as an object in itself? Regardless of the reason, the editors express that they are profoundly concerned with the practical matter of delivering content to readers: as much of it and in as uniform a way as possible.

The compilation of Bizan's writing in anthology form proved to be no simple task, for Bizan was a prolific writer and the anthology itself was published as two sets – several volumes each – by two separate publishers, Hakubunkan and Shun'yōdō, both of

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<sup>348</sup> They use the word *iyū* 遺友 here. Respectively, the two editors are 石橋思案 (1867–1927) and 巖谷小波 (1870–1933).

<sup>349</sup> Kawakami Akira [Kawakami Bizan], *Bizan zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan: 1909) and Kawakami Akira [Kawakami Bizan], *Bizan zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1909), n.p. Hereafter, I refer to *Bizan zenshū* as a single publication because the prefaces and pagination are the same; readers could consult either edition as a source.

whom published significant amounts of Bizan's work while he was alive. Although he barely lived to 40, unlike the young Tōkoku and Ichiyō, getting permission to reprint work and even determining and tracking down the copyright holders would prove a major issue for the anthology editors. In addition to Hakubunkan and Shun'yōdō, they thank – “on behalf of the bereaved family” – no fewer than ten publishers that represent a wide variety of ideologies, from those that publish books oriented toward women (Joshi Bundansha) to ones loosely affiliated with political movements (Min'yūsha) and universities (Waseda Bungakusha), larger publishers as well as smaller ones. Although we saw a number of individuals at publishing houses thanked in the prefaces to *Ichiyō zenshū* and *Tōkoku zenshū*, the sheer number of those that Bizan had worked with far outweighs either younger writer.<sup>350</sup>

The physical form of *Bizan zenshū* reflects the complexity of his publication history and the numerous publishing connections that a prolific author will form over the course of a career of two decades. *Bizan zenshū*, published in 1909, is actually double: there is the Hakubunkan *Bizan zenshū* (with “published by Hakubunkan” on its title page, strongly emphasizing the publisher over the writer, whose name is not on the page at all), and also a Shun'yōdō *Bizan zenshū* (without any copyright notice outside of the colophon). Both are sets of multiple imposing volumes, hardback books covered in lavender cloth with gold lettering. If a reader were not looking at the colophons or spending a great deal of time examining the title pages – in other words, an average reader rather than a researcher of book history – he or she would have a difficult time discerning that they are actually two separate series, and not from the same publisher.

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<sup>350</sup> The total list of publishers includes: Min'yūsha; Nirokusha; Kinwandō; Kasasandō; Bunrokudō; Kokindō; Sakura Shobō; Waseda Bungakusha; Chūō Kōronsha; and Joshi Bundansha. Kawakami, n.p.

Even the prefaces to the anthologies are exactly the same, word for word. This effect is intentional:

... in the end it was decided that two [sets] would be published by Hakubunkan and Shun'yōdō. However, though the contents are different, we decided that the binding would be exactly the same, so there would be no obstacles to purchasing [both of] them and displaying them on the bookshelf [together].<sup>351</sup>

Thus, it is not only content that the editors of anthologies were concerned with; as with *Ichiyō zenshū*, there was the perception that the visual impression of the exterior of the book can add to its total value to readers. The editors were motivated to do anything they could to present the reader with the most attractive package for, as Ōhashi Otowa put it, “I hope that the [resulting illustrated cover] at least matches a little of the shine of the contents of the book.”<sup>352</sup> In this case, Shian and Sazanami were motivated to have the most seamless picture of Bizan’s work, despite the combination of publishers and despite the fact that the works themselves were taken from a variety of sources and contexts. With *Bizan zenshū* on one’s bookshelf, it should appear that Kawakami Bizan’s *oeuvre* is singular, consistent, and uniform, no matter how scattered the publishers and publications that originally carried his works were.

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<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>352</sup> Otowa Ōhashi [Ōhashi Otowa]. “Koto no tsuide ni.” In [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Ichiyō zenshū* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, January 1897), 2.



Figure 11. Front cover of *Bizan zenshū*, published by Hakubunkan, 1909



Figure 12. Front cover of *Bizan zenshū*, published by Shun'yōdō, 1909

In fact, *Bizan zenshū* – both editions – not only reflects but actively educates the reader about the wide range of Bizan's publishers and those responsible for each specific work in a prominently placed timeline of his publishing history (*Kawakami Bizan chosaku nenpyō*), located just after the preface and before even the table of contents.<sup>353</sup> There is a primacy here of Bizan's "complete" *oeuvre* rather than that only contained in each anthology; their contents are presented secondarily, as a humble subsection of the whole that makes up the true Bizan for the editors. There is also an implicit recognition that the word *zenshū* – "complete works" – should not be taken literally by the reader here. Rather, it can be interpreted as aspirational, as a desire to communicate the

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<sup>353</sup> Kawakami, 1.



complete Kawakami Bizan himself to fans and future readers alike. There is no pretense of the anthology containing every work that Bizan wrote; rather, there is enough information here for the reader to piece together what would have been the complete set of his works, had it not been impractical or impossible to realize that collection. Not only could Hakubunkan and Shun'yōdō apparently not come to an agreement over who would publish Bizan's posthumous anthology, the editors' motion toward a much larger problem: the inability to determine or locate the current copyright holder for some of Bizan's works. Thus, the reader is prevented from possessing all of Bizan's *oeuvre* due to the mundane legal details of publishing, but the editors strive nonetheless to represent him as completely as possible through their honesty in exposing the gap between the contents of his publishing chronology and those of his double anthology.

An emphasis on this aspiration to collect “the complete Bizan” rather than “the complete works” is found in the publishing chronology itself in the form of several explanatory notes. The first reveals the editors' desire for transparency yet again, but also reflects a drive to demonstrate their authority as both “bereaved friends” and as knowledgeable editors – in short, as Kawakami Bizan's literary executors. The first work listed – “Kigiku shiragiku” – was published in the Ken'yusha coterie magazine *Garakuta bunko* in its early years, in June 1888. This would have been in the early years of Bizan's career as well, when he was just nineteen years old. Given that Bizan was an initial member of Ken'yusha, along with Ishibashi Shian (co-editor of *Bizan zenshū*) and Ozaki Kōyō, it is surprising that the chronology is not full of works published in the days of *Garakuta bunko*. Still, even though this story stands at the front of the chronology to represent Bizan's earliest writing, it comes with a caveat: “According to the words of the

author before his death, the above work has been left out of the anthology.”<sup>354</sup> With this, the editors reveal intimate knowledge of Bizan – and also that he was thinking of posthumous reprints of his work before his suicide at the age of 40 – and also go out of their way to demonstrate that they are exercising not only their own, but Bizan’s authority in their compilation of his set of anthologies. Despite their posthumous publication, both Hakubunkan’s and Shun’yōdō’s *Bizan zenshū* adhere to the wishes of their subject, at least in a single case. It is impossible for the reader to know what Bizan’s words were, whether there were more requests not to publish that are not reflected here, or even whether he uttered them at all. After all, Bizan fell silent with his death and his editors had a great deal of freedom in choosing to portray his *oeuvre* as they wished. Because of this, their impulse to show the reader that they ultimately derive their authority from Bizan himself and demonstrate that they are carrying out his wishes, and thus infusing the anthology with authorial intent, is unsurprising.

The second note to readers has significant implications for Bizan’s *oeuvre* itself as portrayed in the chronology. It explains that either the magazine in which a serial or short work appeared is listed, or if it were in book form, the publishing house that produced the work is listed instead. This alone indicates a strong drive on the part of the editors to reconstruct Bizan as an author and as a whole: not only do they give dates and titles, but they attempt to provide the original context as well. Given that the place and medium of publication was crucial for understanding the performance of authorship at the time Bizan wrote, this is a significant contribution to his identity as an author, reflecting not just that he published in numerous contexts but also the original manifestation of each work that readers would encounter in the anthology. It is a rich set of details that paradoxically

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<sup>354</sup> Kawakami, 1.

exists within a container – “Bizan” as a consistent, holistic authorial identity that encompasses all of his works – that almost completely obscures the works’ original context on its surface, especially given the uniform nature of the anthologies and even the choice of a single name to represent a writer who used other pseudonyms.

This aspect of the chronology reveals an emphasis on provenance that we have already encountered in the case of Ihara Saikaku’s *Kōtei Saikaku zenshū*. It is not enough for the compilers to simply list the works that Bizan produced over his lifetime, on top of the works that are included in the anthologies themselves. Rather, there is a priority placed on the medium and venue of publication, through the indication of both publisher and type of publication, whether book or periodical. This is reminiscent of the profound focus on medium that we encountered in reviews of works that were published in magazines and newspapers at the time that Bizan’s works were first written, largely in the 1880s and 1890s. Those reviews often attributed works to the publication that carried them, rather than primarily to an individual writer, and nearly always identified the publisher even when a work was released in book form. In just the same way, the chronology of Bizan’s work presents his writing as though it is inseparable from the venue of its publication, and from the type of publication that carried it, whether a standalone volume or a magazine. The Bizan presented here is one firmly embedded in media and in the publishing world of the time, and location in that publishing world is an integral part of his works themselves. It is as though the chronology is impossible to understand without this contextual information that conveys to the reader not only what was written, but where, concretely, it came from. Just as with *Saikaku zenshū*, it is not quite appropriate to call *Bizan zenshū* a pair of archives in themselves, but they come

with an archival impulse – one that is driven by a desire to present his works as unique objects with a definite context, rather than “texts” that transcend the venue in which they were originally published, consumed, and responded to.

