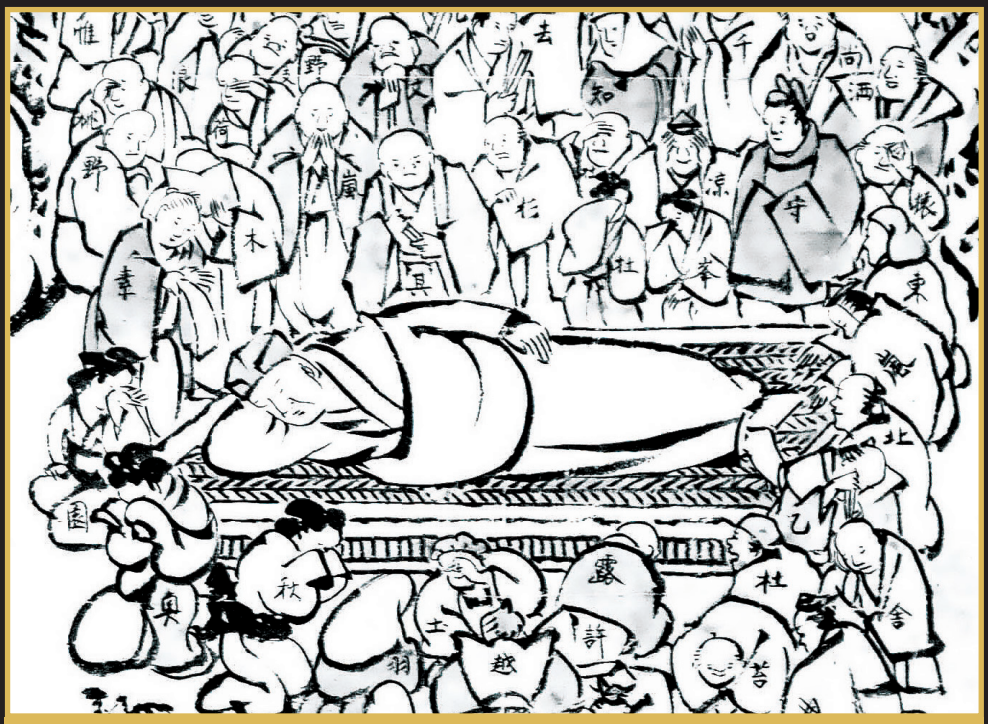
The Rhetoric of Death and Discipleship in Premodern Japan



Sōchō's *Death of Sōgi* and Kikaku's *Death of Master Bashō*

H. Mack Horton

JAPAN RESEARCH MONOGRAPH 19

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Japan Research Monograph 19
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ISBN-13: 978-1-55729-185-1 (electronic)
ISBN-13: 978-1-55729-184-4 (print)
ISBN-10: 1-55729-184-5 (print)

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Institute *of*
East Asian Studies
University of California, Berkeley

October 2019

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JAPAN RESEARCH MONOGRAPH 19

CENTER FOR JAPANESE STUDIES

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H. Mack Horton

Institute of East Asian Studies
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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Horton, H. Mack, author. | Socho, 1448-1532. Sogi shuen no ki. English. | Kikaku, 1661-1707. Basho-o shuen no ki. English.
Title: The rhetoric of death and discipleship in premodern Japan : Socho's Death of Sogi and Kikaku's Death of Master Basho / H. Mack Horton.
Description: Berkeley : Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, [2019] | Series: Japan research monograph ; 19 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018059170| ISBN 9781557291844 (alk. paper) | ISBN 1557291845 (alk. paper) | ISBN 9781557291851 (E-ISBN) | ISBN 1557291853 (E-ISBN)
Subjects: LCSH: Socho, 1448–1532—Criticism and interpretation. | Kikaku, 1661–1707—Criticism and interpretation. | Sogi, 1421–1502. | Matsuo, Basho, 1644–1694. | Japanese poetry—1185–1600—History and criticism. | Japanese poetry—Edo period, 1600–1868—History and criticism.
Classification: LCC PL792.S58 H67 2019 | DDC 895.61/24—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018059170

Cover image: *Master Bashō Entering Nirvana* (detail), by Yosa Buson. Courtesy of Bashō-ō Kinenkan.

Cover design by H. Mack Horton and Mindy Chen.

In memory of my teachers

John Rosenfield,
William H. and Helen Craig McCullough,
Kaneko Kinjirō

Contents

Illustrations

Figures

Plates

Follow page xvi

1. Portrait of Sōgi with an inscription said to be in his own hand.
2. Portrait of Sōgi with poetic inscriptions.
3. Portrait of Sōchō signed by Kanō Ryūsetsu.
4. Portrait of "Saioku Sōchō" as reflected in the Edo popular imagination.
5. Detail of *Gathering of Haikai Immortals* signed by Chōsō (Yosa Buson).
6. Portrait of Bashō and his traveling companion.
7. Bashō pausing by a willow.
8. Bashō on his deathbed at the home of Hanaya Nizaemon.
9. *Master Bashō Entering Nirvana*, by Yosa Buson.

Preface

Sōgi and Bashō are the two most famous practitioners of Japanese linked verse, an art that captivated poetic minds for centuries. Their deaths were of commensurate importance to their literary communities, and two of their preeminent disciples, Sōchō and Kikaku, immediately composed accounts of their teachers' last days.[1] *The Death of Sōgi* (*Sōgi shūenki*, 1502), by Sōchō, and *The Death of Master Bashō* (*Bashō-ō shūenki*, 1694), by Kikaku, are among the most important death accounts in the premodern Japanese literary corpus. They provide vital information about the careers of two of Japan's iconic literary figures and their circles of disciples, while themselves manifesting appropriate stylistic accomplishment. And in Buddhist terms, they bear witness to the conviction that poetry itself can constitute a form of prayer that contributes to the repose and rebirth of the deceased. Whereas death poetry in Japan constitutes a major literary subgenre, death accounts in prose are relatively few, though, as we will see, they proliferated during the Edo period (1600–1868).[2]

This book provides annotated translations of both memorials, Sōchō's account of Sōgi's death constituting an upper verse to which Kikaku linked his lower verse describing the death of Bashō.[3] They are preceded here by an introduction that outlines how these thanatographies served the needs of the departed and the bereaved—death and discipleship—and how both memorials were subjectively fashioned in response to venerable literary precedents and to newly developing standards of taste.

Though Sōgi, Bashō, Sōchō, and Kikaku were all to varying degrees students of traditional *waka* (or *uta*) composition, it was instead to various forms of linked verse that they dedicated their primary creative energies. That art, at once literary, performative, and competitive, gave rise to some of Japan's greatest moments of poetry and poetic prose, and the opening verse of the sequence survives today in Japan's best-known verse form, the haiku.

The type of linked verse in which Sōgi and Sōchō specialized was *ushin renga* (*ushin* meaning "having heart," i.e., orthodox, and *renga* meaning "linked verse"), which had begun centuries before when two poets joined in composing a thirty-one-syllable *waka* poem, one composing the upper seventeen-syllable half and the other, the lower fourteen-syllable rejoinder.[4] In mature form in the fourteenth century, a *renga* sequence normally contained a hundred links (*hyakuin*) composed by a group of poets on the basis of a complex body of rules governing where and how often key images were required or proscribed. Those images, and the conventions surrounding them, were generally borrowed from orthodox *waka* poetry, a genre that continued to enjoy the highest esteem. Particularly critical is the stricture that each succeeding link (*tsukeku*) must refer only to the immediately preceding verse (*maeku*) and not to the penultimate one, to ensure that the sequence develops in new directions.

But a less rule-bound and more quotidian form of the art was simultaneously enjoyed by Sōgi, Sōchō, and other dedicated *ushin renga* practitioners in the medieval era (1185–1600). Such *haikai* (*no*) *renga* (unorthodox linked verse, *haikai* for short) gradually developed its own desiderata, to the point where in Bashō's early modern age (1600–1868) it too became an admired art form. While much *haikai* was simply comedic, some *haikai* practitioners held that high thought need not be limited to high words, and that colloquial vocabulary, quotidian imagery, or parodic stance could also address life's deepest concerns (which is not to say that humor too cannot be profound). Just as linked verse itself had originally developed as a more social and relaxed poetic form than *waka* but had gradually come to be regarded as a high art in itself, so did *haikai* likewise give birth to other less-restrained genres once it had acquired a more elevated status. Though *haikai* poets tended to limit their sequences to thirty-six links and to dispense with all but the most basic rules of *ushin renga*, they were likewise first and foremost composers of *linked* verse in the company of others.[5] But the first verse, the *hokku*, was the most demanding of all to compose, as it had its own requirements and set the tone for the rest of the session, and in consequence it was often prepared in advance. A practice eventually developed of composing *hokku* alone, and this is the format of many of the verses in the two death accounts here.

In addition to masterpieces in verse, Sōgi and Bashō left some of the greatest poetic travel accounts in the entire premodern literary corpus, including Sōgi's *Shirakawa kikō* (Account of a journey to Shirakawa, 1468) and Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi* (The narrow road to the deep north, 1694). They based these and other accounts on a venerable tradition of travel writing (*kikōbun*) in a combination of vernacular poetry and prose going back to such classics as *Tosa nikki* (Tosa diary, 935) and *Ise monogatari* (Tales

of Ise, tenth century). Their writing and indeed their own self images were also profoundly influenced by the example of Saigyō (1118–1190), the archetype of the traveling poet-priest who endures privation in the mutually reinforcing pursuits of poetry and Buddhism. Indeed, Bashō set out on his *Oku no hosomichi* journey to mark the five-hundredth anniversary of Saigyō's death. For Sōgi and Bashō, as for Saigyō, poetry was a lofty spiritual mission with potentially mortal consequences; in fact, Bashō titled his first foray into travel writing *Nozarashi kikō* (Journal of bleached bones in a field, 1684) in acknowledgment of the perceived danger of his spiritual and artistic quest. And ultimately, Sōgi and Bashō both turned the myth into reality, ending their lives while journeying but composing verses to the last. Mercifully they passed away not alone in a field, but surrounded by devoted disciples. It was natural, therefore, that Sōchō and Kikaku would also exploit the vernacular versiprosa medium in their narratives of the masters' last days and deaths, and that they would borrow from the ancient mythos of the traveling poet-priest, since the masters had done so themselves.

But coexisting with the medieval icon of the poet as solitary seeker of truth was a newer model of literary life involving extended networks of disciples who paid for the privilege of association and instruction. Sōgi, in fact, has been called Japan's first professional man of letters, as he was supported not by the imperial court or a temple but by the labor of his brush, and Bashō followed suit. The bonds between their wide-ranging circles of disciples were personal, and when they died, there was a commensurately personal need on the part of their followers for details about their masters' final days. Sōchō and Kikaku both state that they wrote in part to fulfill this function. But as will be explored in the introduction that follows, those two memorialists were also doubtless motivated by a variety of other factors, among them to give thanks for their teachers' guidance, preserve examples of the poetry composed on their behalf, and bear permanent witness to their greatness. Important too were the reestablishment of psychological order in the face of chaos and the public demonstration of lineage, in the interest of future professional survival.

Sōchō's account, and even more Kikaku's, also reflect elements of what would come to be characterized as an early modern mind-set in, for example, their descriptions of the quotidian and physical details of the last illnesses of their masters, which display a graphic quality that earlier orthodox travel writing largely eschewed. Kikaku's account in particular is marked by the influence of Bashō's travel *haibun*, *haikai* versiprosa that evokes some of the same eternal verities of the earlier travel orthodoxy but in a more colloquial and topical tonality, and in a style shaped by *haikai* poetic diction.

Works of Japanese poetry and poetic prose like *The Death of Sōgi* and *The Death of Master Bashō*, given their concision, ellipticality, and allusiveness, are particularly recalcitrant to translation. Since so much is lost in the transition from Japanese to English, it seems doubly important to imply through English lineation the division of the thirty-one-syllable *waka* into its five syllabic units (or "measures," *ku*) of 5, 7, 5, 7, and 7, and the similar division of long or short linked verses into their syllabic units of 5-7-5 or 7-7, despite that fact that such units are not exactly analogous to the English poetic line and do not need to be separated visually on the Japanese page.[6] In the introduction and notes here, I represent poems with the Japanese and English versions *en face*, but in the translations I provide the romanized Japanese in the notes, to avoid detracting from the narrative flow. Whereas the prose accounts by Sōgi and Sōchō generally separate the poetry from the prose grammatically and (if extant manuscripts are to be trusted) visually as well, those of Bashō and Kikaku in varying degree work toward a more seamless integration of *haikai* poetry and prose, and since we are blessed with a xylograph edition of *Bashō-ō shūenki* made on the basis of a holograph by Kikaku himself (fig. 1), the translation here preserves that format, wherein some verses are embedded in full or in part in the text while others are indented for special effect. But in both cases, I retain in English the prosodic divisions of the originals (with forward slashes for the verses that are embedded and with separate lines for those that are indented), since those syllabic divisions were obvious to every Japanese reader regardless of the format on the page. I have also divided the texts into paragraphs, though there are no such divisions in the originals. Japanese characters are not provided in the introduction or translations (with some exceptions); they are instead given in the endnotes, the general index and character glossary, and/or in the works cited. Japanese personal names are represented here in Japanese order, surname first. Literary figures, however, were often identified in premodern Japan by their first names alone, as in the case of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, who might be cited by his full name or simply by his first name, Sanetaka. Literary figures were also often referred to by their sobriquets; thus Sanetaka is also known by his poetic name Chōsetsu. Similarly Bashō is one of the poetic names of Matsuo Munefusa.

Premodern Japanese dates are given here according to the lunar-solar calendar, for example, 1499.1.4, meaning the fourth day of the first month of 1499, which corresponds to February 13, 1499, by the Julian calendar. Years are traditionally indicated by era name (*nengō*), for example, Genroku 7, the seventh year of Genroku, most of which corresponds to 1694. But the end of a lunar-solar year will correspond to the beginning of the next year by the Julian or Gregorian count; hence the twelfth month of Genroku 7, when *The Death of Master Bashō* was published, actually corresponds to

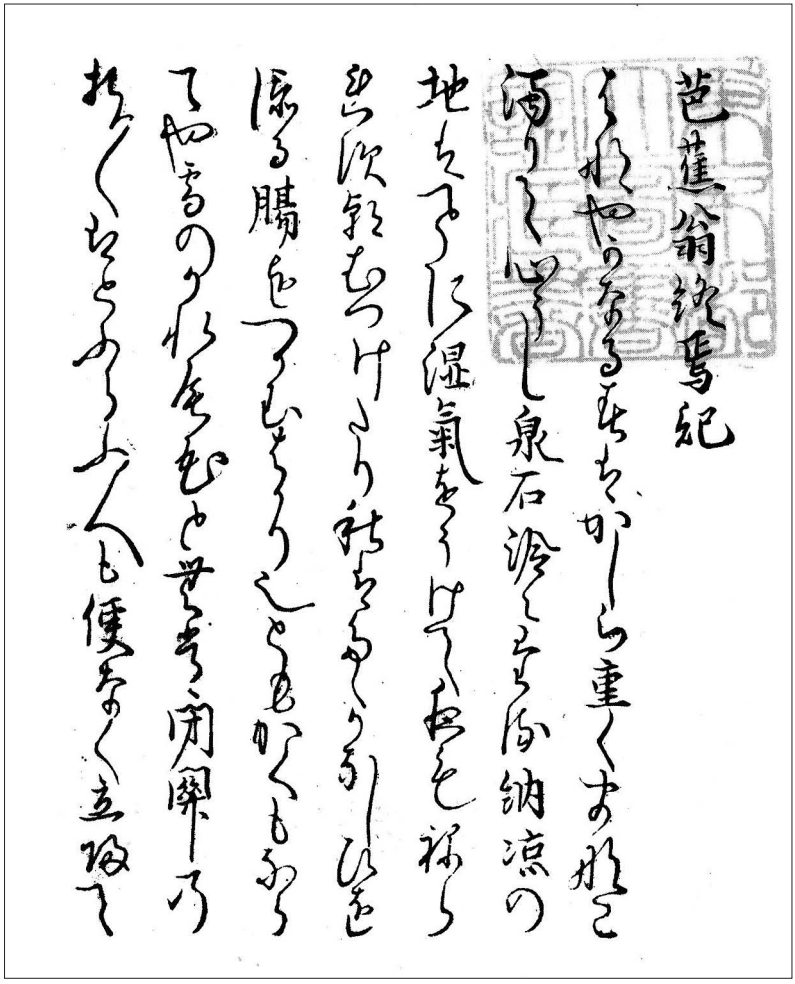

Fig. 1. The opening page of *The Death of Master Bashō*. Woodblock made on the basis of a manuscript in Kikaku's hand. Courtesy of Ubusuna Shoin.

January 15 to February 12, 1695. Months are twenty-nine or thirty days long, and each season lasts three months, with spring beginning on New Year's Day and continuing until the last day of the third month. The night of the full moon always falls in the middle of the month.

People's ages are given here according to the traditional Japanese count (*kazoedoshi*), in which a person is counted as one year old at birth and becomes a year older on New Year's Day. Thus a person born on the last day

of the twelfth month is one year old at birth and becomes two years old (meaning in his or her second year) on the following day. Sōgi was eighty-two by the Japanese count when he died, but eighty-one by the Western calculus.

Just as Japanese linked verse is the result of contributions by a number of poets whose every link enriches the verse that goes before, so has this manuscript been amplified by the contributions of others. I am grateful to Chris Drake and Steven D. Carter for their thoughtful and detailed remarks on this study, to Charles Shiro Inouye for carefully editing an earlier version of it, to Mark Blum, William Bodiford, Cheryl Crowley, Matthew Fraleigh, Hu Ying, Eleanor Kerkham, Bonnie McClure, Brendan Morley, Okuda Isao, and Robert Sharf for advice on specific questions, to Toshie Marra for bibliographical acquisitions, to Kumi Hadler for her help in obtaining illustrations, to Lisa Sapinkopf for her insightful copy editing, and to my editor at UC Berkeley's Institute of East Asian Studies, Katherine Lawn Chouta, for her careful craftsmanship. I am also grateful for a fellowship to pursue this project from the National Endowment for the Humanities and for support from the Center for Japanese Studies, the Institute of East Asian Studies, and the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Berkeley.

Plate 1. Portrait of Sōgi with an inscription said to be in his own hand, reading “I have come down through the years, / and now so does a cold rain / upon this fleeting shelter” (*yo ni furu wa sara ni shigure no yadori kana*). Painting signed Hokkyō (Dharma Bridge) Jikaku 法橋自覚. The scroll bears the label *Sōgi koji jiseika* 宗祇居士辞世歌 (Death poem of the lay priest Sōgi). Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

Plate 2. Portrait of Sōgi. Courtesy of Kaneko Kinjirō. The portrait is thought to be a good likeness. The inscription reads thus:

Portrait of the aged Sōgi

utsushioku	Though it seems
wa ga kage nagara	to show me,
yo no uki o	I find I envy
shiranu okina zo	the old man in the picture
urayamarenuru	who knows not the world's sadness!
yo ni furu mo	I have come down through the years,
sara ni shigure no	and now so does a cold rain
yadori kana	upon this fleeting shelter!
toshi no watari wa	No one left to make the crossing
yuku hito mo nashi	from the old year to the new.
oi no nami	The waves of old age–
iku kaeriseba	how long will they keep rolling in
hatenaramu	before they come no more?

The first verse appears in Sōgi's *waka* collection *Sōgishū* (*Kokka taikan* 8: 839) and the second, in *Shinsen tsukubashū* (no. 3799) and *Sōgi shūenki*. The last two verses, of which the second is by Sōgi, were composed for the last linked-verse sequence in which he participated. They appear in *Sōgi shūenki* as well.

Plate 3. Portrait of Sōchō. Signed Kanō Ryūsetsu 狩野柳雪. The linked-verse master Satomura Jōha 里村紹巴 (1524–1602) writes in his travel journal *Jōha Fujimi michi no ki* 紹巴富士見道記 (Account of Jōha's journey to view Mount Fuji, 1567, p. 260) of visiting the hermitage of the late Sōchō: "A portrait of Sōchō was also hanging there. He had forbidden anyone to paint his portrait while he was still alive. But he said that if one were made after his death it should show him wearing olive green robes under black." Courtesy of Tenchūzan Togeppō Saiokuji temple.

Plate 4. Portrait of "Saioku Sōchō" as reflected in the Edo popular imagination. In *Kokon kyōkabukuro* 古今狂歌袋 (Bag of comic poems, ancient and modern, 1787), by Ishikawa Masamochi 石川雅望 (1754–1830). The *kyōka*, which reads, "How I wish / that everything under heaven / simply did not exist, / for if that were so / then desires would likewise disappear" (*ama ga shita ari to aru mono naku mo ga na sate ya hoshisa no tsukuru to omoeba*), also appears in *Sōchō shuki* (no. 579). Courtesy of Atomi University Library.

Plate 5. Detail of *Gathering of Haikai Immortals* (*Haisen gunkaizu* 俳仙群会図). Signed Chōsō 朝滄 (Yosa Buson). Front row, left to right: (Arakida) Moritake, Chōzumaru (Matsunaga Teitoku); second row: (Yamazaki) Sōkan, (Yasuhara) Teishitsu, Baiō (Nishiyama Sōin); third row: Yachiyo, (Hattori) Ransetsu, (Uejima) Onitsura; fourth row: Ninkō Shōnin, (Enomoto or Takarai) Kikaku, (Matsuo) Bashō, (Kagami) Shikō; back row: Sōa (Hayano Hajin), (Hata or Shiba) Sonome. Courtesy of Kakimori Bunko.

Plate 6. (left) Portrait of Bashō and his traveling companion, probably Sora, on the journey depicted in *Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 (The narrow road to the deep north). The painter was Bashō's disciple Morikawa Kyoriku 森川許六. Unlike most portraits of the master, which were posthumous, this was made in 1693, the year before the master passed away. Courtesy of Tenri Daigaku Fuzoku Tenri Toshokan.

Plate 7. (right) Bashō pausing by a willow, an event recounted in *Oku no hosomichi*. Signed Hanabusa Itchō 英一蝶 (1652–1724), a contemporary of Kikaku. Courtesy of Kōtōku Bashō Kinenkan.

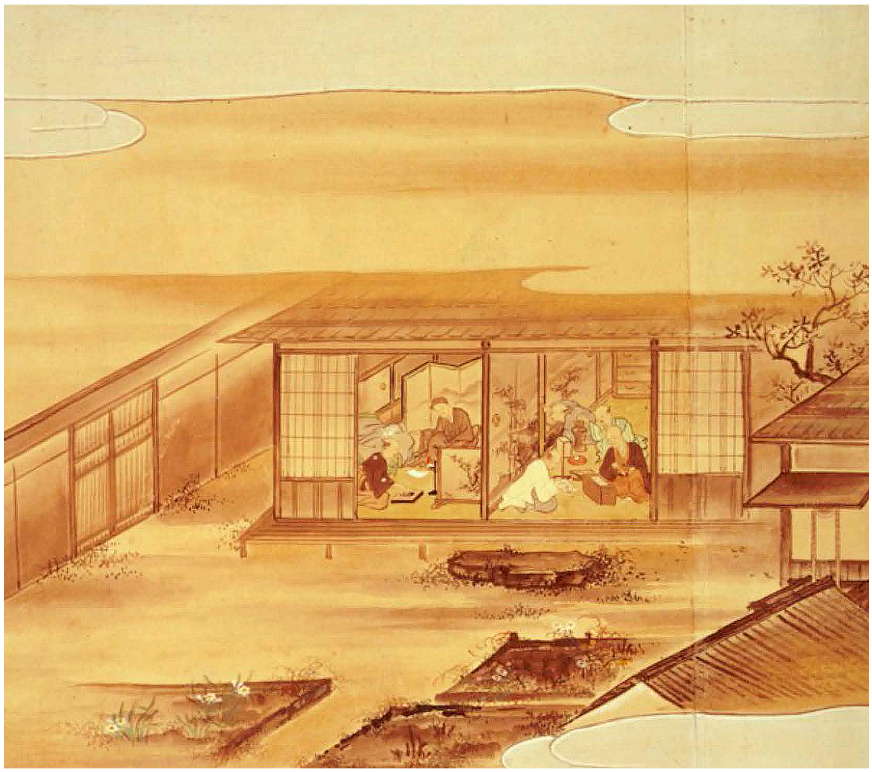

Plate 8. Bashō on his deathbed at the home of Hanaya Nizaemon. From *Bashō-ō ekotobaden* 芭蕉翁絵詞伝 (Illustrated biography of Master Bashō). Text by Goshōan Chōmu 五升庵蝶夢 (1732–1796) and illustrations by Kanō Shōei 狩野正栄. The picture scroll was presented to Gichūji temple in 1792 to mark the hundredth anniversary of Bashō's death. Courtesy of Gichūji temple.

Plate 9. *Master Bashō Entering Nirvana.* By Yosa Buson. Dated 1783.10.10. The identities of the mourners, among them Kikaku, Kyorai, Kyoriku, Ransetsu, Sanpū, and Sonome, are indicated on their robes by a character from their names. The work is patterned on pictures of the Buddha entering nirvana (*nehanzu* 涅槃図). Courtesy of Bashō-ō Kinenkan.

Introduction to the Translations

"Death is always a central element of a culture's understanding of the world and humankind's place in it. Each death inevitably alters the social relations that obtain among the living, but this social disjunction takes on heightened importance when death removes an influential political figure from the world."[7] While Gary Ebersole limits his apt discussion of what he calls "the politics of death" to courtly elites, his observation also applies to transitional moments in literary leadership, when a teacher dies and his successors must reconstitute their world in his absence. This was never more true than in medieval and early modern Japan, when a demonstrated place in an established literary lineage was crucial to poetic legitimacy. The relationship between master and disciple was especially close among linked-verse poets, whose very art took shape in communal composition. Linkage–between poems and between poets–defined their enterprise, and a death represented a particular crisis to identity and continuity. Confronted by the loss of eminent poets, disciples began to record the last days of those deceased masters, the details of their deaths, and the rituals performed by the bereaved. One term that came to be applied to such records was *shūenki* (or *shūen no ki*), "death accounts," and these gradually became an institution in the linked-verse world.

As indicated in the preface, the deaths of the two greatest linked-verse masters (*rengashi*), Sōgi in the medieval era (1185–1600) and Bashō during the Genroku (1688–1704) efflorescence in the Edo period (1600–1868), occasioned the two best-known *shūenki* accounts, *The Death of Sōgi*, written soon after that linked-verse master's death in 1502 by his disciple Sōchō, and *The Death of Master Bashō*, composed immediately after Bashō's death nearly two centuries later in 1694 by his disciple Kikaku, who appropriated into his own composition elements of Sōchō's work.[8] These accounts of literary life and death portray not only the final days of two of the principal figures in Japanese letters but also the mechanics of succession in the late medieval

and early modern literary worlds.[9] And they established a precedent for such memorials thereafter.

The Death of Sōgi

By the end of his life, Inō Sōgi (1421–1502, plates 1, 2) had come to be recognized as one of history's greatest linked-verse poets and also as a repository of Japan's classical literary tradition. To have achieved primacy in the linked-verse world was eminence indeed, for that verse form had surpassed even *waka* in popularity by the late medieval period. A particularly important step on the way to renown occurred between 1471 and 1473, when Sōgi acquired the "Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*" (*Kokin denju*) from the Kanto warrior literatus Tō no Tsuneyori (ca. 1401–ca. 1484). Those teachings, a body of jealously guarded lore about the *Kokinshū* anthology that constituted the foundation of the *waka* corpus, conferred upon their possessor undisputed poetic authority.[10] They were essential for Sōgi, whose forebears were most likely of modest samurai stock, to play a leading role at the highest levels of the poetic world.

Sōgi's closest disciple was the linked-verse master Saiokuken Sōchō (1448–1532, plates 3, 4), who traveled with him and also collaborated with him and a third poet, Botanka Shōhaku (1443–1527), on two of the most famous *renga* sequences, *Minase sangin* (Three poets at Minase, 1488) and *Yuyama sangin* (Three poets at Yuyama, 1491).[11] Sōchō also went to meet Sōgi in 1501 when the aged master was staying with his Uesugi daimyo patrons in Echigo (Niigata Prefecture). His account of the trip and its unhappy end, *The Death of Sōgi*, was a memorial of the master and a concrete manifestation of the fact of transition. It was also Sōchō's first foray into the realm of memoir writing. He would go on to write a number of other diaries, as would, of course, Bashō after him.[12]

Sōchō sent his account of Sōgi's last journey, death, and aftermath to the court literatus Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), a close friend of both Sōgi and Sōchō.[13] But it is also a public document meant for a wider readership. It begins with the master's departure from the capital, Kyoto:

> The aged Sōgi, perhaps tired of his old cottage, resolved to leave the capital on a journey. For his first verse that spring, he composed this:
>
> mi ya kotoshi — For me this year
> miyako o yoso no — the spring haze of the capital
> harugasumi — will be far away.
>
> At the end of autumn that year, he departed for the Koshi region, heedless even of the name Returning Mountain, to call on acquaintances

> in the province of Echigo. Two years passed before I learned he was there, and I set out from the province of Suruga to join him at the end of the sixth month in the first year of the Bunki era [1501].

Present at the linked-verse session that began with Sōgi's *mi ya kotoshi* verse were sixteen poets, among them his disciples Sōseki (1474–1533), Sōha (n.d.), and above all Sōchō. Though Sōgi made the verse in the first month of 1499 (1.4), and though it fits perfectly into Sōchō's narrative to anticipate the master's last journey east, he was at the time actually only preparing to set out on a relatively short trip south to the Osaka area. Sōchō was still in the capital when Sōgi returned at the end of his absence of several weeks, and he and others composed *haikai* with the master over sake at Sanetaka's residence in the middle of the third month. At his advanced age, Sōgi was contemplating his end, and in that same month he composed *Yuikai dokugin hyakuin* (Last precepts solo hundred-verse sequence) as a testament for his disciples.

Sōgi did not actually depart for the north for another year and a half. Finally in the autumn of 1500 (7.17), he set out for Echigo in the company of Sōha and his retainer Mizumoto Yogorō; Sōseki caught up with them afterward. He was eighty years old by the Japanese count.[14] It cannot have escaped him that this was the age at which the Buddha had achieved extinction. Eleven days after Sōgi departed, his residence in the capital, Shugyokuan, burned to the ground, as if it knew the master would never return.[15]

Sōchō, meanwhile, had gone back to his home province of Suruga (Shizuoka Prefecture), where he served his patron, the Imagawa daimyo. He left for Echigo from there and arrived on the first of the ninth month of 1501, a year after Sōgi. Evidently he thought that the master had left for Echigo in the old land of Koshi some months after composing the *mi ya kotoshi* verse in 1499, to judge from his remark that "at the end of autumn that year, [Sōgi] departed for the Koshi region" (see also n. 208). Sōchō spent several weeks with Sōgi and Sōgi's other disciples Sōseki and Sōha, then resolved to travel on to the capital. "But the rigors of the road had begun to tell," he writes, and he fell ill. Sōgi had been meaning to see out his days in the Uesugi domain, but after a year he began to fear that he might outstay his welcome, so he decided to take up final residence with a friend in Mino (Gifu Prefecture), and he asked Sōchō to accompany him. Sōchō agreed, and they set out together (fig. 2), but their paths temporarily diverged, with Sōchō staying at Kusatsu to take the waters and Sōgi going on to do the same at Ikaho, where he composed his last extant linked-verse sequence, *Ikaho sangin hyakuin* (Three poets at Ikaho, 1502.4.28), with Sōseki and Sōha. Sōchō then rejoined the others and traveled toward Suruga,

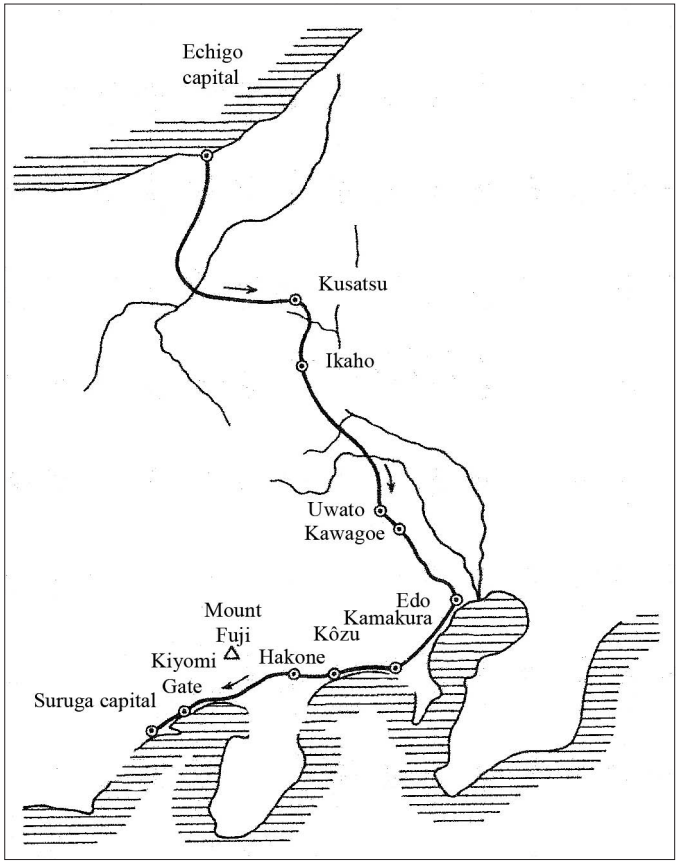

Fig.2. The final journey of Sōgi and Sōchō (after Fukuda 1990, p. 451).

composing verses in Uwato in Musashi, then at Edo Castle and in Kamakura. Sōgi suffered bouts of illness along the way but seemed restored by the pleasure of linked-verse composition.

On the twenty-ninth of the seventh month, the company departed for Suruga. The climax of the piece reads thus:

> On the road at about noon that day, Sōgi suffered an attack of gut worms. He was in great distress, so we halted the palanquin and gave him medicine, to no avail. We did not know what else to do. We found lodging at Kōzu, where we spent the night. Before dawn, men came for us from

> Suruga with horses and palanquins. When Sojun arrived, having pressed his horse, Sōgi rallied. We reached Yumoto at the foot of the Hakone Mountains at daybreak. As we proceeded his spirits rose somewhat, and he took some hot rice porridge, then chatted and napped.
>
> Relieved, we retired after seeing to the preparations for crossing the mountains the next day. Past midnight Sōgi seemed to be in considerable pain, and when we nudged him awake he said, "I just dreamt I was with Lord Teika." He then recited the poem "Jeweled cord of life, / if you must break, then break!" Those who heard recognized it as a verse by Princess Shikishi. Then he softly recited a *maeku* that came from the recent thousand-link sequence: "As I gaze at the moon / my heart floats toward the heavens." He added wryly, "I found this hard to link–you all try your hands at it." Then like a flame going out, he breathed his last.

