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Constellations of Landscape:
Perceiver, Picture, Word, and World in Late-Meiji Literature and Visual Culture

by

Ezra Jeremiah Toback

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Japanese Language

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Alan Tansman, Chair
Professor Daniel O'Neill
Professor Jonathan Zwicker
Professor Allen Hockley

Fall 2022

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Abstract

Constellations of Landscape:
Perceiver, Picture, Word, and World in Late-Meiji Literature and Visual Culture

by

Ezra Jeremiah Toback

Doctor of Philosophy in Japanese Language

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Alan Tansman, Chair

This dissertation forges and models a methodology for the study of literary landscape. It does so by exploring landscape in Japanese literature from the end of the nineteenth century as the site of constellations of relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world. The dissertation approaches landscape in late-Meiji literature as the site of an embodied, experiential relation between perceiver and world. It takes this approach in conversation with the literary historian Kamei Hideo and scholars of environmental perception and landscape phenomenology such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Arnold Berleant, Tim Ingold, and John Wylie. At the same time, the dissertation analyzes the historically specific forms of verbal and pictorial expression at work in or pertinent to particular landscape texts. That is, it combines a focus on perceivers' embodied experiences of landscape with the study of historically contingent forms of verbal and pictorial mediation. The dissertation delineates historical developments in the Edo and especially the Meiji periods that conditioned the thematic content and the modes of perception and expression at work in particular landscape texts. By extension, it shows how such developments conditioned the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world realized in those texts through acts of perception and expression. In this way, the dissertation arrives at a methodology for studying literary landscape, one applicable beyond the context of late-Meiji Japan, that negotiates between the perceptual and the discursive, the experiential and the historical. It further transforms our understanding of late-Meiji landscape literature by illuminating how such literature often stages an intimacy, or commingling, among perceiver, word, and world.

The dissertation adopts this approach to the study of literary landscape in analyses of specific texts. Chapters One through Three build upon the work of scholars such as Akasaka Norio, Ichimura Sōichi, and Kondō Akihiko to delineate historical contexts that bore upon the modes of perception and expression as well as the subject matter of Kunikida Doppo's prose-poetic essay "Today's Musashino" (1898). They consider, for example, Musashino's historical representation as an endless plain of grasses as well as the Romantic practice of walking through nature—a practice linked to suburban strolls portrayed in the essay. The chapters then analyze the relations among perceiver, word, and world realized in this essay through acts of perception and expression. The text, I show, stages moments of coordination or synchronization among the rhythms of Doppo's prose, the gestures and perceptions of walkers who stroll about Tokyo's

suburbs, and the acoustic, visual, topographical, and climatic textures of the suburbs.

Following the discussion of Doppo, Chapter Four outlines the impulse among several writers as well as the watercolorist Ōshita Tōjirō to write about clouds or to paint clouds, respectively, at the turn of the twentieth century. In Chapters Five through Seven, I analyze verbal descriptions of clouds by Tokutomi Roka, Kunikida Doppo, and Shimazaki Tōson. Drawing upon the work of scholars such as Kaneko Takayoshi and Morimoto Takako, the chapters ask how these writers' descriptions of clouds were shaped by their exposures to Western-style painting, to John Ruskin's discussions of clouds in the treatise *Modern Painters* (1843-60), or to both. These descriptions enact three "descriptive tendencies," ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world (cloud): "transcribing" perceived form; expressing the sensuous and affective experience of perception, or again, expressing the world as thus experienced; and textualizing forces or energies that are tied, but that are not necessarily reducible, to perceived forms. Chapter Eight returns to the essay examined in Chapter Seven, Tōson's "Clouds" (1900), to ask how parts of this text feature "synthetic" environmental description that figures the clouds as part of an interconnected environment. The chapter reveals a coexistence, or even a shift between, "analytical" and "synthetic" tendencies in Tōson's natural description.

For my parents

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List of Conventions

When citing Japanese-language texts from the Meiji period (1868-1912) or later, I list the place of publication only for those texts published outside Tokyo.

I have referred to the following encyclopedias, dictionaries, and collected works. I do not include the titles or publication information of the individual volumes of these texts in the endnotes to each chapter:

> Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, ed. *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*. 6 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1983-85 [hereafter, NKBD].
>
> Morohashi Tetsuji. *Daikanwa jiten*. Edited by Kamada Tadashi and Yoneyama Toratarō. Revised Edition. 13 vols. Taishūkan Shoten, 1984-86.
>
> Ochiai Naobumi. *Nihon daijiten: kotoba no izumi*. 5 Vols. Ōkura Shoten, 1898-99. Reprinted in Hida Yoshifumi, Matsui Shigekazu, and Sakaida Toshinobu, eds., *Kotoba no izumi*. *Fu* 12 of *Meijiki kokugo jisho taikei*. Ōzorasha, 2003 [I will cite only the dictionary's first four volumes, all of which date from 1898].
>
> Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, ed. *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*. 3 vols. Shōgakukan, 2006.
>
> Cook, E.T. and Alexander Weddeerburn, eds. *The Works of John Ruskin*. Library Edition. 39 vols. London: George Allen, 1903-12. Reprinted as *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*. Tokyo: Hon-no-Tomosha, 1990.
>
> *Shiki zenshū*. 25 vols. Kōdansha, 1975-78.
>
> *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*. Expanded edition. 11 vols. Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1978.
>
> *Tōson zenshū*. 18 vols. Chikuma Shobō, 1966-71.

Finally, all translations are my own unless noted otherwise.

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Miura hantōzu. Appendix (*furoku*) to Arai Tomosaburō, ed. *Zushi chōshi*. Zushimachi, Japan: Zushimachi, 1928. Held by the Zushi City Library. The map was reproduced (寫) by Saitō Sakura (?; 齋藤作良).

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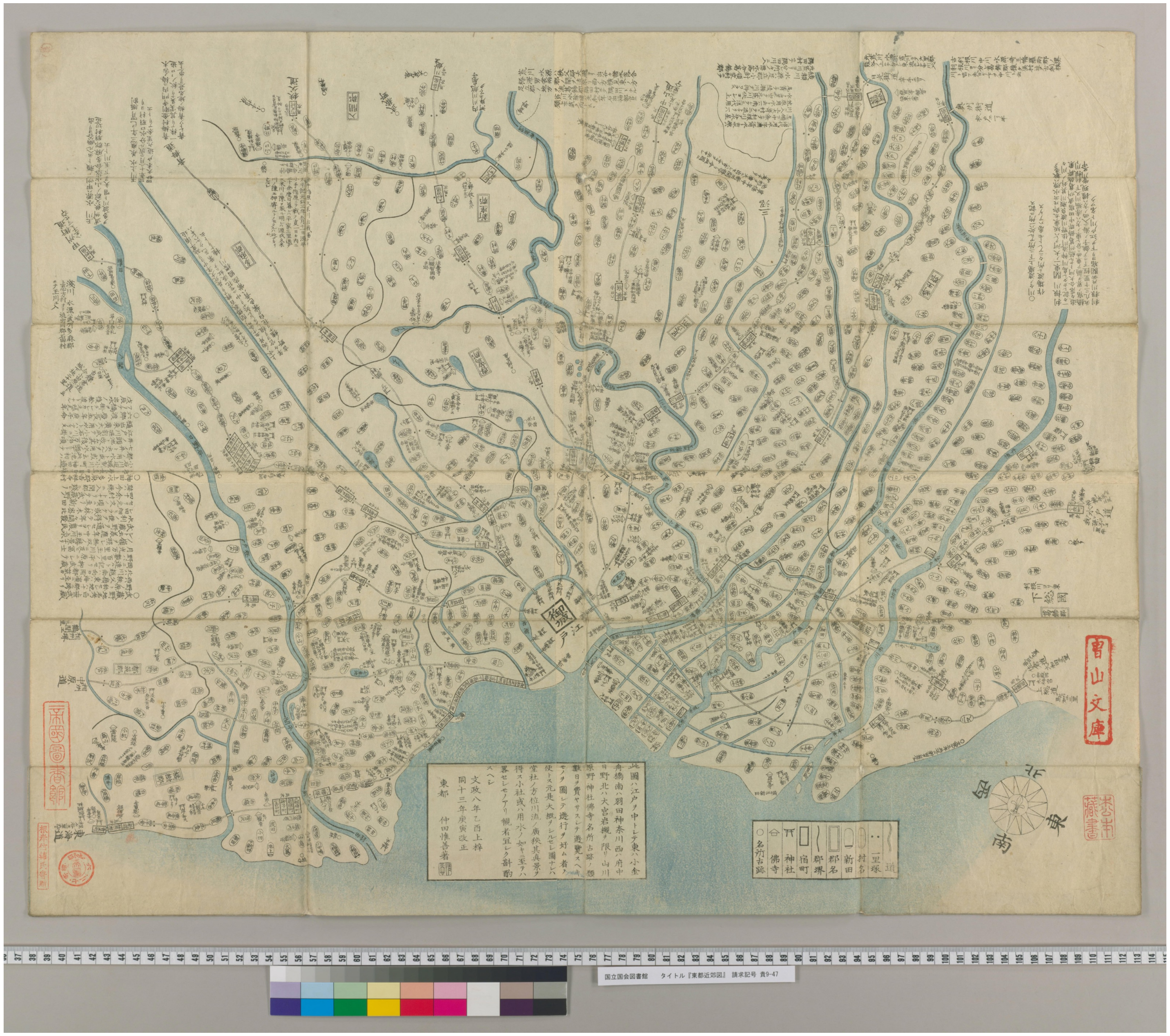
Shimazaki Tōson. "Kumo." *Tenchijin* 40 (August 1900): 9. In *Kindai Nihon kirisutokyō shinbun shūsei. Dai 3-ki*, edited by Nihon Tosho Sentā. Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1995, reel 93 [microfilm, held by the UCLA Library].



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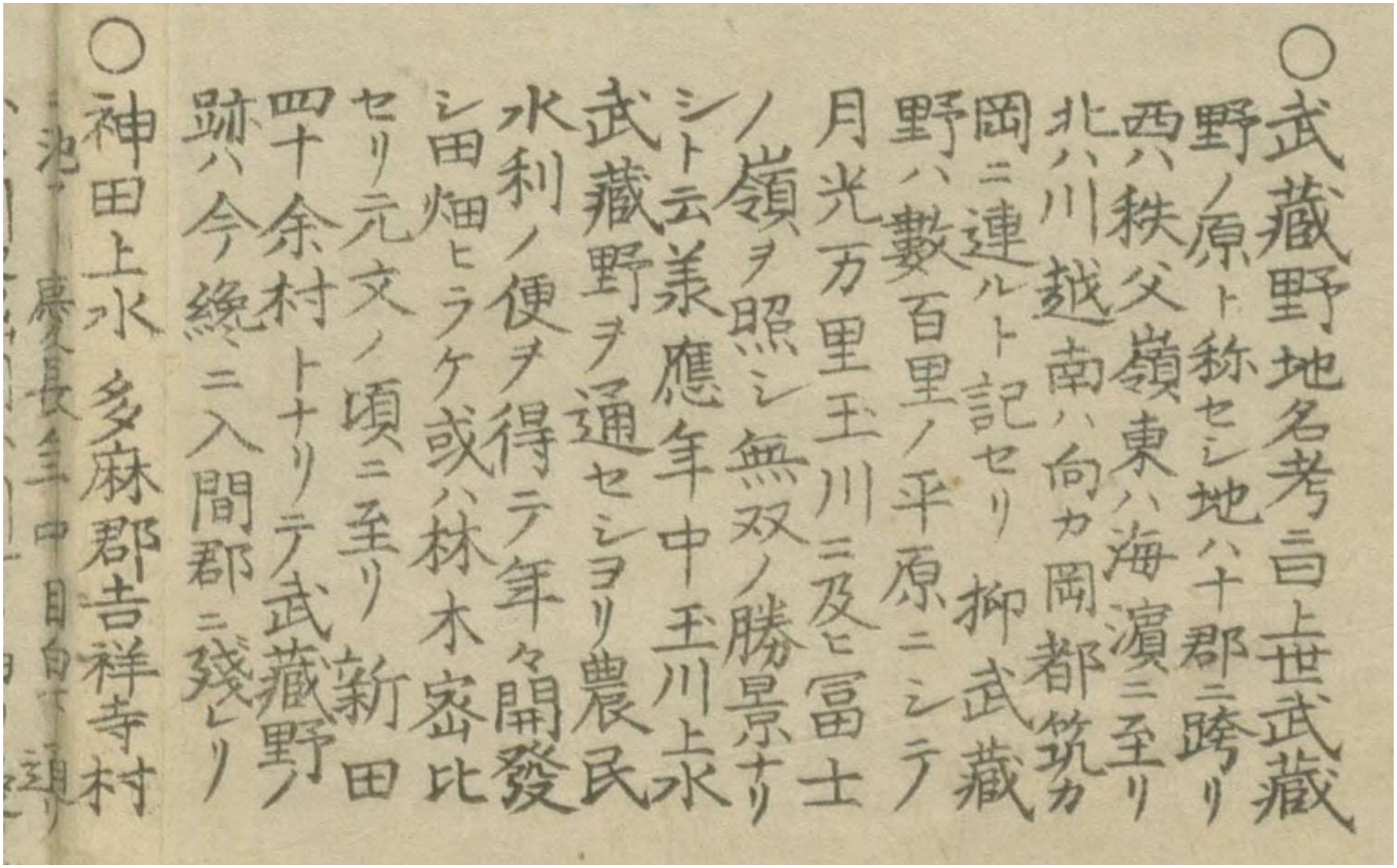

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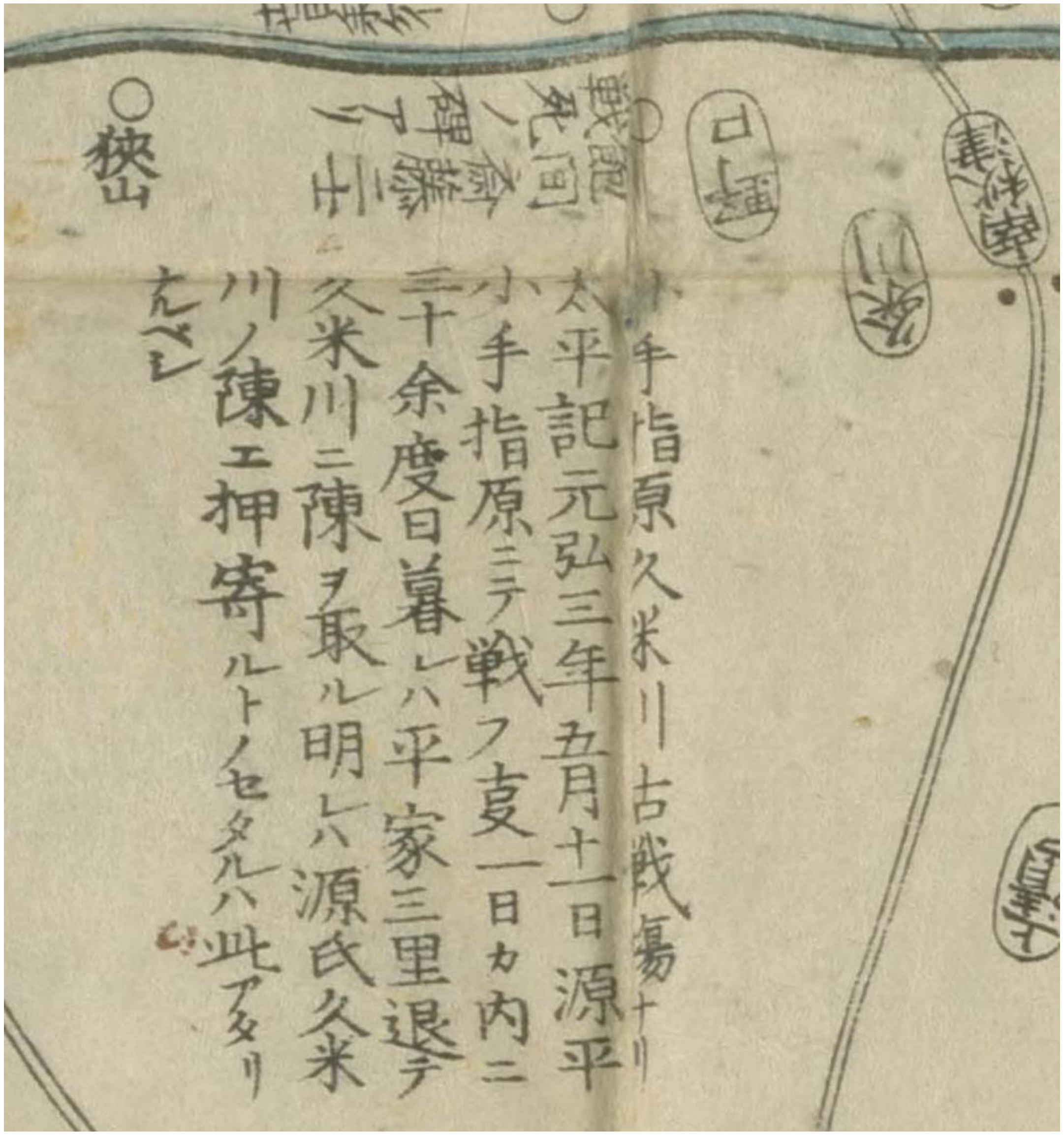

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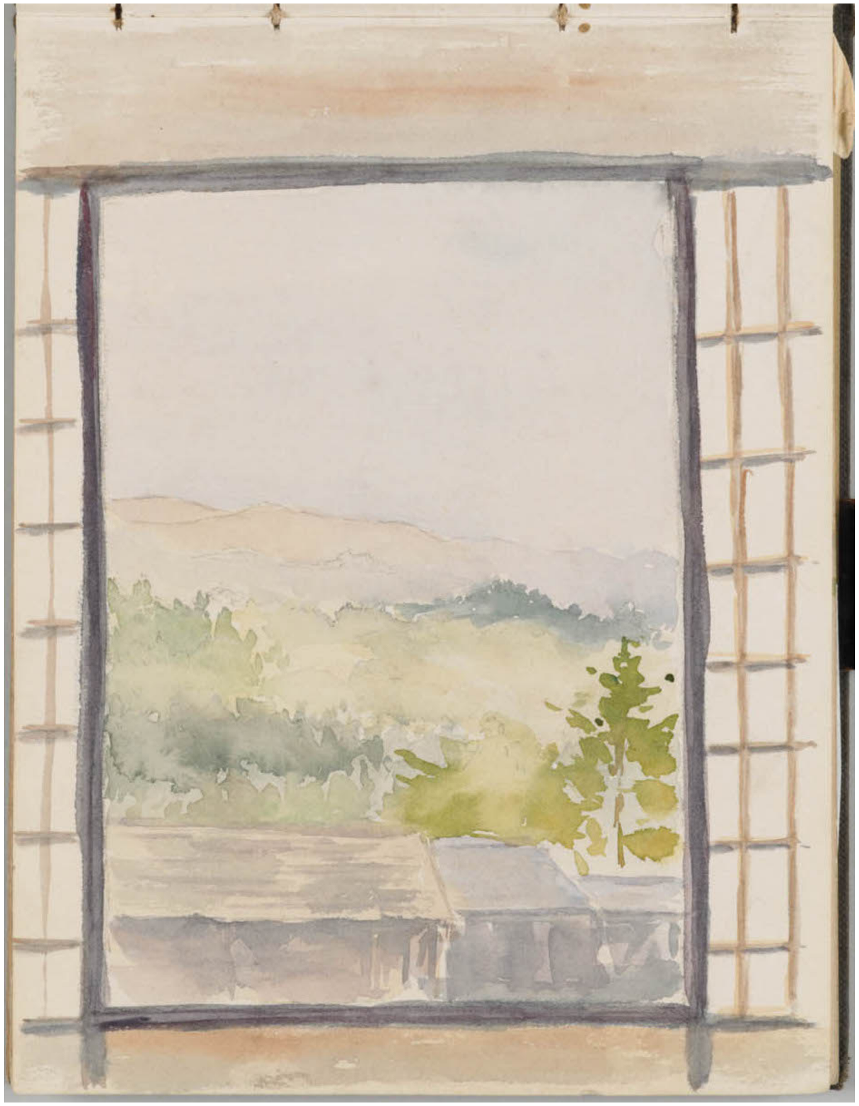

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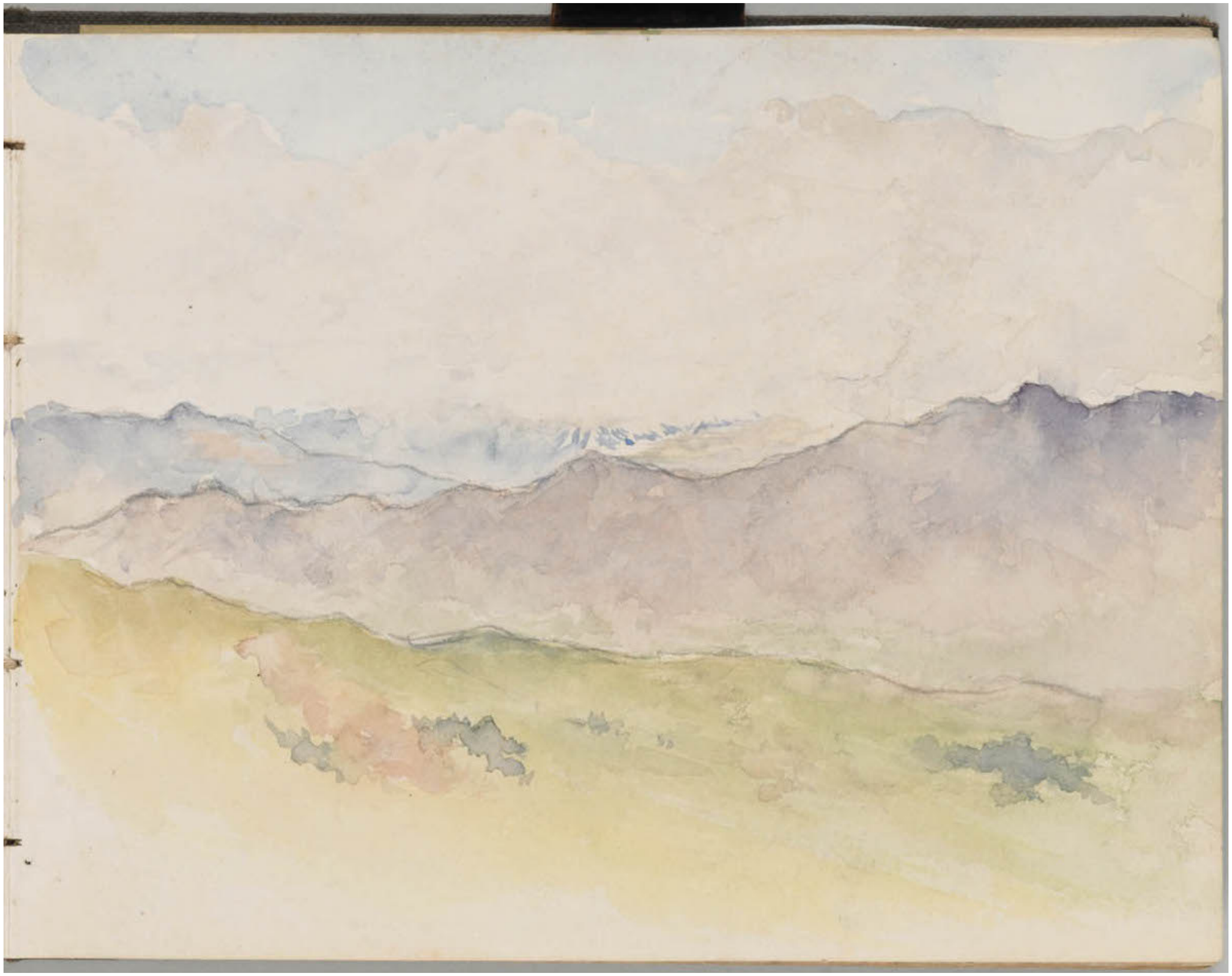

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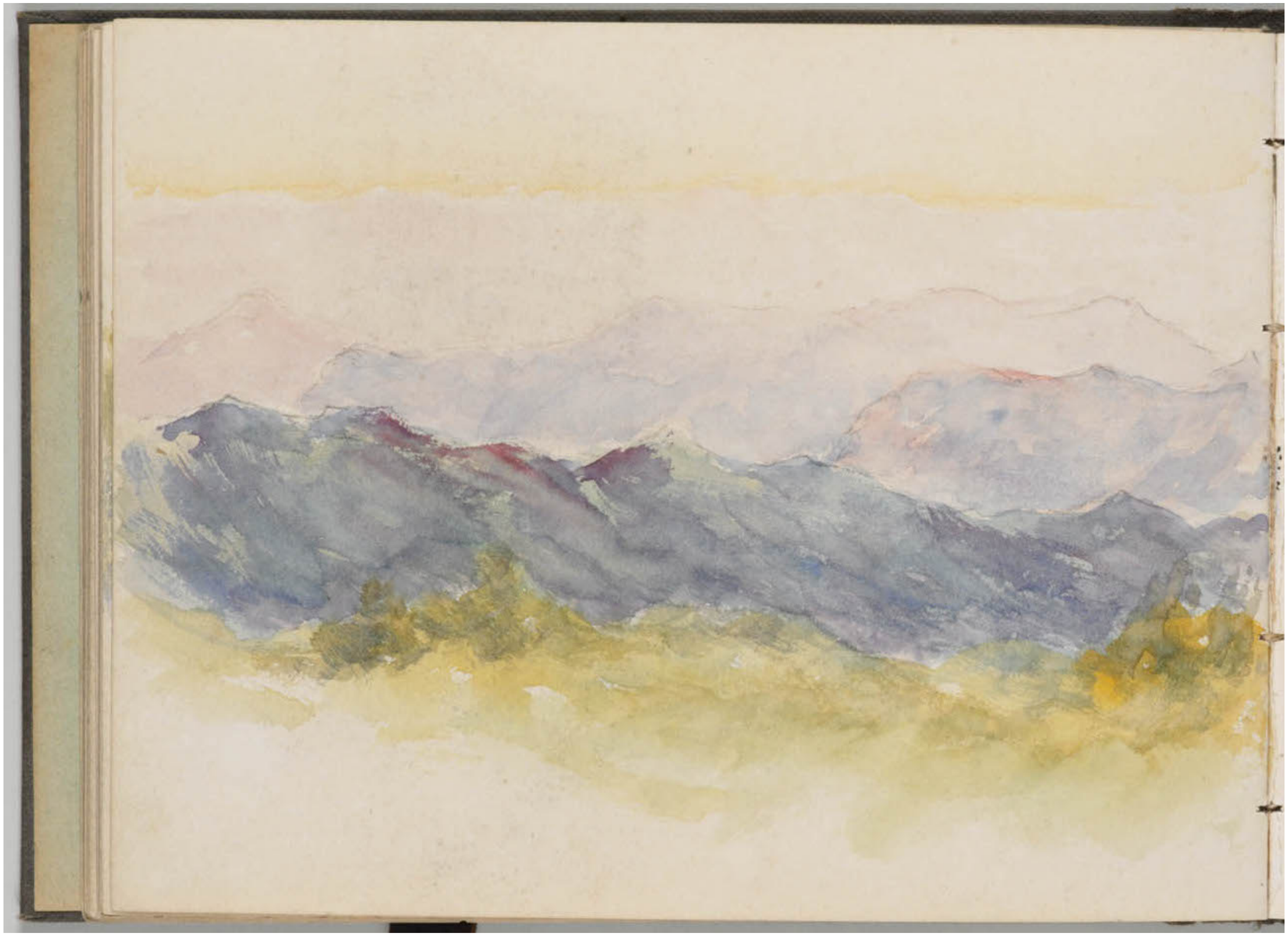

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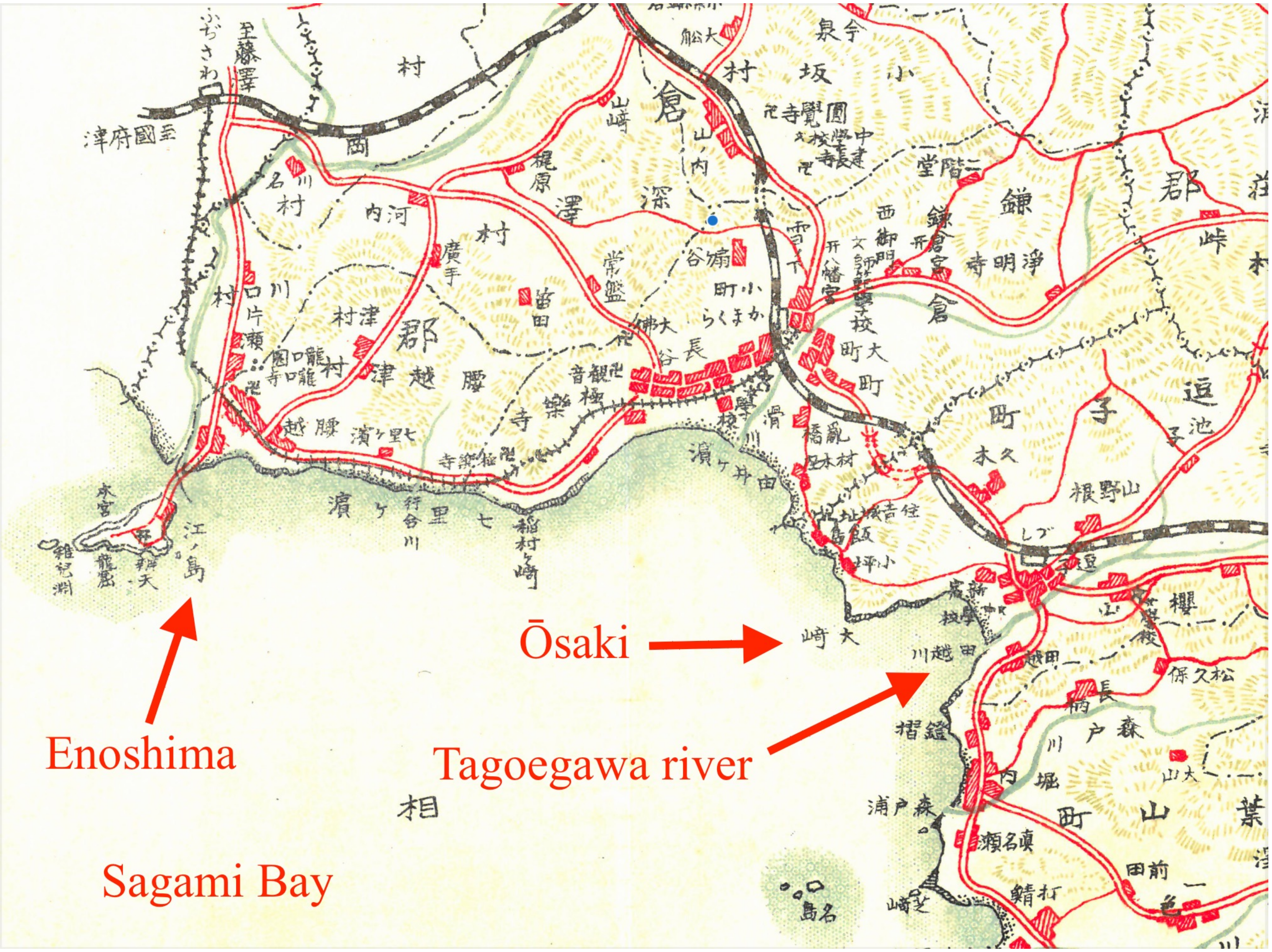
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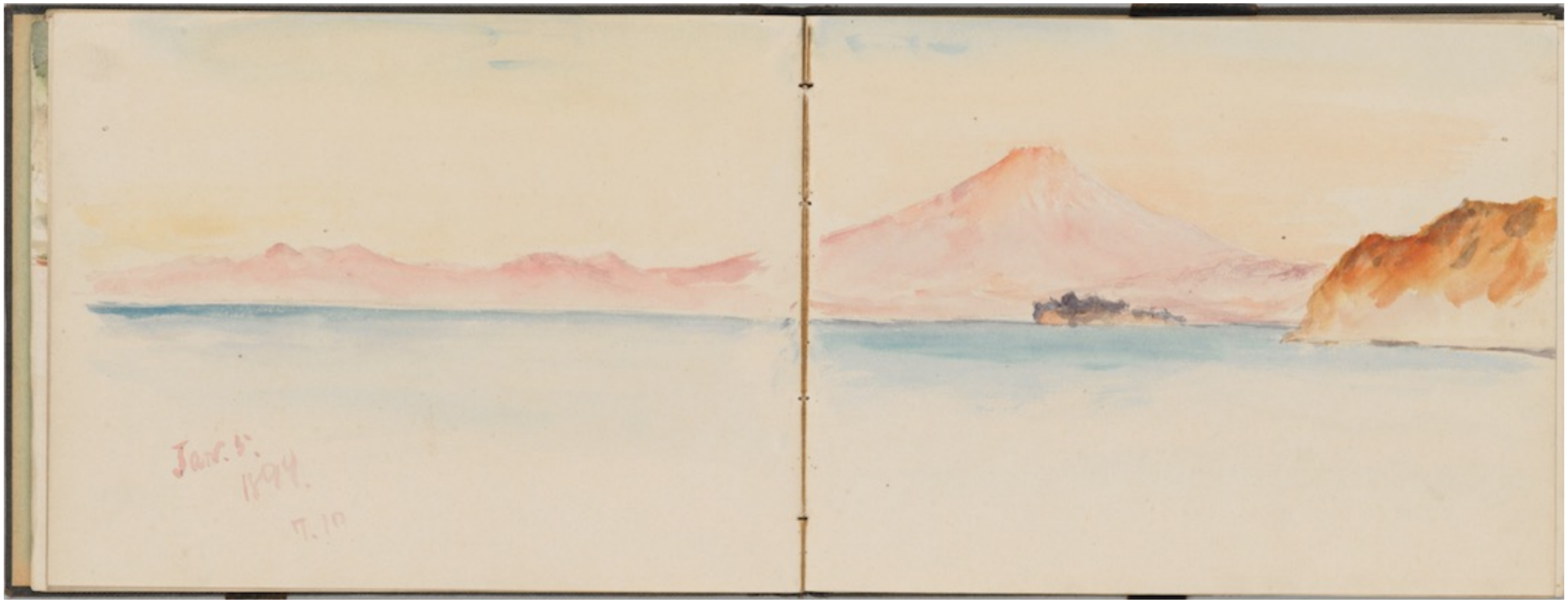

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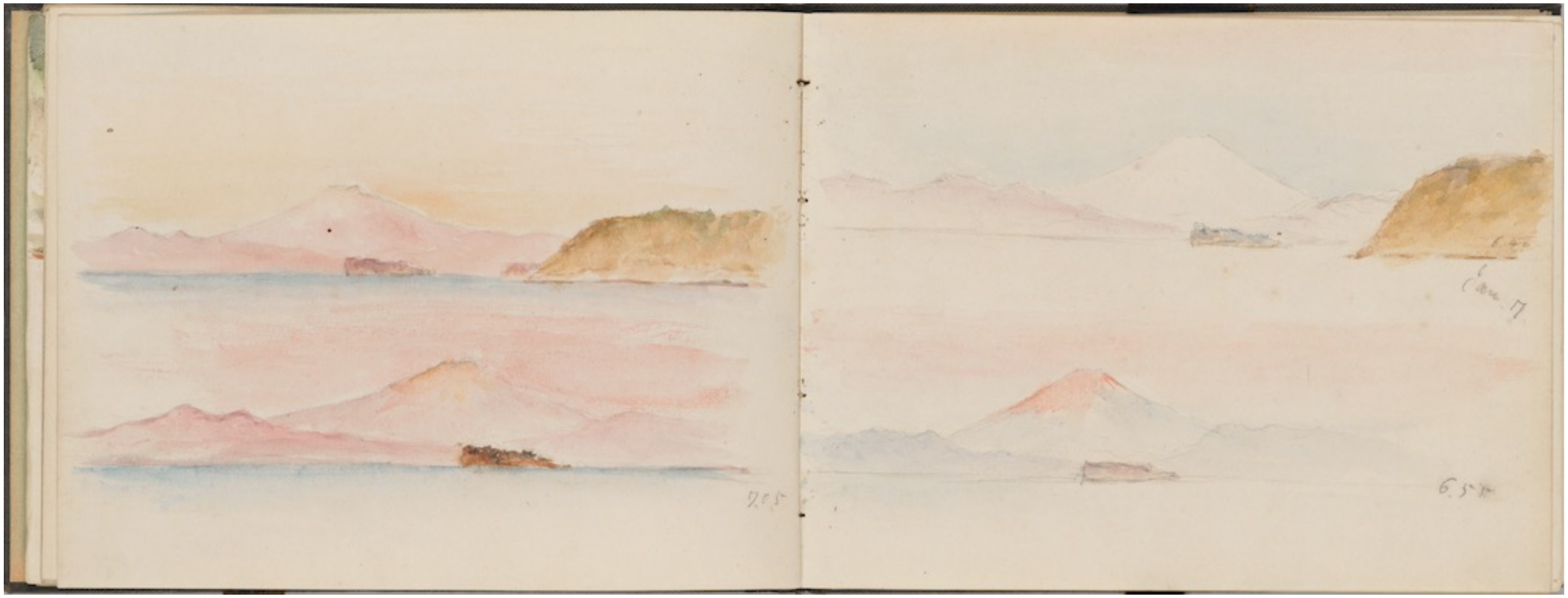

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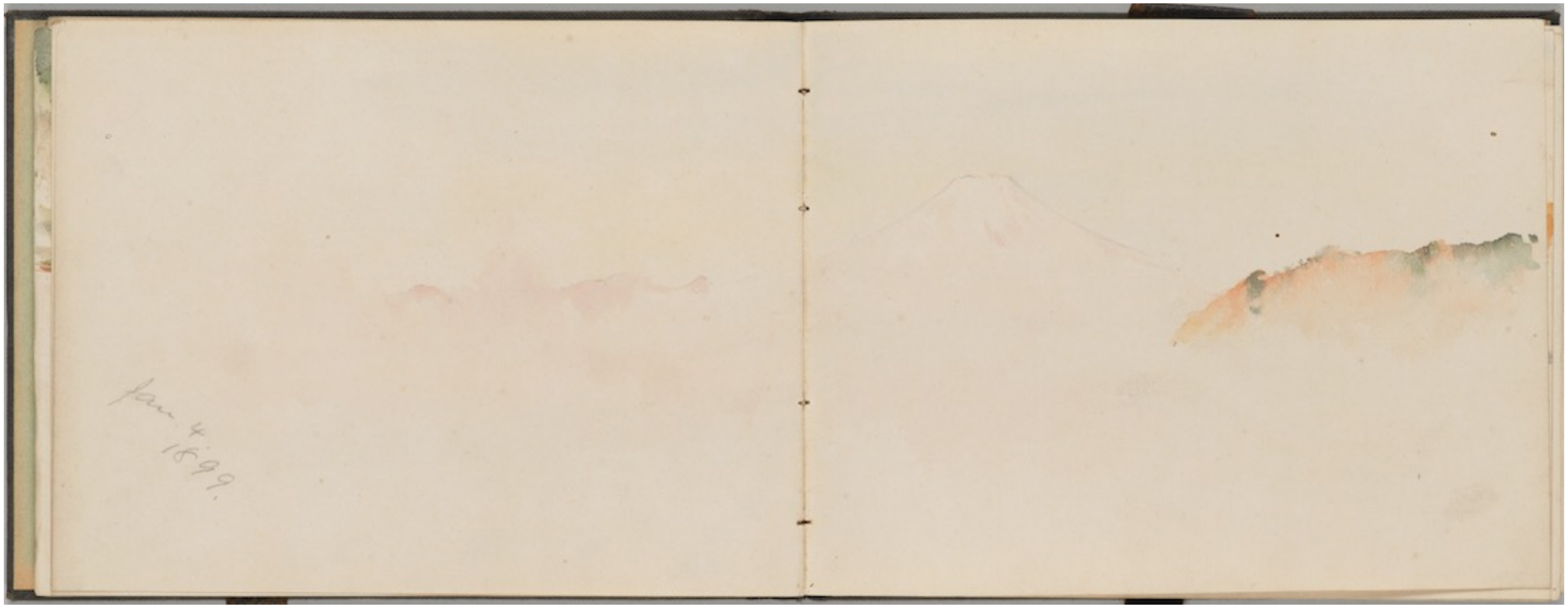

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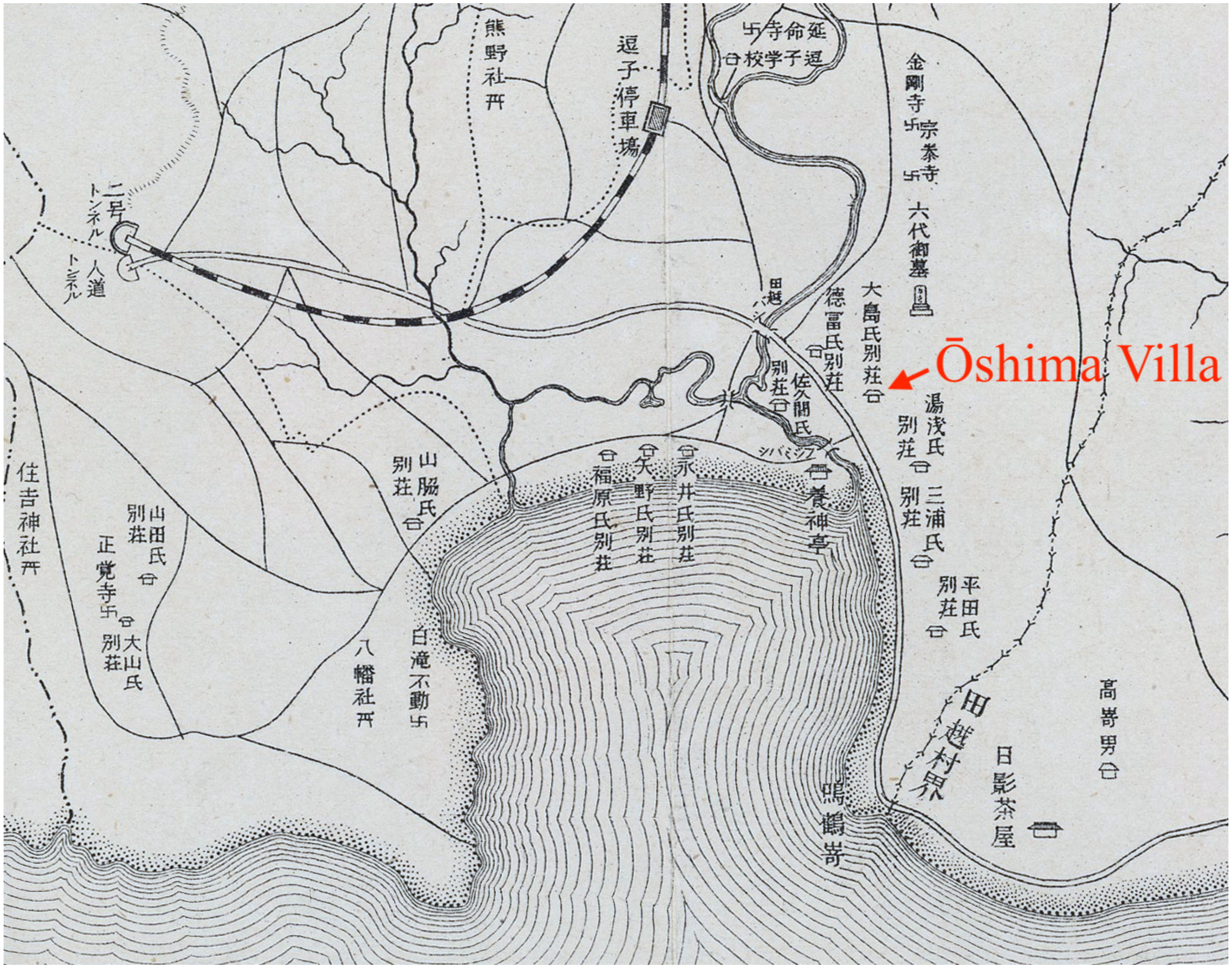
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熊野社
逗子停車場
金剛寺
宗泰寺
六代御墓
二号トンネル
人道トンネル
田越ハシ
大島氏別荘
徳富氏別荘
佐久間氏別荘
湯浅氏別荘
三浦氏別荘
平田氏別荘
養神亭
永井氏別荘
大野氏別荘
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山脇氏別荘
山田氏別荘
正覚寺
大山氏別荘
住吉神社
八幡社
白滝不動
鳴鶴嵜
田越村界
日影茶屋
高嵜男

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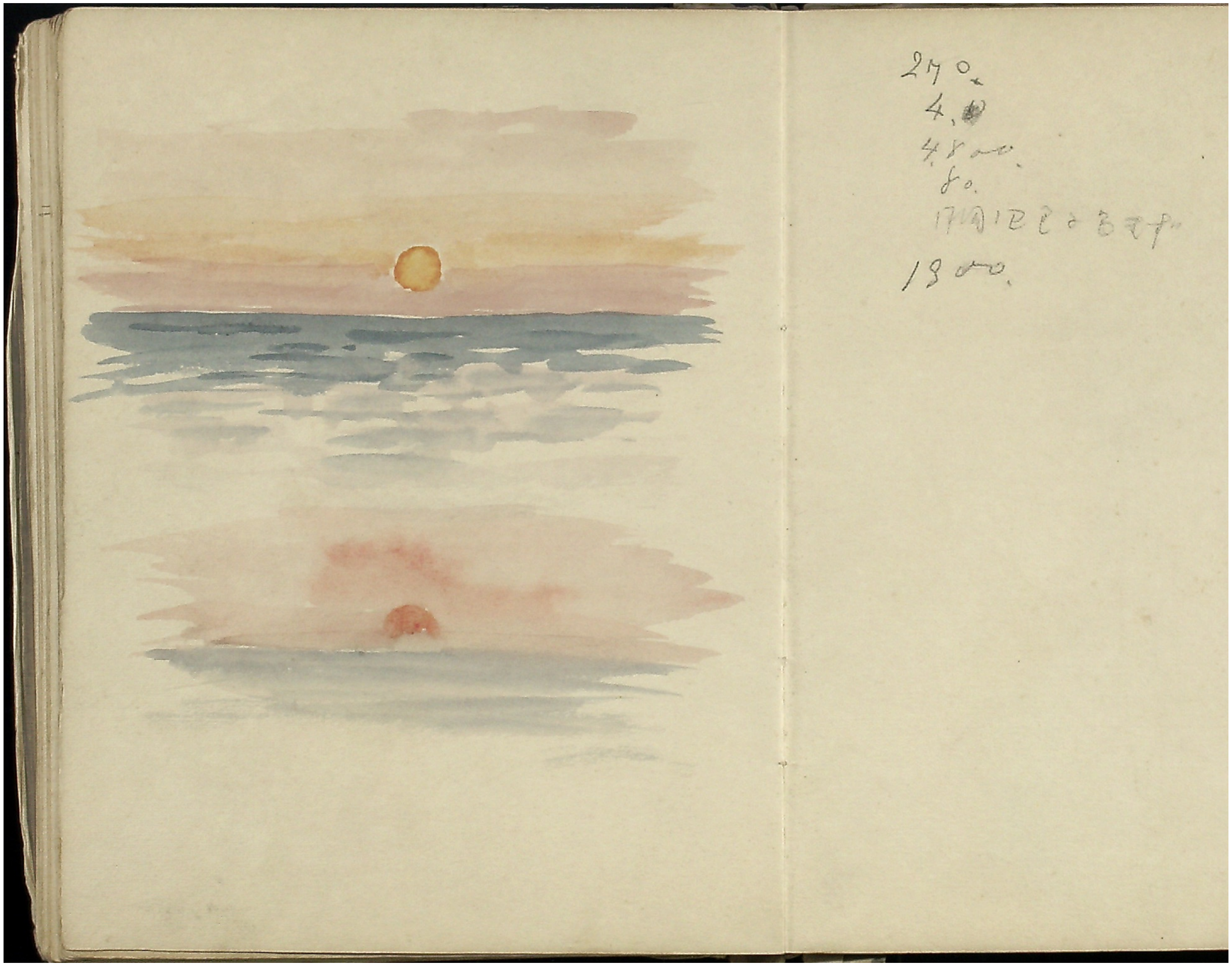

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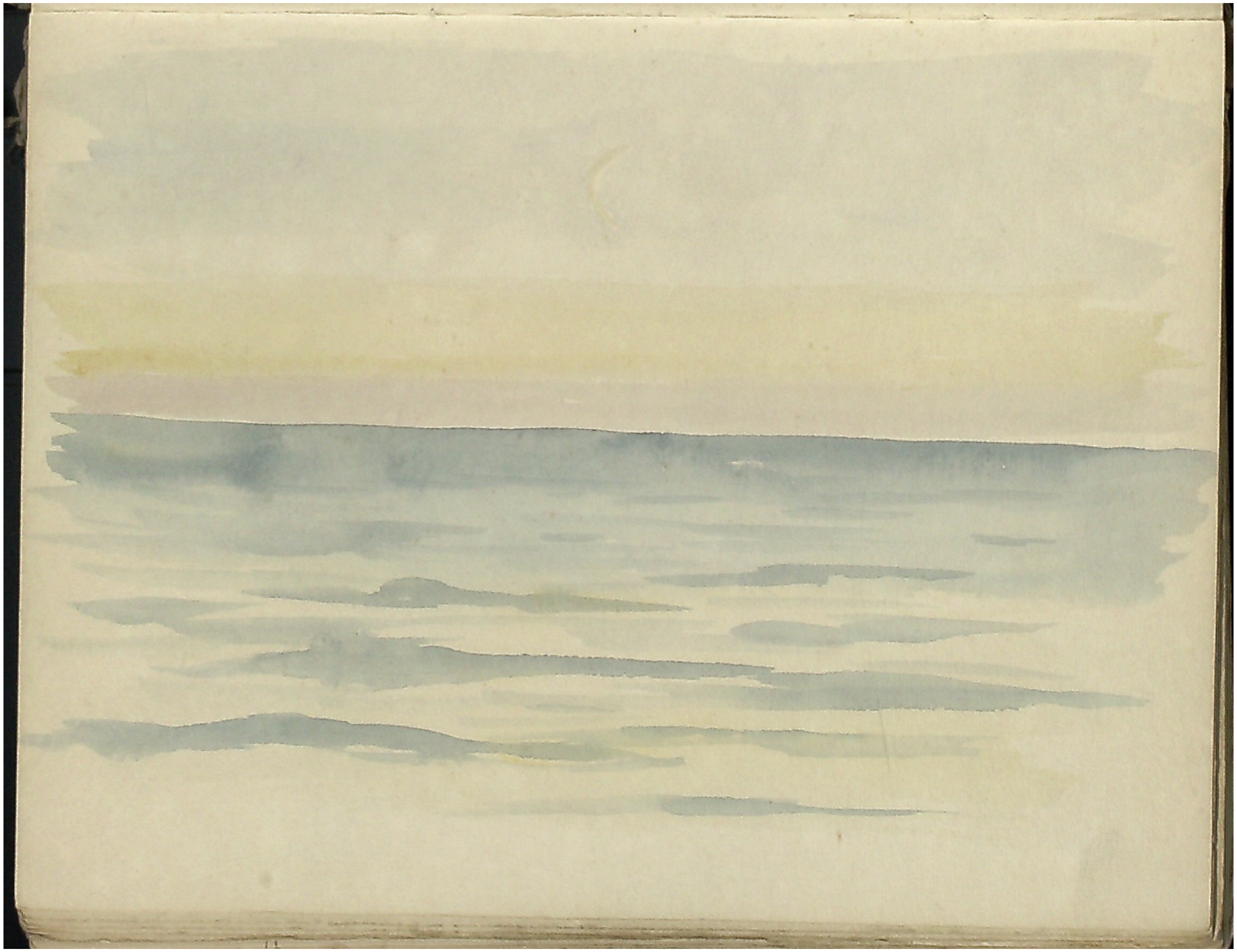

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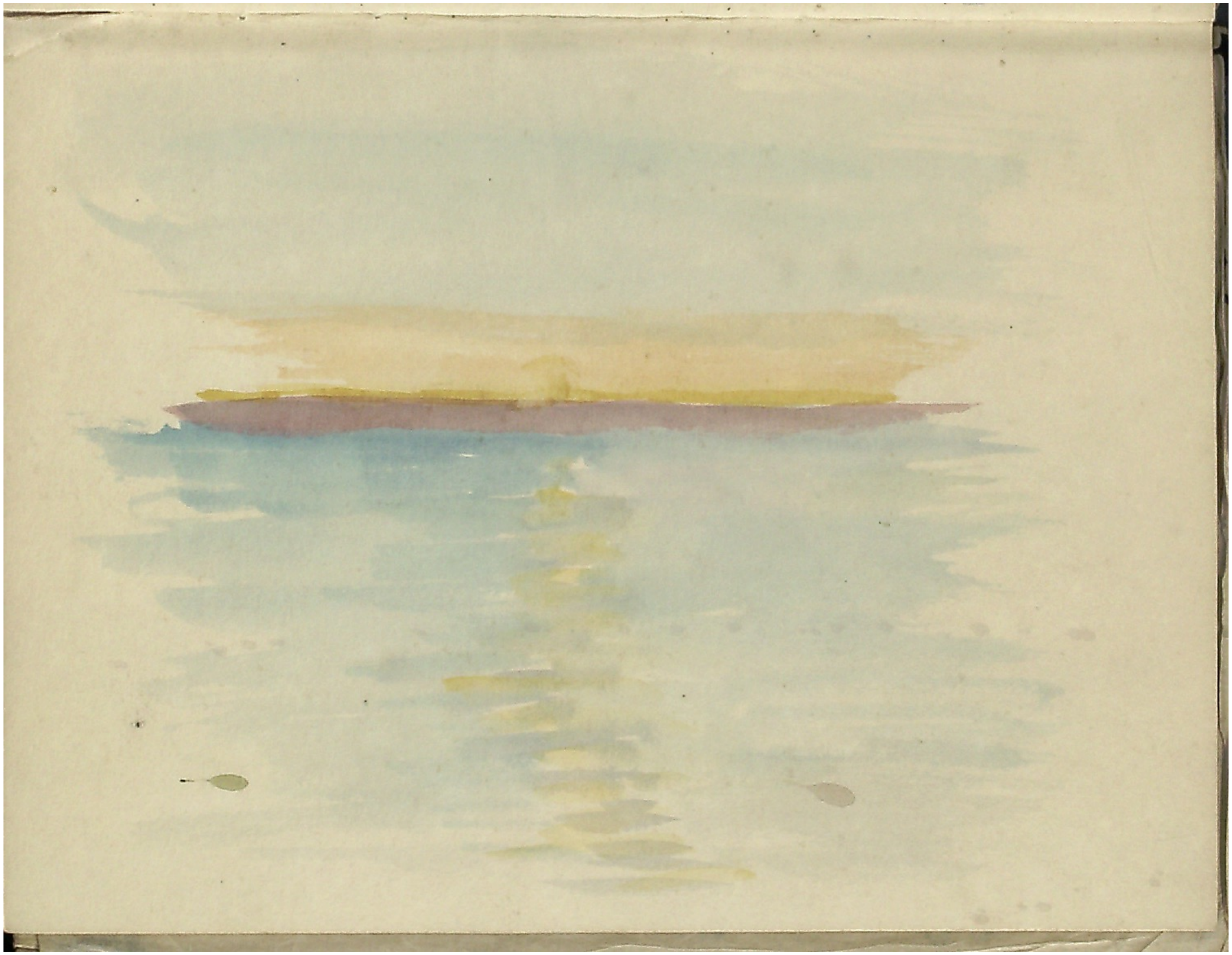

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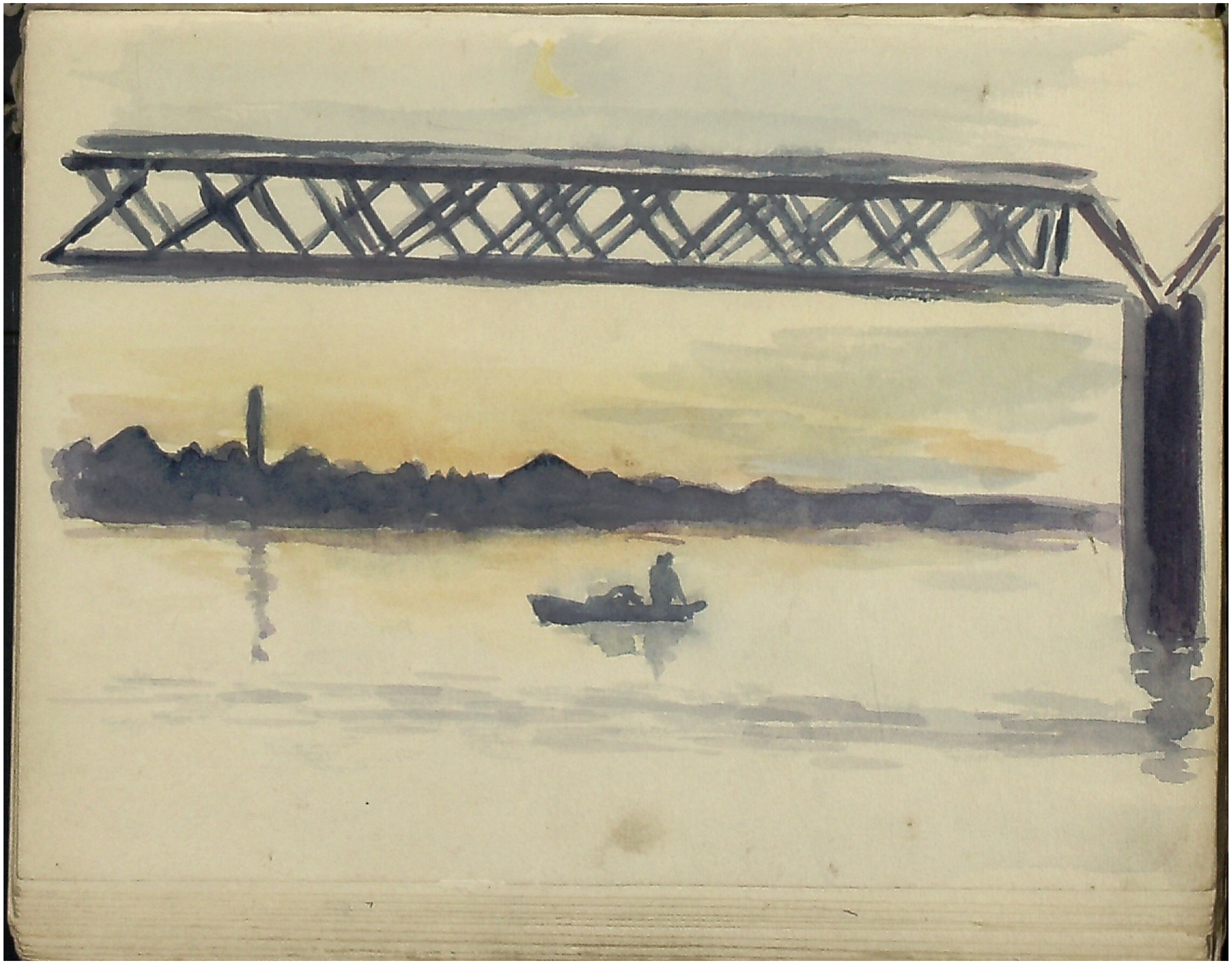

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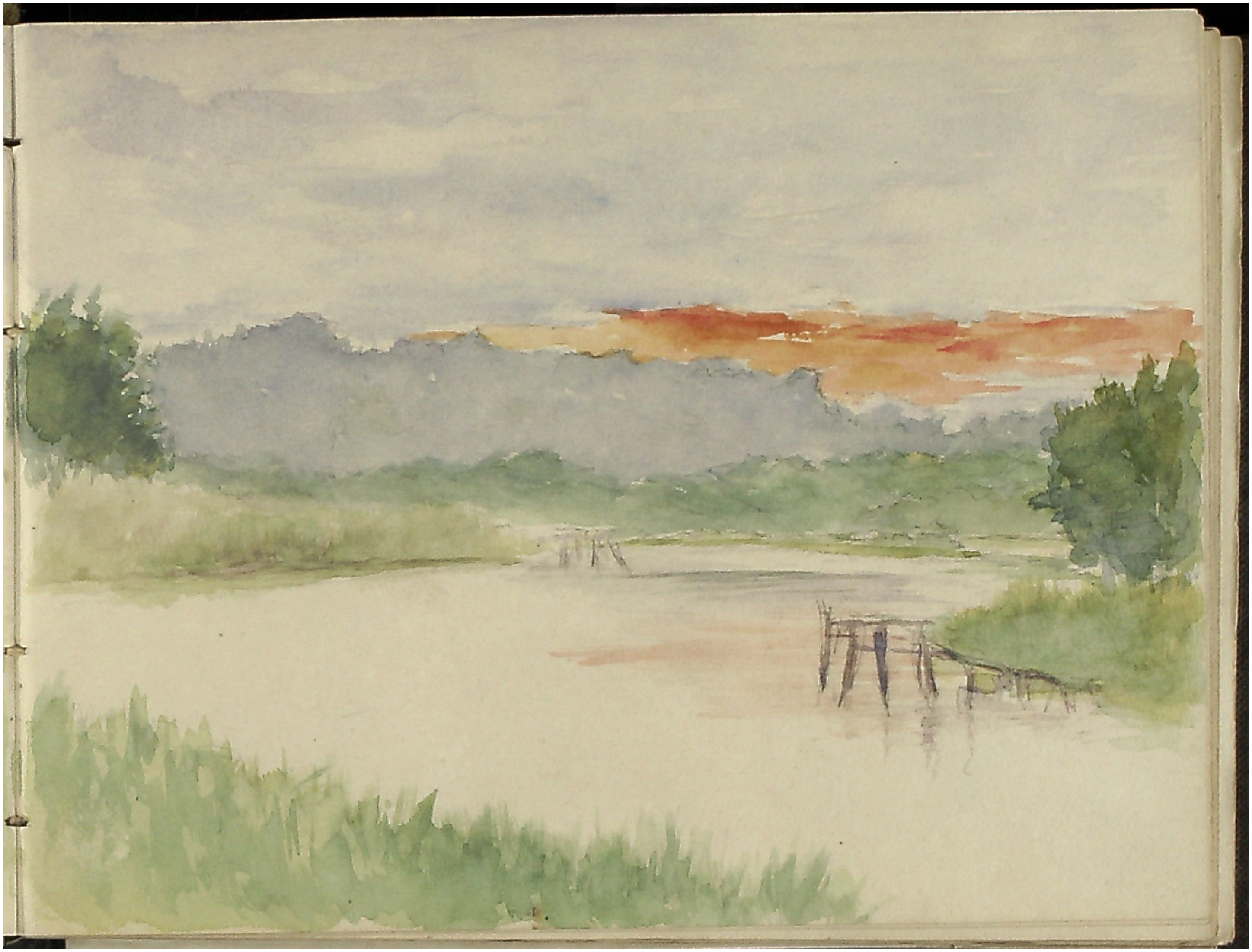