This note adds a further complication to Bizan’s *oeuvre* as well, by indicating that if a work’s publisher is listed rather than a magazine title – in other words, it had been published in book form – the work may be either individually written or a jointly written work. The note is no more specific than this, and could mean anything from a collaboratively written single work to a volume that contained more than one individually written story. It is likely, however, that it indicates the former, given both the collaborative environment of Meiji writing, especially within the Ken’yūsha coterie (as already shown with the serial *Monkey Tiger Snake*, in which Bizan participated), and the implications of the word *gassaku*.<sup>355</sup> collaboration and joint production. Co-authorship, then, is still considered here to be Bizan’s work and rightly included in a literary chronology, regardless of whether another writer was involved. Moreover, these works are not even indicated separately in the chronology; they are simply integrated seamlessly along with works that were originally attributed to Bizan alone. Thus the chronology truly attempts to reflect *everything* that Bizan put his hand to, within limits: everything that makes up what the editors consider to be his career.

It is telling that this career encompasses even collaboratively written works but is limited to a beginning with Bizan’s contribution to the *Shincho hyakushū* series of novels by new, up-and-coming writers in the early 1890s; *Sumizomezakura* was published in April of 1890, and is listed first after the unpublishable “Kigiku shiragiku.” In this chronology, Bizan’s early career in Ken’yūsha’s coterie magazines never existed and his

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<sup>355</sup> 合作

real work began with a more prestigious series of novels by young writers; meanwhile, it is as though his collaborators did not exist, and he is the only writer that must be recognized on co-authored works. In other words, those works are marked as possibly collaborative, but lose their collaborative nature in the chronology by becoming works properly attributed to Bizan alone. They become Bizan's works entirely, subsumed by his newly-formed authorial identity.

This re-shaping of Bizan's career, and the choices made about what constitutes a work written by and attributable to Bizan (and here, Bizan alone), speak to the power of anthologies to create an authorial image for posterity through something as simple and mundane as a chronology of a writer's publication history. Through this, even without including all of these works in *Bizan zenshū*'s double manifestation, the editors – his friends, who have a great stake in shaping and preserving what they consider a proper representation of their departed colleague – are able to use their power as literary executors to literally invent his *oeuvre* for both contemporary and future readers who wish to access the works of Bizan. Moreover, through presenting this anthology as an aspiration to the whole of Bizan himself – Bizan as an author, rather than as the historical individual who performed authorship under several pen names and in a variety of group affiliations – they attempt to convince potential readers that they are not only accessing Bizan's "complete" works as far as is possible, but that they are accessing the complete Bizan as an authorial construct. The anthology becomes a way not just to read Bizan's writing and know his *oeuvre*, but – for fans and new readers alike – to "read" Bizan as an author, and to fully know his identity, one presented uniformly and consistently from the twin anthologies' double prefaces to their identical covers. This identity is further

supported by a publication history that gives the surface impression of tremendous transparency by restoring the original context of his publications, even as it obscures his early career in favor of marking its beginning in a prestigious series of novels rather than as a participant in a questionable series of coterie magazines. Through this, he has become Bizan the professional, and this becomes his whole identity as an abstracted author, rather than an inconsistent, contradictory historical writer.

Yet at the same time, achieving that whole, consistent identity was a near impossibility for the anthology's compilers, and the identical surface appearance of the two *Bizan zenshū* reminds us of this. Rather than look at the anthology as a true exception, as one that was prevented from becoming whole because of a special case, we must see it as we did *Saikaku zenshū*: remarkably transparent. Its flaw reveals the essential difficulty and complexity of compiling an anthology under a single authorial name in an environment in which literature was never produced in this way to begin with. Not all of Bizan's works carried his most common pseudonym, and they were legally not organized as being owned by Bizan; rather, they were published under multiple names and dispersed among publishers. Ultimately, the structure of the anthology reflects the legal power of publishers and the reality that the site of authorship could still be considered as residing in the publication rather than the historical writer. *Bizan zenshū* gives us a crack in the surface of other anthologies that were distributed by a single publisher: it reveals that they, too, are not truly "whole" but visually and rhetorically masquerading as such.

### **Editing the Editor: Ozaki Kōyō**

Although he most often wrote under the pseudonym Kōyō Sanjin<sup>356</sup> during his life, Ozaki Kōyō<sup>357</sup> is now best known by his surname and pseudonym combined. Unlike the other anthologies that have been covered above, his reflects this posthumous name as well: the title page of *Kōyō zenshū* prominently displays “written by Ozaki Kōyō,”<sup>358</sup> despite the fact that none of the works contained therein were ever attributed to that name prior to their inclusion in the anthology – and despite the fact that Ozaki Tokutarō<sup>359</sup> is credited in the colophon as the author. This is just one of the ways in which Kōyō and his *oeuvre* are edited in the anthology, sometimes deliberately, with the decision of which versions of works to include and whether to include collaboratively written works, but just as often by the outside force of copyright. *Kōyō zenshū* is both a case study in the editorial decisions and legal limitations that must have faced all compilers of anthologies at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but is also a study in remarkable editorial transparency in conveying those limitations to readers in their preface.

Ozaki Kōyō was one of the most well-known and prolific writers of the mid-Meiji period, starting with his founding of the Ken'yūsha coterie with Ishibashi Shian in 1885 and the circulation of their coterie magazine *Garakuta bunko*, as well as its successors *Bunko* and *Shōbungaku*. His first widely recognized novel, *Irozange*, was published first in the *Shincho hyakushū* series in 1889; many novels later, he became famous for the lengthy, unfinished serialized novel *Konjiki yasha*, or *The Gold Demon*. The novel, and Kōyō himself, had a massive following, but his followers were not limited to readers: he had a number of disciples, one of the best known being novelist and playwright Izumi

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<sup>356</sup> 紅葉山人

<sup>357</sup> 尾崎紅葉 (1868-1903).

<sup>358</sup> *Ozaki Kōyō chaku* 尾崎紅葉着

<sup>359</sup> 尾崎徳太郎

Kyōka. Thus, he had influence in a number of roles during this time: as a novelist whose *Konjiki yasha* installments were awaited by impatient readers; as an editor of both magazines and of others' works; as a mentor; and, as we have already seen, as a Saikaku proponent and co-editor of the first author-centric literary anthology, *Saikaku zenshū*.

As we think about *Kōyō zenshū*, it is necessary to keep in mind that he had a profound influence over the literary world of the 1880s and 1890s, and was known outside of the literary elite – he was both a leader of a literary coterie and a mainstream writer who published in both small literary journals as well as the *Yomiuri* newspaper. Thus, there would have been a significant demand for *Kōyō zenshū* upon his death in 1903 at the age of 35, especially given that his extraordinarily popular *Konjiki yasha* had been left unfinished. After he became ill with stomach cancer, Kōyō's installments dropped off, and impatient readers wrote in to the *Yomiuri* newspaper to demand when the next section would be coming. Surprisingly, Kōyō himself wrote back to them in the letters to the editor section, explaining to readers that he was ill and promising that more of *Konjiki yasha* would be forthcoming, carrying on the discourse about the novel in print and further increasing the attention to it (and to himself).<sup>360</sup>

The process of including such popular works was far from straightforward, however. The editors of *Kōyō zenshū* spend the entire preface, just as with *Bizan zenshū*, explaining the mundane process of assembling the anthology and focus overwhelmingly on copyright issues. Unlike the anthologies of Higuchi Ichiyō and Kitamura Tōkoku, and even Kawakami Bizan to some extent, in place of prolific thanks to various publishers we find that it had been profoundly difficult to put together *Kōyō zenshū* and that its contents

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<sup>360</sup> Seki Hajime, “*Konjiki yasha* no jūyō to media mikkusu,” in *Media, hyōshō, ideorogī: Meiji sanjūnendai no bungaku kenkyū*, ed. Komori Yōichi, Kōno Kensuke, and Takahashi Osamu (Tokyo: Ozawa shoten, 1995), 162-163.



suffered for the inability to obtain reprint permission from the works' respective copyright holders.

... when it was decided that *Kōyō zenshū* would be published, [Kōyō] was greatly pleased and, rallying in the face of his suffering, went to work on the editing. Yet there was a major obstacle. It was that in the twenty years that had come and gone, his works' copyright [*hanken*, “block rights”] no longer resided with one bookseller; A went to such-and-such a bookseller, B to another bookseller, and in extreme cases, from the first to the second, then the second to a third, the copyright was passed around until in the end it wasn't even clear who owned it.<sup>361</sup>

Even when overcoming these issues of copyright and permissions through the “deep personal connections” that Kōyō had with his major publishers, the editors of this anthology are still left with the question of what counts as work written by Kōyō in the first place, and which works qualify as part of his *oeuvre*.<sup>362</sup> Just as with *Bizan zenshū*, *Kōyō zenshū* contains a chronology that purports to cover all of his work, from his beginnings in the very first issue of the Ken'yūsha magazine *Garakuta bunko* – then not for sale – in 1885, and continuing all the way to his most famous work published before his death, *Konjiki yasha*, from the *Yomiuri* newspaper. It is more specific than Bizan's chronology: Kōyō's includes the issue number of each magazine in which his work was serialized as well as the publication date down to the day on which serialization began. The chronology includes publishers no matter the medium, so that Ken'yūsha itself is listed as the publisher of works that appeared in its coterie magazines, a subtle reminder to readers of Kōyō's status as the group's founder and leader for the duration of his literary career. Even more than *Bizan zenshū* and *Saikaku zenshū*, then, *Kōyō zenshū* has a profound focus on provenance and original context, and an undeniable archival drive: the compilers sought not only to collect all of his work (even if that goal was

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<sup>361</sup> Ozaki Tokutarō, *Kōyō zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1904), 1-2.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

unattainable), but to contextualize it for readers in the greatest detail possible. It is as if Kōyō's *oeuvre* cannot be properly understood in the anthology form alone – taken out of its original context and reprinted in a uniform setting – but must be appreciated as a collection of physical objects grounded in the media in which they were first printed, even if that is now inaccessible to readers of the anthology.