After recovering from the initial shock of Sōgi's death, Sōchō and the others transported the master's body by palanquin over the Ashigara Mountains to a Zen temple across the border of Suruga Province. The Ashigara Mountains thus function as a kind of curtain for the last act of Sōchō's relationship with Sōgi, opening when Sōchō crosses them on his trip north to Echigo and then closing when he returns to Suruga. The rest of the account details the memorial ceremonies carried out in Suruga and various requiem poetry sessions, then ends with a long poem (*chōka*) sent by the linked-verse poet Inawashiro Kensai (or Kenzai, 1452–1510), a long-time colleague who had retired to the eastland and was then living near Shirakawa Gate in Iwaki (Fukushima Prefecture). A student of Shinkei (1406–1475), and tangentially of Sōgi as well, Kensai had worked closely with Sōgi (and Sōchō) on the compilation of the second imperially recognized anthology of linked verse, *Shinsen tsukubashū* (Newly compiled *Tsukubashū*, 1495).

The topic of the account, then, is not only death, but the master's last years, his death, and his disciples' response to bereavement. Just as it was Sōgi's purpose in his teaching and practice to return to neoclassical poetic orthodoxy and thereby restore order to what is now known as the Age of Warring States (Sengoku jidai, 1467–1568), so it was one of his disciple Sōchō's purposes in chronicling the master's death to begin to come to terms with the post-Sōgi literary polity.

Sōchō's account of Sōgi's death recalls the tripartite nature of transitional rituals identified by the founder of French folklore studies Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957) in his classic *The Rites of Passage* (1909). It was van Gennep's thesis that "all rituals involving passage from one state to another share in a single tripartite structure defined by the necessary function of separation from one status and reincorporation into the new one, with a marginal or liminal period in between."[16] *The Death of Sōgi* is itself a form of literary ritual that simultaneously depicts and helps effect this

tripartite transition. It begins with the last journey of the master (premonitory of eternal separation) and his final decline. It then moves to a liminal period immediately after his death when his spirit lingers among the living and requires prayers for auspicious rebirth, and when his disciples suffer emotional disorder.[17] This liminal period then gradually transitions toward reincorporation into the post-Sōgi world, in part through the composition of the death account itself. But the world, when it reaches reconstitution, will be the poorer, for the master is irreplaceable. Houston Smith draws attention to the fact that for disciples, the master is *sui generis*: "the master forms a circle around himself which authentic disciples do not dream of fully replicating. They can radiate some of the charisma they receive from their master, and may attract disciples of their own, becoming thereby masters in their own right. But it will not be the same universe they shared with their own master, and they see it as imitating, not rivaling, the original universe they inhabited."[18]

The Death of Sōgi is tripartite in both its narrative structure and its cast of characters, involving Sōgi, his memorialist Sōchō, and other disciples. It is not simply a portrait of the master in decline and death but also a portrait of a network in transition. This multilevel aspect of death rituals is also addressed by van Gennep; as Jenny Hockey puts it, "Van Gennep's schema highlighted the parallels between the various components of a ritual; for example, the passage of the spirit as it left its earthly domain for an afterworld of some kind was echoed in the passage of survivors from their previous social status to a new one, e.g. from wife to widow."[19] Sōchō, long the recipient of Sōgi's teaching, the object to Sōgi's subject, becomes with the master's death a subject in his own right and his own writing, with Sōgi as *his* object in turn.

As indicated in the preface here, Sōchō fashioned his account of Sōgi's last journey and its aftermath in part on earlier versiprosa travel narratives featuring poetry and prose in the Japanese vernacular, as opposed to poetry and prose in Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*). Fittingly, one of the greatest models of the poetic travel account was Sōgi's own account of his journey in 1468 to Shirakawa, the gateway to the rustic eastland and one of the most venerable poetic places (*utamakura*).[20] Given Sōchō's long association with the earlier master, it is unthinkable that he would not have read it. Sōgi's description of his Shirakawa pilgrimage is an archetype of the literary travel orthodoxy in its presentation of the journey as being full of travail, apprehension, and melancholy at the thought of those left behind, rather than of delight in unfamiliar scenes and customs or interest in local history or political affairs. Indeed, the people Sōgi encounters scarcely matter at all; his motive is to re-experience what other poetic travelers had experienced before him, sometimes using their verses as foundation poems (*honka*) on which he

fashions his own, linking to the poets of the past, just as in *renga* he links to the verses of his fellow poets at the session. The traditional literary traveler at times faces forward but as often backward whence he came, both in terms of his attitude toward his journey and also his description of it.[21]

The evocation of the orthodox travel mythos was particularly important for Sōgi, who grew up during the wholesale destruction of the Ōnin War (1466–1477), when rival warlords lay waste to much of the capital and its priceless treasures. Indeed, both he and his older teacher and colleague Shinkei fled to the eastland to avoid the escalating violence in Kyoto.[22] The warfare posed a very real threat to Japan's cultural patrimony, and Sōgi's attitude was literally conservative. But *Shirakawa kikō* was also likely a sort of *chef d'oeuvre*, a demonstration of his complete mastery of the poetic travel genre at a time when he was intent on acquiring the "Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*" and establishing himself as a leading poetic authority.

In view of the fact that Sōgi was a revered preserver and teacher of the poetic orthodoxy, it was appropriate that Sōchō would import aspects of that venerable mythos into his account of the master's final journey and its aftermath. And given that Sōgi and Sōchō were both among the greatest proponents of the linked-verse genre, it was natural for the disciple to begin his account as if it were a linked-verse sequence and to quote a *hokku* by the master. Sōchō then immediately identifies Sōgi's destination as Koshi, and he adds that the master departed "heedless of the name Returning Mountain," using a particularly famous poetic site in that region to intimate that the traveler did not expect to return home from this final journey (see n. 148). Sōchō thereafter deploys a number of other poetic place-names in quick succession, including Kamakura and its famous environs, then ends his introduction with observation that his account and its cluster of poetic site-ations has not begun to exhaust the literary possibilities inherent in a journey over such historic terrain. The highly wrought and allusive rhetoric of the introduction also recalls the travel section (*michiyuki*, lit., "road-going") of a Noh play, as if Sōchō were the *waki* setting out on a journey in which he would meet the *shite*, Sōgi (an incipient ghost), in a distant province.

Sōchō thereafter chooses details from Sōgi's last years to foreshadow further the master's final illness and death, and he highlights verses that serve that end, ones that either express ironic hope or fatalistic acceptance. Sōgi spent his life in the pursuit of his art, and Sōchō retells that life through the adroit use of those posthumous literary artifacts. Underlying this fashioning is the belief, obtaining since the days of the "*Kana* Preface" to *Kokinshū*, that on some level a poem expresses the truth of the poet; Sōchō does not hesitate to tell Sōgi's final story partly in terms of the verses that the master composes. But he excises details that are extraneous to the literary travel

orthodoxy or that here would have diluted his main function as memorialist. David Spafford, in his study of the contemporary political landscape of the Kanto region, writes, for example, of an early passage in *The Death of Sōgi* thus:

> One would scarcely know from Sōchō's account that the poets traversed a no-man's-land between two embattled fortresses; that the Ōgigayatsu were holding out against their Yamanouchi relatives in the fortresses of Kawagoe and Edo; and that the camp at Uwado had been established just across the river from Kawagoe for the very purpose of harassing the forces in that castle. Although Sōchō's mention of an encampment suggests military mobilization, nowhere does the poet bother to clarify that Sōgi and the other members of their party were making their way *across an active frontline*, visiting first the headquarters of the besieging army and then the stronghold of the besieged.[23]

Sōchō describes such conditions at greater length in later journals, which progressively complicate the prescriptive literary travel orthodoxy.

The literary conventions of travel constitute a ready analogue for parting. But though travel itself is generally a liminal condition, and though parting was often in the premodern world identified with possible death, the travel mythos cannot provide a template for the work of reincorporation. The Japanese term for travel, *tabi*, is by definition a journey away, not back, and most travel diaries historically give short shrift to the trip homeward. The same is true for the imperial anthologies; travel poetry is preceded by poems of parting, but there is no book of poems about homecoming. Medieval travel literature is essentially tragic in the sense used by Northrop Frye, since it focuses on alienation rather than reintegration.[24]

Sōchō therefore does not continue for long in the travel mode after the death of his master, turning instead to two different foci better suited to liminality and reincorporation. These two foci are requiem *tsuizen* poetry and the transmission of the "Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*."

Tsuizen poems were traditionally composed on important death dates to celebrate the memory of the deceased and pray for his or her repose, a function that recalls Orikuchi Shinobu's pronouncement that Japanese poetry itself began as incantations to the gods.[25] The genre clearly overlaps with the elegies (*banka*) that go back as far as *Man'yōshū* and the laments (*aishōka*) in imperial poetic anthologies. It had long been the habit of *renga* poets to compose verses as prayers for the afterlife.[26] *Haikai* poets were heirs to that tradition and were particularly fond of collecting memorial verses into requiem anthologies called *tsuizenshū*; Kikaku's *Death of Master Bashō* was written as the preface to one such collection, *Kareobana* (Withered tassel-grass, Genroku 7.12 [early 1695]).[27] Such poetry was

particularly appropriate for the forty-nine-day liminal period (*chūū* 中有, also called *chūū no tabi*, liminal journey), when the spirit of the deceased is still not completely detached from the land of the living and rebirth has yet to occur.[28] But *tsuizen* poetry also had a literary function, for what constituted a better offering to a departed poet than verses for his repose and rebirth composed by his disciples and friends? Furthermore, the creation of such poetry by the bereaved not only acknowledged their debt and added to their deceased master's vicarious legacy, but also advertised their lineage and gave it permanent inscription in the face of the impermanence of that bond in life. Thus public praise of a master at once augmented his fame and redounded to the credit of the disciples he left behind. And certainly such collections provided a venue for their own poetic work. *Tsuizen* poetry, furthermore, was by no means limited to the time just after death; for example, Sōchō composed a solo hundred-verse sequence, *Kusatsuyu Sōchō dokugin* (1503), for the first anniversary of Sōgi's death, and he was still composing poetry on Sōgi's death day in his old age, as seen in *Sōchō shuki* (The journal of Sōchō, 1522–1527).[29] As in the case with *Kareobana*, some such collections included passages detailing the lives of the deceased and thus contributed to the development of the genre of biography.

The second device that Sōchō uses in *The Death of Sōgi* to effect reincorporation is his emphasis on the "Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*." As mentioned at the outset here, Sōgi's first journey to the east was made in part to acquire the secrets from Tō no Tsuneyori. In so doing, he established himself in a poetic lineage going back to the great Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204), thus obtaining unimpeachable literary cachet–his master's degree, so to speak. Sōgi's death, therefore, represented not only the loss of a great poet but also a break in poetic authority; it reflected in microcosm the contemporary social crisis of the old order during the Age of Warring States and the concurrent anxiety among literati about the survival of the classical tradition. Reincorporation following his demise thus required a demonstration of the continuity of the classical culture he represented.

Sōchō does this in part by highlighting in his death account the perpetuation of the "Secret Teachings." The survival of those teachings was not actually in doubt; the recipient of Sōchō's letter about the master's death was the previously mentioned courtier Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, who had already received the "Secret Teachings" in their fullest form from Sōgi.[30] But the text of *The Death of Sōgi* depicts the conclusion of their symbolic transmission to another disciple who was also central to the lineage of that corpus. That recipient was Tō no Sojun (d. 1530), the son of the man from whom Sōgi had himself received the secrets many years before. Sōchō writes of the deathbed transmission as follows:

> On the same day, for a *waka* series on prepared topics, this was composed on "lament, using the word 'way'":
>
> tarachine no ato ikasama ni wake mo min okurete tōki michi no shibakusa
>
> How am I to follow in the footsteps of my father? Years since I was left behind on the long, grass-covered way.
>
> Sojun
>
> Sōgi had made notes and received documents covering every aspect of *Kokinshū* from Tō no Tsuneyori. This verse no doubt refers to Sōgi's transmission of them on his deathbed to [Tō no] Sojun.

Sojun's *waka* succinctly establishes the line of succession from his own father, Tsuneyori, who had been dead for years, through Sōgi, and now, however lost and unworthy, to himself. The anecdote at once reminds the reader that Sōgi had stood at the pinnacle of the Japanese poetic world as the possessor of these secrets and also that he had repaid his debt to his own teacher by passing them on to his teacher's son. Like the quotation of *tsuizen* poems together with the names of their composers, the deathbed transmission scene is graphic proof of succession; though the master has passed on, the poetic way remains secure. And it also emphasizes Sōgi's own devotion to that ideal, even in his last hours.

The Death of Sōgi is thus both memorial and testimonial, and the requiem verses, and indeed the prose account, serve not only the dead but also the living, by providing an emotional outlet for grief during a period of disjunction, and, again, a permanent record of an inevitably impermanent relationship, that between master and disciples. The account, therefore, is oriented toward both an inner and an outer circle; it helps the primary witnesses resign themselves to the passing of their master, and it announces to those absent not only the details of the master's last days and demise but also who among the disciples was present to serve him at the end. Again, Sōgi was the first poet to claim a wide and varied network of disciples to whom he ministered personally; this was a new model of literary professionalism, which in turn necessitated a need on the part of those disciples for an account of how the master died.[31]

The Death of Master Bashō

Nearly two centuries after the death of Sōgi, in 1694, Takarai Kikaku (1661–1707; fig. 3, plate 5) composed his chronicle of the death of another major poet, Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694; plates 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).[32] Once more a great figure had departed, and a disciple left behind celebrated and preserved

Fig. 3. Portrait of Kikaku in *Shokō gasan* 諸公画賛 (Portraits with inscriptions of the worthies), by Okada Beichū 岡田米仲 (1707–1766). The verse reads, "How bright the moon! / On the *tatami*, / a pine's shadow" (*meigetsu ya tatami no ue ni matsu no kage*), from Kikaku's anthology *Zōtanshū* 雑談集 (Sundry talk, 1691). Courtesy of Waseda University Library.

his memory. Again, the writer couched his description in terms of separation and its aftermath, likewise set against a backdrop of the late poet's journeys. The parallels between Kikaku and Sōchō are striking: neither was particularly highborn, but both possessed wonderful talent, enjoyed good educations, and interacted with elites. Both met at a young age the older masters with whom they associated, impressed those teachers, and forged particularly close bonds with them, gradually becoming younger colleagues. But both were very different in character from the reserved older poets, being more high-spirited and eccentric. And they were their own men; neither set out with the older master on his last journey but only joined him later on, Kikaku just hours before Bashō expired, and both made errors in chronology.

They were also different in their approaches to the poetic styles of their teachers. Though Sōchō was resolutely orthodox in the realm of *ushin renga*, his journal *Sōchō shuki* shows that he placed more value than Sōgi did on the *haikai* voice where circumstances warranted.[33] And even his formal verse shows a touch more lightness than Sōgi's, though it never remotely contravenes *ushin renga* strictures.[34] Kikaku for his part could be witty and ostentatious (his *sharefū* style), whereas Bashō increasingly emphasized simplicity and depth. Kikaku was criticized during his career by Bashō, and at times the younger man felt a sense of rivalry with the older. But ultimately Kikaku was a strong poet who could follow his own muse without repudiating Bashō; indeed, the master-disciple bond itself transcended stylistic affinity. Bashō recognized their similarities and their differences, and when asked by another disciple how he could reconcile his style with Kikaku's, Bashō replied, "My style favors solitude and is delicate [*hososhi*]. Kikaku's favors flamboyance and is delicate. It is in that delicacy that they coincide."[35] The anthology *Sumidawara* (Charcoal sack, 1694), sixth of the seven collections of the Bashō school (*Haikai shichibushū*), includes only one fewer of Kikaku's verses than of the master's, and he is fourth overall. The two poets, moreover, composed together in Edo just before Bashō left on his last journey west. Bashō even likened Kikaku to Fujiwara Teika, the same ancient poetic authority that Sōgi met in a deathbed dream. Tanaka Yoshinobu summarizes their relationship thus:

> Kikaku had a wide and diverse social circle, and it goes without saying that his way of life contrasted markedly with Bashō's. They inhabited utterly different worlds. Their approach to the human condition and their aesthetic sensibilities were also different, so it was natural that their *haikai* styles would also diverge. And yet Bashō never expelled him from his school, and Kikaku never left Bashō. It is a mystery to me why their master-disciple bond never weakened.[36]

Even in the case of a strong poet like Kikaku, whatever "anxiety of influence" he may have felt, he was proud of, not diminished by, his debt to Bashō, as his memorial writing demonstrates.[37] And vice versa, Bashō benefited from his connection with his younger colleague, who also had a wide social and artistic circle and important personal cultural capital.

Kikaku's *Death of Master Bashō* is presented, as indicated earlier, as a long preface to the *tsuizen* poetry collection *Kareobana*, the name of which was taken from the first *hokku* contained therein (by Kikaku, the editor).[38] It includes more than six hundred verses composed by dozens of Bashō's disciples and associates. While Sōchō's memorial was handwritten and circulated initially in manuscript, Kikaku's was published in printed form, only two months or so after the master's passing (fig. 1).[39]

To summarize: the death account begins with a short preface describing Bashō's melancholy in his cottage in Fukagawa in Edo that culminated in his barring his door to all callers for a month in the autumn of 1693:

> Springtime in blossom brought him only a heavy head, leaden eyes, and a melancholy heart. His cottage, though cool in summer with its rocks and spring-fed stream, was also very damp, making for sleepless nights and listless mornings. In the autumn, his gloom grew only worse, gnawing at his vitals. When he composed "The worst / did not come to pass—in the snow / withered tassel-grass" and felt the evanescence of life so keenly that he barred his gate, those who came to visit did so in vain and departed, remarking sadly that he seemed to have aged a great deal that year.

From the first lines, the account foreshadows tragedy; spring, conventionally a time of rebirth, now brings to the aged poet only pain, and it worsens through the seasons. The account then goes back in time to a fire that destroyed Bashō's first cottage ten years earlier, an event that had viscerally impressed upon the master the evanescence of life and inspired him to abandon the notion of a fixed abode. Just like Sōchō, Kikaku has no qualms about telling the story of the poet through his poems, but he likewise artfully chooses from among them to foreshadow the master's end.

Kikaku then sketches Bashō's subsequent decade, outlining travels interspersed with returns to his disciples. He summarizes those peregrinations as follows, likening the master to great travelers of the past:

> Bashō slept on board a boat at Suma and Akashi, watched the sunrise at Awaji Island, and journeyed everywhere, walking stick in hand, like Nōin to Kisakata, Kenkō to the Kiso region, Saigyō to Futami, Jakuren to Kōya, Sōgi and Sōchō to Echigo, where they had connections, and Kensai, who built his thatched hut in Shirakawa. Though all those men were gone, for Master Bashō they were as phantoms, beckoning him to "come along, come along," and giving him faith in what he would find ahead

> (see his journal *The Narrow Road to the Deep North*). Not for more than a decade did he lay aside his hat and walking stick, and when he had paused here or there for ten days, he would say, "Again the gods of travel are clamoring in my breast."

This generalized summary of Bashō's years of travel then becomes more specific and more melancholy:

> His companions thought that he had taken cold in the gusts from Mount Iga that blew wet through the paper netting of his room and that he was having a not uncommon reaction to some mushrooms, so they gave him the usual medicine to ease his suffering, but the water was tainted. The last night of the ninth month found him in bed with frequent bouts of diarrhea. He lost the strength to speak, and his arms and legs grew cold as ice. Alarmed, people began to gather, among them Kyorai, who raced there from the capital, Masahide from Zeze, Bokusetsu, Otokuni, and Jōsō from Ōtsu, together with Riyū from Hirata, all speaking in low voices with Shikō and Izen of their concern. His mind was clear as ever, and he was embarrassed in his incontinence to call anyone close, but all served him whenever he asked. He must have overheard the prayers in the next room for his recovery, for he said weakly, "I've awoken from a dream," and composed this:
>
> tabi ni yande — Ill on a journey–
> yume wa kareno o — my dreams course across
> kakemeguru — withered fields.
>
> Then he asked, "How would '…roaming round withered fields, my dreaming heart' do instead?" He added ruefully that though a deluded attachment, it was the result of his fervent desire to die in pursuit of the poetic way. It was composed on the night of the eighth. Everyone was struck by the fragility of life.

The text then lists ten *hokku* made by disciples at Bashō's sickbed as prayers for his recovery. The master lingers for several more days, glad for his disciples' care. It is only at that point that Kikaku, then traveling in the area with two of his own disciples, learns of Bashō's illness.[40] He rushes to where Bashō lies and has a deathbed reunion with the master. Thereupon he quotes seven more *hokku* (an ominous number) by disciples and then writes, "On the twelfth, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, he passed away. His face looked beautiful, as if he were asleep." Kikaku and the others then transport the body to Gichūji temple in Ōtsu, where Bashō had stayed in life and had asked to be buried. There, they dress their late master in fine white robes and together with more than three hundred other mourners hold the funeral ceremony.

Thus ends Kikaku's memorial account, which he says was written while staying at Gichūji during the first week after Bashō's death. *Kareobana* was only one of the spate of *tsuizen* memorials eventually compiled for Bashō, which attests to the importance with which such compositions had come to be viewed and the prevailing determination to celebrate the master's life and further augment his fame.[41] For the disciples of Bashō as for Sōgi's, the master constituted a vital part of their own identity, and to perpetuate his memory was to perpetuate themselves as well.

Linkages

Kikaku's *Death of Master Bashō* is similar in so many respects to *The Death of Sōgi* that it is unquestionable that the later writer looked to it as a model for how to write a memorial for a departed linked-verse poet. His narrative by its very resemblance to *The Death of Sōgi* establishes an implicit parallel between Bashō and the older master who, as seen earlier, is mentioned therein, as is Sōchō.[42]

Bashō's admiration of Sōgi is documented by his equation of Sōgi's *renga* with the *waka* of Saigyō, the paintings of Sesshū, and the tea ceremony of Sen no Rikyū in *Oi no kobumi* (Knapsack notebook, which depicts a journey of 1687–1688 but was published in 1709).[43] Moreover, one of Bashō's *hokku* reads thus:

yo ni furu wa — I have come down through the years,
sara ni sōgi no — and now I too am in Sōgi's
yadori kana — fleeting shelter!

This verse not only names the earlier master but is based on one of Sōgi's own verses:

yo ni furu wa — I have come down through the years,
sara ni shigure no — and now so does a cold rain
yadori kana — upon this fleeting shelter![44]

Like Sōgi, Bashō is beset by the brevity of human existence, fleeting as a temporary shelter from the rain, but where the older poet finds this world one of unremitting pain and sadness, Bashō is consoled that he follows in the footsteps of Sōgi, which gives meaning to his own evanescent life. As *haikai* poets sought to legitimize their own form of poetry, long viewed as inferior to orthodox *waka* and *renga* verse, they looked to establish connections between their art and previous poetic exemplars. The border between life and literature at this point becomes extremely porous; Bashō performs his life in terms of earlier poetic representations, and Kikaku's representation of him becomes a case of literature imitating a life imitating literature.

Then Kikaku adds a further level, in that his literary account is itself informed by Sōchō's literary pre-text.[45]

In the *ushin renga* tradition, new verses may not make allusions to earlier linked verses, only to *waka*, certain classic tales (*monogatari*), and Chinese poems and legends. But that was no longer true in *haikai* linked verse, as seen in Bashō's reference to Sōgi's shelter. It may also be that Bashō based one of his last verses on a couplet from Sōgi's final linked-verse session, noted in *The Death of Sōgi*. Bashō's verse reads thus:

kono michi o — Down this road
yuku hito nashi ni — travels no one–
aki no kure — an evening in autumn.

And here is the couplet in question from Sōgi's last linked-verse session:

toshi no watari wa — No one left to make the crossing
yuku hito mo nashi — from the old year to the new.

oi no nami — The waves of old age—
iku kaeri seba — how long will they keep rolling in
hate naran — before they come no more?[46]

Bashō's admiration for Sōgi was clear to Kikaku, and he compliments and aggrandizes the master by describing him in the exact terms Sōchō used to describe Sōgi, which in turn were founded on examples from further in the past. Like Sōchō before him, Kikaku compares his teacher to the Chinese patron deity of travel, Youzi 遊子. And he likewise equates him with the priestly poet Jichin, quoting the same poem that Sōchō does (*Senzaishū* 8: 533):

tabi no yo ni — Life is a journey,
mata tabine shite — and while journeying, to sleep
kusamakura — on a grass pillow
yume no uchi ni zo — is to dream
yume o miru kana — within a dream.

Like *The Death of Sōgi*, Kikaku's narrative is structured around travel and elements of the old travel mythos, such as the rigors of the road and the solitary communion the master enjoys with the past at ancient poetic sites. And like earlier travel accounts and poem-tales (*utamonogatari*), it is based on a combination of poetry and prose.[47]

Bashō in Kikaku's narrative is the very image of the great poet-priest after the medieval model as typified by Sōgi and, before him, Saigyō. And as just mentioned, this was not only Kikaku's formulation but Bashō's own;

he was consciously patterning his own life on a model centuries old. The master's entire final decade is depicted in terms of a religious allegory, his travels reflecting the Buddhist principle of *issho fujū* 一所不住, the rejection of a fixed dwelling place and of the mundane attachments that such a dwelling implies.[48] Kikaku writes, "In the winter of the third year of Tenna [1683] his thatched cottage in Fukagawa was suddenly enveloped in flames, and he escaped through the smoke by wading into the water and covering his head with a straw mat. This brought him his first intimations of the fragility of the jeweled cord of life. He realized then that the world is a burning house, and there can be no fixed abode." Here Kikaku makes his allegory explicit by expressing Bashō's recognition of the futility of attachment in terms of the well-known parable of the burning house in the Lotus Sutra. Bashō is characterized as living "alone and in poverty, yet in virtue and accomplishment he was rich beyond measure." Later we are told that Bashō studied with the priest Butchō of Konponji temple and that "of all Butchō's disciples he alone is said to have achieved an understanding of Zen."

The Death of Master Bashō is permeated by the conflict between attachment and renunciation. Bashō leaves, then returns, and his disciples build him a new house; he has an introspective turn and needs solitude, but he also values his students and is concerned for their well-being. Finally his fame grows to the point where the road becomes for him, as it became for Sōgi before him, another route *to* others and not away from them. "He could not refuse the invitations from people hither and yon who rode out to greet him" and "he grew more and more worn." Though this is not mentioned in *The Death of Master Bashō*, it is ironic that Bashō's final journey, which would sever him permanently from his followers, was intended in part as one of reconsolidation, to end the rift between his disciples Enomoto Shidō (1659–1708) and Hamada Shadō (d. 1737), who had fallen out over the leadership of Bashō's disciples in the greater Kyoto-Osaka area (Kansai).[49]

Upon reaching Osaka Bashō stays first in Shadō's house then in Shidō's, where in his deteriorating condition he is cared for by Shidō's disciples Donshū and Shara. But the latter dwelling is cramped and loud, and the master is subsequently moved to quieter rooms at the home of Hanaya Nizaemon, where the Kansai disciples gather (see plate 8).[50] The master now becomes dependent on his literary heirs; the father becomes the child, needing them to attend to his most basic physical needs. Finally Bashō escapes in death, his unfettered spirit coursing over withered fields. But Kikaku in the midst of disseveration eternally binds the master to his disciples through his death account, recording the names of those who were physically present at the end and who received the master's last instructions, very much like Sojun at Sōgi's bedside.

As Peter Marris writes on responses to bereavement, "The predictability of behaviour is profoundly important, and it depends not only on some shared sense of the meaning of relationships, but on conventions of expressing this meaning."[51] We cling to the known in the face of the unknown hereafter, "the undiscover'd country from whose bourn no traveler returns." The funeral rituals themselves provide some of these conventions, but Kikaku is also using the precedent of Sōgi's demise and Sōchō's account of it to make the death of his own master familiar and understandable in the face of the breakdown of the *status quo*.[52] The writing of the death account is itself becoming part of the death ritual.

As in *The Death of Sōgi*, *The Death of Master Bashō* depicts the passing of a literary master with commensurate literary figuration. Both begin with a preliminary separation by the master from his disciples—in Sōgi's case because of a journey and in Bashō's because of his closing his gate for a month. And in both, the master is immediately characterized as old and tired of the life he has been leading. Moreover, as seen earlier, both separations foreshadow the eternal separation that will ultimately follow. The final journeys are then depicted in terms of the neoclassical ideal of the traveling poet-priest. Bouts of illness and recovery are chronicled in both, before the onset of the final decline.

Importantly, both poets make a "problem verse" (*kadaiku*) during their last illness that needs further work. In Sōgi's case the link is the problem, and in Bashō's it is the verse itself. They then ask their disciples for suggestions, implicitly forging a link with the next generation. Though the masters die, the poetic way itself survives. There can be no greater testament to the legitimacy of their successors.

Furthermore, both masters are depicted as dying calmly and in full possession of their faculties; both experience the epitome of the "good death," though neither narrator flinches from detailing the sufferings leading to it.[53] Neither Sōgi nor Bashō is represented as being afraid. During the liminal period following their demise, when the spirits of the masters are still immanent, their disciples continue their journeys for them, transporting the departed masters to their final places of rest and exchanging memories of the masters as they go.

Bashō's grave is the image of that of Sōgi, and Kikaku describes it in the same order that Sōchō does, using some of the exact same phrases and terms:

The Death of Sōgi

We arrived with the vesper bell, then spent the next day making the last arrangements. On the third of the eighth month in the early dawn we laid

> him to rest **just within the temple gate [*monzen no sukoshi hikiiritaru tokoro*]** beside a clear stream. **There were cedars as well as plum and cherry trees**. Since he had always said that he wanted **a pine as a grave marker**, we planted one and erected an **ovate tombstone [*rantō*]** and a **rustic fence [*aragaki*]**, then remained there for **seven days**.…
>
> *The Death of Master Bashō*
>
> Then after the service conducted by the venerable Chokugu of Gichūji, we buried the master in the appropriate manner **just within the temple gate [*monzen no sukoshi hikiiretaru tokoro*]** to the right of Lord Kiso's grave. **An old willow happened to be there as well**. In keeping with what seems to have been his long-standing wish, we provided the same **ovate tombstone [*rantō*]** as Lord Kiso's, encircled it with a **rustic fence [*aragaki*]**, and planted **a frost-withered banana plant to commemorate his name**.… Some of us stayed here for **seven days**.…

Other disciples also inscribed their artistic inheritance by evoking connections between themselves, their master Bashō, and Sōgi, Bashō's spiritual forebear. In the *Kareobana* memorial collection for Bashō, for example, his disciple Yamaguchi Sodō (1642–1716) makes a further twist on the *yo ni furu* poems of both masters:

tabi no tabi — Journey of journeys:
tsui ni sōgi no — in the end, Sōgi's
shigure kana — cold rain![54]

Another disciple, Kawai Otokuni (ca. 1681–1684 to ca. 1716 or thereafter), likewise invokes the connection to Sōgi with this poem, also in *Kareobana*:

tsui ni yuku — In the end
sōgi mo sunbaku — Sōgi too departed, with gut worms.
yoru no shimo — Frost in the night.[55]

And again, Sōchō and Kikaku also connect their departed masters to Saigyō, the archetype of the traveling poet-priest. It is no accident that Sōchō mentions the "clear stream" flowing beside Sōgi's grave, or that Kikaku notes that there happened to be a willow beside Bashō's, both adverting to Saigyō's famous summer *waka* (*Shinkokinshū* 3: 262):

michinobe ni — Beside the road
shimizu nagaruru — where a clear stream flows,
yanagi kage — the willow's shade—
shibashi to te koso — I thought it would be a moment, no more,
tachitomaritsure — that I would pause beneath it.

Bashō himself had invoked Saigyō's verse in *Oku no hosomichi* only a few years before (plate 7):

> The willow "where a clear stream flows" still stands on a ridge between two fields in the village of Ashino. The local proprietor, a certain Kohō, had often mentioned wanting to show it to me, and I had wondered where it was.[56] Now today I paused beneath that very willow's shade.
>
> ta ichimai — A whole field
> uete tachisaru — planted before I left—
> yanagi kana — the willow.[57]

This is not to say that Kikaku's memorial is a complete throwback. It bears, for example, the stamp of *haibun* versiprosa. The context of the first poem is a case in point: "When he composed 'The worst / did not come to pass—in the snow, / withered tassel-grass' and felt the evanescence of life so keenly that he barred his gate, those who came to visit did so in vain and departed, remarking sadly that he seemed to have aged a great deal that year." In both the syntax of the sentence and the way it is written down in Kikaku's manuscript, the poetry and the prose fuse (there is, of course, no punctuation as in the English translation here). The poetry in manuscripts of *The Death of Sōgi*, by contrast, is all generally indented. Kikaku's prose is also more elliptical; it is initially unclear, in fact, if the opening lines are a general statement or a reference to Bashō in particular, since neither the name "Bashō" nor even an identifying pronoun appears in the original. And the connections between Kikaku's sentences can be quite impressionistic, requiring more work from the reader, as if they were "distant links" (*soku*) or "linking by fragrance" (*nioizuke*). The same elliptical quality characterizes his poetry, which is famously difficult.[58]

Kikaku's composition, though, shows both a debt to Sōchō's writing and a development of Sōchō's ideas, which were themselves developments of Sōgi's approaches. Sōgi was one of the earliest writers to include linked verses in a travel account, relegating them first to a hundred-verse sequence at the end of *Shirakawa kikō* and then mixing *waka* and isolated *renga* verses in *Tsukushi michi no ki* (Account of a Kyushu journey, 1480).[59] Sōchō took up where Sōgi left off, combining *waka* with isolated *renga* and *renga* couplets in his account of the death of Sōgi and then going on to employ a more elliptical style with more quotidian detail and some *haikai* poetry in his later travel accounts, with the result that Sōchō's mature work has been adduced as an influence on Bashō's own *haibun*.[60] And yet, to judge from extant manuscripts, he nearly always separated the poetry from the prose. Then came Bashō and Kikaku, who streamlined the *haibun* style. Remarkably, however, Kikaku includes no groups of linked verses in the account,

only *hokku*, perhaps because linked *tsuizen* poetry follows thereafter. But the poetry is now completely *haikai*, rather than *ushin waka* and *renga* as in Sōchō's account of Sōgi's death. That *haikai*, though, combines lightness and everyday detail with seriousness of purpose. Sōgi, Sōchō, Bashō, and Kikaku are firmly rooted in tradition, and all four incrementally advance that tradition, like the *kyō*, the new "twist," in an otherwise conventional poetic composition.[61]

The trajectory of the development of death accounts is complex and imbricated into the variegated history of death writing in its various Chinese and Japanese forms, a subject that would require a separate volume to detail.[62] Suffice it here to say that *The Death of Sōgi* was an important precursor of the many accounts of the deaths of linked-verse poets that subsequently appeared during the Edo period. But Sōchō's creation, however influential it subsequently proved to be, was more evolutionary than revolutionary, having been in part suggested by the very nature of Sōgi's life as a peripatetic linked-verse poet and the fact that he died on the road in the practice of his art. Sōchō's approach is also consonant with a tendency as early as the poetry in *Man'yōshū* to treat death in terms of travel away, for example, *Man'yōshū* 3: 460–461, on the death of the Sillan nun Rigan: "…she crossed Saho River in the morning, / and looking back / at Kasuga Field, / she left / for the foot-wearying hills / and disappeared / as if the dark of evening had fallen."[63] And as a Buddhist priest and student of the famously assiduous but eccentric Zen prelate Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481), Sōchō was surely also familiar with legends of eminent monks (*kōsōden*) and accounts of rebirth (*ōjōden*), some of which conclude in miraculous deathbed scenes, in which the spiritual state of the saint at his end is indicative of his piety in life.[64] He may also possibly have been aware of some of the accounts of the funerals of emperors or military leaders, which are more factual eulogies. Some of these were in Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*), but others had come to be written in the vernacular as early as the end of Heian period (794–1185).[65] And yet, Sōchō's memorial is remarkable more for the way it represents Sōgi as a human being, though a great one, who is capable of loneliness, physical suffering, and melancholy, but also dedication and optimism. This is not to say that such straightforward death accounts had not appeared before, one notable example being Teika's portrayal in his *kanbun* diary *Meigetsuki* (Bright moon record) of the death of his father, Shunzei.[66] Teika's account likewise treats the death of a great figure who at the same time was intimately familiar to the writer, and it does so with no trace of fantasy or exaggeration. But Teika's is a private account, and there is no evidence that Sōchō ever saw it.