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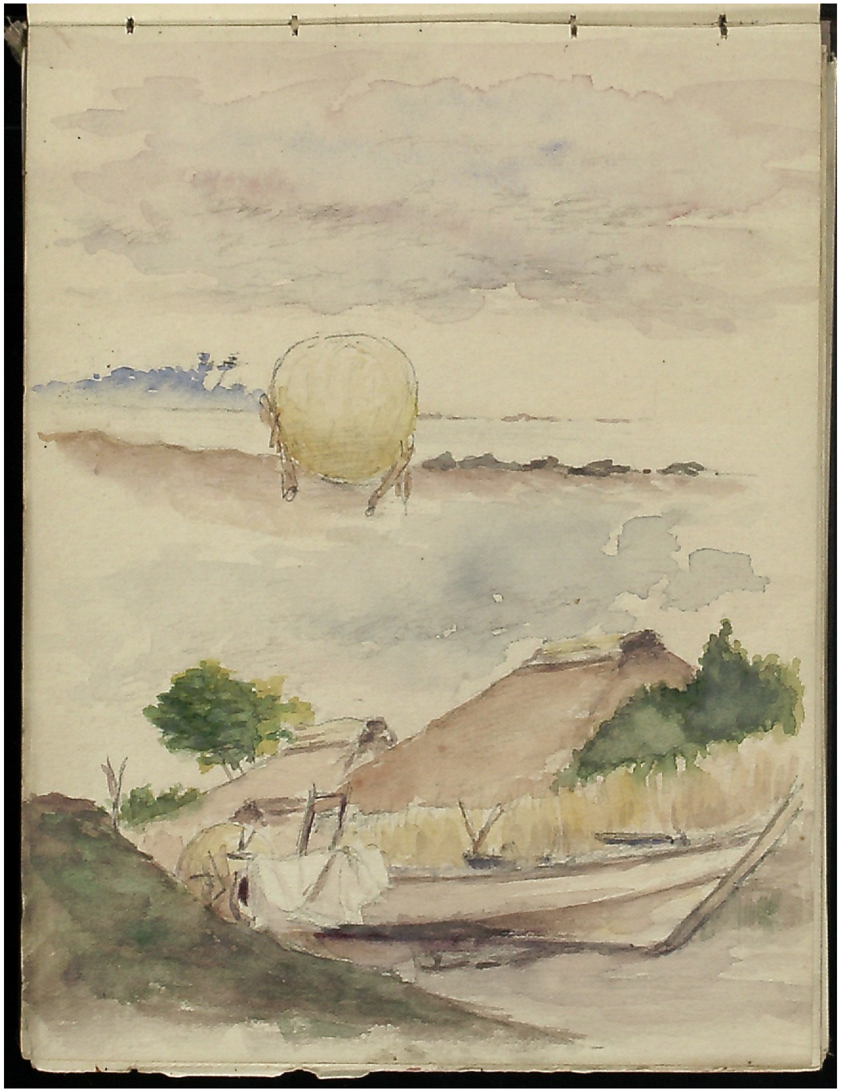

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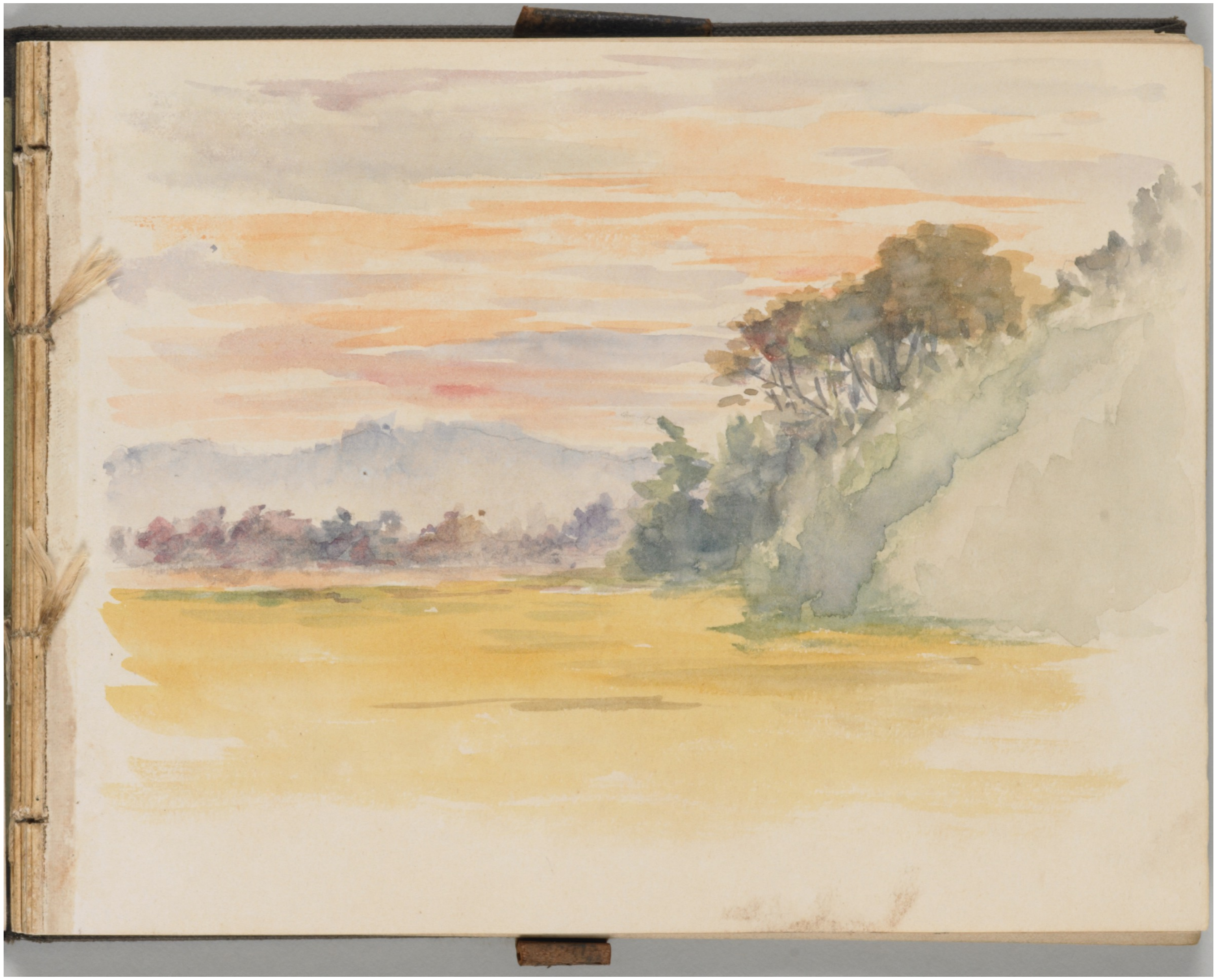

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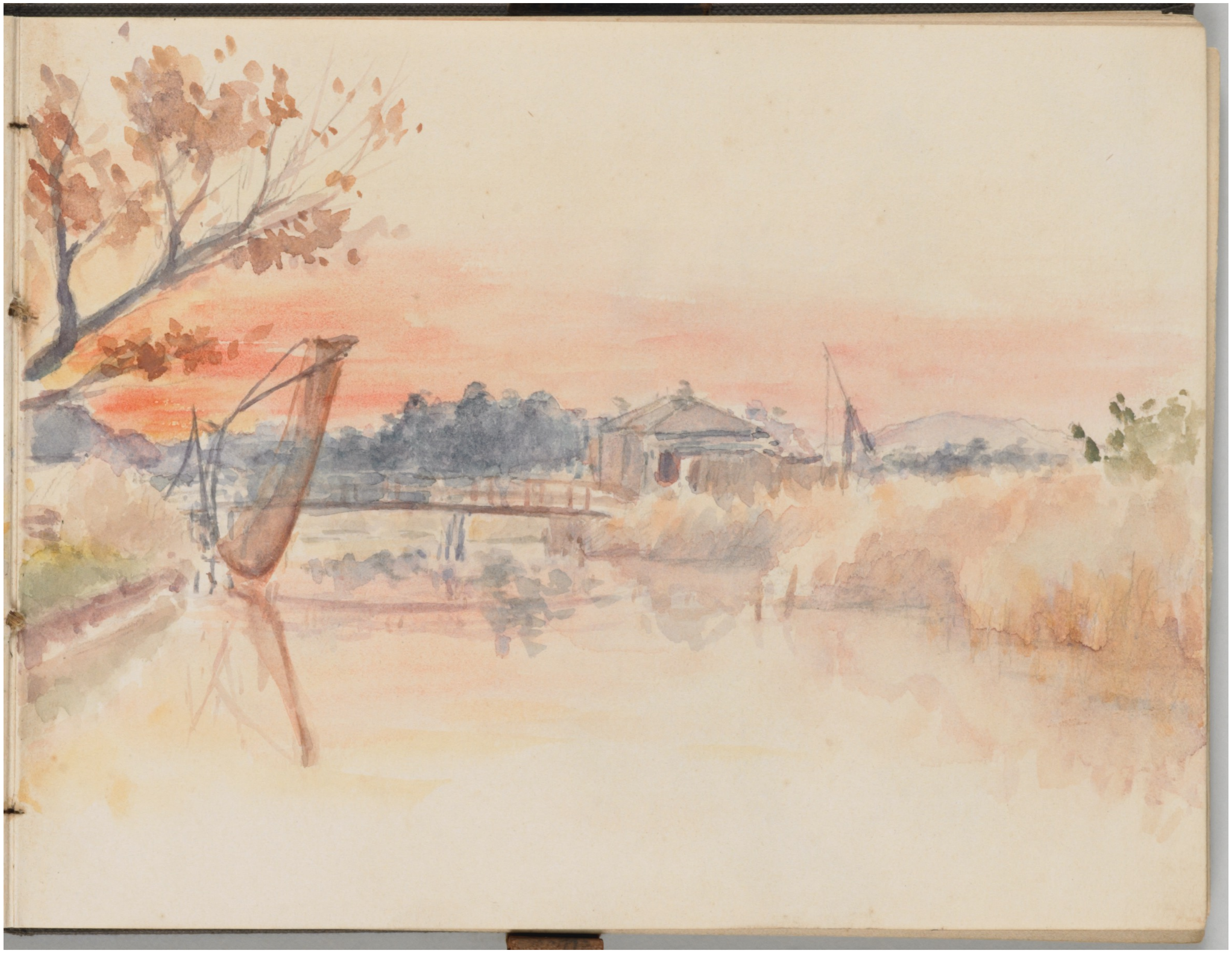

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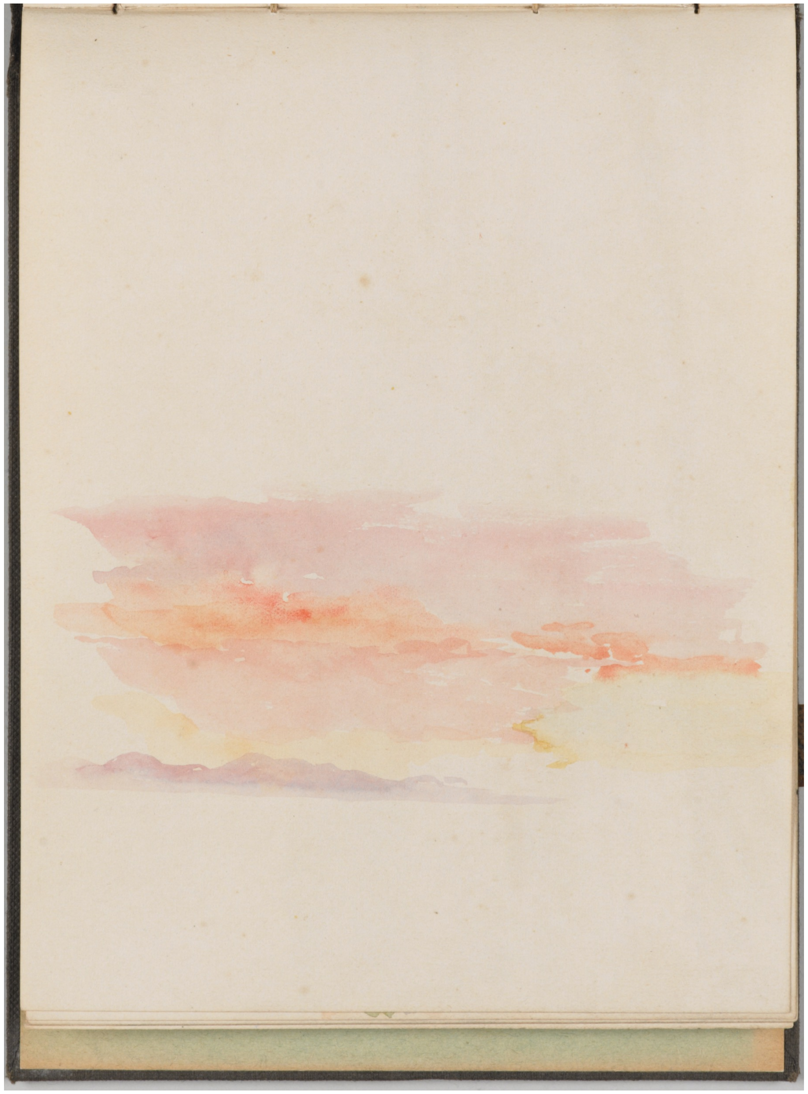

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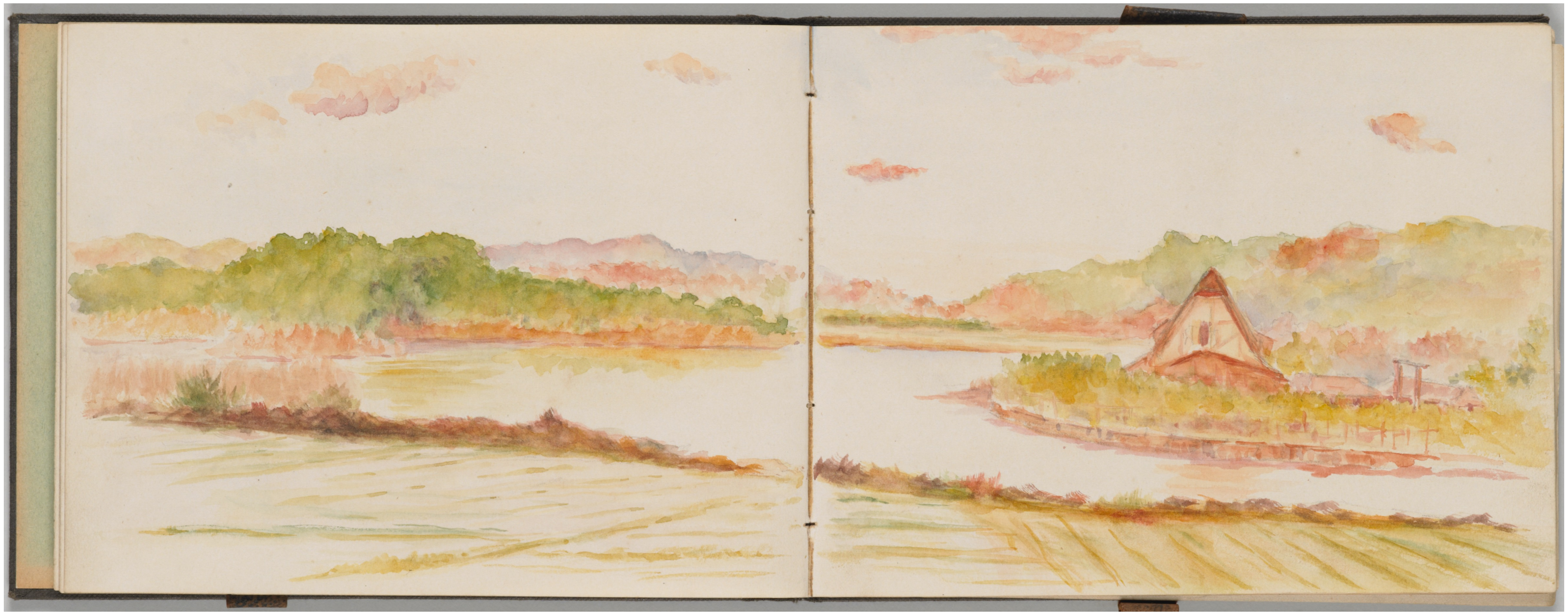

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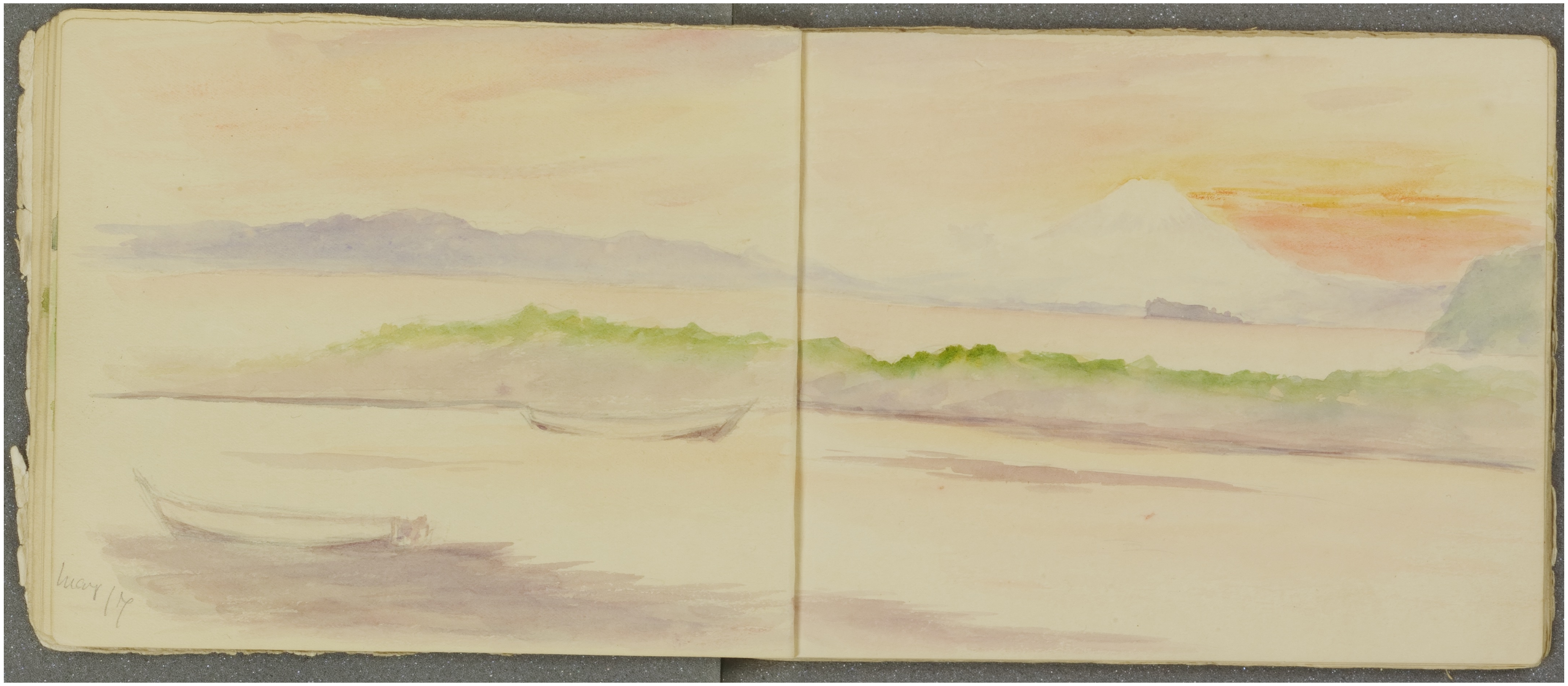

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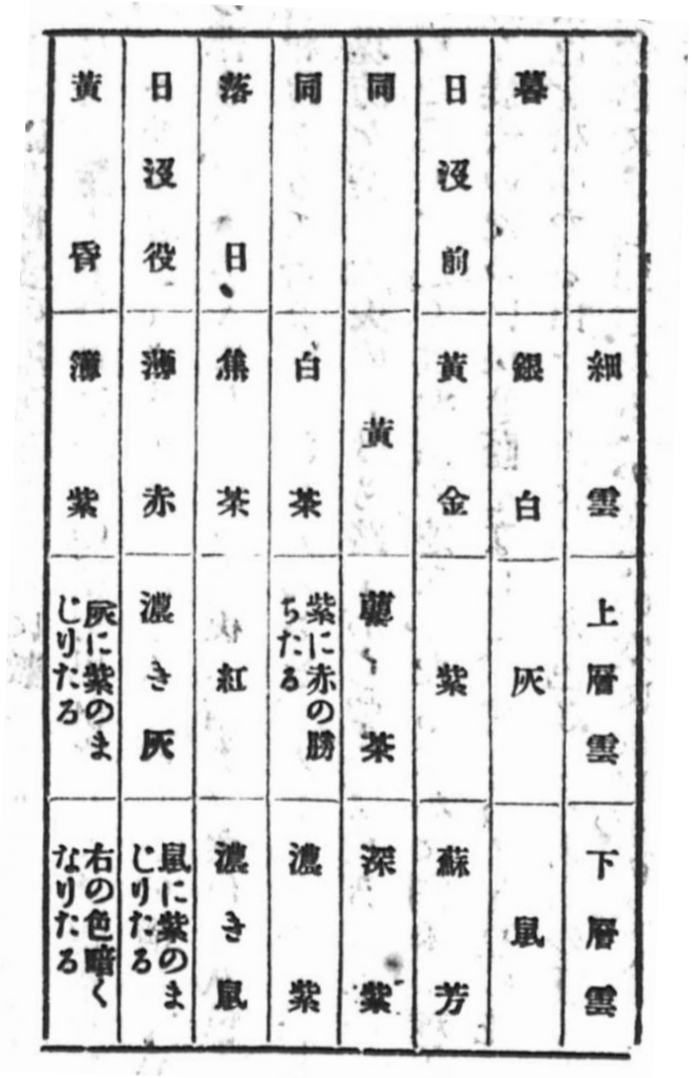
Held by the Roka Memorial Hall at the Tokyo Metropolitan Roka Koshun-en Gardens.



	細雲	上層雲	下層雲
暮	銀白	灰	鼠
日沒前	黄金	紫	蘇芳
同	黄	薄々茶	深紫
同	白茶	紫に赤の勝ちたる	濃紫
落日	焦茶	紅	濃き鼠
日沒役	薄赤	濃き灰	鼠に紫のまじりたる
黄昏	薄紫	灰に紫のまじりたる	右の色暗くなりたる

Figure 21. Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943). *Untitled* [Chart of Clouds' Colors around Sunset in Komoro on July 27, 1899]. 1900.

Introduction

Constellations of Landscape

This dissertation forges and models a methodology for the study of literary landscape. It does so by exploring landscape in Japanese literature written at the end of the nineteenth century as the site of constellations of relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world. A standard approach to the study of landscape in Japanese literature and art of the Meiji period (1868-1912) would be to ask how, by virtue of Japan's modernization and Westernization in this era, Japanese writers and painters came to conceive and represent landscape "just as it is." Lingering premodern conventions governing the representation of landscape would be seen as giving way to modern, "realistic" description—detailed, concrete, and non-conventionalized—of natural scenery, of the "actual" world.[1] The modern Japanese subject who perceives and represents that world might then be seen as having become distinct or alienated from the natural world in a manner and to a degree not seen prior to the modern period.[2] In this way, "landscape" in Meiji-period literature and art would become associated with, even evidence of, a modern "spectatorial epistemology," that is, in the geographer John Wylie's words, "an approach to knowledge which begins by supposing the following scenario: an external pre-given reality observed and represented from a detached position by an independent perceiving human subject."[3]

Examining Japanese landscape texts dating from the late nineteenth century from this perspective, however, tends to pay insufficient attention to the embodied perceptual experience of landscape. It fails, in particular, to account for the way some of these texts portray environments only as perceived—only as *perceptually engaged with*—by subjects who exist within the worlds represented in the texts.[4] Accordingly, this dissertation draws upon scholarship in the fields of environmental perception and landscape phenomenology to reassess landscape in select works of Japanese literature dating from the end of the nineteenth century as the site of an embodied perceiver's perceptual engagement with the world. Seen from this perspective, the representation of landscape in these works attests, not to the modern subject's detachment or alienation from the world, but rather to their participation in it. For this reason, placing perceptual engagement at the heart of the study of Japanese landscape writing at this time allows us to tell a very different story about the substance and consequences of Japan's modernization in this era.

At the same time, however, even as I examine such perceptual engagement as staged in particular landscape texts, I also analyze the historically specific forms of verbal and pictorial expression at work in or pertinent to those texts. In other words, I combine a focus on embodied perceivers' perceptual engagement with landscape with the study of historically contingent forms of verbal and pictorial mediation.

The chapters of this dissertation delineate a variety of literary, artistic, and historical conditions that shaped the thematic content and the modes of perception and expression at work in particular landscape texts. These conditions include the growth of plein-air (or "Impressionist") Western-style painting in Japan; the circulation in Japan of the writings of the English art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900); the infrastructural transformation of the suburbs of Edo, Tokyo's former name; new forms of recreational practice in the suburbs of Edo and Tokyo; and the coexistence of vernacular and non-vernacular forms of Japanese in the 1890s. I illustrate how such conditions influenced the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world realized through acts of perception and expression staged in landscape texts written circa 1900 by three watershed writers of "modern" natural description in Meiji Japan: Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), who would later become a founding figure of Japanese Naturalism; Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943), among Japan's most famous Romantic poets and one of the most important Naturalists of the twentieth century; and Tokutomi Roka (1868-1927), author of the best-selling novel *The Cuckoo* (Hototogisu; 1898-99, revised and republished in 1900) as well as the volume *Nature and Human Life* (Shizen to jinsei; 1900), perhaps the best-known collection of literary sketches of nature as well as human affairs published in the Meiji period.[5] In this way, I arrive at a methodology for studying literary landscape, one applicable beyond the context of Japan, that negotiates between the perceptual and the discursive, the experiential and the historical. This methodology also transforms our understanding of Japanese landscape literature dating from the late nineteenth century in particular by illuminating how such literature stages moments of intimacy, or commingling—what I describe as a dynamic interplay—among perceiver, word, and world.

Landscape Phenomenology and Environmental Perception

In conversation with scholars of landscape phenomenology and environmental perception, this dissertation conceives of landscape as represented in select works of late-Meiji literature as, to begin with, the site of an embodied perceiver's perceptual engagement with the world.[6] In this context, "phenomenology" refers primarily to "existential phenomenology" in the vein of Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. It is this existential phenomenology that, as Mitch Rose and John Wylie explain, has had the greatest impact upon landscape phenomenology.[7] Studies of landscape shaped by phenomenology generally conceive of landscape through frames such as perceptual experience, embodiment, practice, dwelling, and other proximate concepts.[8] As Wylie writes, "Landscape may be defined, phenomenologically, as the creative tension of self and world."[9]

Certainly, this type of phenomenological approach to landscape has itself been subject to critique and revision.[10] For example, scholars like Wylie have mobilized the tools of deconstruction and affect theory in order to critique, displace, or otherwise complicate the present, self-possessed subject of landscape experience. These critical efforts fall under the banner of what Rose and Wylie call "post-phenomenology."[11] Nevertheless, I believe that the insights of landscape phenomenology need to be brought into conversation with late-Meiji landscape writings because they allow for the kind of inquiry into perceivers' perceptual experiences of and within "lived" landscape that is, potentially, foreclosed by a strictly epistemological framework.

In particular, I will show how several late-Meiji landscape texts stage a dynamic interplay between a sensible environment and an embodied perceiver, that is, a perceiver who physically exists within the world represented in the text. Building on the work of the anthropologist Tim Ingold and the psychologist James Gibson, I will contend that this perceiver "perceptually attunes" to the environment.[12] More specifically, depending upon the environmental context of perception, the task being carried out at the time of perception, and the way the perceiver's attention has been "educated," as Gibson puts it,[13] the perceiver will be perceptually attuned to picking up certain kinds of information in the environment. As a result, particular features of the environment will "pop," will be noticeable and noteworthy to the perceiver. Furthermore, because different perceivers will attune to the sensible world in different ways, that world will not be identical in the perceptual experience of every perceiver. This is also to say that the nature or quality of the perceived world will depend, in part, upon the perceiver. In turn, the surrounding environment enables and circumscribes, and thus partially defines, the perceptual experiences of the perceiver.[14] In fact, insofar as the act of perceiving defines the being of a perceiver, that perceiver herself can only be understood with reference to—as being partially defined by—the surrounding environment that potentiates and delimits her perceptions. Examining this interplay between perceiver and world in late-Meiji landscape literature should illustrate the inadequacy to that literature of a strictly epistemological conception of landscape as a distant object-world known by a detached or alienated viewing subject.

Beyond phenomenology and the work of Ingold and Gibson, my approach to studying the lived experience of landscape also draws upon scholarship on landscape and environmental aesthetics that is concerned with questions of performance, practice, habit, becoming, and perceptual engagement.[15] I have in mind, for instance, Arnold Berleant's approach to environmental aesthetics in terms of participation and perceptual engagement over against distanced, disinterested contemplation.[16] One could also point to James Corner's effort to reorient the field of landscape architecture toward performance, event, occupancy, and becoming,[17] or to the geographer Kenneth R. Olwig's juxtaposition of "scenic" landscape with landscape as "region" or "place." Conceived as "region" or "place," landscape is material, multisensorial, walked through, shaped through "doing," and inextricable from the daily habits and tasks that make up communal custom.[18]

The idea of "multisensoriality" is particularly noteworthy. A strictly epistemological conception of landscape goes hand in glove with a model of landscape as something looked upon and represented from a distance.[19] Shifting away from such a conception facilitates the analysis of embodied perceptual experience of landscape that is not solely visual in kind. For example, the first three chapters of this dissertation take up Kunikida Doppo's prose-poetic essay "Today's Musashino" (Ima no Musashino; 1898), often considered a foundational text in the establishment of specifically modern Japanese natural description and landscape literature. My analysis will focus in part upon the aural and ambulatory experience of landscape described in this text (I also address the essay's visual qualities at greater length in a later chapter). In thus attending to the multisensorial character of landscape experience, I build upon Arnold Berleant's contention that

> the largest primarily perceptual unit of environment is the landscape. In a broader sense, landscape goes far beyond natural scenery, which we are accustomed to think of as a visual array. Landscape is not just a visual ambience but a setting for human activity that engages the entire sensorium.[20]

Scholars have pursued this point from different perspectives. For Edward S. Casey, "Appealing as it does to all bodily senses and to their synesthetic unity, landscape is *panperceptual*."[21] James Corner, writing in 1992, highlights touch: "Today's fascination with the visual image, the pictorial, makes it all the more important to recall how the greater part of landscape experience belongs to the sensorium of the tactile, the poetries of material and touch."[22] Nor have scholars failed to identify connections between landscape and sound.[23]

To be clear, not all the landscape texts analyzed in this dissertation stage multisensorial engagements with the environment. Some lean heavily or exclusively toward the representation of the visually perceived environment. Moreover, some offer little explicit description of the embodied perceiver of that environment. Finally, none of these texts simply reproduces a perceiver's perceptual experiences, or the perceived world, through language. The words that compose these texts can only convey those experiences and the perceived world after the fact, through the mediation of signification.[24] Furthermore, they shape those experiences and the world by organizing, articulating, and—in the context of written texts—verbally generating them in and through historically contingent forms of language.[25] In fact, my analysis of Kunikida Doppo's essay "Today's Musashino" will often grapple with passages of relatively generalized natural description for which there is no specified context of perception, no precisely defined perceptual experience underlying the description.[26] In these instances, it is the relation between word and world that takes center stage, while the perceiver recedes into the background.

That said, each of the landscape texts analyzed at length in this dissertation does feature an embodied perceiver—more specifically, a first-person observer-narrator ("I")—who physically exists within the sensible world represented in the text, even if he is not present in all parts of a given text. This observer-narrator is distinct from the author of the text, although I will proceed under the assumption that his modes of perception and expression are indeed rooted, at logical remove, in the writer's modes of perception and expression.[27] In each text, this observer-narrator perceptually engages with and attunes to the sensible world, and then describes that world. It is by highlighting and analyzing such engagement and attunement, as expressed and fashioned through language, that this dissertation sheds new light on late-Meiji landscape writing. In so doing, it transforms our understanding of the consequences of Westernization and modernization for the relation between perceiver and world in Japanese modernity.

Intertwining: Perceiver and World

Briefly analyzing the interplays among perceiver, word, and world in a literary sketch of clouds, composed around 1898 by Tokutomi Roka and published in his volume *Nature and Human Life* (1900), serves to illustrate this dissertation's approach to the study of literary landscape.[28] *Nature and Human Life* contains a set of three sketches titled "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan" (Kōzan mikka no kumo). In the following passage in one of these sketches, Roka's narrator describes what he witnessed in his surroundings as seen from a building in the rural town of Ikaho in Gunma Prefecture, north of Tokyo, at sunset on May 13:

> The trees on the mountains beyond the railing were tinged with the light of the setting sun, and the verdure, fresh after the rainfall, was about to burn like fire. Pierced by the light of the setting sun, the clouds that had [previously] formed an unbroken line in the western sky had vanished one by one, and the sky had been visible in the gaps between the clouds.[29] But now, there was only a cloud like a golden dragon, like a golden grub, like a golden caterpillar, having a golden abdomen, having a purple back, swimming in the golden waves of the firmament in a sky the color of teal-indigo [*hekiran*] tinged with gold.[30]

Perceiver and World

In one sense, the sky, clouds, mountains, trees, and sunlight described in this passage potentiated and delimited the narrator's past perceptions. They also potentiate and delimit his present verbal expressions of those past perceptions, which are inextricable from their expression. For instance, in the present moment of narration, the narrator analogizes the golden cloud to a series of creatures of similar form: dragons, grubs, and caterpillars. The basis for this analogy is presumably the elongated shape of the golden cloud perceived at a past moment. No doubt, it is the narrator's language—this enumeration of similes, unbroken by any punctuation marks in the Japanese[31]—that both suggests the elongated form of the cloud to the reader and also creates the sense that the cloud appeared to the narrator like these creatures. But, *within the bounds of the text*—that is, within the world portrayed in the text—it is precisely the form of the cloud that grounded the perceptual experiences that the narrator now registers in language through these similes.

Likewise, the positioning of the previously perceived cloud, its movements (suggested by the word "swimming" [*oyogeru*]), and the light of the setting sun potentiated and circumscribed the perceptual experiences now articulated through the narrator's description of the cloud as "swimming" in golden waves overhead. Certainly, one could also argue that the figurative characterizations of the cloud as "swimming," or as a "dragon" or "caterpillar," merely express the way the narrator imagined, or now imagines, the appearance and movements of the cloud. But I would use the word "imagine" in a different way: not to mean conjuring fanciful mental pictures divorced from the "actual" world but, rather, to mean a contextually situated activity tied up with the narrator's past perceptual engagement with the cloud, which enabled and circumscribed that engagement.[32]

Yet, even as the environment delimits the narrator's perceptual experiences, the narrator in turn perceptually attunes to the colors and shapes of the clouds, sky, and mountains. It is by virtue of this attunement that the colors of the sensible world are noticeable, and noteworthy, in the perceptual experience of the narrator. This attunement is contingent upon the task at hand: observing the clouds, sky, and mountains, perhaps with a view to describing them later on. It is also contingent upon the environmental context of perception[33]: the rural town of Ikaho. Finally, it results from Roka's having received, through his readings of John Ruskin and through his practice of watercolor painting, an "education of attention" by which he had become perceptually sensitized to the colors of the environment in general and to the colors and shapes of clouds in particular.

Scholars such as Kaneko Takayoshi have already contended that John Ruskin's discussions of clouds in the treatise *Modern Painters* deeply influenced Roka's cloud observations and descriptions (see Chapter Five).[34] I would submit that Ruskin's treatise exerted this influence, not only by providing Roka a rhetorical model for cloud description, but also by helping to stimulate and orient the kind of perceptual engagement with clouds staged in Roka's cloud sketches as a whole.[35] That is, Ruskin's work helped Roka to notice clouds in the first place, to perceptually engage with clouds in an intensive manner, and then to stage that engagement in his literary sketches. Seen in this light, Roka's cloud description attests to a transformation in the very relation between perceiver and world. Ruskin's work may have also directed Roka's attention to clouds' hues and shapes in particular through its explanations and descriptions of these aspects of clouds.[36] Either way, Roka's narrator perceptually attunes to clouds in a manner that is, I would argue, "Ruskinian."

Roka's training from around the start of 1896 in the technical and perceptual practice of watercolor painting—a practice he pursued on the eve of a boom in amateur watercolor painting in Japan at the turn of the twentieth century[37]—likewise shaped his narrator's way of perceptually engaging with and attuning to clouds, or rather, to clouds' colors. As I will show in

Chapter Five, Roka's landscape sketches in watercolor feature an array of hues, sometimes quite vivid. Scholars such as Kaneko Takayoshi and Fukawa Junko have already suggested that Roka's practice of watercolor painting influenced his verbal descriptions of color, which grew more extensive and vivid once he began painting.[38]

The following statement by the watercolorist Ōshita Tōjirō (1870-1911), made in his bestselling manual for amateur watercolorists, *Guide to Watercolor Painting* (Suisaiga no shiori; 1901),[39] clarifies how Roka's training in watercolor painting could condition his narrator's perceptual attunement to environmental colors. Ōshita explains how and why one of the "benefits" of watercolor painting is that "one will be able to cultivate one's powers of observation" (*kansatsuryoku o yashinaiubeshi*). He writes,

> When one frequently draws actual objects from life [*shibashiba jitsubutsu ni tsukite shasei o nasu toki wa*], one discovers the diverse variations in objects' forms [*buttai no keijō*] and in the distinctions of colors, and is able to cultivate one's powers of precise observation. In particular, the people of our country have generally been inattentive to color. People call the flowers of Chinese pinks, roaring fires, and bricks alike "red"; they call the clear sky, the color of the ocean, and the leaves of trees simply "blue" [or "green"; *ao*]. In this manner, they do not seem to know even the differences among cinnabar, crimson, and russet, or among blue, indigo, and green. But if one takes up a coloring brush once oneself and faces nature, one will naturally come to understand these distinctions without any effort.[40]

In these lines, Ōshita suggests that, through training in the technique of drawing from life, the artist develops an acute perceptual sensitivity to fine distinctions in color. Roka, too, developed such a sensitivity. That sensitivity, combined with an orientation toward cloud observation and description informed by Ruskin's treatise *Modern Painters*, conditioned Roka's composition of a cloud sketch whose observer-narrator perceptually attuned, in the manner of a Ruskinian watercolorist, to the colors of the clouds, sky, and mountains.

To identify the influences of Ruskin and watercolor painting upon Roka's narrator's mode of perception—his characteristic way of perceiving environmental and aerial colors and shapes—is *not* to say that he mentally processes and reconstructs the "actual" environment in accordance with Ruskin's cloud writings or with a painterly model. Indeed, I try to follow Tim Ingold in steering away from what, amidst a critique of "the anthropology of the senses," he calls

> a representationalist theory of knowledge, according to which people draw on the raw material of bodily sensation to build up an internal picture of what the world "out there" is like, on the basis of models or schemata received through their education in a particular tradition. The theory rests on a fundamental distinction between physical and cultural dimensions of perception, the former having to do with the registration of sensations by the body and brain, the latter with the construction of representations in the mind.[41]

Such a theory is inadequate to Roka's cloud sketch. Rather, what the sketch suggests is that, within the world represented in the text, Roka's narrator perceptually attuned to the colors and shapes of the clouds and the colors of the environment in a historically specific "Ruskinian" and "watercolorist-like" fashion.

Perceiver, World, and Word

Or at least, the perceiver did so insofar as can be judged from his words. I add this crucial qualification because the narrator's observations of the clouds' colors are inextricable from his colorful verbal descriptions of the clouds—descriptions that are themselves "Ruskinian" and "painterly." Indeed, the dynamic interplay between perceiver and world that I just examined in Roka's sketch—an interplay in which the world potentiates and grounds the perceptual experiences of the perceiver, who in turn perceptually discloses and attunes to the world—itself obtains only in and through language.

Even as this language describes the previously perceived world, it does not simply reproduce, just as they are, that perceived world or the narrator's past perceptual experiences of it. As I suggested above, the narrator's words convey his experiences and the perceived world only in retrospect, through the mediation of language. They further shape those experiences and the sensible world by organizing and articulating them in and through language. The words do so in accordance with both the demands of the present context of expression—here, describing the clouds, sky, and mountains as perceived on a specific day in Ikaho—as well as historically contingent uses and patterns of language. Such uses and patterns include, for example, what may well be Ruskin-influenced description of cloud color and shape, even if Ruskin's influence consisted only in stimulating Roka to write about the clouds in general.

Or take, for another example, the grammatical and lexical parallelism of the clauses, "having a golden abdomen, having a purple back" (*hara o kin ni shi, se o shi ni shite*). These parallel clauses serve to verbally orchestrate the previously perceived cloud's spatial arrangement and colors. This is because they form a "couplet," complementary in structure but contrasting in vocabulary, that articulates the perceived cloud into a corresponding pair of sides, complementary in space (two sides of one cloud) but contrasting in color: a "golden abdomen" and a "purple back." In this respect, the words define and shape the clouds as they exist within the text.

Having said that, however, from the perspective of the narrator, who is describing his past perceptual experiences, the very disparity in the colors of different sides of the previously perceived cloud, and the position of the sun relative to that cloud and the perceiver, presumably motivates the use of parallel clauses in the present moment to verbally articulate the cloud in this particular manner. In this sense, the perceived world grounds the narrator's language—the same language that fashions and, this being a written text, generates the world perceived by the narrator at a past moment.

Perception and Expression, Experience and Representation

As the foregoing analysis of the interplays among perceiver, world, and word in Roka's cloud description indicates, this dissertation does not examine the representation of landscape in late-Meiji literature solely in terms of how perceivers perceptually engage with their environments. Rather, in an effort to yield a methodology viable for literary historiography, it also attends to the historically contingent forms of verbal and pictorial expression employed in or otherwise germane to specific landscape texts. In other words, it integrates the analysis of the embodied experience of landscape with the analysis of verbal and pictorial mediation. It is precisely the capacity of "landscape" to negotiate between, encompass, or even supersede these kinds of conceptual divisions—between perception and expression, between the "lived environment" and the "represented environment," not to mention among multiple media—that renders it such a powerful concept in analyzing late-Meiji literature.[42]

Leveraging the conceptual plasticity of "landscape," this dissertation places picture and word alongside perceiver and world at the heart of landscape literature. Working from this position, the dissertation asks how particular literary, artistic, and historical conditions shaped the modes of perception *and* expression at work in given landscape texts and also, by extension, the relations among perceiver, picture, world, and word realized in those texts through acts of perception and expression.[43] Part of the burden of the argument will be that, within shared or overlapping environmental, social, and historical conditions, multiple authors, artists, readers, narrators, and characters developed partially common modes of perception and expression.

To be clear, such partial commonality does not entail equitable distribution. I take a lesson here from an essay by the philosopher Sugawara Jun on the ethics of "'*fūkeika*'" ("'landscape-ification'"), or "the attachment of aesthetic meaning to an anonymous landscape through the union [*ketsugō*] of present perceptual experience and images recollected from the past [*kako ni kioku shita imēji*]."[44] One aspect of, or a point related to, this ethics lies in persons recognizing how other persons see different landscapes even as they perceive the same geographical scene. The difference, for Sugawara, owes to the subjects' disparate recollected "images."[45]

Notwithstanding Sugawara's important argument, however, this dissertation emphasizes the way that multiple perceivers and speakers may acquire partially common modes of perception and expression. Thus, for example, could multiple amateur watercolorists develop a particular perceptual sensitivity to environmental colors under the guidance of Ōshita Tōjirō's 1901 watercolor manual. They did so only insofar as they were privileged with the time and money to purchase and utilize the manual and painting materials. And thus, under similar circumstances of privilege, could Shimazaki Tōson and the scholar Kubo Tenzui (1875-1934) each translate and adapt, in around the same year (1900), the three-part typology of cloud regions espoused by John Ruskin in the treatise *Modern Painters*.[46] The historical and social contingency of these modes of perception and expression suggests that no such mode was entirely original to a given narrator, writer, or painter. To put this another way, the interplays among perceiver, picture, word, and world staged in a given landscape text also extended to other perceivers, pictures, words, and worlds, whether within or without that text.

Intersubjectivity

Recognizing this extension helps us address another defining characteristic of Kunikida Doppo's "Today's Musashino," one of the primary landscape texts taken up in this dissertation. This characteristic is, namely, the way perceptual experiences or modes of perception are shared intersubjectively among Doppo's narrator, another character in a text, and real-world readers. Building in part off the work of Kamei Hideo, I argue that attending to such intersubjectivity compels us to ask whether the conventional understanding of landscape as an object-world perceived and known by an individuated or isolated subject is entirely adequate.[47]

In Chapter Two, I will show how Doppo's embodied narrator strolls through and perceives Tokyo's suburbs ("Musashino") in the company of an unnamed "friend" (*tomo*). In the process, the narrator and his friend come to perceptually engage with the suburbs in a common, synchronized manner. In addition, as I discuss in Chapter Three, Doppo's narrator addresses "you," the reader, through second-person narration.[48] In the process, he emplaces "you" in Musashino as a hypothetical walker who might take strolls through Tokyo's suburbs in the fashion of the narrator himself, an urban interloper in the region. Thus, for example, does he describe and prescribe the turns "you" might take upon the area's many footpaths, or again, where and how "you" might pause to enjoy the scenery. Seen for this second-person narration, Doppo's text occasions an intersubjective coordination of ways of engaging with and experiencing the suburbs between the narrator and the reader-walker who might stroll through Musashino.[49]

Finally, in addition to these intersubjective qualities of "Today's Musashino," the principal landscape texts analyzed in the forthcoming chapters all exhibit something like an "intersubjective" relation between authors and narrators. Making this argument requires clarifying the distinction between these authors and narrators.

The landscape texts examined in this dissertation are, almost uniformly, first-person literary sketches or essays. In these texts, a narrator ("I") verbalizes their past perceptions of a particular environment, although that narrator is not necessarily present throughout the entirety of each text, which may also include extended passages of natural description not tied to the narrator's experiences in a specifically defined perceptual context. The logic behind this selection of texts is that, relative to, say, works of fiction featuring a multitude of characters and extended plots, these first-person sketches and essays offer a concentrated treatment of the way perceivers perceptually engage with and describe their environments.[50]

One problem with this selection of texts, however, is that it may give the impression that this dissertation purports to examine actual, living authors' perceptions of the actual, extra-textual world insofar as those perceptions find textual expression. This is not the case. The "I's" who speak in these texts are not the authors of the texts. They are, rather, narrators who perceive the worlds represented within the texts and who utter the words that express those perceived worlds. Put differently, they are textualized subjects whose perceptions and expressions disclose textualized worlds that, in turn, potentiate and provide catches for those perceptions and expressions. For this reason, the experiences and words of these subjects must be treated on their own terms, that is, as separate from the experiences and words of authors in the extra-textual world. In this respect, I agree with Thomas M. Greene's remark, made in his study of "promenade poems," that, even if

> we have reason to think that she [the poet] herself took a walk like the one described in the precise place described, we still need to think of the poetic walk as a fictional experience and the voice as an *assumed* voice, a voice defining a sensibility by moving through a constructed space containing things created within the text.[51]

This is why I used the phrase "within the bounds of the text" in the foregoing analysis of Tokutomi Roka's cloud description.

That said, observer-narrators' modes of perception and expression are also rooted, at logical remove, in writers' modes of perception and expression. I already assumed this rooting when examining Roka's cloud description by linking the narrator's perceptions and expressions of cloud color to Roka's readings of Ruskin and Roka's practice of watercolor painting. Seen for this kind of link, the modes of perception and expression found in the first-person landscape texts considered in this dissertation emerge out of dialogic and polyvocal—but partial, refracted, and ultimately indefinable—relationships between narrators and writers.[52] It is in this sense that we may speak of an "intersubjective" relation between narrators and authors, although this intersubjectivity differs in kind from that obtaining between narrators and other in-text characters or even between the narrator and the directly addressed reader.

Accreted Language

Along with intersubjectivity and a dynamic interplay among perceiver and world as well as word, a final lineament of landscape texts taken up in this dissertation is "accreted language."[53] By this I mean a "layering" of language in which inherited poetic imagery and multiple literary styles (*buntai*) feed into and are reworked in present acts of verbal expression. For instance, Doppo's "Today's Musashino," known for its innovative use of vernacular Japanese in the context of landscape description, in fact incorporates both imagery inherited from earlier forms of Japanese poetry and also non-vernacular diction. Likewise, Shimazaki Tōson's essay "Clouds" deploys a language of "travel" (*tabi*) likely tied to the writings of the seventeenth-century poet and travel writer Matsuo Bashō (1644-94), although that language does not bear directly upon Tōson's descriptions of clouds.

What these characteristics of Doppo's and Tōson's texts suggest is that the words found in those texts do not emerge in a historical vacuum. Nor are they determined solely by narrators' perceptual experiences of worlds within particular landscape texts. Rather, the words draw upon, incorporate, and push off from the existing resources of language, old or new. These resources include, for example, inherited poetic imagery and different literary styles.[54] Doppo's and Tōson's landscape writings exhibit what Ada Smailbegović might characterize as a "layering" of "historical frames,"[55] layers of forms of language of diverse provenance and historicity mobilized in the act of verbal expression.

Attending to such layers sheds important light on Japanese landscape literature. It can help break down the categorical distinction between "premodern" and "modern" landscape writing. My critique of this distinction accords with the model of a long nineteenth century, elaborated by scholars such as Jonathan Zwicker,[56] that stretches across the divide of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which marked the end of the Edo period (1603-1868) and the start of the Meiji period. It does so by illuminating how earlier forms of language fed into landscape literature written at the end of the nineteenth century.

I want to be clear that, in highlighting such accretions of language, and specifically in stressing the reworking of older kinds of language in late-Meiji literature, my purpose is not to deny the profound significance and extent of language reform and transformation in the Meiji period. The Meiji period witnessed an unprecedented ramification of literary styles (*buntai*). These styles arose, crossed, and disappeared into one another in part because of historical factors such as movements in political speechmaking, the development of new practices and media of transcription and information distribution (e.g., newspapers), national language and script reform, and adjustments in the contents of national language textbooks. Other historical factors include the language vernacularization movement, the creation and mass publication of a national literary canon, the importation of Western literature, and the continued or renewed popularity of texts first published in the Edo period.[57]

The literary-linguistic field remained complex in the late 1890s, the period at the heart of this dissertation. For example, Chapter Two will show how, in the essay "Today's Musashino," Kunikida Doppo describes Tokyo's suburbs using language that, while basically vernacular, incorporates diction derived from or redolent of *bungo* (literary, non-vernacular Japanese). By contrast, Chapters Five and Seven will take up descriptions of clouds composed in *bungotai* (*bungo* styles) by Tokutomi Roka and Shimazaki Tōson. Moreover, these *bungotai*, which are just as "modern" as Doppo's vernacular style, also differ from one another stylistically. Relatively speaking—I stress *relatively*[58]—the diction of Roka's description leans toward a *kanbun kundokuchō*, the tone or rhythm of Japanese readings of Chinese. By comparison, the diction of Tōson's description leans toward a *wabunchō*, the tone or rhythm of "indigenous" or "classical" Japanese. In short, while the vernacular would soon become predominant in Japanese literature, the late 1890s remained a moment of experimentation and innovation in multiple literary styles.

Such experimentation and innovation in language could not but have had a real impact in Meiji Japan upon the relation between person and world, both within and without literature. Indeed, in conversation with the linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf and the philosopher Stanley Cavell, I would argue that a transformation of language, as occurred on such a massive scale as it did in Meiji Japan, entails a change in the relation between person and world.[59] In turn, a change in one's relation to the world occasions a change in one's relation to words.[60]

What I am stressing by invoking the notion of linguistic accretion, however, is that transformations in the relations among perceiver, word, and world are partial, or perhaps topological, in the sense that some properties remain the same through a change of phase. A shift in the mode of expression, for example, sparks realignments in the elements composing a constellation of landscape. But those realignments are as partial and processual as the shift in expression by which they were sparked. The same holds, in principle, for shifts in any of the terms in a given constellation of landscape: perceiver, picture, word, and world. The accretion in late-Meiji writings of poetic tropes and literary styles substantiates the partial and processual character of such shifts in the modern period and in modern landscape literature, which consequently cannot be conceived as cleanly distinct from its "premodern" counterpart.[61]

Structure and Chapter Overview

This dissertation comprises eight chapters that present analyses of Japanese landscape texts written at the end of the nineteenth century. The chapters show how different historical conditions shaped the thematic content and the modes of perception and expression at work in these texts. Doing so demonstrates how those conditions shaped the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world realized in the texts through acts of perception and expression.

Chapters One through Three delineate historical conditions that bore upon the modes of perception and expression as well as the subject matter of Kunikida Doppo's prose-poetic essay "Today's Musashino." They consider, for example, Doppo's inchoate thinking about poetic prose circa 1897 as well as the Romantic practice of walking through nature. The chapters then analyze the relations among perceiver, word, and world instantiated in this text through acts of perception and expression. In some parts of the text, verbal rhythms become coordinated with the sonic, topographical, seasonal, and climatic movements and textures of the suburbs. In other parts, verbal rhythms become synchronized with the embodied gestures and perceptions of walkers who stroll about and perceive Tokyo's suburbs. I devote three chapters to Doppo's essay, and return to it once more in Chapter Six, because "Today's Musashino" is considered a foundational text in the emergence of modern natural description in Meiji Japan. For this reason, to rethink landscape in "Today's Musashino" is to begin to rethink landscape—and so, the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world—in late-Meiji literature more broadly.

Following the discussion of Doppo, Chapter Four outlines the impulse among several writers as well as the watercolorist Ōshita Tōjirō to write about clouds or to paint clouds, respectively, at the turn of the twentieth century. The subsequent three chapters then analyze verbal descriptions of clouds by Tokutomi Roka, Kunikida Doppo, and Shimazaki Tōson. The chapters ask how these writers' cloud descriptions were shaped by their exposures to Western-style painting, to John Ruskin's discussions of clouds in *Modern Painters*, or to both. In the process, I argue that each of the cloud descriptions enacts three "descriptive tendencies," three ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world. For shorthand, I will call the first two tendencies "describing from life" and "describing the feeling"; the third tendency will differ in the case of each writer.

In one respect, the writers' exposures to Western-style painting, and particularly to the pictorial practice of drawing from life (*shasei*), conditioned their verbal practice of describing clouds "from life." That is, it conditioned their composition of descriptions that generate the rhetorical effect of transcribing the clouds as previously perceived by narrators.[62] In another respect, the writers "describe the feeling" by expressing their observer-narrators' sensuous and affective experiences of perceiving those clouds, or again, by expressing those clouds as thus experienced. Finally, while the third descriptive tendency varies by writer, it consistently involves textualizing forces (natural or divine), energies (such as *ki* [気]), or totalities (e.g., "nature") that are tied to or manifested by, but are not necessarily reducible to, this or that sensible form.

Chapter Eight returns to the text examined in the previous chapter, Shimazaki Tōson's essay "Clouds," to ask how and why parts of this text broach a mode of "synthetic" environmental description that figures the clouds as one piece of a broader, interconnected environment. The chapter reveals a coexistence of, and possibly a shift between, "analytical" and "synthetic" tendencies in Tōson's natural description.

Notes

[1] In this context, "premodern" denotes that which is not (yet) "modern." It does not refer to the historical period that precedes the "early-modern" (Edo) period.

[2] The most paradigmatic analysis of "landscape" in Meiji literature is Karatani Kōjin's thesis regarding the "discovery" of landscape, presented in *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Kōdansha, 1980), translated into English as *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. ed. Brett de Bary (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). See esp. "The Discovery of Landscape" (ibid., 11-44) and "The Discovery of Interiority" (ibid., 45-75), both translated by Brett de Bary, as well as "On the Power to Construct" (ibid., 136-72), translated by Ayako Kano and Joseph Murphy. For Karatani, landscape (*fūkei*) came to be conceived and rendered for the first time in Japan *as* an object, one distinct from the modern Japanese subject, in the Meiji 20s (1887-96). Subject and object first emerged, in turn, within "landscape" understood in another sense as a newly formed "epistemological configuration" (*ninshikiteki na fuchi*). See p. 21 in the Japanese, 22 in the

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translation. On Karatani's book, see Brett de Bary's incisive essay, "Karatani Kōjin's *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (1988): 591-613.

[3] John Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," in *Landscape* (London: Routledge, 2007), ch. 5, quote on 144-45. Wylie invokes the term "spectatorial epistemology" when reviewing the associations of "landscape" conceived as a "way of seeing."

[4] In this connection, Kamei Hideo once remarked that one of the reasons Karatani Kōjin's "discussion of landscape could be no more than a sleight of hand" was that, "while he discusses 'landscape,' he fails completely to problematize the relationship among gaze, body, and sensibility [*shisen—shintai—kansei no arikata*]." See Kamei Hideo, "Miru koto no sabetsu to kiki," in *Kansei no henkaku* (Kōdansha, 1983), ch. 11, quote on 275; translation adapted from Kamei Hideo, "Discrimination and the Crisis of Seeing: Prejudices of Landscape in Shimazaki Tōson, Masaoka Shiki, and Uchimura Kanzō," trans. Antonia Saxon, in Kamei Hideo, *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*, trans. ed. Michael Bourdaghs (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), ch. 11, quote on 246-47.

[5] William F. Sibley notes that Doppo is considered one of founders of *shizen shugi* (Naturalism) in "Naturalism in Japanese Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 160. However, Doppo did not necessarily think of himself as a Naturalist. See his "Yo to shizen shugi, tsuketari fushigi no genshō" [1907], in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:528-32. William E. Naff provides a neat introduction to the movements of Romanticism, Realism, and Naturalism in Meiji Japan in his biography of Shimazaki Tōson. See Naff's "Introduction: The Meiji Literary Scene," in *The Kiso Road: The Life and Times of Shimazaki Tōson*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 13-26, esp. 19-20.

[6] Also see Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," esp. 144-45 on the contrast between landscape phenomenology and the conception of landscape as a "way of seeing."

[7] See Mitch Rose and John W. Wylie, "Landscape: Part II," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography*, ed. John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 221-26, esp. 222.

[8] On landscape phenomenology, see Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," *et passim*. Also see Rose and Wylie, "Landscape: Part II," ch. 14, esp. 228 on themes of phenomenologically informed geography, and John Wylie, "Landscape and Phenomenology," in *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*, ed. Peter Howard et. al., 2nd ed. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), ch. 10. One origin point for contemporary landscape phenomenology is Tim Ingold's application of a "dwelling perspective" to landscape in "The Temporality of the Landscape," *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993): 152-74 (Ingold's essay is taken up at some length in each of the three foregoing essays). Also see Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994) and John Wylie, "An Essay on Ascending Glastonbury Tor," *Geoforum* 33 (2002): 441-54.

[9] Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," 136.

[10] In addition to the following discussion of "post-phenomenology," see endnote 43 below.

[11] See the section "Post-phenomenologies?" in Rose and Wylie, "Landscape: Part II," 230-31, quote on 230. For the kinds of critiques in question here, see John Wylie, "Depths and Folds: On Landscape and the Gazing Subject," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006): 519-35 and Mitch Rose, "Gathering 'Dreams of Presence': A Project for the Cultural Landscape," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006): 537-54. In these essays, Wylie and Rose "endeavour to describe what we would, tentatively, call a post-

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phenomenological conception of landscape" (see Mitch Rose and John Wylie, "Animating Landscape," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 [2006]: 478 [guest editorial]). For more in this vein, see José Luis Romanillos, "'Outside, it is snowing': Experience and Finitude in the Nonrepresentational Landscapes of Alain Robbe-Grillet," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26 (2008): 795-822; John Wylie, "A Single Day's Walking: Narrating Self and Landscape on the South West Coast Path," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, no. 2 (2005): 234-47; and John Wylie, "Landscape, Absence, and the Geographies of Love," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34 (2009): 275-89. And again, see Rose and Wylie's "Landscape: Part II," 230-31.

On deconstruction and phenomenology in general, see Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," 183-84. For a key text in this connection, see Jacques Derrida's critique of Edmund Husserl's phenomenology in *Speech and Phenomena: Introduction to the Problem of Signs in Husserl's Phenomenology*, in *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*, trans. David B. Allison (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 1-104 (Wylie cites *Speech and Phenomena* on the same topic). For an explanation of key points of the critique presented in the text, see David R. Cerborne, *Understanding Phenomenology* (London: Routledge, 2014), 148-57; also see ibid., ch. 1 for a useful introduction to Husserl. For more on phenomenology's positing of a "'natural' perceiving subject," see Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," 184-85.

In recent years, Wylie has raised a sustained critique of the notions of immersive "dwelling" and "homeland thinking" in the study and conceptualization of landscape. See Wylie's "Dwelling and Displacement: Tim Robinson and the Questions of Landscape," *Cultural Geographies* 19, no. 3 (2012): 365-83; "A Landscape Cannot Be a Homeland," *Landscape Research* 41, no. 4 (2016): 408-16; and "Landscape as Not-Belonging: *The Plains*, Earth Writing, and the Impossibilities of Inhabitation," *Philological Quarterly* 97, no. 2 (2018): 177-96. This critique accords with Wylie's effort to formulate a specifically "positive" understanding of distance, conceived as fundamental to the concept of landscape. See Wylie's "The Distant: Thinking Toward Renewed Senses of Landscape and Distance," *Environment, Space, Place* 9, no. 1 (2017): 1-20.