Kōyō's chronology comes with no explanation, however, and in this sense it begins to diverge from that of Bizan. As discussed above, Bizan's work came with a caveat: if a work was listed by publisher rather than magazine, that could imply that the work was either written by only Bizan or was part of a collaboratively written piece, without any additional specifications. This means that the piece could have appeared in a book that contained stories by multiple authors, was part of a series with each part written by a different author, or simply a collaboration with the entire piece attributed to multiple authors. In Kōyō's case, we find such works listed in his chronology as well, but there is no indication that these are co-authored works; in fact, several works in the chronology were marked as collaboratively written when published, but nothing in the chronology indicates that any other writer participated in a work's writing or editing. At the same time, a number of works attributed to Kōyō as an author – rather than “overseen” or “edited” by Kōyō, as many works by disciples were marked in the later years of his life – are not found in the chronology at all. It is as though most collaborative works attributed to Kōyō are not attributable *enough* to work their way into his official literary legacy, and yet some are so attributable to Kōyō that they become his works alone, subsumed into the larger, authoritative timeline that makes up Kōyō's career.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Surprisingly, both volumes of *Saikaku zenshū* are listed in the chronology due to Kōyō's having served as co-editor of the anthology.

Kōyō's anthology is a special case among those examined here in that he served as the editor or co-author – sometimes in the most broad sense of the terms – of a large number of works over the course of his career, especially in its second half in the mid-1890s until his death in 1903. While the literary group Ken'yūsha created experimental, playful spaces in their coterie magazines – the first not sold at all but rather passed between members and hand-copied – that allowed for and even encouraged collaborative writing and multiple pseudonyms, it is the influence of Kōyō's relationships with his disciples and protégés beginning in the 1890s that created an environment in which his name would appear on a great number of published works. This came most often in the form of *Kōyō etsu*, with the character *etsu*<sup>364</sup> indicating that he had overseen the work, even if he hadn't personally proofread or edited it. It indicates that Kōyō himself – an authoritative, well-known literary figure writing popular, mass circulated novels – had given his official approval to a work, making it as good as Kōyō's own in a sense.

Kōyō is not exceptional in putting his name on a student's work in order to have it published. A famous case of this is a mid-Meiji novel, *Ukigumo*, which was published first with a pseudonym of literary critic Tsubouchi Shōyō – Harunoya Shujin – rather than the name of the student who had written the novel and is now recognized as its author, Futabatei Shimei (also a pseudonym).<sup>365</sup> However, in Kōyō's career we find an extreme case of this kind of relationship: we have a writer with a large number of disciples who is the leader of an influential literary coterie, who put his name to a large volume of work, much of it attributed only to himself, but a large portion of which is

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<sup>365</sup> We have already encountered an advertisement for this book in the first chapter, which marketed the book as being co-authored by Harunoya and Shimei, despite the fact that it is now generally accepted that Shimei alone “authored” the novel.

attributed to at least one other authorial name. This takes the form of both Kōyō “jointly” producing a work with another writer – *gassaku* or *kyōchaku*<sup>366</sup> – as well as “overseeing” or “editing.”<sup>367</sup>

Even after determining which works count as a part of Kōyō’s *oeuvre*, there is still the issue of which to include as a part of his legitimate anthology: those works that can and should be accessible to readers over time. As with Tōkoku and Ichiyō, many of Kōyō’s works appeared in ephemeral publications – particularly the coterie magazines *Garakuta bunko* and its successor *Bunko*, as well as the *Yomiuri* newspaper – and without reprints, were faced with a serious risk of becoming unavailable to future readers. Even as early as 1927, former Ken’yūsha members pooled their resources to print 500 copies of early *Garakuta bunko* issues because the magazine had become so rare and inaccessible to those in the literary world.<sup>368</sup> At that, they were only able to reproduce the typeset, publicly available issues of *Garakuta bunko*, and the earliest handwritten issues remain unavailable to scholars even today. Given that Kōyō’s early career was conducted through the mediation of Ken’yūsha, as its leader and the publisher of its coterie magazines, this danger of inaccessibility extends to his early work as well. Thus, the initial 1904 *Kōyō zenshū* served an important role in simply reprinting his works so that they would remain accessible in a less ephemeral form, and the power of publishers to determine what would be able to be included is a profound but often overlooked influence that had an undeniable impact on the *oeuvre* that is now available to us today.

### **The Self-Contained Author: Anthologies as Context**

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<sup>366</sup> 合作 and 共着, respectively.

<sup>367</sup> *Etsu* 閲 and *ho* 補 are two of the terms used to imply that Kōyō was involved at a level anywhere from simply looking over the text to actually rewriting or co-writing portions of it.

<sup>368</sup> *Garakuta bunko fukusei*. ed. Umehara Hokumei (Tokyo: Kaneyama Fumio, 1927).

The issues presented here show these author-centric anthologies to be unstable, inconsistent, and seemingly arbitrary collections whose form and content are dictated both by editors and by forces outside of their control. Yet, it must be recognized that the anthologies do not portray themselves in this manner. Rather, the way in which they manifest themselves – the way in which they are constructed – presents a remarkably uniform, consistent picture of not a historical writer, but of an author. The key difference is that the historical writer goes through many phases of writing style and content over his or her life, performs a multitude of authorial identities, and writes in countless modes and contexts. Writers revise their work, publish multiple times, prevent works from being published, and leave behind a number of unfinished pieces, all of which complicate the act of presenting them as authors of cohesive bodies of work within a single collection purporting to be complete. Those who compile anthologies must, then, choose to largely erase this context, and the historical writer with it, in order to present the public with a successful compilation that can claim to contain an author's complete works. They do so using a number of technologies that became available during the mid-Meiji period – the 1880s through the early 1900s – and capitalize on the cultural implications of typeset books bound Western-style, hardback, and both sturdy and luxurious enough to stand the test of time. Through this, they are able to communicate a uniform identity, a concrete vision of the author, and the perpetuity of the authorial identity and *oeuvre*.

The case of Kuroiwa Ruikō, translator and muckraking journalist of the 1880s and 1890s, is informative here in illustrating the consequences of taking works out of their original, physical context – not just the publication they appeared in and its character and readership, but crucially, the context of other news or fiction being run simultaneously

and adjacent to the work itself. Reprinting them as though their only context is their own textual content and the posthumously constructed identity of their author severely limits the possibilities of interpretation of those works, and obscures their initial reception and even their very meaning. Mark Silver describes the specific context in which Ruikō translated detective fiction from English to Japanese in serial format, often publishing in his own newspaper, *Yorozu chōhō*, and argues that Ruikō's translations served a larger purpose.<sup>369</sup> Published alongside the reporting of real events in *Yorozu chōhō*, they attempt, according to Silver, to expose the corruption inherent in the Japanese legal system, encourage critical thinking, and cause readers to draw parallels between those contemporary events and the dramatic turns of the translated stories. This came to a height when the case of an inheritance dispute, the Sōma Affair, came to trial and Ruikō ran a serialized novel containing a remarkably similar story, *People's Luck*, in the very same pages that his paper reported on the trial in a narrative form similar to that of the detective novel.<sup>370</sup>

Silver argues that one must read *People's Luck* in the context of the pages of *Yorozu chōhō* and how its contents were spatially juxtaposed in order to “understand the implications [that *People's Luck*] had for its audience.”<sup>371</sup> Because “no reader who had seen the paper in the months before *People's Luck* began running could have been unaware of the Sōma Affair,” the discourse surrounding the novel had everything to do with its interpretation because of the very location of the novel next to that dramatic,

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<sup>369</sup> The fact that Ruikō took his stories from Western novels, and later passed his own writing off as being borrowed from Western fiction, further complicates the relationship between authorship and ownership that was in flux at this time. Ozaki Kōyō, too, took Western novels as the source material for many of his own, including the most famous, *Konjiki yasha*, which is discussed below.

<sup>370</sup> Mark Silver, *Purloined Letters: Cultural Borrowing and Japanese Crime Literature, 1868-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 79-81.