Much closer in time to Sōchō's composition is one by the *renga* master Kensai. Seven years before Sōgi's demise, Kensai wrote an account of the

death of Ōuchi Masahiro (1446–1495), a warrior literatus, major patron of the *Shinsen tsukubashū* project, and fifth best represented poet in that collection, whom Kensai had journeyed to western Japan to visit after Masahiro fell ill. Titled *Ashita no kumo* (Morning clouds, 1495), it describes Masahiro's subsequent death in a literary vernacular laced with *waka* poetry, and it ends with an entire solo hundred-verse *renga* sequence in which the first syllable of each verse is taken from the name of one of the Thirteen Buddhas.[67] The linked-verse sequence is an acrostic tour-de-force, but it is uncharacteristic of the *renga* art in that it is entirely funereal, rather than being artfully variegated in topic. The opening lines of *Ashita no kumo* bear a strong resemblance to the beginning of Kensai's *chōka* to Sōgi's memory that Sōchō appended to the end of his own death account of the master.[68] It is not known whether Sōchō was familiar with *Ashita no kumo*, but it seems possible, given that Sōchō and Kensai worked together on *Shinsen tsukubashū* and that Kensai probably knew that Sōchō as a young man had accompanied Sōgi to Masahiro's domain in the journey of 1480 recorded in Sōgi's *Tsukushi michi no ki*. Given those connections, it would have been natural for Kensai to share with Sōchō the memorial he wrote for the Kyushu potentate. It is another early account of the death of a linked-verse poet (though not one who would have characterized himself as a *rengashi*, a professional linked-verse master) and shares with *The Death of Sōgi* not only its versiprosa construction but also the fact that it places great importance on preserving the names of the chief mourners and the offertory poetry they composed. But it is completely different in tone; there are no telling biographical details about the deceased that transpose him from a type into an individual or evoke a sense of personal connection between him and the bereaved. Except for the mention of his patronage of the *Shinsen tsukubashū* anthology, Masahiro has been transformed into a generic exemplar of the ways cultural and martial (*bunbu*), and no sense of the person develops. That is not what Kensai wanted—his is an elegantly written ceremonial account of the passing of a public figure.

Like Sōchō, Kensai also enjoyed *haikai*, and he left one of the earliest extant hundred-verse *haikai* sequences.[69] However, his memorial *Ashita no kumo* is utterly *ushin* in register. Sōgi too enjoyed composing *haikai* on occasion, but it was one of his life's great purposes to keep the topic and tone of the increasingly popular *haikai* medium from encroaching on the erstwhile sublimity of *ushin waka* and *renga*, which, again, he considered a bulwark against the incursions of a disordered age.[70] Sōchō was likewise unremitting in his dedication to the sublime voice of *ushin renga*, and his literary treatment of his teacher's passing is of commensurate seriousness. And yet in the same way that his *ushin* poetry has been characterized as being on the whole a bit lighter in tone than that of his teacher, so does the death

account he wrote manage to combine a public and *ushin* gravitas with a more personal overall tonality.

Sōchō's memorial to Sōgi is the first known work to use the term *shūenki* in the title. But that title is probably not original, and extant manuscripts bear numerous different titles manufactured after the fact, some of which were inspired by the travel aspect of Sōchō's account.[71] But the text was clearly known as a *shūenki* (probably *Sōgi shūenki* or *Sōgi no shūenki*) by about 1680, when it is referred to as "that death account" (*kano shūenki*) in *Haimakura* (Haikai pillow; p. 426) by Bashō's contemporary Takano Yūzan (d. 1702).[72] The title *Sōgi* [*no*] *shūenki* was then firmly established when the work was included in the first anthology of Japanese travel literature, *Shirin ikōshū* (Travels in spirit through forests of words, 1690), by Miyagawa Dōtatsu (d. 1701; fig. 4). It is also thought that Dōtatsu's work was the source of the earlier travel account *Miyako no tsuto* (Souvenir for the capital, 1350–1352) by Sōkyū that clearly influenced Bashō's 1694 account of his *Oku no hosomichi* journey of 1689.[73] It therefore seems likely that Bashō looked into the pages of *The Death of Sōgi* in the same work, and indeed the *kanbun* introduction to *Shirin ikōshū* mentions "the *waka* of Saigyō and the *renga* of Sōgi," just as Bashō does in *Oi no kobumi*, which is thought to have been written in 1690 or 1691.[74] Given Bashō's reverence for Sōgi and the availability of Sōgi's death account, now firmly established as *Sōgi* [*no*] *shūenki*, it was natural for Kikaku to base both the title and content of his eulogy of Bashō on that earlier memorial and thereby aggrandize his own master's memory by comparison.[75]

As we have seen, Kikaku's appropriation of elements of Sōchō's work is very clear. Both provide portraits of separation, liminality, and movement toward reincorporation, expressed in part through the travel model and in part through requiem verses. The movement toward reincorporation, though, is complicated in both accounts by multiple motives and tensions. As indicated in the introduction here, for example, the accounts are both thanotography and autobiography, serving the deceased as well as the bereaved.[76] Like the requiem verses, the accounts themselves perhaps constitute prayers for the afterlife. But if so, this goes unspoken, unlike the death poetry in *Man'yōshū* that may directly address the deceased.[77] Neither writer appears to feel the eyes of the dead on him as he writes, and yet neither forecloses the possibility of communication from beyond the grave; Sōchō in particular mentions dreaming of Sōgi both in *The Death of Sōgi* and many years later in his journal *Sōchō shuki*, which, according to the Japanese understanding of dreams, meant that Sōgi had come to Sōchō, rather than being fabricated out of Sōchō's own subconscious. The porosity between the lands of the living and the dead gives added importance to the act of writing the death account of one who might subsequently reappear to his memorialist.

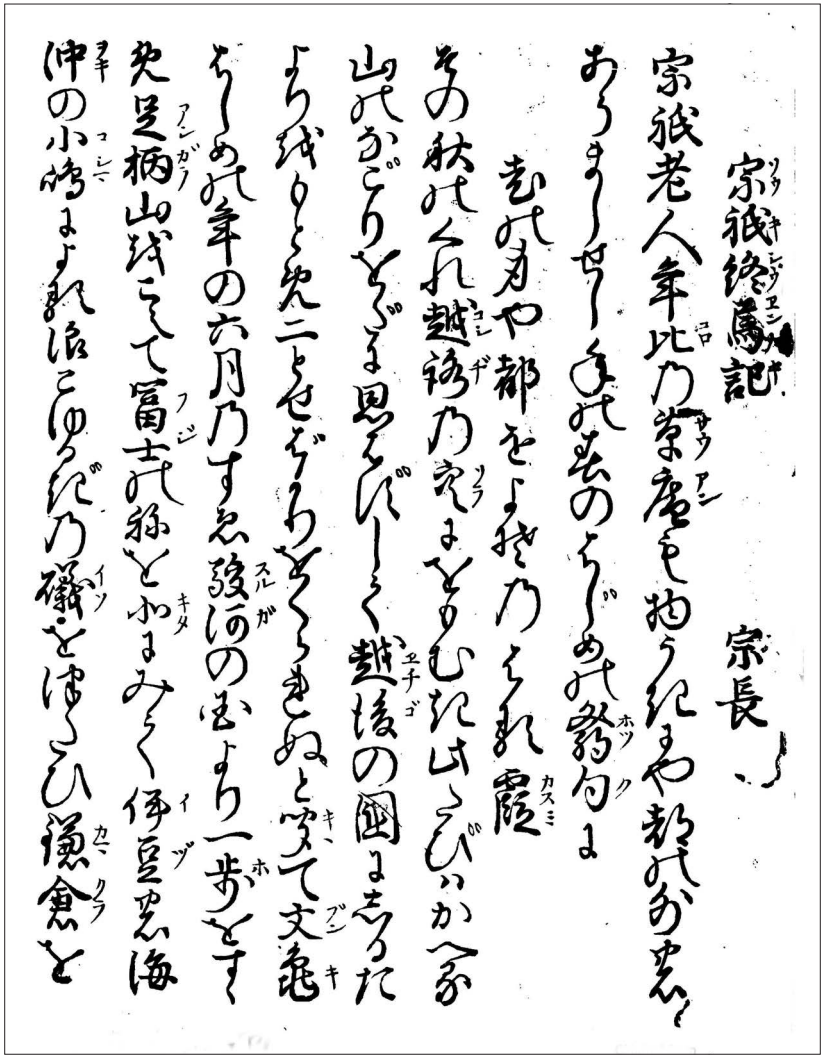

Fig. 4. The opening page of the version of *The Death of Sōgi* (here rendered *Sōgi shūen no ki*) that Bashō and Kikaku most likely read. In this manuscript Sōgi's first verse begins *oi no mi ya* (for my aged self). The work appears in *Shirin ikōshū* 詞林意行集 (Travels in spirit through forests of words), the first anthology of Japanese travel literature, compiled by Miyagawa Dōtatsu 宮川道達 (d. 1701) in 1690. Courtesy of Keiō University Library.

And yet, both texts chronicle the deaths with stoic resignation rather than with rending garments or tearing hair. There is no questioning of why the masters were taken away, nor rage at injustice; the vicissitudes of karma are taken for granted. That being said, both memorialists were clearly much affected by the deaths of their great mentors, and the act of writing their recollections was doubtless therapeutic, recalling what Esther Dreifuss-Kattan has called "the amazing power of creative expression when faced with trauma."[78]

The accounts also respond to the essential need to show gratitude for decades of instruction—"the helpful words and kind direction the master had bestowed," as Kikaku puts it. They express this through *tsuizen* poetry and through the death accounts themselves, repaying a debt of thanks in the poetic currency in which masters and disciples spent their lives. And the careful depiction of the many offices both great and small that they perform for the dead assures not only the readers but themselves as well that every effort was made on behalf of the great ones to support them at the end of their lives and to celebrate them after death. There is sadness, but there is consolation in that the final proprieties were carefully observed.

"Remembering is a form of forgetting," observes Milan Kundera; memory is ineluctably diffracted in the prism of the writer's subjectivity.[79] And writing always implies the loss of the original; "a word is elegy to what it signifies," as Robert Hass puts it.[80] A memorial, therefore, concerning as it does a subject that is no longer present, represents a double loss.

Narration is inevitably selective, either by accident or design. Hence even the ostensibly factual genre of autobiography, notes Paul John Eakin, is "a special kind of fiction."[81] This is particularly so when writing a public memorial, when the urge is especially strong to remember the dead as we consciously or subconsciously wish to remember them.

Thus Sōchō and Kikaku walk a fine line in their accounts between factual and idealized portrayal. There are no purple clouds at the moment of death, nor strains of sacred music, nor suffusing fragrance, as in some traditional accounts of the deaths of Buddhist prelates. Instead, both memorialists provide graphic, corporeal details of an almost Naturalist quality *avant la lettre*, like Sōgi's "gut worms" and Bashō's "incontinence." They are not writing of ancient worthies but flesh and blood men they knew and respected, great men to be sure, but ones who suffered yet persevered. The masters are also here and there made to serve as models who show their students how a poet should live and die; their students, then, in the writing of their accounts, pass on that example to the future.[82] These memorials are not the places to weigh up the strengths and weaknesses of the teachers or dispassionately assess their places in history. The bereaved do not speak ill

of the dead. But clearly both masters were recognized as great even during their lifetimes; if they are portrayed as ideal, it is to some extent because they seemed so in the reality of their portrayers.

Indeed, memorialists from ages past have been sensitive to the nexus of mimesis and machination. Kenkō in *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in idleness, no. 143) made this plain more than two centuries before Sōchō took up his brush: "When I hear people talk about how fine was someone's death [*shūen / jūen*], I would be impressed if they would just say, 'He died peacefully and without suffering.' But fools concoct tales about the mysterious or extraordinary appearance of the deceased or invent praiseworthy deathbed words or deeds, which make one doubt that he was anything of the sort when he was alive."[83]

Both works are, in a word, "formal"; they respond to the chaos of death by giving it form, both for the authors themselves and for their readers, with Sōchō's account suggesting a form for that of Kikaku. Through such re-presentation, they attempt to reestablish a connection with a presence that has been lost.[84] Sarah Webster Goodwin and Elisabeth Bronfen go to so far as to link this operation to the essence of culture itself, which they see as "an attempt both to represent death and contain it, to make it comprehensible and thereby to diffuse some of its power."[85]

And both memorialists write with a clear awareness of the public nature of their enterprise. Kikaku was evidently chosen by acclimation to write the first account of Bashō's death, and he intended from the beginning for it to be printed and circulated publicly to readers both known and unknown to him.[86] Sōchō, to be sure, sent his account to Sanetaka, and both sender and receiver brought to it much more than what was expressed on the page. But Sōchō too anticipated that it would reach a wider eventual audience (to quote the line again, "Sōgi's friends will doubtless inquire of the details of his death on the road, so I am attaching this account"). Both memorials reflect considerable sifting and ordering, as these narratives would condition how subsequent readers would remember the dead.

The highly fashioned nature of both memorials, introduced at the outset here, is obvious from their overall structure. Sōchō and Kikaku begin with foreboding and continue thereafter to retell the subsequent trajectory with ironic foreshadowing. And actual conversations are inevitably fictionalized to varying extent in the retelling. This is what makes these accounts not only works of history but also works of art, appropriate to the artists depicted therein.[87]

Kikaku also exaggerates the number of Bashō's disciples when he effuses, "How inscrutable the karmic causes and conditions that made two thousand and more disciples from even the most remote hinterlands rely on

him alone!" In fact, the number of adherents to the Bashō school (Shōmon) was far smaller, a fact for which Kira Sueo takes Kikaku to task:

> …Bashō's following was prominent in Edo, but in Kyoto and Osaka he had practically no Shōmon school at all, and he barely maintained a few adherents in provincial areas like Owari, Ise, Mino, and Ōmi. Therefore it is clear how exaggerated are statements like that of Kikaku in *The Death of Master Bashō* (*Kareobana*) to the effect that he had more than two thousand disciples, and how they distort the true nature of the *haikai* world of the Genroku era [1688–1704].[88]

Selectivity and invention are particularly characteristic of Kikaku's account, for he was not physically present at the deathbed until just before Bashō died and had to rely on the firsthand testimony of others. A comparison to later memorials by other disciples demonstrates the nature and extent of his imaginative re-creation. One particularly instructive example is the depiction of the master composing his last complete poem. Kikaku narrates the event thus:

> …[Bashō] whispered, "I've awoken from a dream," and composed this:
>
> tabi ni yande — Ill on a journey—
> yume wa kareno o — my dreams course across
> kakemeguru — withered fields.[89]
>
> Then he asked, "How would '…roaming round withered fields, my dreaming heart' [*kareno o meguru yumegokoro*] do instead?" He added ruefully that though a deluded attachment, it was the result of his fervent desire to die in pursuit of the poetic way. (*The Death of Master Bashō*, p. 488)

This event is represented differently in the account by Bashō's disciple Kagami Shikō (plate 5), who had the advantage of actually being present.[90] In his *Oi nikki* (Knapsack diary, 1695), it is he in particular who is addressed by Bashō about the alternative verse, and the wording of that second verse is different:

> Late that night [Bashō] summoned Donshū, who had been attending to his needs, and then I heard the sound of ink being prepared. A letter, I thought, but it was this:
>
> Composed while ill
>
> tabi ni yande — Ill on a journey—
> yume wa kareno o — my dreams course across
> kakemeguru — withered fields.
>
> The Master

> Thereafter he called for me and said, "Another approach might be '… still it courses across, / my dreaming heart' [*nao kakemeguru yumegokoro*]. Which do you prefer?" I wanted to ask about the [missing] five-syllable segment at the beginning but was loath to strain him further, so I answered, "How could the first be inferior to this one?" It is sad that there is no way now to tell how wonderful the remaining five syllables might have been.[91] He then said, "Here on the verge of death, I should not be composing *hokku*, but I have continually cherished in my heart the way of poetry for nigh on fifty years, soaring in my sleep among the morning clouds and evening mists and waking to the sound of a mountain stream or meadow bird. I know that the Buddha cautioned against such deluded attachments, and now I realize my fault. Hereafter I would like to forget all the poetry I ever wrote." He spoke over and over of his regret. (*Oi nikki*, pp. 28–30)

It is unknown how Kikaku arrived at his version of the alternate verse; perhaps it was simply a misapprehension or misrecollection of what others had told him. This is not to say that Shikō's memory is unquestionably trustworthy simply because he was present. Kon Eizō identifies thirty-three factual errors in *Oi nikki*.[92] Nor is Shikō above consciously fashioning an ideal at times, as when he recreates a Bashō here who speaks on his deathbed in improbably elegant parallel phrases.

But Kikaku and Shikō differ with regard not only to the wording of Bashō's verse but also to his dying thoughts on his relation to his art. Such thoughts are particularly important, since, as Bryan J. Cuevas puts it, "There is widespread consensus among Buddhists everywhere…that the state of a person's mind at the moment of death can actually be the most significant factor in setting the course for the future rebirth."[93] Both Kikaku and Shikō agree that Bashō at the end was fully cognizant of the conflict between artistic attachment and Buddhist renunciation. [94] As Yamashita Ikkai points out, Bashō's "ill on a journey" verse depicts a dying poet still encumbered by artistic attachments, one whose dreams still course over the withered fields of this world rather than turning to thoughts of the next. But Kikaku's prose thereafter presents a Bashō who nevertheless resolves to compose to the very end, whatever the consequences.[95] Shikō's, by contrast, shows us a Bashō who remains conflicted and even pathetic: a man who has dedicated his entire life to poetry but who now wishes he could forget his art altogether, yet cannot bring himself to put down his brush while he has breath. In both cases, the master will continue to compose, Kikaku's Bashō with resolve, and Shikō's, in spite of himself. It is ironic, however, that despite Bashō's conscious resolve to continue composing in Kikaku's account, his "ill on a journey poem" is the last one he makes therein, while in Shikō's account, where Bashō wishes he could forget all the poetry he

ever wrote, he is depicted rewriting one of his earlier verses the very next day. We will return to this disjunction later.

This portrait of the artist in religious conflict situates Bashō in a line centuries old of poets riven by the problem of poetry and Buddhism, art and attachment. One way to cut through this dilemma was the notion of "wild words and fancy phrases" (*kyōgen kigo*) originated by Bai Juyi when he donated his works to Xiangshan Temple in 841.[96] At that time he wrote, "May the karma from these worldly writings, the errors of my wild words and fancy phrases, be transformed into a vehicle for praise of the Buddha in future lives."[97] Long before Bashō's time, medieval poets like Fujiwara Shunzei and Kamo no Chōmei had invoked that solution, and Buddhist *waka* (*shakkyōka*) and offertory verse could not have become medieval staples without it.[98] Kensai too in *Ashita no kumo* writes of his hope that the hundred-verse *renga* sequence he appended to the end of the account, though wild words and fancy phrases, will constitute a vehicle for Buddhist merit.[99] The *tsuizen* poetry offered up for Bashō's sake in *Kareobana* likewise stands in testimony to the Buddhist efficacy of poetic prayer. And yet the vignettes by Kikaku and Shikō here suggest that Bashō himself did not avail himself of this strategy; we are given to believe that he saw his poetry as a deluded attachment (*mōshū*), but at least publicly he did not turn it to Buddhist purpose, in the manner of Bai Juyi. By noting Bashō's self-doubt, though, his memorialists also imply that in his final hours the master was appropriately conscious of the problem, just as the self-criticism by Chōmei's persona at the end of *Hōjōki* actually reflects the birth of true self-awareness. And yet in both accounts he remains a poet to the end, in keeping with his role in life as a model for his poetic disciples.

The absence of a specific "death verse" (*jisei*, lit., leaving the world) by Bashō likewise generated selective negotiations on the part of Bashō's various memorialists. It is in such a verse that a person "composes" his or her mind in the face of the hereafter and makes a parting statement, and such personal epitaphs had come to be expected and particularly revered.[100] Shikō thus notes in *Oi nikki* (p. 30), "There must be those who wonder why a man of his stature left no death verse [*jisei*]."[101] Kikaku for his part again crafts a lofty Bashō, who leaves no *jisei* by design: "In view of the fact that he frequently composed verses meditating on his own end, just as Saigyō had when he wrote that he hoped to die [when the Buddha had,] 'in the second month / when the moon is full,' he did not have to make any special death verse now."

Another of Bashō's disciples, Inbe (or Yasomura) Rotsū (1649–1738), took this view one step further; in his *Bashō-ō gyōjōki* (Account of the life of Master Bashō, 1695), it is Bashō himself who explains this more philosophical and even nondualistic line of reasoning. Rotsū writes, "From ages past,

everyone has composed a *jisei* verse, so the master too might have left one, but he said, 'Every one of my verses was a *jisei*—why should I make a special one now?' As a result there was no such verse at his death."[102] But unlike Shikō, who was with the master throughout his final illness, or Kikaku, who arrived at the end, Rotsū composed his entire account at one remove, as he was never there. He may, in fact, have borrowed the notion of Bashō's purported Zen-like conviction that his every verse was a *jisei* from Kikaku's remark about Saigyō described here, then put it in the master's mouth, or he may have heard it from Bashō at an earlier time.

And yet Kikaku, while ascribing a lofty reason for the absence of a final *jisei* verse, evidently feels that his narrative of the master requires such an apical moment. Thus of all the master's verses that he includes in *The Death of Master Bashō*, only this one is indented in his printed holograph, which lends it added weight and consequence.[103] Kikaku makes this verse the ultimate moment in which Bashō completes his life's work and hands on the poetic enterprise to his disciples, and, as just pointed out earlier, he deletes from his account the master's subsequent poetic activity, despite the fact that he also insists that the master resolved to continue composing thereafter. Sōchō feels a similar impulse in *The Death of Sōgi*; Sōgi too did not clearly designate a death poem, likewise choosing instead to continue composing until literally his last breath, passing on his last verse to his disciples. But Sōchō is not quite prepared to believe that the master died without valedictory poetry in mind, writing with regard to two of Sōgi's verses composed at his last linked-verse session, "It now occurs to me that these were perhaps meant as death poems."[104]

But as just seen earlier, Shikō, by contrast, clearly indicates that while the "ill on a journey" verse was Bashō's last completely new composition, and while he relates that the master wished he could forget all the poetry he ever composed, that verse was by no means the end of his artistic creativity. Though Shikō praises Kikaku's memorial, he indicates with deference and humility that there is more to say: "As [Bashō's] illness is described in detail in Shinshi's [Kikaku's] *Shūenki*…I will only add here what I saw and heard to augment the little that he omitted."[105] For example, he enlarges his account with a subsequent conversation the following day, in which he recalls Bashō asking him whether he remembers Bashō's verse composed the previous summer about Ōi River. Shikō says he does and recites it:

ōigawa	Ōi River—
nami ni chiri nashi	waves without a speck of dust.
natsu no tsuki	The summer moon.[106]

Perfectionist to the end, Bashō then says that he now thinks it overlaps with part of a verse he composed some time thereafter at the house of his disciple Shiba Sonome (1664–1726; plate 5):

shiragiku no — White asters—
me ni tatete miru — not a speck of dust
chiri mo nashi — to catch the eye.[107]

Shikō continues that the master, despite being *in extremis*, tells him that he has now revised the earlier summer verse to read thus:

kiyotaki ya — Kiyotaki River!
nami ni chirikomu — Falling onto the waves,
aomatsuba — green pine needles.[108]

It is this poem that is actually Bashō's last.[109] The exchange shows that Bashō at one point wishes he could forget all the poetry he ever wrote, but at another he continues to refine the literary corpus he will leave behind.[110]

Another instance of considerable editing on Kikaku's part centers on the verses that he and the others made while keeping vigil at the sickbed. Kikaku simply writes, "while his completely useless medicine was being heated, they wrote the following verses in ash from the hibachi." He himself was one of the poets involved, but he makes no mention of this; nor does he confide that Bashō too took a lively interest in the proceedings. Mukai Kyorai (1651–1704), another disciple present at the time, presents a very different account of this group of *hokku* in his later memorial for the poet Naitō Jōsō (1662–1704), *Jōsō ga rui* (Eulogy for Jōsō, 1704):[111]

> When on his sickbed in Naniwa, Bashō told us to make poems on the topic of keeping someone company through the night. He said, "From now on, consider your verses to have been made after my death. Do not ask me about a single syllable." One composed, "Let us call a crane / from Fukei Bay," expressing felicitous thoughts in terms of a place he had recently seen. Another wrote, "Scolded, / I go to the next room," giving voice to his feelings of dejection and helplessness. And a third presented, "Sipping the medicine / left over by the sick one," reflecting the depth of their intimacy. Bashō gave these scant attention and was impressed by only one: "Crouching…how cold," remarking, "Well done, Jōsō."[112] I was struck by the fact that this is the kind of artless emotion that arises at such a time, when one has nothing left for special effects or novel conceptions.[113]

Kyorai's anecdote depicts another instance of Bashō handing on the poetic way to his successors and preparing them for his own departure, while continuing subtly to direct their artistic development by selecting

the best of their poetic attempts. The account tactfully withholds the names of the composers of the unsuccessful verses, who were, respectively, Kikaku, Shikō, and Kyorai himself. But Kikaku, in his version of the episode, separates his verse from the others, though he indents it in the same way, perhaps providing a vestigial hint of the original connection. And yet, here in print his verse relates to his description earlier in the narrative of passing Fukei Bay before reaching Osaka, rather than to the other poems composed at Bashō's sickbed, as though it had been made at a different moment entirely, and he does not refer at all to Bashō's role.[114] Additionally, while he gives pride of place to Jōsō's verse at the top of the other seven verses he lists, he makes no mention of Bashō's stated preference for it.[115] For him, the master's personal poetic creativity ends with the "ill on a journey" verse. And like Kyorai, he does not specifically point out that his own verse was one of those Bashō ignored.

The question of whether or not Bashō left a final verse meant to serve as a *jisei* testament animates readers to this day.[116] Some view Bashō's "ill on a journey" as his *de facto* death verse because of its evocation of coursing across a withered moor in dreams and because it was the master's last original poem. Others insist that the "Kiyotaki River" verse, even though it was a revision of an earlier effort, was psychologically Bashō's farewell gesture, regardless of whether or not he thought he was composing one, because of the image of falling pine needles (or perhaps just one?) and the fact that it was Bashō's final actual composition. As Yamashita Ikkai observes, the search for Bashō's *jisei* verse in some cases stems from the need on the part of a reader to find one, to have a final summation from the great poet.[117]

To the end, Kikaku fashions a Bashō more suitable for formal public consumption. Both Kikaku and Shikō were present during Bashō's last hours, but Kikaku maintains a respectful distance when the master dies, writing only that Bashō "passed away. His face looked beautiful, as if he were asleep." Then he discretely draws the curtain. In view of the eccentricity of some of Kikaku's own verses, his self-control here is notable and bears witness to his role as a public spokesman in a particularly solemn context. Shikō, again, provides a less mediated account, preserving this bittersweet final vignette in *Bashō-ō tsuizen no nikki* (Master Bashō's requiem diary, pp. 29–30):

> That day springlike weather returned, and in the warmth flies were landing on the *shōji* screens. This was unpleasant, so some of the disciples limed sticks of bamboo and began to try to catch them. Some were good at it and some not, and Bashō seemed amused, for he smiled and said, "The flies must be enjoying having this sick man as an unexpected house-guest." Those caring for him were happy and relieved to hear him speak.

> But he said nothing more thereafter, and when we realized that he had passed away, we were dumbstruck, unable to believe that he was gone forever.

Here, instead of a portentous *jisei* poem or valedictory message, Shikō provides…flies. But by sharing Bashō's last smile with his disciples, he invests a quotidian moment with touching significance, in a fashion that mirrors the essence of Bashō's own *haikai*. His Bashō is, in the end, more human than Kikaku's. And yet this vignette also suggests that the great man's last moments, surrounded by his disciples, were lucid, happy, and free from pain; in short, an ideal death.

But as if to remind the reader of the constructed nature of biography, Shikō in his second account of Bashō's last years and death, *Oi nikki*, composed somewhat less than a year later, abridges the episode thus (pp. 35–36):

> That day the springlike weather returned, and in the warmth flies were landing on the *shōji* screens. This was unpleasant, so some of the disciples limed sticks of bamboo and began to try to catch them. Some were good at it and some not, and Bashō seemed amused. But he said nothing more thereafter, and when we realized he had passed away, we were dumbstruck, unable to believe that he was gone forever.

Oi nikki deletes Bashō's final jocular remark, and a somewhat more formal and reserved portrait results, more in keeping with the measured parallel phrases Shikō had Bashō speak on his deathbed earlier. And yet it is still a lighter vignette than the death scene that Kikaku provides.

So despite Kikaku's acknowledgment of Bashō's conflicted attitude toward art and renunciation, he in the end fashions an account that works its way to a clean-cut literary climax commensurate with the image of a great poet. And he amplifies this by providing an overview of the great man's devotion to the poetic way over his entire career, which Shikō (and, for that matter, Sōchō) do not. The birth of Bashō the saint of *haikai* (*haisei*) begins here (plate 9). Kikaku's vision of Bashō's death is more uniform and lofty than that of Shikō, who presents us in *Bashō-ō tsuizen no nikki* and *Oi nikki* with a more multivalent view of the conflicted artist. Bashō, after all, was a teacher who could at one moment counsel the student to "compose your *haikai* as would a child three feet tall" (*Sanzōshi*, p. 548), and at another could insist, "When composing, turn your verse over in your mind and on your tongue a thousand times" (*Kyoraishō*, p. 453).

But despite their differences, Kikaku and Shikō alike bend quotidian language and subject matter to the service of a topic of the highest importance, the death of an important literary figure. Their memorials thus

in a sense mirror to Bashō's own dictum for his *haikai* art: "elevate the spirit, then return to the mundane."[118] Bashō's death was for them the antithesis of the mundane, but they perceived that its effect could be evoked even through everyday detail, in the same way that *haikai*, no less than *waka*, could "not only be of the moment but for all time," as Donald Keene observes.[119] It was perhaps more than coincidence that one Buddhist teaching finds the Buddha-nature manifest even in a blade of grass. But the poetry of Bashō and his circle, with its blend of the "precedented" (*ga*, i.e., based on elegant, formal convention) and the "unprecedented" (*zoku*, i.e., quotidian and unconventional topics and language), was in a sense even more difficult to manipulate than pure *ushin* verse, for which a prescription already existed for the expression of elevated themes.[120] This is not to say that *haikai* only developed at this time, of course; there are *haikai waka* as far back as *Kokinshū* (905), and the *ushin* and *mushin* impulses have always coexisted in a dynamic dialectic (see n. 33). And early on, some poetry that did not adhere to all the strictures of *ushin waka* still might address serious themes. But this trend accelerated at about the turn of the sixteenth century, with, for example, the compiler of the first extant anthology of *haikai*, *Chikuba kyōginshū* (Hobbyhorse collection of mad songs, 1499), insisting in his preface that *haikai* poetry has its own value.[121] Another of these early *haikai* anthologies was *Inu tsukubashū* (Mongrel *Tsukubashū*, ca. 1530s), thought to have been compiled by Yamazaki Sōkan.[122] Such efforts to preserve examples of what had largely been a fugitive pastime reflect a new sense of its artistic importance. The growing respect for the expressive possibilities of the *haikai* medium went on developing thereafter, until for artists like Bashō *haikai* became their primary focus and the vehicle for their deepest concerns, but also for their moments of whimsy or satire.[123]

Bashō's travel writing, most notably *Oku no hosomichi*, provided for both Kikaku and Shikō a ready template for the depiction of high themes through everyday detail and everyday language, an *ushin-mushin* amalgam, both in its *haikai* poetry and also in its developing *haibun*, which moves toward dissolution of the barrier between poetry and prose itself. This nascent literary technology for expressing elevated themes through a combination of precedented and unprecedented topics and lexicon is one indicator of the sea change from the medieval to the early modern.[124]

But again, Bashō's use of a wider swath of vernacular language and quotidian imagery by no means precluded adept fashioning of perceived reality in the interest of a higher truth. When the much more workaday account of the same *Oku no hosomichi* journey by Bashō's traveling companion Iwanami Sora (plate 6) resurfaced in 1943, it demonstrated the extent to which Bashō was willing to subordinate fact to fabrication.[125]

As seen earlier, the swordsmith's son Sōchō made one of the first gestures toward forging noble themes from base metal. This characteristic of his versiprosa literature is more clearly seen in his later diaries, most notably *Sōchō shuki* and its sequel, wherein formal and informal language, and public and personal details, join in contributing to multivalent and dialogic depiction. By contrast, *The Death of Sōgi* portrays the demise of a champion of the *ushin* voice in terms of the time-honored conventions of elegant travel literature and *ushin* verse, without *haikai*. But what suggests Sōchō's eventual trajectory in that work is its blend of the public and the personal and the moments of light exchange between Sōchō and Sōgi, or between the disciples after Sōgi's death, which in the end make the master's loss even more palpable and affecting.