[12] See Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000) and James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986).

[13] Gibson argues that his "theory of information pickup" in perception "needs to explain learning, that is, *the improvement of perceiving with practice and the education of attention*, but not by an appeal to the catch-all of past experience or to the muddle of memory" (emphasis added; ibid., 254). Ingold cites and elaborates upon Gibson's notion of the "education of attention" at a number of points in *The Perception of the Environment*. I also borrow Ingold's language more generally by speaking of contexts of perceptual engagement. But I caution that I am drawing selectively from Gibson's and Ingold's work for the purposes of the present project. Also note that Ingold has critiqued Gibson extensively. See Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment*, 261-62, 264-65; Tim Ingold, "The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and Weather," *Visual Studies* 20, no. 2 (2005): 97-104; Tim Ingold, "Earth, Sky, Wind, and Weather," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13, no. S1 (2007): S25-S28; and Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (London: Routledge, 2011), 77-79.

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[14] While the argument is not the same, I find a point of reference in Gibson's theory of "affordance." Gibson coined this word to designate what something—the air, substances like water, surfaces, objects, places, other persons, etc.—provides the perceiver. An affordance sits between subject and object as a property of the thing that is, however, perceived by and in relation to the perceiver, whose activities it facilitates. See Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*, esp. ch. 8. For an excellent summary of Gibson's theory of perception—one that has helped shape my understanding of Gibson here and below—see Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment*, 166-68. Also see ibid., 260-61.

[15] Key points of reference for my approach to the study of landscape literature, and specifically of the experience and being of a perceiver in an environment, include Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972) and especially Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "The Intertwining—The Chiasm," in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), ch. 4. For useful discussions of Merleau-Ponty's key idea of "reversibility" in this essay, see esp. Wylie, "Depths and Folds," 525 and also M. C. Dillon, *Merleau-Ponty's Ontology*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988), ch. 9, esp. 158-60 on touch. More distantly, I find food for thought in Tim Ingold's discussion of the "meshwork" (as opposed to "network") of "entangled lines of life, growth and movement" in *Being Alive*, quote on 63. Finally, an important check on my emphasis on an intimacy between perceiver and world has been John Wylie's idea—articulated through his reading of Jean-Luc Nancy, and advancing Wylie's critique of taking "landscape" as "homeland"—of "a worldly spatiality—a landscape—but one in which we are never 'at home,' one in which we are not entangled into inevitable proximities. We are distanced from the world, separated from it *as the basis of our capacity to conceive and relate to it*" (emphasis added; see Wylie, "The Distant," 16). Also see Mitch Rose and Wylie's position that landscape "is the tension of *regarding at a distance that which enables one to see*—the tension of what Wylie (pace Deleuze) calls folding, of engendering synthetic forces from a disassociative depth" (emphasis added; Rose and Wylie, "Animating Landscape," 477).

[16] See Arnold Berleant, *The Aesthetics of Environment* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1992) and Arnold Berleant, *Living in the Landscape*: *Toward an Aesthetics of Environment* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1997). Also see Isis Brook on Berleant in the subsection "Landscape as embodied experience" in Brook's "Aesthetic Appreciation of Landscape," in Howard et. al., *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*, 43-44.

[17] James Corner, "Eidetic Operations and New Landscapes," in *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture*, ed. James Corner (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), ch. 10.

[18] Kenneth R. Olwig, "Performing on the Landscape Versus Doing Landscape: Perambulatory Practice, Sight and the Sense of Belonging," in *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*, ed. Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), ch. 6.

[19] Again, I have learned much from Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," esp. 144-45.

[20] Berleant, *The Aesthetics of Environment*, 155. Isis Brook has referred to what she calls Berleant's "radical rejection of the scenic conception of landscape." See Brook, "Aesthetic Appreciation of Landscape," 43.

[21] Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 6.

[22] James Corner, "Representation and Landscape: Drawing and Making in the Landscape Medium," *Word & Image* 8, no. 3 (1992): 250.

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[23] See George Revill, "*El tren fantasma*: Arcs of Sound and the Acoustic Spaces of Landscape," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 39 (2014): 333-44 and Tiago Mesquita Carvalho, "The Aesthetics of Sound in Landscape and Architecture," in *Philosophy of Landscape: Think, Walk, Act*, ed. Adriana Veríssimo Serrão and Moirika Reker (Lisbon: Centre for Philosophy at the University of Lisbon, 2019), 153-70.

I would also add here that I am not alone in speaking of landscape in terms of a relation between world and perceiver or person. Arnold Berleant remarks that landscape "is, in effect, defined by and in relation to human perception. Landscape is a relationship" (see Berleant's preface to Serrão and Reker, *Philosophy of Landscape*, 9). Working within the framework of "mesology" ("the study of living milieux . . . especially that of human milieux"), Augustin Berque holds that "landscape is not the environment in itself, nor is it a mere projection of one's subjectiveness onto the environment; it is a certain relationship that one concretely has with the environment" ("Landscape and the Unsustainable Urban Realm," in ibid., 93-110, quotes on 98 and 103). For Berque's mesology and how landscape is "neither properly objective, nor properly subjective; it is *trajective*" (ibid., 103), see this essay as well as Augustin Berque, *Thinking Through Landscape*, trans. Anne-Marie Feenberg-Dibon (Albingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), ch. 6 and codicil.

[24] Sasaki Masanobu makes an analogous point in his analyses of Doppo's "Today's Musashino" in *Doppo to Sōseki: hanshinron no chihei* (Kanrin Shobō, 2005), chs. 1-2.

[25] In thinking through the interplays among perceiver, word, and world, I draw upon Thomas M. Greene's idea that, in language and particularly in poetry, "poetic meanings" and "objects" "call" one another from "diffusion." Further, after citing Walt Whitman (1819-92), Greene notes how "language is understood as the prime instrument in the struggle for unity, the calling of the self from diffusion. That insight clarifies the ways in which the evocation of a landscape tends to become a self-definition." See Greene's *Calling from Diffusion: Hermeneutics of the Promenade* (Northampton, MA: Smith College, 2002), 9-10, 12. With respect to verbal generation, I take a cue from Greene's comment that "a word in a poem is a signifier that brings into being and makes available for understanding its imaginary referent" (ibid., 6).

My conception of the interplays among perceiver, world, picture, and, less directly, word owes much to Maurice Merleau-Ponty's theory of "style." Important passages include Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Indirect Language and the Voices of Silence," in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Signs*, trans. Richard C. McClearly (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 54-55; Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "The Indirect Language," in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Prose of the World*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. John O'Neill (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 59-61; and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "On the Phenomenology of Language," in Merleau-Ponty, *Signs*, 84-97 (on this last essay in particular, I have found Dillon, *Merleau-Ponty's Ontology*, 199-201 to be very helpful). On Merleau-Ponty's theory of style, see Linda Singer, "Merleau-Ponty on the Concept of Style," in *The Merleau-Ponty Aesthetics Reader: Philosophy and Painting*, ed. Galen A. Johnson (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993), ch. 11 and Meirav Almog, "Merleau-Ponty's Ontology of Style: Thought, Expression, Art," *Pli* 29 (2018): 1-23. On "style" and related issues, also see Lovisa Andén, "Literature and the Expressions of Being in Merleau-Ponty's Unpublished Course Notes," *The Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 50, no. 3 (2019): 208-19; Ted Toadvine, "Singing the World in a New Key: Merleau-Ponty and the Ontology of Sense," *Janus Head* 7, no. 2 (2004): 273-83, esp. 276-78; and Cor Baerveldt, "Temporality and the Challenge to Genetic Cultural Psychology," in *Temporality: Culture in the Flow of Human Experience*, ed. Lívia Mathias Simão, Danilo Silva

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Guimarães, and Jaan Valsiner (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2015), ch. 18, esp. 451-54. Donald A. Landes, too, addresses the topic of "style" in his *Merleau-Ponty and the Paradoxes of Expression* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). See esp. ibid., ch. 5.

[26] See Chapters One and Two of this dissertation, and see the work of Sasaki Masanobu on Doppo's essay in *Doppo to Sōseki*, chs. 1-2, e.g., p. 29. For more of Sasaki, see Chapter Six.

[27] My thinking about the relation between authors and narrators has been informed by Kamei Hideo's *Transformations of Sensibility.* Also see Michael Bourdaghs's "Editor's Introduction: Buried Modernities—The Phenomenological Criticism of Kamei Hideo," in ibid., vii-xxviii.

[28] For more on the textual history of Roka's cloud sketches, whose dates of composition are not known with certainty, see Chapter Five.

[29] Alternatively, "and [I] had seen [*mishi*] the sky in the gaps between the clouds."

[30] Tokutomi Kenjirō [Roka], *Shizen to jinsei* (Min'yūsha, 1900), 140-41. I have consulted the reprint of the first edition of this text in the series *Seisen meicho fukkoku zenshū Kindai Bungakukan*, edited by Seisen Meicho Fukkoku Zenshū Kindai Bungakukan, Henshū Iinkai and published by Nihon Kindai Bungakukan in 1974 (sixth printing). The passage falls in a brief sketch dated to May 13 within "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan," which is a set of three sketches itself contained in the collection of sketches "Five Minutes with Nature" (Shizen ni taisuru gofunji) in the volume *Nature and Human Life*. In parsing, translating, and interpreting the passage, I owe much to the invaluable comments and aid of Nakagawa Eri, Ōtake Hiroko, and Tomozoe Taiki.

[31] Roka writes, "*kinryō no gotoku kinsei no gotoku kinmeirei no gotoki kumo*."

[32] I am drawing heavily upon Tim Ingold's understanding of "imagination" in his introduction to *Imagining Landscapes: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Monica Janowski and Tim Ingold (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), 3, also 14.

[33] Again, I am building on Gibson and Ingold.

[34] On Roka, Ruskin, and clouds, see Kaneko Takayoshi, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite: *Shizen to jinsei* 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' o chūshin ni," *Shiga Daigaku Keizai Gakubu kenkyū nenpō* 12 (2005): 19-23.

[35] Again, I am drawing on Tim Ingold's *The Perception of the Environment*. See especially the passages of Ingold's book that I quote in Chapter Two.

[36] Kaneko discusses Ruskin's treatment of these two aspects of the clouds, and the connection between that treatment and Roka, in "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 21-22.

[37] Roka was rather unique among amateurs, however, given that he sought guidance in his study of painting directly from the Western-style painter Wada Eisaku (1874-1959).

On the history of watercolor painting in the Meiji period, see Seo Noriaki, *Kindai Nihon suisaiga 150 nenshi* (Kokusho Kankōkai, 2015), chs. 1-3, esp. ch. 3 on the topic of amateur watercolor painting in particular, and Chinghsin Wu, "Colors of Empire: Watercolor in Meiji Japan," in *The Visual Culture of Meiji Japan: Negotiating the Transition to Modernity*, ed. Ayelet Zohar and Alison J. Miller (New York: Routledge, 2021), ch. 10. On factors behind the popularity of watercolor from the second half of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896) to around Meiji 40 (1907), see Harada Hikaru, "Ōshita Tōjirō no shōgai," in Harada Hikaru, *Ōshita Tōjirō*, ed. [*kanshū*] Takumi Hideo, Nihon no suisaiga 1 (Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1989), 38.

[38] See Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," esp. 7-9; Fukawa Junko, "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," *Seikei jinbun*

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kenkyū, no. 3 (1995): 19-33, esp. 23; and Fukawa Junko, “Tokutomi Roka ‘Ryōshi no musume’ ni tsuite,” *Seikei kokubun*, no. 26 (1993): 56-71, esp. 60.

[39] Ōshita Tōjirō, *Suisaiga no shiori* (Shinseisha, 1901), 4-5, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/850978. This manual went through fifteen editions in three years before being revised and republished as *Steps of Watercolor Painting* (Suisaiga kaitei; 1904). On this topic, see Ōshita Tōjirō, “Jijo,” preface to *Suisaiga kaitei* (Naigai Shuppan Kyōkai, 1904), 1-2, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/850969. On the manual, also see Seo, *Kindai Nihon suisaiga 150 nenshi*, 97. Kagesato Tetsurō writes that the manual seems to have been the “first trigger for the propagation and popularity [*seikō*] of watercolor painting.” See Kagesato Tetsurō, “Seichi na den’en fūkei kara sekai no fūkei e,” in Kagesato Tetsurō, *Maruyama Banka*, ed. [*kanshū*] Takumi Hideo, Nihon no suisaiga 11 (Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1989), 41.

[40] Ōshita Tōjirō, “Honsho no narishi yurai,” in *Suisaiga no shiori*, 4-5.

[41] Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment*, 282-83. Ingold has brought an analogous critique to bear upon the similar way in which some “distinguish between nature and landscape”: “the former is said to stand to the latter as physical reality to its cultural or symbolic construction” (“The Temporality of the Landscape,” 154). In this connection and on Ingold, see John Wylie, “Landscape Phenomenology,” 154. Also see Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment*, 55 on “learning to see,” which is “a matter not of acquiring schemata for mentally *constructing* the environment but of acquiring the skills for direct perceptual *engagement* with its constituents, human and non-human, animate and inanimate.”

[42] Anne Whiston Spirn: “Landscapes are the world itself and may also be metaphors of the world” (“‘One with Nature’: Landscape, Language, Empathy, and Imagination,” in *Landscape Theory*, ed. Rachael Ziady DeLue and James Elkins [New York: Routledge, 2008], 55).

Elizabeth Helsinger: “Irreducible to its material forms (shaped environments or their representations), landscape is also at once an epistemology—a mode of explanation—and a practice—a mode of participation, a site of agency” (“Blindness and Insights,” in ibid., 323).

W. J. T. Mitchell: “Landscape is a natural scene mediated by culture. It is both a represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and the commodity inside the package” (“Imperial Landscape,” in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. [Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002], 5).

John Wylie: “The term ‘landscape’ articulates overlapping and dynamic relations between ontological and epistemological levels” (“Depths and Folds,” 532, referred to in Revill, “*El tren fantasma*,” 335).

Jan Kenneth Birksted, in passing: “landscape combines both narrative and perceptual experience” (“Landscape History and Theory: From Subject Matter to Analytical Tool,” *Landscape Review* 8, no. 2 [2003]: 12).

Finally, Adriana Veríssimo Serrão and Moirika Reker state that the chapters in their edited volume, *Philosophy of Landscape: Think, Walk, Act* (2019), “do not share a unanimous conception of Landscape.” However, “all coincide in the adoption of Landscape as a synthetic category which allows for the interpretation, proposal, and anticipation of intersections between the natural and the human, the physical and the spiritual, the untouched and the built-up, the real and the ideal” (introduction to Serrão and Reker, *Philosophy of Landscape*, 14).

[43] Such contextualization should help mitigate some of the critiques leveled at landscape phenomenology. As Wylie explains, “a series of anxieties continue to cluster around landscape phenomenology, which appears, to some at least, to be at once too intimate and too abstract. Too

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intimate in that, by focusing on lived encounters from which individualised subjects and landscapes emerge, it neglects, or even neutralises, broader critical questions concerning the cultural, political and economic forces which shape landscapes, and shape perceptions of landscape also. And too abstract in the sense of being overly preoccupied with philosophical considerations around subjectivity, perception and so on, and thus insufficiently tethered to the historical and material specificities of landscapes" ("Landscape and Phenomenology," 132). "History," however, will be everywhere present in this dissertation. On critiques of phenomenology for an emphasis on the individual that ignores social and historical context and power, see Wylie, "Landscape Phenomenology," 180-81.

[44] Sugawara Jun, "Fūkei/fūkeika to rinri," in *Fūkei no tetsugaku*, ed. Abiko Kazuyoshi and Satō Yasukuni (Kyoto: Nakanishiya, 2002), 105.

[45] See esp. ibid., 119. Note, however, that James J. Gibson's theory of "information pickup" rejects this kind of appeal to memory.

[46] See Kubo Tenzui, "Kumo o ronzu," in *Sansui biron* (Shinseisha, May 1900), 18-40 and Shimazaki Tōson, "Kumo," *Tenchijin*, no. 40 (August 1900): 1-17, in *Kindai Nihon kirisutokyō shinbun shūsei. Dai 3-ki*, ed. Nihon Tosho Sentā (Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1995), reel 93 [microfilm]. Tenzui's essay, "Kumo o ronzu" (On Clouds), was first published around 1900. See endnote 61 in Chapter Eight for more on the essay's unclear publication history.

[47] In his *Transformations of Sensibility*, Kamei often considers how a narrator's "sensibility" (*kansei*) may be held open to and in common with—or otherwise how it differs from—the sensibilities of other characters, the reader, and indeed the writer. In this context, "sensibility" roughly means "a way of intending the world." In understanding the meaning of "sensibility," I have found helpful Kamei Hideo, "Author's Preface to the English Translation," in Kamei, *Transformations of Sensibility*, lxviii, and Bourdaghs, "Editor's Introduction," ix. See esp. ibid., ix-x on Kamei's analysis of differences in "sensibility" in literary texts and for the language of "mode of expression."

The following passage of Bourdaghs's introduction to the translation of Kamei's text indicates the extent of my debt to Kamei in this dissertation. Bourdaghs situates Kamei's work in relation to that of Karatani Kōjin: "For Karatani, Japan's modernity is marked by ideological interpolation into a new Cartesian subjectivity of interiority, one marked by an unbreachable gap between a gazing subject and its object. . . . For Kamei, modern subjectivity follows not so much a Cartesian dualistic model as it does a phenomenological model, one that involves a stronger sense of continuity and dynamic relationality between subject and object. . . . Moreover, for Kamei intersubjective factors are always fundamentally constitutive of the subject-object relation. Hence, whereas Karatani in his brilliant critique of landscape focuses on the binary split between gazing subject and its object, for Kamei, the verbal description of landscape is always a tri-polar relationship. It involves the gazing narrator, the object of the gaze, and the reader/listener to whom the narrator speaks" (ibid., xiv). Finally, "in contrast to Karatani's emphasis on the radical discontinuity of Japan's modernity with earlier periods, Kamei emphasizes continuity, especially with the Edo period" (ibid., xii).

[48] Kamei has made more or less the same point before. See his "Shizen ga kanri sareru made," in *Kansei no henkaku*, 302, and also see my quotation of Kamei on this topic in Chapter One.

[49] In fact, by virtue of the imaginative practice of reading, the text's readers did, in a sense, "walk" in the suburbs if one is willing to allow, building on Tim Ingold, that there is no absolute ontological division between the physical Musashino and readers' imaginations of Musashino.

See Tim Ingold, "Ways of Mind-Walking: Reading, Writing, Painting," *Visual Studies* 25, no. 1 (2010): 15-23.

[50] I am thinking of Thomas M. Greene's description in *Calling from Diffusion* of how "promenade poems" offer a privileged site for studying the relation of "poetic meanings" and "objects." Also see ibid., 1 on why "all the promenades under study are narrated in the first person."

[51] Ibid., 2.

[52] While the argument is not the same, these notions of the dialogic and the polyvocal, and my ongoing concern with the connection between narrators and authors, take direction from Kamei, *Transformations of Sensibility*. See esp. Bourdaghs's "Editor's Introduction," x.

[53] I thank Alan Tansman for recommending the term "accretion."

[54] In a general way, I take inspiration from Donald A. Landes's study of Merleau-Ponty's conception of expression in thinking through how the existing resources of language may be reworked to bring a new meaning to expression in language. See Landes's *Merleau-Ponty and the Paradoxes of Expression*. Relevant texts here, also covered by Landes, are Merleau-Ponty's "On the Phenomenology of Language" as well as Merleau-Ponty's *The Prose of the World*.

An earlier version of this project approached what I now call "accreted language" through the framework of "processual temporality." The points of reference for this framework were Merleau-Ponty as studied by Landes, Kamei's *Transformations of Sensibility*, and Tim Ingold's essay "The Temporality of the Landscape." In his essay, Ingold aligns the word "temporality" with what Alfred Gell, working off J. M. E. McTaggart, calls "A-series" time, "in which time is immanent in the passage of events" (p. 157; see Alfred Gell, *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images* [Oxford: Berg, 1992], esp. ch. 16). The A-series contrasts with the B-series, "in which events are strung out in time like beads on a thread," one after the next ("The Temporality of the Landscape," 157). For more in this vein of thought, see ch. 23 of Gell's book on Edmund Husserl's writings on temporality and consciousness, especially the notions of "retentions" and "protentions" (both also terms invoked by Ingold).

[55] Ada Smailbegović, "Cloud Writing: Describing Soft Architectures of Change in the Anthropocene," in *Art in the Anthropocene: Encounters Among Aesthetics, Politics, Environments and Epistemologies*, ed. Heather Davis and Etienne Turpin (London: Open Humanities Press, 2015), 96.

[56] Jonathan E. Zwicker, *Practices of the Sentimental Imagination: Melodrama, the Novel, and the Social Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006).

[57] The existing scholarship on the experimental linguistic field of Meiji literature is vast. Morioka Kenji's edited volume *Kindaigo no seiritsu: buntaihen* (Meiji Shoin, 1991) offers an overview of the literary styles (*buntai*) of the Meiji period. See esp. the chart of changes in *buntai* over time in this period in Morioka's "Sobyō, genbun itchitai no seiritsu suru made," in ibid., 19. For a compressed overview, see Yamada Yoshio, "Meiji jidai oyobi sono ikō no buntai," in Yamada Yoshio, *Nihon buntai no hensen, honbun to kaisetsu*, ed. Fujimoto Akari, Tanaka Sōta, and Kitazaki Yūho (Bensei Shuppan, 2017), ch. 21. On and around the topics of transcription and print media, see Seth Jacobowitz, *Writing Technology in Meiji Japan: A Media History of Japanese Literature and Visual Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015); Komori Yōichi, *Nihongo no kindai* (Iwanami Shoten, 2000), chs. 2 and 4 (and also see Komori on speechmaking); and Noguchi Takehiko, *Sanninshō no hakken made* (Chikuma

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Shobō, 1994), 209-20 (I siphon these citations from my “Kōda Rohan’s *Fūryūbutsu*: Semiotic Polyvalency and ‘Salvific’ Prose,” *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 45, no. 2 [2019]: 294 and 294n72).

On the popularity and transformations of *kanshibun* (Chinese poetry and prose) and *kanbun kundokutai* (the style of Japanese readings of Chinese) in the Meiji period, see Maeda Ai, “Meiji shoki bunjin no Chūgoku shōsetsu shumi,” in *Kindai dokusha seiritsu*, Vol. 2 of *Maeda Ai chosakushū* (Chikuma Shobō, 1989), 290-304 as well as Atsuko Ueda, “Sound, Scripts, and Styles: *Kanbun kundokutai* and the National Language Reforms of 1880s Japan,” in *Translation in Modern Japan*, ed. Indra Levy (London: Routledge, 2011), 141-64. See Ueda’s essay in particular on the relation between *kokubun* (national letters) and *kanbun kundokutai*, which flourished in the 1880s. On changes in *kanbun kundokutai* over time, see, for instance, Saitō Fumitoshi on the particular use of auxiliary verbs marking tense and aspect in “modern” (*kindai*) *kanbun kundokutai* (“Kindai kanbun kundokutai to toki no jodōshi,” in *Kanbun kundoku to kindai Nihongo no keisei* [Bensei Shuppan, 2011], ch. 4). On *wabun* (“Japanese writing”) and educational materials in mainly the Meiji 20s (1887-96), see Morita Shingo, “Meiji 20-nendai ni okeru ‘wabun’ o kihanteki buntai to shita bunpō kyōkasho no kentō,” *Tsukuba kyōikugaku kenkyū*, no. 2 (2004) 71-86. On the vernacular, see Nanette Twine, “The Genbunitchi Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Conclusion,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 33, no. 3 (1978): 333-56.

On the formation of a national literary canon, see Michael C. Brownstein, “From *Kokugaku* to *Kokubungaku*: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, no. 2 (1987): 435-60. On the popularity and significance in the Meiji period of fiction first published in the Edo period, see P. F. Kornicki, “The Survival of Tokugawa Fiction in the Meiji Period,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41, no. 2 (1981): 461-82, as well Zwicker’s *Practices of the Sentimental Imagination*. Finally, I have learned a great deal from the sections on Meiji-period developments in Shioda Ryōhei, *Koten to Meiji igo no bungaku* [The Classics and Literature from the Meiji Period On], Vol. 14 (*kindai*) in Iwanami kōza Nihon bungakushi (Iwanami Shoten, 1959).

[58] Neither style is entirely or strictly in the tone of *kanbun kundoku* or in that of *wabun*. I thank Munakata Kazushige for his comments on this topic. On the literary styles of *Nature and Human Life*, see my references to the work of Suzuki Yoshiaki, Noyama Kashō, and Nakano Yoshio in endnote 124 of Chapter Five.

[59] See Benjamin Lee Whorf, “The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language,” in Benjamin Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality*, ed. John B. Carroll, Stephen C. Levinson, and Penny Lee, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2012), ch. 11, esp. 200 on the “legislat[ing]” power of language. However, it is not my intention to endorse linguistic determinism with respect to culture or behavior by citing Whorf’s essay, where the links drawn between language and cultural and behavioral patterns can be very stretched.

[60] See Stanley Cavell, “Thoreau Thinks of Ponds, Heidegger of Rivers,” in *Philosophy the Day After Tomorrow* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 213-35, esp. 230.

[61] It is clear that locating a clean fault line in Meiji-period literature only after which an external object-world was “seen” and described is inadequate to Edo-period travel writing and to Edo-period literature as a whole. A sense of this inadequacy comes through in critical responses to Karatani Kōjin’s thesis regarding the “discovery” of landscape in the Meiji 20s. For such a response in connection to Edo-period travel writing, see Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)* (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 2003), 98-99; in connection to Edo-period literature more generally, see Horikiri Minoru, “Kinsei ni okeru ‘fūkei’ no hakken: Karatani Kōjin-setsu o tadasu [糺す],” *Nihon bungaku* 51, no. 10 (2002): 1-10.

[62] Here, the word “life” in the phrase “describing from life” pertains to worlds represented in texts and perceived by observer-narrators, not to the actual extra-textual world perceived by living authors.

Chapter One

"Today's Musashino," I:
The Rhythms of Landscape

In January and February 1898, Kunikida Doppo published his prose-poetic essay "Today's Musashino" (Ima no Musashino; republished as "Musashino" in 1901). The essay thematizes the sounds, sights, topographical features, and seasonal changes of Musashino, a suburban diluvial terrace on whose eastern edge sits part of Tokyo.[1] In the process, the essay stages moments of coordination or synchronization among the movements and textures of the plain, the gestures and perceptions of walkers upon the plain, and the rhythms of the prose by which Doppo figures the plain and its walkers. Doppo's language both expresses and also fashions the sensible, topographical, seasonal, and climatic movements and textures of Musashino. It further expresses and fashions the embodied gestures and perceptions of those who navigate the plain on foot. These walkers' situated acts of walking and perceiving, in turn, both disclose and also are structured by the movements and textures of the plain, which are registered in and articulated by Doppo's rhythmic prose. In this way, Doppo's essay stages moments of intertwining or commingling among walker, world, and word.[2]

In giving literary expression to this intertwining, "Today's Musashino" instantiates what this dissertation calls a constellation of landscape: a set of relations among perceiver, word, and world. These relations, I will suggest, consist in a dynamic interplay among these three terms. On the one hand, the sensible world enables, circumscribes, and partially determines the perceiver's perceptions. In turn, in perceptually disclosing the world, perceivers "attune" to their surroundings in different ways. Such attunement is contingent upon the task at hand and the environmental context of perception. It further results from what James Gibson calls an "education of attention" in particular environmental and social contexts.[3] For instance, as I will demonstrate, Doppo's narrator signals that his reading of a translation by Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909) of a story by the Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev (1818-83) stimulated and shaped his efforts to "lend his ear" to—to concertedly attend to and home in on—the sounds of Musashino's deciduous woods.[4] Put differently, the translation sparked and indirectly guided a sort of autodidactic sensory training carried out by the narrator, who has become acutely sensitive to these suburban sounds.

This interplay between perceiver and world further extends to include a third term: word, or in this case, Doppo's prose. For the prose does not merely convey perceptions and the sensible world represented within the text but, furthermore, orchestrates and articulates these matters through historically conditioned uses and patterns of language. In turn, whether in tandem or independently, perceiver and world ground and offer a focus for the words by which they are orchestrated, articulated, and—this being a written text—verbally generated in the first place.

By virtue of these interplays, the gestures, textures, and rhythms of walker, world, and word flow into one another in different portions of Doppo's essay. Parts of the text's third section, which is the primary focus of my analysis, present particularly clear figurations of such interplays, especially between word and world. They do so by registering the sounds of Musashino's acoustic environment,[5] which Doppo characterizes as follows in his diary, *An Honest Record* (Azamukazaru no ki; composed between 1893 and 1897):

> Acoustically [*onkyō ni*], there are the voices [*koe*[6]] of birds, there is the voice of the wind,

> there are the voices of leaves, there are the voices of insects, there are the voices of carts, there are the voices of hooves, there are the voices of songs, there are the voices of conversation, there are the voices of artillery [*hōsei*], there are the sounds of footsteps [*ashioto*], there are the sounds of wings, there are the voices of dripping [water], there are the voices of rain. These are the sounds and voices that one can hear if one listens closely [*keichō shiuru no onsei*] in Musashino's woods.[7]

In "Today's Musashino," Doppo experimented with a prose-poetic language that both expresses and also fashions the movements and textures of the plain, including those of this acoustic environment.[8]

My contention is that examining this kind of interplay between word and world—an interplay that also enfolds the bodily gestures and perceptions of those who walk the plain in "Today's Musashino"—serves to transform our understanding of Japanese landscape literature from the end of the nineteenth century. It does so by addressing landscape, not as a distant object of knowledge perceived and represented by a detached or alienated subject, but instead as the site of a constellation of relations among perceiver, word, and world. As I have suggested, in "Today's Musashino," this constellation is sometimes characterized by a coordination or synchronization among the rhythms of language, the movements and perceptions of walking bodies, and the sights, sounds, topography, seasons, and climate of the plain. Exploring such coordination illustrates how, in portions of the text, "Today's Musashino" stages a dynamic interplay between perceiver and world. It further illustrates how the essay stages perceptual experiences and modes of perception that are shared intersubjectively among multiple subjects. Finally, in addition to delineating these and other features of "Today's Musashino," I will unpack the essay's "accreted language," by which I mean a kind of layering of multiple forms of language in the present act of expression.

In this and the following two chapters, I analyze passages of "Today's Musashino" as literary performances of an interweaving among perceiver, word, and world. In the process, I ask how sound, in particular, animates such interweaving. In so doing, my intention is not to privilege sound and hearing as offering unmediated access to perceivers' interiority or subjectivity. Nor do I mean to suggest that "hearing is a sense that immerses us in the world, vision is a sense that removes us from it"—one argument of what Jonathan Sterne calls the "audiovisual litany."[9] Indeed, we will also address the commingling among perceiver, word, and world in "Today's Musashino" as it is secured through visual perception. Rather, what I am asking is how, within a specific set of historical conditions, Doppo conducted formal and conceptual experimentation in "Today's Musashino" with a mode of expression that functions to *perform* a commingling among Musashino, suburban perceivers, and Doppo's language. I will also examine historically specific influences upon the particular mode of perception by which Doppo's observer-narrator aurally attunes to the sounds of the suburbs.

At the same time, I will analyze the commingling in Doppo's essay between Musashino (world) and prose (word) as it often occurs in the absence of a defined context of perception. In these cases, it is the rhythms of relatively generalized natural description—"generalized" in the sense of not being anchored in a particular perceptual context—that draw word and world together.[10] I say "relatively" generalized because, in "Today's Musashino," the observer-narrator remains pertinent even to this kind of generalized description and, by extension, to the commingling between word and world that such description stages and effects. This is because even such generalized description typically retains an implicit basis in the first-person narrator's past experiences of the suburbs. Indeed, near the opening of the essay, Doppo's embodied narrator unequivocally announces his intention to "write what I saw and felt [*mite kanjita tokoro*] between fall and winter" (in Musashino). Admittedly, this announcement likely applies only to the first of the two installments of "Today's Musashino."[11] (The first installment thematizes Musashino in the fall and winter and, furthermore, was probably composed and perhaps conceived separately from the second installment,[12] which focuses more upon Musashino in the summer.) Nevertheless, the narrator's repeated references throughout the essay to himself and to his own experiences of and activities in Musashino clearly indicate that, within the world represented in the text, a substratum of perceptual experience underlies much of the narrator's generalized description of Tokyo's suburbs.[13]

Exploring the kinds of commingling among walker, word, and world that I have outlined requires a methodology that accounts for the intersubjective qualities of "Today's Musashino." Attending to such intersubjectivity compels us to ask whether the conventional understanding of landscape as an object-world perceived and known by an individuated or isolated subject is entirely adequate.

The work of the literary historian Kamei Hideo provides crucial guidance in analyzing the intersubjective qualities of "Today's Musashino." Kamei has located a type of intersubjectivity in Doppo's writings that coheres, in particular, through narration to an auditor.[14] He has also observed how "Today's Musashino" is "structured around the fundamental concept of its being narrated to an auditor: 'you' (the reader)."[15] Building upon Kamei's work, I will ask how the text's narration incorporates the reader as a hypothetical walker who might have the kinds of experiences in Tokyo's suburbs that the narrator describes.[16] Doppo's use of second-person narration functions to hail the reader into the subject position of an implicitly male, urban interloper on the plain. In the process, the narration situates the reader as a potential perceiver and walker of the plain's terrain whose (hypothetical) bodily motions are inextricable from the textures and movements of Musashino's environment as well as of Doppo's language. It also facilitates a sort of prescribed perceptual training, carried out via the imaginative act of reading, in which the narrator directs "your" attention to certain features of and sites in the suburbs when narrating "your" potential strolls in Musashino.

In addition to examining this intersubjective relation between the narrator and the reader, I will also argue that, in the midst of a suburban stroll, the narrator and another character—the narrator's unnamed "friend"—come to perceptually engage with the suburbs in a shared, synchronized manner. In other words, their perceptual experiences and modes of perception come to coincide, in part, in Musashino. In this way, Doppo's essay gives expression to a commingling between two suburban walkers—a commingling that, I will show, further enfolds the suburban environment that surrounds the walkers.

Finally, in addition to tracing these various moments of commingling among perceivers, word, and world in "Today's Musashino," I will contend that Doppo's mode of expression exhibits what may be called "accreted" language. By this I mean that multiple forms and uses of language, whether of older or newer provenance, feed into and become "layered" within present acts of verbal expression in "Today's Musashino." Attending to such layering, and particularly to the way earlier modes of expression feed into Doppo's essay, reorients our understanding of both "Today's Musashino" and also "modern" landscape literature more broadly. This is because it suggests the partial and processual character of transformations in late-Meiji literature of constellations of landscape, that is, of the relations among perceiver, world, and especially word.

Karatani Kōjin has argued that “landscape” in “Today’s Musashino” is cut off from “*meisho*,”[17] historically constituted “famous places” tied to and largely defined by inherited aesthetic and representational conventions.[18] Karatani writes,

> What distinguishes Kunikida Doppo’s “Musashino” . . . is that landscape [*fūkei*] is severed from *meisho*. A *meisho* is nothing other than a place covered [*oowareta*] by historical and literary meanings (concepts).[19]

Referring to these lines and another by Karatani, Akasaka Norio remarks that, “indeed, we cannot find even a fragment of *meisho kyūseki* [famous places and old ruins] in ‘Musashino.’”[20] What’s more, Doppo’s text features a narrator who, as I discuss below, performatively acclaims the aesthetic originality of his descriptions of Tokyo’s suburbs.

Yet, such acclamation, and the text’s repudiation of *meisho*, tend to belie the narrator’s explicitly expressed desire in the opening of “Today’s Musashino” to witness even the “vestiges” (*omokage*) of an older plain, of “the Musashino that we imagine only through paintings and poems” (56). They also tend to obscure how the text incorporates a range of modes of verbal expression of diverse provenance and historicity. These include language that recalls Musashino’s older literary image as an *utamakura* (poem pillow), as Akasaka has demonstrated while critiquing Karatani,[21] as well as diction stemming from non-vernacular literary Japanese (*bungo*). In addition, “Today’s Musashino” contains two direct quotations of Edo-period poems.[22] It also reproduces lines from a verse, quoted in English, by William Wordsworth (1770-1850). Doppo further integrated these forms of language with a bourgeoning vernacular register (*genbun itchi*), particularly as it had been employed in Futabatei Shimei’s translations of Ivan Turgenev in the late 1880s. Finally, Doppo forged a type of poetic prose that, I will contend, was tied indirectly to his critical thinking circa 1897 about new style poetry (*shintaishi*). In short, then, “Today’s Musashino” exhibits a composite mode of expression that mixes and refashions older and newer forms of language. Put differently, the text features what Ada Smailbegović might characterize as a “layering” of “historical frames,”[23] layers of forms of language of diverse provenance and historicity mobilized in the act of verbal expression. These layers, I suggest, bear out the partial and processual character of transformations of constellations of landscape, which include modes of expression (words), in late-Meiji Japan.

In this and the following two chapters, I will consider a range of historical conditions specific to the Edo and Meiji periods (1603-1912) that shaped these layers of language as well as the broader themes and imagery of “Today’s Musashino.” First examining the following passage of the text, however, clarifies the burden of my argument. This is, in brief, that “Today’s Musashino” presents moments of commingling among word, world, and walker. Here, that commingling obtains between word and world by virtue of a coordination between rhythmic language and suburban sound. In the following lines, which are based on the diary entry I quoted above that enumerates the sounds of Musashino,[24] the prosodic patterning, syntax, and repetitive vocabulary of Doppo’s language collectively convey the textures and movements of the plain’s acoustic environment. At the same time, the reiteration of the words “sound” (*oto*) and “voice” (*koe*) in this passage operates as a kind of phatic chant that repeatedly reconfirms this conveyance. In so doing, it foregrounds the language that mediates and arranges these sounds for the reader. In other words, the chant reveals that Musashino’s sounds are not simply spontaneously emerging noises that are converted from the medium of Musashino’s physical environment to the medium of Doppo’s written language.[25] Rather, it demonstrates how the plain's acoustic movements are also orchestrated in space, time, and the text "Today's Musashino" by a poetic prose that verbally generates and, to some extent, manifests those movements. In this way, the text traces a back-and-forth, an interweaving between autopoiesis (self-generation) and poiesis (active creation), world and word:

> The sounds of the birds' flapping wings; [their] chirping voices. The wind's rustling, whistling, howling, shouting voice. The chirruping sounds of insects in the shade of the thickets, the recesses of the woods. The echoes [or "sounds"; *hibiki*] of carts empty and freighted circling the woods, descending the hills, and crossing paths in the fields. The sound of hoofs kicking fallen leaves about—this is either a cavalry patrol out on maneuvers, or otherwise a foreign husband and wife out for an excursion. The grating voices of villagers who go along while speaking loudly of something—and before [one] realizes it, their [voices] grow distant. The footsteps of a woman hurrying lonesomely along the road. The voice of artillery [*hōsei*] echoing [or "resounding"; *hibiku*] off in the distance. The sudden sound of a gunshot [*tsutsuoto*] in the nearby woods (59-60).[26]

These lines feature a mode of expression characterized by parataxis (conjunctions are sparse), repetition (for example, of "sound" and "voice"), and prosodic variation (as explored below). The language expresses and fashions the ebbs and flows of Musashino's chirrups, chatter, booms, and echoes. The motions of an admixture of organic and inorganic actions and processes flow into, and are simultaneously orchestrated by, those of Doppo's prose.

This flow and orchestration derive, in part, from semantic and syntactical parallelisms. These parallelisms scaffold a rhetorical structure that both registers and also arranges the plain's acoustic textures. The parallelisms depend, in turn, upon Doppo's generous use of commas and periods to demarcate the boundaries of groupings of morae—that is, to articulate rhythmically arranged, parallel sets of morae.[27] The first two phrases, followed by a period, read, "The sounds of birds' flapping wings; [their] chirping voices" (*tori no haoto*, *saezuru koe*). Each phrase measures six morae and concerns the sounds of birds. Taken together, they form a kind of non-lineated "couplet" whose cogency is reinforced by the use of a comma after "haoto" and a period after "koe." The cogency of this "couplet" further stems from the way Doppo ends each phrase with a noun in the absence of a predicate word or a transitional word. In combination with the comma and the period, this noun-final structure works to interpolate subvocal pauses after six-morae segments. The pauses punctuate the paratactic prose and, in this way, generate a prosaic prosody calibrated to the noises of the plain.

An analogous calibration characterizes the next series of phrases, which again end with a period: "the wind's rustling, whistling, howling, shouting voice" (*kaze no soyogu, naru, usobuku, sakebu koe*). In this line, a succession of verbs grammatically modifies the wind's "voice" (or "sound").[28] The succession unfolds in a start-stop rhythm in which each rest, marked by a comma, is cued to an amplification of that voice. To put this differently, the articulated succession of words furnishes a verbal building-up that recapitulates, even as it verbally renders, the increasing acoustic intensity of the gale, which escalates from rustling to shouting. In this way, Doppo's language effects a distinct reciprocity between word and world.[29]

One can locate different versions of such reciprocity throughout the passage. Take the subsequent line, "The chirruping sounds of insects in the shade of the thickets, the recesses of the woods" (*kusamura no kage, hayashi no oku ni sudaku mushi no ne* [音]). The narrator paratactically lists "kusamura no kage" (the shade of the thickets) and "hayashi no oku" (the recesses of the woods) side-by-side, separated only by a comma. Interpreted analogously to the previous line, which also features such parataxis, the effect of this syntax is a type of brief accretion shared between language and suburban space alike—here, an accretion of, not the intensities of the voice of the wind, but rather the locations of the chirrups of insects.

This sort of correspondence between word and world also typifies the next line, “The echoes of carts empty and freighted circling the woods, descending the hills, and crossing paths in the fields” (*karaguruma niguruma no hayashi o meguri, saka o kudari, noji o yokogiru hibiki*). The line consists of three parts, marked off by commas, whose words all ultimately modify the final noun, “echoes” (*hibiki*). Each part of the line contains a description of a specific movement of the echoing carts around a specific topographical feature: circling the woods, descending the hills, and crossing paths in the fields (*noji*, lit. “field-paths”). Seen in this light, the syntax of the language—the tripartite articulation of the prose that expresses suburban sounds—itself articulates, and also takes its measure from, the distinct kinds of movements (circling, descending, and crossing) performed by echoing carts around distinct components of the suburban topography (forests, hills, and paths in the fields).

My point here is that Doppo’s prose features a harmony of form and content. The language exhibits syntactical textures and prosodic variations that are somehow coordinated or synchronized with the movements, topographical textures, and sounds of the suburbs. In the foregoing passage, this mirroring between word and world perhaps finds expression on the broadest scale in the use of a series of consecutive, syntactically parallel lines to register, and to create the rhetorical effect of, successions or layers of suburban sounds. Such parallel syntax defines the second half of the passage in particular. For example, the two lines, “The sound of hoofs . . . an excursion” and “The grating voices . . . grow distant,” each consist of three parts marked off by commas and periods. In both cases, the first part of the line ends with a noise: the “sound” (*oto*) of hoofs or the grating “voices” (*damigoe*[30]) of villagers. Then, following a comma, come two additional segments of description and interpretation. Those additional segments, which are also separated from one other by a comma, work to define the context in which the previously identified noise was made, although the narrator seems to be speaking of types or categories of sound in Musashino rather than discrete sounds heard at particular moments in the past[31]: “this is either a cavalry patrol out on maneuvers, or otherwise . . . .” (*kore wa kihei enshū no sekkō ka, sanakuba . . . .*) and “and before [one] realizes it, their [voices] grow distant.” (*sore mo itsushika, toozakariyuku.*). We might also note in passing how the second part of each line begins with a demonstrative pronoun: *kore* (this) or *sore* (that).[32] These parallel pronouns connect the second segment of each line back to the first segment. Thus, *kore* refers to the source of the previously mentioned sound of hoofs, or rather, to the events or agents responsible for the horses’ making of this sound: a cavalry patrol out on maneuvers or a foreign husband and wife. Likewise, *sore* refers back to the villagers’ “grating voices,” or again,” to “the grating voices of villagers who go along while speaking loudly of something.”

In turn, the two syntactically parallel lines that I have just analyzed precede three more syntactically parallel lines: “The footsteps of a woman . . . . The voice of artillery . . . . The sudden sound of a gunshot . . . .” The three lines mirror one another, but also differ in syntax from the previous two lines, because they each consist of a single string of words, unbroken by commas, that ends in the Japanese with an acoustic noun: “footsteps” (lit., ‘foot-sounds’; *ashioto*), the “voice [sound] of artillery” (*hōsei*), and “the sound of a gunshot” (*tsutsuoto*).[33] There is, without a doubt, a symmetry of sorts between this succession of syntactically similar lines and the succession of sundry sounds they signify.

In all these ways, Doppo's language institutes a rhythmic reverberation between the prose and the plain. Doppo literalizes this reverberation throughout the passage via the hypnotic reiteration of the words "sound" (*oto*) and "voice" (*koe*). This reiteration takes the form of a kind of inverted anaphora in which the same word is used repeatedly at the end, rather than the beginning, of lines or segments of lines. Indeed, in this brief passage, "sound" and "voice" appear nine times prior to commas or periods, whether alone or within a compound word, e.g., *damigoe* (grating voices) or *ashioto* (footsteps). (The number climbs to ten if we also include the appearance of *hibiki*, meaning "echo" or "sound," in a line-final position.) By virtue of this rhetorical structure, Doppo's descriptive prose continually "lands" upon, and thus stresses, the words "sound" and "voice." In one sense, the sheer repetition of "sound" and "voice" amplifies the noisy text by transmitting the cadences of the plain. In another sense, this repetition, and the rhetorical stress placed upon "sound" and "voice" throughout the passage, metadiscursively marks the text as noisy, and thus, as capable of bringing the plain's cadences into being through the racket of language. Put differently, it signals the way Doppo's prose verbally generates and organizes the plenum of sound that composes Musashino's acoustic environment and, in so doing, fashions the sonic textures of the suburbs for the reader.

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A number of historical, infrastructural, and intellectual conditions specific to the Edo and Meiji periods shaped the way that "Today's Musashino" stages this kind of interplay among word, world, and—more distinctly in other portions of the text[34]—walker-perceivers. This chapter outlines some of those conditions. In what follows, I will first argue that Doppo could write as he did about this interplay among walker, word, and world, and particularly between language and suburban sound, due in part to the suburban character and the acoustic environment of the region of Shibuya. Between 1896 and 1897, Doppo lived in Shibuya Village, located on Tokyo's western outskirts. His experiences during this period would underwrite the content of "Today's Musashino." Drawing heavily on the work of Itō Hiroki,[35] I will suggest that sounds that were actually audible in the wider Shibuya area, as well as the kinds of institutions and activities particular to this region in Doppo's day, helped foster the conditions for Doppo to describe specific aspects of the acoustic environment recorded in "Today's Musashino."

In addition to Shibuya's suburban character and acoustics, the broader agricultural and residential development starting in the early Edo period of the Musashino Terrace (*daichi*), on whose eastern tip Shibuya sits,[36] also helped shape the text's thematic and historical content. This, I will argue, is because the text attests to and describes both continuities and also discontinuities in the physical state and representation of the plain at different historical moments. For example, as regards continuities, Doppo's narrator clearly conveys a desire to witness "vestiges" (*omokage*) of an older, bygone Musashino. This interest finds a precedent in an Edo-period culture of suburban recreation. It also finds a formal equivalent in "Today's Musashino," as I demonstrate in the next chapter, in the way Doppo both directly quotes Edo-period poetry and also occasionally deploys language that recalls Musashino's older, *utamakura*-style poetic image as an endless plain of grasses.[37]

At the same time, however, the agricultural and residential development of Musashino in the Edo period engendered real discontinuities between Musashino's physical constitution in 1898 and its physical constitution and literary image at earlier historical moments. For instance, I will show how Musashino's development helped structure the juxtaposition drawn by Doppo's narrator between what he calls the "old Musashino" (*mukashi no Musashino*) and "today's Musashino" (*ima no Musashino*). For the narrator, the "old Musashino" featured "endless vistas of plains of miscanthus reeds [or 'miscanthus grasses'; *kayahara*]." The present plain, by contrast, is distinguished by "woods" (58). From a literary-historical perspective, Doppo's essay is distinguished, in part, by precisely its extended description of those woods in "today's" Musashino. (However, following Akasaka, I will also show that the *utamakura*-style image of Musashino as a plain of grasses in fact resurfaces in "Today's Musashino," and that such grasses had not vanished from the actual Musashino of Doppo's day.)

The juxtaposition of an "old Musashino" with "today's Musashino" chimes, furthermore, with Doppo's narrator's performative rejection of *meisho* (famous places) as an adequate framework for his experiences and description of the contemporary suburbs. Such *meisho* were pivotal to the Edo-period culture of suburban recreation, from which the narrator's own strolls in Musashino differ significantly. The effect of this rejection of the *meisho* framework, and of the juxtaposition of an "old Musashino" with "today's Musashino," is to foreground the text's treatment of the plain's present incarnation. That is, it highlights the text's concern with the acoustic, visual, topographical, and climatic properties of, specifically, "today's" Musashino, where walker, word, and world may commingle.

Before proceeding, I want to state explicitly that my analysis of this commingling in "Today's Musashino" does not purport to be comprehensive. For one thing, such commingling is not the only lineament of the text. For instance, one could also emphasize the topographical or geographical quality of passages of description untethered from the viewing perspective of a particular perceptual subject of landscape experience.[38] Such description can itself be quite rhythmic, as when the narrator lists up waterways that flow through Musashino: "Again, the one that flows out from Inokashira Pond, Zenpuku Pond, and so on and becomes the Kanda Aqueduct. The one that flows around Meguro and enters the sea at Shinagawa. The one that flows around Shibuya and comes out to Kanasugi" (112-13).[39]

In addition, my analysis does not cover all nine sections of "Today's Musashino." Rather, in this and the following two chapters, I will focus more narrowly upon descriptions of sound in section three and of suburban strolling in sections five and six as well as the narrator's introductory remarks concerning "today's" Musashino in section one. I examine these sections in particular because, as a group, they clearly demonstrate the qualities of a dynamic interplay among perceiver, word, and world; intersubjectivity; and "accreted" language. As I have argued, attending to these qualities of the text transforms our understanding of late-Meiji landscape literature.

Suburban Shibuya

In the passage of "Today's Musashino" that I analyzed above, verbal rhythms become closely coordinated with the sounds of Musashino. The capacity of Doppo's essay to effect such coordination depended in part upon the suburban character and acoustic environment of a specific area where Doppo collected materials incorporated into "Today's Musashino." This was, namely, the region of Shibuya, located on the eastern tip of the Musashino Terrace and the western edge of Tokyo.[40] The kinds of institutions and activities particular to Shibuya in Doppo's day, and the sounds that could be heard there, made it possible, or at least much more likely, for Doppo to describe aspects of the acoustic environment registered in "Today's

Musashino.”[41]

Early in the essay, Doppo’s narrator explains that “I lived in a small, thatch-roofed house in Shibuya Village from the start of fall in 1896 until the start of spring” (57). In fact, Doppo himself lived in Shibuya Village between September 1896 and April 1897.[42] In 1907, Doppo would recall that it was during this time living in a house in Shibuya—during his “suburban life” (*kōgai seikatsu*)—that he “acquired” (the materials for) his text “Today’s Musashino.”[43] As Doppo explains in a passage identified by Kawamoto Saburō,[44] he explored his surroundings on foot:

> It’s just about fair to say that, from when I woke up in the morning until I went to sleep, in both the night and the afternoon, as long as the weather was fair [*fuu de nai kagiri*], I spent half of each day walking through the area [*kinkō sanpo*]. Even if a friend came, depending upon the person, I would generally invite them out for a walk. In this way, I was able to experience Musashino’s nature thoroughly [*jūbun Musashino no shizen ni sessuru koto ga dekimashita*].[45]

It is unclear exactly where Doppo walked. According to Maeda Ai, we may postulate the “range” in which Doppo walked (along with companions) to have been “just about the entire area [*ichien*] of today’s Setagaya Ward.”[46] Akasaka Norio, who cites Maeda but who notes that Maeda provides no clear evidence for his position, proposes that the range of Doppo’s walks was “extremely limited”[47] (not stretching very far, I take it, from the house in Shibuya Village where Doppo resided). Regardless of precisely where Doppo strolled, his experiences of the wider Shibuya area during this period would underwrite the content of “Today’s Musashino.” For instance, as Itō Hiroki has demonstrated, the essay’s descriptions of the plateaus, valleys, waterways, ponds, and types of agricultural production in “Musashino” sharply correspond to, and indeed took their measure from, those found in the area of Shibuya in Doppo’s day.[48]

The same holds for components of the acoustic environment recorded in “Today’s Musashino.” The text’s descriptions of two categories of sounds—those of carts and, possibly, those of soldiers—substantiate this point. As Itō observes, the sounds of carts surface repeatedly in the text. For instance, in the passage of “Today’s Musashino” that I analyzed above, the narrator speaks of “the echoes [or ‘sounds’; *hibiki*] of carts empty and freighted [*karaguruma niguruma* 空車荷車] circling the woods, descending the hills, and crossing paths in the fields.” In Doppo’s time, Itō shows, freight carts (*niguruma*) were used to transport goods, such as produce, from suburban agricultural villages to marketplaces in the direction of the city. Subsequently, they might serve to carry human waste (fertilizer) back from the city. In the process of transporting such items, these carts headed to or passed through Shibuya.[49] In other words, the sounds of the carts really could be heard in the Shibuya area, from where they fed into the acoustic environment figured in “Today’s Musashino.”[50]

The same can be said of what may be the sounds of soldiers in the following line, also highlighted by Itō: “The sound of hoofs kicking fallen leaves about—this is either a cavalry patrol out on maneuvers, or otherwise a foreign husband and wife out for an excursion.” As Itō explains, military facilities and institutions such as shooting grounds, training grounds, and barracks sprang up in the wider Shibuya area from around Meiji 20 (1887).[51] For this reason, we may infer, I think, that the military’s actual presence and activity in the region of Shibuya undergirded Doppo’s characterization of “the sound of hoofs” as perhaps being those of “a cavalry patrol out on maneuvers.”[52] From another perspective, the military’s presence in Shibuya indirectly engendered the noises recorded in Doppo's text. It did so insofar as one could argue, along with Itō, that Doppo "sank" (*shizumikomase*) or dissimulated the "military landscape [*guntai no fūkei*] in the area of Shibuya" and "converted it into indirect 'sounds' heard in the thickets of the beautiful 'Musashino.'"[53] In these ways, then, the specific characteristics of suburban Shibuya and its acoustic environment potentiated, or at least encouraged, particular figurations of sound in "Today's Musashino."[54]

The Musashino Terrace

In addition to Shibuya's suburban character and acoustic environment, the agricultural and residential development of the wider Musashino Terrace in the Edo period likewise gave shape to the thematic and historical content of "Today's Musashino." It did so to the degree that Doppo's essay attests to, and expressly concerns itself with, continuities and discontinuities in the physical state and representation of Musashino at different historical moments. These continuities and discontinuities structure Doppo's avowed focus on "today's" Musashino, where walker, word, and world sometimes commingle.

Large-scale, intensive development of the Musashino plain first began in the Edo period.[55] Beginning in the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa shogunate implemented policies of land reclamation that occasioned the establishment of *shinden* ("new fields") and associated villages on the terrace. Although such reclamation and settlement were not carried out at a uniform pace during the Edo period,[56] the following topographical texts from the early nineteenth century give some sense of the scale of the region's overall transformation. Indeed, these texts announce all but the outright disappearance of an older, undeveloped plain. For instance, the mapmaker Nakada Koreyoshi (fl. late Edo) included the following printed lines on his *Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital* (Tōto kinkōzu; 1825, revised edition published in 1830; see figures 1a and 1b). (Note that the 1825 and 1830 editions of this map are extremely strong candidates for the "Bunsei-period map" cited at the start of "Today's Musashino"[57]; I return to this topic below):

> It is said that, originally, Musashino was a plain measuring hundreds of leagues; that the moonlight, shining over myriad leagues, reached the Tamagawa river and illuminated the peak of Mt. Fuji; and that it was a scene of unparalleled beauty. In the Jōō period [1652-55], the Tamagawa Aqueduct came to run through Musashino. With this, farmers gained more convenient access to water. The area was developed with each passing year: new fields were opened up, and in other cases [*arui wa*], plantations of trees became dense. By around the Genbun period [1736-41], the new fields had grown into over forty villages. The remains [*ato*] of Musashino are left today merely in the district of Iruma.

These words would be echoed a few years later in the entry for "Musashino" in the gazetteer, *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo* (Edo meisho zue; 1834-36):

> After [Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616)] moved to this province [*gonyūkoku no koro yori*], in contrast to the past [*mukashi*], smoke from cooking fires came to rise from ten thousand homes and trail along with purple haze. Even if a few traces [*kyūseki*] of [the past Musashino] remained, from the Jōō to the Kyōhō periods [1652-1736], new fields

> [*shinden*] were developed some four times and [the region] turned into farmland for cultivation and plantations of trees; there is no scenery that remains from long ago [*sono kami no fūkō kore nashi*]. But, when one climbs Sayama on a moonlit night and gazes around upon one's surroundings, the open fields are verdant and vast, stretching unbroken for a thousand leagues. It is enough to [enable one to] imagine the appearance [of Musashino] in olden times.[58]

By this point, then, Musashino (the Musashino Terrace) had developed into a thoroughly cultivated region outside of Edo.

This development would condition the way Doppo's text takes up, describes, and positions itself in relation to continuities and discontinuities in the physical state and representation of Musashino at different historical moments. As I have already suggested, these continuities and discontinuities structure Doppo's explicit focus on "today's" Musashino. In the opening of Doppo's text, the narrator signals that his fascination with today's Musashino stems at least in part from his desire to witness the traces of some older, bygone Musashino. He indicates as much by observing and reflecting upon a map of the region that dates from the Bunsei period (1818-30). The map in question is likely *Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital*, published in 1825, or its revised edition, published in 1830. As Imai Kingo has demonstrated, *Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital* bears printed inscriptions nearly identical to those quoted from the Bunsei-period map in "Today's Musashino" (see figures 1b and 1c).[59] The narrator first states,

> "The vestiges [*omokage*] of Musashino are left today merely in the district of Iruma."[60] I have read this on a map produced in the Bunsei period (56).

The narrator then proceeds to quote another of the map's inscriptions, this one referring to a passage in *Chronicle of Great Peace* (Taiheiki; fourteenth century) concerning a battle fought in the early fourteenth century at Kotesashihara in Iruma District.[61] The site is located deep in the Musashino plain, north of Sayama in the middle of the western half of the terrace. The narrator remarks as follows with respect to this rather remote location:

> I think the area of this old battlefield must be where a few remains [*ato*] of Musashino are left. I have been intending to go once but have not yet done so; I fear that now, in fact, it may no longer be just that way [as described on the map]. In any case, it is surely not my wish alone to see even the vestiges [*omokage*] of the Musashino that we imagine only through paintings and poems. What is such a Musashino like now? It was a year ago that I conceived a desire [*nozomi*] to answer this question in detail, for my own satisfaction, and now that desire has grown all the more.
>
> Now, can I fulfill this desire by my own power? I would not say that I could not. I believe it would not be easy; that is the degree to which I feel an interest [*shumi*] in today's Musashino. I think there are likely quite a few people who feel the same (56).

"Today's Musashino," whose title announces the text's thematic concern with the contemporary plain, opens with the narrator viewing a late-Edo map, reflecting upon where one could locate "a few remains of Musashino," and professing his desire to view "even the vestiges of the Musashino that we imagine only through paintings and poems." In this way, the narrator signals that he maintains an abiding fascination with an unspecified "past" Musashino, whose traces may or may not remain in the present plain.[62]

Yet, the same passages I just cited from the opening of Doppo's essay simultaneously attest to real discontinuities in the plain's physical state and image at different historical moments. Consider again one of the inscriptions upon the map: "The vestiges [*omokage*] of Musashino are left today merely in the district of Iruma." Certainly, in one sense, this inscription mirrors Doppo's essay insofar as both texts recognize that the plain has changed in some way, that the "old" Musashino is not easily accessible in the present.[63] In fact, Doppo's essay arguably shares this recognition with a number of texts from the latter half of the Edo period that speak of a mostly disappeared Musashino or that describe the region's development and settlement.[64] However, Doppo's narrator's comments following his quotations of the map also reveal a substantial disparity between the map and "Today's Musashino" in their relative historical positions vis-à-vis a "past" Musashino:

> I think the area of this old battlefield [in the district of Iruma] must be where a few remains [*ato*] of Musashino are left. I have been intending to go once but have not yet done so; I fear that now, in fact, it may no longer be just that way [as described on the map; *jissai wa ima mo yahari sono toori de arō ka to ayabunde iru*].

The narrator confesses his fear that Iruma may no longer contain the remains of the past plain spoken of with assurance in the inscription upon the late-Edo map. He is concerned, in other words, that a Bunsei-period claim regarding the preservation of "Musashino" in Iruma may not hold true in his own time. This concern stems from the additional half century that separates the Bunsei period from the late 1890s. It stems, in other words, from a tertiary temporality—that of a late-Meiji present not once but twice removed from the imagined, bygone plain—that is absent in the late-Edo description of the remains of a past plain.

Doppo's narrator further underscores the disjunction between the current plain and its historical incarnations by implying that his fascination with the "vestiges" of the past plain encourages precisely his investment in the present plain. As I have already noted, the narrator unequivocally professes his desire "to see even the vestiges [*omokage*] of the Musashino that we imagine only through paintings and poems." At the same time, he declares an overwhelming "interest" (*shumi*) in "today's" Musashino. This interest is so strong that it would "not be easy" for him to fulfill his "desire," which is to answer his question: what is the Musashino imagined only through paintings and poems—the Musashino whose vestiges he wishes to see—like today? Given that the narrator has just begun the text by examining a Bunsei-period map, and given that he has just voiced his wish to witness the vestiges of the Musashino "imagined through paintings and poems," his fascination with the vestiges of an imagined, older Musashino is included within his consuming interest in today's Musashino. But he immediately redirects that fascination toward the exploration of the contemporary plain, which, as he has just indicated, may no longer preserve any traces of an older Musashino.