<sup>371</sup> Silver, 79.

front-page coverage: “Ruiko’s publishing of the translated novel alongside his coverage of the trial invited readers to read the two side by side and had the effect of turning *People’s Luck* into a critical commentary on the corruption of the mid-Meiji legal system.”<sup>372</sup> In other words, not only does reprinting the novel in book form rather than as a collection of serial installments change its fundamental form and structure, it changes its reception at the most basic level by removing it from its context entirely. Placing it in, for example, an anthology of Ruikō’s translations would only add to the sense that the translations were chosen arbitrarily and idiosyncratically, and yet even placing the work within a compilation like *The Complete Anthology of Meiji Translations*<sup>373</sup> would still leave the reader with questions as to why Ruikō inserted didactic instructions to readers, used half-Japanized foreign settings, and chose to translate detective novels exclusively, especially in comparison to other translators at this time who made remarkably different choices in genre.<sup>374</sup> Without understanding his coverage of the Sōma Affair and the deep similarities between *People’s Luck* and the events of the trial – as well as their juxtaposition on the pages of *Yorozu chōhō* – the translation of *People’s Luck* would remain a mystery and its interpretation circumscribed by its re-contextualization in an anthology reprint.

With this in mind, we may question what it means to recontextualize works by authors Higuchi Ichiyō and Kitamura Tōkoku within anthologies that are self-contained representations of these authors, without recognition of the fact that each writer’s works

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<sup>372</sup> Silver, 79-81.

<sup>373</sup> *Meiji hon’yaku bungaku zenshū*, ed. Kawato Michiaki, Nakabayashi Yoshio, and Sakakibara Takanori, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1996-2002).

<sup>374</sup> Silver remarks on the translations seeming idiosyncrasy when taking out of context. Silver, 65.

appeared alongside the other's in the magazine *Bungakkai* for a number of its issues.<sup>375</sup> Not only did their works appear together, but in its final issue, *Bungakkai* juxtaposes their very archival memories on adjoining pages. It reproduces handwritten manuscripts by each writer, one next to the other, in memory of both of their deaths (Ichiyō died in 1896 while Tōkoku had passed away in 1894). When reading their works in *Bungakkai*, and especially when looking at its final issue, it is impossible not to see Ichiyō and Tōkoku in the context of each other's work: Ichiyō in the context of a Romantic essayist and poet, and Tōkoku in the context of a talented and unique writer of short fiction whose work hearkened back to the Edo period and literary language while simultaneously depicting the gritty reality of Meiji Japan. There is also no escaping the context that enveloped both of them: that of *Bungakkai*'s legacy as the offshoot of a magazine oriented at modern, educated Meiji women and their place in society, *Jogaku zasshi*. Tōkoku's affiliation with *Jogaku zasshi* and founding of *Bungakkai* in the same vein – its very first issue claims an intention to fill its pages with the works of women writers – is inseparable from Ichiyō's role in fulfilling *Bungakkai*'s mission. Even if this is not explicitly stated, the magazine itself draws a clear connection between the lives and deaths of these two young *Bungakkai* writers in its own pages, ending its last issue by lithographically reproducing manuscript pages written in the hands of the deceased.

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<sup>375</sup> Ichiyō's first work appeared in the third issue, while Tōkoku's last work that appeared before his death is found in the twelfth. His posthumous works appear in issues seventeen and eighteen as well.



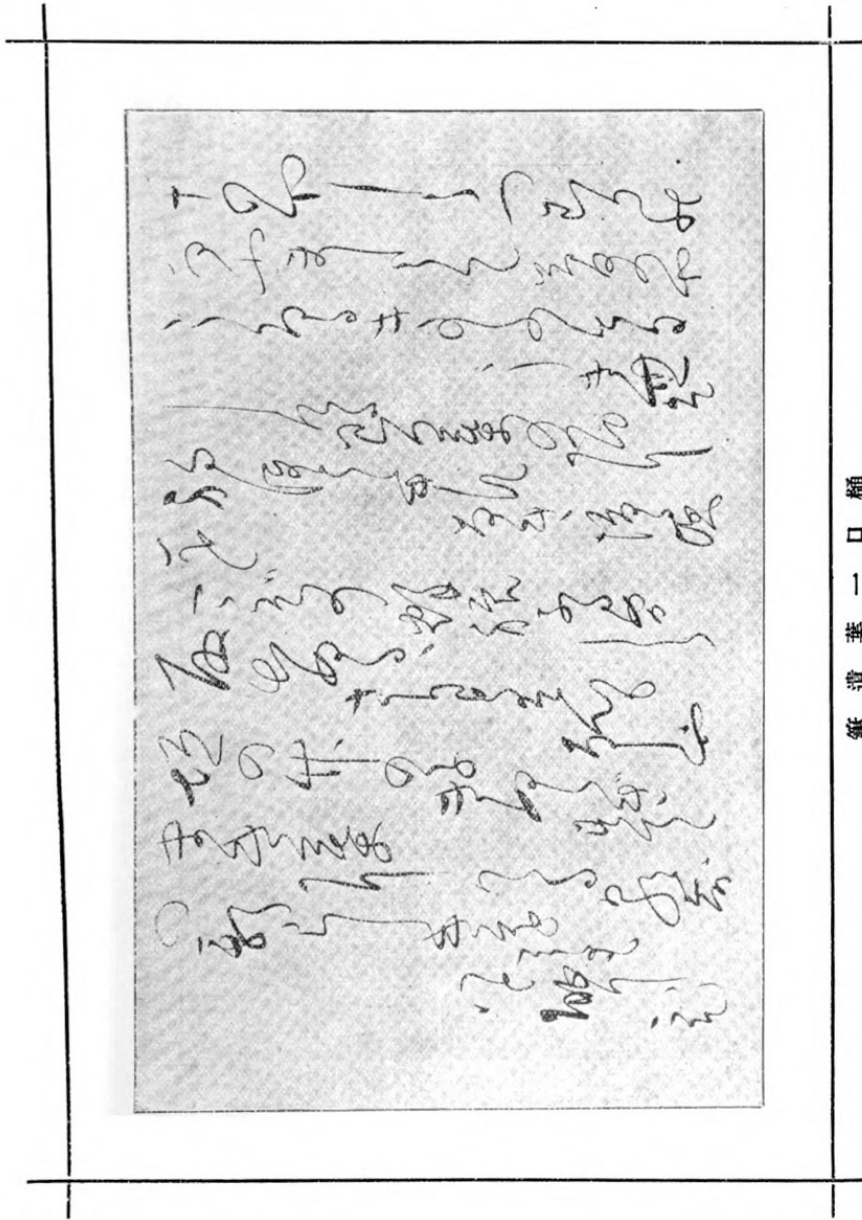


Figure 13. Higuchi Ichiyō's writing sample, in *Bungakkai* 58 (January 1898): n.p.

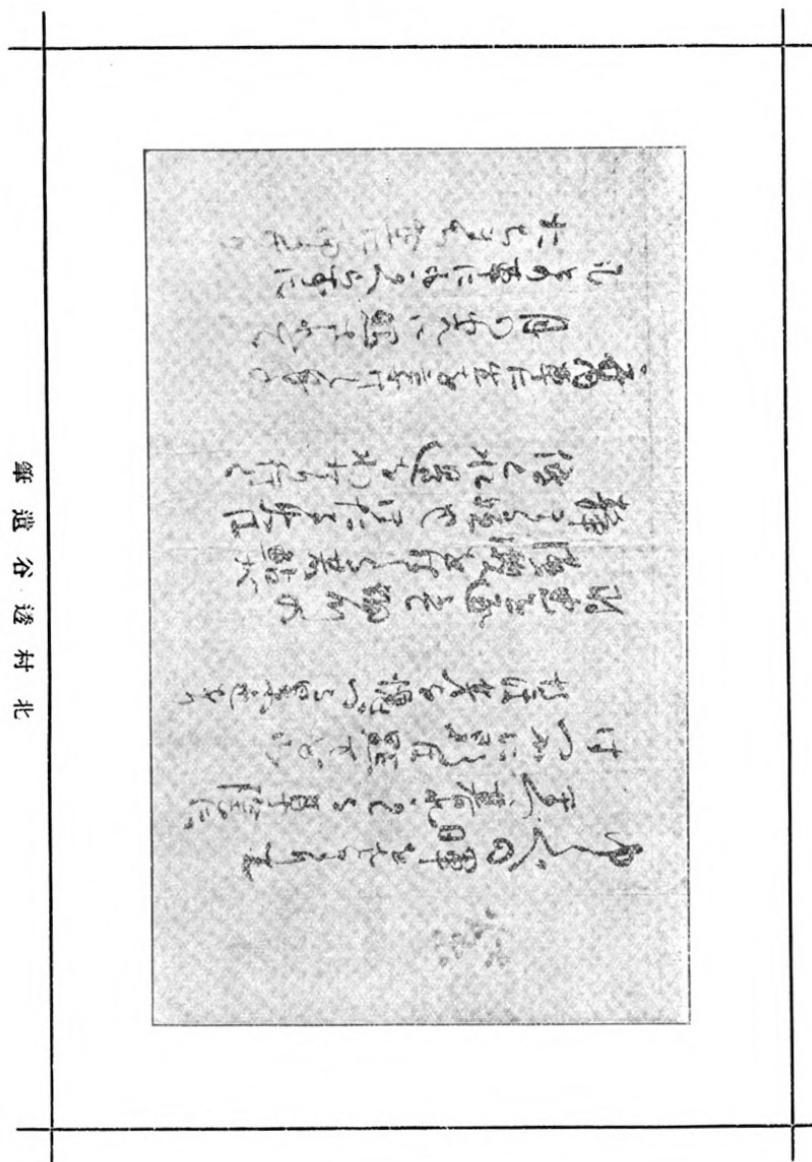


Figure 14. Kitamura Tōkoku’s writing sample, in *Bungakkai* 58 (January 1898), n.p.