This relationship between high theme on the one hand and unprecedented detail and language on the other constitutes one basic area of choice and of tension in the death accounts of Sōchō and Kikaku. There is, by contrast, little such tension in the memorial by Kensai, for in his depiction of the death of Masahiro he cleaves to the traditional equation of high theme with precedented detail and language (though to be sure, he wrote his memorial in the vernacular language, rather than in even more erudite *kanbun*). Sōchō and Kikaku are grappling with how to express the awesome solemnity of death in terms of a new form of expression wherein the hitherto inevitable correlation between high matter and high language is being reassessed. Again, in terms of language, Sōchō remains the more conservative, for while he admits *renga* as well as *waka* into his account (versus Kensai's use of only *waka* in the body of his), the verses he quotes are entirely *ushin* in vocabulary and tone. Kikaku, by contrast, quotes *haikai* linked verses almost exclusively. Both memorialists continue to call on time-honored tropes, but also turn everyday topics and everyday language to serious purpose.

The competing claims of the public and the personal also constitute a locus of tension for Sōchō and Kikaku in the degree to which they insert themselves into their narratives. Much of the first half of Sōchō's account is not about Sōgi at all, but about Sōchō's journey to greet him and his tribulations in so doing. And later he wishes to leave the master again and return home to Suruga alone, but he feels the weight of obligation to accompany the aged poet thereafter and already begins to repay his debt before the master has expired. But he never goes so far as to insist that Sōgi loved him best. Instead he is often self-effacing: when he quotes Sōgi's first *hokku* in the account, for example, he does not mention that it was he himself out of the more than a dozen poets present who had the honor of composing the second verse (*wakiku*) and that he contributed fourteen verses to the sequence, second only to Sōgi, who had but one more. He also does not point out that as a young disciple he had accompanied Sōgi to the Uesugi

domain nearly a quarter century before in 1478 and that those visits in a sense bookended his own career thus far as a traveling *renga* master.

Nor does Sōchō elaborate on his personal feelings when, after Sōgi's death, the company reaches Kiyomi Strand (Kiyomigata) and the site of Kiyomi Gate (Kiyomi no seki, no longer extant by Sōchō's day), both famous poetic places in Suruga, the province in which Sōchō had grown up:

> On the eleventh we arrived at the site of Kiyomi Gate, and we gazed through the night at the moon over the sea:
>
> morotomo ni — If only we were together
> koyoi kiyomi ga — by Kiyomi Strand tonight!
> iso naraba — At the thought,
> omou ni tsuki mo — even the moon
> sode nurasuran — seems to moisten my sleeves.

Though he writes from his own perspective here, Sōchō does not go into detail about his personal connection to the place and to Sōgi's memory, which doubtless multiplied the tears on his sleeves; it was in fact he who, as a nineteen year old (by the Japanese count), had guided the master to this very spot on the latter's first trip to the eastland in 1466. Kiyomi was a prime objective correlative for Sōchō's subsequent three and a half decades with the master, but he keeps that intensely personal aspect of the locale to himself in this account. It is only much later, when he passes the site again as an old man in 1524, that he allows himself to write about the relationship of the place to his own experience with Sōgi:

> On the twenty-ninth, I recalled the journey that the late Sōgi made to this province years ago, and since it was the anniversary of his death, I made a single sheet of verses to forget the years:
>
> omoiizuru — My sleeves remember—
> sode ya seki moru — like the gate they hold back
> tsuki to nami — the moon and waves of teardrops.
>
> I based the poem on a *hokku* Sōgi composed for a single sheet of verses at the gate when I invited him years ago to this temple, Seikenji:
>
> tsuki zo yuku — The moon is departing.
> sode ni seki more — Hold it back upon my sleeves,
> kiyomigata — Kiyomi Strand![126]
>
> Thus my verse, "My sleeves remember." In *Shinkokinshū* this appears:
>
> mishi hito no — Keep the image
> omokage tome yo — of the one I knew from passing away

kiyomigata — so I may see it clear, Kiyomi Strand;
sode ni seki moru — hold back upon my sleeves
nami no kayoiji — the coursing waves of tears.

Might that have been the poem on which Sōgi based his? This year marks the fifty-eighth since Sōgi spent the night at this temple.[127]

Sōgi's verse was clearly in Sōchō's mind when he wrote his *waka* about Kiyomi in the death account of 1502, but he makes no mention of it there.

Kikaku too is beset by this tension between service to his own experience and to his role as a latter-day bard speaking for a bereaved community. He does not linger over his own long relationship with the master or his own importance in the Edo *haikai* world, despite the fact that it was he who compiled *Minashiguri* (Empty chestnuts, 1683), the first showpiece of the Bashō school, and that it was he who wrote the preface to *Sarumino* (The monkey's straw rain cape, 1691), sometimes referred to as the *Kokinshū* of *haikai*.[128] Both he and Sōchō were trained from childhood in the give-and-take that was the essence of the linked-verse art, the need to shine when the need was there, but otherwise to meld back into the group, support the others, and contribute to a balanced sequence, in which the "suppression of individuality" (*botsukosei*) was a governing principle. Both death accounts navigate this tension between the self and the other poets.

It remains true, however, that both Sōchō and Kikaku enjoyed particularly close bonds with their mentors, and this intimacy is inevitably reflected in their accounts. Sōchō crosses the breadth of Japan to visit his master in Echigo and braves record-breaking snows and terrifying earthquakes during his journey. Later it is Sōchō whom Sōgi specifically asks to accompany him on the trip to the place where he expects to spend the remainder of his life. Likewise Kikaku mentions that Bashō especially sent for him. Further on he writes with particular pathos about the remarkable coincidence of receiving word during one of his rare journeys of Bashō's decline (he was not a frequent traveler in the mold of the master, though he left Edo on occasion) and reaching the deathbed only hours before the master expired. This implies an almost mystical bond between Bashō and his eulogizer, as Shikō points out in *Oi nikki* (p. 34): "Shinshi [Kikaku] fortunately arrived that evening; that he was able to join us in the vigil that night shows how very deep was his karmic connection with the master." And for that matter, Sōchō's presence at Sōgi's death may also be construed as having been karmically ordained, since Sōchō had initially planned to leave soon after reaching Echigo but was restrained by illness, then by winter weather, then by an earthquake, then by illness again, and finally by the master's own request. But both memorialists were doing no more

than acknowledging the truth; the masters *had* asked for them, and they had returned the compliment. And in both cases, the number-one disciple wrote the first memorial.

This tension in turn speaks to the bifurcated purposes of the accounts as a whole; again, they publicly demonstrate not only the greatness of the fathers but also the legitimacy of their heirs. They are speech acts: by celebrating the masters and outlining in detail their intimate ties to them, the disciples figuratively don the mantle of their authority. The accounts implicitly recognize the impermanence of all things, including human relationships, but in portraying those evanescent yet critical bonds, the eulogizers fix them in the memory of all subsequent readers.[129] The accounts are in a sense verbal *chinsō*, portraits of Zen masters, one function of which was to mark the transmission of the Dharma to a disciple, though these *shūenki* are generated by the disciples themselves (Sōgi, Sōchō, Bashō, and Kikaku all adhered to the Zen creed).[130] The authority of each of the bereaved will be augmented not only by his individual poetic skill, but also by his manifest tie to the past poetic tradition represented by his connection to his deceased poetic forebear. It was for this reason that Kikaku was not the only one to preserve on paper memories of the master; as seen previously, Shikō and Rotsū (among others) did so as well, appropriating "the right to write" their own versions of the master's eulogy.[131] Rotsū is particularly self-serving, depicting as he does a purported reconciliation with Bashō after a stormy relationship (at one time he sold bogus "secret teachings" purportedly received from the master).[132]

Haikai poets from this era have been roughly divided into those who made their livings at their art and those who did not, and competition among the former could be especially fierce. Contention among disciples grew particularly rife during Bashō's final years over the question of whether to adopt his late style of *karumi* (lightness). His school splintered, and different groups held separate memorial gatherings for him.[133] But the passing of the master provided for some a final opportunity for reconciliation. One example was Yamamoto Kakei (1648–1716), a Nagoya poet thought to have been the compiler of *Fuyu no hi* (Winter days, 1684), the first of the seven *haikai* collections of the Bashō school. Kakei had distanced himself from Bashō after the master began to advocate *karumi,* but he journeyed to Kyoto to participate in *tsuizen* composition after Bashō's demise, reconnecting in *Kareobana* his name with that of his late teacher. Years earlier Kensai had experienced considerable conflict with Sōgi during the compilation of *Shinsen tsukubashū*, but he too had apparently achieved a spiritual reconciliation with Sōgi by the time of the latter's death, to judge from the elegant *chōka* he sent to Sōchō when he heard of the master's passing.[134]

Ironically, another poet who had refused to follow Bashō into his last artistic phase was Kikaku himself. His style remained intransigent and eccentric, exactly what Bashō was repudiating in his shift to the *karumi* approach. And yet unlike the case of certain other disciples, there was no dramatic estrangement. Kikaku's memorial to the master does not suggest apology or guilt or relief. And like Sōchō before him, he continued to revere the memory of his teacher for the rest of his life, editing, for example, *Sanjōgin* (Chanting atop three things), another *tsuizenshū* of requiem verses by himself and others for the late master, in 1700.[135]

A last tension surrounds the legacy of these works Sōchō and Kikaku wrote to preserve and aggrandize the lives of the men to whom they owed so much. Again, one impulse for writing these accounts was to hold on to the masters for as long as possible, to revitalize memories of them and thereby enjoy their presence again. And yet funerary writing not only perpetuates memory but lays it to rest. As Philippe Ariès has noted in the European context, "The purpose of mourning—which was also assumed in pagan antiquity—was to release the grief of the survivors. How is one to go on living in the absence of someone so beloved, so precious? But the very act of asking the question marks the beginning of acceptance."[136] The writing of remembrance catalyzes the process of moving beyond it.

These death accounts, in sum, serve both the dead and the living. Sōchō and Kikaku treat the deaths of their great teachers by depicting rupture, liminality, and the ongoing fraught and multipurposed movement toward reconsolidation through the composition of requiem verses and the writing of the memorial accounts themselves. Kikaku's approach, as we have seen, was informed by Sōchō's, which also establishes a parallel between Bashō and his great predecessor Sōgi. Both accounts in the end celebrate the legacy of two poets now gone and permanently inscribe the fact of their disciples' inheritance. They simultaneously look to the past and to the future. And they illustrate one strand of Japanese versiprosa development from the late medieval to the early modern era, while at the same time exemplifying the inevitably subjective fashioning implicit in all artistic narrative.

Postscripts

Kikaku, inspired by Sōchō, initiated a tradition of writing death accounts for linked-verse poets that continued far into the Edo period. Not all used the term *shūenki* in their titles, of course, but a large number did, and many bore connections to the Bashō school. One early example, appropriately enough, was the subsequent brief memorial for Kikaku himself, *Shinshi shūenki*, which appeared in *Ruikōji* (Assorted tangerines, 1707), a posthumous collection of Kikaku's poetry and prose together with verses

composed by others in his memory.[137] Then Bashō's disciple Shikō wrote an account of the death of another of Bashō's disciples, Rōka (d. 1703), titled *Rōka-kō shūenki* (The death of the honorable Rōka) and included it in his anthology *Wakan bunsō* (Florilegium of literature in Japanese and Chinese) in 1727.[138] Thereafter, upon the death of Yosa Buson (Yahan-ō, 1716–1784), leader of the "Back to Bashō" movement, his disciple Takai Kitō (1741–1789) celebrated the life of his teacher in *Yahan-ō shūenki*.[139] Like *The Death of Master Bashō*, it accompanies a collection of *tsuizen* poetry, the title of which, *Karahiba* (Dry cypress needles, 1784), is patterned on *Kareobana* (Withered tassel-grass), edited by Kikaku.[140] *Yahan-ō shūenki* thus in its very name inscribes Buson, and Kitō as well, into the tradition of the poet they so admired.[141]

Other *haikai* poets were accorded *shūenki* memorials in their turn. A cursory list follows: after Watanabe Unribō (1693–1761) died and was buried at Gichūji, site of Bashō's grave, his disciple Kitagawa Bunso (d. 1768) wrote an account for him titled (in some manuscripts) *Shūenki* in 1765, for a *tsuizen* collection titled *Eboshizuka* (Black cap mound) compiled by himself and his younger brother.[142] Similarly, on the death of the *haikai* poet and Bashō scholar Ōshima Ryōta (1718–1787), his disciple Kanrai (1748–1817) memorialized him in an account titled *Ryōta koji shūenki* (The death of the lay priest Ryōta, 1787).[143] Likewise when the Nagoya poet, friend of Buson and Ryōta, and adherent of the "Back to Bashō" movement Katō Kyōtai (1732–1792) died, his disciple Tōsui 桃睡 (not to be confused with Tōsui 桃酔, Ashino Minbu Suketoshi) commemorated him in *Kyōtai shūenki* in the *tsuizen* collection *Rakubaika* (Falling plum blossoms, 1793), and then Kyōtai's disciple Inoue Shirō (1742–1792), who had contributed to *Rakubaika*, was similarly remembered posthumously by Nakajima Shūkyo (1773–1826) in *Shirō shūenki* (or *Shuju-ō shūenki*).[144] And the death of Katsumi Jiryū (Fujian, 1723–1803), another devotee of the Bashō style, was recorded by his disciple Suganuma Kien (1765–1834) in *Fujian shūenki* (1803). Kien, who chose to live near the Hanaya house where Bashō died, was after his own death memorialized in a *shūenki* as well.[145]

Thus when the memorial account of Bashō's important antecedent Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1653) resurfaced in the latter part of the eighteenth century and was finally published in 1803, it was natural for the hitherto unnamed memorial to be titled *Teitoku shūenki*.[146] By that time, *shūenki* had become an established genre, created by disciples for late teachers or by friends for departed colleagues, and every use of the term in the title of a memorial volume stood to aggrandize its subject through implicit association with other poets similarly memorialized by other *shūenki* in the past.

The Death of Sōgi

The aged Sōgi, perhaps tired of his old cottage, resolved to leave the capital on a journey. For his first verse that spring, he composed this:

For me this year
the spring haze of the capital
will be far away.[147]

At the end of autumn that year, he departed for the Koshi region, heedless even of the name Returning Mountain, to call on acquaintances in the province of Echigo.[148] Two years passed before I heard he was there, and I set out from the province of Suruga to join him at the end of the sixth month in the first year of the Bunki era [1501].[149]

I crossed the Ashigara Mountains and beheld Mount Fuji in the distance, passed by the waves breaking on the little island out in the Sea of Izu and by Koyurugi Strand, then stopped briefly at Kamakura, where the days of the Generals of the Right and the glory of the Nine Reigns seemed to be once again before my eyes.[150] The pines on the beach near Tsurugaoka Shrine and the roof tiles of Yukinoshita seemed even more impressive than those of Iwashimizu.[151] One could drain dry a sea of ink describing the beauty of the mountains and the recesses of the valleys.

Here for the last eight or nine years the Yamanouchi and Ōgigayatsu have been at war, and the eight Kanto provinces are divided between them.[152] I had heard that travel was difficult, but since I had acquaintances here and there along the route, I set out over Musashi Plain, crossed through Kōzuke, and reached the provincial capital of Echigo on the first of the ninth month.

I was greeted by Sōgi, and we spoke of the intervening months since we had last met. I then expected to take my leave and travel to the capital, but the weeks on the road had begun to tell, and I lay ill for some time. Toward the end of the tenth month I recovered and decided to set off, but

by then the wind and snow were very cruel; I was told that the waves off Nagahama were dangerous and that the pass at Mount Arachi was even worse.[153] I accordingly found myself lodgings of a sort and resolved to wait for spring.[154] Snow fell in great quantities for days. Even the locals complained that they had seen nothing like it, which made it all the harder for me. I sent this to an acquaintance:

Think upon me here
in my lodgings under snow
so deep that even those
who have lived here years complain
they have never seen the like.[155]

Then on the tenth of the twelfth month at about ten in the morning there was a great earthquake. It felt as if the ground were turning completely upside-down. For five or six days there were innumerable aftershocks. Many lives were lost and dwellings destroyed. My own lodging was unsafe, so at year's end I again found myself in unfamiliar quarters.[156] On New Year's Day we composed a linked-verse sequence with a *hokku* that had come to Sōgi in a dream:[157]

The new year comes
this morning to the red fence
and Overnight Pines.[158]

Following the session, I composed this:

This spring
may the poetic precedent
of adding ten years
to one's four score
begin anew![159]

Sōgi responded to my celebratory verse thus:

How hard is old age,
when even four score years,
though still far
from poetic precedent,
are so painful to acquire.[160]

On the ninth of the same month, at his travel lodgings, he composed this *hokku* for a single page of verses:[161]

These green willows
will flourish in the coming year,
even more than *masaki* vines![162]

That spring my complaint returned, and I caught a cold in the bargain that lingered for days. Though I had recovered by the end of the next month, I laid aside plans to go to the capital and instead decided to take the waters at Kusatsu in Kazusa Province then return to Suruga. When I told Sōgi, he replied, "I too have changed my mind. I was planning to meet my end here, but my life goes on regardless. Continuing to rely on the kindness of our hosts makes me uncomfortable, but the thought of returning to the capital is disagreeable as well.[163] An acquaintance of mine in Mino Province has from time to time kindly invited me to live out my days there, so do come along."[164] "I would love to see Mount Fuji again," he added.[165] It was unthinkable to abandon him and return to Suruga alone, so unable to refuse, I accompanied him into Shinano, trod upon the stones of Chikuma River, crossed Suga Moor, and on the twenty-sixth reached Kusatsu.[166]

In the same province is a famous hot spring called Ikaho.[167] Hearing it was good for palsy, Sōgi visited it in the company of the other two gentlemen.[168] He fell ill there and did not take the waters.[169] It may have been while suffering through even the short nights of the fifth month that he composed this:

What am I to do,
on this journey in old age,
sleepless through nights as long
as the tail of the rooster
whose cry lovers hate to hear?[170]

In the beginning of the sixth month, we reached Uwato, which is near Iruma River in Musashi Province where the Yamanouchi are encamped.[171] Sōgi rested there for twenty days. There were enough men of taste present to compose a thousand-link sequence.

We then proceeded to Kawagoe in Miyoshino and stayed there more than ten days.[172] At Edo Castle in the same province, Sōgi seemed near death, but after resting and composing linked verse, he appeared to regain his strength.[173] At a place near Kamakura he took part in a thousand-link sequence beginning on the twenty-fourth. It was completed on the twenty-sixth. He composed a dozen or so verses in each of the hundred-link sections. There were many fine verses among them. For example:

Long since I began to live each day
as though it were my last.[174]

To that verse Sōgi linked this:

Did I ever wish
to reach my eightieth year,
the sunset of life?[175]

And again:[176]

No one left to make the crossing
from the old year to the new.[177]

Sōgi's link:

The waves of old age—
how long will they keep rolling in
before they come no more?[178]

It now occurs to me that these were perhaps meant as death poems.

We rested there on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, then departed for Suruga Province on the twenty-ninth.[179] On the road at about noon that day Sōgi suffered an attack of gut worms.[180] He was in great distress, so we halted and gave him medicine, to no avail. We did not know what else to do. We found lodging at Kōzu, where we spent the night.[181] Before dawn men came for us from Suruga with horses and palanquins. When Sojun arrived, having pressed his horse, Sōgi rallied.[182] We reached Yumoto at the foot of the Hakone Mountains at daybreak.[183] As we proceeded his spirits rose somewhat, and he took some hot rice porridge, then chatted and napped.

Relieved, we retired after seeing to the preparations for crossing the mountains the next day. Past midnight Sōgi seemed to be in considerable pain, and when we nudged him awake he said, "I just dreamt I was with Lord Teika." He then recited the poem "Jeweled cord of life, / if you must break, then break!" Those who heard recognized it as a verse by Princess Shikishi.[184] Then he softly recited a *maeku* that came from the recent thousand-link sequence: "As I gaze at the moon, / my heart floats toward the heavens."[185] He added wryly, "I found this hard to link—you all try your hands at it." Then like a flame going out, he breathed his last (aged eighty-two, second year of the Bunki era, last day of the seventh month).[186]

Each of us was dazed—one can imagine how distraught we were. He parted from us as he did, like the dew on a pillow of grass, because he had been so fond of travel. In China too, did not Youzi die on the road after a life as a wayfarer? (It is said that he became the patron deity of travelers.)[187]

Those with any sensitivity understood that evening the meaning of this verse by the priest Jichin:

Life is a journey,
and while journeying, to sleep
on a grass pillow
is to dream
within a dream.[188]

It is hard to cross the Ashigara Mountains even in the best of times. We arranged Sōgi's body in the palanquin to look as if he were still alive, and walking before and behind it, we reached a Zen temple named Jōrinji in the woods at a place called Momozono, across the border of Suruga Province.[189] We arrived with the vesper bell, then spent the next day making the last arrangements. On the third of the eighth month in the early dawn we laid him to rest just within the temple gate, beside a clear stream. There were cedars as well as plum and cherry trees. Since he had always said that he wanted a pine as a grave marker, we planted one and erected an ovate tombstone and a rustic fence, then remained there for seven days before setting out for the provincial capital.[190] On the way every one of us was sunk in deep sadness, and we made our way over the melancholy mountain road recalling him, "now with laughter, now with tears."[191]

On the eleventh we arrived at the site of Kiyomi Gate, and spent the night gazing at the moon over the sea:

If only we were together
by Kiyomi Strand tonight!
At the thought,
even the moon
seems to moisten my sleeves.[192]

And so we arrived at the provincial capital. At my cottage, Sōseki, Mizumoto, and I lamented that Sōgi had not lived long enough to at least reach here.[193]

On the night of the fifteenth, there was a linked-verse session at the constable's residence.[194] I mentioned that when Sōgi was making his travel plans, he had worried about what to compose if he arrived in the Suruga capital at the time of the full moon and a *hokku* were requested of him. Thereupon one of our number had recalled that last autumn at a session in Echigo on the night of the full moon Sōgi had composed two *hokku* and one was left over, so he had decided to use that. We therefore took it as our *hokku* this evening:

Do not cloud over!
You alone will bear the blame,
full moon of autumn.[195]
Sōgi

Their calls make clear their number—
geese that course the sky.[196]
Ujichika

Morning dew
on the field of bush clover,
cold as the wending wind.[197]
Sōchō

During a *waka* series on prepared topics that same night, the constable composed this on "under the moon, longing for an old friend":

I reflect upon
this autumn when he became
a man of old
and left behind the evening moon
we would have viewed together.[198]
Ujichika

Might this mean that though he waits for Sōgi, he does so in vain?

Then I composed this *renga* verse, recalling the morning dew that had lain on the mountain path:

After the night he passed away
we walk through morning dew
on the mountain path.[199]
Sōchō

To this was linked:

Autumn wind at the house
one finds so hard to leave.[200]
Sōseki[201]

Up late for several nights, Sōseki and I completed a hundred-verse sequence written down as we talked of things from last year and this, barely comforted in the lamplight.

On the last day of the month, I held a linked-verse session at my cottage to mark the passage of one month since his death.[202] Sojun and others took part. My *hokku*:

As insects cry,
evening dew falls
from the blades of grass![203]

Mulling over that *hokku* before dawn, I dreamt that I asked Sōgi, "Is 'evening dew' acceptable, in view of my having already used 'we walk through morning dew' in a *hokku* earlier?" He chanted the *hokku* then said that the word could be used any number of times. I was profoundly moved by the dream.

On the same day, for a *waka* series on prepared topics, this was composed on the topic "lament, using the word 'way'":

How am I to follow
in the footsteps
of my father?
Years since I was left behind
on the long, grass-covered way.[204]
Sojun

Sōgi had made notes and received papers covering every aspect of *Kokinshū* from Tō no Tsuneyori.[205] This verse no doubt refers to Sōgi's transmission of them on his deathbed to [Tō no] Sojun.

This also arrived at about the same time from Sojun, on hearing the first geese and thinking of Sōgi:

Were he still living
in Koshi as before,
you too would look to them
for his message:
the calls of the first geese.[206]

My reply:

Surely the first geese
calling out in the skies over Koshi
where he spent three years
will take a message to him
in the world to come.[207]

I composed that verse recalling how I used to receive messages from Sōgi and send replies during his three years in Koshi.[208] It was about this time that word of Sōgi's death reached Kensai at a place called Iwaki, near Shirakawa Gate, where he had been living in a simple cottage. It appears that he had journeyed to Yumoto in Sagami Province, resolved at the very least to pay his last respects at the place where Sōgi had passed away. He sent a letter from there with a long poem, which I append here:

The truth that is told
by dew upon leaf tips
and droplets upon stems
shows what comes to all of us
in this world of ours,
but on parting from someone close
one wonders
if the sadness that one feels
is shared by any other.[209]
Since first I came to know him
it must be that more
than a score of years and ten
have passed and gone.
Such was the kindness
he showed me through the years
that I would have no regrets
if now I met my end
and mingled with the smoke
that rises to the sky
from the charcoal fires
of Mount Ōhara.
Though we both were traveling
through these eastern lands,
our respective lodgings
were at a great remove,
and so when the wind-borne news
finally came to me,
I found I could not waken
from what seemed a dream
at night on a boxwood pillow,
so I set my heart
on braving moor and mountain
to pay at least
my last respects

where he vanished like the dew,
but on the heights where I called out
there was no reply,
save for the wind in the pines,
and I was left with nothing.[210]

Envoy

How vain
to mourn a person's passing!
We have but one life,
evanescent as dew
in the wake of a tempest.[211]

To Mizumoto Yogorō

Sōgi's friends will doubtless inquire of the details of his death on the road, so I am attaching this account.

Sōchō[212]

The Death of Master Bashō

Springtime in blossom brought him only a heavy head, leaden eyes, and a melancholy heart. His cottage, though cool in summer with its rocks and spring-fed stream, was also very damp, making for sleepless nights and listless mornings. In the autumn, his gloom grew only worse, gnawing at his vitals. When he composed "The worst / did not come to pass—in the snow / withered tassel-grass" and felt the evanescence of life so keenly that he barred his gate, those who came to visit did so in vain and departed, remarking sadly that he seemed to have aged a great deal that year.[213]

The master lived alone and in poverty, yet in virtue and accomplishment he was rich beyond measure. How inscrutable the karmic causes and conditions that made two thousand and more disciples from even the most remote hinterlands rely on him alone!

In the winter of the third year of Tenna [1683] his thatched hut in Fukagawa was suddenly engulfed in flames, and he escaped through the smoke by wading into the water and covering his head with a straw mat.[214] This brought him his first intimations of the fragility of the jeweled cord of life.[215] He realized then that the world is a burning house, and there can be no fixed abode.

In mid-summer of the next year he went to live in the mountains of Kai Province, but he found the winter near Mount Fuji inhospitable and so, thinking to "slip into the state of no-self under the midnight moon," he returned to the site of his old hermitage. Overjoyed to see him again, his disciples built him a new cottage on the site of the old one in the burnt field and put in a single banana plant [*bashō*], thinking it might afford him some trifling pleasure.[216] He lived in rustic seclusion, as in this verse composed in the rain: "The banana plant in a gale— / I listen at night / to the raindrops in the basin."[217] But people who loved peaceful solitude often called on him, and he came to be known as Master Bashō.[218]

At that time I had been paying visits to the abbot of Engakuji, Daiten, because of his skill in divination, and at one point I asked him to tell the

master's fortune.[219] He looked up the year, month, day, and hour of Bashō's birth in the old-style calendar, and with divination sticks he arrived at the hexagram *sui* 萃, which suggests a stalk of plume-grass, blown by the wind and wilting in the rain, but nevertheless surviving in the face of hardships coming one after the next.[220] So the character is read "gather together" [*atsumaru*], which is to say that though one may try to sequester oneself, things will converge from every quarter, with no respite. It did in fact seem a good omen from the canonical literature.[221] And indeed, people flocked to his hermitage in their desire to pursue the way of poetry; they did all they could for him, and so he had a pleasant place to live, with a view of bridges, boats, groves of trees, and towers, so fine that the master composed, "Clouds of blossoms— / is that bell Ueno's? / Asakusa's?"[222]

But though he was pleased that everyone showed him such esteem, matters in his hometown weighed on his mind, and in the autumn of the first year of the Jōkyō era [1684] he set out in the company of Chiri to explore to his heart's content the roads of Yamato and the recesses of Yoshino: "Drop by drop falls the dew— / with it I would wash away / this woeful world."[223]

He thereupon abandoned himself to his art, traveling in the familiar brown coat and the woven cypress hat that figures in his verse "How mighty it sounds! / Hail…."[224] He had many acquaintances here and there to ease the rigors of the long country roads, and since people admired his poetry and were drawn to his fame he could go nowhere to escape notice. He went along in the withering wind composing verses, starting "to look like Chikusai."[225] Through his virtue he converted more and more people to the "true way" of poetry, but there was no rest for him, as he could not refuse the invitations of people hither and yon who rode out to greet him.[226] He grew more and more worn, and by the time he wrote this poem he was utterly exhausted: "An ailing goose / comes to earth at Katada / to rest on its journey."[227] But the people of Ōtsu and Zeze looked after him, and he enjoyed himself for some years thereafter, cherishing the scenery at the Illusory Dwelling (see his "Account of the Illusory Dwelling" in *The Monkey's Straw Rain Cape*), Gichūji temple, and wherever else he went.[228]

Bashō had studied the Buddhist law with a priest named Butchō, originally of Konponji temple.[229] Of all Butchō's students, he alone is said to have achieved an understanding of Zen. The master's spirit was of iron, but as his body grew old and frail his verses assumed a spare quality that linked them naturally to the essence of Saigyo's poetry in the *Mountain House Collection*, wonderful to relate.[230] How natural that he was celebrated as the Du Fu of *haikai*. Though poor, he was generous to his friends, and at tea gatherings he even turned to the comic manner of Sōkan.[231] It became another element of his literary approach, and this "free" or "wild" style

passed from poet to poet, so incisive was his example. His deep sensitivity and poetic genius were fragrant as the blossoms, brilliant as the moon, flowing as the willows, and swirling as the snow.

Bashō slept on board a boat at Suma and Akashi, watched the sunrise at Awaji Island, and journeyed everywhere, walking stick in hand, like Nōin to Kisakata, Kenkō to the Kiso region, Saigyō to Futami, Jakuren to Kōya, Sōgi and Sōchō to Echigo, where they had connections, and Kensai, who built his thatched hut in Shirakawa.[232] Though all those men were gone, for Master Bashō they were as phantoms, beckoning him to "come along, come along," and giving him faith in what lay ahead (see his journal *The Narrow Road to the Deep North*).[233] Not for more than a decade did he put aside his hat and walking stick, and when he had paused here or there for ten days, he would say, "Again the gods of travel are clamoring in my breast."[234] He composed, "The essence of travel / with no fixed place of rest— / a portable heater!" in recollection of one by the priest Jichin: "Life is a journey, / and while journeying, to sleep / on a grass pillow / is to dream / within a dream."[235] He considered himself no less a traveler than Youzi, who is said to have spent his whole life on the road.[236]

On leaving his cottage in Fukagawa for the fourth time, he composed this: "A bush warbler / in a grove of bamboo shoots / laments its age in song."[237] People wept when he departed, but he said that others were pressing him to visit. He traveled again to his old hometown in Iga, where he built a cottage (see his *Record of the Third-Night Moon*) and for a while lived in comfort, until a letter came inviting him to winter in Tsu.[238] The sender wrote that he "would like to show it to a person of taste."[239] The master's decision to accept was again doubtless the work of the gods of the road.

On the twenty-fifth of the ninth month, in his answer to a kind invitation from Kyokusui in Zeze, Bashō composed this: "Down this road / travels no one— / an evening in late autumn."[240] Here the pathos of his impending end came home to him.

His companions thought that he had taken cold in the gusts from Mount Iga that blew wet through the paper netting of his room and that he was having a not uncommon reaction to some mushrooms, so they gave him the usual medicine to ease his suffering, but the water was tainted.[241] The last night of the ninth month found him in bed with frequent bouts of diarrhea. He lost the strength to speak, and his arms and legs grew cold as ice. Alarmed, people began to gather, among them Kyorai, who hurried there from the capital, Masahide from Zeze, Bokusetsu, Otokuni, and Jōsō from Ōtsu, together with Riyū from Hirata, all speaking in low voices with Shikō and Izen of their concern.[242] His mind was clear as ever, and he was embarrassed in his incontinence to call anyone close, but all served him whenever he asked. He must have overheard the prayers in the next

room for his recovery, for he whispered, "I've awoken from a dream," and composed this:

Ill on a journey—
my dreams course across
withered fields.[243]

Then he asked, "How would '…roaming round withered fields, my dreaming heart' do instead?"[244] He added ruefully that though a deluded attachment, it was the result of his fervent desire to die in pursuit of the poetic way. It was composed on the night of the eighth. Everyone was struck by the fragility of life.

These verses were composed for his happy recovery:

To settle ourselves,
we make ladling motions
to gather the gods.[245]
Bokusetsu

In the withering wind
I look again to the sky—
the cry of a crane.[246]
Kyorai

Light-footed
in the bamboo grove—
a wren.[247]
Izen

Come the first snow,
I will take him straight away
to Sada Shrine.[248]
Masahide

While the gods are gone
it gives strength to rely on—
the wind in the pines.[249]
Shidō

Lifting him up
he grows in fierceness—
the face of the hawk.[250]
Kakō

Pleasant even to be woken
by a voice calling
for a bed-warmer![251]
Shikō

Daffodils!
When they are delivered by messenger
he rises from bed.[252]
Donshū

The faint cries of ducks
vying to be first
across the pass.[253]
Jōsō

With each passing day
I see his face improve.
A frosty chrysanthemum.[254]
Otokuni

These were the last lighthearted moments of poetic composition that would be shared with him.

The master never lost faith in Bokusetsu's medicine and said that he would take it to the last.[255] He was ashamed to be seen in his uncleanliness, so Donshū and Shara saw to his needs.[256] In view of the fact that Shidō despite his poverty had always shown him great generosity, Bashō felt that he would rest easiest under the care of Shidō's disciples and so asked them to help. Though it was their pleasure to serve him, it was natural that they should be saddened to be attending him at his end. One disciple hated seeing the master's dirty hempen robe and so dressed him in one of fine silk; another provided nightwear with splendid embroidery, as the master's was too thin. Such was their pride as his followers.