This kind of focus upon the contemporary plain, which is nevertheless structured by a lingering investment in the plain's history, frames the narrator's high praise in "Today's Musashino" for the beauty and the poetic quality of the present plain relative to that of a plain that existed in the "past" (*mukashi*). It also frames the narrator's explicit juxtaposition of the woods of "today's Musashino" with the grasses of an "old Musashino" (*mukashi no Musashino*). For instance, near the opening of the text, the narrator offers the following "answer" (*kotae*) to the question outlined above: what is the Musashino imagined only through paintings and poems like today? The answer stresses the aesthetic and specifically poetic appeal of today's plain as compared to the beauty of a past plain (I have added the quotation marks in my translation for clarity's sake):

> The beauty of Musashino is no less today than in the past [*mukashi*]. . . . Certainly, we can hardly imagine how beautiful the old Musashino [*mukashi no Musashino*] was when seen on site, but the beauty of Musashino that I see today moves me so much as to draw this hyperbolic conclusion. I [just] said the "beauty" of Musashino; more than "beauty," I want to say "poetic tenor [*shishu* 詩趣]." I think that is more appropriate (56-57).

In these lines, the narrator lays stress upon the parity between the beauty of the present plain and that of a past plain. He then emphasizes his focus on that present plain by implicitly juxtaposing the past plain's "beauty" with the present plain's "poetic tenor."[65]

Later in the text, the narrator further sharpens this juxtaposition between the contemporary and past plains by contrasting the current plain of woods with a past plain of grasses—an "old" plain more in line with the poetic image of Musashino as an *utamakura*. The woods to which the narrator refers were, in fact, cultivated by Musashino's Edo-period residents (who also put the plain's grasses to use).[66] In this sense, they were a product of Musashino's historical development:

> It has long been said that the old Musashino [*mukashi no Musashino*] was incomparably beautiful on account of the endless vistas of plains of miscanthus reeds [or "grasses"; *kayahara*], but today's Musashino is [covered with] woods. It is fair to say that the woods are truly the distinguishing feature of today's Musashino (58).[67]

In these lines, the narrator contrasts an "old Musashino," covered by "plains of miscanthus reeds," with the present plain, characterized by woods. From a literary-historical perspective, the narrator's extended discussion of these woods in, specifically, "today's" Musashino helps distinguish Doppo's essay and its representation of Musashino. For example, Ibi Takashi argues and demonstrates that both the "actual state" and also the "image" of Musashino underwent transformations in the Edo period in conjunction with the formation of the city of Edo.[68] However, Ibi also concludes that, despite the dramatic physical transformation of Musashino's landscape, "the way of grasping the landscape of Musashino in early-modern poetry and prose did not necessarily change greatly from the *utamakura*-style way of grasping [Musashino], up through the medieval period [*chūsei made*], as an unending, undeveloped plain [*mikai no gen'ya*]"[69] (although this point may be open to debate[70]). Only with Doppo's essay came "the proactive discovery of beauty in the landscape furnished by the thickets of Musashino, [thickets] cultivated through the process of *shinden* [new-fields] development,"[71] although this is not to say the thickets' (woods') beauty had gone entirely unnoticed in the Edo period.[72]

As I just illustrated, Doppo's narrator contrasts the current Musashino of woods with a past Musashino of grasses. To this point, I have built upon the work of Akasaka Norio in characterizing the narrator's image of that grassy "old Musashino" as being "*utamakura*-like." I have done so precisely because the narrator firmly associates that "old" plain with grasses, which had indeed been fundamental to the representation of Musashino over many centuries in the history of *waka* poetry and other writings.[73] But we should bear in mind that, in imagining such an "old" Musashino—one more consonant with an *utamakura*-style plain of grasses—Doppo's narrator in fact draws upon Edo-period poetic imagery.[74] As I will discuss at greater length in Chapter Two through reference to Akasaka and Satō Yuki, Doppo's narrator directly quotes two Japanese poems over the course of "Today's Musashino." One, a haiku by Yosa Buson (1716-84), calls to mind an image of the grass-covered plain of Musashino: "Mountains have darkened, / and the field, in a twilight / with pampas grass!" (64-65).[75] The other, a *waka* by Kumagai Naoyoshi (1782-1862), invokes the motif of the "wind . . . blowing softly" just after the narrator has stated that Musashino's winds sometimes led him to "think about life in Musashino from long ago [*tooi mukashi kara no Musashino no seikatsu*]" (60). Notice how both of these poems date from, not the classical or medieval periods, but rather the Edo period.[76] In other words, it is Edo-period poetic imagery, rather than classical or medieval *waka*, that surfaces when the narrator broaches the "old" Musashino in the course of describing "today's" Musashino. This is the case even if Buson's verse, in particular, recalls Musashino's longstanding poetic image as an *utamakura* that connoted an unsettled moor of grasses.

Suburban Recreation and *Meisho*

To propose that Doppo's narrator imagines the grassy "old Musashino" primarily through Edo-period poetic imagery is not to suggest, however, that he engages with Musashino in the same manner as his Edo-period predecessors. Examining the overlaps and disparities between the narrator's interest and activities in Musashino and the Edo-period culture of suburban excursion and recreation illustrates this point.

As I showed above, Doppo's narrator quotes inscriptions upon a Bunsei-era map, which is very likely *Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital*. The narrator's reference to this map, which indicates that the area of Iruma preserves the remains of a past Musashino, signals that his fascination with the traces of an "old Musashino" bore a predecessor in Edo-period cultural practice. This is because *Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital* was originally produced as a guide for travelers taking recreational excursions to the city's outskirts.[77] As Ibi Takashi has already discussed, Musashino developed from around the second half of the eighteenth century into an area where Edoites took walks and went on excursions.[78] In conjunction with this development, illustrated guidebooks and woodblock prints dating from the mid-to-late Edo period took up or thematized Musashino's *meisho* (famous places).[79] A printed inscription at the bottom of Nakada's map indicates its association with this print culture tied to suburban recreation:

> This map is centered on Edo and takes for its boundaries Kogane and Funabashi to the east, Haneda and Kanagawa to the south, Fuchū and Hino to the west, and Ōmiya and Iwatsuki to the north. It portrays locations where one can go sightseeing [*yūran*] without spending several days—types [of locations] such as mountains, rivers, fields, shrines, temples, *meisho* [famous places], and ruins [*koseki*]. It is for the convenience of those who like to go on excursions [*yūkō*].

Given this map's touristic purpose, it is reasonable to propose that Doppo's narrator's very desire to view the remains of a past Musashino in Iruma, which is marked on the map as containing traces of that Musashino, finds a forerunner in an Edo-period culture of suburban recreation.[80]

At the same time, however, the narrator's way of engaging with Musashino differs substantially from that proper to this culture of suburban recreation. The disparity is emblematized by the narrator's performative rejection of *meisho* (famous places), which had been pivotal to that culture, as an adequate framework for his experiences and understanding of the plain. He signals this rejection when recounting a stroll he took in the Koganei area of Musashino three summers ago in the company of a "friend."

Addressing this rejection first requires briefly unpacking the notion of *meisho*. Construed narrowly, *meisho* are places referenced by toponym in *waka* poetry that infuse a poem or picture with affective and historical associations.[81] However, the category of *meisho* expanded significantly over the course of the Edo period to encompass many new sites of general seasonal and aesthetic repute.[82] One such site was Musashino's Koganei region, through which Doppo's narrator strolled in 1895.[83] Koganei had developed in the later Edo period into a *meisho* for viewing cherry blossoms, which were planted in Koganei in the first half of the eighteenth century.[84] The entry for Koganei Bridge (Koganeibashi) in *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo* (1834-36) evidences the area's development into a *meisho*. It first notes the beauty of the area's cherry blossoms when they bloom, highlighting in particular the scenery around the bridge and the view of the blossoms lining the banks of the Tamagawa Aqueduct. The entry then continues, "Because it is a most spectacular view, in recent years, poets and persons of letters from the city [*toka*] come here on excursions, regardless of the distance, to appreciate [the view]."[85]

The Koganei area maintained its reputation for exquisite cherry blossoms in Doppo's time. Take, for example, the 1890 *Guide to Famous Places Near the Kōbu Railroad* (Kōbu testudō moyori meisho annai). Both Doppo and, we may infer, the narrator of "Today's Musashino" traveled to the Koganei area in 1895 on the Kōbu line, which first opened in 1889.[86] The *Guide* includes a section titled "The Cherry Blossoms at Koganei" (Koganei sakura). The section consists of an extended textual entry as well as two illustrations of cherry blossoms along the water. Part of the text adulates the view of the flowers along the water when in bloom. It then continues, "It should be said that this is truly the best spot for viewing cherry blossoms in the Kantō region."[87]

Notwithstanding Koganei's reputation as a *meisho*, however, the narrator of "Today's Musashino" repudiates the aesthetic and recreational convention of viewing cherry blossoms in Koganei in his anecdote of walking through the area in the summer three years ago (in 1895). In the anecdote, the narrator and his friend take a train from the station at Tokyo's Misaki-chō (referring to Iidamachi Station[88]) into the Musashino plain, getting off at Sakai. They walk north to Sakurabashi (Cherry Blossom Bridge) and then stroll upstream upon the Koganei embankment, that is, along the Tamagawa Aqueduct in the direction of Kokubunji.[89] Early in the anecdote, the narrator and his friend cross Sakurabashi and come upon a teahouse whose elderly proprietress questions the pair's having visited during the off-season in the summer. The narrator looks at his friend and laughs:

> "We came to stroll [*sanpo*]; we just came to have some fun," I answered, at which point the old lady [*bāsan*] also laughed—laughed as though making fun of us: "So, [you] don't know cherry blossoms bloom in the spring, eh?" I tried to speak of just how delightful it is to stroll about the suburbs [*kōgai no sanpo*] in the summer in a way that the old lady, too, could understand, but it was useless. I was rebuffed by her retort that people from Tokyo are carefree [*nonki*] (109).

For the narrator, the proprietress's conception—or rather, the conception she knows urbanites to hold[90]—of the area as (only) a vernal *meisho* is an infelicitous understanding of Musashino. This understanding negatively highlights the narrator's privileged appreciation of "stroll[ing] about the suburbs in the summer." That appreciation underpins his rather self-righteous attempt to "speak of" (or "explain") the joy of strolling in the plain in the summer "in a way that the old lady, too, could understand" (*bāsan no mimi ni mo wakaru yō ni hanashite mita*). Following this encounter, the narrator and his friend leave the teahouse and proceed to walk upon the Koganei embankment. The narrator reflects,

> Oh, how enjoyable the stroll on that day was! Certainly, Koganei is a *meisho* for cherry-blossoms, so to walk unconcernedly upon its embankment at the height of summer probably appears foolish to the eyes of others [*yosome*[91]]. But those are people who do not yet know the light of the summer sun of today's Musashino (109).

In these lines, the narrator exerts his poetic authority over (the eyes of) others by vocally disavowing a strictly *meisho*-based conception of the Koganei area in favor of roaming Tokyo's suburbs in the summer.[92]

Nevertheless, this disavowal should not blind us to the way that, as I have argued, the narrator's own conception of the Musashino plain also incorporates an interest in the "vestiges" of a past plain. Put differently, it should not blind us to how that past plain structures the narrator's conception of the present plain.[93] The processual temporality of this conception, I show in the next chapter, mirrors that of the narrator's prose-poetic language—a language that, at moments, becomes coordinated or synchronized with the movements and textures of the plain as well as with the gestures and perceptions of walkers upon the plain.

Notes

[1] "The Musashino Terrace [*daichi*] is a fan-shaped diluvial terrace located in the southwestern part of the Kantō plain." See Yajima Nikichi, *Musashino no shūraku* (Kokon Shoin, 1954), 5. I will often use "Musashino" and "the suburbs" (*kōgai*) interchangeably when analyzing Doppo's essay, but for distinctions as well as connections between these words, see Kawamoto Saburō, *Kōgai no bungakushi* (Shinchōsha, 2003), 19.

[2] I owe much here to Thomas M. Greene, *Calling from Diffusion: Hermeneutics of the Promenade* (Northampton, MA: Smith College, 2002). I also find an important point of reference in Tim Ingold's writing on "wayfaring" in "Footprints Through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16 (2010): S121-S139. In addition, while the framework differs substantially, I find inspiration in Christopher F. Hasty's effort, as described in the abstract of his essay "Rhythmicizing the Subject," to "temporalize subject and object and thereby to see subject and object *rhythmically folded into one another in a continuous course of creative becoming*" (emphasis added; in *Musical Implications: Essays in Honor of Eugene Narmour*, ed. Lawrence F. Bernstein and Alexander Rozin [Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2013], 169-89, abstract on 189). Finally, I find rather indirect inspiration and food for thought in the first two essays in Nicolas Abraham, *Rhythms: On the Work, Translation, and Psychoanalysis*, trans. Benjamin Thigpen and Nicholas T. Rand (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). In particular, see "Rhythmizing Intentionality," chapter A in

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"Rhythmizing Consciousness: An Essay on the Temporality of Rhythm," trans. Benjamin Thigpen, in ibid., 67-103, esp. 75-76 for Abraham's comments on kinesthesia.

[3] With respect to perceptual attunement, I draw upon Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000) and James J. Gibson in *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986), quote on 254.

[4] Futabatei is remembered today as the author of Japan's "first modern novel," *Drifting Clouds* (Ukigumo; 1887-89). See Marleigh Grayer Ryan's translation of the novel, *Japan's First Modern Novel: Ukigumo of Futabatei Shimei* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

[5] Scholars have juxtaposed the "musical" "Today's Musashino" with the "painterly" *Nature and Human Life*, published by Tokutomi Roka in 1900. See Ashiya Nobukazu, "Doppo 'Ima no Musashino,'" *Hanazono Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 7 (1976): 225 for a digest of a few essays that stake this kind of position or a consonant one. Noting the frequency of this position in existing scholarship, Shinbo Kunihiro argues that "musicality" characterizes, in particular, the portrayal of Musashino in the fall to the winter in the text's first half (sections one through five). However, he proposes that it is, rather, "painterly description" that stands out in those portrayals of Musashino in the summer included in the text's second half (sections six through nine). See Shinbo's "'Musashino' no shūen: Tōson ni furete," in *Doppo to Tōson: Meiji sanjū nendai bungaku no kosumorojī* (Yūseidō, 1996), 72. Itō Shukundō has also discussed the generally "painterly" description of "Today's Musashino" in "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," *Tōkai Gakuen Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 19 (2014): 226-14, esp. see 220-19, also 215.

[6] I render *koe* as "voice" in order to draw attention to the consistent use of this word, but *koe* could be translated with different terms depending upon the source of the noise (e.g., the "cries of birds," the "soughing of the wind," etc.).

[7] The diary entry then concludes: "Suddenly, there is a sound like that of something falling." See Kunikida Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, kōhen*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 7:488 (entry for October 26, 1896).

[8] The year after Doppo published "Today's Musashino," the critic Asano Wasaburō (1874-1937) defined the term *sanbunshi* (prose poetry) as follows in his essay, "The Establishment of Prose Poetry": "What I call prose poetry here does not take poetry in a broad sense that would include novels, dramas, and the like. Rather, it means what is generally called poetry in the narrow sense, and refers to writing this using prose. In other words, [one] *grasps poetic material and unfolds it* [*hatten suru*] *using refined prose*" (emphasis in original). See Asano Wasaburō, "Sanbunshi no seiritsu," *Teikoku bungaku* 5, no. 3 (March 1899): 291 (I was led to this essay by the entry for *sanbunshi* in Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2:200). To be clear, however, I am using "prose poetry" in a more general stylistic sense to characterize Doppo's mode of expression.

[9] For a critical take on these conceptions of hearing as against vision, and for much of the vocabulary I use here, see Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 14-19, esp. 15. Privileging sound in the way I have described would also risk inscribing a modern phonocentrism at the heart of Doppo's landscape literature and, in this way, might fall back into Karatani Kōjin's thesis regarding the vernacular (*genbun itchi*) and the "discoveries" of "landscape" and "interiority" in the Meiji 20s (1887-96). See Karatani Kōjin, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Kōdansha, 1980), available in English as Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. ed. Brett de Bary

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(Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). See esp. “The Discovery of Landscape” (ibid., 11-44) and “The Discovery of Interiority” (45-75), both translated by Brett de Bary.

[10] In considering the “generalized” quality of much of the description in “Today’s Musashino,” I build upon the work of Sasaki Masanobu. See endnote 31 below and Chapter Six of this dissertation.

The geographer Uchida Yorifumi once observed a movement from “the individualized landscape of Doppo” (*Doppo ni totte no kojinteki na fūkei*) toward “a more generalized discussion of landscape [*fūkeiron*]” starting from the text’s third section. See Uchida’s “Fūkei to shite no Musashino: Doppo no ‘Musashino’ o yomu,” *Kokushikan Daigaku chirigaku hōkoku*, no. 16 (2008): 59. Uchida’s analysis differs from my own, and the movement he points to is not entirely linear (see the next endnote, but also see Chapter Six for more on the movement in question). My intention here is mainly to highlight Uchida’s use of “generalized” (*ippanka sareta*).

[11] In fact, one could argue that the line applies most snugly to the text’s second section. There, the narrator reproduces entries from a diary he kept while staying in Shibuya Village between the early fall of 1896 and the early spring of 1897. But section two also intersperses a few lines of more generalized commentary among the diary entries, which describe Musashino on particular days and convey the narrator’s own experiences and activities on the plain. Moreover, in sections three through five, we can locate references to the narrator’s own experiences on the plain, references to the narrator’s diary, and overlaps and consonance with the contents of the diary. For instance, Mt. Fuji appears both in the diary entries and also in the narrator’s description in the text’s fifth section of the perceptual experiences “you” (the reader) might have upon the plain. I thank Ashikawa Takayuki for drawing my attention to the Fuji example and for speaking with me about the scope of the narrator’s claim to “write what I saw and felt.”

[12] Doppo published sections one through five in January 1898 and sections six through nine in February 1898. Ashiya Nobukazu argues persuasively that Doppo composed the first installment late in 1897, the second early in 1898. He also contends that, when Doppo wrote what would become the first installment, he did not have a second part in mind. Doppo intended for the work to be complete with only sections one through five (“Doppo ‘Ima no Musashino,’” 234-38, esp. 235-36).

[13] The major exception is section seven, which consists almost entirely of a quotation of a letter from a friend concerning the geographical scope of “Musashino.”

[14] Kamei Hideo, “Shizen ga kanri sareru made,” in *Kansei no henkaku* (Kōdansha, 1983), 294-304.

[15] Ibid., 302; translation slightly adjusted from Kamei Hideo, “Until the Disciplining of Nature: Travel Writing at Home and Abroad,” trans. Michael Bourdaghs, in *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*, trans. ed. Michael Bourdaghs (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), 273. I am also stimulated by Kamei’s argument that the “I” of “Today’s Musashino” picks up on the words of “things” and transmits them to the auditor, “you” (see ibid., 273-74; in the Japanese text, pp. 301-3).

[16] Uchida Yorifumi once remarked that, in the “hypothetical walk in Musashino” in the text’s fifth section—a walk that explores “what kind of landscape [the reader] could experience supposing the reader stood in and walked through Musashino”—the reader “may even have the illusion that they themselves are walking in the area of Musashino. This is, to the letter, a *giji*

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taiken (simulation); one can call it a vicarious experience of the landscape [*fūkei*] seen by Doppo." I have elided text here; see Uchida, "Fūkei to shite no Musashino," 61.

[17] Akasaka Norio cites and critically discusses the following points and passage from Karatani in *Musashino o yomu* (Iwanami Shoten, 2018), 62-64.

[18] *Meisho* were initially a subcategory of *utamakura* (poem pillows), affectively and imagistically coded poetic words used in *waka* poetry, although *meisho* and *utamakura* blurred together over time. Numerous toponyms came to be fixed as *utamakura* with particular poetic associations by virtue of their repeated versification. See Okumura Tsuneya, "Utamakura," in *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten, kan'yakuban*, ed. Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten Henshū Iinkai (Iwanami Shoten, 1986), 166-67; Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 302, 433-36; and Edward Kamens, Utamakura, *Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), ch. 1, esp. 28-30. For more on *utamakura*, see David Spafford, who renders the word as "song pillows," in "The Grasses of Musashino," in *A Sense of Place: The Political Landscape in Late Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 34. In addition, see Haruo Shirane, who gives "poetic places," in *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 166, and also see 67-69 on "poetic places associated with classical poetry (*utamakura*)." On *meisho* in the Edo period, see endnote 82 below.

[19] Karatani, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen*, 73; I have referred to and adapted de Bary's translation in "The Discovery of Interiority," 65.

[20] Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 63. Akasaka refers to a later edition of Karatani's book that differs somewhat in content from the 1980 edition I cite. The order of his quotations also differs from my own.

[21] Akasaka draws a distinction between the traditions of *meisho*, abjured in "Today's Musashino," and *utamakura*, salient in the text. In the process, he remarks, "In all likelihood, more than *meisho kyūseki*, what continually renewed and reproduced 'places covered by historical and literary meanings (concepts)' was, more radically, the *utamakura* tradition" (ibid., 64). For more of Akasaka on Karatani, see ibid., 63-64, also 146-48. I have learned much from, and found affirmation in, Akasaka's second chapter, "Setsudan to keishō / utamakura to meisho no aida" (Between Severance and Succession / *utamakura* and *meisho*). On *utamakura*, see endnote 18 above.

[22] Also see Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 102-4, as well as 126-28.

[23] Ada Smailbegović, "Cloud Writing: Describing Soft Architectures of Change in the Anthropocene," in *Art in the Anthropocene: Encounters Among Aesthetics, Politics, Environments and Epistemologies*, ed. Heather Davis and Etienne Turpin (London: Open Humanities Press, 2015), 96.

[24] Yamada Hiromitsu has pointed out the connection between the diary entry and the essay's corresponding passage (which, as cited by Yamada, continues for a few more lines). See Yamada's annotations to "Musashino" in Shioda Ryōhei [*kaisetsu*] and Yamada Hiromitsu [*chūshaku*], *Kunikida Doppo shū*, Vol. 10 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 95n7.

[25] I have in mind the process of "transduction" as Stefan Helmreich uses this term when he speaks of inquiring into "the cognitive, affective, and social effects of transducing—that is,

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converting, transmuting—sound from the medium of water into that of air." See Helmreich's "An Anthropologist Underwater: Immersive Soundscapes, Submarine Cyborgs, and Transductive Ethnography," *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 4 (2007): 621-41, quote on 622.

[26] I use parenthetical citations when referencing Kunikida Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 365 (January 1898): 56-65 and Kunikida Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 366 (February 1898): 109-14. I take parts of the translation of the passage that I have reproduced as a block quote from David G. Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," in *River Mist and Other Stories by Kunikida Doppo* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982), 102.

[27] This argument takes loose inspiration from Kawamoto Kōji's work on seven-and-five meter in Japanese poetry. I am thinking of Kawamoto's observation that, "since the only thing sustaining a sense of rhythm in syllabic verse is patterned variation in the number of syllables (morae) per metrical unit (in the case of Japanese poetry, seven and five), the reader must above all take care to insert pauses of a suitable length at each strategic point in the poem to indicate where phrases end, and to adjust the intervals between them." See Kawamoto's "A Metrics of Sevens and Fives," trans. Stephen Collington, in *The Poetics of Japanese Verse: Imagery, Structure, Meter*, trans. Stephen Collington, Kevin Collins, and Gustav Heldt (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2000), ch. 3, quote on 174 (for the language of the "grouping of morae," see 180). I am working with very different materials from Kawamoto and with a far less rigorous sense of "meter," but I would suggest that, in parts of Doppo's text, commas and periods function to cue the reader to something like the "pauses" Kawamoto mentions in the line I just quoted. In speaking of punctuation and rhythm, I also look to Nakajima Reiko's examination of a portion of Doppo's short story, "A Youth's Sorrow" (Kodomo no kanashimi [or "Shōnen no hiai"]; 1902). Nakajima remarks upon how Doppo's particular uses of periods—for instance, following upon a continuative inflection (*ren'yōkei*) or a nominal-final construction (*taigendome*)—places priority upon the rhythm of the prose. See Nakajima's "Kunikida Doppo," in *Sutairu no bungakushi*, ed. Ōya Yukiyo, Kanda Yumiko, and Matsumura Tomomi (Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1995), 49.

[28] My reading of this succession of verbs takes some direction from a partially parallel reading by Komori Yōichi of another such succession in Futabatei Shimei's translation of Ivan Turgenev's short story, "The Tryst" (Svidanie; 1850). See endnote 53 in Chapter Two.

[29] To some degree, I have in mind the notion of the echo as a metaphor of reciprocity in the writings of William Wordsworth, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82), and Henry David Thoreau (1817-62). See Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 20.

[30] Chibbett gives "harsh voices." A contemporary Japanese-to-English dictionary renders *damigoe* as "a low, grating voice; a guttural voice" and "a voice with a thick accent." See Watanabe Toshirō, Edmund R. Skrzypczak, and Paul Snowden, eds., *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, 5th ed. (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 2003), 1634. An 1898 Japanese-language dictionary defines *damigoe* as "*nigorigoe*. A voice that is hoarse [or 'grating' or 'rough'] and accented [*nigorite yokonamareru koe*]." See Ochiai Naobumi, *Nihon daijiten: kotoba no izumi,* 3:866. *Nigorigoe*, in turn, is "a voice that is not clear [or 'fresh'; *sawayaka naranu koe*]. *Damigoe*" (ibid., 3:1055). Needless to say, "damigoe" is derogatory, particularly given that Doppo's narrator combines it with speaking "loudly" (*kowadaka ni*).

[31] Pointing to the enumeration of sounds that I am analyzing here, Sasaki Masanobu contends that, even in the case of these minute sounds, what we find are not "one-time perceptual experiences in that time, in that place" but rather "'words,' that is 'concepts,' or alternatively

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'linguistic sense [*gengokaku*].'" See Sasaki's "'Musashino' o yomu: mazu ni, sanshō o megutte," in *Doppo to Sōseki: hanshinron no chihei* (Kanrin Shobō, 2005), 29. I will return to Sasaki's arguments several times in this and the next chapter and in Chapter Six.

[32] I thank Hayashi Naoki for his comments with respect to *kore* and *sore*.

[33] In thinking through this kind of listing up of items belonging to the same category—a rhetorical technique that we will encounter several times in this dissertation—I have also found useful Mori Yūichi's comments on *rekkyōhō*, or "the technique of enumeration," in the entry on "Kyoreihō," in *Nihongo bunshō, buntai, hyōgen jiten*, ed. Nakamura Akira et. al. (Asakura Shoten, 2011), 190-91 (I lift "category" from 190). I thank Ōtake Hiroko and Hayashi Naoki for their comments on *rekkyohō*.

[34] In the foregoing passage, the narrator enumerates sounds without making explicit reference either to himself as the perceiver or to a specific context of perception (also see endnote 31 above). Only in the subsequent sentence of "Today's Musashino" does he more explicitly and reflexively ground his words in a particular perceptual experience: "Once, when I took my dog, visited a forest in the area, sat down on a tree stump, and was reading a book, suddenly there was a sound like that of something falling deep in the woods."

[35] I will make reference below to Itō Hiroki's essays, "Hajimari no chi to shite no Shibuya: Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" *Gakushūin Daigaku Kokugo Kokubungakukaishi*, no. 61 (2018): 49-65 and "Shizumerareta fūkei: Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" *Gakushūin Daigaku Daigakuin Nihongo Nihon bungaku*, no. 14 (2018): 64-78.

[36] On the topography and physical geography of Shibuya, see Itō, "Hajimari no chi," 54-55. Yajima Nikichi writes that Doppo's house was located near the southeastern edge of the Musashino Terrace. See Yajima's "Kunikida Doppo no 'Musashino' to Bunseiban *Tōto kinkōzu* ni tsuite," *Chiri* 23, no. 11 (1978): 40, also see 37.

[37] On Musashino's connotations as an *utamakura*, see Katagiri Yōichi, *Utamakura: utakotoba jiten*, exp. ed. (Kasama Shoin, 1999), 414-16. David Spafford also addresses these connotations early in his "The Grasses of Musashino."

[38] In fact, with respect to geography, Shinbo Kunihiro has suggested that it was the influence of the geographical treatise *On Japanese Landscape* (Nihon fūkeiron; 1894) by the geographer Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927) that "[led to] the writing of a work like '[Today's] Musashino.'" See Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 66-68, quote on 66. When considering the (possible) impact of Shiga's treatise upon "Today's Musashino," Shinbo observes how one section of Doppo's essay addresses the (geographical) "range" (*han'i*) of Musashino, and how the essay "articulates" (*bunsetsuka*) the suburban Musashino plain through different sections regarding "fields," "paths," "waterways," and so on (ibid., 68). Such articulation, I would specify, mirrors the structure of Shiga's treatise, whose four most substantial chapters respectively address Japan's climate and ocean currents, water vapor, volcanoes, and water erosion.

One could argue that section seven of Doppo's essay even approaches the condition of cartography given its abundance of place names and its sometimes top-down perspective. See, in particular, the delineation of the eastern and western halves of Musashino at the end of the letter from a "friend" that constitutes most of the section (p. 112).

[39] I have referred to Fujii Hidetada, annotations to "Musashino," in *Kunikida Doppo, Miyazaki Koshoshi shū*, ed. Fujii Hidetada and Shinbo Kunihiro (Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 55n6-10. The narrator goes on to discuss how such rivers move through Musashino—e.g., "ducking through

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the woods, crossing the fields, disappearing and reappearing"—and how, through the four seasons, there is something about them that "suffices to move our hearts [*warera no kokoro*]."

[40] Tokyo City (Tōkyō-shi) was established within Tokyo Prefecture (Tōkyō-fu) in 1889. The Shibuya area fell inside Tokyo Prefecture but outside Tokyo City. See Itō, "Hajimari no chi," 51-52.

[41] In making this claim, my assumption is that the acoustic environments of the narrative world and of the extra-textual world are distinct from but also connected to one another.

[42] On the location of Doppo's residence in Shibuya, see Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 30n2.

[43] Doppo also refers to his "solitary country life or suburban life" (*kodoku naru den'en seikatsu moshiku wa kōgai seikatsu*). See his "Jūnenmae no den'en seikatsu," one entry in the "collection of talks" (*dansō*) in *Bunshō sekai* 2, no. 9 (August 1907): 44, also available in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:514.

[44] Kawamoto cites the following passage in *Kōgai no bungakushi*, 42-43.

[45] Doppo, "Jūnenmae no den'en seikatsu," 44, and 1:514 in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*.

[46] Maeda Ai, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino': Tamagawa jōsui," in *Genkei no machi: bungaku no toshi o aruku* (Shōgakukan, 1986), 61.

[47] Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 28-30, quote on 30.

[48] Itō, "Hajimari no chi," 53-64. In his essays on "Today's Musashino" and Shibuya, Itō specifies that he uses the toponym "Shibuya" to denote a region that centers on today's Shibuya Ward and that also includes "parts of Shinjuku Ward, Minato Ward, Meguro Ward, and Setagaya Ward" (ibid., 49; also see Itō, "Shizumerareta fūkei," 64). Kawamoto likewise remarks that "the Musashino Doppo saw was in fact Shibuya" (*Kōgai no bungakushi*, 41).

[49] On this topic, see Itō, "Hajimari no chi," 58-59.

[50] Itō infers from the evidence he presents that "the real identity [*shōtai*] of the sounds of the '*niguruma*' that Doppo was hearing was probably the sounds of the *niguruma* heading from Shibuya or Setagaya along the Ōyama highway and Kōshū highway toward the city area. Doppo treated those [sounds] as one aspect of the landscape of 'Musashino'" (more literally, "as one of the landscapes of 'Musashino'"; *'Musashino' no fūkei no hitotsu*). See ibid., 59.

[51] Itō, "Shizumerareta fūkei," 71-72. The area also developed into something of an entertainment district for soldiers (ibid., 72-73).

[52] In the context of his own argument, Itō asks and explores why Doppo "called to mind the image [*sugata*] of soldiers" upon hearing the sound in question and "portrayed [that image] in 'Musashino.'" See ibid., 71 for more. I take the phrase "a cavalry patrol out on manoeuvres," with the spelling modified, from Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," 102.

[53] See Itō, "Shizumerareta fūkei," 74 for more of the context of these words, which I am extracting from Itō's essay. Itō continues: "We can say that the faint 'boom at twelve o'clock' and 'the sound of hoofs kicking fallen leaves about' were precisely the reverberations of that military landscape" (ibid.). The "boom at twelve o'clock," heard at the close of "Today's Musashino," is that of a noonday shot, the firing of which was generally the responsibility of a soldier (ibid., 70-71).

[54] For more on "soundscapes" in Japan prior to and then during the modern (primarily Meiji) period, see Kerim Yasar, *Electrified Voices: How the Telephone, Phonograph, and Radio Shaped Modern Japan, 1868-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), ch. 2.

[55] On the history of the plain's inhabitation and development, see Yajima, *Musashino no shūraku*, ch. 4; Sugimoto Toshio, "Shinden kaihatsu," in *Shinden sonraku: Musashino to sono shūhen*, ed.

Kimura Motoi and Itō Kōichi (Bungadō Shoten, 1960), 29-35; Inouchi Noboru, "Musashino no kaihatsushi," *Chiri* 23, no. 11 (1978): 45-56; and Miyamoto Tsuneichi, "Musashino no kaihatsu to keikan no hensen," in *Minshū no chie o tazunete*, Vol. 26 of *Miyamoto Tsuneichi chosakushū* (Miraisha, 1981), 229-60. On the plain's development and settlement in the Edo period, see Ibi Takashi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino: gen'ya kara kōgai e," in *Bungaku no Musashino*, ed. Seikei Daigaku Bungakubu Gakkai (Kazama Shobō, 2003), 107-11. To be clear, there *was* some development of Musashino prior to the Edo period, but certainly not on the same scale. For more on such development, also see Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, ed., *Musashino no haru: hana no meisho no naritachi; Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, tokubetsuten*, written by [*shippitsu*] Ono Kazuyuki (Fuchū-shi, Tokyo: Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, 1998), 11 as well as Spafford, "The Grasses of Musashino," 31.

[56] This is not the place to recount the history of *shinden* development on the Musashino Terrace during the Edo period. See Yajima's *Musashino no shūraku* and Sugimoto's "Shinden kaihatsu," 29-35. For a study in English of *shinden* in Musashino, see Jennifer Robertson, *Native and Newcomer: Making and Remaking a Japanese City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), ch. 3, esp. 78-79. For more in this vein, see Komeie Taisaku, "The Early Modern Rural Landscape," in *A Landscape History of Japan*, ed. Kinda Akihiro (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2010), 144 *et seq*.

[57] See Imai Kingo, "Kaisetsu," in Oka Sanchō, *Edo meisho hanagoyomi*, ed. Imai Kingo, rev. and redesigned ed. (Yasaka Shobō, 1994), 200-27, esp. 225-27. For more, also see Yajima, "Kunikida Doppo no 'Musashino' to Bunseiban *Tōto kinkōzu* ni tsuite," 33-44, esp. 34 and 40-43. I take figures 1a-1c from the 1830 edition of the map. The University of the Sacred Heart Library has made the 1825 edition of the map (和 291.038/Z3 1/1-103, item 9) available through its Digital Gallery at https://library.u-sacred-heart.ac.jp/display_collection/digital_gallaery/Wa291_038_Z3_1/0985783.html (accessed June 19, 2021).

[58] Saitō Chōshū, *Edo meisho zue*, in *Edo no kan II*, ed. Asakura Haruhiko, Vol. 4 of *Nihon meisho fūzoku zue* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1980), 270; also see Saitō Chōshū, Vol. 3, Book 9 of *Edo meisho zue* (Edo: Suharaya Mohee et. al., 1834), 37r, https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko10/bunko10_06556/index.html.

[59] For Imai, see endnote 57 above. Imai, Yajima Nikichi, and Noyama Kashō also address the relation between Doppo's essay and Nakada's map. See, respectively, the essay by Imai cited in endnote 57 above; "Kunikida Doppo no 'Musashino' to Bunseiban *Tōto kinkōzu* ni tsuite," 34; and "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino': atarashii sekai o hiraku, shijin no shuppatsu," in *Kindai shōsetsu no seiritsu* (Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 236-37. Each scholar also discusses later iterations or spinoffs of Nakada's map. However, as far as I have been able to determine from these essays, from the maps, or from both, none of the later maps are marked as having been published in the Bunsei era. This would suggest that Doppo was not looking at those later maps.

I consulted two maps identified by Noyama and held by Tokyo University: *Map of the Surrounding Country of the Eastern Capital* (Tōto kingōzu; 1847) and *Map of the Surroundings of Edo, Musashi Province* (Musashinokuni Edo fukinzu; undated). Also see *Flower Calendar* [*and*] *Guide to Famous Places in the Eastern Capital* (Tōto hanagoyomi meisho annai; undated), available through the National Diet Library Digital Collections at https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2543059, and discussed by Imai (pp. 217-25) as well as, I believe, Yajima (p. 34), who cites Imai. This last map and *Map of the Surroundings of Edo, Musashi Province* may in fact be the same map, but this topic requires more research. Note that

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the titles of all the foregoing maps seem to appear only upon the paper slips on the maps' covers, not upon the maps themselves. The cover of the 1825 edition of the Nakada map is not viewable through the Digital Library of the The University of the Sacred Heart Library, but, according to Library's reference desk, there is a paper slip (*daisen*) on the cover (*hyōshi*) that reads, "Tōto kinkō zu zen" (*Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital: Complete* [*Map*]).

[60] The printed inscriptions on both the 1825 edition and also the 1830 revised edition of Nakada Koreyoshi's map in fact use the word *ato* (跡, "remains" or "trace") rather than *omokage* (俤, "vestiges"): "The remains of Musashino are left today merely in the district of Iruma." Relative to *ato*, which appears in the next passage of "Today's Musashino" that I quote below, *omokage* is a more spectral term. The entry for *omokage* in one contemporary dictionary begins, "It often denotes the face or appearance of a person, the manner of a thing, [emotionally] moving scenery [*jōkei*], and so on [when] they do not have a substantial form before the eye [*me no mae ni jittai no nai*]" (Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 1:868). The word is more poetic than *ato* and also has a personifying effect given that it may refer to a person's visage or to a recollected face. I thank Ashikawa Takayuki for speaking with me on this topic.

[61] The version of Doppo's text reproduced in the volume *Musashino* (Min'yūsha, 1901), 1, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/888366 provides the phonetic reading "Kotesashihara" for 小手指原. I give that reading here and below.

[62] While their arguments differ from my own, both Satō Yuki and Hayashi Hirochika have highlighted the grounding of (aspects of) Doppo's text in a "longing" for a past Musashino or its scenery. See Satō Yuki, "'Omokage' o 'ima' ni 'hon'yaku' suru to iu koto," in *Bunka no naka no shizen*, ed. Noda Ken'ichi, Yamamoto Yōhei, and Morita Keitarō, Vol. 1 of *Kankyō jinbungaku* (Bensei Shuppan, 2017), 312 and Hayashi Hirochika, "Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino: Doppo, Roka, Haruo soshite Shōhei no koto nado," in Seikei Daigaku Bungakubu Gakkai, *Bungaku no Musashino*, 135-36.

[63] Hayashi Hirochika offers the following comment as a sort of concession in the context of a disparate argument: Doppo's "'Musashino' is continuous with the early-modern period insofar as it is Musashino qua the suburbs" (ibid., 136).

[64] See the passage of *Illustrations of Famous Places of Edo* (1834-36) that I quoted above. In addition, Ibi Takashi has examined select texts from the latter half of the Edo period that describe or convey the extensive development and settlement of Musashino and that sometimes contrast the current state of the physical region in question with its former state. See Ibi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino," 105-7 and 110-20, esp. the two texts discussed on 113-15.

Finally, consider the inscription, identified by Noyama Kashō ("Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" 236), that appears upon a map published by one Kamiya Tokuhachi circa 1844 with the title, *Complete Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital* (Tōto kinkō zenzu). The inscription sits relatively close to cartouches that mark the areas "Kotesashihara" and "Iruma District" near the top of the map. It reads, "The Musashino plain of the distant past [*inishie*] now [*ima*] exists here." The map, published by Kamiya Tokuhachi in Shitaya Onarimichi (in Edo), may be viewed through the Nishio-shi Iwase Bunko Kotenseki Shoshi Dētabēsu from ADEAC at https://trc-adeac.trc.co.jp/WJ11F0/WJJS07U/2321315100/2321315100100010/mp01937100 (accessed June 19, 2021). The date 1844 is listed at the end of the printed inscription (legend) at the bottom of the map; also see the metadata given in the digital database. Like *Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital*, this map features an inscription that specifies its touristic

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function (I discuss recreation in Musashino further below): "In general, those who enjoy visiting places with beautiful mountains and rivers cannot know the locations [of those places] unless they are on a map. Now, as regards the map that I have created here, I have recorded the locations I have witnessed during my lifetime in making this map, which I call *Complete Map of the Outskirts of the Eastern Capital*. I offer it up to my fellow travelers. When relying on this map, those who visit the suburbs [*kōgai*] will probably have no need to ask for directions."

[65] The precise significance of this term is up for debate. For one interpretation, see Ono Matsuo, "Kunikida Doppo: 'Musashino' ni egakareta 'shishu' ni tsuite," *Kaishaku* 48, no. 3-4 (2002): 41-47. The word *shishu* consists of the characters for "poetry" (*shi* 詩) and "tenor," "mood," "effect," or "appearance" (*omomuki* 趣). See Nakajima Kunihiko on the significance of the word *omomuki* and proximate words containing the character 趣 in Doppo's text ("*Ryōjin nikki* to kindai no sakkatachi," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei* [Chikuma Shobō, 1994], 377; for more, see ibid., 375-82).

[66] In 1919, Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962), a folklorist and Doppo's friend, wrote that "the forests of oak trees at the edges of villages [*murazakai*] that Kunikida loved, too: these were in fact produced by people in the early-modern period [*kinsei*]; they were not remains [*zan'ei*] of Musashino. If one goes two leagues northwest from the area of Shibuya, that [oak forest] turns into cedar woods [from which come] the famous Yotsuya logs. The cedar woods stand particularly close to the houses, and are managed scrupulously, so no matter who looks, they would not mistake [these woods] for being in an ancient [*furui*], natural state. The same is true of the oak woods: because the demand in Edo for fuel was so [high] as to order it by boat from Ōshima in Izu, the calculations were such that it was often more advantageous for nearby farmers to create forests for firewood [*takigiyama*] than to open up [the land] as new fields. Stretches of pampas grass [*susukiyama*], too: perhaps they did not leave these be for the purpose of thatching straw roofs; maybe [the grass] was an article that [people] went to sell in the city for use on the evenings of the moon-viewing festivities [*otsukimi*] of the eighth month." See Yanagita Kunio, "Musashino zatsuwa," *Tōkōkō*, no. 1 (1919): 19-20; I have referred to the reprint of *Tōkōkō* available in Tōkōkai, ed., *Fukkoku "Tōkōkō,"* 18 Vols. (Shuppan Kagaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 1987). See the entry for *otsukimi* in Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 1:811.

"Musashino zatsuwa" and its sequel "Zoku Musashino zatsuwa," which was originally published in 1920 in the next issue (marked as "Year Two" [Daininen]) of *Tōkōkō*, would later appear together as "Musashino no mukashi" in Yanagita's *Mame no ha to taiyō* (Sōgensha, 1941), 121-74, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1453837. On the essay's publication history, also see the *atogaki* by Takahashi Akio (? 高橋昭男) in *Yanagita Kunio no Musashino*, ed. Tachikawa Yanagita Kunio o Yomu Kai (Sankōsha, 2003), 194. I have referred to the annotations to "Musashino no mukashi" available in Tachikawa Yanagita Kunio o Yomu Kai, *Yanagita Kunio no Musashino*, 122. The annotation to "create forests for firewood [*takigiyama*]" begins, "In Musashino, an artificial forest on flat ground was called a *yama*." The version of Yanagita's text reproduced in ibid., 120 gives the phonetic reading "susukiyama" for 薄山.

See Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 64-65 for a reading of the passage of Yanagita's essay that I quoted at the start of this endnote (Akasaka quotes from "Musashino no mukashi"). I was also keyed to the passage by Satō Kenji. In an essay on Yanagita Kunio's approach to and writing on landscape, Satō cites "Musashino no mukashi" and, in the process, notes how "there was a new aspect of daily life to the pampas grasses: being a commodity geared toward urban

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consumption; and there was a demand of daily life behind the flourishing of the oak woods: being secured [*kakuho sareta*] for the purpose of firewood." See Satō's "Fūkei no seisan: Yanagita Kunio no fūkeiron," in *Fūkei no seisan, fūkei no kaihō: media no arukeorojī* (Kōdansha, 1994), 177 for the quote and for its context, esp. on how the oak and pampas were in fact "also a new landscape created by the demands of daily life in the early modern period." For more on the thickets of deciduous trees as well as on crops and "cash crops" (*kankin shokubutsu*) in Musashino in the Edo period, see Ibi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino," 110-11.

[67] Translation adapted from Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," 101.

[68] Ibi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino," 100-1.

[69] Ibid., 126.

[70] Also potentially relevant in this connection is Hayashi, "Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino," 130-32.

[71] Ibi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino," 126.

[72] Ibid., 127. Ibi explains that, in a text and an image he had examined, "it seems that the beauty of the thickets of Musashino is being grasped in part, although the creators themselves may not have been fully aware of it" (ibid.).

[73] Having just discussed the tenth-century text *The Tales of Ise* (Ise monogatari), David Spafford states that "reference to the grasses would remain a constant in writing about the region, although the types of flora most likely to make up the grasses subtly shifted over the centuries in response to evolving literary tastes" ("The Grasses of Musashino," 38). Spafford's own focus is upon the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He reveals subtle changes in writings about the Kantō area composed by courtly poets traveling in the Kantō, and by eastern writers and patrons of the courtly poets, in the context of courtly writers' eastward flight in the wake of the Ōnin War (1467-77). At the same time, his essay illustrates how the courtly poetic image of Musashino as a plain of wild grasses remained robust and largely unchanged in these writings.

For the history of Musashino's representation, see Spafford's essay (esp. on grasses); Katagiri, *Utamakura*, 414-15; and the essays in Seikei Daigaku Bungakubu Gakkai, *Bungaku no Musashino*.

[74] On the topic of the Edo period and Doppo's thinking about the "old" Musashino, I am deeply indebted to Ashikawa Takayuki, without whose comments I would never have written this paragraph. All errors of analysis are my own.

[75] For the translation, see Yuki Sawa and Edith Marcombe Shiffert, *Haiku Master Buson: Translations from the Writings of Yosa Buson—Poet and Artist—with Related Materials* (South San Francisco: Heian, 1978), 123 (format modified). Doppo slightly misquoted Buson's hypermetric haiku by writing "kure" rather than "kurete" (Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 47n4). For the interpretation of Buson's poem, see my references to Akasaka Norio and Satō Yuki in the analysis of Buson's poem in Chapter Two.

[76] Again, I am indebted here to Ashikawa Tayakuki.

[77] On this topic, see both the inscription I quote below and also Seki Hajime, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino': sakuhin sekai no seisei katei," *Nihon kindai bungaku* 36 (1987): 16 (Seki, too, quotes from the inscription). In addition, see Yajima Nikichi, who likewise quotes the inscription, in "Kunikida Doppo no 'Musashino' to Bunseiban *Tōto kinkōzu* ni tsuite," 41-42. Also germane is Imai, "Kaisetsu," 215.

[78] Ibi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino," 115-16.

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[79] Ibid., 120-26. For more on and around this topic, see Hayashi, “Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino,” 130-32.

[80] In 1919, Yanagita Kunio stated that “Kunikida often spoke as though the Musashino of the *Collection* [*of Poems*] *of Ancient and Modern Times* [Kokin (waka)shū; c. 905] or the *Chronicle of Great Peace* lay just a kilometer [ten *chō* 町] from the Udagawa river in Naka-Shibuya, and it seems he believed this was the case, but looking back now, he was, in fact, someone who carried the traditional view of Musashino [*Musashino-kan no dentō*] held by the people of Edo from the Kyōho and Genbun periods [1716-41] on” (“Musashino zatsuwa,” 18-19). However, it is difficult to determine the felicity of Yanagita’s statement, which he made in the context of an essay that is critical of the recent “‘Musashino vogue [*shumi*]’” (of which, “as far as I [Yanagita] know, the late Kunikida Doppo should be taken as the originator” [ibid., 18]). Akasaka Norio has analyzed both Yanagita’s comment about Doppo’s “Edo-period” attitude and also the text of “Musashino no mukashi” that couches this comment. See the epilogue to *Musashino o yomu*, esp. 206-7, as well as ibid., 60-62, and also 179-80.

The Musashino *shumi* was part and parcel of a boom in regional research on Musashino. This boom was crystallized in the formation of the Musashino Society (Musashinokai; est. 1917), itself a testament to a nationwide efflorescence of research on the “hometown” (*kyōdo*) in the late Meiji and early Taishō periods. (The Taishō period stretched from 1912 to 1926.) On the historical context of such hometown research as well as Yanagita’s critique, see Iketani Takumi, “Musashino: kyōdo kenkyū o meguru kattō,” in Tachikawa Yanagita Kunio o Yomu Kai, *Yanagita Kunio no Musashino*, 88-103, esp. 97. Briefly on the critique, also see Yoneda Sukemasa (? 米田祐正), “Yanagita Kunio no ‘minzokugaku’ to Musashino,” in ibid., 104-5. In addition, see the annotations to Yanagita’s essay “Musashino no mukashi” in the same book, esp. 121 and the *kaisetsu* on 123.

[81] On *meisho*, see endnote 18 above.

[82] The expansion of *meisho* owed to a multitude of factors such as urbanization, the growth of recreational travel, and the flourishing of a commercial print market.

Haruo Shirane writes that the term *meisho* “became popular in the Edo period” and “refers to four types of sites”: “poetic places (*utamakura*), on which noted poems had been written”; “historic sites, such as a former barrier or battleground”; “famous temples or shrines”; and “locales noted for their seasonal landscapes (*Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 166).

[83] On the walk, Koganei, cherry blossoms, and *meisho*, see Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 136. Also on Koganei and cherry-blossom viewing, see Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, *Musashino no haru: hana no meisho no naritachi* [Spring in Musashino: The Development of Famous Places for Flower Viewing], esp. from 16. As *Musashino no haru* illustrates, Musashino came to encompass springtime *meisho* for flower viewing in the Edo period. The book’s focus is upon cherry blossoms in Koganei, but it also discusses plum blossoms in connection with Musashino (see esp. ibid., 14, also see 22; see 24-26 on plums in Edo’s suburbs, perhaps conceived in a broad sense).

[84] On the date of the planting, which is not known for sure, see Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 207. The number of cherry trees appears to have declined significantly by the late Edo period. See Akasaka Chiseki, *Hiroshige no Fuji: kanseiban* (Shūeisha, 2011), 99.

[85] Saitō, *Edo meisho zue*, in Asakura, *Edo no kan II*, 320; also see Saitō Chōshū, Vol. 4, Book 11 of *Edo meisho zue* (Edo: Suharaya Mohee et. al., 1836), 35r, https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/koten

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seki/html/bunko10/bunko10_06556/index.html. For the entry on Koganei Bridge and for the accompanying illustrations, see ibid., 33v-35r, and in the Asakura volume, pp. 318-20.

[86] The train stations mentioned in "Today's Musashino" indicate that Doppo's narrator boarded this train line. On the train line, see Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 48n4. Also see Yamada, annotations to "Musashino," 102n5. On Doppo's own excursions to the Koganei area, see endnote 139 in Chapter Two.

[87] Ōhashi Yasushi, *Kōbu tetsudō moyori meisho annai* (Kinkōdō, 1890), 4v, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/765023.

[88] Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 48n4.

[89] See Akasaka's description of the route in *Musashino o yomu*, 135, also 131. Also see Yamada, annotations to "Musashino," 103n11-12. In addition, see the map reproduced in Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 49. Notice how the name "Cherry Blossom Bridge" signals the area's reputation as a site for cherry-blossom viewing. Akasaka calls attention to this name of the setting (*butai*) of the scene in *Musashino o yomu*, 136.

[90] I thank Jonathan Zwicker for his comments on this topic.

[91] In the 1898 text, 他所目; in the 1901 text (p. 28), 餘所目.

[92] For more on the insider-outsider dynamic of "Today's Musashino" in relation to "landscape," see Katō Norihira's essay "Musashino no shōmetsu," in *Nihon fūkeiron* (Kōdansha, 1990), 156-201. See esp. 165-67, including the summary on p. 166 of Kimata Satoshi's discussion of the teahouse scene, which I just examined, in terms of the "traveler's aesthetic attitude" toward a "mere landscape" (*tada no fūkei*, a landscape of daily life rather than that of a sightseeing destination). Kimata, and then Katō, build off Katsuhara Fumio, who considers the "traveler's aesthetic attitude," as well as daily versus sightseeing "landscapes" (*keikan*), in his *Nō no bigaku* (Ronsōsha, 1979), esp. 19-23. For more on Katō, Katsuhara, and Kimata, see Sugawara Jun, "Fūkei/fūkeika to rinri," in *Fūkei no tetsugaku*, ed. Abiko Kazuyoshi and Satō Yasukuni (Kyoto: Nakanishiya, 2002), ch. 5, esp. 107-9. Finally, also see Mary Louise Pratt's seminal book, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), which examines the relations of power enacted by travel writing in an imperial context.

[93] In addition, although my reading of Doppo's essay differs significantly from his, I agree with the comment by Stephen Dodd that I have underlined in the following quote regarding Doppo's abjuration of the framework of *meisho*. In Doppo's essay, the "old lady" (*bāsan*) of the teashop "ridicules them [the narrator and his friend] for coming in summer since the area is renowned for cherry blossoms in spring. The point, of course, is Doppo's declaration of a conscious break with the *meisho* tradition of associating famous places with particular seasons. On the other hand, if only as a form of denial, this older understanding of place remains embedded in the text." See Stephen Dodd, *Writing Home: Representations of the Native Place in Modern Japanese Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 38. Also see ibid., 39 on how the oak trees in Musashino "gain significance only in the context of the earlier tradition," specifically in how they are not pine trees. We will return to this topic of oaks versus pines in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

"Today's Musashino," II:
Accreted Language

For poetry was all written before time was, and whenever we are so finely
organized that we can penetrate into that region where the air is music,
we hear those primal warblings, and attempt to write them down,
but we lose ever and anon a word, or a verse, and substitute something
of our own, and thus miswrite the poem.
-Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Poet" (1844)[1]

In the previous chapter, I unpacked a series of historical, infrastructural, and intellectual conditions that shaped Kunikida Doppo's portrayal of Tokyo's suburbs in "Today's Musashino." This chapter takes a closer look at the language of that portrayal. It does so in order show how Doppo's language incorporates a range of modes of verbal expression. Put differently, it shows how Doppo's essay exhibits a kind of verbal "accretion" in which multiple forms of language of distinct provenance and historicity become layered upon one another in present acts of verbal expression. Such accretion, I submit, attests to the partial and processual nature of shifts in constellations of landscape—in the relations among perceiver, world, and especially word—in late-Meiji literature.

In a number of passages in "Today's Musashino," Doppo produced a type of prose poetry, which was a kind of language that he had also broached in an inchoate manner in his critical writings on new style poetry (*shintaishi*). Doppo composed this prose poetry in a vernacular Japanese (*genbun itchi*). That vernacular was shaped by Futabatei Shimei's translation "Aibiki" (The Rendezvous; 1888, retranslated in 1896) of "The Tryst" (Svidanie; 1850), a tale included in Ivan Turgenev's collection of short stories, *Notes of a Hunter* (Zapiski okhotnika; 1852[2]). The mode of vernacular natural description found in the 1888 version of Futabatei's translation, I will show, supplied Doppo with a key rhetorical and conceptual model for figuring Tokyo's suburbs.[3] Yet, while basically vernacular, Doppo's prose also employs diction that stems from or that is redolent of literary Japanese (*bungo*). Moreover, the text occasionally employs language that recalls Musashino's historical, *utamakura*-style poetic image as a plain of grasses. In addition, the text includes direct quotations of two Edo-period verses as well as a few lines from William Wordsworth.[4] In this way, close analysis of Doppo's language reveals an accretion of multiple modes of expression of diverse origin and flavor. Collectively, these modes of expression function to figure the relations among walker, word, and world in Tokyo's suburbs.

New Style Poetry and Prose Poetry

One mode of expression that bore indirectly upon "Today's Musashino" was the new style poem (*shintaishi*), a genre of verse that first emerged in the early 1880s.[5] Between around 1893 and 1897, Doppo composed not only prose texts but also new style poems, a number of which were collected into multi-author poetry anthologies published in 1897 and 1898.[6] In the preface to his verses in the first of these anthologies, *Lyric Poetry* (Jojōshi; 1897), Doppo sets forth views on the use of language in new style poetry that, I would propose, help contextualize his composition of a kind of prose poetry in "Today's Musashino." In the following lines of the preface, where the poet and scholar Hattori Yoshika once located an "argument for free verse" (*jiyūshiron*),[7] Doppo calls for flexibility of diction in the writing of poetry. This call lays the groundwork, in turn, for an inchoate concept of prose poetry:

> As regards poetic form, I hold an extremely liberal view. Seven-and-five and five-and-seven meters are both acceptable. The style of a direct translation of Chinese poetry is acceptable. Colloquial poetic style [*zokkatai*[8]] is acceptable. I advocate breadth in the range of one's use of Sino-Japanese words [*kango*]. The use of poetic epithets [*makurakotoba*] could be very acceptable depending on the situation. Just write poetry driven by the passion that makes one simply have to write poetry! If one does this, then even if the [language's] exterior form appears to be like that of prose, it will necessarily have, before one realizes it, stanzas [*setsu*], meter [*chō*], and exclamations and naturally will constitute a poetic utterance [*onozukara shiteki hatsugen o nashi*]. Moreover, it will have a force of expression difficult to reach in the flat meter of seven-and-five.[9]

In these lines, Doppo argues for rhetorical freedom in the composition of poetry. In the process, he suggests that language, when used by a poet "driven by passion," accedes to the condition of poetry of its own accord. Even if such language's "exterior form appears to be like that of prose," it acquires, seemingly spontaneously, rhetorical and structural characteristics like "stanzas," "meter," and "exclamations." In this manner, the prose "naturally" "constitute[s] a poetic utterance" with "a force of expression difficult to reach in the flat meter of seven-and-five."

I would propose, building off Ashiya Nobukazu, that this assertion already outlines an emergent concept of prose poetry.[10] Certainly, scholars have observed how Doppo composed his own new style poems, including those in *Lyric Poetry*, largely in fixed form and in seven-and-five meter.[11] Yet, as Hattori Yoshika remarks, "in addition to Doppo's free verses produced as poems [*shi*], there are a great many works that should perhaps be called incomplete free verses [*mikansei jiyūshi*] among his works composed as prose [texts; *bunshō*]."[12] "Today's Musashino," moreover, is one of a number of prose works by Doppo that Hattori characterizes as free verse (*jiyūshi*).[13] In the following lines of "Today's Musashino," Doppo's language does indeed accede to a type of free verse. It does so by virtue of a variety of prosodic, syntactical, and, perhaps, phonetic characteristics. These characteristics function, in turn, to tune Doppo's prose-poetic language to the acoustic and climatic textures and processes of Musashino:

> Because the trees are oak the leaves turn yellow. Because the leaves turn yellow the leaves fall. An early-winter rain [*shigure*] whispers. A winter gale shouts. When a gust of wind assaults a hillock, many thousands of tree leaves dance high into the open sky, and fly away into the distance like a flock of small birds. When the tree leaves have all fallen, the woods that stretch over an area of dozens of leagues become naked all at once, the blue-tinted winter sky hangs high above them, [and] the whole of Musashino enters a kind of stillness. The air becomes all the clearer. Distant sounds are heard vividly (59).

Musashino's pulse permeates this passage, which employs the rhetoric of parallelism to register and orchestrate the movements and textures of the plain. The result is a certain coordination or synchronization between word and world. The first two sentences, "Because the trees are oak the leaves turn yellow" (*nara no tagui da kara kōyō suru*) and "Because the leaves turn yellow the leaves fall" (*kōyō suru kara rakuyō suru*), parallel one another in imagery and nearly in length (they measure fifteen and fourteen morae, respectively). They also mirror each other in syntax because each turns upon the fulcrum of the "kara" (because) in the middle of the sentence. The repetition of "kōyō suru" ([the leaves] turn yellow) at the end of the first sentence and the start of the second sentence further tightens and marks the rhetorical harmony between the two lines. Indeed, in a sense, this repetition renders the two lines literally inextricable because it causes each to contain part of the other: the words "kōyō suru." That inextricability also characterizes the chain of causes and effects that links the semantic content of these rhetorically interwoven lines. The lines describe the order of things, as it were, on the Musashino plain: because the trees are oak the leaves turn yellow, and because the leaves turn yellow the leaves fall. The second line follows the first—sequentially, rhetorically, and logically.

The subsequent sentences, "an early-winter rain whispers" (*shigure ga sasayaku*) and "a winter gale shouts" (*kogarashi ga sakebu*), likewise parallel one another in their subject-verb constructions.[14] The sentences match one another in line length, too, with each counting a total of eight morae. The mirroring effect further extends to the lines' symmetrical but contrasting content. According to an 1898 dictionary, *shigure* means "rain that falls around autumn and winter"; *kogarashi* means "a cold wind that blows between the end of autumn and winter."[15] Thus, the two sentences in Doppo's essay each present a seasonal and climatic phenomenon specific to autumn and winter (*shigure* or *kogarashi*) that makes quiet or loud sounds ("whispering" or "shouting"). Such semantic symmetry between the sentences highlights both the similarities and also the disparities between the two climatic phenomena, which occur upon the plain around the same time of year but which differ in their sound and tenor.

In addition to these parallels between the two sentences, we may also note that both sentences measure about half the length of each of the previous two sentences ("Because . . . yellow" and "Because . . . fall"). One could argue that, taken with those previous sentences, these shorter lines furnish a kind of AABB pattern or, represented numerically to reflect line length, a 2-2-1-1 pattern (long-long-short-short). But even if not interpreted in so formal a manner, and even recognizing differences in the syntax of the two sets of sentences, the relative brevity of the latter two sentences compared to the previous two sentences undoubtedly introduces rhythmic variation into the prose.