It is not only the other works that appear on the pages of a magazine or newspaper around a serial that affect a piece’s reception and even its meaning, however; the case of Ozaki Kōyō’s long-running serial *Konjiki yasha* reveals an exchange between writer and readers that is completely lost in its reprinting, both in its multi-volume Shun’yōdō edition and in its more complete form in Hakubunkan’s *Kōyō zenshū*. *Konjiki yasha*’s original serialization in the *Yomiuri* newspaper came with the context of letters to the

editor, in which not only readers' letters appeared – often including cries for more regular installments as Kōyō fell ill toward the end of his life as well as readers' preferences for the story and characters' progression – but also Kōyō's own responses to those letters. As Seki Hajime puts it, this was a “[mutual] exchange [via] print cultural communication,” between readers and between readers and the writer himself “known to each other only through print,” here in the specific medium of the newspaper.<sup>376</sup> This interactivity and discourse is crucial to understanding the reception of *Konjiki yasha* at the time it was written and received, and yet the possibility of interaction and response disappears completely when reprinted in anthology form. Moreover, the imposing and permanent character of a six-volume, hardback anthology, replete with gold lettering and fine paper, fundamentally distances the writer from the reader as it forms the reified author. Within these covers, Kōyō's only context is that of Kōyō, and the works within the anthology are framed in their own self-contained, self-referential world – one that not only precludes reader participation but specifically and pointedly excludes it.

The significance of removing the works of authors who largely published in serial form from their original context and reprinting them as standalone books, within the context not of a magazine or newspaper but surrounded by other works by the same author, cannot be overstated. This places individual works within a self-contained *oeuvre* defined not by magazine or publisher, as was often the case in reviews from the 1880s and 1890s, and not even categorized by writer; indeed, a writer would have produced works in a variety of contexts and under a number of pseudonyms, most of which (save for the cases of Mori Rintarō and Kitamura Montarō, discussed earlier) would not contain

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<sup>376</sup> Seki, 163.

any part of the writer's given or legal names. Moreover, writers produced works jointly and collaboratively, and could have published even individually-written pieces with multiple attributions in order to sell their works, such as in the case of a new writer with an established mentor's name emblazoned on the cover of a first book. Here, then, the writer is not the context. Rather, it is the *oeuvre* of an *author*, one who is defined by the works contained within the anthology, which would have been both a subset of the actual number of pieces written and even published by a given writer, and at the same time an extension by virtue of the inclusion of unpublished writing. It is, further, the author whose singular, consistent identity lends itself in return to the interpretation of those works. Authorial identity and *oeuvre* work reflexively to define each other, and to both shape and limit the questions we are able to ask about both authors and their literature.

Aside from a complete change in context for works more broadly, placing them in an anthology alongside, and only with, other works by the same author has consequences for the interpretation and reading experience of the texts themselves. The printing of a serial work in book form for the first time introduces the ability to read it straight through, from beginning to end, without significant temporal breaks between sections. In its original publication, even in book form, *Konjiki yasha* was divided into five parts: beginning (*zenpen*), middle (*chūhen*), last (*kōhen*), continued (*zokuhen*), and “continued cont’d” (*zokuzokuhen*).<sup>377</sup> As Seki Hajime argues, taking these five parts and putting them into a single volume, as *Kōyō zenshū* did in 1904, fundamentally changes not just the reading experience but also the form and content of the book itself: “it places each part in a ‘proper order,’ and joins them together as multiple parts that are found inside a

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<sup>377</sup> This multi-volume edition was published by Shun'yōdō.

[complete] whole.<sup>378</sup> While the parts were previously interconnected, standing side-by-side in multi-volume book format and joined even in serial format, seeing *Konjiki yasha* as a single, thick book rather than multiple parts that serve as prequels and sequels to each other is a profoundly different experience than reading each part on its own. This reformatting is far from trivial, and indeed it reshapes the hermeneutic boundaries of our readings of *Konjiki yasha* itself.

This must have been a similar experience for readers of Higuchi Ichiyō's fiction, much of which was serialized over a number of issues in magazines like *Bungakkai* and *Miyako no hana*. Regardless of whether a new reader was encountering the works for the first time or a fan was having the first chance to re-read the work in print, the mechanics of a story written in serial format take on new meaning when presented as a self-contained whole, every part stitched together to be read at once. Rather than each section – perhaps of arbitrary length due to a magazine's needs – being a self-contained subset of the larger work to be read for its own sake, these subsets merge into a whole in which broader, overarching themes and devices are to be found, and just as with *Konjiki yasha*, we can read for longer-term character development and a cohesive plot. This is especially the case for a writer like Ichiyō, whose works are the length of short stories and could conceivably be read in a single sitting. Perhaps a reader consumed more than one story in an afternoon, and was thus prompted to look for even broader themes and character types, not to mention tendencies in description, across multiple works as though they are inherently meant to relate to each other. This recontextualization invites not just the abstract idea of the works belonging together under the umbrella of Ichiyō's authorial identity, but also a new way of reading in the most practical sense. The works, rather than

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<sup>378</sup> Seki, 179.

relating to what was found around them in a magazine or even what else was being written synchronically, now can be related to each other atemporally in a way that the writer herself may never have anticipated.

While reading serial fiction in the form of a book provokes a profound change in reading experience and reception, we find an even greater change in the diaries, journals, letters, and personal essays of several writers here. Kitamura Tōkoku's *Tōkoku zenshū* (1902) contains sections of essays and diary entries; while we cannot know if he expected these to be read by others or eventually published, we do know something about the way in which they may have been selected for the anthology. As discussed in the previous chapter, Shimazaki Tōson begins his preface to the anthology by describing the scene he found in Tōkoku's study after his death: "piled high with scrap paper."<sup>379</sup> Even the preface's title, "A Journal of the Scrap Paper of my Friend" conveys Tōson's journey into Tōkoku's private literary life and signals to readers that they are about to uncover with him part of Tōkoku's secret process of creating. Thus, they are reading in published, typeset form what was scribbled on spare pieces of paper, possibly of odd shapes and sizes, and scattered in the study in a way anathema to neatly ordering and binding them for consumption. Placing these "works" into categories, presenting them on uniformly sized paper and in a consistent font – just as his previously published works were – and giving them page numbers that wrap them into the single body of "all" of Tōkoku's work imbues them with meaning that others in the study did not, and would not, have. Indeed, it fills them with meaning that Tōkoku himself did not give them before his death. In truth, these are partly Tōson's works, a posthumous collaboration between himself and

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<sup>379</sup> Shimazaki Tōson, "Bōyū hago chō," in [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku zenshū*, ed. Hoshino Shinnosuke [Hoshino Tenchi] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1902), 15.

his deceased friend that produced something different from what Tōkoku left behind in his study, not only in form but in organization and likely in content.

Tōkoku's diary entries are not now known as great literature and are reserved for specialist Tōkoku scholars. The same is not true for the new volume of work introduced into Higuchi Ichiyō's *Ichiyō zenshū* in 1912: her diaries, letters, and essays. These genres fit into a model for women writers that was being newly appreciated at the time of its compilation, and indeed, her writing was made to fit into these genres after her death. They give literary historical meaning to what can otherwise be seen in the same light as Tōkoku's posthumously published essays and diaries – a window onto the mind and creative process of a great writer. Ichiyō's diaries, however, have become one of her greatest and most well-known works after her death, recounted by Robert Danly as being “hailed as the equivalent of a great, rambling, impressionistic autobiographical novel”.<sup>380</sup> Without publication alongside completed works of fiction, this diary may have taken on a very different meaning, one more personal and private. As it is, however, it was presented alongside works meant for public consumption – indeed, that had already been made public – and thus becomes a kind of autobiography, a telling of Ichiyō's life from the writer to the reader, rather than something meant for the writer alone. This sense is compounded by, as with Tōkoku, the presentation of the diary in the same typeset, numbered pages as Ichiyō's published and unpublished fiction, essays, and letters. It all becomes part of the mass that is the *oeuvre* of a literary author, one whose works should be read as literature no matter the genre or the publication status at the time of her death.

Although we have seen that *Bizan zenshū* attempts to introduce context other than the anthology itself through informing the reader of the venue in which each of his works

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<sup>380</sup> Robert Danly, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), vii.

was published, ultimately it too collapses in on itself to create a world that consists solely of *Bizan zenshū* and the works that it contains. It does not, for example, remind readers of the original publication context on the title page of each work, and it reprints them on uniform sheets of paper, in a uniform typeface. They are bound within large, imposing volumes that take up an entire shelf in a bookcase if placed side-by-side, and their uniform covers create the effect of a physically large and self-contained body of work. Bizan published in a wide variety of venues, as the chronology in his anthology attempts to reflect, and so the effect of seeing his works printed together, without the distraction of advertisements or other writers' works, is profoundly different from the way in which they would be consumed in magazines or even in small, standalone volumes. The works contained in *Bizan zenshū* are truly republished rather than reproduced, and they are republished in a form that allows the reader who has purchased both sets to sit down and read multiple works by Bizan in their entirety in one long sitting. Moreover, those works are recontextualized not chronologically but by length, and thus could be received in a completely different way than when his works were first published either in full, short form, or multiple chunks of a longer form. Here, they are whole, and if the reader can be convinced, so too is Bizan in his newly constructed literary identity.