When he was very poorly on the ninth and tenth, he asked Otokuni about my letter that said I was in the area of Tannowa and the Izumi provincial capital. A reply was immediately sent saying that he missed me, but it went astray.[257] I, meanwhile, was enjoying the view of Fukei Bay on a boat with Gan'ō and Kiō, after which we harbored in Sakai.[258] When I reached Osaka on the evening of the eleventh, I thought I would inquire after the master, and on doing so was informed of his sufferings described above.[259] Dismayed, I rushed to his bedside, and we tried to put into words our inexpressible emotions in voices bereft of strength. That I was able to arrive in time and tell him how I felt

was doubtless thanks to the gods of Sumiyoshi, because of our years of dedication to literature. I had also prayed for him at Waka Bay and had been glad to think that retribution from the god of Aridōshi had been avoided, so the surprise of finding him like this quite overwhelmed me.[260] I was sitting slumped over, growing more and more tearful, when Kyorai and Shikō beckoned me away from the master's bedside, and there I regained my composure. Sitting less formally, I gazed upon his wasted face and all hope left me—I wondered when the end would come, unpredictable as the cold rain that was falling.[261] I composed this prayer to console him:

Let us call a crane
from Fukei Bay—
cold rain of winter![262]
Shinshi

He had once said lightheartedly, "The Illusory Dwelling, where I wrote 'There is a beech tree / to rely on for now,' is too far away from people—bury me 'next to the grave of Lord Kiso,'" and this too was something spoken of thereafter.[263] In view of the fact that he frequently composed verses meditating on his own end, just as Saigyō had when he wrote that he hoped to die at the same time as the Buddha did, "in the second month / when the moon is full," he did not have to make any special death verse now.[264]

We disciples stayed up, and while his completely useless medicine was being heated, some wrote the following verses in ash from the hibachi:

Crouching
beside the medicine—
how cold![265]
Jōsō

Sipping the medicine
left over during his illness,
in a winter shelter.[266]
Kyorai

Yanking the coverlet
off another in the cold
laughter.[267]
Izen

Scolded,
I go to the next room—
how cold![268]
Shikō

Filled with worry,
I want to sit up with him.
Winter lodgings.[269]
Masahide

While sitting up with him,
drawing lots to see
who cooks the vegetables and rice.[270]
Bokusetsu

All his children—
the bagworms in the cold
cry and cry.[271]
Otokuni

On the twelfth at about four in the afternoon he passed away. His face looked beautiful, as if he were asleep. We covered him then that night quietly laid him in a long box and placed him in the boat, as though we were merchants loading our wares.[272] "Under droplets falling from the rushes, / taking our travel rest in our cold sleeves, / taking our travel rest," the ten of us—Kyorai, Otokuni, Jōsō, Shikō, Izen, Masahide, Bokusetsu, Donshū, Jirōbei (Jutei's son), and myself—spoke quietly to each other about the remarkable karmic connection that had brought us all together and sat Zen or invoked the Holy Name as each preferred.[273] Having lost the light of *haikai*, we shared memories of the one for whom we longed, cherishing as keepsakes his valuable words and kindly guidance from the days and years gone by.

The master had been invited everywhere, north, south, east, and west, and had never found a permanent place to dwell; had he died in Matsushima in the far north, or on Mount Hakusan in Koshi, or in some unknown spot, we would have been shocked on hearing of it, but there would have been nothing we could have done for him. It was a great consolation to have had the chance to stay with his body for even one night and shelter it from the wind.

We woke to bird song and the tolling bell, then arrived in Fushimi, imagining the feelings of his disciples who could not be there.[274] From there we

transported his body to Gichūji temple, where the obsequies were performed with the utmost scruple and sincerity. Poets from Kyoto, Osaka, Ōtsu, and Zeze, even officials and retainers, rushed here out of their love for the master—three hundred and more came even without invitation.[275] We dressed the body in a pure white robe and other garments made by Chigetsu and the wife of Otokuni.[276] Then after the service conducted by the venerable Chokugu of Gichūji, we buried the master in the appropriate manner just within the temple gate to the right of Lord Kiso's grave.[277] An old willow happened to be there as well. In keeping with what seems to have been his long-standing wish, we provided the same ovate stone as Lord Kiso's, encircled it with a rustic fence, and planted a frost-withered banana plant to commemorate his name.[278] The master had always loved a view, and here Nagara and Tanokami Mountains stand right before the eyes. The rippling waves of Lake Biwa roll up to the temple, and the departing boats leave enlightenment in their wakes.[279] Nearby, deer call out on the woodcutters' paths and geese cry above the farmhouses. It was in keeping with his great destiny that his bones should be bathed in the light of the moon over the lake. Some of us stayed here for seven days, and I felt particularly fortunate to be able to take part in composing memorial poetry for him.[280] Since others felt as I did, I wrote this death account, though it be of little worth.[281] Perhaps the wind will carry it to those in distant places who remember our master, to inform their own memorials.

Shinshi, at Gichūji in Awazu, by Bashō's memorial tablet.[282]

Notes

Preface

[1] Sōgi 宗祇 (1421–1502) bore the surname 飯尾, read Inō or Iio. Sōchō 宗長 (1448–1532), author of *Sōgi shūenki* 宗祇終焉記, now bears the pseudonym Saiokuken 柴屋軒, though it is more likely to have been Saioku originally (as it appears in plate 4 and in his friend Sanjōnishi Sanetaka's letter to him [n. 212]). Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694) earlier used the poetic name Tōsei 桃青. Kikaku 其角 (1661–1707), author of *Bashō-ō shūenki* 芭蕉翁終焉記, originally used his mother's surname, Enomoto 榎本. Tanaka (2000, p. 24) argues that the original name was 榎下, which he reads Enoshita but could also be read Enomoto. Kikaku later adopted the surname Takarai 宝井. He also used the sobriquet Shinshi 晋子.

On the life and work of Sōgi, see, for example, Kaneko 1983 and Okuda 1998, and for a concise introduction in English, with primary and secondary sources, see Carter 1999. On the life and work of Bashō, the bibliography is vast, but I have often resorted to Abe 1982 and 1984. For biographies in English, there are Ueda 1970, Ebersole 1980, and Shirane 1998.

[2] Harold Bolitho (2003, p. 23) draws attention to the relative paucity of intimate prose accounts of death in the Edo era and provides a corrective in the form of translations of three "thanatologues" from the period. The first (pp. 38–52) is by the priest Zenjō 善成 on the death of his son Mutsumaru 陸丸; it appears in his *Shōdō nisshi* 唱導日誌 (Preaching record) under the title *Mutsumaru myōju no ki* 陸丸命終ノ記 (Account of Mutsumaru's demise). Asaeda Zenshō includes a version in his *Zoku myōkōninden kiso kenkyū* (pp. 100–118). The second (pp. 64–86) is the description by Kobayashi Issa 小林一茶 (1763–1828) of the death of his father, Yagobei (or Yagohei) 弥五兵衛, *Chichi no shūen nikki* 父の終焉日記 (Diary of my father's death). (For other translations of this account, see Huey 1984 and Motoyama 1992.) The third (pp. 114–146) is the record that the scholar Hirose Kyokusō 廣瀬旭荘 (1807–1863) made of the death of his wife Matsuko 松子. It appears in his *Tsuishiroku* 追思録 (Recollections). Kyokusō's account contains a little poetry in Chinese, but only Issa's is a poetic account of the kind explored here.

[3] The base text that I have used for the translation of *Sōgi shūenki* is the Naikaku Bunko ms., edited by Tsurusaki Hirō 鶴崎裕雄 and Fukuda Hideichi 福田秀一, which appears in Fukuda et al., 1990, pp. 449–461. The Naikaku Bunko ms. and its

related manuscripts constitute one textual lineage of the work; the other lineage stems from the GR manuscript, which appears in an edited version collated with the Naikaku Bunko ms. in Kaneko 1976, pp. 101–125. In 1983 Shigematsu Hiromi published the Ōta Takeo 太田武夫 ms. (Shigematsu 1983, pp. 7–23), which is in the Naikaku line, and in 1993 Kaneko published a third text in the Naikaku line, owned by the Hakone Chōritsu Kyōdo Shiryōkan. He collated this text with the Ōta Takeo ms. For a survey of some of the extant manuscripts and a chart that collates them, see Kaneko 1979, pp. 144–151.

The text of *Bashō-ō shūenki* appears at the beginning of *Kareobana* 枯尾華 (Withered tassel-grass, Genroku 7.12 [early 1695]), a collection of memorial poetry for Bashō edited by Kikaku (in Ishikawa at al. 1994a, pp. 187–212). I have taken as my base text for the translation the one edited by Matsuo Yasuaki 松尾靖秋 appearing in Kuriyama et al., 1972, pp. 482–493. I have also referred to the text edited by Imaizumi Jun'ichi (2002), and to Ishikawa et al. 1994a. For another translation into English, see Yuasa 2006. Yuasa's translation and an accompanying linked-verse sequence titled "Springtime in Edo" were made to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of Kikaku's death. For other translations of Bashō's verses quoted in the work, see, for example, Barnhill 2005 and Reichhold 2008.

[4] Though early "short *renga*" (*tanrenga* 短連歌) composed by two poets mimicked the *waka* form, the longer (5-7-5 syllable) and shorter (7-7 syllable) parts might combine to form a single *waka* or might remain syntactically and semantically discrete, while at the same time interrelating. It is the latter form that developed into the mature *renga* art. As longer chains of linked verse developed, so did the basic stricture that every verse must relate only to the previous one to which it is directly linked, and never to the one before that, so as to avoid "rebirth" (*rinne* 輪廻). Among the important studies of *renga* in Japanese are Shimazu 1969 and Kidō 1971–1973. For a short and lively introduction in Japanese, see Shimazu 1979, pp. 3–12, 344–398. Introductions in English include Konishi 1975, Carter 1987b, and Horton 2002b. There is also Miner 1979, to be read in conjunction with Ramirez-Christensen 1981.

[5] The most popular form of the *haikai* 俳諧 linked-verse sequence was the thirty-six-verse variety, called a *kasen*, after the thirty-six poetic immortals (*kasen* 歌仙). *Haikai* sequences of any length eventually came to be called *renku* 連句, in the same way that the opening *haikai* verse, when composed alone, came to be called a *haiku* 俳句.

Introduction to the Translations

[6] The term *ku* 句 may refer to any of the five segments of a *waka* verse or the three or two segments of an "upper" or a "lower" *renga* 連歌 verse. But it may also signify an entire seventeen- or fourteen-syllable verse of either the *renga* or *haikai* type. It is not used, however, to refer to an entire *waka* verse. For a discussion of lineation and Japanese poetry, see Morris 1986.

[7] Ebersole 1989, p. 4.

[8] While there was no death account *per se* for Sōchō himself, there were memorial poems written for him, e.g., *Sōchō tsuizen senku* 宗長追善千句 (One thousand requiem verses for Sōchō) by Arakida Moritake 荒木田守武 (1473–1549), author of

the seminal *haikai* thousand-verse sequence *Moritake senku* 守武千句 (One thousand verses by Moritake, 1536–1540) and a major figure in raising the artistic status of that form of poetry. Another memorial sequence for Sōchō bears a preface by Satomura Jōha 里村紹巴 (1525–1602) titled "Sōchō o itameru renga jo" 宗長をいためる連歌序 (Preface to linked verses mourning Sōchō). And in his journal *Tōgoku kikō* 東国紀行 (Account of a journey through the eastland, 1545, p. 827), Tani Sōboku 谷宗牧 (d. 1545), disciple of Sōchō and Sōseki (Gessonsai Sōseki 月村斎宗碩, 1474–1533), speaks of arranging to have a hundred-verse sequence in Chinese and Japanese (*wakan renku* 和漢聯句) composed at the residence of the courtly Konoe 近衛 house for the thirteenth anniversary of Sōchō's death.

[9] On the relationship between aesthetics and political networks in premodern Japan, see Ikegami 2005; on the persistence of "poetic sociality" even into the Meiji period, see Tuck 2012; and on the role of death in early modern social transition in Japan, see Hirai 2013. In view of Bashō's death in 1694 and the writing of death accounts for him immediately thereafter, Hirai's observation is tantalizing that Shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi first codified mourning obligations in 1693 and that this was a national law that cut "across class lines nationwide" (p. 136).

[10] The "Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*" (*Kokin denju* 古今伝授) were privately transmitted orally by a holder of those teachings to a disciple, who wrote them down and then received the teacher's countersignature. Tō no Tsuneyori 東常縁 conveyed them to Sōgi from 1471 to 1473. Sōgi's lecture notes are titled *Kokin wakashū ryōdo kikigaki* 古今和歌集両度聞書 (Notes on two series of lectures on *Kokinshū*). For a study of these teachings, see Cook 2000. See also n. 30.

[11] On Sōchō's career and his relationship with Sōgi, see Tsurusaki 2000, and in English Keene 1977 and 1978 and Horton 2002b. For English translations of *Three Poets at Minase* and *Three Poets at Yuyama* see Carter 1991 and 1983, respectively.

[12] The main self-reflective works by Sōchō and Bashō are the following. For Sōchō: *Sōgi shūenki* 宗祇終焉記 (The death of Sōgi, 1502); *Azumaji no tsuto* 東路の津登 (Souvenir of the eastland, 1509); *Utsunoyama no ki* 宇津山記 (Utsunoyama account [or *Oi no higagoto* 老いのひがごと, An old man's prattle], 1518); *Sōchō shuki* 宗長手記 (The journal of Sōchō, 1522–1527), and *Sōchō nikki* 宗長日記 (The diary of Sōchō, 1530–1531). For Bashō: *Nozarashi kikō* 野ざらし紀行 (Journal of bleached bones in a field [or *Kasshi kikō* 甲子紀行, Account of a journey in the Kasshi year], 1684); *Kashima no ki* 鹿島の記 (Kashima chronicle [or *Kashima mōde* 鹿島詣, Pilgrimage to Kashima], 1687); *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文 (Knapsack notebook, 1687–1688); *Sarashina kikō* 更科紀行 (Account of a journey to Sarashina, 1688); *Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 (The narrow road to the deep north, 1689); *Genjūanki* 幻住庵記 (Account of the illusory dwelling, 1690), and *Saga nikki* 嵯峨日記 (Saga diary, 1691). Translations into English of all these works by Bashō appear in Barnhill 2005. Sōgi's travel prose works are *Shirakawa kikō* 白河紀行 (Account of a journey to Shirakawa, 1468) and *Tsukushi michi no ki* 筑紫道記 (Account of a Kyūshū journey, 1480). For Kikaku's travel prose works, see n. 40 and n. 47.

[13] For a concise biography of Sanetaka in English, with primary and secondary sources, see Horton 1999.

[14] Seventy-nine by the Western count.

[15] Sōgi had built Shugyokuan 種玉庵 on Shinmachi Street in Kamigyō Ward between 1473 and 1475, after returning to Kyoto from the eastland. It is ironic that the cottage had burned once before, when Sōgi was fifty-seven and likewise visiting the Uesugi 上杉 daimyo. It was later rebuilt by his disciple Sōseki.

[16] Huntington and Metcalf 1980, p. 8.

[17] On Zen attitudes toward death, liminality, and ritual, see Faure 1991, Williams 2008, and Walter 2008, and for more general explorations of medieval Japanese death and funeral practices, see Gerhart 2013 and Stone 2016.

[18] Smith 2005, p. 172.

[19] Hockey 2002, p. 213.

[20] For an introduction and complete English translation of Sōgi's *Shirakawa kikō*, see Carter 1987a, and for a partial translation and comparative discussion of the poetic travel mythos, see Horton 2002b, pp. 107–122.

[21] Travel and travel writing were not limited to men; one of the great examples, *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 (Diary of the waning moon, 1283?), was composed by the nun Abutsu 阿仏 (1222?–1283). See also n. 73.

[22] Sōgi left for the eastland in 1466, and Shinkei 心敬 did so in the following year. Each left a *hokku* 発句 (opening verse) on his tribulations, and their verses appear together in the second imperially sanctioned collection of linked verse, *Shinsen tsukubashū* 新撰菟玖波集 (Newly compiled *Tsukubashū*, 1495; 20: 3800–3801); see n. 44. On the life and work of Shinkei, see Ramirez-Christensen 1994, and for commentaries on select *hyakuin*, see Itō and Okuda 2015.

[23] Spafford 2013, p. 215. Kaneko Kinjirō (1993, pp. 37–41) indicates that fortunately for Sōgi and his companions, the conflict was generally static from 1497 to 1503, though the outbreak of hostilities was an ever-present possibility. See also n. 148 and n. 163. Sōgi and his companions composed *renga* at the fortress of the Kantō deputy (*Kantō kanrei*) Yamanouchi Akisada 山内顕定 (1454–1510) in Uwato 上戸 (or Uwado), then some days later at the Edo fortress of Akisada's enemies the Ōgigayatsu 扇谷 (like the Yamanouchi a branch of the Uesugi house), and then at the Ueda 上田 residence (near Kamakura) of Ueda Masamori 上田政盛, vice-constable of Sagami and an Ōgigayatsu ally. Sōchō's description of the political situation to 1502 is very general here. After Sōgi's death the fragile stasis ended, and Yamanouchi Akisada and his allies were defeated by Ōgigayatsu Tomoyoshi 扇谷朝良 (1473?–1518) and his allies at Tachikawa in 1504. About two thousand soldiers became casualties or prisoners in the great battle, a figure large for the time. Sōchō gives a detailed account of this conflict and the Kantō events in which it figured in his later journal *Sōchō shuki* 宗長手記 (Horton 2002a, pp. 9–10), including the roles of his patron, the Suruga daimyo Imagawa Ujichika 今川氏親 (1473–1526, who appears later in Sōchō's account here of Sōgi's death), and Ujichika's uncle Hōjō Sōun 北条早雲 (1432?/1456?–1519), among other important figures. (The temple devoted to Sōun's afterlife, Sōunji 早雲寺, was built at Hakone Yumoto where Sōgi had died seventeen years before Sōun.) Sōchō composed a famous linked-verse sequence in thanks for the victory to which his Imagawa patron contributed titled *Shutsujin senku* 出陣千句 (One thousand verses for the campaign, 1504), which is

extant. For the political situation in Kantō at the time, see Spafford 2013, and for more on Sōchō's depiction of it, see Horton 2002a, pp. 196–197, and 2002b.

[24] Frye 1957, p. 39.

[25] Orikuchi 1990, p. 45. On *tsuizen* 追善 poetry, Janet R. Goodwin (1989, p. 70) writes: "The belief that the living can relieve the suffering of the dead was central to Chinese Buddhist practice, which supplied the model for tsuizen and other rites for the dead." On early Japanese Buddhist hagiography, see also Augustine 2005.

[26] Some such compositions begin each verse with the first syllable of the name of a deity (*myōgō renga* 名号連歌, holy name linked verse) or a quotation from a Buddhist text (*hōmon renga* 法文連歌). On offertory verse see also Kamens 2002, and on the relationship between requiem poetry and monks of the Ji 時 (Time) sect, see Thornton 1999. Sōchō, despite his Zen training, also felt an affinity to the Ji sect and sometimes referred to himself by the Ji-style name Chōa 長阿. Thornton's remarks on a master's charisma are also instructive.

[27] *Kareobana* is composed of two books and more than six hundred linked verses (including hundred-verse sequences [*hyakuin* 百韻], thirty-six-verse sequences [*kasen*], and some of other lengths) and *hokku*; the first book, prefaced by *The Death of Master Bashō*, includes verses made during the first four weeks of the mourning period and focuses on the work of poets in Kansai (the greater Kyoto-Osaka area). The second book, which begins with a short preface by the Edo poet Hattori Ransetsu 服部嵐雪 (1654–1707; plate 5), is by contrast centered on Edo disciples, e.g., Iwanami Sora 岩波曽良 (1649–1710, Bashō's companion on his *Oku no hosomichi* journey; plate 6), Bashō's patron Sugiyama Sanpū 杉山杉風 (1647–1732), his disciple Yamaguchi Sodō 山口素堂 (1642–1716), and Naemura Chiri 苗村千里 (d. 1716, who accompanied Bashō on the journey described in *Nozarashi kikō*), with additions from Kansai poets. Kikaku, in turn, had *tsuizen* poetry published for him even as late as thirty-three years after his death (*Momo sakura* 桃桜 [Peach and cherry], 1739, ed. Hayano Hajin 早野巴人 [1676–1742]), which was also meant for Ransetsu, who (ironically, given his coeditorship of *Kareobana* for Bashō's death) died in the same year as Kikaku. Offertory verses are not found only in *tsuizenshū*, of course; Haruo Shirane notes that in *Oku no hosomichi*, "Bashō's poems can be interpreted as prayers to the spirits of the dead" (1997, p. 176).

[28] The important first memorial ceremony is held on the seventh day after death (counting from the day of death itself). Six more observances follow at seven-day intervals, culminating with the forty-ninth-day memorial (*dairenki* 大練忌). *Bashō-ō tsuizen no nikki* 芭蕉翁追善之日記 (Memorial diary of Master Bashō, 1695), by Kagami Shikō 各務支考 (1665–1731), for this reason continues to the forty-ninth day after Bashō's demise. But observations at specified intervals might continue thereafter (see n. 67).

[29] Sōchō also wrote a commentary for *Kusatsuyu Sōchō dokugin* 草津湯宗長独吟 (Solo verses by Sōchō at Kusatsu hot springs), and an early manuscript survives in the hand of Arakida Moritake (see n. 8; Kaneko 1974, p. 62). Kaneko (1993, p. 44) surmises that this entire journey by Sōchō, of which the sojourn in Kusatsu in 1503 was a part, was made in the master's memory.

[30] The "Secret Teachings" could be transmitted in varying degrees to different disciples; Sojun received some of them from Sōgi, as did Sōchō, Shōhaku 肖柏, and Sōseki, but it was Sanetaka who received them in their fullest form, in keeping with his exalted noble status. For Sōgi those secrets were at once an honor and a responsibility, and he took care that they be passed down correctly. While in Echigo in 1501 he sent to Sanetaka in the capital the final documents pertaining to the secret teachings, which he had begun conveying to him in 1487. Tō no Sojun 東素純 (see n. 182) had received some of the secrets from Sōgi earlier in 1495, and *The Death of Sōgi* depicts the deathbed conclusion of the transmission process to him. Sōseki received the secrets from Sōgi in Echigo, starting on 1501.6.7 and ending on 9.18. Those teachings later informed his study *Jikkōshō* 十口抄. Sōchō was present in Echigo from the beginning of the ninth month, but he makes no mention of the transmission to Sōseki. Perhaps he felt that such a description would detract from the dramatic portrayal of the deathbed transmission to Sojun, who was much more important to the narrative in that Sōgi was returning the honor done to him by Sojun's father Tō no Tsuneyori (see n. 10) and closing the circle, so to speak. Or perhaps he felt it was impossible or improper to comment on a private matter in which he was not involved. There was no apparent animosity between Sōchō and his junior colleague Sōseki; as mentioned later in the account here they composed a hundred-verse sequence together (*Sōseki Sōchō ryōgin nanimichi hyakuin* [One hundred verses bearing the heading "what path," by Sōseki and Sōchō], extant), and many years thereafter they collaborated on one of the most important surviving thousand-verse sequences, *Ise senku* 伊勢千句 (One thousand verses at Ise, 1522); for their descriptions of that event, see Horton 2002a, pp. 15, 204–205. It was also on this final trip that Sōgi gave the other *renga* poet present, Sōha 宗坡, his prized copy of *Shinkokinshū*.

[31] On the role of linked-verse poets in preserving and disseminating the classical literary tradition see Okuda 2017 and Ramirez-Christensen 1996. For an introduction to the development of literary professionalism in Japan, see Carter 1997.

[32] For an exhaustive study of Kikaku's life and work, see Ishikawa 1994a and 1994b, and for an overview in English, see Keene 1976, pp. 125–131. The complex relationship between Bashō and Kikaku has given rise to considerable Japanese scholarship, e.g., Imaizumi 1983 and 1996, Kōzai 1989, Iijima 1998, and Tanaka 2000.

[33] Again, *ushin* 有心 (lit., having heart) verse adheres to the conventions and lexicon of orthodox *waka* and *renga*; *mushin* 無心 (lit., without heart) verse deviates to varying degree from those strictures. For an introduction to *ushin* and *mushin* in the context of linked verse, see Shimazu 1973.

[34] Kidō 1971–1973, vol. 2, p. 571.

[35] Imaizumi 1982a, p. 163. See also Keene 1976, p. 125, which influenced the translation of this passage.

[36] Tanaka 2000, pp. 153–154.

[37] Bloom 1973, p. 5. With regard to the admiration felt for Bashō by the later great poet Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村, Eri Yasuhara (2006, p. 246) observes that "rather than deny or struggle against Bashō in an agony of poetic anxiety, Buson freely and explicitly embraces his precursor, and in that embrace paradoxically clears the imaginative space needed for his own creativity…in effect using Bashō for his own

ends." For more on the relationship between influence and creativity in Bashō, see Shirane 1997.

[38] Kikaku's *hokku* reads thus:

nakigara o — His remains hidden
kasa ni kakusu ya — beneath his travel hat—
kareobana — withered tassel-grass.

The alliterative verse is a sad sequel to the *hokku* by Bashō that Kikaku quotes in the opening lines of his memorial *The Death of Master Bashō*:

to mo kaku mo — The worst
arade ya yuki no — did not come to pass—in the snow
kareobana — withered tassel-grass.

Bashō had composed this verse to celebrate his survival after his epic journey to the distant north depicted in *Oku no hosomichi*. But now, says Kikaku in his *hokku*, the withered traveler has finally passed on, leaving only his earthly remains, hidden beneath his trusty rain hat. The image of the rain hat was a central one for Bashō, who saw it as a symbol of traveling poets as far back as Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037–1101) and Saigyō 西行, e.g., *Kasa yadori* 笠やどり (Rain-hat shelter, ca. 1681) and *Kasa hari* 笠はり (Making a rain hat, 1692). Bashō's hat was kept as a memento by his disciple Riyū 李由 (Shida 1938, pp. 275–276). Withered grasses are part of the nexus of desiccated flora that Bashō found particularly evocative (see n. 89).

[39] This estimate is based on the fact that Bashō's disciple Rōka 浪化 (1672–1703) notes in his diary *Rōka nikki* 浪化日記 (*Jinshin nisshi* 壬申日誌 [Jinshin journal] section, p. 191) that he received a printed copy in Etchū Province (Toyama Prefecture) on 12.18.

[40] Kikaku collected verses that he and others composed on the trip to Kansai in 1694, together with short narrative passages, in *Zuien kikō* 随縁紀行 (Account of a karmic journey), also called *Kōjutsu kikō* 甲戌紀行 (Account of a journey in the Kōjutsu year), which is included in *Kukyōdai* 句兄弟 (Verse brothers, 1694). It cannot now be read without irony, as the verses therein were written just before Kikaku reached Osaka later on the same journey and heard that Bashō was lying ill there. It ends at the moment that Kikaku sets out for Bashō's lodgings but makes no reference to the master's illness.

[41] The oldest *haikai tsuizenshū* is *Tsuizen kuhyakuin* 追善九百韻 (Nine memorial hundred-verse sequences, 1637) by Nonokuchi Ryūho 野々口立圃 (Chikashige 親重, 1595–1669), which he composed for his late father. The first version of *Kareobana* (there was a later edition with additions and with a second publisher involved), and many of the other early *tsuizenshū* for Bashō (and *Oku no hosomichi* as well) were printed by the Kyoto publisher Izutsuya Shōbei 井筒屋庄兵衛; the firm was in operation through five generations over a century and a half (1652–1808). The first head of the firm, named Tsutsui Shigekatsu 筒井重勝 (1621–1709 or 1710), published works by poets of the Teimon 貞門 (of Matsunaga Teitoku), Danrin 談林 (of Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因, 1605–1682; plate 5), and Bashō schools and established

himself as the first publisher to specialize in *haikai*, particularly that of Bashō and his disciples (see Kira 1985 and Tamaki 1998). Kira (1985, p. 175) points out that since Shigekatsu was himself a *haikai* poet, his dedication to publishing the *haikai* of Bashō and his successors was itself something of a memorial activity. Indeed, while Kikaku in his postscript to *The Death of Master Bashō* says that he wrote the work at Bashō's grave site, Iida Shōichi (1960, p. 231) thinks that he probably wrote it near Izutsuya after he arrived in Kyoto. On the development of early modern print culture, see, for example, Berry 2006 and Kornicki 2001.

[42] This was not the only case in which Kikaku took Sōgi as a model; he notes that his conception for *Hanatsumi* 花摘 (Picking flowers, 1690), a memorial collection for his mother, was inspired by Sōgi's practice of composing a *hokku* a day for a year (*Hanatsumi*, in Ishikawa 1994a, p. 99).

[43] *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文 in Imoto et al. 1997, p. 45; I am indebted to Barnhill 2005 for the translation of the title. Sesshū 雪舟 (1420–1506) was a Zen monk and one of the greatest painters in ink monochrome (*suibokuga*). Given that Sōgi and Sesshū were separated by only about a year in age, spent years at the important Zen temple Shōkokuji 相国寺, and may have been in Ōuchi Masahiro's Kyushu domain at the same time, Yonetani Iwao (1980, p. 188) thinks it likely that they knew each other. Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522–1591) is the most famous proponent of Japanese tea culture; he served the warrior potentate Toyotomi Hideyoshi and also propounded ideals of *wabi* tea, focusing on rustic simplicity. Bashō also celebrates Sōgi along with Yamazaki Sōkan 山崎宗鑑 (1465?–1554?), purported author of the early *haikai* anthology eventually known as *Inu tsukubashū* 犬筑波集 (Mongrel *Tsukubashū*, 1530s; see n. 122), and Arakida Moritake (see n. 8) in *Sanseizu no san* 三聖図賛 (Inscription for portraits of three saints).

[44] Sōgi's verse exploits the bivalence of *furu*, meaning "to live" and "to fall." Life is hard, and now doubly so in the cold rain that falls on this temporary shelter, which is also a metaphor for this fleeting world. Sōgi's verse appears in plate 1 in what is believed to be his own hand as *yo ni furu wa* and in plate 2 as *yo ni furu mo*. It is also included as *yo ni furu mo* in *Shinsen tsukubashū* (20: 3801), where it is paired with a *hokku* by Shinkei (20: 3800):

Composed after going down to the eastland during the tumult of the Ōnin era

kumo wa nao — Even clouds
sadame aru yo no — are more stable than this world
shigure kana — in the cold rain!
Provisional Archbishop Shinkei

After going down to Shinano at the same time, Sōgi composed this *hokku* on cold rain:

yo ni furu mo — I have come down through the years,
sara ni shigure no — and now so does a cold rain
yadori kana — upon this fleeting shelter!
Priest Sōgi

It also appears as *yo ni furu mo* in Sōgi's personal poetry collection *Guku wakuraba* 愚句老葉 (Ignorant verses—old leaves; no. 1971, in Kaneko 1979, p. 148). *Wakuraba ni* also means "by chance." *Guku wakuraba* contains commentaries written by Sōgi on his own verses at the request of Ōuchi Masahiro (ca. 1485) and also (despite Sōgi's self-deprecating use of "ignorant verses" in the title) by Sōchō (1520). But the commentaries simply state that Sōgi's verse alludes to *Shinkokinshū* 6: 590, by Nijōin Sanuki:

yo ni furu wa	I have come down through the years
kurushiki mono o	full of suffering!
maki no ya ni	But at my cedar shelter
yasuku mo suguru	the first cold rain
hatsushigure kana	pays no heed and passes by.

Nijōin Sanuki, in turn, may have had this anonymous verse from *Kokinshū* (18: 951) in mind, though it is not a *honka*:

yo ni fureba	As I come down through the years
usa koso masare	my melancholy grows.
miyoshino no	To Fair Yoshino
iwa no kakemichi	I would go and tread smooth
fuminarashitemu	the steep path between the rocks.

Bashō's verse, at once parodic and earnest, is found in *Kasa yadori* (p. 174, see n. 38), a short account that also appears in a painting that features his own calligraphy (see Shiraishi et al. 1978, pp. 14–15). The verse also appears in Kikaku's *Minashiguri* みなし栗 (Empty chestnuts, 1683, p. 26), but as *yo ni furu mo*. Bashō's verse employs a double *honka*, being based at once on Sōgi's and Nijōin Sanuki's compositions (not to mention its *Kokinshū* overtones as well). Bashō too is struggling through this fleeting and painful life, but he finds solace in knowing that his trials were Sōgi's as well. Yamamoto Kenkichi writes, "Bashō changed just one Japanese word, and yet that change transformed the gloomy, damp tone of Sōgi's renga to the sonorous, clear, and even humorous tone of haikai." For this and other interpretations of the verse, see Ueda (1991, pp. 83–84), who translated this passage by Yamamoto.

[45] Kikaku's debt to Bashō was further deepened by the fact that the master had written a brief account of the life and death of Kikaku's own poetically inclined father, titled *Tōjun no den* 東順伝 (Biography of Tōjun), in 1693 (included in *Kukyōdai*). See also Barnhill 2005, p. 141. Kikaku wrote an account himself for his ailing father, *Hagi no tsuyu* 萩の露 (Dew on bush clover, 1693). This was later partially incorporated into *Tōjun koji shūenki* 東順居士終焉記 (The death of the lay priest Tōjun) in 1849 by Hozumi Eiki 穂積永機 (1823–1904), who also used the names Kikakudō Eiki 其角堂永機 and Shin Eiki 晋永機 to mark his veneration for Kikaku (Shinshi). He also produced a modern edition of *Kareobana* (pub. Ezawa Matsugorō 江沢松五郎, 1893) and compiled *Kikaku zenshū* 其角全集, an anthology of Kikaku's work. The modern poet Yone Noguchi mentions calling on the aged Eiki in "What Is a Hokku Poem" (1913).

[46] These two verses are also found on the portrait of Sōgi in plate 2. *Oi no nami* (the waves of old age) also has overtones of wrinkles.

[47] Travel writing does not occupy the important place in Kikaku's oeuvre that it does in the writings of Sōgi, Sōchō, and Bashō, but he did compose a few pieces dealing with travel or with a travel component. One is *Shinsanka* 新山家 (New mountain house), a record of a journey he made from Edo to Hakone and back via Kamakura in 1685. Named after Saigyō's personal poetry anthology *Sankashū* 山家集 (Mountain house collection), the work, published in 1686, characteristically includes linked-verse sequences made along the way. Another is the previously mentioned *Zuien kikō* (see n. 40). *The Death of Master Bashō* includes some travel as well.

[48] For studies in English on the intersections between Bashō's poetry and religion, see Ebersole 1980, Barnhill 1986, and Qiu 2005.