The syntax and word choice of the subsequent two sentences—"When a gust . . . small birds" and "When the tree leaves . . . a kind of stillness"—echo the foregoing moraic and syntactical parallelisms in their own rough parallelism or, at least, similarity. In the process, the sentences verbally express and also rhetorically arrange the seasonal changes and climatic and meteorological events upon the plain. The first sentence consists of three parts, and the second of four parts, that are all marked off by commas or periods. In each case, the first part of the sentence ends with the conjunctive particle "ba" (marking a condition). In turn, the middle part(s)—the only one in the first sentence, the first of two in the second sentence—begin in the Japanese with an emphatic numerical expression ("many thousands [*ikusenman*] of tree leaves" and "dozens of leagues" [*sūjūri*]) and end with the conjunctive particle "te." The final parts of the sentences then conclude, like all the lines in the foregoing passage, with verbs in the present tense: "fly away" (*tobisaru*) and "enter" (*hairu*). In this way, roughly similar syntax and word choice characterize these two consecutive sentences.

These roughly similar sentences rhetorically align and, simultaneously, juxtapose a pair of distinct images of the plain. The first is a dynamic image of Musashino relatively early in the fall or winter (presumably fall). It is full of motion and change: when a gust of wind "assaults" (*osoeba*) a hillock, thousands of leaves "dance" (*maute*) into the sky, and then "fly away" like a flock of birds. The second is a static image of Musashino deeper into the fall or winter. It is comparatively stark: "when [the tree leaves] have all fallen" (*ochitsukuseba*)—i.e., when the activity of falling has ended—the woods "become naked" (*hadaka ni natte*), the blue sky "hangs" (*tare*) overhead, and Musashino enters a "stillness" (*chinsei*).

The two roughly parallel sentences I just analyzed echo the previous two sets of parallel sentences. They do so by picking up motifs introduced in those previous sentences: the wind and the changing and falling of the leaves. At the same time, however, they also differ from those previous sentences in their greater length and complexity. Yet, just as Doppo's prose is growing more discursive and involved, the language contracts again into two compact sentences, which contrast prosodically with the previous elongated ones: "the air becomes all the clearer" (*kūki ga ichidan sumiwataru*) and "distant sounds are heard vividly" (*tooi monooto ga azayaka ni kikoeru*). Once again, the lines parallel one another, this time in their subject-adverb-verb constructions. They also interlock, I propose, in the visual and acoustic "clarity" they locate in the suburban environment: the air is crystalline and the acoustic environment is uncluttered. At the very least, the sentences address two aspects of the suburbs in the fall and winter that seem compatible even if distinct: the quality of the air and the quality of the acoustic environment.

Finally, in addition to the way the foregoing parallelisms register and orchestrate the seasonal changes and textures of Musashino, we might speculate that Doppo's prose effects a symmetry of sound and significance in the sentences, "An early-winter rain whispers. A winter gale shouts" (*Shigure ga sasayaku*. *Kogarashi ga sakebu*).[16] These partially alliterative words are linked through repeated "sh" and "s" sounds. Perhaps those sounds generate the quiet rush of the "whispering rain" or the sibilance of the "shouting wind."[17]

In all these ways, the syntax and, possibly, the phonetics of Doppo's language become coordinated with the movements and textures of the plain. The following two lines, which appear shortly after the passage I quoted above, are also distinguished by this kind of coordination. In one sense, these lines lend expression to the types of sounds that the narrator judges to be typical of Musashino in particular seasons. In other words, the lines convey the seasonal sounds of Musashino as they are channeled and abstracted through the interpretation of the narrator in the kind of "generalized" natural description that I addressed at the start of Chapter One. (In fact, the same kind of channeling and abstraction also typifies the prose-poetic passage that I just analyzed ["Because the trees are oak . . . are heard vividly."]) In another sense, the narrator's language simultaneously orchestrates the acoustic environment that he describes and evaluates. It does so by lending different types of sounds rhetorical, temporal (seasonal), and—in an abstract way—spatial definition. For example, oppositional phrases serve to trace the contrasting locations of the plain's sounds in fall and winter across a sonic envelope anchored in the generalized reference point of "the woods" (*hayashi*). In addition, moraic and syntactical parallelism functions to juxtapose these seasonal sounds within the rhetorical structure of the text and, in so doing, to further define them in relation to one another. In this way, the words sculpt the acoustic environment—the same environment whose perception and evaluation at least partially anchor and drive the words.

In a line to which I will return below, the narrator remarks, "How very appropriate this lending of one's ear and listening is to the spirit [*kokoro*] of today's Musashino between the end of fall and winter." Then:

> In the fall, the sounds arising from within the woods; in the winter, the sounds echoing

> distantly beyond the woods.
>
> *Aki naraba hayashi no uchi yori okoru oto, fuyu naraba hayashi no kanata tooku hibiku oto* (59).

In one respect, within the world represented in the text, these lines find at least partial grounding and motivation in the sounds and seasonal rhythms of the plain. For example, perhaps the line, "in the fall, the sounds arising from within the woods," makes reference to the kinds of sounds of changing leaves that shake and fall when "a gust of wind assaults a hillock" and "many thousands of tree leaves dance high into the open sky, and fly away into the distance like a flock of small birds." Likewise, the line, "in the winter, the sounds echoing distantly beyond the woods," may convey the way that, once "the tree leaves have all fallen," Musashino "enters a kind of stillness," "the air becomes all the clearer," and "distant sounds are heard vividly." Regardless, the lines undoubtedly capture something of the character of suburban acoustic environments in the fall and in the winter. That character only gains definition through the narrator's judgment, implicitly based on his perceptual experiences upon the plain, regarding which kinds of suburban sounds are characteristic of which seasons. The narrator conveys that judgment through a type of generalized natural description that is not strictly embedded in this or that defined context of perception. Indeed, while my argument differs from his in important respects (see Chapter Six), Sasaki Masanobu has offered incisive remarks on the generalized quality of the same passage I just quoted:

> Just what kind of "sounds" are these? We do not find here the sensuous characteristics [*kankakuteki keishitsu*] of each individual [sound]. We may say [*ieyō*] that what we find is "the sounds of the woods" in fall and in winter in general—which means, as one might put it [*iwaba*], the universality, the abstractness of those [sounds].[18]

In another sense, Doppo's language simultaneously fashions the plain's seasonal rhythms and typical sounds as they are channeled through the narrator's judgment, which, to repeat, is implicitly rooted in his perceptual experiences of Musashino. The language does so by specifying the sounds' (abstract) spatial opposition relative to the common if generalized reference point of "the woods" (*hayashi*). Thus: "the sounds arising from within the woods" (*hayashi no uchi yori okoru oto*) and "the sounds echoing [or 'resounding'] distantly beyond the woods" (*hayashi no kanata tooku hibiku oto*). Doppo further defines these sounds over against one another by paratactically apposing the lines that convey those sounds. Indeed, he employs only a comma—rather than, say, a conjunctive phrase—to conjoin the consecutive lines that register the seasonal sounds: "in the fall . . . the woods" and "in the winter . . . the woods." This paratactic apposition, which works in conjunction with the parallel noun-final constructions of the two lines, yields two blocks of language placed side by side—a rhetorical structure suited to listing up and juxtaposing seasonal sounds. The isomorphic syntax and overlapping vocabulary of the two lines further stress the lines' disparate but also sequential seasonal content. The neat mirroring of morae, grammar, and word-choice between "if/in the fall" (*aki naraba*) and "if/in the winter" (*fuyu naraba*), for example, sharpens the temporal distinction between the two consecutive seasons and between their characteristic sounds.

In these ways, even as the narrator's verbal expression finds its basis in or even emerges from the plain's sounds and rhythms as he implicitly perceived and has since interpreted and abstracted them, the poetic language simultaneously molds and organizes those abstracted sounds and rhythms. It does so by articulating them across distinct trajectories in time, (abstract) space, and the text's rhetorical structure. In fact, the very positioning of the noun "sound" (*oto*) at the end of each of the two lines testifies to this poietic articulation. This is because the repetition of "sound" metadiscursively marks the sonority of Doppo's prose. It thus highlights how the language gives rise to suburban sounds—sounds that, within the world represented in the text, in turn help drive and delimit the language of the narrator, who implicitly perceived and now evaluates those sounds in a mode of generalized natural description. In other words, the repetition of "sound" highlights how poiesis and autopoiesis interweave in a commingling of word and world that is channeled through the perceiver-narrator.

Such commingling also characterizes Doppo's new style poem, "The Sound of the Wind" (Kaze no oto; March 1897). Doppo published this poem, which partially mirrors a diary entry quoted in "Today's Musashino,"[19] near the end of his stay in Shibuya between the fall of 1896 and the spring of 1897. He would then republish a slightly modified version of the poem in the anthology *Lyric Poetry* the following month.[20] As its title indicates, the poem versifies "the sound of the wind," which the poetic speaker hears in the middle of the night. The verse's chiastic structure exhibits a certain homology with the movements of the noisy winds, which, in turn, index the passing of the seasons. The result is a synchronization among the movements of language, the seasons, and the perceived sound of the wind:

1	*Futo sayo fukete mesamureba*	Upon happening to awaken late in the night:
2	*Nokiba o sawagu kaze no oto*	the sound of the wind clamoring along the eaves—
3	*Haru ya kitarishi, fuyu yukishi*	has spring come, winter gone?
4	*Kareno no koya no yume awaku*	[My] dream in [this] hut in a withered field fleeting,
5	*Toozakari yuku kaze no oto*	the sound of the wind receding into the distance—
6	*Fuyu ya nogareshi haru ya kishi*	has winter fled? Has spring arrived?[21]

The verse consists of two stanzas of three lines in a seven-and-five meter. Repetitions between each stanza lend the poem a symmetrical structure. Lines 1 and 4 each contain references to slumber: "awaken" and "dream."[22] Lines 3 and 6 each present questions about the coming and going of spring and winter. Finally, lines 2 and 5 not only invoke the movements of the wind but also exhibit a syntactical structure in which a grammatical and semantic break follows the noun phrase "kaze no oto" (the sound of the wind). Rather like the "sounds" (*oto*) in "Today's Musashino" (see Chapter One), this "sound of the wind" is grammatically modified by preceding words that express, even as they verbally articulate, the motions of that sound.

Along with this interplay between expression and articulation, the poem also features a chiastic rearrangement of seasonal nouns and morae across its two broadly symmetrical stanzas. This rearrangement mirrors, and is perhaps motivated by, the kind of seasonal cyclicity marked by the movements of the vernal and winter winds whose perceived sounds are registered in Doppo's language. Simultaneously, this cyclicity is articulated in time, space, and the rhetorical structure of the poem through the very language that figures those winds. In line 3, the spring arrives in seven beats while the winter departs in five; in line 6, the winter departs in seven beats while the spring arrives in five.[23] This chiasmus interlocks with the spatial and temporal patterning of the wind. The wind gusts around the speaker and across the eaves in the first stanza, awakening the dreamer with vernal tidings. It then winnows away from the speaker in the second stanza, carrying the winter off.[24] In each case, within the world represented in the poem, the movements of the seasonal winds anchor and find expression in the speaker's chiastic language. That language, in turn, deploys directional verbs ("coming" versus "going") as well as the rhetoric of chiasmus to lend spatial, temporal, and rhetorical definition to the winds. In this sense, the perceived, noisy, seasonal winds propel the poetic language by which they are bodied forth. As in "Today's Musashino," word and world interweave with one another. Once again, the perceiver-speaker is the linchpin of this interweaving.

Turgenev, Futabatei, and Vernacular Natural Description

Notwithstanding this common interweaving, however, "The Sound of the Wind" and "Today's Musashino" stage constellations of landscape—relations among perceiver, word, and world—through different literary genres and modes of verbal expression. The 1897 new style poem exhibits properties of a non-vernacular literary Japanese (*bungo*). For example, in three of four cases, the verbal expressions (predicates) in lines 3 and 6 are preceded by the interrogative, bound particle "ya." (The interpolation of "ya" into "fuyu yukishi" would have yielded six morae and so violated the poem's seven-and-five meter.) Accordingly, these verbal expressions feature the bound attributive inflection (*rentaikei*) *shi* of the suffix (or "auxiliary verb") *ki*, which marks past tense (I have opted for the present perfect tense in my translation): "has come" (*kitarishi*), "has gone" (*yukishi*), "has fled" (*nogareshi*), and "has arrived" (*kishi*). By contrast, the 1898 prose-poetic essay is (predominantly[25]) in the vernacular register (*genbun itchi*). In particular, the essay employs a mode of vernacular natural description significantly shaped by Futabatei Shimei's translation "Aibiki" of Ivan Turgenev's short story, "The Tryst."

Below, I will show how this translation guided Doppo's narrator in perceiving and registering the sounds of Tokyo's suburbs. First considering the following passages of "Today's Musashino," however, helps clarify just how vital the narrator feels "Aibiki" has been to his own thinking about and experience of Tokyo's suburbs. The passage immediately precedes the first of two extensive excerpts from "Aibiki" reproduced in "Today's Musashino." It frames the excerpt by indicating how "Aibiki" fulfilled an epistemological precondition for the narrator's pioneering literary geography of "today's" Musashino, and specifically, of Musashino's deciduous woods. The narrator states that the "exquisiteness" (*myō*) of the changing appearance of Musashino's trees, primarily oak, over the course of the year

> would be a little difficult for those from western and northeastern Japan to understand. It seems that, from the beginning until now, the Japanese [*Nihonjin*] have not known much of the beauty of deciduous woods of oak. When it came to woods, it was mostly only pinewoods that were treated in Japanese literature and art. Even in [Japanese] poetry [*uta*], one does not find such a thing as listening to the early-winter rain deep in an oak forest.[26] I myself grew up in western Japan; it has been ten years since I first came to Tokyo as a student when I was a boy. But it is only recently that I have come to understand the beauty of these kinds of deciduous woods, and that is because the following passage [*bunshō*] taught me much about the matter (58).[27]

After then quoting an extended passage from "Aibiki" set in the Russian birch woods, the narrator again professes his epistemological debt to the translation:

> That I have come to understand the tenor [or "appearance"; *omomuki*] of these kinds of deciduous woods owes largely to the power of the writing in this remarkable description [*bimyō na jokei no fude no chikara*]. It [portrays] Russian scenery and, furthermore, birch woods, while the woods of Musashino are oak; [the two sites] differ greatly as concerns their respective vegetation zones [*shokubutsutai*], but the tenor of the deciduous woods is the same (59).

In this way, the narrator attributes the originality of his rendition of Musashino's deciduous woods to his encounter with the descriptive power of Futabatei's translation, which portrays Russian woods that are distant and distinct but also deciduous.

Analyzing this descriptive power necessitates some understanding of the rhetorical properties of the natural description found in "Aibiki." "Aibiki" is, to borrow Indra Levy's phrase, a "radically formalist translation."[28] This translation is characterized by Futabatei's "inherently nonidiomatic use of colloquial diction."[29] One may point, for instance, to how Futabatei maintains Turgenev's extensive use of personifying natural description of a sort unfamiliar to classical Japanese and Chinese literary diction or to colloquial speech.[30] To follow and paraphrase Sugiyama Yasuhiko, the text's natural description is also characterized by the clear definition of the position of the speaker in the text (the narrator), who is situated within and located in relation to the natural environment he describes.[31] The following portion of the first excerpt of "Aibiki" reproduced in "Today's Musashino" exemplifies these features of the translation. In the process, it clarifies how "Aibiki" could guide Doppo's narrator in both perceptually experiencing Musashino's acoustic environment and also verbalizing that perceived environment:

> I sat, looked in all directions, and lent my ear. The tree leaves rustled faintly overhead, and one could tell the season merely by hearing their sound. It was not the cheerful, laughing din of early spring; not the gentle rustling, nor the voices of prolonged [conversation] of summer; not the nervous, chill chatter of late fall, but the voice [or "sound"; *koe*] of a soft whispering that was scarcely audible (59).[32]

In the first sentence, an embodied narrator, situated within the Russian woods he describes, "lends his ear" to his acoustic environment.[33] Or rather, more precisely, he recalls how he "lent his ear" at a moment in the past.[34] Doppo's narrator cites this very act of situated aural perception to justify his own practice of listening to the sounds of the suburban woods outside Tokyo:

> In my diary entry for October 26, I wrote: I sat deep in the woods and looked in all directions, listened closely [*keichō* 傾聴], gazed intently, and thought silently.[35] "Aibiki" likewise reads: I sat, looked around, and lent [*katamuketa* 傾けた] my ear. How very appropriate this lending of one's ear and listening is to the spirit [*kokoro*] of today's Musashino between the end of fall and winter. In the fall, the sounds arising from within the woods; in the winter, the sounds echoing distantly beyond the woods (59).

These lines testify to the way that "Aibiki" conditioned the narrator's perceptual experience of Tokyo's suburbs. By "conditioned," I do not mean that "Aibiki" presented the narrator with verbal representations of the Russian woods that he merely transposed wholesale onto

Musashino, onto suburban woods that had been largely ignored in the history of Japanese landscape description. In other words, "Aibiki" did not supply the narrator with a repository of cultural meaning to be layered onto the "actual" physical environment of Musashino. Rather, within the world represented in the text, "Aibiki" prompted and oriented the narrator's practice of perceptually engaging with, of aurally attuning to, the acoustic environment of the deciduous suburban woods. (This is by no means to deny, however, that this narrator often recedes behind more generalized natural description in "Today's Musashino," as he does in the final line of the foregoing passage by speaking of the typical sounds of fall and winter.)

In raising this argument, I draw heavily upon two remarkable passages in the book *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (2000) by the anthropologist Tim Ingold. The passages warrant quotation here because they shed significant light upon the relation between "Aibiki" and Doppo's narrator's perceptual experiences of Tokyo's suburbs. The ideas presented in these passages will also resurface several times in later chapters when I consider the impact of the writings of John Ruskin upon perceptual experiences of clouds staged in late-Meiji landscape writings. In the first passage, Ingold reflects upon the significance of a knowledgeable figure, such as his father or an Aboriginal elder, leading a less knowledgeable figure about an area and pointing things out, showing things to them. In this context, Ingold argues, the guide is not transmitting "cultural knowledge" by "encoding" it in features of the environment. "To show something to somebody" is,

> as it were, to lift a veil off some aspect or component of the environment so that it can be apprehended directly. In that way, truths that are inherent in the world are, bit by bit, revealed or disclosed to the novice. What each generation contributes to the next, in this process, is an *education of attention* [James Gibson's phrase] . . . . Placed in specific situations, novices are instructed to feel this, taste that, or watch out for the other thing. Through this fine-tuning of perceptual skills, meanings immanent in the environment—that is in the relational contexts of the perceiver's involvement in the world—are not so much constructed as discovered.[36]

This notion of discovering rather than constructing meaning in the environment resurfaces in another essay in Ingold's volume. There, Ingold asserts that

> telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to *cover up* the world or, as in an overworn anthropological metaphor, to "clothe it with meaning." . . . Far from dressing up a plain reality with layers of metaphor, or representing it, map-like, in the imagination, songs, stories and designs serve to conduct the attention of performers *into* the world, deeper and deeper, as one proceeds from outward appearances to an ever more intense poetic involvement.[37]

What is fascinating about the function of "Aibiki" in the foregoing passage of "Today's Musashino" is the way it thematizes an environment (the Russian deciduous woods) far removed from that engaged by Doppo's narrator (the Japanese deciduous woods), *and yet* still facilitates that engagement. In other words, "Aibiki" directs Doppo's narrator's attention into a (part of the) world that "Aibiki" itself does not take up. It does so by encouraging and orienting the narrator's aural-perceptual engagement with his own surroundings: the suburban deciduous woods. To put this another way, "Aibiki" initiated and indirectly guided a sort of autodidactic "education of attention" carried out by the narrator in Musashino. What meaning the narrator discovered in the suburbs as a result of this "education" was not siphoned from "Aibiki" and projected onto the "actual" suburbs. Rather, to use Ingold's words, it lay "immanent in the environment—that is in the relational contexts of the perceiver's involvement in the world."[38]

In the portion of "Aibiki" that I quoted above, the perceptual activity that would prove so crucial to Doppo's narrator, "lending one's ear," opens onto the sound of the wind rustling in the trees over the head of Turgenev's narrator. That narrator then offers an extended characterization of the sound of the wind that is suggestive of the discursive, rhythmic style of vernacular natural description found in "Aibiki." In this case, the description functions by arranging sounds of different qualities according to the progression of the seasons through spring, summer, and late fall. This seasonal progression motivates, and is organized by, the parallel syntactical structures of the distinct segments of the sentence assigned to each season (summer alone is assigned two segments). The narrator implements such parallel construction, which engenders a verbal rhythm articulated across different seasonal sounds, through the repetition of "not/nor the" (*demo na*[*ku*][*katta*]) immediately prior or nearly prior to commas. Thus: "not the . . . din [of early spring]," (*sazameki demo naku,*); "not the . . . rustling [of summer]," (*soyogi demo naku,*); "nor the voices [of (conversation) in the summer]," (*hanashigoe demo naku,*); and "not the . . . chatter [of late fall] but," (*oshaberi demo nakatta ga,*). Perhaps it was the rhythmic repetition furnished by rhetorical patterns such as this one that encouraged Doppo to comment a decade later that Turgenev's writing features a "musical rhythm" (or "musical flow"; *ongakuteki chōshi*),[39] much as Doppo's own writing does.

The foregoing musical sentence in "Aibiki" expresses the characteristic sounds of different seasons through plentiful, often successive, and often personifying adjectives and verbs that modify personifying and acoustic nouns. For instance: "cheerful, laughing din" (more precisely, "din that seems cheerful, that seems to laugh"; *omoshirosō na, warau yō na sazameki*); "the voices of prolonged [conversation]" (or "long-winded talking-voices"; *nagatarashii hanashigoe*); and "nervous, chill chatter" (more precisely, "nervous chatter that seems chill"; *odoodo shita, usosabusō na oshaberi*). This kind of personification induces the sense that these "talkative" seasons are, in some respect, alive. Kamei Hideo puts his finger on this sense, which he sees as exceeding a mere rhetorical effect achieved through personification, when discussing what it was in "Aibiki" that "deeply moved" the "I" (*jibun*) of Doppo's text. Kamei cites a portion of the narrator's quotation of "Aibiki" that overlaps with the portion I quoted above: "The tree leaves . . . whispering that could just barely be caught." He remarks,

> Judging from how . . . [these] kinds of expressions are singled out and quoted, he [the "I"] was strongly attracted to the animated mode of nature [*shizen no animeito sareta arikata*]. He wanted to touch on the whispering of nature.
>
> This is not simply a matter of using numerous personifying expressions. [Here,] nature itself [*shizen sore jitai*] possesses embodiedness [*shintaisei*] and exhibits animated movements.[40]

This desire to touch on an animated nature's "whispering" bespeaks a possible philosophical alignment between the natural description found in "Aibiki" and that in "Today's Musashino." It further bespeaks a possible alignment between the two texts' authors' "views of nature" (*shizenkan*), to borrow a term from Japanese scholarship. This alignment may help contextualize Doppo's very attraction to Turgenev's natural description as translated by

Futabatei and, by extension, Doppo's adaptation of that description to Tokyo's suburbs.[41] Amidst a critique of an essay by Yoshida Seiichi that takes up "Aibiki," Araya Keizaburō locates "the fundamental attitude toward contemplating nature" (*kihonteki na shizen kanshō no taido*) among Turgenev and a selection of Russian poets in "the expression of submerging the self in nature and emotionalizing nature by wrapping nature up within the human."[42] (These were qualities that Yoshida, by contrast, had ascribed to "traditional Japanese literature."[43]) Araya then asserts as follows regarding the kind of contemplation of nature in question after observing how "the author [Turgenev] invites us into the Russian 'forest and steppe [*mori to sōgen*]'" in the opening of "Tatyana Borisovna and Her Nephew" in *Notes of a Hunter* (which, to reiterate, also contains "The Tryst"): "Give me your hand, gentle reader, and come along with me. It is glorious weather; there is a tender blue in the May sky."[44]

> This was, in the words of the author [Turgenev] who was writing *Notes of a Hunter* in Paris, a "pantheistic mood,"[45] in fact a [kind of] contemplation [of nature] close to an Eastern, poetic state of mind [*Tōyō no shikyō* 詩境[46]]. This was a "nature" familiar to the Japanese, too. . . . What the Japanese of the period of enlightenment in Meiji learned from the Russian nature poets was a method of linguistic expression based upon, not a [kind of] contemplation of nature different in quality from [that practiced by] themselves, but rather one of the same quality (and because it was of the same quality, that expression was relatively easy to transpose). [What they learned was] a completely new method by which to emotionalize nature, in other words, [a method by which to] discover the self in nature and to project one's emotions and consciousness onto nature.[47]

Sasaki Masanobu, by whom I was led to these passages, has since extended Araya's argument regarding Turgenev and Futabatei to Doppo.[48] Sasaki astutely points out the overlap between the "pantheistic mood" located by Araya in Turgenev's approach to "nature" and Doppo's own pantheistic thought:

> This "pantheistic mood," what Doppo called "a feeling of universal unity [*tenchi ittai no kan*]," was, from beginning to end, a principal theme [*shudai*] of his thought. In short: the "spontaneous unity [*myōgō*]," "coalescence [*itchi*]," and "fusion [*yūka*]" of nature and human.[49]

In the endnote that follows upon the final line that I have quoted here, Sasaki cites entries dating from 1893 in Doppo's diary *An Honest Record*, adding that, "obviously, these terms and ideas were present throughout Doppo's life [*Doppo no shōgai ni watatte iru*]."[50] It is possible that this overlap between Turgenev and Doppo helped encourage Doppo to adapt the mode of expression found in "Aibiki" to Tokyo's suburbs,[51] although it is in fact extremely difficult to define the precise extent to which Doppo's early pantheistic and idealist thought bear upon "Today's Musashino."[52] For instance, the overlap may have motivated the way that, in the following line, Doppo's narrator describes the sound of the suburban wind using a string of personifying and noisy verbs that modify a personifying and acoustic noun: "The wind's rustling, whistling, howling, shouting voice [or 'sound']" (*kaze no soyogu, naru, usobuku, sakebu koe*). This line, which is highly redolent of the natural description found in "Aibiki,"[53] expresses and fashions the sounds of a suburban environment that is, to use Kamei's term, "animated."

As this description of the wind indicates, Futabatei's translation of Turgenev's writing offered Doppo a conceptual and rhetorical model for figuring Musashino's acoustic environment. The following passage of "A Chance Encounter" (Meguriai; 1888-89), another vernacular translation by Futabatei of a story by Turgenev, may further demonstrate the efficacy of this model. At the very least, it attests to a distinct consonance between the modes of expression in "Today's Musashino" and "A Chance Encounter," which Doppo copied out by hand (*hissha*) in 1893.[54] This is because the passage presents consecutive segments of description, here contained within a single elongated sentence, that are each dedicated to a particular type of sound. These segments, furthermore, end or almost end with the words *oto* (sound) or *koe* ("voice" or "sound"), whether as independent nouns or in compound nouns (e.g., *nakigoe* [crying voice] and *sakebigoe* [shouting voice]). Once again, these acoustic nouns, which nearly all precede commas, are grammatically modified by preceding words. In the following translation, I have tried to clarify this syntactical structure by underlining the final or nearly final acoustic noun that punctuates each segment of description. I have also underlined the words that immediately precede and modify that noun. Note that Futabatei's translation includes the ellipsis after "ceased singing" and the final ellipsis of the passage. Also note that, in the last sentence of the passage, I have often used commas where one might typically use semicolons or colons. I have done so in an effort to be as faithful as possible to the original punctuation of Futabatei's translation[55]:

> What was it awaiting so long[,] this warm night that would not sleep?
>
> It was awaiting a sound [*hibiki*]; the voice of a living thing [*ikimono no koe*] was what this sharp-eared silence [*mimizatoi shizukasa*] . . . awaited[56]—everything was still. The nightingales had long ceased singing . . . and yet the sudden buzzing voice [or "buzzing sound"] of a horsefly flying by [. . . *unaru koe,*], the sound of a small fish splashing in a holding pond beyond the lime trees at the end of the garden [. . . *haneru oto,*], the drowsy call [or "crying voice that seems sleepy"] of a bird awakening in surprise [. . . *nemusō na nakigoe,*], a shout [or "shouting voice"] heard distantly in the fields, so distantly that one could not tell by ear [*kikiwakerarenu*], whether it was a person crying, or a beast, or a bird [. . . *kikoeru sakebigoe,*], the sound of trotting [hoofs] carving into and echoing upon the road [. . . *hibiku kizamu yō na hayaashi no oto*] and so on [*nado,*], all these sorts of dull sounds [*hibiki*], these sorts of faint sounds of things [*monooto*] merely deepened the silence . . .[57]

The proximity of this kind of acoustic description to that in "Today's Musashino" is striking. It suggests once more how the specific mode of vernacular natural description employed in Futabatei's translations of Turgenev fed into Doppo's rendition of Musashino's acoustic environment.

Edo-Period Poetry, *Utamakura*, and Literary Japanese

I have argued that Doppo adapted the kind of vernacular natural description found in Futabatei's translations of Turgenev to Tokyo's suburbs. At the same time, however, the salience of this adaptation in "Today's Musashino" does not negate the presence of Edo-period poetic imagery quoted directly in Doppo's essay. Nor does it negate how, in a related way, Doppo occasionally uses descriptive language that recalls Musashino's historical poetic image as an *utamakura* (poem pillow) that connoted an unending plain of grasses. Nor, finally, does it nullify the appearance in Doppo's essay of diction drawn from or redolent of non-vernacular, literary Japanese (*bungo*). To be clear, such *bungo* diction is not inherently less "modern" than vernacular Japanese. Nevertheless, in "Today's Musashino," it generally constitutes an additional or secondary type of language embedded in Doppo's primarily vernacular prose. For this reason, analyzing that *bungo* diction, along with the poetic imagery and descriptive language of Doppo's essay, substantiates the partial and processual quality of transformations in late-Meiji literature of constellations of landscape, which include modes of expression (words).[58]

In "Today's Musashino," Doppo's narrator summons poetic imagery directly from two Edo-period verses. As Satō Yuki has remarked, the invocation of these verses "has the function of making it easier to call to mind '*omokage*,'"[59] the "vestiges" of an older, bygone Musashino that the narrator wishes to view: "It is surely not my wish alone to see even the vestiges [*omokage*] of the Musashino that we imagine only through paintings and poems" (56).

Consider, to begin with, the narrator's quotation of a *waka* verse by the poet Kumagai Naoyoshi (1782-1862). As Shinbo Kunihiro has suggested, Doppo may have been exposed to Naoyoshi's poetry through the poet and future Naturalist Tayama Katai (1871-1930) or through the Autumn Leaves Society (Kōyōkai), of which Katai was a member.[60] The Society was a *waka* group led by the poet Matsuura Tatsuo (1844-1909) of the Keien School, which had originated with the poet Kagawa Kageki (1768-1843). Naoyoshi, in turn, had been a leading member of the Keien School.[61] Naoyoshi was much revered by both Kagawa Kageki's direct disciple Matsunami Yusan (1830-1906), of whom Matsuura Tatsuo was a disciple, and also Tayama Katai, who was studying under Matsuura.[62]

In a diary entry for November 22, 1896, Doppo indicates that he attended a *waka* poetry gathering the previous day at the home of Ōta Gyokumei (1871-1927). Gyokumei, too, was a member of the Autumn Leaves Society, although Doppo does not specify the Society by name in the diary entry. Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) and Tayama Katai likewise attended the gathering; further, "I, *who traveled with [Miyazaki] Koshoshi,* [went] from Shibuya to attend this" (emphasis added).[63] Along with Saganoya Omuro (1863-1947), Doppo, Yanagita, Katai, Gyokumei, and Koshoshi would all be contributors to *Lyric Poetry*, the 1897 anthology of new style poetry that I discussed at the start of this chapter.[64] In fact, in the preface (*reigen*) to the anthology, which is signed by "the editor" (*hensha*[65]), we read that "Miyazaki, Tayama, Matsuoka [Yanagita]: these three are members of the Autumn Leaves Society. But Yazaki [Saganoya] and Kunikida: these two are not."

Regardless of how Doppo accessed the work of Kumagai Naoyoshi,[66] the narrator of "Today's Musashino" explicitly quotes a verse by this poet on the topic of the sound of tree leaves rustling in the wind. The verse indirectly expresses the narrator's own perceptual experiences of the suburban acoustic environment. It is also bound up through associative logic with his reflections in the present upon "life in Musashino from long ago" (*tooi mukashi kara no Musashino no seikatsu*):

> I often wrote in my diary of the sounds of windstorms forcefully crossing the woods, [windstorms] that seemed as though they would blow down even the stars that sparkled as winter nights deepened in Musashino. The sound of the wind draws a person's thoughts far off. Sometimes, hearing this tremendous sound of the wind suddenly near and suddenly far, I would think about life in Musashino from long ago.
>
> Among Kumagai Naoyoshi's *waka* is the following verse:

> Because I hear the sound of tree leaves moving along throughout the night,
> I know the wind is blowing softly[67]
> [*yomosugara konoha katayoru oto kikeba*
> *shinobi ni kaze no kayou narikeri*]
>
> Although I knew life as lived in a mountain hut, it was really during my time staying in a village in Musashino in the winter that I felt that the sense of this poem was just right [*kono uta no kokoro o ge ni mo to kanjita*] (60).

In this passage, the narrator quotes a *waka* by Kumagai Naoyoshi that is replete with natural motifs and an aurality suited to "Today's Musashino." In one respect, the *waka* functions to indirectly express the narrator's previous perceptual experiences of the sound of the wind in today's Musashino. In another respect, it stands along with "life in Musashino from long ago" as a destination for thoughts drawn "far off" by the sound of the wind in the contemporary plain. That is to say, the past poem and "life in Musashino from long ago" come in tandem in the present narration, one after the other, by virtue of their common association with the sounds of the contemporary suburbs.[68] In turn, the narrator indicates that he appraised the sense (*kokoro*) of this past poem, much as he appraised "life in Musashino from long ago," in light of his experiences on the contemporary plain in the winter.

In addition to the quotation of Kumagai's poem, Edo-period poetic imagery further permeates Doppo's text in the following passage. Here, a description of perceptual experiences that "you" (hypothetically) have on the plain leads smoothly into a quotation of a haiku by the poet Yosa Buson (1716-84). (I will address the significance of Doppo's use of second-person narration in Chapter Three):

> The sun is falling behind Fuji but has not yet fallen all the way; the clouds grouped upon Fuji's slopes are dyed gold, and transfigure into various shapes as [you] watch. Snow like a silver-white chain upon the peaks of the mountain range gradually runs off into the distance to the north, and finally [the peaks] sink into the dark clouds.
>
> The sun sets, the wind blows strongly in the fields, the woods moan [*naru*]: Musashino is about to grow dark; the cold permeates [your] body—at such a time, hurry along the path [*isogitamae*]; when [you] look back, [you] unexpectedly see the luminous moon [*shingetsu*[69]] emitting cold light to the side of the treetops of the leafless woods. It seems that the wind will blow the moon down from the treetops any moment. [You] suddenly come out again to a field [*no*]. At that time, you [*kimi*] will probably recall the famous verse that goes,
>
> Mountains have darkened, / and the field, in a twilight / with pampas grass! [*yama wa kure*[*te*] */ no wa tasogare no / susuki ka na*] (64-65).[70]

Buson's haiku, which thematizes the darkening "mountains" and "the field, in a twilight," functions to express "your" (potential) perceptual experiences at dusk in Musashino of Mt. Fuji, of the disappearing peaks of the mountain range, and of the "field" to which "you" suddenly come out. Referring to the passage I just quoted, Noyama Kashō identifies the tight interweaving of Buson's haiku with Doppo's prose. He reflects that the lines "even produce the impression that the sequence of the components of the prose [*sanbun no kumitate no junjo*] may have been determined, conversely, based on Buson's haiku, which contrasts the mountains and the field."[71]

The imagery of the haiku further feeds into the surrounding text of "Today's Musashino" because, to follow and paraphrase Akasaka Norio, Buson's verse and its reference to "pampas grass" recall the *utamakura* (poem-pillow) image of Musashino, associated with grasses. As I showed in the previous chapter, Doppo's narrator himself remarks upon the plain's historical association with grasses, which he contrasts with the woods of the present plain:

> It has long been said that the old Musashino [*mukashi no Musashino*] was incomparably beautiful on account of the endless vistas of plains of miscanthus reeds [or "grasses"; *kayahara*], but today's Musashino is [covered with] woods. It is fair to say that the woods are truly the distinguishing feature of today's Musashino (58).

The reference to "pampas grass" in Buson's verse calls to mind the grasses of what the narrator deems the "old Musashino." What's more, the seasonal association of "pampas grass," which is a *kigo* (seasonal word) for fall,[72] further befits the narrator's description, capped by Buson's verse, of "your" hypothetical walk on the plain. This walk is generally set, or at least could be set, in around fall or late fall.[73] The link between pampas grass and fall also accords with the frigid weather conditions of "your" walk: "the cold [*samusa*] permeates [your] body"; "the young moon emitting cold [*samui*] light." In this way, the narrator gestures toward an image of the "old Musashino" of grasses—an image evoked by the field of pampas grass in Buson's verse—in the process of figuring the present plain as hypothetically experienced by "you" at dusk in the chill of fall.

Reviewing the currency of the image of an autumnal, grassy Musashino in the Edo period, as well as the legacy of that image in Doppo's time, elucidates the historical conditioning of this gesture as well as the very capacity of Buson's verse to evoke an "old Musashino" of grasses. For example, building upon Akasaka's analysis of the passage of Doppo's essay that contains Buson's poem, I would observe that autumnal plants, along with the moon and often Mt. Fuji, were standard iconography in "Musashinozu" (Picture of Musashino) folding screens.[74] (This association in visual art of Musashino with autumn and autumnal plants itself had roots in the medieval period.[75]) The screens, which were popular in the early-Edo period, generally displayed a full moon located amidst a field of pampas grass (*susuki*) in which grow various fall plants, e.g., bellflowers and "maiden-flowers" (patrinias; *ominaeshi*).[76] They conveyed the kind of image of Musashino neatly encapsulated in a folk *waka*, which in turn appears to play upon a *waka* by Minamoto Michikata (1189-1238) in the imperial poetry anthology *Collection of Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*, *Continued* (Shoku kokin wakashū; 1265).[77] The poem in the anthology reads, "On the Musashi Plain / there is no peak / for the moon to descend behind— / white clouds catch / in the tips of 'tail-flowers'" (Musashino wa / tsuki no irubeki / mine mo nashi / obana ga sue ni / kakaru shirakumo).[78] The folk *waka*, which also versifies a moonlit and grass-covered Musashino, runs, "On the Musashi Plain / there is no mountain / for the moon to descend behind— / from grasses it ascends, / and into grasses it descends" (Musashino wa / tsuki no irubeki / yama mo nashi / kusa yori idete / kusa ni koso ire).[79]

References to this folk *waka*, or to parts of it, appear in a number of Edo-period texts. Adachi Keiko, for example, indicates that (references to) the verse can be found in Edo-period *zuihitsu* ("miscellaneous essay[s]") and (a) *jōruri* (dramatic recitation).[80] (She also states that the verse "seems *not* to appear in earlier books on Japanese poetry [*kasho*]" [emphasis added][81]). The source that Adachi cites in raising these points is Nakamura Kaoru's *Dictionary of Famous Poems* (Tenkyo kensaku meika jiten; 1936), which also lists multiple travelogues that refer to the verse.[82] Consider, in addition, the entry for Musashino in the gazetteer *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo* (1834-36). Near the start of the entry, we find a partial quotation of a poem that reads, "from grasses it ascends, / and into grasses it descends" (*kusa yori idete kusa ni iru*).[83]

The folk *waka* would continue to receive mention in Meiji-period texts both before and after the publication of "Today's Musashino," which, to repeat, associates the "old Musashino" with grasses. For example, Yamada Bimyō (1868-1910) refers to the poem in the opening lines of his historical short story "Musashino" (1887), although he does not quote the part of the poem that concerns Musashino's grasses. He does go on, however, to speak of such grasses as having grown plentifully in Musashino "long ago." I note in passing with Hayashi Hirochika how, in the story's opening lines, "'Musashino' is conceived only as the stage for a 'historical tale' entirely unrelated to 'today's Tokyo' of civilization and enlightenment.'"[84] To borrow Hayashi's phrase, the opening of the story "repudiates the very notion of 'today's Musashino,'"[85] which is precisely Doppo's focus (see Chapter One):

> Oh, the Tokyo [*Tōkei*] of today, the Musashino of long ago [*mukashi*]. Today, it is so bustling that one cannot not even set up a gimlet; long ago, it was so spacious that one could not even set up a checkpoint. . . . And the moon, which is now [*ima*] appreciated by beautiful young women in Yanagibashi, was so destitute in the past [*mukashi*] that "there were no mountains for the moon to descend behind [*irubeki yama mo nashi*]." Indeed, today, there are a million residents; indeed, long ago, there were a trillion sprouting grasses [underline added].[86]

A decade and a half later, the folk *waka* would resurface in the essay "The Tokyo of Water" (Mizu no Tōkyō; 1902) by the novelist Kōda Rohan (1867-1947): "[The words] 'it ascends from the grasses and descends into the grasses' presumably referred to the moon of Musashino in the old days" (*kusa yori idete kusa ni iru to wa Musashino no mukashi* [往時] *no tsuki o iiken*).[87] Like Bimyō, Rohan is primarily concerned with the poem's treatment of or connection to the moon. Nevertheless, his reference to the poem suggests that the association of an "old" Musashino with grasses remained robust in Doppo's day.

As I indicated above, the verse cited by Rohan and Bimyō presents an image of Musashino that was rendered visible in early-Edo Musashinozu folding screens, which typically portrayed fall grasses, the moon, and often Mt. Fuji. The combination of fall grasses and Fuji would continue to appear in future illustrations of Musashino. That it did so further contextualizes the association of an "old" Musashino with grasses in Doppo's essay as well as the capacity of Doppo's quotation of Yosa Buson's poem to conjure up that "old" Musashino.[88] For example, Ōkubo Jun'ichi has observed that the picture book *One Hundred Fuji's* (Hyaku Fuji; preface dated 1767) by Kawamura Minsetsu (dates unknown) contains an illustration titled "Musashino" that displays the "ridgelines of Mt. Fuji above luxuriating fall grasses."[89] Utagawa Hiroshige's woodblock print series *Thirty-Six Views of Fuji* (Fuji sanjūrokkei; c. 1852), in turn, contains a similar picture by the same title.[90] In this print, writes Tsuda Takako, Hiroshige "portrayed Musashino in the fall," a dreary Musashino in which pampas grass as well as other plants sway in the wind and a flock of geese flies off.[91] Having noted the plain's settlement and development in the Edo period, Tsuda also remarks that the print likely "portrays the standardized image of Musashino [*teikeika sarete ita Musashino no imēji*] more than the actual landscape."[92] In the context of his own argument regarding Hiroshige and Musashinozu, Ōkubo suggests that Hiroshige "surely knew that the iconography of viewing Fuji beyond a field of fall grasses was a standard representation of Musashino [*teikeiteki na Musashino no hyōgen*]."[93]

In the Meiji period, similar motifs would appear in the painting *Musashino* exhibited by the Japanese-style (*Nihonga*) painter Hishida Shunsō (1874-1911) in the fall of 1898 (Doppo's essay had been published in January and February of the same year).[94] In the painting, grasses, with a bird perched on one stalk, billow in the foreground before an expansive plain with Fuji visible in the distance. Tsurumi Kaori writes that Hishida's painting "takes as its subject 'Musashinozu,' traditional in *Yamato-e* [(indigenous) Japanese painting]," and portrays a view of Fuji over "a field of pampas grass."[95] Koike Masahiro, too, notes how the topic of the painting, "Musashino," is "often portrayed in *Yamato-e* [(indigenous) Japanese painting]," but argues that Shunsō "discarded his literary, retrospective conception and drew the nature he saw just as it was. This was the landscape of Musashino as seen by a modern person who knew the West."[96]

For better or worse, Hishida's own critics in 1898 identified "historical" qualities in his painting. For example, one critic remarked, "Musashino along with ears of pampas grass ['tail-flowers'; *obana*] and Fuji: this is something versified exhaustively in traditional poetry [*korai shika*], and is hackneyed [*chinpu*] as the topic of a painting [*gadai*]."[97] (The critic also comments that this painting, along with a few others, is "almost purely a Western[-style] painting."[98]) Another review, this one by Hayashida Shunchō (1874-1922), includes a description of the depicted scene. The lineaments of this description—the wind, pampas grass, and Fuji in the background—also surface in "Today's Musashino":

> As far as one can see: the vast and endless [*bōbō to shite hate naki*] Musashino plain. The wind soughs as it blows over the various grasses; the ears of pampas grass [*susuki obana*] luxuriate still further, and cover over the traveler's path. The sky is clear, the peak of Fuji soars in the distance, and the small bird lingers alone, looking for a friend. All is desolate, the scene replete with verdant vegetation—it makes the viewer, in spite of himself, recall the Musashino of five hundred years ago [*gohyakunen-mae no Musashino*]. There are truly few paintings like this one that, [while] being a landscape painting [*keiga*], call to mind historical associations [*rekishiteki rennen*].[99]

While perhaps not "the Musashino of five hundred years ago," Yosa Buson's verse in "Today's Musashino"—"Mountains have darkened, / and the field, in a twilight / with pampas grass!"—likewise functions to evoke the historically conditioned image of a grass-covered "old Musashino" (*mukashi no Musashino*). What is the significance of this evocation in the context of an essay that explicitly addresses "today's Musashino"? Analyzing the effect and function of Buson's poem in Doppo's essay, Satō Yuki argues that,

> while stating beforehand that "the old Musashino [*mukashi no Musashino*] was a plain of miscanthus reeds"—that is, the kind of field that befits this famous verse [by Buson]—Doppo asserts that scenery with which the famous verse is in harmony [*meiku ga chōwa suru kōkei*] still exists in "today's" Musashino, too, where the deciduous woods stand. He does so by applying the "old" Japanese poem [*"mukashi" no waka*] to "today's" forms [on the plain].[100]

Indeed, fragments of scenery consonant with Buson's verse—scenery more in line with an imagined "old" Musashino of grasses—did still exist in Doppo's day, although this is not to suggest that Musashino's grasses had been unaffected by the plain's historical development.[101] Take, for example, Akasaka's analysis of Tayama Katai's essay, "House Upon a Hill" (Oka no ue no ie).[102] The titular "house upon a hill" refers to the house in Shibuya where Doppo lived from the fall of 1896 to the spring of 1897. At one point in the essay, Katai states that, beyond the hill on which the house stood, "there were many woods, hills, and weeds that sufficed to bring to mind the vestiges [*omokage*] of Musashino."[103] In his reading of Katai's essay, Akasaka firmly distinguishes between the "vestiges of Musashino" to which Katai refers and the "vestiges of Musashino" mentioned in Doppo's essay "Today's Musashino." In Doppo's case, the vestiges were, "we might say, sparse traces, fragments of an *utamakura*-style Musashino that had been fixed by poems and paintings." By contrast, in Katai's case, the "vestiges" denoted "the Musashino of thickets [or 'woods'; *zōkibayashi*], already filtered through Doppo and his [essay], '[Today's] Musashino."[104] This "filtering" explains why, in "House Upon a Hill," Katai begins speaking of the "vestiges of Musashino" by referring to "the woods."[105]

However, Akasaka then calls attention to how, within Katai's subsequent description of the kinds of places where he and Doppo walked in the area, one finds "mixed in" (*konzai*)

> fragments of an *utamakura*-style Musashino[106]: Fuji amidst the evening scenery and plains of miscanthus reeds [*kayahara*] and plains of pampas grass [*susukihara*] swaying in the wind.[107] Moreover, these were also [things] that Doppo himself sketched in "[Today's] Musashino." These [things] were all mixed into the landscape before the eye as a matter of course [*atarimae ni*]; it is simply that the person gazing [upon the landscape; *manazashi no gawa*] was selecting and deleting [elements of the landscape; *shusha sentaku shite ita*]. We are compelled to pause and ask [*ryūho ga motomerareru*]: aren't the Musashino of grasses and the Musashino of woods both produced by the privileged regime of the gaze on the side of the human [*ningen no gawa ni okeru manazashi no seido ga tokkenteki ni umidashite iru*]? . . . The theme of the inheritance of and severance from early-modern matters in Doppo is not easily dealt with.[108]

A glimpse of what Akasaka calls the "Musashino of grasses" appears in the first half of the following passage of "Today's Musashino." Here, Doppo's narrator thematizes the plain's grasses as well as its wind (also, incidentally, a motif linked with Musashino in the *waka* tradition[109]). These grasses are "mixed into" the environment of the contemporary suburbs, where one also finds "woods to the side of the field":

> Or should [I] lie down in the plain of miscanthus reeds [*kayahara*] beyond the field [*hatake*] and, taking shelter amidst the piled dead grasses from the strongly blowing northern wind, expose [my] face to the warmish light of the sun moving across the southern sky and gaze upon the way the woods to the side of the field are stirred up by the wind and glisten and gleam? (62)

To reiterate, Doppo's narrator explicitly states that "today's" Musashino is distinguished by the woods, which are indeed his focus. Nevertheless, the foregoing passage suggests that plains of miscanthus reeds—plains whose "endless vistas" are said to have rendered the "old Musashino . . . incomparably beautiful"—have not vanished entirely from the contemporary suburbs.[110]

Finally, I would propose, tentatively, that the description of Musashino in the passage of

Doppo's essay that I quote below echoes the plain's older image as a field of limitless spatial extension. Endō Hiroshi suggests that part of Musashino's image in the Heian period (794-1185; *chūko*), I believe in *waka* poetry, was that of "a vast, endlessly expansive, desolate, and [undeveloped] plain [*gen'ya*]."[111] In a similar vein, Ibi Takashi records that, beginning from the poetry anthology *Collection of Ten-Thousand Leaves* (Man'yōshū; eighth century), Musashino would "proceed to become fixed as a *meisho* (*utamakura*) versified in *waka*." Its *hon'i* ("pattern of versification") as an *utamakura* was that of "a vast, unending [undeveloped] plain [*gen'ya*]."[112] In addition, Yamane Masumi, Shinohara Osamu, and Hori Shigeru argue that the literary image of Musashino as a "boundless plain" (*bōbaku no no*) gained force in the Kamakura period (1185-1333).[113] They also cite part of the entry on Musashino in the gazetteer *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo* (1834-36) as evidence of the way Edoites at that time sought out and "admired as Musashino's landscape [*fūkei*]" the "boundless plain," by then mostly gone.[114] Quoted more fully, the passage in question reads, "But, when one climbs Sayama on a moonlit night and gazes around upon one's surroundings, the open fields are verdant and vast, stretching unbroken for a thousand leagues. It is enough to [enable one to] imagine the appearance [of Musashino] in olden times [*sōzō suru ni tareri*]."[115]

A trace of the notion and image of Musashino's "boundlessness" seems to live on in the following lines of Doppo's text, which are redolent of part of the passage I just quoted from *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo*. To be clear, I am not claiming that Doppo referred to *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo* when composing "Today's Musashino." I am simply suggesting that Musashino's image as a "boundless" plain—an image conveyed by the foregoing passage in *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo*—remains present in Doppo's essay. Although Doppo's narrator specifies elsewhere in the text that one cannot acquire a viewpoint from which to look down and across (*miorosu*) the plain (64),[116] he also lauds the seasonal beauty of the expansive plain in the following lines. In the process, I would note, he relativizes the authority of the *meisho* tradition (a topic I addressed in the previous chapter):

> Setting aside famous places [*meisho*] of the land like Nikkō and Usui, is it not also a remarkable, beautiful view when the woods on a wide plain [*hiroi heigen*] like Musashino are dyed [with autumn colors] in every corner and, as the sun descends to the west, the entire surface emits sparks [*hibana*]? There would be nothing better than if one could climb up high and command a panoramic view [of this scene] at a glance.[117] But even if one cannot do this, to the degree that the scenery of the plain [*heigen no kei*] is uniform [*tanchō*], it allows one to imagine [*sōzō sasuru*] the wide, almost limitless scenery of the entirety [*zenbu no hiroi, hotondo kagiri nai kōkei*] just by viewing a piece of it. How enjoyable it is to walk as far as one can amidst the autumn leaves toward the sunset while being moved by this vision [or "by this imagin[ed scene]"; *sono sōzō ni ugokasaretsutsu*] (61).[118]

These lines of Doppo's essay echo the passage of *Illustrations of Famous Places in Edo* that I quoted above by presenting an image of a boundless plain. Certainly, the two texts differ significantly in the way they apprehend Musashino's boundlessness. Whereas the author of the Edo-period gazetteer speaks of physically climbing Sayama and gazing out upon the plain, Doppo's narrator only imagines a kind of panoramic view of the region.[119] Nevertheless, I would emphasize that, on a basic level, Doppo's narrator verbalizes an image of an expansive plain that was not without precedent in the history of Musashino's representation.

***

I have argued that direct quotations of Edo-period poems, along with descriptive language that evokes historically conditioned poetic imagery of Musashino, constitute "layers" within the "accreted" language of "Today's Musashino." Another such "layer" consists of diction and grammar that derive from non-vernacular literary Japanese (*bungo*) but that are included in "Today's Musashino," which is written predominantly in the vernacular. Such diction and grammar surface most starkly in the text's second section, which consists primarily of quotations of non-vernacular entries in the narrator's "diary" (*nikki*).[120] In what follows, however, I will examine, not the literary style of the diary entries, but rather the traces of non-vernacular diction and grammar embedded in the vernacular prose outside those diary entries.

One pertinent context for this embedment is the fact that Doppo himself composed texts in both vernacular and literary Japanese. Indeed, he was negotiating and moving between these two forms of Japanese at precisely the moment he wrote "Today's Musashino." As Nakajima Reiko has pointed out, Doppo composed the stories "Old Man Gen" (Gen oji; August 1897) and "Tidings" (Otozure; November 1897) in literary Japanese (*bungotai*). Then, following "Today's Musashino" (January-February 1898), which is (primarily) in the vernacular, Doppo would publish a series of stories in 1898 in the vernacular (or "the colloquial" [*kōgotai*]) prior to the story "Parting Ways" (Wakare; October 1898), which is in literary Japanese.[121]

To be clear, Doppo had written in the vernacular before. Indeed, he had published the vernacular short story "First Night on Duty" (Saisho no tōchoku) in September 1895.[122] Moreover, while perhaps a different genre of prose writing, Doppo employed literary Japanese to compose his set of four brief literary sketches "Poetic Thoughts" (Shisō; April 1898), published only a few months after the (primarily) vernacular "Today's Musashino," although it is unclear when Doppo first wrote these sketches.[123] Furthermore, "Parting Ways" (October 1898) was not Doppo's last published work of prose fiction in literary Japanese. For example, one can find Doppo writing in literary Japanese in the short story "Parting Gifts" (Okimiyage; December 1900), although the date of this text's composition is again up for debate.[124]

Nevertheless, from around 1898, Doppo would generally move toward writing his fiction in the vernacular. Yet, even as Doppo began to make this move, traces of literary diction remained present in the predominantly vernacular language of "Today's Musashino." Those traces mark the partial and processual nature of Doppo's use of (switch to) the vernacular in this particular work. The same qualities of partiality and process also characterize the broader transformations in late-Meiji literature of constellations of landscape—that is, of the relations among perceiver, world, and especially word.

Nakamura Akira identifies the traces of *bungotai* (literary Japanese) in Doppo's prose in an analysis of a single passage of "Today's Musashino" that I cited above: "The sun is about to fall behind Fuji . . . with pampas grass!'" Nakamura asks, "By what kinds of linguistic characteristics can we explain the character of this passage? What first catches one's eye is an echo of a surviving classical style [*kienokoru bungochō no hibiki*] and a kind of tone [*kakuchō*] that comes from it."[125] For instance, and to paraphrase and elaborate somewhat for clarity's sake, Nakamura refers to Doppo's use of the *ren'yō chūshihō* expression "ochizu" (has not [yet] fallen) in the line "Fuji no se ni ochin to shite imada mattaku ochizu, ..." (The sun is falling behind Fuji but has not yet fallen all the way; . . . .). As Tanaka Hiroshi explains, in *ren'yō chūshihō*, one "terminates [*chūshi*] a predicate for a moment using *ren'yōkei* [a continuative inflection] and then continues the description [*jojutsu*].”[126] The “zu” in the verbal expression “ochizu” is the *ren’yōkei* of the classical suffix (or “auxiliary verb”) of negation, “zu.”

In addition to “ochizu,” Nakamura points to Doppo’s use of “n to shite”—“n” being a sound change of the classical suffix “mu”—to mean “to be about to.” He contrasts the effect of Doppo’s phrase “ochin to shite,” which I have rendered as “is falling,” with that of the colloquial phrase “ochikakatte wa iru ga.” Nakamura also highlights Doppo’s use of “imada” (未だ) rather than “mada” (まだ) to mean “not yet”; the expression “miru ga uchi ni” (“as/while [you] watch”; I assume Nakamura is underscoring the “redundant” *ga*[127]); the verbal expression “kaerimite” (顧みて) in the sense of actually looking back behind oneself rather than “recalling” or “reflecting”; and “-tamae” as an imperative expression.[128] Moreover, Nakamura identifies vocabulary that “functions to maintain a level of stiffness appropriate to . . . [the] *bungochō* [classical tone] of the writing overall.” Such vocabulary includes “antan [暗憺]-taru [kumo]” ([clouds] that are dark).[129] It also includes the verb “bossuru” in the phrase “bosshite shimau” (disappear completely).

Finally, Nakamura argues that, while the *chōshi* (“tone” or “rhythm”) of the writing may be *bungochō*,

> it is not *wabunchō* [the tone or rhythm of “indigenous” Japanese writing] but an orderly rhythm [*rizumu*] that conveys the vigor of *kanbun kundokuchō* [the tone or rhythm of Japanese readings of Chinese]. We find one instance of such formal beauty [*sō iu hitotsu no keishikibi*] in the way the prose unfolds in a parallel style [*tsuikufū*] when it flows by juxtaposing “The sun is falling behind Fuji but has not yet fallen all the way” [*Fuji no se ni ochin to shite imada mattaku ochizu*] and “The clouds grouped upon Fuji’s slopes are dyed gold” [*Fuji no chūfuku ni muragaru kumo wa koganeiro ni somatte*].

Nakamura touches upon a very tricky topic by invoking *kanbun kundokuchō*.[130] For example, to the best of my knowledge, parallelism is not unique to *kanbun kundokuchō* or to *kanbun* (literary Chinese) in general.[131] More to the point, *kanbun kundokuchō* and *wabunchō* would have to be understood as highly contingent, *relative* evaluative terms. (I made an analogous argument in the Introduction when comparing the non-vernacular literary styles of texts on clouds by Shimazaki Tōson and Tokutomi Roka, neither of whose texts contains prose that exhibits a “pure” *wabunchō* or a “pure” *kanbun kundokuchō*.[132])

Having said that, however, it is worth remarking that the expression *imada . . . zu/zaru* (has not yet), as in “imada mattaku ochizu” (has not yet fallen all the way), itself stems from *kanbun kundoku*.[133] In analyzing Doppo’s passage, one could argue that the word “imada” fit better than “mada” with the preceding phrase “ochin to shite,” which bears a certain *bungo* weightiness not found, for example, in the alternative proposed by Nakamura: “ochikakatte wa iru ga.” With “imada” thus selected, the pairing of “imada” with the suffix “zu” then presented itself as a “natural” turn of phrase, a “self-evident” pairing that, to repeat, derived from *kanbun kundoku*.[134] Some sense of the *bungo* tone of “imada mattaku ochizu” may also be gained by identifying the use of this same expression earlier in “Today’s Musashino” in one of the diary entries quoted by the narrator. As I indicated above, the diary entries are clearly written in non-vernacular Japanese. A sentence in one of these entries reads, “The tree leaves have not yet all fallen” (*konoha imada mattaku ochizu*) (57). Here, however, the sentence-final “zu” is in the *shūshikei*, or “conclusive inflection.” Thus, this is not a case of *ren’yō chūshihō*. Regardless, I believe Nakamura is right to identify "an echo of a surviving classical style" in Doppo's predominantly vernacular prose, at least in the passage he analyzes.[135]

In these ways, Doppo's language brings together diction and grammar that stem from non-vernacular Japanese, as well as older poetic imagery, with other modes of expression emergent in the Meiji period such as the vernacular literary style and, indirectly, new style poetry. In addition to these various "layers" of Doppo's "accreted" language, I want to briefly address one final characteristic of (layer within) Doppo's mode of expression in "Today's Musashino": the impact upon Doppo's writing of Japanese translated directly from Western languages.

Morioka Kenji has analyzed such Japanese by identifying correspondences between examples of English translated directly into Japanese in Meiji-period "national readers" and passages of Japanese in a number of Meiji-period texts, including "[Today's] Musashino." For instance, Morioka considers the use of "an impersonal [pronoun as a] grammatical subject" (*muninshō no shugo*). In a Meiji-period reader, the English sentence, "*It was late* in the afternoon," is translated directly into Japanese as "sore wa gogo ni oite osoku arishi."[136] Morioka locates this kind of expression in a line from Doppo's essay: "moshi sore ga konoha ochitsukushita koro naraba" ("If it is a time when the leaves have fallen entirely"; 64).[137] Again, Morioka addresses the use of "an inanimate object as a grammatical subject (personifying use of language)" (*museibutsu no shugo* [*gijinteki yōhō*]). Morioka's English-language example is "*A red glow* in the east *drove away* my last fear." One reader translates this sentence directly into Japanese as "higashi no uchi [中] ni akaki shinku ga watashi no saishū no kyōku o oiyarishi." Once more, Morioka identifies this kind of expression in Doppo's text: "sono michi ga kimi o myō na tokoro e michibiku" ("That path [just might] lead you somewhere delightful"; 63).[138]

To repeat, then, Doppo's language incorporates and pushes off from a variety of linguistic resources—resources of diverse provenance and historicity—in present acts of verbal expression. The result is a heterogeneous and "accretive" mode of expression that serves to figure the relations among walker, word, and world in the suburbs.