### **Technologies of Form: Embodying the Author**

The preceding cases of Saikaku, Ichiyō, Tōkoku, Bizan, and Kōyō examined what happens when a writer's body of work is collected posthumously, deemed "complete," and distributed in an anthology that frames the writer in a way that deliberately constructs an identity for him or her as a rarefied, timeless author rather than a historical individual. That identity is intimately connected with the body of work itself and with genre, and is



shaped just as much by what is not included in the anthology as it is by what is present. The impact of assembling and publishing an author-centric anthology is far-reaching: it has consequences for which works survive through reprinting and which do not; for the social memory of a group and even its membership; and for the authorial identity that is created through the composition of the *oeuvre* presented within, not to mention the ways in which that newly-formed author is introduced and talked about. Yet we must not stop with our focus only on the verbal aspect of anthologies, their textual contents and the words used to describe both authors and the writers' personal experiences of the people who would become these eternal manifestations of literary talent. Author-centric anthologies of the mid-to-late Meiji period (roughly 1894-1912) constructed their subjects – subjects which paradoxically do not pre-exist the anthology that purports to collect them – through a multitude of non-verbal technologies of book production, and in a legal environment that fostered power relationships that were far from balanced.

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century was a time of dramatic change in book production, in terms of technologies of binding, printing, and reproduction; distribution systems; and changing ideas about copyright. This is not to say that existing forms of production were not still in active use; Japanese-style binding and paper had not gone away, and reprints continued to be made of woodblock-printed books from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and later. Rather, it is important to consider that Western-style, hardback books meant to stand upright in a bookcase, titles clearly displayed on the spine for consumption at a glance, existed within an extraordinarily varied milieu and circulated along with what might be dismissively termed “traditional” books. These Japanese-style books were still in active circulation and were just as contemporary and living as those produced with new technologies

imported from the West. It is this context in which we must see and interpret author-centric anthologies, all of which were Western-style books (save for the 1897 *Ichiyō zenshū*) with a certain presence: gold lettering, sturdy hard backing, even paintings decorating their covers, and some with multiple volumes. As a package for transmitting an author from editors and publishers to readers – for reproducing an entire authorial identity – these books served a subtle but essential role in giving that author an air of permanence, importance, and even of luxury. They were books to be both cherished and respected.

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Japan saw a massive change in the way books were produced, just as the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Western Europe and North America saw the introduction of new technologies such as the steam press. In Japan, however, the change was more sweeping and more profound, with not only the introduction of the mechanical press for mass reproduction and lithography for the reproduction of photographs and other visual images, but also the introduction of the Western-style hardback book and movable type themselves. These technologies were what made author-centric anthologies possible in the form that they took, and also likely dictated that form as well. The cultural meaning of these technologies had an undeniable impact on reception of the anthologies discussed here, giving them a modern, authoritative presence and allowing the inclusion of images that played a crucial role in shaping the construction of authorial identity within their covers.

Until the large-scale printing of Western-style books in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese books were typically softcover and often divided into at least several

volumes, or *kan* (and sometimes more fine-grained divisions known as *hen*).<sup>381</sup> The pages were sheets of paper printed on a single side and folded in half, then stitched together at the side, meaning that a reader would encounter each page as a “double” page with a blank interior, compared with the double-sided single sheet of a Western-style book. These softcover books would be stacked on their sides rather than displayed upright on a bookshelf, and could be kept in a book box – either a special box for that set of volumes, or together with other books kept by an owner. As Peter Kornicki writes, “for the most part books had a fragile quality, until in the early Meiji period came into fashion for books printed with modern metallic movable type in order to give them a ‘Western’ appearance.”<sup>382</sup> Thus, a pre-Meiji Japanese book would be remarkably different from a contemporary Western book in both appearance and tactile reading experience; it would be stored differently, and used differently as a material object. One of the most salient differences for the purpose of thinking about anthologies is that of the ability to display a book and its cover.

Rather than being kept in a box, stacked one atop the other, as Miyazaki Sanmai had done with his used copies of Ihara Saikaku’s works, these author-centric anthologies were all encased in Western-style covers, meant to be viewed as a part of the anthology in themselves.<sup>383</sup> We see this both in the deliberate decoration of *Ichiyō zenshū*’s cover with watercolor paintings and calligraphy, and in the focus of *Bizan zenshū*’s editors on its covers not only with their explicit references to how it would look when both publishers’ editions were placed side-by-side, but also on the detailed and delicate impression of

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<sup>381</sup> 卷 and 編, respectively.

<sup>382</sup> Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 45-46.

<sup>383</sup> Sanmai Dōjin [Miyazaki Sanmai], “Watashi to Saikaku,” *Kōchō* 5 (1906): 12.

flowers and patterns upon the covers themselves using gold leaf and color. *Kōyō zenshū*, meanwhile, is an imposing six-volume set with gold-lettered books that are large both in height and in page count. *Kōyō zenshū*, just like *Bizan zenshū*, would likely take up at least one shelf of a reader's bookcase, and displaying the books in this fashion would leave no ambiguity as to the literal weight and size of both Kōyō's and Bizan's respective *oeuvres*. It is only a small leap from here to identify the *oeuvres* of each with their authorial identities – those of authors who produced large bodies of work that in turn define their literary careers – and thus the fine covers, durable hardback binding, and sheer size of the anthologies work to shape the legacies of both of these writers in the minds of readers. Just as important, it is within these covers alone that their *oeuvres*, as defined by the anthologies, are contained, and thus the self-contained nature of the anthology is reinforced by its physical presence: this, and nothing else, is the author's identity, and because it is fully contained herein, nothing else is needed to inform that identity. Within the authoritative boundaries of the high-quality, hardback anthology, the reader now accesses – if not owns – the author completely.

The impression of high quality and a special nature is not limited to the covers of these anthologies, however. Within the anthology, with the exception of the thinner paper of *Saikaku zenshū*, the reader finds thick, quality paper and firm impressions from the typeset press. These anthologies' interiors were made, just as the covers were, to last a lifetime.<sup>384</sup> Yet there is a case in which the editors and publisher went even farther than simply aiming for durability in crafting the anthology's interior presence, and that is the

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<sup>384</sup> This author examined all of the anthologies more than a hundred years after their printing and yet the paper and typeface remains of higher quality and durability than many books from later periods, into which more wood pulp was introduced into the paper, thus removing its ability to endure over time. These early anthologies, on the other hand, remain crisp and clear, and this indicates that no expense was spared in their production from the covers to the paper itself.

use of color within the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*. The 28-page set of prefaces is printed in a deep purple ink, and illustrations throughout the volume are printed in a variety of colors from green to blue to red. Even the afterward, containing a set of poems written in Tōkoku's memory, is printed in a bright orange. All of these colors have stood the test of time, and as of 2012 the illustrations in the copy examined by this author remain vivid and pure, with no discoloration; the pages on which illustrations have been printed in color even retain the light impression of the press. This a volume constructed to honor a deceased friend in every way possible, even down to taking care with the color of the typeface, and it conveys this care and sense of uniqueness to any reader who examines its pages. *Tōkoku zenshū* is truly a special book, one produced as an object with great thoughtfulness on the part of the compilers, and not simply a collection of works. It is, rather, a celebration of works and of the author whose identity both defines and is defined by them. By extension, it is the special nature of *Tōkoku zenshū* that defines this posthumous authorial identity: Tōkoku is worth the expenditure of a number of pages colored with quality inks, and deserves nothing less.

*Tōkoku zenshū* may be a case that stands out immediately to the reader, but all of these anthologies work to define authorial identity and *oeuvre* in a more subtle way that is even more pervasive: they use a uniform typeface, on paper of a uniform size and type, and for multi-volume sets, they are bound with uniform covers. In fact, it is just this uniformity that the editors of *Bizan zenshū* took as their goal. The technology of the mechanical press allowed publishers to produce large print runs in a way that woodblock printing did not, but the impact of typeset printing goes farther than simply allowing for greater distribution and sale of anthologies than would have been possible even a half-

century earlier. It is typeset printing that makes it much more difficult to print a book in a way that does not confine it to a uniform typeface and paper size, unlike woodblocks that could be carved to mimic handwriting and calligraphy, mixing textual elements with illustrations at will. Typeset printing not only makes possible the separation of text and image (and woodblock printing, of course, does the same), but it encourages the reader to see the two separately: it gives rise to the very concept of “the text” itself. Thus, we can see typeset anthologies as producing something that had not before existed for any of these writers: a collection of “texts” under a single name, all typeset in the same way and printed on the same paper on adjoining pages. All are published as though they had originally and always appeared in the same form. It encourages the reading of these texts apart from their medium, and attempts to force the medium to recede to the background, no matter the high quality of the paper and type.

As we have seen earlier, this could not be more different from the way in which these “texts” were originally produced, published, and responded to. Authorship in the 1880s and 1890s – even at the same time the first author-centric anthologies were being published – was performed at the site of publication and was inseparable in its reception from the medium in which works appeared. Ozaki Kōyō’s *Fūryū kyō ningyō* was being reviewed by Ishibashi Ningestu as having dialogue that took up too many issues of the magazine in which it appeared, and that magazine was marked as its “author” in the very title of the review. Meanwhile, his *Irozange* was identified first as being part of the *Shincho hyakushū* series of new novels and Ningestu, again the reviewer, felt it necessary to first explain the series before moving on to his critique of the novel itself. These cases remind us that reading Kōyō’s works as a part of his anthology would have been an

entirely different reading experience from seeing these works as part of a series or magazine, surrounded by works penned by other writers and even including advertisements and illustrations. As we have seen above, moreover, there is the character of the publication to take into account, as well as the content that was being published adjacent to the work itself: Kōyō's *Konjiki yasha* was accompanied by letters to the editor from Kōyō himself explaining his working process, and Kuroiwa Ruikō's translation choices become arbitrary and nearly inexplicable once removed from the political context of his own newspaper, *Yorozu chōhō*. Placing these works in the self-contained context of an anthology, in a uniform typeface and as the only work on a given page, completely alters the possibilities for reception and interpretation. It changes the medium in which the works are manifested – changing the site of the performance of authorship, thus changing the performance of authorship itself. In other words, we can think of the works within an anthology as being attributable to an entirely new, different author that comes into existence only within the anthology.