[49] Kaneko 2001. It may be that Hamada Shadō 濱田洒堂 (d. 1737 at about seventy) does not figure in Kikaku's account because he left Osaka on a journey. Enomoto Shidō 榎本之道 (Fūchiku 諷竹; 1659–1708) departed on 10.8 for Sumiyoshi, to pray for Bashō.

[50] The name is variously rendered Hanaya Nizaemon 花屋仁左衛門 or Niemon 仁右衛門 (Shida 1938, pp. 260–266).

[51] Marris 1974, p. 7. Robert Jay Lifton (1983, p. 399) gets at the same idea when he notes, "The cultural axis of integrity and disintegration…becomes a way of organizing both death terror and imagery of *significance in continuity*" [emphasis in the original].

[52] William Bodiford (1992, p. 146) notes that "[o]ne of the most important social roles of Zen, as in other religions, is to guide the living through the experience of death."

[53] On good and bad deaths in the Pure Land (Jōdo) tradition, see Stone 2004, pp. 88–94.

[54] On Bashō referencing Sōgi, see n. 44.

[55] The verse by Kawai Otokuni 河合 (川井) 乙州 makes reference to this *honka* by Ariwara Narihira (*Kokinshū* 16: 861):

tsui ni yuku	Long have I known
michi to wa kanete	that I would go down this road
kikishikado	in the end,
kinō kyō to wa	but I never thought
omowazarishi o	that it would be today!

[56] This is Ashino Minbu Suketoshi 芦野民部資俊 (1637–1692), who bore the *haikai* name Tōsui 桃酔 in reference to the fact that he was a disciple of Bashō (who had used the name Tōsei 桃青). At one time he lived in Edo.

[57] The episode with Saigyō later became the subject of the Noh play *Yugyō yanagi* 遊行柳 (The priest and the willow). Bashō awakens from his reverie only after women have planted an entire field. Opinion differs on who leaves: Bashō, the women, or both. If it is Bashō, then the grammatical subject must shift midway,

from the women to the poet. But if it is the women who leave, then the connection is vitiated between Bashō and the charismatic willow, which is the whole point of the prose that introduces the verse (*Oku no hosomichi*, pp. 154–155). Imoto et al. (1997, p. 84) opt for both; the women have left, and Bashō thereafter (the interpretation followed in the translation here). But the possibility is also noted in *Oku no hosomichi* (p. 79) that Bashō himself may have helped in the planting as a religious offering.

[58] Even Yosa Buson, who was a disciple of a disciple of Kikaku (his "grandchild disciple," *magodeshi*), wrote, "Kikaku was called the Li Bai of *haikai*. But even so, I don't think that more than twenty of his hundreds of poems are truly successful. And yet, though many of the verses in his collections are hard to understand, one never tires of them. That was Kikaku's forte" (*Shinhanatsumi* 新花摘 [Picking flowers anew, begun in 1777, published in 1797], in Kuriyama et al. 1972, pp. 548–549).

[59] Sōkyū 宗久 anticipated the inclusion of *hokku* into a travel account (together with *waka*, *kyōka* 狂歌 [comic *waka*], and Chinese verse) in *Miyako no tsuto* 都のつと (ca. 1350–1352). And just after Sōgi wrote *Tsukushi michi no ki*, Dōkō 道興 mixed *waka*, *kanshi*, and *haikai* in *Kaikoku zakki* 廻国雑記 (Desultory account of travels round the provinces, 1486). On *Kaikoku zakki* and Bashō, see Kurihara 2006, pp. 211–219.

[60] Harada 1979, pp. 399ff.

[61] On the use of the twist or trick (*kyō* 興), see Huey 2002, pp. 215–216.

[62] A cursory review of *Fūzoku monzen* 風俗文選 (*Wenxuan* of manners and customs, originally *Honchō monzen* 本朝文選 [*Wenxuan* of this realm], 1706), compiled by Bashō's disciple Morikawa Kyoriku 森川許六 (1656–1715), reveals numerous genres with titles inspired by Chinese memorial prototypes. Indeed, the title is borrowed from the great Six Dynasties poetic anthology *Wenxuan* (Selections of refined literature, ca. 520–526). Many appear as well in *Uzuragoromo* 鶉衣 (Quail robe, 1788), by Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 (1612–1691). It is partially translated as "Rags and Tatters" in Rogers 1975; see also Fujita 2015. For introductions to religious biographies in China, see Shinohara 1988, and to Chinese funerary genres, see Shields 2015.

[63] Nakanishi Susumu (1985, p. 118) remarks on the connection between travel and death in traditional Japanese literature. Commenting on *michiyuki* travel poems, he writes, "Since the age of the myths, *michiyuki* have offered a form of delineation of the progress toward death." Sōchō quotes poetry from the *Man'yōshū* age in his journal *Sōchō shuki*, and Sōgi wrote a commentary on that anthology titled *Man'yōshō* 万葉抄, so it was by no means unknown to either poet. On mountains and the dead, see also Goodwin 1989, pp. 72–74, and for early Japanese attitudes toward death, see Macé 1986.

[64] Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 was as important an influence on Sōchō's intellectual development as Sōgi, and to the end of his life Sōchō would periodically stay in temples connected with that great Zen prelate. On the Chinese antecedents of *kōsōden* 高僧伝, see Kieschnick 1997 and Shinohara 1998, and for *ōjōden* 往生伝, see Kotas 1987 and Blum 2007. And note also Stone (2004, p. 108) on later funerary developments: "Increasingly, the energy of ritual efforts to influence the postmortem state shifted from deathbed practice to funerary ritual. Deathbed practices aimed at birth in the Pure Land, and the ideal of a good death remained important throughout

the medieval and early modern periods, but in a more routinized way, and accompanied by new ritual forms."

[65] Among such funeral records are *Takakurain shōkaki* 高倉院升遐記 (Account of Emperor Takakura's ascent into the heavens, after 1182) by Minamoto Michichika 源通親 (1149–1202), *Rokuon'inden o itameru ji* 鹿苑院殿をいためる辞 (Lines mourning Lord Rokuon'in, 1408) by Asukai (Fujiwara) Masayori 飛鳥井(藤原)雅縁 (1358–1428) for Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, *Yama no kasumi* 山の霞 (Mountain haze, 1471) by Asukai Masayasu 飛鳥井雅康 (1436–1509) for Emperor Gohanazono, *Yamagatsu no ki* 山賤記 (Account of a poor mountain dweller, 1471) by Fushiminomiya Sadatsune 伏見宮貞常, likewise for Gohanazono (his brother), and *Shōgun Yoshihisa-kō kōseiki* 将軍義尚公薨逝記 (Account of the demise of the shogun, Lord Yoshihisa, 1489?) by Sōkō 宗高 for Shogun Ashikaga Yoshihisa. All are vernacular narratives of the passing of great figures, and all are interspersed with poetry.

[66] The depiction by Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241) of his father's death is found in the segment of his diary *Meigetsuki* 明月記 dating to Genkyū 1.12 (= early 1205). See also *Shunzei shūenki* 俊成終焉記 (a modern title).

[67] Fujii (1961, p. 29) notes that *Ashita no kumo* is now also referred to as *Ōuchi Masahiro shūenki* 大内政弘終焉記. The Thirteen Buddhas each oversee one of the important death anniversaries (*kaiki* 回忌, i.e., first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh weeks, the hundredth day, and the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, and thirty-third years). For a detailed discussion and illustrations, see Schumacher 2018.

[68] Kensai's use of the antique *chōka* in his memorial writing recalls the frequent use of the genre in funerary contexts in *Man'yōshū*. But Kensai was not the first writer of later vernacular death accounts to exploit the funerary function of the *chōka*; it also figures in, for example, the previously mentioned *Takakurain shōkaki* and *Shōgun Yoshihisa-kō kōseiki* (see n. 65).

[69] Kensai's *haikai* sequence is found in Ozaki, Shimazu, and Satake 1985, pp. 287–289.

[70] Sōgi's extant *haikai* sequence is of the *jōji* 畳字 type, in which each verse contains one Sino-Japanese compound (*jōji*). It is reproduced in Ozaki, Shimazu, and Satake 1985, pp. 12–14.

[71] Other titles for *Sōgi shūenki* include *Sōgi rinjūki* 宗祇臨終記 (Account of the last moments of Sōgi), *Sōgi michi no ki* 宗祇道記 (Account of Sōgi's journey), and even *Sōchō michi no ki* 宗長道記 (Account of Sōchō's journey).

[72] *Haimakura* 誹枕 is a collection of *haikai* verses featuring *haimakura*, either new poetic place-names or *haikai* treatments of older ones from the *utamakura* tradition. The preface, which mentions Nōin (author of *Nōin utamakura* 能因歌枕 [Nōin's poem pillow]), Saigyō, Sōgi, Shōhaku, and sundry Chinese worthies, was written by Bashō's colleague Yamaguchi Sodō, who notes that the collection was begun in the Kanbun era (1661–1673) and completed in 1680.

[73] Muramatsu 2001. Bashō writes more about influential travel works in *Oi no kobumi* (pp. 313–314):

> With regard to travel writing, Ki, Chōmei, and the nun Abutsu expressed through their superlative styles the full range of their emotions, and

> subsequent travel accounts are merely their reflections, no more than their dregs. Nor is my own ignorant and untalented brush remotely their equal. Anyone can come up with things like, "On that day it rained, and from noon or so it cleared, and here pines were growing, and there a river called thus and so was flowing," but unless one has Huang's novelty or Su's originality, there is no point in writing.

Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (872–945), main compiler of *Kokinshū* and author of its "*Kana* Preface" ("Kanajo" 仮名序), also wrote *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (Tosa diary, ca. 935), and the nun Abutsu wrote *Izayoi nikki*. Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155–1216) was still believed in Bashō's time to have been the author not only of *Hōjōki* (Account of a ten-foot-square hut, 1212), but also of *Kaidōki* 海道記 (Account of the sea road, 1223?) and *Tōkan kikō* 東関紀行 (Account of a journey to the eastland, 1242?), and the latter was particularly influential in Bashō's case. *Izayoi nikki*, *Kaidōki*, and *Tōkan kikō* were considered the three great medieval travel journals. Bashō's mention of the Song poets Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 (Shangu 山谷, 1045–1105) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (see n. 38) reflects the importance of Chinese models as well in his poetic development.

[74] Ogata Tsutomu concurs (in Ogata, Kaneko, and Mezaki 1990, p. 148). It is, of course, possible that Bashō encountered the text elsewhere, as it was circulating widely; more than twenty manuscript versions and three woodblock-printed ones are extant (see Kaneko 1976, pp. 146–151, and Kishida 2002, p. 48). The earliest extant manuscript dates from 1595.

[75] Shikō also makes reference to "*Sōgi no shūen no ki*" in his preface to *Fūzoku monzen* (p. 13). Shimazu Tadao (2001, p. 14) notes the influence of Li Bai, Du Fu, and Saigyō on Bashō, but he argues that "the most concrete impact on Bashō's consciousness was exerted by Sōgi, and the role of *The Death of Sōgi* in this bulks particularly large."

[76] Cf. Shields (2015, p. 275), who describes one Tang memorial as being written "to commemorate the deceased and publicize the circle of friends who recognized his talent." And yet unlike the offertory texts (*jiwen* 祭文) that Shields describes, these two Japanese accounts were not composed as scripts for specific ritual performances.

[77] Shields (2015, p. 286) notes that the same is true for Tang offering texts, which normally address the deceased.

[78] Dreifuss-Kattan 2016, p. 1.

[79] Kundera 1995, p. 126. This effect has recently been explored experimentally. Bridge and Paller in *The Journal of Neuroscience* (2012, p. 12144) write,

> Retrieval rarely provides a complete and precise account of prior events; rather, recall often includes both veridical and erroneous information. Therefore, if retrieval promotes storage of retrieved information, memories could come to include information learned during the original event and information activated via erroneous retrieval. This scenario could account for gradual memory distortion, or even mostly false recollection, after multiple recalling and retelling episodes.

[80] Hass 1979.

[81] Paul John Eakin, in Lejeune 1989, p. ix. The inevitable gap between signifier and signified in even the most ostensibly factual writing has for centuries been a staple belief in the Zen tradition, which warns that words distort the truth (*furyū monji* 不立文字, lit., "No dependence on words and letters"). See Ramirez-Christensen 2008.

[82] For a compendium of such exemplary deaths across various Asian religious traditions, see Blackman 2005.

[83] *Shūen* 終焉 (しゅうゑん) has been construed as "last days" or "death." *Bunmeibon Setsuyōshū* 文明本節用集 (Compendium for everyday use, Bunmei era ms., vol. 1, p. 488), for example, defines it "to pass one's old age" (*oi o okuru*). The fact that *Sōgi shūenki* first appears in print in a travel anthology leads Shiozaki (2000, p. 6) to interpret *Sōgi shūenki* to mean "An account of Sōgi's last journey." Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the work also bears the alternative titles *Sōgi michi no ki* (Account of Sōgi's journey) and even *Sōchō michi no ki* (Account of Sōchō's journey). But the meaning of "death" dates back at least as far as *Heike monogatari*, and that is the sense in which Kenkō uses it as well in the example from *Tsurezuregusa* here. In addition, in *Sōgi shūenki*, Sōchō writes that Kensai "resolved to pay his last respects at the very least at the place where Sōgi passed away" (*shūen no chi*). Fujita (2015, pp. 99–102) thus rejects Shiozaki's interpretation. It seems finally that death is the focus of Sōchō's account, and the last journey functions as a prologue, as Sōchō himself indicates in his last line: "Sōgi's friends will doubtless inquire of the details of his death on the road, so I am attaching this account." This jibes with the previously mentioned alternative title *Sōgi rinjū no ki* 宗祇臨終記 (Account of Sōgi's last moments).

[84] Stamelman 1990, p. x.

[85] Goodwin and Bronfen 1993, p. 4.

[86] Iida 1960, p. 225.

[87] This is not to say, of course, that historiography is not also selective and subjective.

[88] Kira Sueo 1983, p. 70. It may be, however, that the larger estimate was meant to include not only the direct disciples but also their own students, disciples at one remove, as it were, who would also naturally have traced their poetic lineages to the master. For more on Bashō and Kikaku in terms of Boudieu's theory of the "field" as applied to Genroku poetic practice, see Cannell 2007.

[89] *Tabi ni yande yume wa kareno o kakemeguru*. The first segment has been read *tabi ni yamite*, and the last, *kakemawaru*. Rōka in *Rōka nikki* (p. 189) writes *tabi ni yande*. On the reading of the verse see also Shida 1938, p. 268, Abe 1984, pp. 680–681, and Ogata et al. 1962, p. 105. The poet is bedridden, but in dreams he continues his journey. The image of the withered field was apparently as affecting for Bashō as it had been for Saigyō before him. The earlier poet had composed this verse when during his trip to the eastland he visited the grave site of the poet Fujiwara Sanekata 藤原実方, who had died at his official post there in 998 (*Shinkokinshū* 8: 793 and *Sankashū* no. 800):

kuchi mo senu — Only his name
sono na bakari o — remains,
todomeokite — never to perish,
kareno no susuki — and the plume-grass on this withered field
katami ni zo miru — will be my keepsake of him.

Bashō, on his trip to the eastland in the earlier poet's footsteps, also hoped to see Sanekata's grave, and he mentions this verse of Saigyō in the headnote to one of his own *hokku* made at the time (Imoto et al. 1997, pp. 262–263). The grave was at Kasashima (Kasajima, Rainhat Island), another particularly resonant image for Bashō (see n. 38). The image of the withered field was thus closely associated in Bashō's mind with death and memory, and it overlaps with the connotations of *kareobana* (withered tassel-grass, *obana* being another name for *susuki*, plume-grass). But another of Saigyō's verses that contains the phrase *kareno no susuki* was also likely suggestive (*Saigyō Hōshi kashū* 西行法師歌集 no. 555):

mireba ge ni — Gazing out,
kokoro mo sore ni — I feel my heart
nari zo yuku — become one with the scene—
kareno no susuki — plume-grass on the withered field,
ariake no tsuki — the moon before dawn.

Linked-verse poets found this verse particularly evocative; Sōchō, for example, writes the following in *Sōchō renga jichū* 宗長連歌自注 (Linked verses by Sōchō, with personal commentary, ca. 1523–1528), pp. 156–157, Arabic pagination):

ariake ya — The moon before dawn—
sora ni shimogare no — frost-withered against the sky,
hanasusuki — ears of plume-grass.

He goes on to comment, "Here one gazes at the moon with the thought that it too seems withered in the sky." Note too Sōgi's verse, which seems particularly evocative of Bashō's:

nagori naki — In a withered field
kareno wa yume no — where nothing remains, I dream
chigusa kana — of grasses in profusion.

Sōgi's verse appears in, for example, *Sōgi hokkushū* 宗祇発句集 (also called *Jinensai hokku* 自然斎発句), no. 1432, which was compiled not long after Sōgi's death by his disciple Shōhaku. Bashō's "ill on a journey" verse admits of numerous interpretations; see Miura 1989 and, in English, Ueda 1991, pp. 413–414.

[90] Kagami Shikō actually wrote two main accounts of Bashō's death and the events surrounding it. *Bashō-ō tsuizen no nikki* 芭蕉翁追善之日記 (Master Bashō's requiem diary) describes the period from 1694.7.15 to 11.29. Then in the twelfth month, Shikō used this diary to write the work known as *Zengo nikki* 前後日記

(Diary of before and after), which became the "Naniwa" portion of *Oi nikki* 笈日記 (Knapsack diary, completed in the eighth month of 1685). The title *Oi nikki* indicates the author's intent to pursue the anthology project that Bashō had intended for *Oi no kobumi* (which Shikō also had a hand in circulating). But each of Shikō's two works contains material not found in the other. In addition to the account of Bashō's death, *Oi nikki* includes nineteen sequences and more than seven hundred *hokku* by Bashō and his disciples in various parts of the country. Akahane (1974, p. 58) writes, "Kikaku experienced much only indirectly, and so in a substantive sense it is Shikō's [*Bashō-ō*] *tsuizen no nikki* that should probably be viewed as Bashō's *shūenki*." Horikiri (2006, p. 260) likewise suggests that it was Kikaku's "source of information" (*jōhōgen*). For more on these works by Shikō, see Akahane 1974, Hori 1993, and Tamaki 1994.

[91] The opening five syllables could not have been *tabi ni yande*, for then the *hokku* would have no seasonal word.

[92] Kon 1983.

[93] Cuevas 2004, p. 713. See also Stone 2004, p. 77, 2006, p. 167, and 2016.

[94] Yamashita 2003, pp. 75–76.

[95] Likewise, Rōka notes in *Rōka nikki* that "even though ill, [Bashō] spoke of nothing but poetry" (p. 189). Rōka also mentions *Kareobana* and Kikaku's account of Bashō's death, referring to it, as Shikō does, simply as *Shūenki* (p. 190).

[96] For the background of the concept of *kyōgen kigo* 狂言綺語, see Childs 1985.

[97] Yanai 1962, p. 23.

[98] E.g., *Korai fūteishō* 古来風体抄 (Poetic styles past and present, 1201) by Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204) and *Hōjōki* by Kamo no Chōmei. On *shakkyōka* 釈教歌, see Miller 2013. And centuries before them, Ki no Tsurayuki wrote in his "*Kana* Preface" to *Kokinshū* that one function of Japanese poetry was to influence spirits and gods.

[99] *Ashita no kumo*, p. 669.

[100] For a collection of English translations of Japanese death verses, see Hoffmann 1986.

[101] See also Fukumoto 2009, p. 450.

[102] *Bashō-ō gyōjōki* 芭蕉翁行状記, p. 888. On Rotsū's diary, see Hattori 1993. The term *gyōjō* 行状 is a borrowing from the Chinese *xingzhuang*, lit., account of conduct, which records the accomplishments of the deceased (Wilkinson 2015, p. 149). Shinohara (1998, p. 305) notes that such accounts provided material for biographies in dynastic histories, and "[t]hus the tradition of Chinese biographical writing developed in close connection with a funerary and family cult."

[103] Kikaku's holograph is reproduced in Imaizumi 2002.

[104] Sōchō does not use the term *jisei* 辞世, but instead *ima wa no tojime no ku* (verses at the close of life). By contrast, the writer of the label on the scroll portraying Sōgi (plate 1) refers to the poet's famous *yo ni furu wa* verse (see n. 44) as his *jiseika* 辞世歌, which would normally refer to a *waka* but here is applied to Sōgi's *renga* verse.

[105] *Oi nikki*, p. 25.

[106] Bashō's disciple Mukai Kyorai 向井去来 (1651–1704) gives in *Kyoraishō* 去来抄 (Kyorai's notes, p. 426) a different version of the events narrated by Shikō. He

writes that he too was addressed by the master about the overlap with the poem composed at the home of Shiba Sonome 斯波園女, but he provides an alternate original verse from the previous summer:

kiyotaki ya — Kiyotaki River!
nami ni chiri naki — In waves without a speck of dust
natsu no tsuki — the summer moon.

Kon Eizō has shown that this is the version of the summer verse that Bashō quotes in a letter he sent that same summer to his disciple and patron Sanpū and thus believes that Shikō's version was an error (Imoto and Hori 1995, p. 474). Kyorai has a good deal of credibility in that the summer verse was composed at his villa in Sagano, called Rakushisha 落柿舎 (Hut of falling persimmons). But even so, Hattori Dohō 服部土芳 (1657–1730) agrees with Shikō that the summer verse was *ōigawa nami ni chiri nashi natsu no tsuki* (*Sanzōshi* 三冊子 [Three books], p. 572). It may be that the "Ōi River" verse provided by Shikō and the "Kiyotaki River" verse given by Kyorai were both earlier attempts made at different times (Akahane 1974, p. 98). On the fraught relationship between these earlier versions and Bashō's final composition three days before his death, see also Fukuda 1971, Kon 1983, Miura 1988, Mitsuda 1991, and Ogata 1996.

[107] The verse also appears as *shiragiku ya me ni tatete miru chiri mo nashi*. Translation after Shirane 2002, p. 193.

[108] Kiyotaki River is a tributary of Ōi River. Kiyotaki literally means "clear cascade," which provides added overtones. Given Bashō's regard for Saigyō, he may have had in mind the following verse (*Mimosusogawa utaawase* 御裳濯河歌合 [Mimosusogawa poetry match] no. 69 and *Sankashū* no. 717):

kumori naki — A place where even a speck of dust
kagami no ue ni — upon a mirror
iru chiru o — otherwise unblemished
me ni tatete miru — catches the eye—
yo to omowaba ya — thus would I wish this world!

[109] Because the verse was a revision and not an original composition, it is sometimes located in chronological collectanea at the time when the earlier version was made.

[110] Kyorai in *Kyoraishō* (p. 426) writes that Bashō told him, "the earlier draft must still be at Yamei's. It should be torn up." But it proved too late to do so. Yamei 野明 (surnamed Okunishi 奥西 and then Sakai 坂井, d. 1713) was a disciple of Kyorai who also studied with Bashō.

[111] *Jōsō ga rui* 丈草ガ誄 (p. 503), which Kyorai wrote only a half a year or so before dying himself. The word for "eulogy" here, *rui* 誄 (also read *shinobigoto*), was borrowed from the Chinese *lei* in the Six Dynasties anthology *Wenxuan* and was thus appropriate for use in the anthology in which *Jōsō ga rui* appeared, *Fūzoku monzen* (*Wenxuan* of manners and customs, see n. 62). For the complete versions of the verses Kyorai quotes here, see the translation of *The Death of Bashō* that follows.

When Kyorai died, Kyoriku in turn wrote a similarly named memorial for him, *Kyorai ga rui* 去来が誄, and included it in his *Fūzoku monzen* as well.

[112] In *Kyoraishō* (p. 434), Kyorai gives "medicine pot" (*yakan*) instead of the "medicine" (*kusuri*) in the version of Jōsō's verse in *The Death of Master Bashō* (p. 490). And in *Jōsō ga rui* (p. 503), he gives his own verse as *byōnin no amari susuru ya* (Sipping the medicine / left over by the sick one) instead of *byōchū no amari susuru ya* (Sipping the medicine / left over during his illness) in *The Death of Master Bashō* (p. 491).

[113] *Jōsō ga rui*, p. 503.

[114] The verse does not appear in *Zuien kikō*, Kikaku's account of his journey to Kansai.

[115] Rōka adds in *Rōka nikki* (p. 190) that there were actually "more than ten" verses composed at the time, in addition to those by Kyorai and Jōsō.

[116] For an overview of the opinions of various modern commentators, see Fukuda 1971.

[117] Yamashita 2003, p. 76.

[118] The prescription is found in Dohō's *Sanzōshi* (p. 546).

[119] Keene 1976, p. 74.

[120] The interpretation of *ga* 雅 as "precedented" comes from Konishi Jin'ichi (1984, pp. 14, 58–63, 212–226), who uses it to refer to that which is based on established standards of elegant literary taste. He construes *zoku* 俗, by contrast, as "unprecedented," i.e., the plebeian, the everyday, and that which is without such standards.

[121] The anonymous compiler of *Chikuba kyōginshū* 竹馬狂吟集 writes, "[These verses] may help guide those who look for pears but pick up chestnuts, or amuse those who cannot tell gems from stones. So I view them as noble, just as the barking of a village dog can lead to enlightenment, or as the belling of a stag can reveal the Truth" (*Chikuba kyōginshū*, p. 12). For a complete translation of the preface, see Horton 2007. "Those who look for pears but pick up chestnuts" refers to the Kurinomotoshū 栗本衆 (lit., those beneath the chestnut tree), meaning those who pursue *mushin* linked verse, in contrast to the Kakinomotoshū 柿本衆, those who follow Kakinomoto (lit., beneath the persimmon tree) Hitomaro, i.e., orthodox *ushin* poets. The author of the preface uses "look for pears" (*nashi o motome*) as a parallel device because "pears" and "nothingness" are homophonic and because "pears" and "chestnuts" are related poetic words.

[122] Manuscripts of the anthology that came to be called *Inu tsukubashū* (Mongrel *Tsukubashū*) or *Shinsen inu tsukubashū* 新撰犬筑波集 (Newly compiled mongrel *Tsukubashū*), in imitation of the second imperially recognized anthology of *ushin* linked verse, *Shinsen tsukubashū*, edited by Sōgi and his disciples, are variously titled *Haikai renga* 誹諧連歌 (*Haikai* linked verse) or *Haikai rengashō* 誹諧連歌抄 (Anthology of *haikai* linked verse). The original compiler was probably Yamazaki Sōkan. Sōchō, in his journal *Sōchō shuki*, provides two examples of variant links by himself and Sōkan to identical upper verses and in both cases asserts that his own are better. They are among several dozen *haikai* links preserved in the journal that Sōchō says were composed "around the hearth and after tofu with miso" at year-end in 1523 at Takigi 薪, site of the hermitage of Sōchō's Zen master Ikkyū,

with whom both Sōchō and Sōkan had studied. The two links attributed to Sōkan also appear in *Inu tsukubashū*, without Sōchō's. The two pairs of linked alternatives could indeed have been composed on the spot by Sōchō and Sōkan together, but they could also have been separately composed links to the same two preceding verses (*maeku* 前句) that were already in circulation (a practice called *maeku-zuke* 前句付) and then compared by Sōchō in his journal, to Sōkan's disadvantage. Though Sōchō never wavered from Sōgi's orthodoxy in his *ushin* linked-verse practice, he was clearly one of the earliest *ushin renga* poets to show a serious concern for his *haikai* reputation as well.

As literary appreciation for *haikai* grew in the Edo period, *Inu tsukubashū* bred sequel anthologies, such as *Enokoshū* 犬子集 (Puppy collection, 1633) by Matsue Shigeyori 松江重頼 (1602–1680), a disciple of Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳, and *Shinzō inu tsukubashū* 新増犬筑波集 (Newly expanded mongrel *Tsukubashū*, 1643), by Teitoku himself, featuring many new links to *maeku* from *Inu tsukubashū* but without the crude or scabrous style of some of the links in Sōkan's late medieval predecessor. Another spin-off was *Shinzoku inu tsukubashū* 新続犬筑波集 (Newly continued mongrel *Tsukubashū*, 1660) by Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624–1705), an adherent of Teitoku's school and a teacher of Bashō.

[123] At the same time, to be sure, many others composed *haikai* primarily as a game or competition, and *haikai* masters earned substantial income by judging such sequences; indeed, the "Back to Bashō" movement of Yosa Buson and his circle developed in reaction to what they perceived as the excessive commercialization of the genre. See Crowley 2007.

[124] A similar trajectory in European literature is delineated in Auerbach 1968.

[125] Sora's holograph diary is untitled, and it is now known by such names as *Sora Oku no hosomichi zuikō nikki* 曽良奥の細道随行日記 (Diary of a companion on the narrow road to the deep north, by Sora), *Sora zuikō nikki* 曽良随行日記 (Diary of a companion, by Sora), and *Sora tabi nikki* 曽良旅日記 (Sora's travel diary). For an English translation, see Barnhill 2005, pp. 79–89. Its rediscovery gave rise to much scholarship on the nature and extent of Bashō's literary shaping of his travel masterpiece. Despite the Buddhist insistence mentioned here earlier on the inevitable gap between a state of affairs and its verbal representation (see n. 81), traditional Japanese readers of poetry have also tended to agree with Ki no Tsurayuki in the "*Kana* Preface" to *Kokinshū* that "Japanese poetry stems from the human heart and burgeons forth in myriad words," which is to say that on some level a poem is generated from and reflects the feelings of its creator. So for those particularly committed to a strict biographical reading, the factual disparities between Sora's and Bashō's accounts of the *Oku no hosomichi* journey posed a crisis of reception. The literary scholar Komiya Toyotaka (1951, p. 17), for example, defensively argued that "there are discrepancies in Bashō's record and conflated memories, but not the slightest trace can be found of conscious fictionalization." Today, however, most readers are probably content to believe that Bashō now consciously and now unconsciously sacrificed the literal for a larger truth, and that such evasions or reconceptualizations also reflect aspects of the author.

[126] Seikenji 清見寺 temple, also read Kiyomidera, is located at Kiyomi Strand (Kiyomigata 清見潟, lit., "Clear-see strand"). This poem is another rare example of allusion to an earlier linked verse rather than to a *waka*, though here it is done by Sōchō in private and not at a *renga* session. Sōgi's verse clearly had unusual resonance for the composer himself as well, for he included it in two of his personal poetry collections, *Wasuregusa* 萱草 (Grasses of forgetting, 1474) and *Wakuraba* (Old leaves, 1481, rev. ed., 1485).

[127] Horton 2002a, pp. 56–57, with some emendations. The poem is *Shinkokinshū* 15: 1333, by Fujiwara Masatsune. Therein the traveler misses his love in the capital and asks that the gate by the strand keep his tears from flowing off his sleeves, just as it restrains passers-by. The bereft traveler may then see the image of his loved one reflected in the moisture. *Nami* (waves), also implies "tears," and *tome* (stop) and *moru* (guard) are *engo* 縁語 (kindred words) conventionally associated in poetry.

[128] *Sarumino* 猿蓑 is the fifth of the seven collections of the Bashō school (*Haikai shichibushū* 俳諧七部集 [*Haikai* collection in seven books, also called *Bashō shichibushū*]). For English translations of *Sarumino*, see Maeda 1973 and Miner and Odagiri 1981.

[129] In the realm of Buddhist thought, Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone address this conflict thus: "doctrinal teachings of transience and non-attachment and the emotional adherence to stability and permanence are found in multiple aspects of Buddhist funerary practices and attitudes toward the deceased" (2007, p. 10).

[130] Again, Sōgi had been a monk at the Zen temple Shōkokuji and had lectured on Zen to Sanjōnishi Sanetaka; Sōchō was a devoted student of the Zen prelate Ikkyū and believed that (in the words of one Edo biographer) "there was no Zen without *renga*, nor *renga* without Zen"; Kikaku pursued an amalgamation of Zen and *haikai* (*haizen itchi* 俳禅一致); and, as Kikaku points out earlier, Bashō was a serious student of Zen under Butchō 仏頂.

[131] Also in the year following Bashō's death, Ransetsu published recollections of Bashō's demise together with some of the master's compositions in *Bashō isshūki* 芭蕉一周忌 (First anniversary of the death of Bashō, 1695); Riho 里圃 (n.d.) compiled *Okinagusa* 翁草 (Master's grasses); Rōka (with the help of Kikaku, Jōsō, and Kyorai) edited the companion collections *Arisoumi* 有磯海 and *Tonamiyama* となみ山 (Bird-Net Mountain, the latter with a preface by Kikaku), which include memorial verses by some disciples not represented in *Kareobana*; Kondō Jokō 近藤如行 (d. 1708?) assembled *Nochi no tabi* (or *Nochi no tabishū* 後の旅 [Journey thereafter]) to commemorate the building of a memorial in Mino for the hundredth day after Bashō's death, and Kochū 壺中 (1652–1725) and Rokaku 芦角 (n.d.) completed *Kogarashi* こがらし (Withering wind), which provides another account of Bashō's last journey. Among later *tsuizenshū* came *Mutsu chidori* 陸奥衂 (Mutsu plovers) by Amano Tōrin 天野桃隣 (d. 1719), a relative of Bashō, who to mark the third anniversary of the master's death traveled to the distant north in memory of Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi* journey; Sugiyama Sanpū, Bashō's oldest disciple and lifelong patron, observed the seventh death anniversary in 1700 with *Fuyu kazura* 冬かづら (Winter vines), to which Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi* companion Sora contributed, and Shikō observed the thirteenth with *Higashiyama manku* 東山万句 (Ten thousand verses at Higashiyama), as did Etsurō 曰良 with *Jūsan kasen* 十三哥仙 (Thirteen *kasen*

sequences). Kyoriku marked the seventeenth with *Tsuizen chū senku* 追善註千句 (a commentary on a solo thousand-verse requiem sequence he had composed for that anniversary), as did Tōrin, this time with *Awazuhara* 粟津原 (Awazu field), and Shikō, with *Suminaoshi* 墨なをし (Re-inking). Bashō's death anniversary continued to be celebrated even a century later by *Momochidori* もゝちどり (Myriad birds; ed. Hakuō 百応 [n.d.] and Kanda Chōchōshi 神田蝶々子 [n.d.]) and *Tōkawazu* とをかはず (Ten frogs, ed. Uwaya Kōhyō 上矢敲氷 [1732–1801]). *Bashō-ō ekotobaden* 芭蕉翁絵詞伝 (Illustrated biography of Master Bashō; plate 8), written by Goshōan Chōmu 五升庵蝶夢 (1732–1796) and illustrated by Kanō Shōei 狩野正栄, was presented to Gichūji in 1792 likewise to mark the approaching centennial of Bashō's death. Therein Chōmu notes that his account was informed by Bashō's writings as well as by "Kikaku's *Shūenki* and Shikō's *Oi nikki*" (p. 70). The anniversary of Bashō's death was also annually observed at Gichūji from 1763 to 1834, sponsored by the Shigurekai. For a chronology of two hundred years of memorial writings (1694–1893) for Bashō, see Katsumura and Sakai 1938. The ever-growing interest in Bashō also led to the publication of spurious biographical material like *Okina hogo* 翁反故 (Scraps from the master) of 1783, containing 220 letters purported to be by Bashō that the author Matsuoka Taigi 松岡大蟻 (d. 1800) claimed had come into his possession, but which is now considered fraudulent. And in 1810 the priest and *haikai* poet Warai Bungyō 藁井文暁 (1735–1816) used portions of some of the accounts of Bashō's death to retell imaginatively the story of the master's demise in *Bashō-ō hogobumi* 芭蕉翁反古文 (Scraps from Master Bashō), later republished ca. 1830–1844 as *Hanaya nikki* 花屋日記. The version of *Hanaya nikki* published by Komiya Toyotaka (1935) also includes Kikaku's *The Death of Master Bashō*, part of Shikō's Ōi nikki (the *Zengo nikki* segment, see n. 90), and part of Rotsū's *Bashō-ō gyōjōki* (titled *Gyōjōki*). On the fictional aspects of *Hanaya nikki*, see Matsutani 1978. The haiku poet Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867–1902) is said to have wept on reading *Hanaya nikki* (p. 103), and it provided material for Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927) to retell the story of Bashō's death yet again in his *Karenoshō* 枯野抄 (Withered field notes, 1918). The death of Bashō is also the subject of a play titled *Bashō shūenki*, written by Adachi Naorō 足立直郎 (1896–1980; in Adachi 1937, pp. 1–70). Adachi also wrote a one-act play titled *Shigure sōan* 時雨草庵 (Grass cottage in cold rain) involving Bashō's disciples Izen and Rotsū and set in 1696, two years after Bashō's death (in Adachi 1937, pp. 347–367).