A Wordsworthian Stroll

In "Today's Musashino," the intimacy of these relations reaches one highpoint in the narrator's anecdote concerning a stroll he took through Musashino in the summer three years earlier in the company of a "friend."[139] The remainder of this chapter examines the anecdote's expression of that intimacy. In this case, such intimacy does not consist simply in a harmony between the rhythms of language and the sounds of the suburbs. Rather, it consists in a broader coordination or synchronization among language, the textures of the acoustic and visual environment of the suburbs, and the gestures of the walking bodies of the narrator and his friend. I will speculate that, in the course of the anecdote, this synchronization is marked by the narrator's quotation of a passage from William Wordsworth's verse, "The Fountain: A Conversation" (1800). The quoted passage—another "layer" in Doppo's "accreted" prose—may metadiscursively signal an alignment between Doppo's narrator's words and the "tune," as Wordsworth has it, of the perceived suburban plain. I will then argue that an analogous alignment also characterizes the narrator's description earlier in the anecdote of the weather upon the plain, of Musashino's visual textures, and of the bodily movements and perceptions of the narrator and his friend as they stroll in the suburbs.

In one portion of the anecdote, the narrator describes his aural and visual perceptions of the water flowing beneath a bridge in Musashino. This description leads into a quotation of Wordsworth's poem. In a literal sense, the poem feeds back into the narrator's own perceptual experiences during his stroll three years earlier by making him "want to look around" for the characters who appear in the poem. In a conceptual sense, I propose, the poem signals a snug alignment, or perhaps an effort to bring about such an alignment, between the narrator's words and the environment he perceived during his walk. Note that I have maintained Doppo's use of the historical present tense, which enhances the apparent immediacy of the perceptual experiences being described in this passage:

> Beneath the bridge is an indescribable, gentle [*yasashii*] sound of water. This is neither [a sound] made by water crashing into the riverbanks, nor a sound like that of shallows. Because the water is swollen high, and flows that way through a deep, clayey channel that seems almost like a sheer wall of earth, the water over here and the water over there [become] *entangl*ed and *entwin*ed [motsure*te* karama*tte* (sic.)], jostle against each other, and make the sound in and of themselves [*mizukara*]. What a humanly familiar sound [lit., "person-nostalgic sound"; *hitonatsukashii oto*]!
>
> "——Let us match
> This water's pleasant tune
> With some old Border song, or catch,
> That suits a summer's noon."
>
> Recalling this verse, I come to want to look around to see whether the seventy-two-year-old man and the young boy [from the poem] are sitting in the shade of those cherry trees (110).[140]

In these lines, the narrator listens—more precisely, describes how he listened—to the sounds produced by the "*entangl*ed" (motsure*te*) and "*entwin*ed" (karama*tte*) water beneath the bridge where he paused in the course of his walk. The two verbs lend the water an almost botanical quality that the narrator culls directly from "Aibiki," where "the splendid stalks" of the bracken are "limitlessly entangled and entwined [*motsuretsu karamitsu shite*]."[141] In "Today's Musashino," the bracken-like water autopoietically (*mizukara*) emits a "humanly familiar sound"—a phrase that may give expression to the water's spiritual life, to the fact that the Tamagawa Aqueduct was built by humans, or to the water's utility to local farmers.[142]

The narrator then likens this sound to "the water's pleasant tune" mentioned in Wordsworth's verse. This likening may signal the way that the language of Doppo's own essay sometimes becomes synchronized or coordinated with the suburban environment it expresses and fashions. This is because the poem frames Doppo's experimentation with a rhythmic language (the "song, or catch") that harmonizes with ("matches") the acoustic or sensible environment (here, the "water's pleasant tune") in this anecdote (also set during "a summer's noon").[143] Seen in this light, the quotation of Wordsworth's poem effectively functions as a metadiscursive marker of the way the narrator's words become calibrated to the world he perceived when strolling in Musashino.

The parallel between the quotation and Doppo's essay is not perfect, however. As Michele Speitz observes, the speaker in Wordsworth's poem calls for his interlocutor to "join him in song, to echo and emulate the aqueous musicality of the fount at their feet *by reanimating already extant songs and their historically textured soundscapes*" (emphasis added).[144] By contrast, even as Doppo drew upon past poetic and literary resources, he was forging his rhythmic language anew. More fundamentally, one could counter that the quotation of Wordsworth owes more to the summertime setting of the anecdote, and to the similarity between Musashino's "human"-sounding water and Wordsworth's phrase "this water's pleasant tune," than to the idea of "matching" the water's "tune" with human song. Furthermore, even if we consider Doppo's language to constitute such "song," the description of the water beneath the bridge that precedes the quotation of Wordsworth's poem is not among the most outwardly rhythmic, prose-poetic passages of the essay. (However, this is not to say the language is without rhythm, for example, in the *te*-form verbs of the line *mizu to mizu to ga motsure**te** karamat**te**, momiat**te**, mizukara oto o hassuru no de aru* ["The water over here and the water over there (become) *entangl*ed and *entwin*ed, jostle against each other, and make the sound in and of themselves"].[145]) Still, it seems significant that the narrator's quotation of Wordsworth's poem explicitly thematizes a "matching" between human music and the acoustic environment, between "art" and "nature"—a nature whose sounds already achieve the condition of musical art (the "pleasant tune").[146] This thematization resonates very strongly with the form and content of Doppo's essay. It also sheds light on Doppo's intellectual formation, on the way his readings of Wordsworth drew his attention to the relations between the human and nature and, perhaps, between word and world.

In addition to highlighting these relations, the quotation of Wordsworth's poem also marks the way the narrator and his friend shared, in intersubjective fashion, perceptual experiences of the suburban world recounted in the anecdote. This is because the narrator quotes a passage of Wordsworth's poem in which "I" speaks to an interlocutor—in the original poem, his elderly friend Matthew: "'Now, Matthew!' said I, '*let us match* / This water's pleasant tune" (emphasis added).[147] In other words, in the poem, it is not "I" but "we" ("us") who perceive the sound of the water to which the "song" or "catch" is to be "matched."[148] Doppo's narrator's quotation of this poem thus suggests that, in an analogous way, he and his "friend" shared a common perceptual experience in the suburbs of musical water, of "natural" music to be "matched" in language.

In the following passage of "Today's Musashino," the narrator describes the suburbs that he and his friend perceived during their walk by employing a mode of expression whose lexical, prosodic, and metaphorical properties effect such "matching." They do so by tuning the descriptive language to Musashino's weather and visual textures as well as to the narrator's and his friend's bodily movements of strolling and looking. In my translation, I have again retained the narrator's use of the historical present tense, which engenders the rhetorical illusion of a near-simultaneity—a temporal "matching"—among verbal expression, perceptual experience, and the unfolding of the perceived world[149]:

> Sultry clouds gush forth in the sky,[150] and clouds are hidden behind layers of clouds, with blue sky appearing deep in the gaps between one cloud and the next; the places where the clouds touch [*sessuru*] the blue sky bear a color not quite comparable to the color of white-silver or to the color of snow, [a color] pure white, transparent, and somehow gentle and faint—and so [*soko de*] the blue sky appears all the deeper and bluer. This alone would not be very summery, but there is also something like a kind of haze, colored with a turbid hue, that disturbs the space between the clouds, and that yields the sky's appearance agitated, intermixed, unburdened, and intricate; the beams of light piercing the clouds and the shadows given off by the clouds intersect here and there, and a free, uninhibited energy quivers in the sky [*kūchū*] with no particular direction. Each and every

> wood, each and every treetop, to the tips of the blades of grass: [everything] is melting, dozing, slackening, nodding off drunk in the light and heat (109).

These lines are distinguished by a kind of forward-flowing accretive diction that results, in part, from the use of only three periods against nineteen commas in the Japanese. It also derives from the narrator's unrelenting repetition of "cloud" (*kumo*), which appears some ten times in these lines. The term "gushes" forward, like the clouds described in the passage, in a lexical recursion that recalls the phatic chant of "sound" (*oto*) in "Today's Musashino" (see Chapter One).

Amidst this gushing forth of cloudy language, the beat of the prose assumes different variations as the passage unfolds. Comparing parts of the narrator's descriptions of the sky overhead and of the plants on the ground substantiates this point. Consider, for instance, the words "agitated, uneven, unburdened, and intricate" (*dōyō, shinshi, ninpō, sakuzatsu*). These four words, followed by the particle *no*, detail the "manner of [being]" (*arisama*, alternatively "condition" or "look") of the "appearance" of the sky. By using only commas rather than particles or conjunctive phrases between each word, Doppo creates a compact, corrugated syntagm of four two-character logographic compounds (*jukugo*) that generates the flavor of a Sinicized prose style (something in the vein of *kanbun* or *kanbun kundokutai*[151]). The resulting start-stop prosody of the four distinct *jukugo* finds its visual correlate in the block of eight logographs spaced out by commas into four consecutive pairs.[152] It may also find a phonetic correlate in the rough oscillation between long and short vowels in the "Chinese readings" (*on-yomi*) of these words: *dōyō, shinshi, ninpō, sakuzatsu*. I would propose that, taken together, these lexical, prosodic, visual, and, possibly, phonetic aspects of the prose generate and convey the sense of the sky's tensive and—as a result of the somewhat grandiose vocabulary—almost august appearance. This description then opens onto a sort of autopoietic beat in the sky—a "primal warbling" perceived "where the air is music," as Ralph Waldo Emerson has it in this chapter's epigraph.[153] This is, namely, a "quivering energy," a difficult phrase to which I will return in Chapter Six.

The rhythm of the foregoing description of the sky's appearance contrasts sharply with that of another syntagm later in the passage, this one personifying the plants on the ground where the narrator walks: "melting, dozing, slackening, nodding off drunk" (*tokete, madoronde, namakete, utsura utsura to shite yotte iru*). I extract this syntagm and juxtapose it with the previous one, somewhat arbitrarily, because the disparity in the tones and prosodies of the two lines helps illustrate the range and variability of the rhythms of Doppo's prose-poetic language. Highly figurative and nearly synonymous, each word in the description of the drunken plants contributes less in referential meaning than in a lolling prosody that both registers and also deepens the languor and heat of the scene. Unlike the earlier block of logographic compounds that characterize the sky's appearance, this comparatively languid line is stretched out by the internal phonetic repetition of an onomatopoeia, *utsura utsura* (nodding off). Moreover, the line exhibits, not the tension and solemnity of "Chinese readings" of compounds with oscillating long and short vowels, but rather the relatively relaxed, consistently short vowels of uniformly "indigenous" verbs (*wago*). The lilting line also departs from the previous sequence of logographic compounds due to the syntactic and phonetic lubrication provided by the conjunctive particle *te/de*, whose repeated use lengthens the syntagm while connecting its constituent components. The result is a kind of lolling rhythm suited to describing the plants' slow "melting" in the summer swelter.

The narrator prefaces this description by emphasizing how far this "melting" reaches: "Each and every wood, each and every treetop, to the tips of the blades of grass." Like the description of the drunken plants, the syntactically parallel phrases "each and every wood" (*hayashi to iu hayashi*) and "each and every treetop" (*kozue to iu kozue*) prioritize prosody as much as referential meaning. In both cases, Doppo inflates what might otherwise be single-word expressions, *hayashi* (woods) and *kozue* (treetops), into emphatic four-word phrases. These phrases contain lexical repetitions within themselves ("*hayashi . . . hayashi*" and "*kozue . . . kozue*") and mirror one another in grammatical structure ("[noun X] *to iu* [noun X])." By furnishing these largely symmetrical four-word phrases, Doppo not only stresses "all" the woods and treetops of the area, as is the function of the idiomatic expression "[noun X] *to iu* [noun X]," but also sharpens this passage's prosody. Doppo further reinforces this prosody by instituting a moraic parallelism between the two phrases, each of which measures nine morae. Another kind of "parallelism" may also characterize the spatial-visual rhythm of these lines' inscriptions on the page. Here, sound and scansion synchronize. Both four-word phrases consist of five graphs: one logograph, followed by three phonetic syllabograms (*kana*), and then a logograph. In this way, the syntactical and moraic parallelisms between the two lines accord with a graphic one.

In addition to the suburban air and vegetation, Doppo's rhythmic descriptive language also verbalizes the bodily movements of the narrator and his "friend" as they walk on the plain. Consider the following lines, which fall immediately after the block quote I offered above:

> One corner of the woods has been cut in a straight line [*hayashi no ikkaku, chokusen ni tatarete*] and a broad field is visible [*mieru*] through the gap; from the entire surface of the field rise heat shimmers, making it impossible to gaze for long.
>
> While wiping away our sweat, we [*jibunra*] look up at the open sky, peek into the depths of the woods, gaze at the area where the sky on the horizon meets the woods and, short of breath [*aegiaegi*], push forward along the embankment. Suffering? Not a bit! Our bodies are overflowing with hardiness (109-10).[154]

In this passage, the narrator and his friend enact a coordinated corporeal rhythm by undertaking acts of visual perception figured through a succession of three verbs: "look up" (*aoidari*), "peek" (*nozoitari*), and "gaze" (*nagametari*). The repetition in these words of the grammatical construction of *tari*/*dari* following a verb "excellently expresses," as Ōtagaki Yūko explains, "the rhythm of walking and the dizzying changes in the scenery that accompany it."[155] The reiteration of nearly synonymous verbs of visual perception both marks and also articulates the repetitive bodily movements of looking around while walking. Those movements carry out and constitute a sort of synchronized, embodied, and intersubjectively conducted perceptual engagement with the sensible world. If we may imagine that the narrator and his friend walk side by side, then Jo Lee and Tim Ingold's comments on the act of walking together further elucidate the kind of intersubjectivity and sociality at hand in Doppo's text:

> Rather, it is *through* the shared bodily engagement with the environment, the shared rhythm of walking, that social interaction takes place. People communicate through their posture in movement, involving their whole bodies. Crucially, walking side by side means that participants share virtually the same visual field. We could say that I see what you see as we go along together.[156] In that sense I am with you in my movements, and probably in my thoughts as well.[157]

In Doppo's passage, the rhythm of (the description of) the walkers' collective embodied movements leads, in turn, into the one-two beat of *aegiaegi*. *Aegiaegi* is an adverbial expression that indicates shortness of breath. It consists of the reduplicated continuative inflection (*ren'yōkei*) of the verb "to pant" (*aegu*).[158] To speculate freely, I would propose that this panting may bring about a kind of commingling among the walker, his friend, and the world by virtue of the circulation of air through the processes of inhalation and exhalation. I am thinking again of the work of Tim Ingold, who has remarked that, "breathing in and out, one alternately takes in the medium and surrenders to it. Inspiration is wind becoming breath, expiration is breath becoming wind."[159] He continues soon after:

> To feel the wind and breathe the air is rather to ride on the wave of the world's ongoing formation—to be forever present at the "continued birth," as Merleau-Ponty called it, of both persons and things . . . . It is as though every breath was one's first, drawn at the very moment when the world is about to disclose itself for what it is. In this, it is not so much the wind that is embodied as the body, in breathing, that is *enwinded*.[160]

The enwinded walkers' co-becoming with each other and with the suburbs unfolds as they press forward upon the embankment in the same summer heat that leads the plants to "melt" around them. Indeed, in the context of a different argument,[161] Sasaki Masanobu quotes part of the passage I reproduced above—"While wiping . . . hardiness"—and remarks,

> Already, "the summer in Musashino," the overwhelming throbbing [*yakudō*] of the entire world there—"agitated, intermixed, unburdened, and intricate": [this] pierces the body, and, we might say [*iwaba*], nature and the body "melt in the light and heat" and become one.[162]

He continues in an endnote:

> And we may say that precisely this expresses Doppo's consistent, principal conceptual theme[s]: "a feeling of universal unity," the "spontaneous unity," "coalescence," and "fusion" of nature and human.[163]

To be clear, I do not think Doppo's passage presents a true *coincidence* of "nature" and "human." Whatever "fusion" it sets forth is partial, relative, and rhetorically performed. Nevertheless, the passage does stage a kind of intermingling, an entwinement under the summer sun between walker and world—or, rather, among *walkers* and world. The following chapter will continue to examine such entwinement more closely in the narrator's descriptions of "your" recreational strolls in the suburbs of Musashino.

Notes

[1] R. W. [Ralph Waldo] Emerson, "The Poet," in *Essays: Second Series* (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1844), 8-9, https://www.google.com/books/edition/_/TVohAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PP7.

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[2] Richard Freeborn explains that Turgenev first published the tales later collected in *Notes of a Hunter* between 1847 and 1851. The texts were then "published for the first time in a separate edition" in 1852. Turgenev also added additional tales to the collection years later. On these points, and on the meaning of the collection's title, see Richard Freeborn, introduction to *Sketches from a Hunter's Album*, by Ivan Turgenev, trans. Richard Freeborn (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), 7. Also see ibid., 15 on the publication of "The Tryst" (Freeborn has it as *Meeting*).

[3] On May 30, 1893, Doppo recorded in *An Honest Record* that he had read "Aibiki" (*Azamukazaru no ki, zenpen*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 6:141). On November 22, 1896, he wrote that he had "finished reading Turgenev's *Katakoi* translated by Futabatei" (*Azamukazaru no ki, kōhen*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 7:498; I was directed to these diary entries by Ashiya Nobukazu, "Doppo ni okeru shi kara sanbun e," *Ronkyū Nihon bungaku* 9 [1958]: 28 and 29n32). In 1896, Futabatei published his translation *Katakoi* (Unanswered Love) of Turgenev's *Asya* (1858) in a collection by the same title, *Katakoi*. Futabatei's 1896 collection also included retranslations of "Aibiki" as well as of "Meguriai" (A Chance Encounter, 1888-89; a translation of Turgenev's "Three Meetings" [Tri vstrechi], now retitled "Kigū"). See p. 28 of Ashiya's essay for most of this information. In "Today's Musashino," Doppo reproduces excerpts from the 1888 translation "Aibiki." The excerpts exhibit some disparities from, but not revisions of, Futabatei's original text. On this point, see Nakajima Kunihiko, "*Ryōjin nikki* to kindai no sakkatachi," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei* (Chikuma Shobō, 1994), 802n1.

[4] On Wordsworth's reception in Japan, see Sasaki Michiko's five-part essay, "Nihon ni okeru Wordsworth" ("Wāzuwāsu" in part three and "Wāzuwasu" in part four) in *Gakuen*, issues 544 (April 1985): 21-31; 556 (April 1986): 12-22; 568 (April 1987): 1-10; 580 (April 1988): 1-9; and 605 (April 1990): 1-11.

[5] On new style poetry, see Massimiliano Tomasi, "The Rise of a New Poetic Form: The Role of Shimamura Hōgetsu in the Creation of Modern Japanese Poetry," *Japan Review* 19 (2007): 107-32 and Scott Mehl, "The Beginnings of Japanese Free-Verse Poetry and the Dynamics of Cultural Change," *Japan Review* 28 (2015): 103-32.

[6] On Doppo's *shintaishi*, see Nakajima Reiko, "Shintaishi," part two of *Kunikida Doppo: shoki sakuhin no sekai* (Meiji Shoin, 1988). Doppo more or less ceased to compose poetry after 1897 (ibid., 137). On anthologies other than *Lyric Poetry* that contained Doppo's poems, see Nakajima Kenzō, *kaidai* in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:577-81.

[7] Hattori Yoshika, "Doppo no shi, shiron, shijinsei," *Meiji bungaku*, no. 8 (1940): 45, 58; also see p. 59 on the preface. Free verse would gain traction in Japan in the following decade. On the literary-historical context of the landmark *vers libre* poems produced in 1907 by Kawaji Ryūkō (1888-1959), see Mehl, "The Beginnings of Japanese Free-Verse Poetry." Also see Satō Nobuhiro on how, in the late-Meiji and early-Taishō periods, prose poetry grew out of the movement for free verse ("Nihon kindai sanbunshi no seiritsu: Kanbara Ariake o chūshin ni," *Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku*, no. 29 [1993]: 54).

[8] Yamada Hiromitsu glosses *zokkatai* as "the meter of popular songs and folk songs. The basic form of early-modern songs [*kinsei kayō*] was 7-7-7-5 [meter]." See Yamada's annotations to *Doppogin*, in Shioda Ryōhei [*kaisetsu*] and Yamada Hiromitsu [*chūshaku*], *Kunikida Doppo shū*, Vol. 10 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 53n9.

[9] He continues: "I composed [the poem] 'There is Freedom in the Mountain Forest [*Sanrin ni jiyū sonsu*]' based on this firm belief." See Kunikida Doppo, "Jo," preface to *Doppogin*, in

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Jojōshi, ed. Miyazaki Yaokichi [Koshoshi] (Min'yūsha, 1897), 9-10, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/876334.

[10] Ashiya Nobukazu writes as follows after reproducing an extended excerpt of Doppo's preface in *Lyric Poetry* that includes the block quote I offered above: "Doppo was someone who advocated this kind of free poetic form. He endorses epic lyrical poetry [*jojiteki jojōshi*] in particular, and states that, if one undertakes creating poetry from an impulse to express [*hyōgen shōhaku o motte shisaku ni atareba*], then even if the form is prose-like, it will have a force of expression difficult to achieve in seven-and-five meter. This kind of advocation indicates in advance an approach toward prose poetry; it was already [only] a short distance from narrative lyric poetry to lyrical-poetic narrative" ("Doppo ni okeru shi kara sanbun e," 29).

Note that Nakajima Reiko restates *jojiteki jojōshi* as "narrative poetry" (*monogatarishi*). See Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 178-79. For more on Doppo's use of the phrase *jojiteki jojōshi*, see ibid., 107-9.

[11] See Hattori, "Doppo no shi," 48-50, esp. 50. On seven-and-five meter as being predominant in Doppo's poetry, see Takitō Mitsuyoshi, *Kunikida Doppo ron* (Hanawa Shobō, 1986), 93. Also see Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 106-7.

[12] Hattori, "Doppo no shi," 63.

[13] Ibid., 50. Also potentially relevant is ibid., 65-67. Regarding the genre of "Today's Musashino," Ashiya Nobukazu persuasively contends that the work "was written as a miscellaneous-essay-style guidebook [*zuihitsuteki annaiki*]." See Ashiya's "Doppo 'Ima no Musashino,'" *Hanazono Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 7 (1976): 240. Perhaps we might classify the work as a "miscellaneous-essay-style guidebook with significant prose-poetic, free-verse-like sections."

[14] I thank Brendan Morley for his thoughts on this topic and on the subject-adverb-verb constructions I discuss below.

[15] Ochiai Naobumi, *Nihon daijiten: kotoba no izumi*, 2:642 and 2:529. A contemporary dictionary defines *shigure* as "light rain that starts and stops primarily between late fall and early winter." It gives *kogarashi* as "a strong, cold wind that blows between the end of fall and the start of winter." See Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2:264 and 1:1963. (Both words also bear additional meanings in the contemporary dictionary.)

[16] I find loose inspiration for this argument in Alfred Gell's comments on "phonological iconism" in "The Language of the Forest: Landscape and Phonological Iconism in Umeda," in Alfred Gell, *The Art of Anthropology: Essays and Diagrams*, ed. Eric Hirsch (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 232-58.

[17] The fricatives help compose, in turn, a roughly alternating sequence of fricative-vowel pairs: *shi*, then *sa* and *sa*, back to *shi*, and finally *sa*.

[18] Sasaki Masanobu, "'Musashino' o yomu: mazu ni, sanshō o megutte," in *Doppo to Sōseki: hanshinron no chihei* (Kanrin Shobō, 2005), 29.

[19] The final quoted diary entry, dating from March 21, reads, "Eleven at night. I hear the voice of the wind ['sound of the wind'; *fūsei*] outside: suddenly far, suddenly near. Has the spring advanced, has the winter fled?" (58). This entry clearly overlaps with "The Sound of the Wind." Yamada Hiromitsu suggests that the poem and the entry both find their roots in "Doppo's experiences in Musashino" (annotations to *Doppogin*, 68n9).

[20] According to his diary, Doppo lived in the house in Shibuya from September 4, 1896 until April 20, 1897. See Fujii Hidetada, annotations to "Musashino," in *Kunikida Doppo, Miyazaki Koshoshi shū*, ed. Fujii Hidetada and Shinbo Kunihiro (Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 30n2. Doppo

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published “Kaze no oto” in *Doppogin* in *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 339 (March 13, 1897): 26. *Jojōshi* was published on April 29. It seems likely that “Kaze no oto” is the verse that, as Tayama Katai would later recall, Doppo recited aloud to Katai at Doppo’s house in Shibuya just after the verse’s composition. See Tayama Katai, “Oka no ue no ie,” in *Tōkyō no sanjūnen* (Hakubunkan, 1917), 178, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/955975.

Incidentally, Shimazaki Tōson had only recently published his “Song of the Autumn Wind” (Akikaze no oto) in *Aki no yume* in *Bungakukai*, no. 47 (November 1896): 9-11. On Tōson’s poem, see Nicholas Eugene Albertson, “Beyond Shasei, Beyond Nature: Idealism and Allusion in the Poetry of Shimazaki Tōson, Doi Bansui, and Yosano Akiko” (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2013), ch. 1, esp. 74-77.

[21] Kunikida Doppo, “Kaze no oto,” in Miyazaki Yaokichi [Koshoshi], *Jojōshi*, 28.

[22] The character 小 also appears in both lines: *sayo* [小夜] and *koya* [小屋].

[23] Although we are dealing with the genre of *shintaishi* poetry, I would at least note that *kareno* (withered field) is a seasonal word (*kigo*), as in *haiku*, for winter.

[24] Alternatively, the wind may personify the winter throughout the verse. On this reading, in the first stanza, the winter shakes and panics given the imminent arrival of spring. It then flees in the second stanza. I thank Nakagawa Eri for her comments regarding the wind and personification.

[25] The major exception is the essay’s second section, which consists mostly of quotations of “my diary” (based on entries in Doppo’s own *An Honest Record*).

[26] This is not really true. See Akasaka Norio, *Musashino o yomu* (Iwanami Shoten, 2018), 77; Noyama Kashō, “Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino’: atarashii sekai o hiraku, shijin no shuppatsu,” in *Kindai shōsetsu no seiritsu* (Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 226-27; and Sasaki, “‘Musashino’ o yomu: mazu ni, sanshō o megutte,” 31n9. Sasaki also cites Noyama.

[27] I have referred to, and taken pieces of the translation from, David G. Chibbett, trans., “Musashino,” in *River Mist and Other Stories by Kunikida Doppo* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982), 101.

[28] Levy uses the phrase in *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 43.

[29] Levy continues: “Ultimately, I believe that it is this subtly *exotic* stylistic feature, rather than simply the ‘naturalistic’ descriptions of nature hailed by Kunikida Doppo, Tayama Katai, and others, that inspired emulation and adulation by Japanese Naturalist writers” (ibid., 42).

[30] I am working off ibid., 41-43, esp. 42. Also see Sugiyama Yasuhiko on personification in “Meguriai” (1888-89), another translation by Futabatei of a short story by Turgenev, in “Hasegawa Futabatei ni okeru genbun itchi,” in *Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei*, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai (Yūseidō Shuppan, 1979), 234-35.

[31] Sugiyama’s essay in fact addresses the definition of the position of the character and describer within the world represented in the text, or of the description, in both “Aibiki” and also “Meguriai.” See sections two and three of the essay. I was first directed to Sugiyama’s essay, to the aspect of Sugiyama’s essay that I focus on here, and to the essay by Yoshida Seiichi that I touch upon below by Komori Yōichi, “Shiten to ‘katari’ no shinkyū: Meiji shoki hon’yaku bungaku ni okeru shizen to buntai,” in *Kōzō to shite no katari* (Shin’yōsha, 1988), 216.

[32] Translation adapted from Chibbett, trans., “Musashino,” 101. I also have referred to, and taken words from, Constance Garnett, trans., “The Tryst,” in Constance Garnett, trans., Vol. 2 of Ivan Turgenev, *A Sportsman’s Sketches* (New York: MacMillan, 1920), 92.

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[33] See Sugiyama, "Hasegawa Futabatei ni okeru genbun itchi," 232. Also see Komori Yōichi on part of the following passage and the "method of transmitting to the reader information about the world portrayed in the novel, the world internal to the narrative, through the mediation of the bodily perception and senses of an expressive subject who makes his body immanent to that world" ("'Yuragi' to shite no kindai sanbun," in *"Yuragi" no Nihon bungaku* [Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1998], 32-33).

[34] I was reminded of this aspect of the story's narrative structure by Hayashi Hirochika, "Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino: Doppo, Roka, Haruo soshite Shōhei no koto nado," in *Bungaku no Musashino*, ed. Seikei Daigaku Bungakubu Gakkai (Kazama Shobō, 2003), 138-39. I will return to the topic of retrospective narration in Chapter Six.

[35] In translating this diary entry, I have referred to Chibbet, trans., "Musashino," 99 as well as Takahashi Kazutomo, "Wabun eiyaku sakurei: Musashino nikki; Kunikida Doppo," part one (*jō*), in *Eigo seinen* 62, no. 9 (February 1, 1930): 19.

[36] Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 21-22. On the generation of knowledge and how others "orient one's attention," see ibid., 145-46. On the learning of (technical) skills, see ibid., 353-54.

[37] Ibid., 56.

[38] Certainly, Doppo adapted themes and language from "Aibiki." For instance, in the same section of "Today's Musashino" that reproduces the excerpt from "Aibiki" that I have quoted here, Doppo's narrator speaks of an experience that "you" (the reader) might have on the plain. In the process, he writes, "the tree leaves overhead [*zujō no konoha*] fall through the windless air and make a slight sound [*kasuka na oto o shi*]" (60). This line mirrors another one found in the excerpt from "Aibiki": "the tree leaves rustled slightly overhead" (*konoha ga zujō de kasuka ni soyoida*). (For other examples of how Doppo integrated the content of "Aibiki" into his essay, see Noyama, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" 224-25). But again, to recognize this kind of adaptation is not to say that, within the world represented in the text, Doppo's embodied narrator or, again, "you" (a hypothetical embodied walker) mentally recast the "actual" environment of Musashino as the Russian forest. Rather, the presentation of that Russian forest in "Aibiki" functions to channel the narrator's, or "your," attention into Musashino.

[39] Kunikida Doppo, "Geijutsukan," in *Byōshōroku*, ed. Mayama Seika (Shinchōsha, 1908), 100, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/889233. *Byōshōroku* (Deathbed Record) was transcribed by Mayama Seika and Nakamura Murao. I was led to "musical tonality" by Shinbo Kunihiro, "'Musashino' no shūen: Tōson ni furete," in *Doppo to Tōson: Meiji sanjū nendai bungaku no kosumorojī* (Yūseidō, 1996), 75.

[40] Kamei Hideo, "Shizen ga kanri sareru made," in *Kansei no henkaku* (Kōdansha, 1983), 301; translation adapted from Kamei Hideo, "Until the Disciplining of Nature: Travel Writing at Home and Abroad," trans. Michael Bourdaghs, in Kamei Hideo, *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*, trans. ed. Michael Bourdaghs (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), 272-73.

[41] I was directed to the essay by Araya Keizaburō that I address below by Sasaki Masanobu, to whom I also return below. Sasaki leads into his discussion of Araya's essay by asserting that "'Musashino,' too, cannot be said to be a simple copy of 'Aibiki.' In other words, rather than conceiving of a simple one-way relation of reception, we should instead consider what kinds of preparation and selection there were on the side that received ['Aibiki']" ("'Musashino' o yomu: mazu ni, sanshō o megutte," 25-26).

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[42] Araya Keizaburō, "Futabatei-yaku 'Aibiki' no mondai," *Hikaku bungaku nenshi*, no. 4 (1967): 55.

[43] See Yoshida Seiichi, "Futabatei no eikyō," in *Futabatei Shimei zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 9:136-37. Yoshida offers a four-point analysis of "Aibiki" as well as "Meguriai."

[44] I take the English translation of this line, which Araya quotes in Japanese, from Garnett, trans., Vol. 2 of *A Sportsman's Sketches*, 1. Also see Turgenev's "Epilogue: The Forest and the Steppe" in the same translated volume (ibid., 274-84). The title of this last piece is "Mori to sōgen" in Sasaki Akira's translation in Vol. 2 of *Ryōjin nikki* (Iwanami Shoten, 1958).

[45] *Hanshinronteki na kibun*. Araya culls this phrase from a letter written by Turgenev over several days in mid-1848 in which Turgenev states that he had been in a "pantheistic mood" the previous evening (see "Futabatei-yaku 'Aibiki' no mondai," 67-68n8).

[46] To be clear, I do not endorse the idea of a uniquely and coherently "Eastern poetic state of mind."

[47] Araya, "Futabatei-yaku 'Aibiki' no mondai," 55.

[48] See Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: mazu ni, sanshō o megutte," 26-28. Sasaki summarizes Yoshida's and Araya's positions and quotes almost all of the lines that I have reproduced from Araya's essay.

[49] Ibid., 28.

[50] Ibid., 32n13. Sasaki also cites the section "*Azamukazaru no ki*" in Nakajima Reiko's *Kunikida Doppo* (see ibid). Nakajima explores Doppo's conception of "nature" (*shizen*) and his "view of life" (*seimeikan*) as expressed in *An Honest Record*, focusing in particular on the early years of the diary (see esp. the first two chapters of Nakajima's section "*Azamukazaru no ki*").

[51] Again, see endnote 41 above.

[52] This difficulty stems in part from the relative absence of conspicuously metaphysical language in the text, although such language does shine through in, for instance, references to the "breath of eternity" (*etarunitē no kokyū*) (60) and, possibly, to a "quivering energy" in the sky (109; see Chapter Six). It also owes to the complex, and not necessarily linear, changes in Doppo's Christian faith and general approach to writing between around 1895 and 1898. Relevant work on multiple aspects of this expansive topic includes Mizukami Isao, "Doppo ni okeru rōmanshugi: sono nigenteki kōzō," *Dōshisha kokubungaku*, no. 14 (1979): 68-79, esp. 71, and Satō Masaru, "Shōsetsuka no tanjō: Kunikida Doppo ron no kokoromi (ichi)," in *Shizen shugi bungaku*, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai (Yūseidō Shuppan, 1975), 1-12. On Doppo and Christianity, see Yamada Hiromitsu, "Kunikida Doppo to kirisuto-kyō," in *Kitamura Tōkoku to Kunikida Doppo: hikaku bungakuteki kenkyū* (Kindai Bungeisha, 1990), 85-107, esp. 107; Massimiliano Tomasi, *The Dilemma of Faith in Modern Japanese Literature: Metaphors of Christianity* (London: Routledge, 2018), ch. 4; and Terazono Tsukasa, "Sakuhin 'Musashino' no ichikōsatsu," in *Kirisutokyō to bungaku, daiisshū*, ed. Sasabuchi Tomoichi (Kasama Shoin, 1975), 131-46. For more around these kinds of issues with respect to "Today's Musashino" in particular, see Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," esp. 62-68, 74-77; Ashiya Nobukazu, "Doppo 'Ima no Musashino' (2)," *Hanazono daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 8 (1977): 135-58, esp. 135-37 and 156-57; and Ashiya Nobukazu, "Doppo 'Ima no Musashino' (3)," *Hanazono Daigaku kokubungaku ronkyū*, no. 5 (1978): 30-44, esp. 41. Also relevant is Kitano Akihiko, "Tanpenshū *Musashino*: 'kokoro no furusato' no naka no shizen to ningen," *Nihon kindai bungaku*, no. 28 (1981): 6-7.

On the effect of Doppo's ill-fated romantic relationship with and marriage to Sasaki Nobuko in 1895-96 on his romanticism, see Sasabuchi Tomoichi, "Kunikida Doppo: *Bungakukai* dōjidairon, sono ni," in Vol. 2 of Bungakukai *to sono jidai:* Bungakukai *o shōten to suru rōmanshugi bungaku no kenkyū*, 2nd ed. (Meiji Shoin, 1961), 1414-15. Also relevant is Sakamoto Hiroshi, *Kunikida Doppo: hito to sakuhin* (Yūseidō Shuppan, 1969), 92-93. On the relationship with respect to "Today's Musashino" specifically, see Seki Hajime, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino': sakuhin sekai no seisei katei," *Nihon kindai bungaku* 36 (1987): 25-27; Maeda Ai, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino': Tamagawa jōsui," in *Genkei no machi: bungaku no toshi o aruku* (Shōgakukan, 1986), 57-68, esp. 62-65; Noyama, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" esp. 220-21; Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 38-47; and Hayashi, "Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino," 136-45, esp. starting from 140. Also see Sakamoto, *Kunikida Doppo*, 118-20.

[53] In this connection, see Komori Yōichi's analysis of a passage of "Aibiki" in "Shiten to 'katari' no shinkyū," 230-31. Komori shows how, in translating Turgenev's Russian, Futabatei retained the order of a succession of verbs that conveys subtle changes in the sound of what turns out to be the approaching footsteps of Victor, whom Akulina awaits (the embodied narrator and Akulina both listen to these approaching footsteps). Specifically, in Turgenev's text, four verbs pertaining to the sounds fall between what starts as nondescript "sound" (*monooto*) and ends as a more specified type of sound of footsteps: "Precisely this order of the verbs is the key to a sentence structure that gives form to [*keishōka suru*] both aural changes and also, simultaneously, Akulina's rising sense of anticipation" (ibid., 231).

[54] Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, zenpen*, 6:145 (entry for June 8, 1893). I was directed to this entry by Ashiya, "Doppo ni okeru shi kara sanbun e," 28, 29n33. Doppo copied out "A Chance Encounter" in the context of his self-directed study of composition and novel writing. See Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 147-51, esp. 149 and 151. I will return to the topic of this study in Chaper Six.

[55] In the Japanese translation, between "and yet the sudden" and "the road and so on," commas mark off each segment of description of a given sound or type of sound within the longer sentence (the last comma, however, follows "and so on" rather than the acoustic noun *hayaashi no oto*). However, commas are also used *within* one of the segments of description ("a shout heard . . . or a bird"). A less direct translation into English might use semicolons between each segment and commas within segments. Notice how the use of commas in the Japanese translation indicates that the segments of description do not feature entirely analogous syntax since, judging from the punctuation, one such segment ("a shout heard . . . or a bird") contains its own subsegments marked off by commas. The key to determining where each segment of description ends, then, lies in identifying the segment-final acoustic nouns that I have underlined (and that are almost all followed by commas).

[56] I have elided Futabatei's parenthetical gloss within his translation: "It is 'sharp-eared silence' because it is so silent that even a slight sound can be heard vividly [*mimidatte kikoeru*]."

[57] Futabatei Shimei, "Meguriai," in *Miyako no hana* 1, no. 1 (October 1888): 20. In translating this passage, I have looked to and reproduced portions of Constance Garnett, trans., "Three Meetings," in *Ivan Turgenev: Selected Stories* (London: Heinemann, 1974), 108.

[58] In 1908, Doppo would claim that he was "uninfluenced by Tokugawa literature" (*Tokugawa bungaku no kanka mo ukezu*). See Doppo's "Fukashigi naru daishizen," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:539. (Also on the topic of Doppo being hardly influenced by "Edo literature," see the essay "Doppo no omoide" [Memories of Doppo], in *Nippon kosho tsūshin* 21, no. 8

[1956]: 7-9, esp. 7, by the painter and Doppo's friend Oka Rakuyō [1879-1962]). However, Akasaka Norio refers to Doppo's claim, quoted by Karatani Kōjin (cited in *Musashino o yomu*, 93), and demonstrates its implausibility at length. See Akasaka's second chapter in *Musashino o yomu*, "Setsudan to keishō / utamakura to meisho no aida" (Between Severance and Succession / *utamakura* and *meisho*). I draw heavily on this chapter, in which I find inspiration for examining the relation between "Today's Musashino" and earlier Japanese literature and aesthetics.

[59] Satō Yuki, "'Omokage' o 'ima' ni 'hon'yaku' suru to iu koto," in *Bunka no naka no shizen*, ed. Noda Ken'ichi, Yamamoto Yōhei, and Morita Keitarō, Vol. 1 of *Kankyō jinbungaku* (Bensei Shuppan, 2017), 314.

[60] Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 81-82.

[61] Ibid., 82.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, kōhen*, 7:498; on this diary entry, also see Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 82.

[64] Again, I build on ibid., 81. Also see Nakajima, *kaidai*, 1:575-77 on the contributors to *Lyric Poetry*.

[65] The colophon to the anthology identifies "Miyazaki Yaokichi" (i.e. Miyazaki Koshoshi) as the "editor" (*henshūsha*). But given that the preface refers to "Miyazaki-kun," perhaps the "editor" who signed the preface is Gyokumei, who is not mentioned in the lines I quote from the preface.

[66] For more literary-historical context, see Noyama Kashō on how Naoyoshi had been taken up in the journal *Shigarami zōshi* in the Meiji 20s ("Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" 228-29). Also note that, in a two-part essay dating from 1892, the philosopher Ōnishi Hajime (1864-99) had likened Kageki to William Wordsworth ("Kagawa Kageki-ō no karon" in *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 164 [August, 23, 1892]: 14-23, esp. 15 for multiple comparisons of the two poets, and in *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 166 [September 13, 1892]: 16-24). On this essay, see Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 79-80. Shinbo proposes that Doppo was aware of the affinity between the "*waka* theory" of the Keien School and the "poetic theory" of Wordsworth. But the extent and significance of the Keien School's influence on Doppo is unclear (ibid., 82-83).

[67] Mizugaki Hisashi gives the following gloss (*tsūshaku*): "Because I hear the sound of fallen leaves drawing toward one side of the garden [*niwa no katahō e yotte iku*] throughout the night, I know that the wind is passing through quietly [*hissori to kaze ga tootte iru*]." See Mizugaki's "Kumagai Naoyoshi," Yamato uta (website), page last updated September 16, 2009, https://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~sg2h-ymst/yamatouta/sennin/naoyosi.html. Matsuzaka Hiroshi offers this gloss: "Because I hear the sound of fallen leaves moving in one direction across the garden [*niwasaki o ochiba no ippō ni idō suru oto*] all night, when I listen closely, I know it is the sound of the night wind blowing softly [*hisoyaka ni*]." See Matsuzaka's *Kanshō Edo jidai shūka* (Roppō Shuppansha, 1992), 130. "'Katayoru' means gathering in one direction" (ibid.).

[68] "[Doppo] . . . states that, upon hearing the wind emit a turbulent sound of a sort that feels 'suddenly near and suddenly far,' he cannot but think of 'life in Musashino since time immemorial' along with the *waka*. He calls '*omokage*' to mind in the work by reflecting upon the Musashino of 'time immemorial' through the mediation of 'today's' 'sound of the wind'" (Satō, "'Omokage' o 'ima' ni 'hon'yaku' suru to iu koto," 314).

[69] *Shingetsu* has several possible meanings. I work off Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 47n3 (also cited in Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 127).

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[70] In translating this passage, I have referred to Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," 107-8. For the translation of the poem, see Yuki Sawa and Edith Marcombe Shiffert, *Haiku Master Buson: Translations from the Writings of Yosa Buson—Poet and Artist—with Related Materials* (South San Francisco: Heian, 1978), 123 (format modified). Doppo slightly misquoted Buson's hypermetric haiku by writing "kure" rather than "kurete" (Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 47n4).
[71] Noyama, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" 238-39, quote on 239.
[72] Yamada Hiromitsu, annotations to "Musashino," in Shioda [*kaisetsu*] and Yamada [*chūshaku*], *Kunikida Doppo shū*, 101n11.
[73] The walk falls in the portion of "Today's Musashino" set in fall to winter. The narrator does not specify the exact seasonal timing of the walk. In fact, the walk is not set at one particular time or another. However, certain aspects of the description of the walk suggest broadly autumnal settings. For example, the narrator refers at different points to the "sunlight on a mild late-autumn day [*koharu no hi no hikari*] in October" (63); to woods whose trees' leaves have turned yellow (64); and to the time of year when the leaves have all fallen from the trees, burying the path where the walker steps upon those leaves (64).
[74] Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 126-27. I focus on the format of the folding screen here, but Musashinozu—generally defined by autumn plants amidst which sits the moon—were by no means limited to this format. See endnotes 75 and 76 below. There appears to be some disparity among scholars regarding the importance of the motif of the sun in Musashinozu. On the sun in Musashinozu, see the essays by Adachi Keiko listed in endnote 76.
[75] See Nakamachi Keiko's careful study of the prehistory of Musashinozu, not limited to the format of folding screens, in "Musashinozu no keifu," in *Shōsha na sōshokubi: Edo shoki no kachō*, Vol. 5 of *Kachōga no sekai* (Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1981), 124-30. Speaking specifically of paintings of Musashino, I believe, Nakamachi argues that it seems the "standard of tying Musashino to fall grasses" did not come into being "until at least the start of the thirteenth century" (ibid., 125; also see Iida Makoto's summary of Nakamachi's argument in "'Musashinozu byōbu': Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan shozō sakuhin no shōkai o chūshin ni," *Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan kiyō*, no. 25 [2009-10]: 58-57). Nakamachi appears to tentatively propose that the roots of early-modern Musashinozu lie in around the late-fifteenth century ("Musashinozu no keifu," 127).

It seems that Musashino came to be linked to or set in fall and winter in literature beginning from around the time of the *New Collection of Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* (Shinkokin wakashū; c. 1205) or perhaps slightly earlier. See David Spafford, "The Grasses of Musashino," in *A Sense of Place: The Political Landscape in Late Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 38-39. Also see Misumi Yōichi, "Chūsei bungaku ni okeru Musashino to Tōgoku," in Seikei Daigaku Bungakubu Gakkai, *Bungaku no Musashino*, 69-70, 72-75 (Spafford cites Misumi's essay). However, cf. Nakamachi, "Musashinozu no keifu," 126-27.
[76] On Musashinozu screens, see esp. Ōkubo Jun'ichi, "Hiroshige ni miru Edo no toshi imēji: Musashinozu no zanzō" [The Image of the City of Edo Seen in Hiroshige: The Afterimage of Musashinozu], in *Fūkei no shisō*, ed. Nishimura Yukio, Itō Takeshi, and Nakai Yū (Kyoto: Gakugei Shuppansha, 2012), 42-43. For an argument regarding why a significant number of Musashinozu screens display Mt. Fuji, and sometimes additional mountains, despite these motifs clearly conflicting with the content of the folk *waka*, see Iida, "'Musashinozu byōbu,'" 58-50,

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esp. 52-51 (Ōkubo also cites Iida on this topic in "Hiroshige ni miru Edo no toshi imēji," 43). Also on Musashinozu and Musashinozu screens, see Adachi Keiko, "Musashinozu byōbu," *Kokka*, no. 953 (1972): 12-19. In addition, see Adachi Keiko, "Jitsugetsuzu byōbu to Musashinozu byōbu: Kongōjihon jitsugetsu sansuizu byōbu o chūshin ni," in *Keibutsuga: shiki keibutsu*, Vol. 9 of *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei* (Kōdansha, 1977), 136-44. See esp. ibid., 143 on Musashinozu and *utamakura* as well as for more details on when Musashinozu—and not only those on folding screens—were popular. Finally, see Nakamachi, "Musashinozu no keifu," 124-30 as well as Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, ed., *Musashino no haru: hana no meisho no naritachi; Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, tokubetsuten*, written by [*shippitsu*] Ono Kazuyuki (Fuchū-shi, Tokyo: Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, 1998), 4-5.

On the fall plants located amidst the pampas grasses in the Musashinozu screen paintings, see Ōkubo, "Hiroshige ni miru Edo no toshi imēji," 42, as well as, with respect to a particular pair of folding screens, Minamoto Toyomune, "The Temporal View of the World in Japanese Art," trans. Hiroaki Sato, in Santorī Bijutsukan et. al., *Autumn Grasses and Water: Motifs in Japanese Art; From the Suntory Museum of Art* (New York: Japan Society, 1983), 22 (I take "autumn plants" from ibid.). For more on the English translations that I use for the plant names, and for "maiden-flower," see Karen L. Brock, "Autumn Grasses," in ibid., 26-28, esp. 28.

[77] The catalogue entry for "Plain of Musashi" in ibid., 32-34, translated by Karen L. Brock, seems to firmly connect the two *waka*. Adachi Keiko draws the connection somewhat more tentatively in "Musashinozu byōbu," 19n3 and "Jitsugetsuzu byōbu to Musashinozu byōbu," 143 and 144n41.

[78] Translation and transliteration slightly modified from the catalogue entry for "Plain of Musashi," trans. Karen L. Brock, p. 33.

[79] See Ōkubo, "Hiroshige ni miru Edo no toshi imēji," 43; translation and transliteration slightly modified from the catalogue entry for "Plain of Musashi," trans. Karen L. Brock, 34. Also see Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 127. In "Jitsugetsuzu byōbu to Musashinozu byōbu," 143, Adachi Keiko suggests that, in order for a painting's topic (*gadai*) to be considered (that of) "Musashinozu," the painting must display the kind of image of Musashino exemplified (*daihyō sareru*) by the content of the folk *waka*. In "Musashinozu byōbu," 12, Adachi states that the painterly topic of Musashinzo "derives" (*yurai*) from this *waka*.

In addition to this *waka*, Nakamachi Keiko ("Musashinozu no keifu," 127-28) also draws a link between the depiction of the moon amidst the grasses in Musashinozu and the content of a verse by Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169-1206) in the *Shinkokin wakashū*: "my destination / and the sky become one on / Musashino where / from a plain of grasses / emerges moonlight" (yukusue wa / sora mo hitotsu no / Musashino ni / kusa no hara yori / izuru tsukikage) (translation taken—with some adjustments and with the format and transliteration modified—from Laurel Rasplica Rodd, trans., Vol. 1 of *Shinkokinshū: New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 181). See Nakamachi's essay for details.

[80] Adachi, "Jitsugetsuzu byōbu to Musashinozu byōbu," 144n41 and Adachi, "Musashinozu byōbu," 19n3.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Nakamura Kaoru, *Tenkyo kensaku meika jiten* (Meiji Shoin, 1936), 517. Also see the entry on the same *waka* in the newer, updated version of this book: Nakamura Kaoru, *Tenkyo kensaku shinmeika jiten*, new ed. by Kubota Jun [*shinteisha*] (Meiji Shoin, 2007), 602.

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[83] Saitō Chōshū, *Edo meisho zue*, in *Edo no kan II*, ed. Asakura Haruhiko, Vol. 4 of *Nihon meisho fūzoku zue* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1980), 270; also see Saitō Chōshū, Vol. 3, Book 9 of *Edo meisho zue* (Edo: Suharaya Mohee et. al., 1834), 37v, https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko10/bunko10_06556/index.html.

[84] Hayashi refers to a segment of the story's opening (see "Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino," 133). Note that Bimyō characterized the story as a "historical tale" (*jidai monogatari*) in the brief, undated preface to Yamada Taketarō [Bimyō], "Musashino" in [Vol. 1 of] *Natsukodachi* (Hara Ryōzaburō, 1888), 93, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/887561; also available in Yamada Bimyō, "Musashino," in *Meisakushū (1)*, Vol. 77 of *Nihon no bungaku* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1970), 7. The preface does not appear to have been included when "Musashino" was first published in *Yomiuri shinbun* on November 20, 1887 by "Bimyōsai shujin" (?).

[85] This opening "indicates well the treatment [*taigū*] of 'Musashino' in literature at the start of the modern period." See Hayashi, "Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino," 133.

In a similar vein, one can find a juxtaposition of the appearance of an older Musashino (invoked through references to old poems) and the state of Edo in the present in the opening lines of "Introduction to Shank's Mare" (Dōchū hizakurige hajimari; 1814) by Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831). See Horikiri Minoru's reading of the passage in question in "Kinsei ni okeru 'fūkei' no hakken: Karatani Kōjin-setsu o tadasu," *Nihon bungaku* 51, no. 10 (2002): 1-2. In parsing the passage, I have also referred to Nakamura Yukihiko's annotations to Ikku's text in Nakamura Yukihiko [*kōchū*], *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige*, Vol. 49 of *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Shōgakukan, 1975), 46. For an English-language translation of the passage, see Thomas Satchell, trans., *Shank's Mare* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2001), 369. Also see Satchell's "Life of Ikku Jippensha" (in ibid., 14-15) on the "Introduction."

[86] Yamada, "Musashino," 7; block quotation adapted from Daniel J. Sullivan, "Yamada Bimyō's 'Musashino' and the Development of Early Meiji Historical Fiction," in *Asian Literary Voices: From Marginal to Mainstream*, ed. Philip F. Williams (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 32. I thank Ashikawa Tayayuki for calling my attention to this line.

[87] Kōda Rohan, "Mizu no Tōkyō," in *Dansui*, in *Rohan zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1979), 29:498. Incidentally, Rohan refers to *Edo meisho zue* by name later in the essay. He judges a legend regarding a certain place name—a legend also recorded in the gazetteer—to likely be apocryphal (ibid., 29:503).

[88] In addition, Akasaka compares the combination of pampas grass, Mt. Fuji, and the moon in Musashinozu—specifically, in a particular pair of mid-Edo folding screens (*byōbu*)—and the presence of thickets (woods), Mt. Fuji, and the moon in Doppo's essay. See Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 127. Both Fuji and the moon appear in the passage describing "your" walk that I quoted above.

[89] Ōkubo, "Hiroshige ni miru Edo no toshi imēji," 44-45. Jack Hillier records that Minsetsu's book was "published in 1771 and reprinted in 1785" (Vol. 2 of *The Art of the Japanese Book* [London: Published for Sotheby's Publications by Philip Wilson Publishers, 1987], 871). Briefly on Minsetsu's volume, also see Melinda Takeuchi, "'True' Views: Taiga's *Shinkeizu* and the Evolution of Literati Painting Theory in Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 48, no. 1 (1989): 10-11.

[90] Ōkubo, "Hiroshige ni miru Edo no toshi imēji," 45. On the complicated publication history (dates) of Hiroshige's series, see Orii Takae, "Hiroshige, futatsu no Fuji sanjūrokkei," in *Hiroshige: futatsu no Fuji sanjūrokkei*, ed. Batō-machi Hiroshige Bijutsukan (Batō-machi,

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Tochigi-ken [Japan]: Batō-machi Hiroshige Bijutsukan, 2005), 6-8, esp. 6. For the print, see plate 18.

[91] Specifically, Tsuda writes that "the profuse pampas grass, 'maiden-flowers,' and bush clovers sway in the wind." See Tsuda's entry for plate 18 in "Sakuhin kaisetsu," in ibid., 82. Akasaka Chiseki, too, records that, in this print, Hiroshige portrays a "field of pampas grass." See Akasaka Chiseki, *Hiroshige no Fuji: kanseiban* (Shūeisha, 2011), 109.

[92] Tsuda, "Sakuhin kaisetsu," 82. Tsuda also comments on the plain's development in the Edo period (ibid.).

[93] Ōkubo, "Hiroshige ni miru Edo no toshi imēji," 45.

[94] Hishida submitted the painting to the joint competitive exhibition of the Japan Painting Association (Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai) and the Japan Art Institute (Nihon Bijutsuin). I thank Ashikawa for reminding me of this painting.

[95] Tsurumi Kaori, *Motto shiritai Hishida Shunsō: shōgai to sakuhin*, ed. Ozaki Masaaki (Tōkyō Bijutsu, 2013), 21.

[96] See Koike on how the painting breaks out of conventional manners of portrayal and mainly employs "orderly line drawing," how it also attempts to transcribe air, and how it was evaluated (by one critic) as a "'pure Western[-style] painting'" when it was displayed (*happyō tōji*) ("Tēma-betsu sakuhin kaisetsu," in *Hishida Shunsō*, ed. Koike Masahiro, Kyoshō no Nihonga 4, series ed. Kawakita Michiaki and Hirayama Ikuo, reprint edition [*fukkokuban*] [Gakushū Kenkyūsha 2004], 109). Koike also notes that a "field of reeds" (*ashihara*) lies in the foreground of the painting ("Hishida Shunsō no shōgai to geijutsu," in ibid., 100).

[97] The review, originally published in 1898 in *Nihon* newspaper by "Ichō-sensei," is available in "Daigokai Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai, daiikkai Nihon Bijutsuin rengō kaiga kyōshinkai (Meiji 31-nen shūki) sakuhinhyō," in *Zuhanhen*, ed. Nihon Bijutsuin Hyakunenshi Henshūshitsu, *jō* of Vol. 2 of *Nihon Bijutsuin hyakunenshi* (Nihon Bijutsuin, 1990), 506. Also see ibid. for a reproduction of the picture.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Hayashida's review, originally published in 1898 in *Yomiuri shinbun* and signed "Mushokusai shunin," is available in ibid.

[100] Satō, "'Omokage' o 'ima' ni 'hon'yaku' suru to iu koto," 314.

[101] I noted as much in Chapter One. See endnote 66 of Chapter One for Yanagita Kunio and the scholar Satō Kenji on Musashino's grasses.

[102] Tayama Katai, "Oka no ue no ie," in *Tōkyō no sanjūnen* (Hakubunkan, 1917), 168-184, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/955975.

[103] Ibid., 176.

[104] Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 22.

[105] Ibid.

[106] While I agree with Akasaka's characterization of grasses as being aspects of an *utamakura*-style Musashino (see Chapter One), more research is required to determine to what extent the same argument holds for Fuji.

[107] Katai speaks of "the snow of Fuji that appears beautifully in the sky of the setting sun; the plains of miscanthus reeds [and] plains of pampas grass swaying in the wind with a rustle . . . ." See Katai, "Oka no ue no ie," 176. Incidentally, Katai's description also makes reference to "the echoes [*hibiki*] of *niguruma* that could be heard on the paths that ran from hill to hill" (ibid.). On the sounds of *niguruma* in "Today's Musashino," see Chapter One.

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[108] Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 22-23.

[109] Katagiri Yōichi, *Utamakura: utakotoba jiten*, exp. ed. (Kasama Shoin, 1999), 414-15.

[110] The fields of grasses contribute to the diverse topography of the suburbs, whose woods Doppo's narrator highlights. The following is another example of grasses in the contemporary suburbs: "Sometimes miscanthus reeds are left untouched at the edge of a wheat field [*arui wa mugibatake no ittan, kayahara no mama de nokori*]; ears of pampas grass ['tail-flowers'; *obana*] and asters [*nogiku*] are blown upon by the wind [*kaze ni fukarete iru*]" (62; translation taken in part from Chibbet, trans., "Musashino," 105).

[111] Endō Hiroshi, "Kodai: *Man'yōshū* o chūshin to shite," in Seikei Daigaku Bungakubu Gakkai, *Bungaku no Musashino*, 32.

[112] Ibi Takashi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino: gen'ya kara kōgai e," in ibid., 100 (Ibi cites "*waka* from the Heian period to the medieval period" to illustrate the *hon'i* of Musashino as an *utamakura*). But also cf. Endō, "Kodai," 32-33 on Musashino as grasped in the *Man'yōshū* and as grasped thereafter. Hayashi Hirochika writes that "Musashino, which was versified in poetry from the era of the *Man'yō*[*shū*] onward [*Man'yō no jidai kara uta ni yomaretsuzuketa*], 'expanded' as time passed, and by [or "in"] around the medieval period, its image as an endless [undeveloped] field [*gen'ya*] had come to be shared [widely; *kyōyū sareru*]. This was Musashino as an *utamakura*" ("Kindai bungaku no naka no Musashino," 129, also 130).

[113] Yamane Masumi, Shinohara Osamu, and Hori Shigeru, "Musashino no imēji to sono henka yōin ni tsuite no kōsatsu," *Zōen zasshi* 53, no. 5 (1990): 215, also see 216.

[114] More precisely, the authors cite two entries in "guidebooks to Edo from that time" (ibid). Also pertinent here is the discussion of Musashino's "vestiges" in Fuchū-shi Kyōdo no Mori Hakubutsukan, *Musashino no haru*, 12-13.

[115] Yamane, Shinohara, and Hori, "Musashino no imēji," 216. Yamane et. al. contend that the literary image of Musashino as a "boundless plain"—an image that issued from the culture of Kyoto—remained predominant during the Edo period in the city of Edo, too, even amidst Musashino's transformation into a region of farming villages (ibid.). If I have understood them correctly, part of their evidence for this claim is their quotation of a portion of the inscription upon the map by Nakada Koreyoshi that I quoted in the previous chapter ("Musashino was a plain measuring hundreds of leagues . . . ."). But this quotation alone does not reflect the inscription's broader explanation of how the area has been developed and settled and how Musashino's "remains" are "left today merely in the district of Iruma," although perhaps the point is that only this (undeveloped) area continues to be characterized as "Musashino."

[116] Elsewhere, however, the narrator does indicate the existence of elevated viewpoints from which one could see an expanse of land. On this topic, see Ono Matsuo, "Kunikida Doppo: 'Musashino' ni egakareta 'shishu' ni tsuite," *Kaishaku* 48, no. 3-4 (2002): 44-45.

[117] "Hitome ni kono taikan o shimeru koto ga dekiru nara." I take "command" from Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," 104. On *taikan*, see Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 31n7, 40n1.

[118] I take parts of the translation of the final line from Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," 104.

[119] I thank Ashikawa Takayuki for pointing out the disparity between the two texts.

[120] Noting that the second section is "composed of selections" from the diary, Noyama Kashō remarks that Doppo composed the narration of "Today's Musashino" in a "colloquial literary style" (*kōgo buntai*) and "relativized the *bungo buntai* of *An Honest Record*." He then adds that, "however, as a result, the *bungo buntai* that is quoted [in Doppo's essay] naturally produces the effect of new style poetry [*shintaishifū no kōka*]" ("Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" 219). On the

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way Doppo uses *kango* (Sino-Japanese words) or again a more *wabun* ("indigenous" writing) style in different entries, and briefly on the entries in relation to *waka* and *kanshi* (Chinese-language poetry), see ibid., 221-22.

The diary entries quoted in "Today's Musashino" are roughly based on entries in Doppo's own diary, *An Honest Record*. For the diary entries in *An Honest Record* on which those in "Today's Musashino" are based, or in divergence from which they were written anew, see Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 484n4.

[121] Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 235-36, also see 273-74.

[122] Kunikida Doppo, "Saisho no tōchoku," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:317-27.

[123] In this connection, see the preface that accompanied "Shisō" upon its original publication in *Katei zasshi*, no. 115 (April 15, 1898): 26-28, preface on 26 (the work is signed "Doppo Ginkaku"; the preface is also reproduced in Senuma Shigeki, "Kaidai," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 2:550). The preface indicates that Doppo took the sketches from his "notebook."