The issue of form is just as crucial when considering the presence of previously unpublished works within some anthologies. Putting these works into typeset form, amidst other works that had previously been published in a variety of media ranging from coterie magazines to newspapers to standalone books, implies that they are in a complete state, that they are in a finished form, and most important, that they are ready – and meant – for public consumption. This invites readers to encounter them with the same expectations of completeness and to respond to them with the same critical eye as they would to a finished, edited, and previously published piece of writing. At the same time, despite the lure of the revelations of a private life that might be found in unpublished,

unfinished work, readers also have that same sense of privacy effaced through the posthumous publication process. Encountering a handwritten manuscript or letter is a profoundly different experience from seeing the same in typeset form, and finding unfinished work in a published volume may prompt assumptions that the work has been edited or revised in some way, thus creating a distance between the writer and reader that might not exist in the archives. Moreover, publishing an unfinished work allows readers to make assumptions about the writer's intentions: that the writer might have either intended to publish the piece but didn't have the chance, or that the writer would have kept the piece secret and thus that it allows the reader an intimate view onto the writer's private space. Regardless, all of these assumptions created by the publication process give meaning to the work that would not otherwise be possible.

As we have seen, the works themselves are unified in an author-centric anthology of this kind, presented in a standard format, one no different from another, all bound together within the same uniform covers of a single book or set of books. Yet there is another, more subtle way in which they are standardized in the anthologies that have been discussed here: by the choice of a single pseudonym to represent an entire body of work that, depending on the writer, could have been attributed to any number of pseudonyms in their initial publications. In previous chapters, I discussed the ways in which authorship was performed – multiply, collectively, anonymously – at sites of media rather than the site of the individual writer, at the time that the works contained in these anthologies were produced. Yet here we have a collapsing of authorial name that brings all three of these elements together: name, medium, and historical writer. In the author-centric anthology all of these are unified into one body of work, and one authorial identity, which



mutually define and are defined by each other.

One case that stands out is that of Kitamura Montarō, now known as Kitamura Tōkoku, who used a variety of pen names despite his relatively short writing career. Even in the preface to his 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū*, Hirata Tokuboku uses an alternate pen name, Sen’u, to refer to him, as well as alternate pen names for members of the *Bungakkai* coterie, including Musei for Shimazaki Tōson.<sup>385</sup> Thus, even within an anthology that had standardized Tōkoku’s name, his colleagues still used multiple pseudonyms for him as though the norm was flexibility with names even after his death. The 1894 *Tōkoku shū* admits that “Tōkoku” was simply chosen because it was thought to be his most generally known name, and would therefore communicate its subject to the widest audience possible. Even posthumously, Tōkoku published under multiple pseudonyms: as discussed in the second chapter, in the seventeenth and eighteenth issues of *Bungakkai*, Tōkoku’s work was published under both “Tōkoku” and “Sen’u.” Yet in *Tōkoku zenshū*, it is as though all of his writing was published with the name Kitamura Tōkoku, and as though both Tōkoku and Kitamura Montarō, the historical writer, were one and the same entity – stable, consistent, and singular.<sup>386</sup>

Yet even if the writer consistently used a single pseudonym throughout a career, such as Higuchi Ichiyō, this collapsing of authorial name and historical identity still takes place at the site of the anthology. Not only is the authorial name “Ichiyō” associated indelibly with “Higuchi Natsuko,” it also comes to represent, and be represented by, the photographic image of that historical individual. Photography and lithography were two

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<sup>385</sup> Hirata Tokuboku, “Bōyū o tomurau,” in [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku zenshū* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1902), 7-14.

<sup>386</sup> It should also be noted that advertisements for Tōkoku’s standalone volume of poetry, *Soshu no shi*, listed the author not as Tōkoku or Sen’u, but as “Kitamura Montarō” himself.

relatively new technologies that were put to work in author-centric anthologies, both to add value to them – just as the decorated covers and colored inks did – and to create an almost physical identity for an authorial name by giving it the image of a human face to illustrate just what that name meant.

The case of Ichiyō's photograph is revealing of how representations of authors were shifting along with technology at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the image associated with her changed radically from the first 1897 edition of *Ichiyō zenshū* to its reprintings, and again in the second edition in 1912. The first edition includes an image at the front, before the title page, that is reminiscent of Edo-period (1600-1867) woodblock prints of women, and features an anonymous beauty casually reading (or possibly writing) a book, a pet bird caged by her side. The window is open and we gaze at the scene of her reading through it; it is as though we are looking at a private moment of reading and that the woman is unaware of the viewer. The woman could be anyone, and does not resemble Ichiyō; she could be reading anything, although the book spread out before her could conceivably be *Ichiyō zenshū* itself.<sup>387</sup> At the same time, however, it is possible that this everywoman represents Ichiyō even if it is not an accurate portrait – although the woman is not engaged in the act of writing in the illustration, she has an inkstone next to her book, ready to use, and the book itself can be seen as handwritten and possibly poetry. In the end, it is an open-ended image that is full of possibilities for interpretation depending on the reader.

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<sup>387</sup> Because none of Ichiyō's fiction was published in standalone book format before this anthology, it is impossible that she is reading any of Ichiyō's other work.



Figure 15. [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Ichiyō zenshū*, ed. Ōhashi Matatarō [Ōhashi Otowa] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, January 1897), n.p.

As soon as June of the same year and in all reprints after that, however, the reprinted first edition of *Ichiyō zenshū* no longer contains the perhaps hastily inserted illustration; instead, it contains a photograph of the historical Higuchi Natsuko herself, and with the new image comes a severe constraints on readers' interpretation of it.



Figure 16. [Higuchi Ichiyō], *Ichiyō zenshū*, ed. Baba Kochō (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1904), n.p.

The same photograph is found at the front of the 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū*. It is now an iconic image of the author that has even found its way onto the 5,000-yen note in Japan.

Both *Tōkoku shū* and *Tōkoku zenshū*, too, contain photographs of Kitamura



Montarō, although the latter anthology is considerably more fanciful in its illustration of the author than the others considered here, placing a colored drawing of his photograph within a heart.



Figure 17. [Kitamura Tōkoku], *Tōkoku zenshū*, ed. Hoshino Shinnosuke [Hoshino Tenchi], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1902), n.p.

Each volume of *Kōyō zenshū* begins with a photograph of Ozaki Tokutarō; the Shun'yōdō *Bizan zenshū* contains several small images of Kawakami Akira and the Hakubunkan edition a single photo of the writer as a youth. Thus, Bizan himself, despite Kawakami Akira outliving all of the other writers discussed here, remains eternally young as an author, always at the beginning of his career.