[132] Abe 1982, p. 626, and Keene 1976, p. 144. Shikō too in later years was accused of lying about his relationship with Bashō, but Horikiri (2006, pp. 305–310) dismisses this as slander resulting from infighting among the late Bashō's disciples. Yasuhara Teishitsu 安原貞室 (1610–1673; plate 5), disciple of Matsunaga Teitoku (plate 5), was also noted for his self-aggrandizement (Keene 1976, pp. 40–41; Shiozaki 2000, p. 2).

[133] See Tanaka 2000, pp. 154–158. The political function of the eulogy has an ancient history; see, for example, Brown 2007. On another of Bashō's key concepts, *fueki ryūkō* 不易流行 (unchanging and ever-changing), see Shirane 1998, and on the different ways it was understood among Bashō's disciples after his death, see Fujii 2012.

[134] On this "sense of rivalry" (*raibaru ishiki*) among *renga* poets, see Kaneko 1967.

[135] Katsumine 1926, pp. 523–539, and Imaizumi 1982b.

[136] Ariès 1981, p. 145.

[137] *Ruikōji* 類柑子, p. 428ff. *Shinshi shūenki* 晋子終焉記 was written by Inazu Seiryū 稲津青流 (1663–1733), who was also one of the compilers of the entire collection. An enlarged edition with sequences composed for the thirteenth anniversary of Kikaku's death was subsequently published in 1719. Seiryū later took the tonsure at Sōunji in Hakone, near the site of Sōgi's death, and adopted the name Gikū 祇空 in honor of the earlier poet. He resided in a small cottage at Sōunji and to the end of his life cared for Sōgi's memorial marker there (see also n. 23 and n. 190). Other memorial compilations for Kikaku include *Ishinadori* 石などり (Jacks), compiled in 1713 for the seventh anniversary of his death by his disciple Shūshiki 秋色 (1669–1725, perhaps surnamed Ogawa 小川, said to have been the wife of another of Kikaku's disciples, Kangyoku 寒玉) and *Futatsu no kire* 二のきれ (Two remnants), compiled in 1714 for the same anniversary by Moribe Kojū 森部湖十 (1677–1738).

[138] *Rōka-kō shūenki* 浪化公終焉記 (or *Rōka-kō shūen no ki*), in *Wakan bunsō* 和漢文藻, appears in Tsukamoto 1922, pp. 536–547.

[139] Yosa Buson was also known as Yahan-ō 夜半翁. Kitō makes special mention of Bashō's ovate tombstone at the end (*Yahan-ō shūenki*, p. 223).

[140] Fujita 2015, pp. 92–95.

[141] *Karahiba* から檜葉 appears in Kanda and Katsumine 1926, pp. 1–19 (*Yahan-ō shūenki*, pp. 3–5; the pagination of Kanda and Katsumine is not consecutive). Buson's requiem for his mother, *Shinhanatsumi*, was explicitly patterned on Kikaku's previously mentioned *Hanatsumi*, which Kikaku had made for his mother four years before writing *The Death of Master Bashō*. Kikaku's mother died on the eighth of the fourth month, the birthday of the Buddha, when women in the capital conventionally picked flowers and took them to Mount Hiei (on the significance of this day, see Drake 1992a, pp. 13–14). The work is in diary format and begins on the death day. In *Shinhanatsumi* Buson likewise begins on the eighth of the fourth month. For selected translations of *Shinhanatsumi*, see Ueda 1998, pp. 112–117, and Crowley 2007, pp. 263–274. A useful contemporary comparison to these memorial works for women is Saikaku's requiem composition of 1675 for his late wife, *Haikai dokugin ichinichi senku* 俳諧独吟一日千句 (One thousand *haikai* alone in a single day); see Drake 1992b.

[142] *Eboshizuka* 烏帽子塚 is in *Buson renku senshū* 蕪村連句選集, in Kanda and Katsumine 1926, pp. 22–23 (pagination not consecutive). The title "Shūenki," however, does not appear in all versions.

[143] *Ryōta koji shūenki* 蓼太居士終焉記 appears in *Ryōta zenshū*, pp. 314–319.

[144] *Kyōtai shūenki* 暁台終焉記 appears in Ōno 1898, pp. 337–339.

[145] *Kien-ō shūenki* 奇淵翁終焉記, by Fujii Teisa 藤井鼎左 (1802–1869), is in the collection of Nara Kenritsu Toshojōhōkan (Nara Prefectural Library and Information Center). This is by no means to suggest that all *shūenki* accounts were so named to establish a specific connection to Bashō. Note, for example, *Nisei Ryūshi shūenki* 二世立志終焉記 (1705), written by the third Ryūshi 立志 (also called Ryūei 立詠, d. 1724) on the death of the second Ryūshi, surnamed Takai 高井 (1658–1705); *Hyakusōen*

shūenki 百艸園終焉記, written by Katayama Shūtō 片山周東 on the death of his brother Katayama Sunchō 片山寸長 (Hyakusōen 百艸園) in 1761; and *Kyūrosai* (or *Gurosai*) *shūenki* 求驢斎終焉記 (1768), for Uragawa Futen 浦川富天 (Kyūrosai [or Gurosai], 1701–1767). As indicated in n. 2, the poet Kobayashi Issa also wrote one for his father (*Chichi no shūen nikki*, 1801). Then Nishihara Bunko 西原文虎 (1790–1855), one of Issa's disciples, wrote *Issa-ō shūenki* 一茶翁終焉記 in 1827 upon the death of his master (see Ozawa 1952, pp. 54ff). See also Fujita 2015, pp. 106–107. Eventually *shūenki* came to be used as a general term for a death account, poetic or otherwise.

[146] The account of the death of Matsunaga Teitoku was written by his disciple Yasuhara Teishitsu a short time later. But Fujita (2015, pp. 104–105) doubts that either Bashō or Kikaku ever saw it. Teishitsu's fellow disciple but harsh critic Mukunashi Issetsu 椋梨一雪 (1631–1709?) apparently referred to it as *Dokugin no tsuizen no kotobagaki* 独吟の追善の詞書 (Headnote to a solo requiem sequence) in 1663 (Shiozaki 2000, p. 2). As pointed out previously, the work subsequently fell into obscurity until the latter part of the eighteenth century, but in 1770 Buson and two other *haikai* poets added inscriptions (*shigo* 識語) to a manuscript judged to be in Teishitsu's own hand. The work was not published until Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 (Shoku Sanjin 蜀山人, 1749–1823) copied the holograph and included it under the titles *Teitoku shūenki* and *Teitoku-ō shūenki* in his *Misonoya* 三十輻 (Thirty spokes) in 1803. Those titles likely originated with Ōta Nanpo, as there are no references to them in the three inscriptions from 1770 nor anywhere else previously (Fujita 2015, p. 104). A number of modern poets added still more inscriptions to the holograph in 1914 and that version was published a year later, but the holograph itself thereafter again disappeared until recently (Shiozaki 2000, p. 102). Iida Shōichi (1960, pp. 234–235) cites two passages from Teishitsu's work that bear some similarities to Kikaku's later memorial for Bashō, and he thus speculates that Kikaku learned not only from *The Death of Sōgi* but also from *Teitoku shūenki*. But these two correspondences are much more general than those between the memorials for Bashō and Sōgi, and they probably developed spontaneously from the natural exigencies of writing about a literary master's demise. For example, Iida notes that Teishitsu's memorial account likewise cites Saigyō's poem about hoping to die on the Buddha's death day on the fifteenth of the second month. But this was likely inspired by the fact that Teitoku died in the eleventh month on the same day, rather than specifically by *The Death of Master Bashō*. And in any case, Saigyō's is one of the most famous verses dealing with a poet's death. Given that Teishitsu's text does not seem to have been mentioned anywhere during Kikaku's adult life, the likelihood that he was influenced by it seems remote. Fujita (2015, p. 105) also doubts that Kitō was informed by Teishitsu's work when he wrote *Yahan-ō shūenki*. Nor, for his part, does Teishitsu appear to have been influenced by *The Death of Sōgi*, even though, again, there were manuscripts of that earlier work circulating before it was printed in 1690 (see n. 74).

The Death of Sōgi

[147] *Mi ya kotoshi miyako o yoso no harugasumi*. In other words, Sōgi will view the spring haze of the capital where he now lives as a phenomenon of a distant clime once he has departed. The second segment's *miyako* reflects *mi ya ko*[*toshi*] in the

first, and *haru* in *harugasumi* (spring haze) is redolent of *harubaru* (distant). Like the haze that rises (*tatsu*), Sōgi will set out (*tatsu*) with the spring. But in the context of a death account, the poem also seems to foreshadow Sōgi's demise. The repeated "m" and "o" sounds likewise contribute to the euphony of the units and the cohesion between them. Sōgi composed the *hokku* at his Shugyokuan cottage (see n. 15), in preparation for a hundred-verse sequence held there on 1499.1.4. Sixteen poets participated, including Sōseki and Sōha, who later accompanied Sōgi to Echigo; Sōchō, who met him there; and Tō no Sojun, who rode to Sōgi's deathbed at Hakone. The *hokku* is also quoted in Sanetaka's diary *Sanetakakōki* 実隆公記 (3: 607) in an entry for Meiō 8 [1499].1.6, with the second verse by Sōchō:

madaki noyama no	Already he has set his heart
hana no aramashi	on the blossoms of meadow and mountain!

Sōgi is anticipating the blossoms even before they appear. The manuscript for the entire work, Meiō 8 [1499].1.4 *Nanibito hyakuin*, is in the collection of Osaka Tenmangū 大阪天満宮 shrine and elsewhere. Sōchō's disciple Sōboku, in his commentary to *Yajima Shōrin'an naniki hyakuin* 矢嶋小林庵何木百韻 (One hundred verses bearing the heading "what tree," composed at Shōrin'an in Yajima), which he composed with Sōchō in 1527, contributes this on the relationship of the two verses: "This *hokku* expresses Sōgi's emotions on setting out on a journey in old age and wondering where he will be when the spring haze appears. Sōchō recast it in the *wakiku* verse and provided a congratulatory meaning.... It is extraordinary. Miraculous. Sōchō said that one should work out this kind of response when linking to a somewhat self-depracting *hokku*" (p. 202 [Japanese pagination, p. 182]).

[148] The Uesugi 上杉 were centered in Echigo, part of the ancient land of Koshi 越. Sōgi actually only took two short trips, to Settsu and Ōmi, in 1499; it was not until 1500.7.17 that he left for Echigo (Morozumi 1982, p. 70). The "acquaintances" were members of the Uesugi daimyo house. Uesugi Fusasada 上杉房定 (d. 1494) had been one of Sōgi's most important patrons, and Sōgi visited the domain seven times during his life. The current daimyo was Fusasada's son Fusayoshi 房能 (1474–1507). Kaneko (1999, pp. 276–281) speculates that Sōgi undertook his final trip to Echigo at the request of the courtly Konoe house, which had long-standing ties with the Uesugi. If this is true, it was a heavy imposition, given his advanced age. The Uesugi residence was located in the provincial capital, now Jōetsu 上越 City. Sōchō accompanied Sōgi on the latter's first visit there in 1478. During that stay Sōgi lectured the young Sōchō (then called Sōkan 宗観 or 宗歓) on *Ise monogatari*. Sōchō then wrote up his notes, which are now known as *Ise monogatari Sōkan* [or *Sōchō*] *kikigaki*, his first work of commentary. On the relationship between Sōgi and the Uesugi, see Hiroki 2012 as well as Tsurusaki 1988 and the reply in Kaneko 1990. "Returning Mountain" (Kaeruyama 帰山) is a famous poetic site (*utamakura*) in Koshi. It frequently figures in parting poems (*ribetsu no uta*), e.g., *Kokinshū* 8: 370, which bears the headnote "Sent to a person leaving for Koshi":

kaeruyama — Although I hear
ari to wa kikedo — of a Returning Mountain there,
harugasumi — if now you depart
tachiwakarenaba — in the haze of springtime,
koishikarubeshi — I will miss you nonetheless.

Here, the speaker laments the traveler's departure for Koshi, despite the fact that Returning Mountain there should augur an eventual return to the capital. Sōchō's reference to the poem is apposite both in that it refers to Sōgi's destination and also in that it responds to the mention of springtime haze in Sōgi's verse.

[149] Again, Sōgi had actually been in Echigo less than a year by the middle of Bunki 1 (1501). Sōchō did not know that Sōgi had set out for the Uesugi domain only on 1500.7.17.

[150] Sōchō traveled north from Suruga past the Ashigara 足柄 Mountains, an *utamakura* to the north of Hakone, then past Izu Peninsula and up to Kamakura. The passage refers to a poem in *Kinkaishū* 金塊集 (no. 593), the poetic anthology of Minamoto Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192–1219), third Minamoto shogun:

hakoneji o — Having journeyed
waga koekureba — down the roads of Hakone,
izu no umi ya — I see before me
oki no kojima ni — the waves breaking on the little island
nami no yoru miyu — out in the Sea of Izu!

The "Sea of Izu" is another name for Sagami Bay, in which the "little island," Hatsushima 初島, is located. Koyurugi Strand (Koyurugi no iso 小余綾の礒) is an *utamakura* by Ōiso 大磯 City. The "Generals of the Right" (Udaishō) were Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), founder of the Kamakura Shogunate, and his sons Yoriie 頼家 (1182–1204) and Sanetomo. The "Nine Reigns" are those of the Hōjō 北条 regents, who controlled the Kamakura regime after the Minamoto line ended with Sanetomo.

[151] Tsurugaoka Hachimangū 鶴岡八幡宮, the most important Shinto shrine in Kamakura, is devoted to the worship of Hachiman, tutelary deity of the Minamoto. The beach in question is Yuigahama 由比が浜, which First Shrine Gate (Ichi no torii) overlooks. Yukinoshita 雪の下 refers to the area to the south of the shrine. Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮 is another famous shrine dedicated to the same deity; it is located near Kyoto.

[152] Here, the elegant *michiyuki* begins in a limited way to allude to contemporary events.

[153] Nagahama 長浜, today called Tanihama 谷浜, is in Nakakubiki 中頸城 District, Niigata Prefecture. Located on the coast just west of the provincial capital, it was dangerous to pass when the sea was rough. Mount Arachi 有乳 is an *utamakura* located to the south of Tsuruga City, Fukui Prefecture.

[154] "Of a sort" follows the GR ms.

[155] *Omoiyare toshitsuki naruru hito dani mo awazu to ureu yuki no yadori o*. The GR ms. attributes this poem to Sōgi, which makes no sense. *Mo mada* could also be read

mo mata in the absence of diacritics; I follow the base text, Fukuda et al. 1990, p. 453. The GR ms. gives *dani mo*.

[156] Sōchō may be suggesting that these natural disasters foretold the death of Sogi, but even if not, they set the mood for the tragedy that ensues.

[157] This is a "dream *hokku*" (*musō no hokku* 夢想の発句). The year is 1502.

[158] *Toshi ya kesa ake no igaki no hitoyomatsu*. A red fence (*ake no igaki*) encloses a shrine. Here *ake* functions as a *kakekotoba* pivoting between "arrives" and "red." Legend holds that in 946 a thousand pines miraculously grew overnight; the site was accordingly chosen as the location of Kitano Shrine. Sōgi's *hokku* was therefore believed to have been vouchsafed by the God of Kitano, the deified Sugawara Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), patron of literature.

[159] *Kono haru o yasoji ni soete totose chō michi no tameshi ya mata mo hajimen*. Sōgi deeply admired the poet Fujiwara Shunzei, who lived past ninety. Sōgi turned eighty-two (by the Japanese count) on the first day of 1502.

[160] *Inishie no tameshi ni tōki yasoji dani suguru wa tsuraki oi no urami o*.

[161] "Single page" translates *hitoori* 一折, lit., single fold, the first page of a four-page hundred-verse sequence, which includes eight verses on the front and fourteen on the back.

[162] *Aoyagi mo toshi ni masaki no kazura kana*. *Masaki* vines were used as hair ornaments in ancient Shinto rites and their name is a homonym for "good fortune" (真幸). "Green willows" (*aoyagi*) were used in spring rituals as well. *Masaki no kazura* is a winter image (e.g., *Shinkokinshū* 6: 561, by Fujiwara Masatsune); *aoyagi* belongs to spring. Both images are celebrated in the preface to *Kokinshū* as symbols of longevity: "If this collection endures, like long green willow branches, like unchanging pine needles, like long-trailing *masaki* vines" (p. 17). In this *hokku*, *masaki* functions as a *kakekotoba*, pivoting between "more than" (*masaru*) and *masaki* vines; hence, even though *masaki no kazura* of winter are also redolent of longevity, even more so are the *aoyagi* this year, which are harbingers of spring vitality and rebirth. The willows are presumably before the eyes of the poets, given the necessity of making reference in the *hokku* to the season, place, and level of the session. *Toshi ni masaru* may also bear overtones of "increase year by year," as in, for example, this verse by Ryūgen 隆源 in *Horikawa hyakushu* 堀河百首 (no. 157):

harugoto ni — Every spring
onaji sakura no — the same cherries
hana naredo — blossom,
oshimu kokoro no — but my regret at their passing
toshi ni masareru — increases year by year.

But for the reader who already knows Sōgi's ultimate fate, the verse assumes qualities of irony, tragedy, and foreboding, since unlike the green willows and *masaki* vines, which are both celebrated for their longevity, Sōgi will not see another new year.

[163] The principal host was the constable (*shugo* 守護) Uesugi Fusayoshi, who two years later would join with the deputy Yamanouchi Akisada in battle against Ōgigayatsu Tomoyoshi at Tachikawa in Musashi (see n. 23). On 1507.8.7 Fusayoshi

was defeated by Nagao Tamekage 長尾為景 (father of the famous warlord Uesugi Kenshin) and committed suicide. Sōgi perhaps felt uncomfortable at continuing to take advantage of Uesugi hospitality, but he also may have been wary of political unrest.

[164] The acquaintance was perhaps a member of the family of Saitō Myōchin 斉藤妙椿 (d. 1480), who had also supported the court literatus Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402–1481) at a time of civil upheaval when courtiers' lives were increasingly straitened. Kaneko (1999, p. 27) suggests Saitō Toshitsuna 斎藤利綱, who was also a poet represented in *Shinsen tsukubashū*. Descendants of the *renga* master Senjun 専順 (d. 1476), one of Sōgi's teachers, were also supported by the Saitō house. But Kaneko also proposes a second candidate, Tō no Ujitane 氏胤, nephew of Tō no Tsuneyori. Tsuneyori had conveyed the "Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*" to Sōgi (see n. 10 and n. 30). The domain of the Tō house was in Mino.

[165] Sōgi was particularly fond of Mount Fuji; he once boasted to Sanetaka that he had enjoyed the view of it from eleven provinces (*Sanetakakōki*, Meiō 5 [1496].9.28).

[166] The time is perhaps the third month. "Trod upon the stones of Chikuma River" is an allusion to *Man'yōshū* 14: 3400 (where Shinano is rendered Shinanu):

shinanu naru — Even the pebbles
chikuma no kawa no — of Chikuma River
sazareshi mo — in Shinanu—
kimi shi fumiteba — were you to tread upon them,
tama to hirawamu — I would gather them as jewels.

Suga Moor is another *utamakura* hallowed in poems such as *Man'yōshū* 14: 3352:

shinanu naru — "Time passes! Time passes!"
suga no arano ni — sounds the cuckoo
hototogisu — on bleak Suga Moor
naku koe kikeba — in Shinanu,
toki suginikeri — telling me that time has passed and gone.

The name of the cuckoo and its call, "hototogisu," sounds like "toki sugi" in the last line, meaning "time passes." The name Suga Moor also recalls *sugi*, "passes" ("Suga Pasture" might evoke this in English). But Suga Moor is believed to have been located in Matsumoto City, which, though in the same province, was out of Sōchō's way. Its mention here is either a conflation with Sugayama, which was near his route, or simply poetic license.

[167] Ikaho 伊香保 is a hot spring in Gunma Prefecture; it is an *utamakura* appearing in *Man'yōshū*.

[168] Sōgi was traveling with Sōseki and Sōha. Sōchō later rejoined the group.

[169] At Ikaho, Sōgi composed *Ikaho sangin hyakuin* (Three poets at Ikaho) with Sōseki and Sōha. It is Sōgi's last extant hundred-verse sequence, but Sōchō does not mention it in *The Death of Sōgi*, perhaps because he had yet to rejoin the group. It is unclear what route Sōchō took after leaving Kusatsu; he may have simply followed in the footsteps of Sōgi's group (see the map, fig. 2), or he may have taken a

more direct southern route (Kaneko 1993, p. 53). In any case, on the basis of Sōchō's later travel diary *Azumaji no tsuto* (p. 501), Kaneko (1993, pp. 44, 80–81) supposes that Sōchō met the others at Hamagawa (today's Takasaki) and that it was there that Sōgi composed what Kaneko takes to have been his last extant *hokku*. Sōchō makes reference to the verse in his personal poetry collection *Kabekusa* 壁草 (Wattle):

> At a certain mountain temple, the Zen priest Sōgi composed the following:
>
> sono ha sae — Even in its leaves
> hanatachibana no — the color and scent
> iroka kana — of flowering orange blossoms.
>
> The year after he passed away, I composed this for a linked-verse gathering in the same quarters:
>
> tachibana ni — The ferns on the eaves
> kozo o shinobu no — by the orange blossoms
> nokiba kana — recall the year gone by.

Shinobu functions as a pun on "fern" and "recall." Sōgi's verse (also in *Sōgi hokkushū* and given as *unoha sae* in ZGR 17, p. 1007) appears to be based on *Man'yōshū* 6: 1009, composed by Emperor Shōmu in metaphorical praise of the new Tachibana ("Flowering Orange") house:

tachibana wa — The flowering orange:
mi sae hana sae — even its fruit, even its blossoms,
sono ha sae — and even its leaves,
e ni shimo furedo — be they on frost-covered boughs,
iya tokoha no ki — will flourish always.

Sōchō's verse also seems related to an earlier composition, *Shinkokinshū* 3: 241, by Fujiwara Tadayoshi:

tachibana no — The ferns on the eaves,
hana chiru noki no — upon which scatter the blossoms
shinobugusa — of the flowering orange,
mukashi o kakete — overflow with dew,
tsuyu zo koboruru — as if recalling the past.

This in turn is related to this famous anonymous *Kokinshū* verse (3: 139, also *Ise monogatari*, part 60):

satsuki matsu — When I catch the scent
hana tachibana — of the flowering orange blossoms
no ka o kageba — that await the fifth month
mukashi no hito no — I recall the fragrant sleeves
sode no ka zo suru — of one from long ago.

While linked verses generally do not serve as foundation poems for other linked verses, Sōchō's verse is also clearly responding to that of his late master.

But if Sōgi did compose this *hokku* for a *renga* session at Hamagawa during the journey of 1502, it seems odd that Sōchō does not mention it in *The Death of Sōgi*. Nor does Sōchō say anything in *Kabekusa* about it being Sōgi's last *hokku*. Kaneko wonders if, like *Ikaho sangin hyakuin*, Sōgi composed it while Sōchō was staying behind in Kusatsu. But if this was indeed Sōgi's last extant *hokku*, it is fitting that it should appear in *Kabekusa*, Sōchō's first collection of his own poetry, which he began to assemble in Echigo during Sōgi's last stay there. The collection is thus another concrete manifestation of the fact of literary transition. In the postscript, Sōchō writes that Sōgi gave him advice as he progressed, a comment that at once shows Sōchō's humility and also increases the authority of his maiden anthology. After Sōgi's death, Sōchō would go on to write commentaries on Sōgi's personal poetry collections *Wakuraba* and *Shitakusa*, and then later students would in turn write commentaries on *Kabekusa*, based on lectures by Sōchō (Kaneko 1979, pp. 619–620).

[170] *Ika ni semu yūtsukedori no shidario no koe uramu yo no oi no tabine o*. The GR text substitutes *shidario ni* and *nezame* ("lying awake"). The verse benefits from the sound repetition in Ikaho and *ika ni semu*. Certainly there are overtones here of Hitomaro's famous verse in *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (A hundred poets, a poem apiece, no. 3):

ashihiki no — Through the long night,
yamadori no o no — long as the tail, the flowing tail
shidario no — of the pheasant
naganagashi yo o — in the foot-wearying mountains,
hitori ka mo nemu — am I to sleep alone?

[171] Uwato (or Uwado) is in Iruma 入間 District, Saitama Prefecture. The Naikaku ms. gives "seventh month" (文月, *fumizuki* or *fuzuki*), while the GR ms. deletes the date. I follow the Hakone Chōritsu Kyōdo Shiryōkan ms., which gives "sixth month" (六月, *minazuki*). Otherwise, the subsequent chronology is compromised. The date in the Naikaku ms. may have resulted from the orthographic similarity of 文月 and 六月.

[172] Kawagoe Castle was built either by Ōta Dōshin 太田道真 (1411–1488/92) or his son Dōkan 道灌 (1432–1486). Early in his career Sōgi participated in the famous *Kawagoe senku* 川越千句 thousand-verse sequence in 1469, in the company of Shinkei and Dōshin. Miyoshino 三吉野 is an *utamakura* figuring in *Ise monogatari* (part 10); here, it is used as a literary preface for Kawagoe.

[173] Edo Castle was built by Dōkan from 1455 to 1460. After he was assassinated in 1486, it was taken over by Ōgigayatsu Sadamasa 扇谷定正.

[174] *Kyō nomi to sumu yo koso tōkere*. Sōchō, in his poetry collection *Kabekusa* gives this same preceding verse (*maeku* 前句) with a different succeeding link (*tsukeku* 付句):

kawaru se mo — When did
itsu ka wa taeshi — its shifting shallows disappear?
asukagawa — Asuka River.

This *tsukeku* must be by Sōchō, since in personal linked-verse collections it is the *tsukeku* that are by the compiler, which means that the *kyō nomi to* verse has been used in two environments. The verses appear on p. 996 of the ZGR manuscript of *Kabekusa* (17b, pp. 945–1011). The *honka* for Sōchō's *tsukeku* here is *Kokinshū* 18: 933 (anon.), which established the canonical connection between the changing currents of Asuka River (a name that embeds the word *asu*, "tomorrow") and the vicissitudes of life:

yo no naka wa	In this world
nani ka tsune naru	what lasts forever?
asukagawa	Yesterday's deep pools
kinō no fuchi zo	in Asuka River
kyō wa se ni naru	today turn into shallows.

[175] *Yasoji made itsu ka tanomishi kure naramu*.

[176] I have added "and again" and then "Sōgi's link" for clarity.

[177] *Toshi no watari wa yuku hito mo nashi.*

[178] *Oi no nami iku kaeriseba hate naran*. The sequence was composed at the residence of the vice-constable at Ueda (see n. 23 and n. 212). The *tsukeku* of the two pairs quoted here are the last verses of Sōgi that are extant (the latter pair is also inscribed on the portrait in plate 2). The sequence from which Sōchō extracted them has been lost, as have those composed previously at Uwato and Edo.

[179] The dating is important, as it will establish Sōgi's death anniversary (*nenki* 年忌). The seventh month had thirty days in 1502.

[180] "Gut worms" translates *sunbaku* 寸白, another name for *sanadamushi*, which refers to tapeworms and other intestinal parasites. The GR ms. subsequently notes that Sōgi is being carried in a palanquin.

[181] Kōzu 国府津, now part of Odawara City, was the old capital of Sagami Province.

[182] Sojun is Tō no Sojun, introduced earlier in the text as the son of Tō no Tsuneyori, the warrior-poet who conveyed to Sōgi the "Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*" (see n. 10 and n. 30). Sojun in turn received the traditions from Sōgi. He had been staying with the Imagawa daimyo in the Suruga capital.

[183] Yumoto 湯本 is a famous hot spring at the eastern entrance to the Hakone area just outside Odawara.

[184] *Shinkokinshū* 11: 1034:

tama no o yo	Jeweled cord of life,
taenaba taene	if you must break, then break!
nagaraeba	No longer
shinoburu koto no	can I bear the strain
yowari mo zo suru	of this concealed longing!

The Noh play Teika 定家 portrays a supposed love affair between Shikishi and that other great *Shinkokinshū* poet.

[185] *Nagamuru tsuki ni tachi zo ukaruru*. Other manuscripts indent this verse.

[186] Sōgi was eighty-one by the Western count.

[187] Youzi 遊子 was a son of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), who according to legend loved journeying and became the patron deity of travelers (*dōsojin* 道祖神). The legend is transmitted in *Genji monogatari chidorishō* 源氏物語千鳥抄 (*Tale of Genji* plover notes), by Yotsutsuji Yoshishige 四辻善成 (1326–1402). Sōchō owned a copy of that work in Sōgi's hand. An even more complete account of Youzi is found in *Genji monogatari teiyō* 源氏物語提要 (*Tale of Genji* synopsis), written by Imagawa Norimasa (Hansei) 今川範政 (1364–1433), grandfather of Sōchō's lord and patron Imagawa Yoshitada 今川義忠 (1436?–1476).

[188] *Tabi no yo ni mata tabine shite kusamakura yume no uchi ni zo yume o miru kana.* Jichin 慈鎮 is the posthumous name of Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), Tendai abbot, major *Shinkokinshū* poet, and author of the history *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (Ignorant and narrow views, ca. 1220).

[189] Jōrinji 定輪寺, a temple in Susono 裾野 City, Shizuoka Prefecture, is of the Sōtō Zen sect and therefore not of Ikkyū's Daitokuji lineage, but it had ties to the Imagawa house and was thus a natural choice. "Momozono" 桃園 follows the GR ms.

[190] The graves of Zen monks were often marked by such ovate shapes (*rantō* 卵塔). The current grave, however, has a five-part design (*gorintō* 五輪塔) very common in the medieval era, and it is not in its original location. In fact, the GR ms. substitutes for *rantō* the word *tōba* 塔婆 (short for *sotoba* 卒塔婆, from the Sanskrit *stupa*), and the Ōta Takeo ms. gives *shirushi no tō* 印塔, which means a grave marker of any design. In addition to the tombstone at Jōrinji, there is also a memorial marker for Sōgi at Sōunji temple at Hakone Yumoto (see n. 23). An entry in Sanetaka's diary *Sanetakakōki* for 1490.3.23 records that Sōgi planted a pine at his hermitage and composed this *waka*:

suminareshi	I entrust this dwelling
yado o ba matsu ni	where I have lived these many years
yuzuriokite	to this pine;
koke no shita ni ya	from beneath the moss
chiyo no kage min	will I see its shade for a thousand ages?

The pine would thus be his consolation after his death. On mortuary sculpture, see Goodwin 1989.

[191] The quotation appears several times in *Genji monogatari*, the instance most apposite to the passage here occurring in the "Early Ferns" chapter where Kaoru and Niou exchange reminiscences about Ōigimi after her death (vol. 5 of *Genji monogatari*, p. 14).

[192] *Morotomo ni koyoi kiyomi ga iso naraba omou ni tsuki mo sode nurasuran*. The GR text gives *kiyomi ga seki* (Kiyomi Gate). As noted earlier, when as a young man Sōchō first met Sōgi, he served as his guide to that poetic spot.

[193] Mizumoto Yogorō 水本与五郎 was in Sōgi's employ. In the eighth month of 1501, he had delivered a letter from Sōgi to Sanetaka in Kyoto, according to the latter's diary. "My cottage" refers to Sōchō's residence in the Suruga capital, now

Shizuoka City. He built another cottage in Mariko, a short distance outside the capital, at the beginning of the Eishō era (1504–1521).

[194] The constable (*shugo*) was Imagawa Ujichika. The fifteenth of the month was celebrated as the night of the full moon by the lunar calendar.

[195] *Kumoru na yo ta ga na wa tataji aki no tsuki.*

[196] *Sora tobu kari no kazu shiruki koe*. Ujichika links "geese" to "moon." The association is well known; cf. *Kokinshū* 4: 191 (anon.):

shirakumo ni	The geese that fly
hane uchikawashi	wing to wing
tobu kari no	in the white clouds—
kazu sae miyuru	one may even count their number
aki no yo no tsuki	beneath the moon this autumn night!

The full moon of autumn is the focus of admiration; it will be praised if it does not cloud over. But if it does, counters Ujichika, the number of geese will still be clear from their cries.

[197] *Kohagihara asatsuyu samumi kaze sugite*. The link here is between geese and bush clover. This association too is found in *Kokinshū* 4: 221 (anon.):

nakiwataru	Are they tears
kari no namida ya	shed by wild geese that cry
ochitsuramu	as they fly overhead,
mono omou yado no	the dewdrops on the bush clover
hagi no ue no tsuyu	by this melancholy house?