The parenthetical note at the end of the version of "Shisō" reproduced in the 1901 volume *Musashino* reads, "Composed [or 'made'; *saku*] in April 1898." See Kunikida Doppo, "Shisō," in *Musashino* (Min'yūsha, 1901), 231, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/888366. However, the notes found at the end of texts included in *Musashino* are not necessarily reliable. See, for instance, Ashiya Nobukazu, "Doppo 'Ima no Musashino,'" 234-35 on the note at the end of "Musashino" in *Musashino*. Incidentally, the parenthetical note following the version of "Wakare" contained in *Musashino* reads, "Composed in October 1898." See Kunikida Doppo, "Wakare," in *Musashino*, 113.

[124] As Senuma Shigeki states, Doppo published "Okimiyage" in the magazine *Taiyō* in December 1900 (Senuma, "Kaidai," 2:558). The parenthetical note at the end of the version of "Okimiyage" included in *Musashino* reads, "Composed in September 1900." See Kunikida Doppo, "Okimiyage," in *Musashino*, 134. However, having quoted this note at the end of "Okimiyage," Senuma remarks that, "judging from [its] literary style, ['Okimiyage'] may have [in fact] been an older piece" (*buntai kara mite motto kyūkō de atta kamoshirenai*) ("Kaidai," 2:558). I thank Ashikawa Takayuki for drawing my attention to "Okimiyage."

[125] This style and tone would live on into Doppo's later fiction. See, e.g., Nakajima Reiko's analysis of the *bungochō* of Doppo's "A Youth's Sorrow" (1902) in "Kunikida Doppo," in *Sutairu no bungakushi*, ed. Ōya Yukiyo, Kanda Yumiko, and Matsumura Tomomi (Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1995), 48-49. For Nakamura Akira, see *Meibun* (Chikuma Shobō, 1979), 78-79.

[126] Tanaka Hiroshi, "Ren'yō chūshihō," in *Nihongo bunshō, buntai, hyōgen jiten*, ed. Nakamura Akira et. al. (Asakura Shoten, 2011), 102.

[127] On this kind of "redundant *ga*," see the subsection "Attributive case" within the section "Case-particle uses" in the entry for "Ga" in Helen Craig McCullough, *Bungo Manual: Selected Reference Materials for Students of Classical Japanese* (Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1988), 33-34, esp. 34.

[128] As we will see in the next chapter, "-tamae" was also an aspect of *shosei kotoba* (schoolboy speech) in Meiji Japan. Also see endnotes 26 and 28 in Chapter Three.

[129] A contemporary dictionary classifies *antan*, written 暗澹, as [the stem of] an adjectival verb of *nari* or *tari* conjugation. Today, *antan* "is often used in the forms '*antan-taru*' and '*antan to (shite)*'" (Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 1:222). Haruo Shirane explains that, "generally speaking, *nari* adjectival verbs come from Yamato (native Japanese) words, and *tari* adjectival verbs derive from Chinese compounds and are used in

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kanbun kundoku (Chinese-style) writing." However, giving the example of *dōdō-tari* ("being dignified"), Shirane writes that *tari* form only appears in two conjugations in modern Japanese—*dōdō-taru* and *dōdō-to*—and so "it is not considered an adjectival verb" (*Classical Japanese: A Grammar* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2005], 61-62). Akira Komai and Thomas H. Rohlich refer to *keiyō dōshi* as "pseudo-adjectives," rather than "adjectival verbs," in *An Introduction to Classical Japanese* (Tokyo: Bonjinsha, 1991), esp. 82.

[130] Tayama Katai, a friend of Doppo's, once wrote that, "in his [Doppo's] way of viewing nature and human life, he truly owed much to Wordsworth and Turgenev, but when it came to expressing this, that is, to his style and manner of writing [*bunchi hippō*]—that, we can say, was unique and particular to him. This was true of how he composed choppy, brusque prose [*sono botsugire ni, uchikiribō* (sic) *ni fude o yaru tokoro ga sore de aru*]. This unaffected writing, punchy and ingenious [*kankei senmai*], that did away with rhetoric, stemmed in the first place from his grounding in Chinese letters [*motoyori kanbungaku no soyō aru ni yoru koto de wa aru ga*], but it was probably also why he proclaimed himself a Wordsworthian" (emphasis added). See Tayama Katai, "Kunikida Doppo," in *Inki tsubo* (Sakura Shobō, 1909), 303-4. I have also referred to the annotations by Sōma Tsuneo to Tayama Katai, "*Inki tsubo* (shō)," in Wada Kingo [*kaisetsu*] and Sōma Tsuneo [*chūshaku*], *Tayama Katai shū*, Vol. 19 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1972), 424n19-20.

Perhaps the literary historian Hiraoka Toshio is picking up on something similar in Doppo's writing when he cites a passage from "Today's Musashino" that falls shortly after the first quotation of Futabatei Shimei's "Aibiki" and notes, in the course of his remarks, that "the literary style [*buntai*] differs from what should perhaps be called Futabatei's minute translation [*shūmitsuyaku*]. The sentences are short, retain Chinese-derived diction [*kangomyaku*], and are concise and dynamic." See Hiraoka's *Kunikida Doppo*: *tanpen sakka* (Shintensha, 1983), 137. Sasaki also cites this line from Hiraoka, although to a different end, in "'Musashino' o yomu: mazu ni, sanshō o megutte," 32n14.

In a different context, Shioda Ryōhei once wrote as follows about Doppo, a member (*dōjin*) of the magazine *Youth Literature* (Seinen bungaku; 1891-93): "Like Miyazaki Koshoshi, he was a member of the Min'yūsha led by Tokutomi Sohō. Along with Koshoshi, he is also famous as a Wordsworthian. But, in essence [or 'originally'; *ganrai*], he was an author of the *kanbun kuzushi*-style *jibuntai* school who loved the poetry and prose of [the poet] Gao Qi [fourteenth century], [the Confucianist] Rai San'yō [1780-1832], [the intellectual] Yokoi Shōnan [1809-69], and [the intellectual] Yoshida Shōin [1830-59]" (underline added). See Shioda Ryōhei, *Koten to Meiji igo no bungaku*, Vol. 14 (*kindai*) in Iwanami kōza Nihon bungakushi (Iwanami Shoten, 1959), 13. *Kanbun kuzushi* basically refers to Chinese rearranged into Japanese. *Jibuntai* (時文体), "the style of current writing," roughly denotes a style of modernized literary Japanese influenced by direct translation from Western languages. It overlaps with *futsūbun* ("regular writing"), a non-vernacular type of "practical writing" as opposed to "belles-lettres." *Jibuntai* was used in the later Meiji period and Taishō period among, in particular, journalists and critics, e.g., Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957) and Yamaji Aizan (1865-1917). See Miura Katsuya, "Futsūbun to jibun," *Tōkyō Toritsu Sangyō Gijutsu Kōtō Senmon Gakkō kenkyū kiyō* 1 (2007): 137-43. Note that I cite Shioda to give some sense of Doppo's background as a writer, not to classify his writing style in 1898.

[131] I am indebted to several interlocutors with whom I have discussed facets of this issue. I thank Munakata Kazushige, in particular, for his thoughts on the matter.

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[132] For more on and around the relations among *kanbun kundokutai*, *wabun*, and *kokubun* (national letters), also see Atsuko Ueda, “Sound, Scripts, and Styles: *Kanbun kundokutai* and the National Language Reforms of 1880s Japan,” in *Translation in Modern Japan*, ed. Indra Levy (London: Routledge, 2011), 141-64.

[133] See Takano Shigeo, “Kanbun kundokutai no gohō,” in *Kindaigo no seiritsu, buntaihen*, ed. Morioka Kenji (Meiji Shoin, 1991), 386. Takano enumerates *gohō* (“uses of language” or “diction”) that stem from *kanbun kundoku* and demonstrates their use in *kanbun kundokutai*. See Takano’s explanations of what his essay demonstrates in ibid., 384-85 and 401.

[134] For the content of these last two sentences, I am almost entirely indebted to Munakata Kazushige, whom I thank sincerely. Needless to say, all errors of analysis are my own.

[135] One could extend the list of *bungo*-style diction by looking elsewhere in the text, e.g., to the narrator’s use of the expression “seito rankan” (“the stars sparkling”), a set phrase in Chinese poetry (*kanshi*). On this phrase, see Fujii, annotations to “Musashino,” 38n6.

[136] Morioka Kenji, “Ōbunmyaku no keisei,” in Morioka, *Kindaigo no seiritsu*, 433. Here and below, I reproduce the emphatic italics and emphatic underlines found in Morioka’s essay. However, the English-language translations of the two lines from Doppo’s text are my own, as are the underlines I have added to those translations. Morioka uses *kana* and *kanji* to write all the Japanese that I have romanized.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid., 434.

[139] On this “friend,” see Chapter Three. The anecdote recounted in section six draws on a pair of excursions taken by Doppo with his soon-to-be-wife Sasaki Nobuko in the summer of 1895. See Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 129-35; on the earlier excursion, also see Fujii, annotations to “Musashino,” 48n1. For other occasions on which Doppo visited the same general areas of Musashino as in the anecdote in the company of another person prior to publishing “Today’s Musashino,” see Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 292.

[140] The narrator continues as follows: “I thought [*omotta*] of how fortunate those living in the farmhouses scattered along both sides of this stream were. And of course [I thought the same] of us, too, [as we] strolled upon this embankment with straw hats and walking sticks” (110; adapted from Chibbett, trans., “Musashino,” 109). There is little consideration here of the economic and social fortunes of the farmers, whom the narrator blithely amalgamates into a blissful mass that must also enjoy these surroundings as he does. The narrator simultaneously distinguishes himself and his companion from that mass through reference to the appurtenances of strolling (e.g., walking sticks).

[141] Seki Hajime identifies the link between the two passages in “Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino,’” 26.

[142] In his analysis of this passage, Sasabuchi Tomoichi writes, “I think that this kind of making-sentient [*ujōka*] of nature in ‘Musashino’ is not merely a metaphor [*hiyu*] but is something linked to the influence [*kanka*] of a Wordsworthian, pantheistic view of nature that had spread to [Doppo’s] core [*kontei*]” (Sasabuchi, “Kunikida Doppo,” 1475). Another interpretation of this passage would focus more on the history and function of the water in local life and agricultural labor. In this vein, see Maeda, “Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino,’” 66; I was led to Maeda’s take on the Tamagawa Aqueduct by Itō Hiroki, “Hajimari no chi to shite no Shibuya: Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino,’” *Gakushūin Daigaku Kokugo Kokubungaku Kaishi*, no. 61 (2018): 66. Also see Akasaka Norio on the fact that “this was a waterway dug by people” and on the “manmade

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sound of water" in the channel (*Musashino o yomu*, 139). Finally, in analyzing a longer passage from Doppo's essay that includes a portion of the block quote I offered above ("Beneath the bridge . . . humanly familiar sound"), Seki offers a psychoanalytical reading grounded in Doppo's relationship with Sasaki Nobuko and a day trip the pair took to the Koganei area in the summer of 1895. See Seki, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" 25-27.

[143] In theory, we could also say that this harmonization occurs on Tokyo's "Border," but such a reading would be open for debate. In Wordsworth's case, "Border" refers to "the area [*chihō*] where Scotland meets England" (Ichimura Sōichi and Kondō Akihiko, "'Sanpo' to iu kotoba no hajimari to Meiji jidai no sanposhatachi," *Tōkyō Seitoku Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 11 [2004]: 100).

[144] Michele Speitz, "The Wordsworthian Acoustic Imagination, Sonic Recursions, and 'that dying murmur," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 55, no. 3 (2015): 633.

[145] In the romanized Japanese, the underlines reflect original emphasis; I have added the bold.

[146] I am drawing in part upon the work of Anne Kostelanetz, who notes how "the fountain is specifically identified with pleasantness and with song or art" and how the narrator identifies "art, nature, eternity and joy in the image of the fountain." See Anne Kostelanetz, "Wordsworth's 'Conversations': A Reading of 'The Two April Mornings' and 'The Fountain,'" *ELH* 33, no. 1 (1966): 49. Also see ibid. on the multiple meanings or functions of the fountain in the poem.

[147] William Wordsworth, "The Fountain: A Conversation," in *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. John Morley (London: Macmillan, 1888; repr., 1902), 118-19, quote on 118. As Noyama Kashō remarks, removing "'Now, Matthew!' said I" serves to maintain Doppo's text's general rule of leaving its characters anonymous ("Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino,'" 252).

[148] In the next stanza, the narrator continues, "'Or of the church-clock and the chimes / Sing here beneath the shade, / That half-mad thing of witty rhymes / Which you last April made!'" However, Matthew does not, at this juncture, respond with song. (He does sing "those witty rhymes / About the crazy old church-clock, / And the bewildered chimes" at the end of the poem after the pair leave the fountain.) See Kostelanetz, "Wordsworth's 'Conversations,'" 49, also 52, and Speitz, "The Wordsworthian Acoustic Imagination," 634, also 637-39.

[149] Sasaki Masanobu further ties the use of the present tense in the anecdote, set three years earlier, to Doppo's philosophy of "wonder"—wonder rooted in perceptual experience in the present moment. Sasaki's critical point lies in the impossibility of capturing and giving such perceptual experiences in language, in the unsurpassable mediation of memory and language in any such effort. See Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," in *Doppo to Sōseki*, 46-48, also see 50n11.

[150] *Sora wa mushiatsui kumo ga wakiidete*.

[151] Also see my quotation of Sasaki Masanobu in Chapter Six with respect to Doppo's *kanbun*-esque word choice here.

[152] Additional *jukugo* precede and follow these four pairs, to which they are joined by single *hiragana* characters: "模様を動揺、参差、任放、錯雑の有様."

[153] Doppo had read Emerson's "The Poet," from which I take the epigraph, in 1891 (Sasabuchi "Kunikida Doppo," 1379). On Doppo's reception of Emerson, see Ono Matsuo, "Kunikida Doppo no Emāson juyō: 'Hoshi' ni okeru 'shijin to jiyū' no mondai," *Nihon Daigaku Rikō Gakubu Ippan Kyōiku Kyōshitsu ihō* 49 (1991): 1-7. (Ono's analysis focuses on a topic different from the one I address here.)

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[154] Doppo writes, “Miuchi ni wa kenkō ga michiafurete iru.” I have translated this line as “our bodies are overflowing with hardiness” based on Doppo’s use, not long before, of the word “jibunra” (we).

[155] “Ika ni mo . . . hyōgen shite iru.” More precisely, Ōtagaki makes this statement with respect to “the repetition of [verb] + ‘*tari* (*dari*)’” in the passage “While wiping away . . . overflowing with hardiness” (I have added the brackets around “verb”). See Ōtagaki Yūko, “‘Musashino’ saikō: hokō bungaku no keifu,” *Pūru Gakuin Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 52 (2012): 5.

[156] I am reminded of a passage from Maurice Merleau-Ponty whose imagery and tenor justify its quotation here, although I am not working within Merleau-Ponty’s specific philosophical framework: “It is said that the colors, the tactile reliefs given to the other, are for me an absolute mystery, forever inaccessible. This is not completely true; for me to have not an idea, an image, nor a representation, but as it were the imminent experience of them, it suffices that I look at a landscape, that I speak of it with someone. Then, through the concordant operation of his body and my own, what I see passes into him, this individual green of the meadow under my eyes invades his vision without quitting my own, I recognize in my green his green, as the customs officer recognizes suddenly in a traveler the man whose description he had been given. There is here no problem of the *alter ego* because it is not *I* who sees, not *he* who sees, because an anonymous visibility inhabits both of us, a vision in general, in virtue of that primordial property that belongs to the flesh, being here and now, of radiating everywhere and forever, being an individual, of being also a dimension and a universal” (underline added; note that Merleau-Ponty is using the word “flesh” in a specific sense). See Maurice Merleau-Ponty, “The Intertwining—The Chiasm,” in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 142. For a brief discussion of much of this passage, see Douglas Low, “Merleau-Ponty’s Intertwined Notions of Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity,” *International Studies in Philosophy* 24, no. 3 (1992): 53.

[157] Jo Lee and Tim Ingold, “Fieldwork on Foot: Perceiving, Routing, Socializing,” in *Locating the Field: Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*, ed. Simon Coleman and Peter Collins (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 79-80. Also see Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst, introduction to *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*, ed. Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst (Hampshire, England: 2008). There, the authors state, “Our principal contention is that walking is a profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of others. Social relations, we maintain, are not enacted *in situ* but are paced out along the ground” (ibid., 1).

[158] The verbal quaver seems to embody the bodily shiver it signifies.

On *aegiaegi* as an adverb and as a word in which “the continuative inflection [*ren’yōkei*] of the verb ‘aegu’ is repeated,” see Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Dainihan Henshū Iinkai and Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, eds., “Aegiaegi,” in Vol. 1 of *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2nd ed. (Shōgakukan, 2000), 74.

[159] Tim Ingold, “Earth, Sky, Wind, and Weather,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13, no. S1 (2007): S31. To quote from the essay’s abstract, Ingold contends that “in the open world persons and things relate not as closed forms but by virtue of their common immersion in the generative fluxes of the medium—in wind and weather. Fundamental to life is the process of respiration, by which organisms continually disrupt any boundary between earth and sky, binding substance and medium together in forging their own growth and movement” (ibid., S19).

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[160] Ibid., S32. Immediately prior to this passage, Ingold writes, “Inhabiting the open does not yield an experience of embodiment, as though life could be incorporated or wrapped up within a solid bodily matrix. Nor does it yield an experience of disembodiment, of a spirituality altogether removed from the material fluxes of the world” (ibid.). Ingold’s critique of “embodiment” is incisive, but I will continue to employ the concept in this dissertation because I believe it is crucial to consistently keep in view how the first-person narrators of the landscape texts I analyze maintain a bodily presence in the worlds they describe.

[161] The passage I quote below falls in the midst of a critique of Komori Yōichi in which Sasaki illustrates how, again, “Today’s Musashino” does not “give” perceptual experience in languge, how memory and language mediate any such description, and how Doppo’s writing often tends toward more general or abstract characterizations of the plain.

[162] Sasaki, “‘Musashino’ o yomu: rokushō o megutte,” 45. Itō Shukundo has also suggested that, “through the extensive use of personification, [Doppo’s essay] emphasizes the life of nature, makes one feel [that life] vividly, and quietly performs the state [*kyōchi*] of the fusion [*yūgō*], the coalescence [*itchi*] of nature and human.” See Itō’s “Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō,” *Tōkai Gakuen Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 19 (2014): 215.

[163] Sasaki, “‘Musashino’ o yomu: rokushō o megutte,” 49n7.

Chapter Three

"Today's Musashino," III: Strolling in the Suburbs

In Chapters One and Two, I showed how Kunikida Doppo's prose-poetic essay "Today's Musashino" stages moments of coordination or synchronization between rhythmic language and the acoustic, visual, topographical, and climatic textures of Tokyo's suburbs. I contended that the language used by the essay's narrator expresses, fashions, and even commingles with the world represented in the text. Yet, in "Today's Musashino," such commingling does not only encompass Doppo's prose and the Musashino plain. Rather, it also enfolds the bodily motions and perceptions of walkers upon the plain. In what follows, I will pursue this argument by examining moments in Doppo's essay when the embodied gestures and perceptions of walkers become coordinated or synchronized with the flow of Doppo's prose, with the textures of the suburbs, or with both. I will demonstrate how the walker's motions and the narrator's words sometimes become tied to or patterned upon the plain's textures, which are figured through those words, and collectively articulate a practice of strolling (*sanpo*) in the suburbs.

Sanpo in Meiji Japan

Analyzing this articulation requires an understanding of the bourgeoning of the practice and concept of *sanpo* in Meiji Japan. The word *sanpo* is defined in one 1898 dictionary as, literally, "the matter of recreating-walking" (*asobiaruku koto*).[1] A contemporary dictionary offers the following outline of the history of this word, which appears fourteen times in "Today's Musashino":

> 1. One can see examples of the use of this word in Chinese poetry and prose from the medieval period, but it was in the Meiji period that the word came into general use. It can be seen in [James Curtis] Hepburn's [dictionary] *Waei gorin shūsei* [starting] from the revised and expanded edition (1886). As is suggested by the fact that its meaning is recorded [in English] as "walking for exercise," "*sanpo*" was thought of at first as a kind of exercise. 2. Like sea bathing [*kaisuiyoku*], it was a custom learned from the West. As [the word] was used, it came to include the meaning of, not only [walking] for exercise, but also "*shōyō* [wandering]," which had been used from long ago.[2]

It is possible that Doppo's writings helped encourage the spread of the practice of *sanpo* in Meiji Japan. Consider, for example, a remark made in 1919 in an essay by the folklorist and Doppo's friend, Yanagita Kunio. Yanagita begins the essay by stating that, "as far as I know, the late Kunikida Doppo should be taken as the originator of the 'Musashino vogue [*shumi*]' of recent years."[3] (The "vogue," regarding which Yanagita expresses a certain frustration, was part and parcel of a boom in regional research on Musashino.[4]) Subsequently, in the process of addressing Doppo's attitude toward Musashino, Yanagita comments that, "with his famous eloquence, [Kunikida Doppo] moved his friends who loved the past and ultimately made everyone into enthusiasts of Musashino who enjoy strolling [*sanpozuki no Musashinozuki*]" (underline added).[5]

Certainly, Yanagita made this comment in the context of discussing the specific region of Musashino and criticizing the "Musashino vogue." But Ichimura Sōichi and Kondō Akihiko have argued that Doppo, along with his contemporaries Shimazaki Tōson and Tokutomi Roka, pioneered and mediated the growth of a culture of *sanpo* in Japan more generally.[6] These writers, Ichimura and Kondō contend, enacted a practice of the artist's strolling (*sanpo*) through nature (*shizen*). Historically speaking, this practice had developed in conjunction with the culture of Romanticism that arose in Europe from the late eighteenth century.[7] While the degree to which Doppo, Roka, and Tōson mediated the growth of *sanpo* in Meiji Japan is a topic that requires further research, I will build upon Ichimura and Kondō's work by situating Doppo's writing about *sanpo* in connection to the history of Romantic walking.[8]

According to Joseph Amato, "Romanticism changed walking. It took it [walking] from being a lower-class necessity and an upper-class select activity, and transformed it for those with means and a certain subjectivity into an elevated vehicle for experiencing nature, the world, and the self."[9] Indeed, the poetry of William Wordsworth, whom Doppo once identified as the "wellspring" (*hongen*) of his literature,[10]

> formed the trailhead of a tradition of poetic pedestrianism that reaches from English Romanticism to Americans Whitman and Thoreau to the Japanese poet Basho. Wordsworth's poetry disencumbered walker of polite and mannered self. He substituted country freedom for courtly stricture and urban constriction. An aesthetic vagabondage, his walking was on a continuous pilgrimage. It promised to heal the self's broken relationship with the world. His artful wanderings offered an alternative to congestion and untamable change. He fostered a romantic ideology that set paths against roads, countryside against city, walker against rider.[11]

This sort of poetic pedestrianism, which resonates with the *sanpo* staged in "Today's Musashino," defines the very nom de plume (*gagō*) of the author we are discussing: Doppo (独歩), literally, "Solitary Walking."[12] Doppo detailed the name's origins near the end of his life:

> There is no particular source [*yoru tokoro*] for my nom de plume, Doppo. In the past [*katsute*], when I put out poems in the journal *The Nation's Friend* [Kokumin no tomo], I used *Doppogin* [lit., *Solitary Walking Verses*] for their title. I did so because I acquired [the materials for] many of the verses while wandering in the suburbs [*kōgai shōyō*]. Based on this connection, when I later published *Musashino*, I provisionally signed my work Doppo Ginkaku ["Solitary Walking Poet"]. Because of this, from that point people at [Min'yūsha[13]] referred to me as Doppo-kun—that's how [the nom de plume] came about. This is the origin of my nom de plume.[14]

While the details require explanation,[15] these lines nevertheless testify to the strong historical connection between the nom de plume "Doppo" and "wandering in the suburbs." It was this name, "Kunikida Solitary Walking," that appeared in the journal *The Nation's Friend* upon the publication of "Today's Musashino," which portrays precisely the practice of strolling (*sanpo*) in the suburbs. Doppo, "Today's Musashino," and *sanpo* are inextricable from one another.[16]

"You," the Suburban Stroller

In the passage of "Today's Musashino" that I analyze below, Doppo's narrator describes and prescribes the experiences that "you" (*kimi*) would or could have during *sanpo* in Musashino. The "you" in question is, in effect, the reader, whom the narrator directly addresses through second-person narration.[17] By virtue of such address, the narrator enrolls "you" as a potential embodied perceiver and walker who might have the experiences on the plain that he describes.[18] In the process, he hails "you" into the subject position of a male, implicitly urban interloper in the suburbs. Indeed, "you" are strikingly similar to the narrator himself, who, amidst an anecdote regarding a summer stroll he took a few years earlier, is identified as a person from Tokyo (or a "Tokyoite"; *Tōkyō no hito*) by a local teahouse proprietress (109).[19] This identification appears to be accurate,[20] especially given how, at the start of the anecdote, the narrator had stated, "I left my temporary residence in the city [*shichū no gūkyo*] in the company of a friend" (109).

I will argue below that the subject position into which the narrator hails "you"—that of a male, urban interloper in Musashino—is essential to "your" practice of suburban strolling. Making this argument first requires demonstrating that "you," the hypothetical suburban walker, do indeed occupy such a position. Evidence for this point lies in the fact that, as I indicated above, "you" seem to mirror the narrator himself. For example, like the narrator and his friend, who each carried a "walking stick" (*sutekki*; 110) during their stroll in Musashino three years earlier, "you" stroll in Musashino carrying a "cane" (i.e., a walking stick; *tsue*; 63). Moreover, like the narrator, who speaks of a *waka* poem by Kumagai Naoyoshi (60), "you" are presumed to boast such cultural literacy and education that "you" would recall a haiku by Yosa Buson during "your" walk (65; see Chapter Two). In addition, "you" are, evidently, not a "farmer" (*nōfu*) in the fields like those from whom "you" might ask directions when roaming the suburbs (64). Perhaps something of "your" subject position as a suburban stroller is indicated indirectly by an entry that Doppo recorded in his diary in 1896 during his stay in Shibuya. The entry reads, "Oh, 'Musashino.' This is the poetic subject for which I must try to make observations for several years. I shall offer a grand park [*dainaru kōen*] to *the people of Tokyo Prefecture*" (emphasis added).[21] However, as Takitō Mitsuyoshi observes with reference to part of this passage,

> His [Doppo's] prose style cannot take as its object [*taishō*] a vague, unspecified mass of people like "the people of Tokyo Prefecture" or mankind. When he addresses ["you"] in a familiar manner [*shitashige ni*] saying "now [if] you," he is positioning a specified "person of the same sensibility [*dōkan*]" before himself.[22]

In addition to being urban and Doppo-like, "you" are assumed to be male. Again, we may draw this inference largely because "you" mirror the narrator and his friend. And they, too, seem to be men. The personal pronouns employed in "Today's Musashino" substantiate this point because they function to index gender. For example, the narrator's "friend," who is now "a judge in the provinces" (110), refers to himself using the first-person pronoun *boku* (僕) in a letter to the narrator quoted within "Today's Musashino."[23] The friend also directly addresses the narrator in the letter using the second-person pronoun *kimi* (君), which is the same word the narrator uses to refer to "you," the reader. For example, in his letter, the friend speaks of "the neighborhood around Kishimojin in Waseda where you [*kimi*] and I [*boku*] have often walked" (111).[24]

The personal pronouns *kimi* and *boku* gained currency in the Meiji period as *shosei kotoba*.[25] Shigeko Okamoto and Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith gloss *shosei kotoba* in passing as "'schoolboy speech'—another new speech variety that arose among elite boys in the higher levels of the new school system in the Meiji period."[26] (Such language also included the imperative phrase *–tamae*, which Doppo's narrator uses when he directs "your" walking in the suburbs.[27]) The pronouns then eventually spread beyond this elite social stratum.[28] The key for analyzing Doppo's essay is that, as Nagasaki Yūko has shown, the pronouns *boku* and *kimi* were being used among male speakers of equal social standing in the mid-to-late Meiji period[29]—speakers such as Doppo's narrator and the "friend." By contrast, Nagasaki's analysis of a selection of novels from the mid-to-late Meiji period suggests that male speakers rarely addressed a female interlocutor using *kimi*.[30] To reiterate, *kimi* is the word Doppo's narrator uses to refer to "you."

In sum, then, the mode of expression in "Today's Musashino," in combination with clues such as the walking sticks and the quoted poems, signals that the narrator and his friend are male, urban, Doppo-like subjects. It further signals that the narrator has a similar interlocutor in mind when he addresses "you" as a walker in Musashino.

This subject position is foundational for "your" potential activity and experience of strolling in Musashino.[31] For one thing, it endows "you" with the power and privilege to enter and depart the region at "your" leisure. For another, it would remove "you" from the social and economic context of local life and labor whenever and wherever "you" stroll in the suburbs. This removal would enable "you" to wander about the region's paths in the specifically "aimless" manner that the narrator deems critical to the aesthetic appreciation of Musashino: "The beauty of Musashino can be appreciated for the first time [*hajimete erareru*] by simply walking aimlessly [*atemonaku*] through the thousands of crisscrossing paths" (63). Indeed, in the following lines, the narrator advises "you" to stroll in precisely this aimless manner when describing "your" hypothetical walk in Musashino. In the process, he implies that "you" would be more or less assured of "your" personal safety even if lost in Musashino after dark. This assurance is presumably predicated upon the kind of privileged subject position that I have described here[32]:

> It would be silly to turn back and head home by the same path [you came on]. Even if [you] should get lost, it is only today's Musashino; surely [you] will not run into any problems after it gets dark [*masaka ni yukikurete komaru koto mo arumai*]. When heading home, too, it is [most] delightful [*myō*] to determine a general direction and walk aimlessly [*atemonaku*] along a different path (64).

Such is the manner of "your" comfortable, leisurely, "aimless" walking in Musashino, even close to nightfall. It is a kind of walking decidedly different from that undertaken by a solitary female walker who appears—or rather, is heard—early on in "Today's Musashino: "The footsteps of a woman hurrying lonesomely along the road" (60).[33]

"Your" Suburban *Sanpo*

I have shown how "your" subject position underwrites "your" potential experiences when taking "aimless" *sanpo* in Musashino. The remainder of this chapter illustrates how, in the process of delineating those experiences, Doppo's essay stages moments of coordination or even commingling among walker, word, and world. It does so by presenting correspondences, synchronicities, or loose homologies among "your" gestures and perceptions, the narration, and the textures of the plain's paths and the surrounding scenery. To begin with, the bodily movements of the walker ("you") follow along, and so are structured by the layout of, Musashino's paths. The narrator describes these paths as follows:

> Now, all these paths [*michi to iu michi*]: they curve right and turn left, cut through the forest, go across the fields; just when one thinks they seem to be straight like railroad tracks, there are also circuitous paths like ones that come from the east and then return to the east; they hide in the woods, hide in the valleys, appear in the fields, hide again in the woods; it is not so easy as upon a path in an open field to catch site of someone going along a different path in the distance (62-63).[34]

In the passages I analyze below, the walker physically weaves through the suburbs much in the fashion of these serpentine and multiple paths. This is in part because those paths support, delimit, and direct the walker's weaving. Simultaneously, the paths and the surrounding environment are revealed and known only because of and in relation to the mobile body whose walking is oriented by those paths.[35] In this way, the walker's embodied gestures are bound up with the paths that help structure and direct, and that are disclosed and engaged as a function of, those gestures.[36]

This interplay between the walker and the plain (the paths) is figured, furthermore, through the narrator's language. In one respect, in the following passages, this language registers, and unfolds in conjunction with, the winding paths and the winding movements of the wending walker. In fact, a version of such conjunction between the narration and the paths is already evident in the description of the paths that I just quoted ("Now, all these paths . . . "). There, the narrator's language starts and stops with the curves and cuts, the appearances and disappearances of different paths and segments of paths that help compose the plain's topography. Simultaneously, in the following passages, Doppo's language articulates the walkers' movements and the paths' textures in time, space, and the rhetorical structure of the text. From this perspective, the very sense that walker, world, and word unfold and move in conjunction with one another is a contingent effect of language.

In another respect, the language of these passages also interpolates pauses in the walker's strolling and in the perceptual and verbal disclosure of the paths. It does so through several extended descriptions of sites and scenes encountered along those paths. One of those descriptions features a rhetorical structure homologous with, not the gestures of walking or the textures of paths, but rather the spatial organization of the prospect of a field as visually perceived by a walker at rest. Here, too, the narrator's words interweave with the sensible world, on which they are patterned, as well as with the perceptions of the walker, who, by implication, is momentarily stationary. The narrator states as follows:

> Now, if you [*kimi*] ever go along a small path and suddenly come out to a place where it splits in three, there is no need to panic: stand your walking stick [*tsue*] upright and proceed in the direction it falls. That path just might lead you to a small wood. If it [the path] splits again in two in the middle of the woods, try choosing the smaller path. That path just might lead you somewhere delightful. This is an old cemetery deep in the woods where four or five moss-covered graves stand in a row with just a little open space before them; sometimes patrinias ["maiden-flowers"; *ominaeshi*] and the like will be blooming

> to the side. How fortunate you would be if a small bird were singing in the treetops overhead (63).

The narration immediately carries on after this pause at the cemetery, bringing “you” further along on “your” walk:

> Turn back quickly and try proceeding [*susunde mitamae*] along the left path. The woods will suddenly end and a field offering a wide prospect will open before you. A little way down a gentle slope that extends from [your] feet grows [*hae*] a stretch of miscanthus reeds, where ears of pampas grass glint in the sun; beyond the plain of miscanthus reeds is a field, beyond the field grows lushly [*shigeri*] a copse of low woods, above those woods is visible [*mie*] a distant small grove of cedar trees, above the horizon line gather together faint clouds and between them are visible [*mieru*] parts of a chain of mountains that nearly blend into the color of the clouds. The light of a mild late-autumn day in the tenth month shines tranquilly, and a lovely breeze blows gently (63).

Again, having lingered over this prospect, the narration immediately picks up and moves forward, leading “you” along the suburban paths:

> If [you] descend toward the plain of miscanthus reeds, the expansive scenery that had been visible until now [*ima made mieta hiroi keshiki*] will become completely hidden, and [you] will probably come out to the bottom of a small valley. Unexpectedly [you] discover that a long and narrow pond had been hidden between the plain of miscanthus reeds and the woods. The water is pure and clear, vividly reflecting fragments of the white clouds moving across the open sky. A few withered reeds are growing along the water. If [you] proceed on the path on the bank of the pond for a while it will split again in two. If [you] go right: the woods; if [you] go left: a hill. You will surely climb the hill (63-64).

In these passages, “you” climb, descend, (implicitly) pause upon, observe from, and then proceed along Musashino’s myriad pathways. “You” do so, not in a particular past moment, but rather in hypothetical moments generally available to walker-readers each year on the plain.[37] When (hypothetically) walking, “your” body moves according to a kind of choreography, set forth by the narrator, that is just as winding as the paths along which “you” tread. These paths’ topographical textures—their rising, falling, splitting, and general ramification—potentiate and shape the back-and-forth, up-and-down rhythms of perception and transposition that “your” body’s gestures manifest in this passage. In this way, topographical texture partially determines the bodily gestures by which it is disclosed.[38]

In turn, the tortuous paths and the meandering body propel, and are orchestrated through, the narrator’s language. Indeed, in the portions of the passages that describe “your” potential perambulation along the plain’s paths, the language unfolds in conjunction with the paths and the walker’s movements. It does so precisely by invoking those paths and the walker’s potential movements along them. For instance: “if you ever go along a small path and . . . it splits in three”; “that path just might lead you”; “if it [the path] splits again in two in the middle of the woods . . . try choosing the smaller path”; “that path just might lead you”; “turn back quickly and try proceeding along the left path”; “if [you] descend toward the plain”[39]; “if [you] proceed on the path"; "the path will split again in two. If [you] go right"; "if [you] go left"; and "you will surely climb." What these repeated invocations of the paths and of "your" potential walking upon them suggest is that the narration unfolds, in part, precisely by unfolding those paths and "your" walking upon them. Put differently, portions of the narration are articulated across both the series of paths they articulate and also the path-directed walking they articulate. Seen in this respect, word, walker, and world interlock in processual co-articulation.

This co-articulation is inextricable, in turn, from the way the viewpoint of the narration appears to move in coordination with "you" along suburban paths. Indeed, the narrator seems to accompany "you" on "your" hypothetical walks along suburban paths, to lead "you" to new sites in the suburbs and then, like a docent, to speak about those sites once both of you have arrived. In analyzing this rhetorical effect of Doppo's prose, I take inspiration from a remark made by Nakamura Akira in his analysis of another passage in "Today's Musashino" that describes "your" walk. Note that Nakamura's focus is upon the perspective of the narration rather than that of the walker per se: "The viewpoint of this passage is clearly walking. The writing unfolds in coordination with the pace of that walking" (*Kono bunshō no shiten wa akiraka ni aruite iru. Sono hochō ni awasete bun ga tenkai suru*; underline added).[40]

The passages I quoted above, too, feature a number of moments of "coordination" between the narration and, in this case, "your" walking. For instance, in the first passage, the narrator first encourages "you" to choose a "smaller path," which may "lead you" to a cemetery. Only then does he begin to describe that cemetery. It is as though the narrator, too, has now reached the cemetery by way of the "smaller path" that has also led "you" there. Likewise, in the second passage, the narrator first states that "proceeding along the left path" brings "you" out of the "woods" and to a "field offering a wide prospect." Only then does he describe that prospect. Again, it is as though the narrator has come with "you" out of the woods and toward the field. In addition, in the third passage, if "you" "descend toward the plain," "you" will probably "come out to the bottom of small valley" and discover a "pond"—a pond that only then becomes a subject of the narrator's description. In all these cases, to borrow Nakamura's words, "the writing unfolds in coordination with the pace of ['your'] walking." Even as it verbally constructs "your" hypothetical walk, the narration seems to go where "you" go only when "you" go there. In this way, Doppo's prose creates the effect of narration (words) moving in lockstep with "you" (perceiver) along the plain's paths (world), which, to repeat, also direct and are disclosed by "your" hypothetical walking.

Two parallel, roughly chiastic movements in the first four lines of the first passage further convey and formalize the way the plain's paths help direct and structure the walker's movements and perceptions, both of which, in turn, disclose and engage the paths. They do so by flipping back and forth between the term "you" and the term "path" as a grammatical subject that somehow engages with or acts upon the other term. In the first sentence, "you" "proceed" (*ik*[*u*]) down, implicitly, a path; in the second, "that path" might "lead" (*michibiku*) "you" to a wood. In the third sentence, "you," albeit only as an implicit subject, "choos[e]" (*era*[*bu*]) "the smaller path"; in the fourth, "that path" might "lead" (*michibiku*) "you" somewhere delightful. The roughly chiastic structure of these sentences entwines the walker's body and the plain's paths by repeatedly, if partially, inverting their respective grammatical functions and syntactical positions.[41] By virtue of these inversions, "you" engage with and determine the paths that determine "your" movements and, by extension, "your" perceptual experiences, i.e., "your" being in the sensible world. In this way, the narrator's language shapes, and simultaneously expresses, the walker's interweaving with the plain's paths, which, again, are disclosed only in the process of the walking delineated by that language.

As I indicated above, the narration of this walking in the foregoing passages is punctuated by extended segments of description regarding three relatively static sites and scenes in Musashino: a cemetery, a field offering a wide prospect, and a hidden pond. In one sense, these sites and scenes seize both the focus of the narration and also, by implication, "your" hypothetical perceptual attention. Here, the sensible world causes the narrator and the walker alike to take pause. That is to say, it causes the narrator and the walker to slow the beat of language and bodily gesture, respectively, so as to engage more extensively, in expression and perception, with the site or scene in question.

In another sense, the descriptions of these sites and scenes serve to mark and specify the kinds of suburban features and locations to which the narrator seeks to draw "your" attention. In this respect, the narrator's words lead "you" through a sort of perceptual training rather analogous to that undergone by the narrator himself under the indirect guidance of Futabatei Shimei's translation "Aibiki" of Ivan Turgenev's story "The Tryst," discussed in Chapter Two. (The very possibility and necessity of this training, I would add, reveals that walking "aimlessly" is a studied practice, one entailing a sort of elevated, privileged, and perceptually engaged purposelessness.[42]) The narrator leads "you" through this training, carried out via the imaginative practice of reading, by arranging intensive and extended perceptual engagements of walker with world. The narrator's descriptions further perform and recapitulate that intensity and extendedness through their relative dilation—their relatively languid, drawn-out rhythm—as compared to the surrounding, brisk narration of "your" walking. This verbal dilation implicitly leads "you" to slow "your" step, to hover over the sensible world in conjunction with the narration.

One of the narrator's dilated descriptions—that of the "field offering a wide prospect" (*miwatashi no hiroi no*)—further demonstrates how perceiver, word, and world sometimes become coordinated or synchronized with one another in "Today's Musashino." This coordination results from a kind of homology between the rhetorical structure of the description—specifically, that of its syntax—and the spatial structure of the visual prospect figured by that description. This homology allows the narrator's words to adhere tightly to the visual textures of the sensible world. Such adherence of word to world further encompasses the perceptions of the walker. This is because both the narrator's description and also the described visual prospect are organized according to the point of view of the walker who hypothetically perceives this prospect. Put differently, it is because, in a verbal analogue to linear-perspectival landscape painting, the narrative perspective momentarily aligns with "your" perspective onto the visual prospect.[43] In consequence, the walker's perceptions and the narrator's words seem to coalesce in the process of (hypothetically) perceiving and expressing the sensible world (the prospect). At the same time, within the world represented in the text, the sensible world potentiates and delimits the walker's perceptions as well as the narration's rhetorical structure, which is patterned upon the spatial structure of the perceived scene.

In verbalizing that scene, the narrator repeatedly aligns the narrative perspective with the perspective of the walker. He starts by positioning the prospect in relation to the walker: "a wide prospect will open before you [*kimi no mae ni*]." He then immediately situates the ensuing description of this prospect in relation to the body of, presumably, the same walker: "A little way down a gentle slope beneath [your] feet grows a stretch of miscanthus reeds" (*ashimoto kara* *sukoshi daradara sagari ni nari kaya ka* [*ga*[44]] *ichimen ni hae*). Finally, at several points in the description, the narrator uses the verb *mieru* ("to be visible" or "to be able to be seen"). In the context of this passage, the verb entails something's being visible from the perspective of the walker, who was just situated in relation to the prospect.[45] Thus, "above those woods is visible ['can be seen'; *mie*] a distant small grove"; "between [the clouds] are visible ['can be seen'; *mieru*] parts of a chain of mountains"; and, just after the description of the prospect, "If [you] descend toward the plain of miscanthus reeds, the expansive scenery that had been visible ['could be seen'; *mieta*] until now will become completely hidden."

In these ways, the narrative perspective coincides with the walker's perspective in the description of the perceived prospect. This description begins by slipping down a gentle slope beneath the walker's feet to a stretch of miscanthus reeds. It then moves progressively deeper into space and up the "picture plane" as seen from the walker's point of view. In the following lines, several Japanese words, which I have translated into English as prepositions, structure this spatial recession and incline. These words locate each discrete component of the perceived scene in spatial relation to the last. In so doing, they fit the narration's rhetorical structure to the perceived world's spatial structure, which is simultaneously generated through the narration:

> beyond the plain of miscanthus reeds is a field, beyond the field grows lushly a copse of low woods, above those woods is visible a distant small grove of cedar trees, above the horizon line gather together faint clouds and between them are visible parts of a chain of mountains. . . .
>
> *kayahara no saki ga hatake de, hatake no saki ni se no hikui hayashi ga hitomura shigeri, sono hayashi no ue ni tooi sugi no komori ga mie, chiheisen no ue wa awaawashii kumo ga atsumatte ite . . . renzan ga sono aida ni sukoshi zutsu mieru.*

The passage is scaffolded both by what are prepositions in the English translation (e.g., "beyond," "above") and also by nouns that signify the components of the plain situated in relation to one another by those prepositions (e.g., "field," "woods"). The reiteration of these prepositions and nouns engenders a rhetorical structure, generative of a rhythmic repetitiveness, in which a series of syntactically analogous blocks of language accrete upon one another: "beyond the plain . . . is," then "beyond the field grows," then "above those woods is visible," then "above the horizon line gather." This accretive rhetorical structure is, in turn, homologous with the (hypothetically) perceived spatial structure of the scene figured through this verbal structure. That spatial structure likewise consists in a kind of accretion, now of spatially distinct elements of the perceived visual prospect. Thus, we read of a plain, a field beyond the plain, the woods beyond the field, a grove above the woods, the clouds above the horizon line (which is presumably beyond and possibly above the grove), and a chain of mountains between the clouds. These elements of the sensible world are spatially layered behind and above one another from the perspective of the walker, whose gaze aligns with the narrative perspective in scanning the scene. In turn, this aligned perspective helps organize the rhythmically repetitive language that is structurally modeled upon, even as it constitutes, the visual layers of the world perceived from the aligned perspective. In this way, the perceptions of the walker, the patterned structure of words, and the visual textures of the world flow into one another.

Another kind of confluence between perceiver and world occurs in the following passage, in which "your" walking body enters into an interplay of sorts with the plain's sounds. Here, in an aural analogue of what Tom Conley calls the "errant eye" of the topographical poet, "you" bear an “errant ear” that does not search out but rather happens upon the plain’s sounds as a consequence of “your” motility.[46] In turn, in the course of walking, “you” create noises that compose a piece of the acoustic environment that is encountered by “your” errant ear. In the process of delineating “your” potential experiences when strolling in Musashino, the narrator describes what it is like to walk in solitude down a straight path lined on both sides by woods whose leaves have all fallen:

> Only the sound of [your] own feet stepping upon the fallen leaves will be loud; [there will] only be being surprised on occasion by the sound of the wings of a single turtledove flying off in a flurry (64).[47]
>
> *Ochiba o fumu jibun no ashioto bakari takaku, toki ni ichiwa no yamabato awatadashiku tobisaru haoto ni odorokasareru bakari.*

I have translated this passage awkwardly to maintain the passive voice of “being surprised” (*odorokasareru*). The passive voice underscores and dramatizes “your” unexpected if hypothetical encounters with what seem to be spontaneous noises in Musashino: the sounds of the beating wings (*haoto*) of turtledoves. Yet, the flurry of these birds is quite possibly created by “your” walking. That is, “your” movement, and the patter of “your” feet, may well animate both noises and also bodies on the plain by surprising the birds by which “you” are then surprised. Such a circular cause-and-effect relationship would secure a type of dynamic interaction or integration between walker and world relatively stronger and more active than that realized through the perceptual acts of looking and hearing.[48] The possibility of such a relationship is suggested by the rhetorical structure of the passage—specifically, by the very fact that the narrator refers to the loudness of “your” footsteps before then mentioning the birds’ flurry. It is also suggested by how “your” footsteps are the only loud noise upon the hushed path, where, as the narrator had just explained, “you” walk alone: “Still you will encounter no one. It will grow all the more melancholy” (64).[49] Assuming the birds’ flurry owes to their being surprised, then who else or what else is causing their surprise “on occasion”? But even if it is not the case that “your” walking surprises the birds, the foregoing passage still portrays a suburban acoustic environment fostered through a combination of human feet and birds’ wings. Seen in this respect, suburban strolling draws “you” into a perceptual environment that is, in a way, part perceiver and part world (bird).

The walker’s hypothetical experience in Musashino is also the focus of the following lines, which appear shortly before, and in some sense introduce, the three consecutive passages I quoted above that narrate “your” walk along suburban paths. In these lines, the narrator describes, prescribes, and justifies the kind of “aimless” manner in which, he feels, walkers should engage with the plain. In the process, he employs rhythmic language distinguished by a sort of verbal rotation, furnished by repetitive syntax, that registers Musashino’s seasonal and temporal cycles as well as its varied meteorological phenomena:

> Those who stroll [*sanpo*] through Musashino should not bemoan losing their way. No matter the path, if one goes where one’s legs lead [*ashi no muku hō e yukeba*], there is always a prize [*emono*] there to be seen, heard, or sensed. The beauty of Musashino can be appreciated for the first time [*hajimete erareru*] simply by walking aimlessly [*atemonaku*] through the thousands of crisscrossing paths. [In the] spring, summer, fall,

> winter, morning, afternoon, evening, night; and in the moonlight [*tsuki ni mo*], and in the snow, and in the wind, and in the mist, and in the frost, and in the rain, and in the early-winter showers [*shigure*], when simply walking idly and going left and right as the mood strikes, there is something to satisfy[50] us [*warera*] at every place [*zuisho ni*]. I feel keenly that this, in fact, is likely the foremost characteristic of Musashino (63).[51]

These lines exhibit a fluid iteration of temporal, seasonal, and meteorological nouns as well as repetition of the pair of particles "ni mo," which I have rendered as "and in the." These aspects of the passage both convey and also rhetorically define the plain's recursive temporal and seasonal cycles as well as the range of its meteorological phenomena (snow, wind, mist, etc.).[52] This rhetorical resonance or correspondence between word and world functions, in turn, to emphasize the myriad conditions in which "we" ("us") would find something to satisfy "us" when strolling in Musashino. To turn this around: "we" (walkers) are directed to meander at random upon the plain's sundry crisscrossing paths, going left and right at whim. The plain (world) where we may meander passes through various times of day, seasons, and patterns of weather—all conditions in which "we" would find something to satisfy "us" when meandering. Finally, Doppo's rhythmic language (word) serves to describe these temporal and seasonal cycles and meteorological patterns as well as the plain's passage through them.

In addition to thematizing walkers' experiences of the plain and instituting a correspondence between word and world, the foregoing passage also illustrates in a concrete way how the narrator draws upon his own practices and experiences of walking in and perceiving Musashino in order to instruct the reader in the art of suburban strolling. For instance, earlier in the text, the narrator had quoted entries from a diary he kept during his stay in Shibuya Village between the fall of 1896 and the spring of 1897. One line in the entry for November 19, 1896 reads, "I walked alone, meditating and quietly reciting [poetry] to myself, and, leaving it to my legs, went about the outskirts" (*hitori ayumi mokushi kōgin shi, ashi ni makasete kinkō o meguru*; underline added) (57). Now, in the passage I just quoted, the narrator proposes that suburban walkers should "go where [their] legs lead" (more literally, "go in the direction [their] legs face" [*ashi no muku hō e yuke*(*ba*)]). Or consider the following comments by the narrator at the end of the fourth section of the text, which precedes the fifth section that narrates "your" walking. The narrator had asked—hypothetically or rhetorically, I believe—to which of a number of possible destinations he should travel next (e.g., "Now, from here, should [I] head back down to the fields?"). He then reflected,

> I frequently hesitated in this manner. Was I distressed? No, I was not distressed at all. For I knew, from long experience, that when it came to the *paths* [*michi* 路] that crisscross Musashino, no matter which I chose to follow, it would not disappoint me [emphasis in original] (62).

It is presumably on the basis of his "long experience" of strolling the plain that the narrator now urges future walkers not to "bemoan losing their way." For, no matter the path they choose, if they just go where their "legs lead," there will always be "a prize [*emono*] to be seen, heard, or sensed."

In closing, I want to take a closer look at the word *emono* ("prize"). This word, I submit, reveals how the kind of suburban strolling that I have just traced through "Today's Musashino" is inextricable from the walker's particular position of power as an interloper in the suburbs. This is because *emono* 獲物, or “prize,” translates more literally as “taken thing, “captured thing,” or “procured thing”—that is, “prey” or “spoils.” As these translations suggest, the word carries an overtone of hunting or capture. This overtone is strengthened by the fact that, in the next sentence of the passage, Doppo uses the same character found in the logographic compound *emono*, 獲物, to write the verbal expression *erareru* 獲られる.[53] Based on the context of the passage, I have rendered *erareru* into English as “can be appreciated.” But, when written with the character 獲, *erareru* may be translated more literally as “can be captured” or “can be procured.”[54]

This repetition of the character 獲, in combination with the use of the word *emono* (prey), casts the suburban stroller as a hunter casually on the prowl for prey. In this case, those “prey” are things to be “seen, heard, or sensed.” It is difficult not to see a connection, if only an indirect one, between this image of the suburban hunter and the work of the Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, Futabatei Shimei’s translation “Aibiki” of Turgenev’s story “The Tryst” (Svidanie; 1850) deeply conditioned the modes of perception and expression at work in “Today’s Musashino.” “The Tryst” would be republished in Turgenev’s collection, *Notes of a Hunter* (Zapiski okhotnika; 1852), although Richard Freeborn writes that this book’s title was “acquired only by accident.”[55] In another essay, Freeborn explains that Turgenev can be said to take on two roles in *Zapiski okhotnika*, which Freeborn translates as *Sketches from a Hunter’s Album*[56]: “To the peasants he plays the role of ‘hunter’; to the members of his own class he plays the role of guest.” Tellingly, it is in the former case that Turgenev “has the eye of a poet of nature.”[57]

Regardless of this echo between Doppo’s essay and Turgenev’s writings, the relation of power implied by the image of the hunter is particularly suggestive in the context of analyzing the practice of suburban strolling in “Today’s Musashino.” This is because, as I contended above, it is precisely the stroller’s subject position as a male, urban interloper—as a privileged “outsider” in the suburbs—that enables him to wander about “aimlessly.” In the narrator’s view, such “aimlessness” is essential in order for the “beauty of Musashino” to be appreciated (or “captured” or “procured”; 獲られる). It is also essential, I would add, to the rhythm of “your” suburban strolling.

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Over the course of three chapters, I have argued that “Today’s Musashino” stages moments of commingling or intertwining among the rhythms of language, the gestures and perceptions of suburban walkers, and the acoustic, visual, topographical, and climatic movements and textures of Musashino. By exploring this intertwining, I hope to have shown that Doppo’s essay cannot be understood according to a conventional, epistemological conception of landscape as a distant object-world perceived and represented by a detached or alienated subject. To the contrary, the text stages a dynamic interplay among perceiver and world as well as word. It also features perceptual experiences and modes of perception shared intersubjectively among multiple subjects. In addition, it exhibits what I have called “accreted” language. Such language attests to the partial and processual character of transformations in late-Meiji literature of constellations of landscape, that is, relations among perceiver, world, and especially word. It runs askew to the kind of categorical distinction between “premodern” and “modern” landscape literature implied by, for instance, the rhetorical claim for landscape’s “discovery” in Meiji-period literature.[58]

Attending to these properties of Doppo's essay—the dynamic interplay among perceiver, world, and word; intersubjectivity; and accreted language—compels us to reevaluate our understanding of "landscape" in "Today's Musashino." But it in fact does much more than that. "Today's Musashino" is often considered a foundational text in the emergence of modern natural description and landscape writing in Meiji Japan. For this reason, to reconsider the significance of landscape in this text is already to begin rethinking landscape—and, by extension, the relations among perceiver, word, and world—in late-Meiji literature more broadly.

In making this argument, I have adapted a phenomenologically inspired methodology for studying landscape to the end of literary historiography. I have done so by delineating sets of literary, artistic, and historical conditions that shaped the thematic content and the modes of perception and expression at play in Doppo's essay. In the process, I have illustrated how those conditions influenced the relations among walker, word, and world realized in this text through acts of perception and expression. In this way, I have proposed a methodology for studying literary landscape that negotiates between the perceptual and the discursive, the experiential and the historical.

The remainder of this dissertation continues to work out this methodology. It does so through analyses of the thematic content and the modes of perception and expression at play in—and the literary, artistic, and historical conditions pertinent to—another set of Japanese landscape texts from the end of the nineteenth century. These are, namely, descriptions of clouds composed by three watershed figures in the development of natural description in late-Meiji literature: Doppo, Tokutomi Roka, and Shimazaki Tōson.

Notes

[1] Ochiai Naobumi, *Nihon daijiten: kotoba no izumi*, 2:625.

[2] Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Dainihan Henshū Iinkai and Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, eds., "Sanpo," in Vol. 6 of *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2nd ed. (Shōgakukan, 2001), 394.

[3] Yanagita Kunio, "Musashino zatsuwa," *Tōkōkō*, no. 1 (1919): 18. I have referred to the reprint of *Tōkōkō* available in Tōkōkai, ed., *Fukkoku "Tōkōkō,"* 18 Vols. (Shuppan Kagaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 1987).

[4] On the Musashino *shumi*, and on Yanagita's essay, see endnotes 80 and 66 of Chapter One. For a certain frustration on Yanagita's part with the *shumi*, see p. 20 of his essay.

[5] Yanagita writes 散歩好 in the 1919 essay (p. 18), 散歩好き in the later "Musashino no mukashi," available in *Mame no ha to taiyō* (Sōgensha, 1941), 122, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/14 53837.

[6] Ichimura Sōichi and Kondō Akihiko, "'Sanpo' to iu kotoba no hajimari to Meiji jidai no sanposhatachi," *Tōkyō Seitoku Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 11 (2004): 91-102. Another key figure in the history of *sanpo* in Japan was the enlightener Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), who promoted walking as a form of physical exercise as well as a pedagogical practice (ibid., 94-95). In addition, the Western-style painter Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) of the White Horse Society (Hakubakai; est. 1896) displayed a painting of a woman walking titled *Sanpo* in 1896 at the Society's first exhibition. For the painting, see Burijisuton Bijutsukan et. al., ed., *Hakubakai: Meiji yōga no shinpū; kessei 100-nen kinen* (Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1996), plate 3. I was alerted to the painting by Yagi Mitsuaki, who discusses Doppo and the Society exhibition in "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino' no shūhen," *Uozu shinpojiumu*, no. 5 (1990): 93. It is possible,

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however, that the painting was not on display when Doppo visited the exhibition. See Chapter Six on Doppo's visit and the exhibition.

[7] Ichimura and Kondō, "'Sanpo' to iu kotoba," 100.

[8] I note in passing that Tanaka Michio has also indirectly linked, or implied a distant resonance between, "Today's Musashino" and the earlier tradition in Chinese-language poetry (*kanshi*) of "suburban travel verse" (*kōkōshi* 郊行詩). (Tanaka draws such a link more explicitly in the case of writings by authors other than Doppo in the 1897 anthology *Lyric Poetry*, which I discussed in Chapter Two.) A new style of such verse, which in turn sparked suburban travel verse among *haikai* (linked-verse) poets, had flourished in Japan around the 1770s and 1780s. Most crucially for our purposes, it had involved the practice of actually walking in the suburbs. See Tanaka Michio, "Kōgai sansaku no ryūkō: atarashii ba to shite no shizen," in *Shōfū fukkō undō to Buson* (Iwanami Shoten, 2000), ch. 3, esp. 82 and 92-93. In addition, see ibid., 92 for a reference to how suburban travel (verse; *kōkō*) in the "*kanshi* establishment" also "extended to the *haikai* and *tanka* establishments and brought about the style of recitational walking [*ginkō* 吟行]" (underline added).

[9] Joseph Amato, "Mind over Foot: Romantic Walking and Rambling," in *On Foot: A History of Walking* (New York: New York University, 2004), ch. 4, quote on 102.

[10] Kunikida Doppo, "Fukashigi naru daishizen" [1908], in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:539-40.

[11] Amato, "Mind over Foot," 105.

[12] Itō Shukundo, too, briefly makes reference to Doppo's penname when discussing walking in Doppo's text. See Itō's "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," *Tōkai Gakuen Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 19 (2014): 219.

[13] It is by inference that I translate the phrase *shachū no hitobito* as "people at Min'yūsha." Min'yūsha published *Kokumin no tomo* and, furthermore, was in the same "lineage" or network as Kokumin shinbunsha (on this last point in passing, see Nakajima Kenzō, "Kaidai," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:570). Kokumin shinbunsha published the newspaper, *Kokumin shinbun*. In certain periods, Doppo had worked on or for *Kokumin no tomo* and *Kokumin shinbun* (see, e.g., ibid. and the "Timeline" [*nenpyō*] in Sakamoto Hiroshi, *Kunikida Doppo: hito to sakuhin* [Yūseidō Shuppan, 1969]). Finally, Min'yūsha would publish Doppo's 1901 volume *Musashino*. I thank Ashikawa Takayuki for his comments regarding *shachū* as well as many of the topics covered in endnote 15 below.

[14] Kunikida Doppo, "Geijutsukan," in *Byōshōroku*, ed. Mayama Seika (Shinchōsha, 1908), 93-94, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/889233. *Byōshōroku* (Deathbed Record) was transcribed by Mayama Seika and Nakamura Murao.

[15] The cover of Doppo's 1901 volume *Musashino* lists the author as "Kunikida Doppo"; the colophon gives "Kunikida Tetsuo" (Doppo's real name). See Kunikida Doppo, *Musashino* (Min'yūsha, 1901), https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/888366. "Today's Musashino," published in January 1898 and February 1898 in *Kokumin no tomo*, also lists the author as "Kunikida Doppo."

The "Catalogue of [Doppo's] Works in Order of the Date of Publication" (Happyō nengappijun chosaku mokuroku), included in Vol. 10 of *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, indicates that our author was already using the name "Kunikida Doppo" in 1897 for poems as well as for "Otozure" (Tidings; November 1897), a prose text later collected in *Musashino*. Judging from the same catalogue, he also began employing "Doppo Ginkaku" in 1897, and did

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so earlier than “Kunikida Doppo” (both signatures appeared for the first time in *Kokumin no tomo*). He used this nom de plume, “Doppo Ginkaku,” as the signature for poems as well as for prose texts later collected in *Musashino*, for instance, “Old Man Gen” (Gen oji; August 1897) and “Shisō” (Poetic Thoughts; April 1898). He seems to have started signing some of his works “Doppo Ginkaku” following the publication by Min’yūsha of the multi-author poetry anthology *Jojōshi* (Lyric Poetry; April 1897), in which he grouped his twenty-two poems together under the collective title *Doppogin*.

The key, with respect to the foregoing block quote, is that Doppo had previously published half of the poems later collected in *Jojōshi* in Min’yūsha’s magazine *Kokumin no tomo*. There, judging from issues of the magazine itself, Doppo had grouped most of the poems under the collective title *Doppogin*. See the five individually titled verses, all later included in *Jojōshi*, published under the collective title *Doppogin* in *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 336 (February 1897): 38-40, as well as the four individually titled verses, also included in *Jojōshi*, published under the collective title *Doppogin* in *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 339 (March 1897): 25-26. Following the publication of *Doppogin* in the anthology *Jojōshi*, but shortly prior to the first use of “Doppo Ginkaku” as a signature (at least based on the catalogue of Doppo’s works), Doppo again used the collective title *Doppogin* for the individually titled poems published in *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 348 (May 1897): 32-34. Finally, years earlier, Doppo had already published three poems under the titles “Doppogin,” “Doppogin (2 [二]),” and “Doppogin (3 [三])” in *Kokumin shinbun*, August 16 and August 31, 1895. As the catalogue of Doppo’s works indicates, the first two poems would be retitled and included in *Jojōshi*.