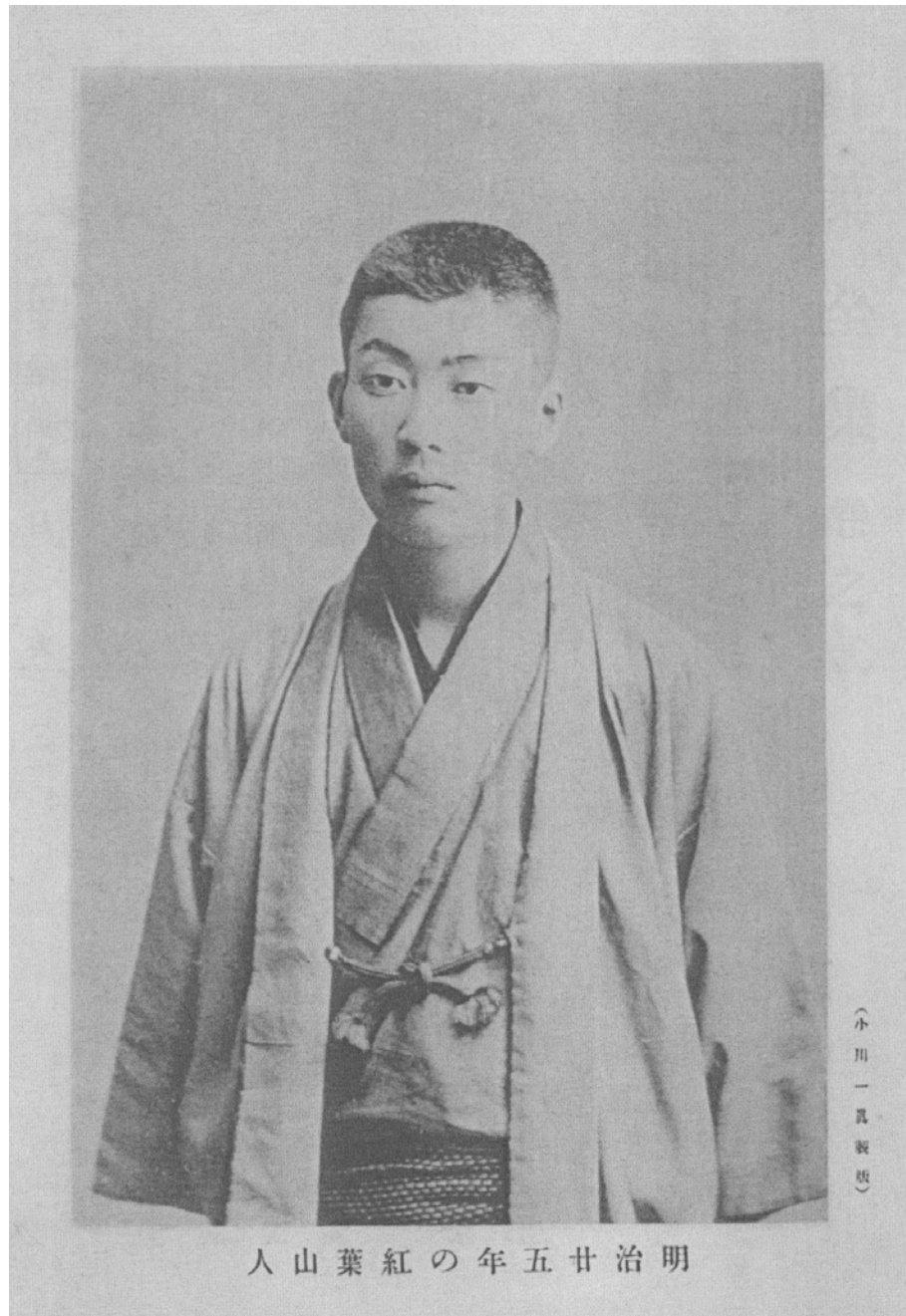


Figure 18. “Kōyō Sanjin in 1892.” Ozaki Tokutarō [Ozaki Kōyō] *Kōyō zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1904), n.p.

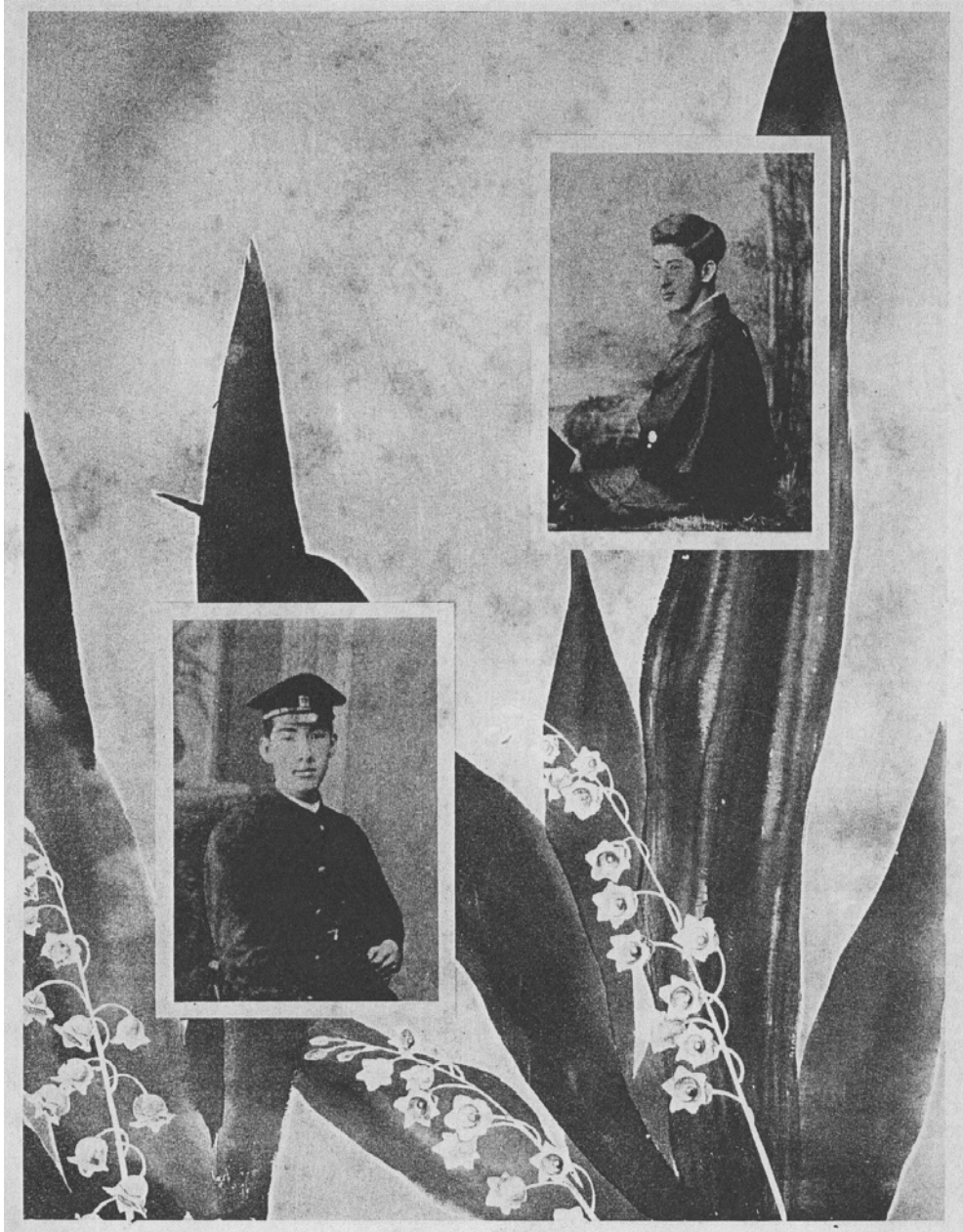


Figure 19. Kawakami Akira [Kawakami Bizan], *Bizan zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1909), n.p.



Figure 20. “Bizan, 1889.” Kawakami Akira [Kawakami Bizan], *Bizan zenshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1909), n.p.

The image of the historical writer merges literally with the author in these anthologies in the form of a photograph of a real person with which to associate an otherwise ephemeral authorial name. None of these reproductions would have been possible without the newly introduced technology of lithography; upon its introduction, it was immediately used in print media to add value and novelty to publications, including photo spreads in



magazines such as the general interest weekly *Taiyō* and the literary *Bungei kurabu*.<sup>388</sup>

Although the anthologies of the 1890s and 1900s were hardly the first time that a visual representation of a person was associated with an authorial name, they represent the first cases of photographs of historical writers being used in combination with a collected body of “complete” works to visually illustrate a constructed authorial identity.

Photographs are not the only traces of historical writers that were reproduced in anthologies (or even magazines), however. Other physical remnants of the deceased writers include pages from their handwritten manuscripts, in the case of the 1902 *Tōkoku zenshū* and 1912 *Ichiyō zenshū*. Just as with the handwriting samples reprinted in *Bungakkai* discussed above, these manuscript pages are manifestations of the writers themselves that come to represent their authorial identities, and that link the physical act of writing with the abstract concept of authorship. The Shun’yōdō *Bizan zenshū* even contains a “postcard” from Bizan, although a typeset version rather than a lithographic reproduction – a message to the reader from the “author” being constructed within the anthology itself, from beyond the grave of the historical writer.

*Tōkoku zenshū* is a representative example in which all of these traces of the historical writer Kitamura Montarō come together to illustrate for us the concrete reality that is beginning to be associated with the name of Kitamura Tōkoku. Within this anthology, not only is Tōkoku’s identity as an author being invented, but his identity as a historical person is being created as well. As already mentioned, the entries from his journal were supposed to be able to represent his life itself. His surviving friends and colleagues filled the first pages of the anthology with prefaces expressing their memories

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<sup>388</sup> We have already encountered *Bungei kurabu*’s section that contained, in one issue, photographs of women writers; *Taiyō*, on the other hand, reproduced photographs of everything from European diplomats to Japanese battleships.

of time together during his life, and their ideas about his fundamental character, not to mention the meaning of his very life. Moreover, even before these prefaces, we find a photograph of Tōkoku, a lithographed drawing of his portrait inside of a heart (emphasizing even more the nature of the anthology), and as well as a reproduction of a manuscript written in Tōkoku's own hand. The anthology itself is, through a variety of means, communicating one "Tōkoku" to the reader: Tōkoku the author has subsumed and replaced Kitamura Montarō the writer, and has become a real, concrete identity in doing so.

The work performed by authors' anthologies of "complete works" in the mid-to-late Meiji period has left us with the authors we now know today as Bizan, Kōyō, Tōkoku, Ichiyō, and Saikaku. By fundamentally reorganizing the way in which literature is accessed and responded to – taking it out of the context of production and reception based in media and collectively-authored publications, using names both multiple and absent – these anthologies have come to obscure the realities of literary production in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. They have invented authorial identities to replace those that were performed when the works were originally written and published, and anachronistically attributed those works to identities that never, almost by necessity, existed within the historical writers' lifetimes. Rather, these objects construct immortal authors whose very identities, particularly in the case of anthologized Meiji authors, are based in the death of the writer. Through the organization of writing by a single authorial name and identity, the definition of that identity by the *oeuvre* that an anthology contains, and the physical construction of an imposing and authoritative literary archive, author-centric anthologies invented a new kind of author and a new way of reading literature at the end of the Meiji

period that has shaped the field to this day.

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