[198] *Tomo ni min tsuki no koyoi o nokoshiokite furuhito to naru aki o shi zo omou.*

[199] *Kieshi yo no asatsuyu wakaru yamaji kana. Kieshi* (lit., vanished) is a kindred word with *tsuyu* (dew). This is the beginning of *Sōseki Sōchō ryōgin nanimichi hyakuin*, which is extant. In the short preface to the sequence, Sōchō remarks on the many infractions therein of the *renga* rules against repetition, which probably developed due to the predominance of funereal subjects (Kaneko 1993, pp. 122–123). Some manuscripts bear the date 1502.8.6. The sequence was apparently composed in the seven days after the burial on the third, when the poets were in mourning at Jōrinji. But it is unclear why the verses appear in the account after those made later in the Suruga capital. Kaneko (1993, p. 123) suggests that Sōchō gave pride of place to the verse of his current patron, Ujichika; he adds that it is also possible that the hundred verses were not completed until later, given the various observances pursuant to Sōgi's death. Interestingly, these two verses are listed under the heading "Sōgi shūenki" in *Bashō izen haikaishū*, anthologized by Ōno Shachiku (1897, p. 4), together with four more verses from that *hyakuin* that do not appear in Sōchō's version of *The Death of Sōgi*; this suggests that Ōno took them from another source, perhaps the *hyakuin* itself.

[200] *Nagori sugiuki yado no akikaze*.

[201] Sōseki links *yo* (night) to *yado* (house).

[202] The last day of the eighth month fell on the twenty-ninth that year, so the death date was observed a day early.

[203] *Mushi no ne ni yūtsuyu otsuru kusaba kana*. There would seem to be overtones here of *Shinkokinshū* 16: 1560, by Fujiwara Shunzei:

shimeokite — Mark that plot for me,
ima ya to zo omou — for I feel my end approach.
akiyama no — Beneath the mugwort
yomogi ga moto ni — in the autumn mountains,
matsumushi no naku — the chirping of pine crickets.

[204] *Tarachine no ato ikasama ni wake mo min okurete tōki michi no shibakusa*.

[205] On Tō no Tsuneyori and "The Secret Teachings on *Kokinshū*," see n. 10 and n. 30.

[206] *Nagaraete arishi koshiji no sora naraba tsute to ya kimi mo hatsukari no koe.* A legend in *Hanshu* 漢書 relates that the Han diplomat Su Wu 蘇武 was captured by the Xiongnu, who were later told that their prisoner had sent a letter south tied to the foot of a goose about his captivity. It was from that legend that "goose messenger" (*kari no tsukai*) came to refer to a letter. Here Sojun alludes to Sōgi's affection for Sōchō by suggesting that were Sōgi still alive he doubtless would send a letter south to Sōchō in Suruga on the advent of the first calls of geese in the autumn that Sojun and Sōchō had just heard.

[207] *Mitose heshi koshiji no sora no hatsukari wa naki yo ni shi mo zo tsute to oboyuru*. Sōchō may be referring here to *tokoyo no kari*, geese serving as messengers to the land of the immortals. He would mention such geese in *Azumaji no tsuto* (p. 503) in a verse praising the residence of a local potentate who was his host:

ashigamo no — The waterside
migiwa wa kari no — with its ducks in the reeds—
tokoyo kana — the immortal land of the geese itself!

[208] Again, Sōgi was in Koshi for only a year and a half before Sōchō arrived.

[209] *Skinkokinshū* 8: 757, by Sōjō Henjō:

sue no tsuyu — Dew upon leaf tips
moto no shizuku ya — and droplets upon stems
yo no naka no — show what comes to us all
okure sakidatsu — sooner or later
tameshi naruran — in this world of ours.

[210] *Sue no tsuyu moto no shizuku no kotowari wa ōkata no yo no tameshi ni te chikaki wakare no kanashibi wa mi ni kagiru ka to omōyuru nareshi hajime no toshitsuki wa misoji amari ni nariniken sono inishie no kokorozashi ōharayama ni yaku sumi no keburi ni soite noboru to mo oshimarenubeki inochi ka wa onaji azuma no tabi nagara sakai haruka ni hedatsureba tayori no kaze ni ariari to tsuge no makura no yoru no yume odorokiaezu*

omoitachi noyama o shinogi tsuyu kieshi ato o dani to te tazunetsutsu koto tou yama wa matsukaze no kotae bakari zo kai nakarikeru.

Kensai preserved his *chōka* in his personal *waka* collection *Kanjinshū* 閑塵集, where he adds that he also performed sutra copying for Sōgi's afterlife and carried those pages to Hakone Yumoto.

[211] *Okurenu to nageku mo hakana iku yo shi mo arashi no ato no tsuyu no ukimi o*. The GR ms. begins *okurenu to*. Note how this seems to dovetail with Sōgi's poem on evanescence in his account of his journey to the eastland *Shirakawa kikō* (Kaneko 1976, p. 9):

nagekaji yo	Cease your sorrowing!
kono yo wa tare mo	Know that for everyone
uki tabi to	this life is a sad journey
omoi nasuno no	and embrace your fate,
tsuyu ni makasete	fleeting as the dew on Nasu Plain.

[212] The GR ms. ends here; the following postscript by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (Chōsetsu 聴雪) appears in the Naikaku ms. (pp. 460–461). Together with the account, Sōchō sent Sōgi's incense box to the courtier, founder of the Oie 御家 school of incense (*kōdō* 香道). Sanetaka's first poem refers to the Chinese story of Emperor Han Wudi, who burned incense to call back the spirit of his dead consort, Lady Li, and it puns on *hako* (box) and Hakoneyama (written with the characters for "box," "root" [homophonic with "peak"], and "mountain"), near where Sōgi passed away.

> Lord Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (at the time a major counselor) received Sōgi's teachings on *Kokinshū, Tales of Ise, The Tale of Genji*, and other works. Sanetaka held him in great respect, and Sōgi conveyed to him every detail about each one. Because Sōgi had wanted to go to the capital and see him again, I sent this letter together with the master's box of aloe (*jin*) incense and other mementos. His reply arrived at the end of the twelfth month [Bunki 2.12 = early 1503]. I append it here as a postscript:
>
> > On the fifth of last month [the eleventh month] Yogorō arrived. He briefly told me the news, and then my questions were answered by your kind and detailed letter. Sōgi had planned to visit the capital this year, and though I knew that in view of his age he might indeed pass away, I still counted the days and months, thinking of him constantly. I then heard vague rumors, but since they came from afar I hoped they were groundless. Then your full account arrived, which brought me to tears. Sōseki reached the capital the other day. He recounted the story to me about Sōgi's "attainment of happiness through extinction," and it eased my pain. But I have forgotten nothing of my debt to Sōgi that has accumulated over the years, and I spend my hours heartbroken. I know you can imagine my feelings.

You were good enough to send a box of his, and when I removed the wrapping there was his cipher just as always, together with various kinds of famous incense. It will serve as a fine remembrance of him. I pass this along just as it occurred to me:

tamashii o
kaesu michi naki
hakoneyama
nokoru katami no
kemuri dani ushi

There is no way
this Box Mountain gift
will call back his spirit,
and I find even the smoke
from this keepsake sad.

You also were so good as to send three *ryō* in gold. It was far too generous:

wa ga mi koso
chiji no kogane o
mukuite mo
omou ni amaru
hito no megumi o

Even if it were
in my power to repay you
with thousands in gold,
it would not suffice,
so boundless are your blessings.

Many thanks. My feelings are deeply sincere and will remain so as long as I live. I have been quite ill for some time and my writing is particularly poor—I cannot compose as I would like and look forward to another opportunity later.

Respectfully,
Chōsetsu
Twelfth month, seventh day
To Saioku

The "vague rumors" that Sanetaka mentions in his answer to Sōchō were apparently rather more concrete, having been conveyed to him by another important linked-verse poet in the capital, Sōgi's disciple Gensei 玄清 (1443–1521). Gensei lived close to Sōgi's Shugyokuan cottage and looked after it when its owner was traveling. In his entry in *Saishōsō* for 1502.9.16, Sanetaka writes as follows:

> On the 29th of the seventh month, the priest Sōgi passed away at a place called Yumoto in Sagami Province. He had not been particularly ill to that point and had participated in a thousand-verse sequence at the vice-constable's Ueda fortress or some such from the 24th to the 26th. He left on the 27th [sic] and after taking the waters at [Hakone] Yumoto he died, suffering from worms. He was buried at a place called Momozono. (I am told that the abbot of the Zen temple there gave him the Buddhist name Ten'i 天以.) I heard this from Gensei. For him to pass away after so many years before I could see him once more was indescribably sad.

The Death of Master Bashō

[213] *To mo kaku mo narade ya yuki no kareobana.* As noted in the introduction here, the verse was composed in 1691 when Bashō had returned to Edo after his journey of 1689 depicted in *Oku no hosomichi* and his subsequent extended stay in Kansai, where he composed *Genjūanki* 幻住庵記 (Account of the illusory dwelling, 1690) and *Saga nikki* 嵯峨日記 (Saga diary, 1691), completed *Oi no kobumi*, and edited *Sarumino* 猿蓑 (in which *Genjūanki* is included). Bashō closed his gate for a month in 1693, but the text reads *oriori*, suggesting that he did so on other occasions as well.

[214] The fire occurred on Tenna 2.12.28, already early 1683 by the Western calendar.

[215] There are overtones here of the famous verse by Princess Shikishi about the jeweled cord of life (*Shinkokinshū* 11: 1034) that Sōgi quoted on his deathbed (see n. 184).

[216] Kikaku's chronology is confused. Bashō moved to Fukagawa in the winter of 1680, then the next year his disciple Rika 李下 (n.d.) gave him a banana plant for his new abode, and Bashō presently took that name for the cottage and came to be known by that name himself. For the location, see Shively 1953, p. 152. The cottage burned in the great Tenna fire of early 1683, and Bashō journeyed with Takayama Biji 高山麋塒 (ca. 1649–1718) to Kai Province but returned to Edo in the fifth month of that year (Bashō lived with Biji for half a year after the fire). See also *Bashō o utsusu kotoba* 芭蕉を移ス詞 (Words on transplanting the banana plants; Shively 1953, pp. 155–159). Bashō's mother died in Iga in the following month, but it was not until 1684.8 that he departed for his old home on the journey he would describe in *Nozarashi kikō*. There Bashō uses the same line about the midnight moon; the entire couplet, by the Chinese Chan (Zen) monk Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪広聞 (1189–1263), reads thus: "Taking no provisions for the road I laugh and compose poems; under the midnight moon I enter a state of no-self."

[217] *Bashō nowaki shite tarai ni ame o kiku yo kana*. Bashō made the verse in 1681. For differing interpretations of this poem, see Ueda 1991, pp. 76–77. Bashō himself wrote a preface for it: "Old Du [Du Fu] has a poem bearing the title 'A Grass Hut Destroyed in the Wind.' Master Po [Su Dongpo] was moved by this and composed a verse about rain dripping through the roof. I now lie alone, hearing the rain from those days in the banana leaves by my grass door" (Imoto and Hori 1995, p. 79). The irregularity of the meter of the verse is characteristic of some of Bashō's earlier compositions in the Danrin style.

[218] Bashō-ō 芭蕉翁, lit., old man of the banana plant.

[219] Daiten 大巓 (1629–1685) was abbot of the major Zen temple Engakuji 円覚寺 in Kamakura. He studied *haikai* poetry with Kikaku and in turn is believed to have taught Kikaku Chinese poetry and *Yijing* 易経 (Classic of changes) divination.

[220] The hexagram 萃 (*sui*; Chinese: *cui*), "to gather together," is related to 悴 (to wither) and to 顇 (to grow worn or to fall ill). It is the forty-fifth hexagram in *Yijing* (䷬). Note the connection here to the title *Kareobana* (withered tassel-grass). The "old calendar" refers to that of the Tang dynasty, which was used in Japan until 1684, when a native one was adopted.

[221] The oracle had a positive aspect in that it implied Bashō would continue to have many students. But popularity was a double-edged sword for the master.

[222] *Hana no kumo kane wa ueno ka asakusa ka*. The verse, composed in 1687, is included in *Zoku minashiguri* 続虚栗 (Empty chestnuts, continued, 1687), where it is prefaced by "hermitage." Hori Nobuo comments that the poet gazes out over the clouds of cherry blossoms that cover the city so thickly that it is impossible to tell which temple bell is heard, that of Kan'eiji in Ueno or Sensōji in Asakusa (in Imoto and Hori 1995, p. 157). Bashō's cottage was rebuilt after the great Tenna fire with donations from more than fifty disciples. In Kikaku's *Urawakaba* 末若葉 (New leaves on branch tips, 1697, p. 404), the verse appears with a second one, composed the year before:

kannon no — I gaze out
iraka miyaritsu — upon Kannon's roof tiles—
hana no kumo — a cloud of blossoms.

[223] The verse, which reads t*suyu tokutoku kokoromi ni ukiyo susugaba ya*, is taken from *Nozarashi kikō* (p. 27), where Bashō visits the site of Saigyō's hermitage in Yoshino. In the journal it is followed by the line, "Had Boyi been of this country he would certainly have used this water to rinse out his mouth. Had Xuyou heard of it, he would have used it to cleanse his ears." Boyi gave counsel to the King of Zhou but his advice was rejected, whereupon he retired to the mountains and lived on bracken rather than continue to serve. When Xuyou heard that he had been offered the throne by Emperor Yao, he considered the offer a defilement and washed out his ears. In *Nozarashi kikō* Bashō quotes part of the following verse said to have been composed by Saigyō but which does not appear in any of his extant collections:

tokutoku to — Drop by drop
otsuru iwama no — the crystal water trickles
kokeshimizu — from the moss between the boulders—
kumihosu hodo mo — it will never run dry
naki sumai kana — here at this dwelling!

[224] This is from 1686:

ikameshiki — How mighty it sounds!
oto ya arare no — Hail upon my travel hat
hinokigasa — of woven cypress.

[225] Kikaku adverts to Bashō's verse in *Nozarashi kikō*:

kyōku — Comic verse:
kogarashi no — In the withering wind,
mi wa chikusai ni — I've started to look
nitaru kana — like Chikusai!

The verse was composed in 1684 and also heads *Fuyu no hi*, the first collection of verses by Bashō and his school. Chikusai 竹斎 is the protagonist of an early

Edo-period vernacular tale (*kanazōshi* 仮名草子) by that name, written by Tomiyama Dōya 富山道冶 in about 1624. Chikusai is a quack doctor and comic poet who travels from Kyoto to Edo (for a translation of *Chikusai*, see Bresler 1975, pp. 219–287). The verse means that Bashō came to resemble Chikusai as he traveled in worn-out clothing, composing verse. Some versions of the poem include *kyōku* ("comic verse") as part of a hypermetric first line.

[226] The term *shōfū* 正風 conventionally means "orthodox style," but it was also used as a pun on Shōfū 蕉風, "Bashō's style." Readers evidently needed only a fragment to recognize famous poems.

[227] *Yamu kari no katada ni orite tabine kana*. The verse was composed in 1690, during Bashō's long journey to the distant north and then to Kansai. "Geese coming to earth at Katada" is one of the "Eight Views of Ōmi" (Ōmi hakkei 近江八景). *Sarumino* contains an alternate version of the verse:

yamu kari no	An ailing goose
yosamu ni orite	in the cold night comes to earth
tabine kana	and rests on its journey.

[228] Bashō lived in the Illusory Dwelling (Genjūan 幻住庵) for some months after returning from his *Oku no hosomichi* journey, and he wrote *Genjūanki* at that time. For translations of two different versions of that classic *haibun* account, see Barnhill 2005, pp. 123–128. See also n. 213.

[229] Butchō 仏頂 (1643–1715) was the twenty-first abbot of Konponji 根本寺, a temple in Ibaragi Prefecture. He also figures in *Kashima no ki*.

[230] The *Mountain House Collection* (*Sankashū*) is Saigyō's most important personal poetry anthology.

[231] "Though poor, he was generous to his friends" comes in part from "Song of Friendship in Poverty" ("Pin jiao xing" 貧交行) by the great Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), included in vol. 3 of *Tōshisen*, pp. 122–124 (see also n. 75). The passage is also alluded to in the preface to *Minashiguri*. Imaizumi (2002, p. 93) claims that Bashō admired Sōkan for his innovation, which is what he himself was trying to accomplish with the Bashō school.

[232] Suma 須磨 (in Kobe City) and Akashi 明石, slightly further west, are among the most famous of all *utamakura* and variously figure in such classics as *Ise monogatari*, *Genji monogatari*, *Heike monogatari*, and the Noh drama *Matsukaze* (Pine wind). Bashō mentions visiting Suma and Akashi in *Oi no kobumi*. Awaji 淡路 Island is across from Akashi in the Inland Sea, the setting for this particularly well-known verse (*Kokinshū* 9: 409), attributed to Kakinomoto Hitomaro:

honobono to	In the dim light of dawn
akashi no ura no	at Akashi Bay,
asagiri ni	a boat fades from sight behind an island
shimagakure yuku	in the morning mist,
fune o shi zo omou	and with it go my thoughts.

Nōin 能因 (988–1050/1058) was a leading poet of his day and the author of a standard guide to the poetic lexicon, *Nōin utamakura*. He had this verse included in *Goshūishū* (9: 519):

Composed on a journey to Dewa, at a place called Kisakata

yo no naka wa	This too
kakute mo hekeri	is a way through life, I find:
kisakata no	a fisherman's thatched hut
ama no tomaya o	in Kisakata
wa ga yado ni shite	that I now take for my shelter.

Bashō likewise links Nōin to Kisakata (or Kisagata) in *Oku no hosomichi*.

Kenkō 兼好 (ca. 1283–1352 or after), author of *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (Essays in idleness), was also a famous poet and counted as one of the "Four Deva Kings of *Waka*" (Waka Shitennō 和歌四天王). Legend has it that he retired to the Kiso region (in Nagano Prefecture). On the Kenkō legend and Bashō, see Kawahira 1997.

Jakuren 寂蓮 (1139?–1202), another aristocratic poet turned priest, was the adopted son of the great Heian literatus Fujiwara Shunzei and a proponent of Shunzei's Mikohidari 御子左 poetic house. He was also a member of the selection committee for *Shinkokinshū*. Saigyō, introduced here earlier, included in his personal poetry collection *Sankashū* the following verse (no. 477), perhaps composed when Jakuren visited him at Mount Kōya, a center of Shingon Buddhist worship:

samazama no	Such a panoply
nishiki arikeru	of brocade
miyama kana	in these deep mountains!
hana mishi mine o	On the peak where once I viewed the blossoms
shigure sometsutsu	cold rain now colors the leaves.

Saigyō also included in *Sankashū* (no. 1386) the following headnote and verse on Futami, where he stayed for some time in a hermitage (see also n. 249). The toponym is written with the characters for "two looks" (二見), but it is homophonic with "lid and contents" (蓋身), which is evocative of (among other things) clams. Saigyō's verse plays on the fortuitous conjunction of the place-name, the local mollusks, and the contrast between a rustic locale and a courtly errand:

> At Futami Bay, some genteel young girls were digging clams, apparently for a special event. When I remarked that this was a job for common fisherfolk rather than people of their station, they told me that they were gathering them at the request of a personage in the capital for use in shell-matching games (*kaiawase*). I thereupon composed this:

ima zo shiru — Now I understand—
futami no ura no — it is the clams
hamaguri o — from Futami Bay
kaiawase to te — that they join together
ōunarikeri — in the shell-matching game!

The character for clam, *hamaguri* 蛤, includes within it *awase* 合, to join or match, as in *kaiawase*, matching shells.

Bashō may have had Saigyō's *waka* in mind when he composed the verse that ends *Oku no hosomichi*, at the point where he is taking leave of friends and setting out for Futami Bay:

hamaguri no — Like parting a clam from its shell,
futami ni wakare — this departure for Futami
yuku aki zo — in the passing autumn.

Bashō's verse includes a *kakekotoba* pivoting between *futami* (shell and contents) and Futami, and then a second one on *wakare yuku* (depart and leave) and *yuku aki* (departing autumn). The parting, hard as opening a clam and separating the shell from its contents, is all the sadder given that the lovely autumn season will soon give way to winter.

Kensai's retirement to Shirakawa has already been mentioned. Sōchō speaks of Kensai's retirement in *Azumaji no tsuto* and therein also records his own attempt to visit Shirakawa, which was frustrated by heavy rain and fighting in the area. It will be recalled that Sōgi also wrote about the site in his *Shirakawa kikō*, as did Saigyō before him (e.g., *Sankashū* no. 1126). In their accounts, both make reference to perhaps the most famous verse about the site, another one by Nōin (*Goshūishū* 9: 518):

miyako o ba — Though I set out
kasumi to tomo ni — from the imperial city
tachishikado — in the springtime haze,
akikaze zo fuku — the autumn wind now blows
shirakawa no seki — at Shirakawa Gate.

Ironically, Nōin may not have actually visited the site. The thought of viewing it was also one impetus for Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi*.

[233] *Oku no hosomichi*.

[234] The phrase is found in *Oku no hosomichi*.

[235] *Sumitsukanu tabi no kokoro ya okigotatsu*. The verse was composed in Kyoto in 1691.

[236] On Youzi, see n. 187.

[237] *Uguisu ya take no koyabu ni oi o naku*. Bashō made the verse upon his departure for Kansai in 1694, his final journey. The verse appears in *Sumidawara*. After arriving, he stayed at Gichūji temple.

[238] *Record of the Third-Night Moon* (*Mikazuki no ki* 三か月の記, or *Bashōan mikazuki nikki* 芭蕉庵三ケ月日記) contains moon verses composed at Bashō's new cottage

in 1692, as well as other verses by himself and his disciples. Shikō published a version collated from the first and final drafts of the text in 1730. It is listed in *Oi nikki* as one of the manuscripts for which Bashō made arrangements before his death.

[239] After *Goshūishū* 1:43, by Nōin:

kokoro aran	Would I could show it
hito ni miseba ya	to a person of taste:
tsu no kuni no	at Naniwa
naniwa watari no	in the province of Tsu,
haru no keshiki	this springtime vista!

[240] *kono michi o yuku hito nashi ni aki no kure.* The verse, composed in Bashō's last year (1694), has been interpreted as an oblique expression of sadness that no one is following his new style. Bashō's disciple Suganuma Kyokusui 菅沼曲翠 (or Kyokusuishi 曲翠子, 1659–1717) had invited him to visit, and Bashō, having fallen ill, sent a letter declining, with this *hokku* and one other. Kyokusui was the nephew of Genjū 幻住, owner of the Illusory Dwelling, Genjūan (Abe 1982, pp. 660–661). The verse also appears elsewhere as *kono michi ya*.

[241] The medical detail here recalls the fact that Kikaku was raised in a medical household, his father having been an important physician. The passage, notes Shida (1938, pp. 258–260), demonstrates that Bashō was ailing from mushrooms eaten while he was still in his home province of Iga, before setting out for Osaka, and this was compounded by a reaction to the water once he arrived; his final illness was not caused by mushrooms he was served while a guest of his disciple Sonome, as legend has it (e.g., *Hanaya nikki*, p. 15).

[242] Bashō traveled from Iga to Osaka with Shikō, Hirose Izen 広瀬惟然 (Sogyū 素牛, d. 1711), Jirōbei 次郎兵衛 (son of the recently deceased Jutei 寿貞, who may have been Bashō's common-law wife), and Mataemon 又右衛門 (son of Basho's elder brother Matsuo Hanzaemon 松尾半左衛門). So Shikō and Izen had been with Bashō all along. Shidō was present as well in Osaka (Sakurai 1979, pp. 86, 111). Kikaku had yet to arrive, and his account is based on the testimony of others. Here follows a list of many of Bashō's core Kansai disciples: Mukai Kyorai, Mizuta Masahide 水田正秀 (1657–1723), Mochizuki Bokusetsu 望月木節 (d. ca. 1711), Kawai Otokuni, Naitō Jōsō 内藤丈草, and Kawano Riyū 河野李由 (1662–1705). The only other poets with verses in this account but not named here are Yamamoto Kakei 山本荷兮 (1648–1716), Kakō 伽香 (from Osaka), and Shidō's disciple Donshū 呑舟 (from Ōtsu).

[243] *Tabi ni yande yume wa kareno o kakemeguru*. Variants give *tabi ni yamite* and *kakemawaru*.

[244] *Kareno o meguru yumegokoro*.

[245] *Ochitsuki ya karachōzu shite kamiatsume*. Making "ladling motions" (*karachōzu*) means to mime the ladling of water as a purification rite prefatory to prayer.

[246] *Kogarashi no sora minaosu ya tsuru no koe*. Read *tazu* in traditional *waka*, the crane is a symbol of longevity.

[247] *Ashigaro ni take no hayashi ya misosazai*. The verse suggests that Bashō, like the bird, will again set forth on his travels after recovering from his illness. The

Japanese wren (*misosazai*) is the smallest bird indigenous to Japan; in the winter it comes nearer to lower, populated areas, then returns to the forests in the spring and early summer.

[248] *Hatsuyuki ni yagate tebikan sadanomiya*. Sada 佐太 Shrine is located on the Yodo River; it is dedicated to Sugawara Michizane, deified after his death as the god of literature.

[249] *Kami no rusu tanomi chikara ya matsu no kaze*. All the gods in Japan assemble in Izumo Province in the tenth or "godless" month (Kannazuki). The wind in the pines evokes such poems as *Senzaishū* 20: 1278, by Saigyō:

> After he had grown tired of dwelling at Mount Kōya he went to a mountain temple at Futami Bay in Ise Province, where a peak named Kamijiyama stands by Ise Shrine. He composed this there, on observing that the deity is a manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai:
>
> fukaku irite — Having made my way
> kamiji no oku o — deep into the recesses
> tazunureba — of Kamiji Mountain,
> mata ue mo naki — there on the highest peak of all,
> mine no matsukaze — wind in the pines.

Note Kikaku referred earlier to Bashō's journey to Futami in the footsteps of Saigyō.

[250] *Sueagete isami tsukikeri taka no kao*. Like a hawk ready to fly from its keeper's arm on a hunt, Kakō hopes Bashō will rise healthy from his bed.

[251] *Okosaruru koe mo ureshiki tanpo kana.*

[252] *Suisen ya tsukai ni tsurete tokobanare.*

[253] *Tōge kosu kamo no sanari ya morokioi. Kioi* also means "vigor"—wishful thinking here.

[254] *Hi ni mashite mimasu kao nari shimo no kiku*. Chrysanthemums thrive in winter.

[255] Mochizuki Bokusetsu was a physician.

[256] Donshū and Enami Shara 榎並舎羅 were both Kansai residents and disciples of Enomoto Shidō. Shara took Buddhist orders after Bashō's death and adopted the master's peripatetic poetic lifestyle.

[257] Bashō therefore knew that Kikaku was coming to see him. On the evening of the tenth he developed a high fever; he wrote a letter to his brother Hanzaemon and had Shikō write three others (*Oi nikki*, p. 32).

[258] Tagaya Gan'ō 多賀谷岩翁 (d. 1722) and his son (or younger brother) Kiō 亀翁 were disciples of Kikaku. They both composed verses preserved in Kikaku's record of the trip, *Zuien kikō*. A number of their travel verses made during a trip to Ōyama and Enoshima are also preserved in Kikaku's *Zōtanshū* (Sundry talk, 1691).

[259] The remark implies a premonition of Bashō's imminent demise (Imaizumi 1993, p. 113).

[260] Sumiyoshi and Waka Bay (Wakanoura) are both places closely connected to the poetic way. Aridōshi 蟻通 Shrine is in Osaka; its eponymous god was intent upon killing the Heian poet Ki no Tsurayuki's horse until the poet assuaged the

deity's wrath with a verse (*Tsurayukishū* 9: 806). Sei Shōnagon likewise mentions the god in *The Pillow Book,* and it is the subject of the Noh play *Aridōshi*.

[261] There may be overtones here of Shinkei's famous *kumo wa nao* verse (see n. 44).

[262] *Fukei yori tsuru o manekan shigure kana*. Here again, the verse expresses the hope that by calling a crane—a symbol of longevity—Bashō too will go on living. The brilliant imagery of the crane also compensates for the depressing rain outside. Fukei and cranes had long been associated in poetry.

[263] The poem ends *Genjūanki* in *Sarumino*:

mazu tanomu — There is a beech tree
shii no ki mo ari — to rely on for now—
natsukodachi — the summer grove.

Bashō had spent much of his life wandering; here at the Illusory Dwelling (Genjūan) he finally rests, taking solace in the summer shade of the beech tree (chinquapin) nearby. Perhaps Bashō was thinking of this verse by Saigyō (*Sankashū* no. 1401):

narabiite — The willow tit
tomo o hanarenu — that keeps its mate
kogarame no — ever by its side
negura ni tanomu — relies on them for its nest—
shii no shitaeda — the lower branches of the beech.

The tree never sheds its leaves and therefore provides constant protection. One version of *Genjūanki* ends with Bashō reflecting on life's travails. That would seem to be the connection in which Kikaku introduces the next verse fragment, *kisodono to tsuka o narabete*, "next to the grave of Lord Kiso," which he attributes to the master. But he seems to have been mistaken in this, as it resembles a travel verse by Bashō's disciple Yūgen 又玄 of Ise:

kisozuka to — My back against
senaka awasuru — Lord Kiso's grave
yosamu kana — in the cold of the night.

The grave of Kiso no Yoshinaka 木曽義仲 (d. 1184), a tragic figure in *Heike monogatari*, is located at Gichūji 義仲寺 ("Yoshinaka Temple"), said to have been founded on the site where his favorite consort Tomoe Gozen 巴御前 had retired as a "nameless nun" after his death. Mumyōan 無名庵 (Nameless Cottage) accordingly became another name for the temple or for a structure within it where Bashō spent time during his last years. Bashō was evidently moved by the war between the Genji and the Heike houses, the conflict in which Yoshinaka died, and he mentions him and a number of other figures from that conflict in *Oku no hosomichi*. Gichūji is in Zeze, now part of Ōtsu City; the site of Genjūan is a few miles to the south, in the hills. Rotsū quotes Bashō in *Bashō-ō gyōjōki* (pp. 887–888) thus: "'Take my remains to Lord Kiso's. It is on the east-west road, by a pristine beach and rippling waves, and

I have long had a connection to it. It will not be a difficult place to reach for friends who miss me.' Otokuni reverently promised that he would not fail to see to it."

[264] The moon is now nearly full, and Bashō quotes part of Saigyō's famous verse that expresses the hope of dying at the same time the Buddha had, beneath the full moon of enlightenment (*Shinkokinshū* 18: 1993):

negawaku wa	This I pray:
hana no shita ni te	that I may die beneath the blossoms
haru shinamu	in spring
sono kisaragi no	as he did, in the second month
mochizuki no koro	when the moon is full.

[265] *Uzukumaru kusuri no moto no samusa kana*. Though heating the medicine, the poet finds both body and mind chilled.

[266] *Byōchū no amari susuru ya fuyugomori.* See also n. 112.

[267] *Hipparite futon zo samuki waraigoe*.

[268] *Shikararete tsugi no ma e deru samusa kana.*

[269] *Omoiyoru yotogi mo shitashi fuyugomori.*

[270] *Kuji torite nameshi takasuru yotogi kana.*

[271] *Mina ko nari minomushi samuku nakitsukusu*. The cries of the bagworm (*minomushi*) are thought to sound like *chichi yo, chichi yo*, or "father! father!" Bashō refers to himself as one in *Genjūanki* (p. 501). Note also this verse by Bashō from 1687:

minomushi no	The cries of the bagworm—
ne o kiki ni ko yo	come and listen to them
kusa no io	at my thatched hut!

[272] The boatmen perhaps would not have transported a coffin.

[273] *Toma moru shizuku sode samuki tabine koso are tabine koso are*. The song is unidentified. Jutei died in the sixth month of this year. It is unknown whether Jirōbei was Bashō's son; Kikaku's roundabout reference to him as "Jutei's son" may be because there had been no formal marriage between her and Bashō (Imaizumi 2002, p. 223). But Akahane (1974, p. 64) argues against this, citing the fact that Shikō in *Bashō-ō tsuizen no nikki* refers to Jirōbei as Bashō's "follower" (*jūsha* 従者).

[274] They reached Fushimi at dawn on the thirteenth.

[275] Kikaku purports to be writing at Gichūji.

[276] Chigetsu 智月 (d. ca. 1708) was born in Yamashiro and is said to have served in the imperial palace. After her husband died in 1686, she adopted her younger brother Otokuni to be her heir and took Buddhist orders. She thus appears in some sources as Otokuni's mother. An important poet in Bashō's school, Chigetsu was presented with a copy of *Genjūanki* by him in 1691. She was twelve or thirteen years older than the master, and after his death was assiduous in carrying out memorials for him. Kyoriku wrote that as a poet she was superior to Otokuni. The pure white robe may have been a "sutra robe" (*kyōkatabira* 経帷子) with holy passages inked on it.

[277] Gichūji was originally under the jurisdiction of Miidera Enman'in 三井寺円満院 temple, and Chokugu (or Jikigu) 直愚 held both abbacies.

[278] A cherry marked Saigyō's grave, and a pine, Sōgi's (see n. 190). As indicated in n. 263, Kikaku mistakenly thought that the well-known verse "next to the grave of Lord Kiso" was by Bashō.

[279] This is perhaps a reference to *Man'yōshū* 3: 351, by Shami Mansei:

yo no naka o	To what can I compare
nani ni tatoemu	this life?
asabiraki	It is as when a boat
kogiinishi fune no	is rowed away at dawn,
ato naki ga goto	leaving nothing in its wake.

[280] These poems then follow in *Kareobana*. The bereaved brought Bashō's remains to Gichūji on the afternoon of the thirteenth, and then with Chokugu in charge they carried out the interment the next night, beside Yoshinaka's grave. On the anniversary of the first week after death, the eighteenth, they erected the tombstone with the inscription "Bashō-ō" and on the same day held a hundred-verse memorial sequence that contains verses by forty-three poets. The sequence begins the poetry section of *Kareobana*.

[281] This passage suggests he was asked to write the account.

[282] Awazu 粟津, in Ōtsu City, is another of the Eight Views of Ōmi. It is known for its "pure gusts" of wind (*seiran*). The memorial tablet bore Bashō's Buddhist name.

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Note: Premodern works are cited by title; modern works, by author or editor; and translations from classical Japanese generally by translator.

Abbreviations

GR	*Gunsho ruijū*
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
MN	*Monumenta Nipponica*
NKBT	*Nihon koten bungaku taikei*
NKBZ	*Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*
SKGR	*Shinkō gunsho ruijū*
SNKBT	*Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei*
SNKBZ	*Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*
SNKS	*Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei*
ZGR	*Zoku gunsho ruijū*

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Index to the Poems

General Index and Character Glossary

Note: Premodern works are cited by title; modern works, by author or editor, and translations generally by translator.

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