In sum, then, to work off Nakajima Kenzō’s explanation, the order is as follows: first “Doppogin” as the title of individual verses, then “Doppogin” as a collective title for verses, then the nom de plume “Doppo Ginkaku,” and finally the nom de plume “Kunikida Doppo.” But note that Doppo had in fact used the word *doppo* prior to employing it in titles for verses. See Nakajima, “Kaidai,” 1:570-71 on these points (also see 1:573 and 1:577 for the collective title “Doppogin” in *Kokumin no tomo*). For more on Doppo’s fondness for the word *sanpo*, see Sakamoto, *Kunikida Doppo*, 105-6. In addition, see Kuroiwa Hisako, who speaks of the origins of the pen name “Doppo Ginkaku”—while alluding, I believe, to the passage in Doppo’s “Geijutsukan”—in her essay “Jānarisuto to shite no shuppatsu,” in *Henshūsha Kunikida Doppo jidai* (Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2007), 30. I was led to the passage in Kuroiwa’s book by an entry in the *Collaborative Reference Database* from National Diet Library et. al.—control number 企-190004, entry provided by Kanagawa Kenritsu Toshokan—at https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/detail?page=ref_view&id=1000264956, last updated December 20, 2019.

[16] For more on this topic, see Ōtagaki Yūko, “‘Musashino’ saikō: hokō bungaku no keifu,” *Pūru Gakuin Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 52 (2012): 1-10. Ōtagaki refers to “[Today’s] Musashino” as “pedestrian literature” (*hokō bungaku*) and links the work to European Romantic pedestrian literature, particularly that of William Wordsworth.

[17] Takitō Mitsuyoshi links Doppo’s “‘narratorial’ prose style’” (*“katari” no buntai*) to William Wordsworth and to Doppo’s “view of the poet.” See Takitō’s *Kunikida Doppo ron* (Hanawa Shobō, 1986), 111.

[18] While the framework and argument differ significantly, my examination of how the narrator enrolls the reader as a walker through direct address owes much to the work of Garrett Stewart. In a study focused on British prose fiction in the nineteenth century, Stewart identifies the “direct address” of the reader (as in “dear reader”), as well as the restaging of reading as an event in the

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narrative, as devices by which the novelistic text "conscripts" its reader. See Stewart's "Readers in the Making," in *Dear Reader: The Conscripted Audience in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), ch. 1, esp. 8.

[19] I will use parenthetical citations when referencing Kunikida Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 365 (January 1898): 56-65 and Kunikida Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 366 (February 1898): 109-14.

[20] The narrator says elsewhere that he grew up in western Japan (see Chapter Two), but this is rather beside the point when considering the statement made by the local teahouse proprietress, in relation to whom the narrator is an urbanite.

For where Doppo was lodging in Tokyo at the time, see Yamada Hiromitsu, annotations to "Musashino," in Shioda Ryōhei [*kaisetsu*] and Yamada Hiromitsu [*chūshaku*], *Kunikida Doppo shū*, Vol. 10 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 102n4.

[21] Kunikida Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, kōhen*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 7:488 (entry for October 26, 1896).

[22] Takitō, *Kunikida Doppo ron*, 111. I have translated only the first part of the final sentence here.

[23] On the friend's being a "judge," see Fujii Hidetada, annotations to "Musashino," in *Kunikida Doppo, Miyazaki Koshoshi shū*, ed. Fujii Hidetada and Shinbo Kunihiro (Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 51n7. The letter may have been an actual text written by Doppo's friend Imai Tadaharu. Alternatively, Doppo may have written the letter in its entirety or, again, modified a letter he received. For different views on the letter, see Ashiya Nobukazu, "Doppo 'Ima no Musashino,'" *Hanazono Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 7 (1976): 237; Noyama Kashō, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino': atarashii sekai o hiraku, shijin no shuppatsu," in *Kindai shōsetsu no seiritsu* (Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 255; and Nakajima Reiko, *Kunikida Doppo: shoki sakuhin no sekai* (Meiji Shoin, 1988), 281-82.

[24] "Kishimojin" is the name of a goddess; the friend is presumably referring to the place where that goddess was enshrined. See Yamada, annotations to "Musashino," 105n16 and Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 53n6. I have also referred to the entry for Hōmyōji in *Tōkyō-to no chimei*, ed. Heibonsha Chihō Shiryō Sentā, Vol. 13 of *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Heibonsha, 2002), 849-50.

[25] For *boku* and *kimi* as *shosei kotoba*, see: Shindo Sakiko, "Kindai no keigo," in Vol. 1 of *Nihongo daijiten*, ed. Satō Takeyoshi and Maeda Tomiyoshi (Asakura Shoten, 2014), 574; the "etymological explanations" (*goshi*) under the entries for *kimi* and *boku* in Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 1:1414 and 3:619, respectively; Nagasaki Yasuko, "Ninshō daimeishi 'boku' 'kimi' no hensen," *Kawamura Gakuen Joshi Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 18, no. 3 (2007): 132 and 136 (Nagasaki also cites entries for the words in an edition of *Nihon kokugo daijiten*); Shigeko Okamoto and Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith, "Gendered Japanese: Normative Linguistic Femininity and Masculinity," in *The Social Life of the Japanese Language: Cultural Discourses and Situated Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), ch. 5, esp. 208; and Kinsui Satoshi, working off Komatsu Hisao, in "'Otoko kotoba' no rekishi: 'ore' 'boku' o chūshin ni," in *Jendā de manabu gengogaku*, ed. Nakamura Momoko (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 2010), 40-41. I thank Hayashi Naoki for his comments and advice regarding *kimi* and *boku*.

Asif Agha writes that "a register is a linguistic *repertoire* that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices" ("Registers of Language," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti

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[Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004], 24). A register, such as "legalese" or "Standard English," may comprise a variety of repertoire types, for instance, lexemes or prosody (ibid). It may do so as long as speakers reflexively partition the kind of language in question from the rest of language through "metapragmatic" stereotypes. Such stereotypes associate particular kinds of discourse with certain speakers, identities, and activities, all of which are "indexed" by the signs in question. For instance, "differences of speech" may be "enregistered as indexicals of speaker gender" (ibid., 31). Such speech may be metapragmatically stereotyped as "feminine," proper to the register of "women's speech."

[26] Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, "Gendered Japanese," 208. Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith explain that "schoolgirl speech" (*jogakusei kotoba*) was "also known for the use of words, such as *boku* 'I,' *kimi* 'you,' *tamae* 'do (imperative),' appropriated from *shosei kotoba*" (ibid.). *Jogakusei kotoba*, an "enregistered" "speech variety," was "widely criticized in the media" (ibid.). See Okamoto's and Shibamoto-Smith's essay for more. Also see the subsection "Criticism Regarding '*boku*' and '*kimi*' [as] Used by Women" (Josei ga tsukau "boku" "kimi" ni kansuru hihan) in Nagasaki, "Ninshō daimeishi 'boku' 'kimi' no hensen," 136-37.

[27] See Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, "Gendered Japanese," 208, and Komatsu Hisao as cited in Nagasaki, "Ninshō daimeishi 'boku' 'kimi' no hensen," 132, as well as in Kinsui, "'Otoko kotoba' no rekishi," 41.

[28] See, e.g., Nagasaki, "Ninshō daimeishi 'boku' 'kimi' no hensen," 136. Also see Kinsui, "'Otoko kotoba' no rekishi," 42-43 on how *boku* was already being used in mid-Meiji texts by young boys (*shōnen*). In addition, see ibid., 43 for a significantly later example of *–tamae* as "young boy's language" (*shōnengo*).

[29] See Nagasaki, "Ninshō daimeishi 'boku' 'kimi' no hensen." The words were also used by male speakers of higher social standing when speaking to male speakers of lower social standing (see ibid., 145).

[30] Ibid., 139-43.

[31] Also relevant here, if indirectly, is Gillian Rose's feminist critique of a geographic and masculine gaze upon landscape in "Looking at Landscape: The Uneasy Pleasures of Power," in *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), ch. 5. See John Wylie on Rose's argument and this gaze upon landscape in *Landscape* (London: Routledge, 2007), 83-84, 89-91.

[32] I am indebted to Ashikawa Takayuki for his comments regarding safety in Musashino.

[33] Again, I thank Ashikawa for calling my attention to this line.

[34] See p. 62 of Doppo's essay for the context of this discussion of the paths in an "open field" (*nohara*).

[35] Although I do not purport to adhere to all facets of the framework, I do have in mind Tim Ingold's notion of the "wayfarer," for whom "movement is not ancillary to knowing—not merely a means of getting from point to point in order to collect the raw data of sensation for subsequent modeling in the mind. Rather, moving *is* knowing. *The wayfarer knows as he goes along*." Soon after: "What distinguishes the expert from the novice, then, is not that the mind of the former is more richly furnished with content—as though with every increment of learning yet more representations were packed inside the head—but a greater sensitivity to cues in the environment and a greater capacity to respond to these cues with judgment and precision." See Ingold's "Footprints Through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16 (2010): S134. Also see Ingold's contention that "the ground of

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knowing—or, if we must use the term, of cognition—is not an internal neural substrate that resembles the ground outside but the very ground we walk. . . . As Gregory Bateson insisted . . . the mind is not bounded by the body but extends along the multiple sensory pathways that bind every living being into the texture of the world" (ibid., S135). However, while "inhabitants are wayfarers" (ibid., S127, S134), neither Doppo's narrator nor Doppo himself were "inhabitants" of Musashino in a straightforward sense.

In addition to the foregoing essay, I also find inspiration, if more partially or indirectly, in Ingold's comments on "wayfinding" in *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), ch. 13, esp. 238-40 and 242.

[36] One could take this argument further by asserting that walkers generate paths *as* paths through the activity of walking. In the view of Anne Whiston Spirn, paths, along with boundaries and gateways, are "conditions, not things, spatial patterns defined by processes. Paths are places of movement . . . . A path is maintained by movement. Once a process ceases, space becomes a shell of past practices" (*The Language of Landscape* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998], 119). Indeed, the "path" is one of the "types of spaces basic to human habitats" that Spirn calls "*performance spaces*" in order to "emphasize that they are generated by active processes and are not simply formal and fixed" (italics in original; ibid., 121).

One could extend this examination of the relations between walkers and paths even further by citing Tim Ingold's statement that "where the path differs from the road is that it is a cumulative trace, not so much engineered in advance as generated in the course of pedestrian movement itself" ("Footprints Through the Weather-World," S127; also see S128 on how "feet *impress* the ground rather than inscribing it"). But, in the context of "Today's Musashino," pursuing such an argument would necessitate further research into the history of the paths to which Doppo's narrator refers. How were they (initially) created, by whom, for whom, and when? The answers to these questions would help illuminate the relations of power instantiated when the feet of Doppo's recreational stroller "impress" the ground of Tokyo's suburbs. (Note that I am referring to the plain's "thousands of crisscrossing paths." On the construction in the early Edo period of three major highways that crossed through Musashino and that ran from or otherwise connected back to Edo, seat of the new Tokugawa shogunate, see Ibi Takashi, "Edo bunjin no Musashino: gen'ya kara kōgai e," in *Bungaku no Musashino*, ed. Seikei Daigaku Bungakubu Gakkai [Kazama Shobō, 2003], 107).

[37] Doppo's use of present-tense verbs helps foster this sense of generality. In suggesting as much, I draw upon the work of Nakamura Akira, who has noted Doppo's use of verbs in "present-tense conclusive" form (*genzai shūshi*), rather than in past tense (*kakokei*), in an analysis of another passage of "Today's Musashino" that describes "your" walk. The reason for this form, Nakamura suggests, is that the passage portrays, not "Musashino at one defined time," but rather "what we might call Musashino's 'eternal form.'" Indeed, as Nakamura comments with reference to the line "The sun sets . . . the cold permeates [your] body—at such a time [*sono toki wa*]," even the phrase *sono toki wa* (lit., "at that time") does not "refer to a particular past [moment]. It does nothing more than indicate what we might call 'universal conditions' [*iwaba fuhenteki na jōken*] in the sense of 'every year, in that season, on the evening of that sort of day.'" See Nakamura Akira, *Meibun* (Chikuma Shobō, 1979), 80.

[38] While placing "you" (the reader) within a sixteenth-century landscape painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Tim Ingold reflects, "Through the exercises of descending and climbing, and their different muscular entailments, the contours of the landscape are not so much measured as

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felt—they are directly incorporated into our bodily experience. But even if you remain rooted to one spot, the same principle applies. As you look across the valley to the hill on the horizon, your eyes do not remain fixed: swivelling in their sockets, or as you tilt your head, their motions accord with the movement of your attention as it follows its course through the landscape" (*The Perception of the Environment*, 203). For more on this topic, also see Ingold, "Footprints Through the Weather-World," S125.

[39] Note, however, that the narrator does not specify if there is a *path* by which "you" would descend.

[40] Nakamura, *Meibun*, 80.

[41] I say "partially" because *ik*[*u*], unlike *michibiku* and *era*[*bu*], is not a transitive verb and so does not take "path" as a direct object.

[42] For more on "aimlessness," also see Thomas M. Greene's remark, in his study of "promenade poems," that "what distinguishes a promenade for our purposes is its aimlessness. A promenade is not an exercise of the will; it requires a release of purpose and a surrender to context. It is not a pilgrimage; it disdains to have a goal. Thus a promenade poem is not devoted to a single impression, of a lake or a mountain or a bed of daffodils. The aimlessness also requires the imaginary stroller to be open to impressions, ready to take note of what is remarkable, willing to be seduced or provoked or troubled, and then prepared to reflect on the imaginary objects called into existence" (*Calling from Diffusion: Hermeneutics of the Promenade* [Northampton, MA: Smith College, 2002], 1).

[43] See Chapter Six for Doppo's connection to Western-style painting in the 1890s. Itō Shukundo addresses the way the natural description of "Today's Musashino" leverages the painterly technique of "perspective" (*enkinhō*) in his essay, "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," 220-19. For more of Itō on and around this topic, see endnote 101 in Chapter Six.

[44] The 1898 text gives *ka*. The version of the text included in the 1901 edited volume *Musashino* (p. 22) also gives *ka*. The version of the text available as "Musashino" in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 2:76 gives *ga*.

[45] To some degree, I take inspiration from an analysis by Sugiyama Yasuhiko of the function of the verbal expression "mieta" in a passage of "A Chance Encounter" (Meguriai; 1888-89), which was a translation by Futabatei Shimei of a short story by Ivan Turgenev. See Sugiyama's essay, "Hasegawa Futabatei ni okeru genbun itchi," in *Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei*, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai (Yūseidō Shuppan, 1979), 233-34. See Chapter Two on the relation between "A Chance Encounter" and "Today's Musashino."

[46] Tom Conley, "Introduction: A Snail's Eye," in *An Errant Eye: Poetry and Topography in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), esp. 16.

[47] I have referred to David G. Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," in *River Mist and Other Stories by Kunikida Doppo* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982), 107.

[48] I thank Allen Hockley for his comments on this topic.

[49] Translation adapted from Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," 107.

[50] The 1898 text reads *warera o manmoku* [満目] *sasuru mono ga aru*. The 1901 text (p. 21) reads *warera o manzoku* [満足] *sasuru mono ga aru*. I have translated the line as it appears in the 1901 version.

[51] "Foremost characteristic" is a translation of *daiichi no tokushoku*. David G. Chibbett gives "most special feature" in his translation of "Musashino," p. 106.

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[52] The narrator employs a similar rhetorical pattern when describing the “exquisiteness” (*myō*)—“a little difficult for those from western and northeastern Japan to understand”—of the changing appearance of Musashino’s trees (primarily oak) over the course of the year: “through the spring, summer, fall, and winter, in haze, in rain, in moonlight, in wind, in mist, in early-winter showers [*shigure*], in snow; in the shade of green trees, in autumn colors: the [trees’] exquisiteness [in] presenting various kinds of scenery . . . .” (58; I have also referred to Chibbett’s translation of these lines in “Musashino,” 101). However, in a way that is difficult to capture in translation, this passage of Japanese uses commas far less frequently than does the corresponding list of temporal, seasonal, and meteorological nouns in the passage I just quoted in the body of this chapter. As a result, the passages may seem even more similar in the English translation than in the original Japanese.

[53] Ogawa Minoru also calls attention to Doppo’s use of the words 獲物 (*emono*) as well as 獲られる (*erareru*) when comparing and contrasting Doppo’s essay with the suburban sketches and sketching practices of the Fudōsha academy of Western-style artists. See Ogawa’s “Enpitsu to fūkei,” in *Meiji o aruku: Shōnan to Musashino*, ed. Chigasaki-shi Bijutsukan, Tsukimoto Toshihiko, and Takagami Sanae [? 竹上早奈恵] (Chigasaki, Japan: Chigasaki-shi Bunka, Supōtsu Shinkō Zaidan, Chigasaki-shi Bijutsukan, 2014), 17. I will discuss Doppo and the Fudōsha in Chapter Six.

[54] Entries listing the meanings of the character in a contemporary character dictionary substantiate this point. The first entry is *eru* (“to get” or “to obtain”), the first subentry of which is “to capture [*toraeru*] a bird or beast by hunting,” the second of which is “to take. To take in [*toriireru*],” and the third of which is “*bundoru* [‘to seize’ or ‘to plunder’]. *Ubaitoru* [‘to steal’ or ‘to take away’].” The second entry is *erareru* (“to be gotten” or “to be obtained”), the first subentry of which is *toraerareru* (“to be caught” or “to be captured”). The third entry is “prey [*emono*]. Something acquired [*te ni ireta mono*] through hunting or war.” There are other entries and subentries, but the ones I have quoted here should suffice to indicate the character’s connections to hunting and capture. See the entry for 獲 in Kamata Tadashi and Yoneyama Toratarō, *Shin kangorin* (Taishūkan Shoten, 2004), all quotes on 855. Also see the analysis of the character’s constitutive components in ibid. In addition, I have referred to the entries for 獲 in Ogawa Tamaki et. al., eds., *Kadokawa shinjigen*, rev. new ed. (Kadokawa, 2017), 864 as well as Morohashi Tetsuji, *Daikanwa jiten*, 7:752-53. 獲 can also be used to write the meaning associated with 穫 (“穫 . . . ni tsūzu”; 穫 is written with a slightly different character; see ibid., 7:752). The first meaning of 穫 in ibid., 8:636 is “To harvest” (*karu*), then elaborated upon as “to harvest rice plants” (*ine o karitoru*).

[55] Richard Freeborn, introduction to *Sketches from a Hunter’s Album*, by Ivan Turgenev, trans. Richard Freeborn (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), 7.

[56] In his introduction to *Sketches from a Hunter’s Album*, Freeborn states that he gives “the general title *Sketches from a Hunter’s Album*, rather than . . . *A Sportsman’s Sketches*, *A Sportsman’s Notebook*, etc.,” because his is not a complete translation of the collection (ibid.). In explaining why he includes “Album” in the title, Freeborn suggests that “the possible aura of Gamesmanship or sportiness” evoked by a title such as *Notes of a Hunter* is highly “inappropriate to the manner and spirit of the original” (ibid.).

[57] Richard Freeborn, “The Hunter’s Eye in ‘Zapiski okhotnika,’” *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, no. 2 (1976): 1-9, quotes on 3 and 4. See this essay for more on Turgenev’s literary treatment of

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"peasants" in relation to "nature." On Turgenev's upbringing and background, see Freeborn's introduction to *Sketches from a Hunter's Album*. Turgenev was "a representative of the new Russian intelligentsia" (p. 9) and, I gather, was part of the "nobility," the "landowning class" (I extrapolate from p. 10).

In "The Hunter's Eye" (p. 3), Freeborn writes that "most of his [Turgenev's] sketches drawn from gentry life are concerned with emotional relationships . . . . The only instance of such an emotional relationship taken from peasant life is *Meeting* [i.e., 'The Tryst']*;* and in this case the presence of the 'hunter' as observer is an essential element. Turgenev is off-stage, as it were, an eavesdropper" (underline added).

[58] On landscape's "discovery," see Karatani Kōjin, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Kōdansha, 1980), esp. ch. 1.

Chapter Four

The Age of Clouds: Describing the Sky in Late-Meiji Prose

Around the late 1890s, Japanese literature grew cloudy. Within half a decade, clouds emerged as a common subject of description among the seminal figures in the development of literary natural description in late-Meiji Japan: Tokutomi Roka, Kunikida Doppo, and Shimazaki Tōson. This emergence was conditioned by at least two distinct but related contexts. One was the reception by Roka and Tōson, and possibly by Doppo,[1] of the discussions of clouds in the treatise *Modern Painters* (1843-60) by the English art critic John Ruskin. The other was these writers' engagements with the objects, rhetorics, and institutions of a fluid field of cultural production in the late-Meiji period: Western-style painting (*seiyōga* or *yōga*).[2] Such painting was tied closely to the practice of drawing from life (*shasei*). It also witnessed the efflorescence from the 1890s of a plein-air style that aimed to render subjects as they appeared in different conditions of outdoor light and air. In his autobiography *As I Remember It* (Omoiizuru mama; 1938[3]), the watercolorist Miyake Kokki (1874-1954) elucidates the interest in landscape painting, or at least landscape painters, held among Japanese writers around the turn of the twentieth century. Kokki had moved to Tokyo at the end of 1900 from the rural town of Komoro in Nagano Prefecture, where he had interacted extensively with Shimazaki Tōson (see Chapter Seven). At some point following the move,

> through the introduction of Shimazaki of Komoro, I became acquainted with the poet Kanbara Ariake, also grew close to Kunikida Doppo, and at length also came to have friendly relations with [the poet and novelist] Tayama Katai. When I met with these folks, the conversation was always a debate over art [*geijutsu*]. Perhaps because writers of this period thought that, in order to know nature, there was no better course of action than searching out [such knowledge; *tanchi suru*] by associating with painters, particularly landscape painters [*fūkeigaka*], rather than merely depending upon reading alone, there was in fact a tendency for writers from various fields [*hōmen*] to proactively seek such company themselves.[4]

Kokki may be speaking of interactions between writers and painters in the first decade of the 1900s, that is, several years after the cloud writings that I will examine, which date from 1897 to 1900.[5] Perhaps he has in mind a watercolorist like Ōshita Tōjirō (1870-1911). Ōshita, whom Kokki knew quite well, developed relationships with Katai, the folklorist Yanagita Kunio, and Doppo from around 1900.[6] Nevertheless, Kokki's words begin to give some sense of a writerly fascination with landscape painting and "knowing nature" very much at work in the late 1890s. It was the kind of era in which a writer like Tayama Katai (1872-1930) could publish a novel such as *Ferry Landing* (Totō; 1898), whose protagonist is a student of Western-style painting endeavoring to complete his diploma painting. The tale, which thematizes both drawing outdoor scenes from life and also portrait painting, takes strong thematic inspiration from a particular oil painting: *Twilight at the Ferry Landing* (Totō no yūgure; 1897) by the Western-style painter Wada Eisaku (1874-1959).[7] Wada was a student of Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924), the leading figure of a new Western-style painting coterie, the White Horse Society (Hakubakai; est. 1896), known for its plein-air style (sometimes characterized as

“Impressionist”[8]).

Katai was by no means the only writer whose work from this era conveys an interest in Western-style painting. To the contrary, in the following three chapters, for which this chapter serves as an introduction, I will argue that precisely such an interest shaped descriptions of the sky and clouds by Roka, Doppo, and Tōson. These descriptions, I will show, exhibit three “descriptive tendencies,” three ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture. For shorthand, I will call the first two tendencies “describing from life” and “describing the feeling.” The third tendency will vary somewhat in the case of each writer but will consistently involve the textualization of energies or totalities (e.g., “nature”) that are connected, yet irreducible, to particular perceived and sensible forms. These descriptive tendencies, which I disaggregate only to the heuristic end of analysis, are present to different degrees in each author’s cloud descriptions. In featuring these tendencies, however, all the descriptions stage what this dissertation terms “constellations of landscape”: sets of historically conditioned relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world.

In one respect, the cloud writers’ exposures to Western-style painting, and particularly to the pictorial practice of *shasei* (drawing from life), conditioned their efforts to “describe from life.” That is to say, whether directly or indirectly, it conditioned their efforts to compose descriptions that create the rhetorical effect of faithfully or even “mimetically” transcribing the previously perceived world. For the methodological reasons given in the Introduction, I will approach these “perceived worlds” as worlds represented within the texts and previously perceived by embodied observer-narrators (“I’s”), not as the extratextual world previously perceived by living authors.

The descriptions of clouds “from life,” I will show, exhibit grammatical and syntactical patterns, finely differentiated vocabularies of color, and figural metaphors. These properties of the descriptions are calibrated to and convey the clouds’ tints, textures, and shapes in both synchronic and also diachronic frames. In raising this argument, I draw heavily upon Ada Smailbegović’s analysis of the descriptive practices of the poet Lisa Robertson.[9] For instance, having discussed a type of “cloud-writing” in the work of the meteorologist Luke Howard (1772-1864), Smailbegović states that

> Robertson’s book *The Weather* can be read as a form of “cloud-writing,” similarly setting up fields of synchronic and diachronic relations in order to produce descriptions of change that attempt to convey the activity of the changing sky in another medium—in this case poetic language, with its own distinct capacities for lively dynamism.[10]

Smailbegović further shows how the organization of Robertson’s book works to

> draw conceptually on the daily patterns of weather description that tune perceptual attention to the minute variations of the changing skies. While Robertson’s text is not based on direct observation of meteorological phenomena, each of the discrete daily sections formally relays the micro-dynamics of change through grammatical variation. In other words, varying rhythms of activity are produced in each section of the book through the diachronic dimension of the syntax and its capacity to convey differentiated rhythms and causal relations.[11]

Smailbegović’s work has provided an important touchstone for my analyses in the next three chapters of how late-Meiji cloud descriptions register, even as they simultaneously orchestrate and verbally generate, the clouds previously perceived by observer-narrators.

At the same time and in the process, however, the cloud writers also "describe the feeling." That is, they give expression to their observer-narrators' sensuous and affective experiences of clouds, or again, give expression to clouds as thus experienced. Certainly, from one perspective, "describing from life" entails the expression of sensuous experience precisely insofar as it pertains to previously perceived forms. In this respect, the distinction between "describing from life" and "describing the feeling" is one of emphasis. However, in the cloud descriptions, sensuous and affective experiences of clouds sometimes gain particularly clear expression through the use of metaphorical language—for instance, in the text by Tokutomi Roka that I analyze in the next chapter, the characterization of some cloud(s) as having appeared, to the narrator, like "a giant raging." Such metaphorical characterization articulates the clouds in a manner grounded in, stemming from, and ultimately inextricable from the narrator's previous sensuous and affective experiences of the clouds. To put this another way, the cloud(s) assume the appearance of "a giant raging" along a trajectory, although not a coincidence, of sensible clouds (world), sensuous and affective experience (perceiver), and figurative verbal expression (words). To this trajectory could also be added the perceiver-narrator's "imagination"—not in the sense of his conjuring of mental pictures completely detached from the "actual" world, but rather considered as referring to a contextually situated activity tied, at least in part, to the narrator's past perceptual engagement with the clouds.[12]

Finally, the cloud descriptions by Roka, Doppo, and Tōson all broach a third descriptive tendency by textualizing energies or totalities that are irreducible to particular perceived or sensible forms. Roka's description, I will propose, may open onto a greater force or totality—whether "nature," "God," or a combination of the two—that furnishes the colorful clouds being described from life. The narrator of Kunikida Doppo's prose-poetic essay "Today's Musashino," in turn, explicitly locates a "quivering energy [*ki*]" "in the sky" (*kūchū*), of which the clouds are a component and a transformation. Finally, Tōson's narrator gestures toward the "life" manifested by the clouds—or, alternatively, toward the way the clouds themselves are caught up in the broader processes of life in the world—by speaking of clouds that appear to "live" and "breathe."[13]

My contention in the following three chapters is that examining late-Meiji cloud descriptions, which exhibit these multiple descriptive tendencies, contributes significantly to the study of late-Meiji landscape literature. It does so by nuancing our understanding of natural description that either leverages or otherwise resonates with the practice of *shasei* (drawing from life). The examination reveals that such descriptions are not simply or solely "realistic" and uniquely modern transcriptions of an object-world as seen by disengaged or detached viewing subjects. It illustrates, instead, that the descriptions draw together, often inextricably, the transcription of previously perceived sensible form; the expression of sensuous and affective experience, or again, the expression of the world as thus experienced; and the textualization of relatively intangible, if still palpable, energies, forces, or totalities. In the process, the analysis demonstrates how the cloud descriptions stage tight connections, even intertwinings, among perceiver (embodied observer-narrators), word (descriptive language), and world (clouds).

Exploring these intertwinings and their historical conditions in the late-Meiji period serves to delineate an understanding of landscape and landscape writing that attends to what I described in the Introduction as a dynamic interplay between perceiver and world.[14] On the one hand, clouds, constantly changing in form and appearance, enable and circumscribe the on-going perceptual experiences of perceivers. This is not to suggest, however, that those clouds are merely floating "objects" waiting to be perceived. Indeed, as Tim Ingold writes when responding critically to James J. Gibson, clouds are not

> objects. Each is rather an incoherent, vaporous tumescence that swells and is carried along in the currents of the medium. To observe the clouds is not to view the furniture of the sky but to catch a fleeting glimpse of a sky-in-formation, never the same from one moment to the next.[15]

In practice, I will try to keep in view how, as Ada Smailbegović comments, "due to their highly changeable qualities, clouds occupy the uncertain position between existing as discrete entities and operating as modes of activity."[16] From this position, I suggest, clouds potentiate and delimit perceivers' perceptual experiences.

On the other hand, in disclosing the sensible world (clouds) through perception, perceivers also perceptually "attune" to their surroundings[17]—in this case, the colors, textures, and spatial arrangements of clouds. Such attunement is contingent upon the current task of the perceiver and the environmental context of perception. It also results from the perceiver's having received an "education of attention," to use James J. Gibson's phrase, in particular environmental and social contexts.[18] Among the cloud descriptions I will analyze, the clearest example of such historically conditioned perceptual attunement probably lies in Shimazaki Tōson's essay "Clouds" (Kumo; 1900). Tōson's narrator exhibits a distinct perceptual sensitivity to, and a tendency to verbally describe, the sensible qualities of clouds of certain types (e.g., cirrus clouds). This sensitivity and tendency owe to a kind of autodidactic perceptual training prompted by John Ruskin's writing about clouds in *Modern Painters*. It is by virtue of this training, guided by Ruskin's treatise, that Tōson's observer-narrator has become perceptually attuned to particular cloud types and, more generally, to the sensible features of clouds as witnessed on particular days.

In the cloud descriptions, the interplays between worlds (clouds) and perceiver-narrators also extend to and operate through those narrators' words, i.e., through the texts' narration, which is also the cloud writers' prose. In one respect, that prose orchestrates, articulates, and—given that we are dealing with written texts—verbally generates the worlds represented in the texts and the perceptions of perceiver-narrators. It does so through historically contingent uses and patterns of language, for instance, the vocabularies of cloud taxonomy or of Western-style painting. In turn, perceivers and clouds ground and offer a focus for the words of the descriptions.

In the following chapters, I will trace these interplays among perceiver, word, and world, and will further demonstrate the connections between these three terms and Western-style painting (picture), by analyzing the modes of perception and expression at work in particular cloud descriptions. These modes, I will show, were shaped by, among other things, writers' exposures to John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* and to Western-style painting.

To highlight these two common conditions of the cloud descriptions is not to deny that, in another sense, those descriptions also enact a sort of individuated vision by embedding verbal expression in on-site, in-person observations of clouds. This embedment is arguably complicit with the power-laden gazes of artists whose landscape texts function to appropriate the (actual) visible world.[19] At the same time, however, this and the forthcoming chapters will contend that, through their perceptual and expressive activity in shared or analogous conditions, multiple authors, artists, and viewers developed partially common modes of perception and expression vis-à-vis clouds. Such commonality unites the various cloud descriptions I will examine. More generally, it was an essential characteristic of the "age of clouds" in Japan at the turn of the twentieth century.

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The following three chapters will present analyses of cloud descriptions by Tokutomi Roka, Kunikida Doppo, and Shimazaki Tōson that substantiate the foregoing arguments. In the remainder of this chapter, I will contextualize the cloud descriptions by delineating the impulse among other Japanese writers as well as the watercolorist Ōshita Tōjirō to research into, write about, or paint clouds circa 1900.

Before doing so, however, I want to clarify two aspects of my arguments concerning late-Meiji cloud descriptions that may easily lend themselves to misunderstanding. First, although a markedly intense drive to study and portray clouds was indeed a cultural phenomenon specific to a particular moment in Japanese history, I do not advocate classifying this phenomenon as a "discovery" of clouds.[20] The rhetoric of "discovery" risks effacing the great variety of pictorial and verbal renditions of clouds that existed prior to this era.[21] In addition, and in a related way, the claim for the "discovery" of clouds and of "landscape" more broadly in the Meiji period tends to impose or presuppose a "break" between "premodern" and "modern" landscape writings.

That said, there are cases when the language of "discovery" carries explanatory force in the analysis of cloud descriptions. In Chapter Seven, for instance, we will find the observer-narrator of Shimazaki Tōson's essay "Clouds" attempting to escape "conventional" understandings of clouds and explicitly speaking of how artists had formerly "stood between nature and me." Judging from these aspects of the essay, one could argue that "Clouds" testifies to an epistemological "break" that apparently unveiled (brought into being) the "actual" clouds, conceived as "objects" of knowledge, from behind the cloak of mediating texts and images.[22] However, I will reframe such "discovery" as a process of perceptual and, we might say, cognitive attunement to clouds.

Second, while I will speak of *shasei* ("drawing from life" or "transcribing life") with respect to Tōson, Doppo, and Roka, I do not mean to suggest that these writers adopted or siphoned the theory and practice of *shasei* developed by the haiku poet Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902) or by writers in his circle at *Hototogisu* magazine. Addressing this distinction between Shiki and the other three writers serves to clarify why, in the following chapters, I will approach the study of *shasei* primarily by considering Tōson's, Doppo's, and Roka's familiarity with visual art in general and with the pictorial practice of drawing from life in particular.

In the literary history of Meiji Japan, *shasei* is largely synonymous with Shiki. As scholars have shown, Shiki developed a theory and literary practice of *shasei* over a number of years. He did so in part through his engagements with the Western-style painter Nakamura Fusetsu (1866-1943) starting in 1894 and, later, with the work of the "Impressionists" (plein-air painters) of the White Horse Society or "Purple School" (Murasakiha) in the second half of the 1890s.[23]

However, it is extremely difficult to determine precisely the extent to which the work of Shiki and his circle shaped or converged with the cloud descriptions of Roka, Doppo, and Tōson in the late 1890s. Certainly, evidence for crossover exists in the case of Tōson. For example, Matsui Takako has argued that Tōson may well have known of "Cloud" (Kumo; November 1898), a collection of sixteen short prose compositions on the assigned topic "cloud" by eight authors including Shiki, who engineered the collection.[24] Tōson may have also known of Shiki's "Cloud Diary" (Kumo no nikki), published in January 1899.[25] Both of Shiki's texts appeared in *Hototogisu*, which, by that point, was published in Tokyo. Tōson was still based in the city at the time.[26]

In addition, Tōson had a working professional relationship with Nakamura Fusetsu, the early painterly inspiration behind what would become Shiki's theory and practice of *shasei*. Fusetsu, who contributed two written entries to Shiki's "Cloud" collection, provided the book designs (*sōtei*) and illustrations for Tōson's volumes of poetry and prose, *Seedlings* (Wakanashū; 1897), *A Leaf-Like Boat* (Hitohabune; 1898), and *Collection of Fallen Plum Blossoms* (Rakubaishū; 1901).[27] He also introduced Tōson to Shiki in 1897 in a meeting that, reportedly, did not go very well.[28] Soon after this meeting, Shiki wrote a mixed but largely negative review of Tōson's poetry collection, *Seedlings*. He remarked, for instance, that, "in addition to lyricism [*jojō*], there is also description [*jokei*] and reportage [*joji*]. In addition to subjectivity [*shukan*], there is also objectivity [*kyakkan*]."[29] To paraphrase her argument, Matsui suggests that, following this poor review, which itself followed upon the unpleasant meeting, Tōson concerned himself with the goings-on of Shiki and company.[30] Shimoyama Jōko, too, has convincingly illustrated connections between the *shasei* practices of Shiki and those of Tōson.[31]

The difficulty in studying these connections, however, lies in the fact that Shiki and Tōson did not necessarily practice the same kind of *shasei*. For example, in Itō Kazuo's view, "Something that sharply differentiates Tōson's *shasei* from that of Shiki and company was Tōson's scientific stance [*kagaku shugi*]. In this respect, if one can call Shiki's doctrine of *shasei* [*shasei shugi*] Japan-like [*Nihonteki*], then that of Tōson should be called precisely Western realism."[32] Nakajima Kunihiko has likewise contended, in his essay on clouds in late-Meiji literature, that the *shasei* and *suketchi* (sketching) of Tōson and those at *Hototogisu* "differed in a fundamental way."[33]

What of Doppo? Shinbo Kunihiro has written as follows with respect to Doppo and *shasei* (also note that Tokutomi Roka's *Nature and Human Life* [Shizen to jinsei; 1900] contains the cloud description by Roka that I analyze in the next chapter):

> There is no doubt that [Doppo's] "Musashino"—like Tōson's *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River* [Chikumagawa no suketchi; 1911-12] and Roka's *Nature and Human Life*—is a kind of *shaseibun* [*shasei* composition], or rather, is a work that contains *shaseibun*-like elements. As I have already stated, in the Meiji 20s [1887-1896], Doppo was influenced by Wordsworth and grasped nature in a conceptual way. But "Musashino" came into being through Doppo escaping that influence. That is, [Doppo] was able to portray nature "just as [one] sees it, and just as [one] feels in seeing it."[34] However, Kamei Hideo has pointed out how one cannot, like Karatani Kōjin, address such a form of *shaseibun* in the same way as the *shaseibun* of the *Hototogisu* School [*ichiritsu ni ronzuru koto wa dekinai*].[35]

Shinbo then remarks that "Doppo was certainly not in favor [*kōteiteki*] of *shaseibun*."[36] He refers soon afterwards to Doppo's essay, "My Works and Fact" (Yoga sakuhin to jijitsu; 1907).[37] There, Doppo identifies his "Policeman" (Junsa; 1902) as "completely [a] *shasei*" (*mattaku no shasei*) and, in the course of discussing the writing of this work, declares that "*shaseibun* are rubbish [*kudaranai*]."[38] Ultimately, Shinbo opts to provisionally treat the *shasei*(*bun*) of Tōson and Doppo as a literary current separate from the *shaseibun* of the *Hototogisu* School.[39] For his part, Kamei Hideo, whom Shinbo cites, critiques the cogency of Karatani's assertion that Doppo was "influenced" by the "*shaseibun*" of Shiki and Shiki's disciple, Takahama Kyoshi (1874-1959).[40]

Finally, Yoshida Masanobu has shed crucial light on the nature of the historical parallel between the *shasei* of Shiki and that of Tokutomi Roka. Yoshida first cites Kitazumi Toshio in showing that Roka used the word *shasei* in the cases of both painting and also writing circa early 1898.[41] He goes on to state,

> In other words, for Roka around this time, "*shasei*" meant, not only [a kind of] painting, but also something done in writing.
>
> More attention should be paid to how Roka's consciousness and practice of "*shasei*" paralleled, and were not later than, the movement in *shaseibun* [*shasei* composition] in the school of Masaoka Shiki [*Masaoka Shiki ippa*]. At the time, Shiki used "*shasei*" in the case of painting; he applied "*shajitsu* ['transcribing fact' or 'realism']" to the case of "*shasei*" in writing. According to Kitazumi Toshio, we find the idea of "*shasei*" in Shiki from earlier on, but it was from [the entry dating from] May 1899 in "Miscellaneous Questions and Miscellaneous Answers [Zuimon zuitō]" that Shiki explicated [or "discussed"; *toita*] "*shasei*" with respect to haiku [underlines added].[42]

Judging from this passage, Roka and Shiki were thinking through *shasei* at the same time. Moreover, it was in fact Roka, not Shiki, who first began to speak of *shasei* in the context of writing.

Certainly, Noyama Kashō, by whom I was led to Yoshida on Roka and Shiki,[43] adopts an affirmative stance toward comparing the *shasei* of Roka with that of Shiki and company.[44] Negishi Masazumi, too, identifies similarities between *Nature and Human Life* and Shiki's "*shaseibun*," and we might add Kitazumi Toshio's name here as well.[45] But we should also note the historiographical difficulty posed by the fact that Roka had already begun his own practice of drawing from life in watercolor around the start of 1896 (see Chapter Five). This pictorial practice was essential to Roka's verbal practice of natural description, including his cloud description, in the late 1890s.[46] Roka began drawing from life at an early point in the history of Shiki's development of a new approach to haiku composition—an approach later articulated as *shasei*—following Shiki's encounter with Nakamura Fusetsu in 1894. Moreover, it would be a couple more years before, in late 1898, *Hototogisu* came to be published in Tokyo. Only then did the magazine begin to focus upon (*shasei*-style) prose composition, which is our concern here, in addition to haiku.[47]

The foregoing should suffice to demonstrate the considerable difficulty, which is not to say the impossibility or unimportance, of linking and comparing Shiki's *shasei* with the descriptive practices of Tōson, Doppo, and Roka in the late 1890s. It is possible that there were crossovers in all cases, and there does seem to have been a rather robust connection in Tōson's work. But these crossovers and their consequences cannot be assumed; they require extensive and rigorously historicist analysis beyond the scope of this dissertation. Without rejecting the possible salience of such crossovers, the forthcoming chapters will consider *shasei* primarily from the perspective of Tōson's, Doppo's, and Roka's exposures to visual art and, in particular, to the *pictorial* practice of drawing from life. At the same time, I will demonstrate that the strength and quality of this connection between pictorial practice and verbal description differed in the case of each writer. As we will see, the connection was strongest in the case of Roka, weakest in the case of Doppo. Finally, as I indicated above, I will not, in general, approach the study of literary *shasei* by asking how actual authors went outside and wrote down what they perceived.[48] Rather, I will ask how authors' writings feature an embodied narrator ("I") who verbalizes the world represented within a text, and specifically, how the narrator verbalizes clouds within that world.

The Age of Clouds

A number of Japanese writers held a marked interest in clouds around the turn of the twentieth century.[49] Briefly outlining the outpouring of cloud writing at this time helps contextualize the cloud descriptions by Doppo, Tōson, and Roka that I will take up in the forthcoming chapters.

I have already discussed the texts on clouds that Masaoka Shiki published in *Hototogisu* between November 1898 and January 1899. In addition to Shiki, one could also look to the novelist Kōda Rohan, who published an essay titled "This and That on Clouds" (Kumo no iro iro) in August 1897.[50] The essay consists of a series of entries on, among other things, different indigenous names and visual appearances of various clouds, such as "butterfly clouds" and "sardine clouds," as well as citations of classical poetry in which clouds appear.

The following month, a review of Rohan's essay appeared in an installment of a series of joint reviews grouped under the title *Unchūgo* (lit., "Words in the Clouds"), which was serialized from 1896 to 1898 in the journal *Mesamashigusa*, led by Mori Ōgai (1862-1922). The reviewers in this installment, writing under pseudonym, were the literary luminaries Kōda Rohan, Saitō Ryokuu (1867-1904), Yoda Gakkai (1833-1909), Mori Ōgai, Aeba Kōson (1855-1922), Ozaki Kōyō (1867-1903), and Morita Shiken (1861-97).[51] One reviewer of Rohan's essay stated that

> among the collected [writings] of Göthe [Goethe] is one in which, following the examples of the nomenclature [*yōgorei ni shitagaite*] of the Londoner Luke Howard, he expounded [*enzetsu*] upon his own cloud viewing.[52] It would be quite interesting if we were to take up the names designating the [manner of the] formation [*seiritsu*] of or the forms of clouds in Rohan's "This and That on Clouds" and compare them to Howard's terminology [*go*], which in fact is applied widely in meteorology and which is also used in Japan's observatories. Unfortunately, we still must await future research [後考] on some of what Rohan has written about; there is no way to compare each and every [cloud name]. In the following, I would like to list up just a few of these [comparisons].

The reviewer then presents a few such comparisons. For instance, he identifies "butterfly clouds" (*chōchōgumo*), "which are said to be white, small, and flit about [*mau*] scattered apart," with cirrus clouds.

Beginning in the same month as this review, the journal *Katei zasshi* (Home Magazine; 1892-98) carried an essay titled "A Discussion of Weather" (Tenki no hanashi; September-October 1897) that introduces Luke Howard's cloud typology.[53] *Katei zasshi* was published by Katei Zasshisha, which was "another name for the same organization [*ishō dōtai*] of the Min'yūsha and the Kokumin Shinbunsha directed by Sohō"[54] (Tokutomi Roka's older brother). A "mid-Meiji magazine [that aimed to] enlighten women [*fujin keimō zasshi*]" (*sic*),[55] the journal consisted early on of "a version of *Kokumin no tomo* journal for women [readers; *fujinban*]" and "later gained a stronger literary character."[56] In fact, the same issues of *Katei zasshi* that carried "A Discussion of Weather" also carried an original story and a translated story by, respectively, Roka and Kunikida Doppo,[57] both of whom were members of the Min'yūsha group.

Certainly, because the identity of the author of "A Discussion of Weather" is unknown,[58] the essay may not evidence a *literary* interest in clouds. Moreover, writers like Doppo and Roka may well have not read the essay, or may have thought little of it even if they did read it. Still, the very publication of this essay in *Katei zasshi* bespeaks the interest in and circulation of knowledge about clouds at this historical moment. It does so by introducing Luke Howard's seven-part cloud typology in the process of explaining how the state of the clouds and the sky indicates forthcoming weather conditions. In the following passage, for instance, the author assists the reader in forecasting the weather by detailing the visual features of cirrus clouds:

> Cirrus clouds usually have a curved shape. They appear as though they have been daubed [*tomatsu*] onto the sky with a stiff brush [*hake*]. These clouds are extremely thin and are located at extremely high altitudes. Their size, position, and form change in various ways and [thus] are not uniform. These clouds are usually the first to appear when good weather changes to unsettled weather [*fuon no tenki*]. Sometimes they form thin lines that expand in all directions, while at other times one line and another line run parallel to each other and expand from south to north (or from northeast to southwest). Sometimes, they take on a form redolent of a horse's tail, while at other times they join together like a plaited cord. Cirrus clouds are always portents [*zenpyō*] of storms, but when these clouds are scattered in the sky in good order [*teisai yoku*], one can expect fair weather to continue without a break.[59]

In the world of painting, one can locate an acute interest in clouds at the turn of the twentieth century in the work of the watercolorist Ōshita Tōjirō. A contemporary museum catalogue of Ōshita's works reproduces four studies of clouds in watercolor. These studies bear inscriptions that indicate the date, the time of day, and sometimes the direction of the view. They read, "September 13, 1899, noon; south"; "Late September, western direction; five p.m."; "November 21, 1900, morning; east"; and "December 5, 1900, evening; southwestern direction."[60] Perhaps fruitful comparisons could be drawn between Ōshita's cloud studies and those of the painter John Constable (1776-1837) before him.[61] In any case, a few years later, Ōshita would go on to create his watercolor painting, *Clouds in Autumn* (Aki no kumo; 1904).[62]

In addition to these paintings, Ōshita also offered advice to amateur watercolorists in his bestselling manual *Guide to Watercolor Painting* (Suisaiga no shiori; 1901) on coloring clouds of ten types. This ten-part cloud typology derived from the discipline of meteorology, with which Ōshita was familiar. Indeed, in a catalogue entry for Ōshita's *Clouds in Autumn*, Harada Hikaru writes, "He was so diligent [*seidasu amari*] in his *shasei* [drawing from life] that, for a time, he called upon one Professor Okada at the Central Meteorological Observatory [Chūō Kishōdai] and studied clouds, and would sometimes draw only clouds."[63] The "Okada" in question is, I take it, the meteorologist Okada Takematsu (1874-1956).[64] To Harada's point, Kawanishi Yuri notes how, in a diary for the year 1900, Ōshita recorded that, on January 27, "I called upon Mr.

Okada at the Central Meteorological Observatory but was unable to meet him."[65] On February 16, "I called upon Mr. Okada at the Central Meteorological Observatory and listened to him discuss clouds [*kumo no setsu o kiku*]."[66] Elsewhere in the diary, Ōshita refers to Mr. Okada—presumably the same Okada from the earlier entries—as one of his "newly made friends" from that year (1900).[67]

As Kawanishi has observed, the knowledge that Ōshita acquired through Okada would bear fruit in his explanations and categorization of clouds in *Guide to Watercolor Painting*, published the following year.[68] In the manual, Ōshita states, "In meteorology [*kishōgaku*], the forms of clouds are divided into ten types. Therefore, I will elaborate upon my techniques following that order."[69] I would add that Ōshita's ten types, which he gives in Japanese, are nearly identical to those listed in an article published in the journal *Annals of Meteorology* (Kishō shūshi; est. 1882) in 1894. The article announces the adoption of a new, internationally recognized gradation of cloud forms by Japan's Central Meteorological Observatory from January 1, 1895:

> The gradation of cloud forms to be used from this coming January 1 of 1895 is a revision of the gradation of [Luke] Howard following many years of research by the pair, [Ralph] Abercromby and [Hugo Hildebrand] Hildebrandsson; the International Meteorological Conference held in Munich in 1891 recognized this [gradation] as the standard international cloud gradation.[70]

The only difference between the types listed in Ōshita's manual and those listed in the article is that, in the manual, altostratus (*kōsōun*) substitutes for stratocirrus (*sōken'un*). Clouds were certainly in the air, as it were.

***

Although published several years later in 1909, Tayama Katai's novel *Country Teacher* (Inaka kyōshi) strongly evidences the kind of writerly and painterly interest in clouds at the turn of the twentieth century that I have just traced through the work of several writers as well as the watercolorist Ōshita Tōjirō. In arguing as much, I take a cue from the work of Nakajima Kunihiko, who has already discussed the practice of verbally sketching clouds portrayed in Katai's novel.[71]

Country Teacher, which Katai would later characterize as his attempt to "research and write about Japanese male youths between 1901 or 1902 and 1904 or 1905,"[72] follows the activities of the protagonist Seizō, a primary school teacher in a rural region of Saitama Prefecture. Seizō's gaze is directed toward the sky by the writings of Shimazaki Tōson, who published the essay "Clouds" in 1900 based upon cloud observations conducted in the rural town of Komoro in Nagano Prefecture under the influence of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (see Chapter Seven). The following line in Katai's travelogue "Snowy Shinano Province" (Yuki no Shinano; 1904), which Katai wrote after visiting Tōson in Komoro in 1904, signals that he was well aware of Tōson's fascination with the clouds: "[I wondered,] in particular, what would be the appearance [or "tenor"; *omomuki*] of the plateau where my friend went every evening to study the beauty of the clouds [*kumo no bi o kenkyū seshi to iu kōgen*]?"[73]

In *Country Teacher*, we first learn that Tōson's poetry and prose collection *Fallen Plum Blossoms*, which included a slightly modified version of the essay "Clouds," sat upon Seizō's desk in the main hall of Jōganji temple where Seizō was lodging.[74] Subsequently, in a passage partially highlighted by Nakajima Kunihiko,[75] the narration specifically links Seizō's fascination with the skies to the "poet of *A Leaf Boat*," an 1898 collection of poetry and prose by Tōson:

> Sometimes, he considered emulating the poet of *A Leaf Boat* and conducting a study of "clouds" [*"kumo" no kenkyū*[76]]. He could not view complex changes in clouds such as those viewed over the plateau of Shinano [Nagano], but there were some exquisitely colored clouds that arose from the mountains fringing the wide Kantō Plain.[77]

Seizō elects to pursue such studies of clouds in both words and pictures. For instance, in another passage partially cited by Nakajima that follows soon after the one I just cited, Seizō roams about outdoors recording his observations of transformations in the forms and colors of the clouds over time. I would stress, in passing, that this passage gives some sense of Seizō's embodied perceptual experience of cloud observation, of how a person with a physical presence in the world walks about, looks up at the sky, and writes down what he sees:

> He would walk through the green fields to the line of alders on the far side. The farmers, returning home after finishing their work in the fields, would invariably encounter this longhaired teacher from Jōganji temple, who always wandered around in a white summer kimono with a notebook in his hand, and would greet him as they passed. Sometimes they would see him standing on the ridge of a field writing something intently in his notebook. Recorded in great detail in Seizō's notebook were the date and time, the various forms and hues of the clouds that arose at those times, and the appearance of the twilight clouds changing with the passage of time. He began to write a work titled, "A Study of the Clouds upon the Plain."[78]

Seizō's verbal recording of clouds flows, in turn, into his pictorial recording of the same subject. One day, a gaggle of young students chances upon Seizō in the act of drawing clouds outdoors (presumably in watercolor, which Seizō had begun to practice of late[79]):

> [Seizō] was sketching [*shasei shite iru*] the evening sky at the corner of the forest of Mirokuno.
> "Wow, it's sensei! It's sensei!"
> "Sensei's writing something!"
> "Wow, he's drawing a picture!"
> "He's drawing that cloud!"
> Saying such things, students from the neighborhood gathered around in him in droves.
> "Sensei's really good."
> "Of course! He's a sensei!"
> "Ah, so that's the cloud over there."
> "Beneath it's the house over there."[80]

In the figure of Seizō, Katai draws together the verbal and pictorial fascination with the skies that typified Japan's "age of clouds."

Shiga Shigetaka, John Ruskin, and Clouds

Why, then, this explosion of interest in clouds at the turn of the century? In addition to the international circulation of cloud typologies and, more distantly, the establishment of the institutions of meteorology in Meiji Japan,[81] one local context for this turn of events may have been the publication of the bestselling geographical treatise *On Japanese Landscape* (Nihon fūkeiron; 1894) by the geographer Shiga Shigetaka.[82] In a broad, ambient sense, the treatise may have helped pave the way for the age of clouds through both its particular combination of geographical science and landscape aesthetics and also its very thematization of "Japanese landscape."[83] Roka and Doppo, and probably Tōson, had read Shiga's treatise before composing their cloud descriptions.[84] Ōshita Tōjirō, in turn, met with Shiga in 1898 prior to taking a sea voyage abroad. After speaking of Ōshita's deepening interest in clouds, Kawanishi Yuri notes that Ōshita met with the author of *On Japanese Landscape* and then remarks, "The reason Ōshita showed interest in geography and meteorology in this manner was likely because he was conscious of trying to observe landscape rationally using, not just aesthetic sense, but [also] natural-scientific knowledge."[85]

However, among the cloud descriptions by Tōson, Doppo, and Roka, only those by Tōson exhibit a distinctly "scientific" or "meteorological" quality (see Chapter Seven). Moreover, the direct point of reference for that quality was not Shiga's *On Japanese Landscape* but rather John Ruskin's treatise *Modern Painters*. Ruskin's treatise was also likely the immediate prompt behind Roka's cloud descriptions (see Chapter Five). In brief, with respect to the cloud descriptions, Ruskin looms far larger than does Shiga, whose treatise in fact owed much to Ruskin and *Modern Painters* and who was himself dubbed "Japan's Ruskin" by the essayist and evangelist Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930).[86]

As I will argue in the coming chapters, the circulation of Ruskin's treatise in Japan intersected with the pictorial practice of drawing from life (*shasei*), such as that conducted by Seizō in *Country Teacher*, to give shape to late-Meiji practices of cloud description. Nakajima Kunihiko has identified a remarkable passage in the novel *Sanshirō* (1908) by Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) that crystallizes this three-way intersection among Ruskin, *shasei*, and clouds. While the passage postdates the cloud descriptions that I will analyze by about a decade, it so perfectly captures the point at hand that it warrants quotation here. In the following lines, the physicist Nonomiya calls Sanshirō's attention to the sky, Ruskin, and drawing from life:

> A long wisp of cloud hung across the sky at an angle, like the mark of a stiff brush on the tranquil layer of blue.
>
> "Do you know what that is?" Nonomiya asked. Sanshirō looked up at the translucent cloud. "It's all snowflakes. From down here, it doesn't look like it's moving, but it is, and with greater velocity than a hurricane. —Have you read Ruskin?"
>
> Sanshirō mumbled that he had not.
>
> Nonomiya said only, "I see." A moment later he went on, "It'd be interesting to sketch this sky, no? [*kono sora o shasei shitara omoshiroi desu ne*]"[87]

Tokutomi Roka, as I show in the next chapter, would have agreed with Nonomiya.

Notes

[1] I am not aware of any concrete evidence that Doppo read Ruskin. However, Morimoto Takako has argued for strong resonances (connections) between the two in an essay on Doppo, Tōson, Ruskin, and the "discovery" of clouds. See Morimoto's "'Kumo' o meguru essei: 'Musashino' o yomu tame ni," *Shizuoka kindai bungaku* 5 (1990): 26-32.

On Ruskin's uptake in Japan, see Ui Kunio, "Rasukin no Meijiki Nihon e no senbushatachi," *Rasukin bunko tayori*, no. 47 (2004): 9-13; Watanabe Yoshio and Kikuchi Yūko, eds., *Ruskin in Japan 1890-1940: Nature for Art, Art for Life* (London: "Ruskin in Japan 1890-1940" Exhibition Committee, 1997); and Kawakatsu Heita, "Meiji Nihon no shakai shisō to Rasukin (1)," *Rasukin bunko tayori* 29 (1995): 1-4. Also on Ruskin in Japan, but largely after the period with which we will be concerned, see Izumo Masashi, "John Ruskin in Early 20th Century Japan: Some Episodes," *Shōkei ronsō*, 51 no. 4 (2016): 13-23.

[2] I loosely derive the formulation of this field in terms of institutions, objects, and rhetorics from Benjamin Morgan's model of "science" and "literature" in *The Outward Mind: Material Aesthetics in Victorian Science and Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), esp. 17-18. While I focus on Western-style painting rather than Japanese-style painting (*Nihonga*), I have found inspiration and affirmation in examining intersections between Meiji-period painting and literature in Miya Elise Mizuta Lippit's *Aesthetic Life: Beauty and Art in Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019).

[3] The first version of the autobiography was a set of essays serialized in the journal *Tōhaku* between 1934 and 1938. See Mori Yoshinori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (1): tanjō kara Hisamatsu Shōgakkō jidai made," *Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 12 (2011): 53n2.

[4] Kokki also visited Tokutomi Roka soon after his move. For this point and for the quoted passage, see Miyake Kokki, *Omoiizuru mama* (Kōdaisha, 1938), 219. The passage is cited in part in Mori Yoshinori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (7): shizen o meguru bungakushatachi to no kōryū, dainikai toō, kikokugo no kyakkō to suisaiga būmu," *Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, no. 19 (2018): 6. The passage is also cited amidst a longer quotation in Seo Noriaki, *Kindai Nihon suisaiga 150 nenshi* (Kokusho Kankōkai, 2015), 76. For more on Kokki's interactions with the writers, see Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (7)," 3-8. On the date of Kokki's move from Komoro to Tokyo, see Mori Yoshinori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6): daiikkai toō kara no kikoku to Komoro jidai, Kokki to kirisutokyō," *Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, no. 18 (2017): 25. In another essay, Kokki recalls meeting Roka around 1901 or 1902. See Kokki's "Gakyō," in *Tokutomi Roka: kentō to tsuisō* (Iwanami Shoten, 1936), 94.

[5] Most importantly, I have been unable to identify any personal interactions between Doppo and particular landscape painters circa 1897 that significantly shaped his cloud descriptions in "Today's Musashino." On the timeline of the relationship between Doppo and the painter Oka Rakuyō, see endnote 82 of Chapter Six.

[6] The interactions began centered on Katai. On Kokki and Ōshita, see Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6)." For Ōshita and the writers, see Harada Hikaru, "Nenpu," in Harada Hikaru, *Ōshita Tōjirō*, ed. [*kanshū*] Takumi Hideo, Nihon no suisaiga 1 (Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1989), 43, and Harada Hikaru, "Ōshita Tōjirō no shōgai," in ibid., 40.

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[7] On the novella and Wada Eisaku's painting, see Okabe Mikihiko, "Katai no shōsetsu *Totō* to Wada Eisaku," *E*, no. 410 (1998): 23-26. On Wada and the painting as well as the novella, see Yamanishi Takeo, "Wada Eisaku no geijutsu," in *Wada Eisaku ten*, ed. Shimoyama Hajime, Taii Ryō, and Yamanishi Takeo (Yomiuri Shinbunsha; Bijutsukan Renraku Kyōgikai, 1998), 12-13. Katai published the novella in *Shinshōsetsu* 3, no. 10 (September 1898): 77-149.

On the functions and significance of paintings within modern Japanese literary texts, see Hosoe Hikaru, "Kindai bungaku ni miru kyokō no kaiga: kindai izen to no hikaku o chūshin ni," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 63, no. 8 (1998): 148-58. Hosoe notes that, upon entering into the modern historical era, "under the influence of the West, the pictures and painters that appear in [literary] works came to be centered on oil-paintings and Western-style painters, both of which embodied the spirit of Western modernity. However, it generally appears to be from around 1895 that this trend becomes clear." This "was a phenomenon that just about paralleled the start of Kuroda Seiki's White Horse Society and the Western painting section of the Tokyo School of Arts in 1896" after a about a decade of anti-*yōga* sentiment (ibid., 150). I was led to Hosoe's article, and to this particular point and argument within the article, by Lippit, *Aesthetic Life*, 260n1.

[8] In *Ferry Landing*, the narrator records that his teacher "learned the style of painting of the 'Impressionists' [*'Anpuresshonisuto' ha*]" in France (Katai, *Totō*, 81; the teacher's real-world model is Kuroda Seiki). The narrator also reflects, "What intriguing methods of describing light I learned from this teacher; what fascinating secrets of coloration were transmitted" (ibid.). He further declares that he himself falls in the lineage of the "'Impressionists'" (*"Anpureshonisuto" ha*) (ibid., 111). Note that the connection between Kuroda and Impressionism is not straightforward. See esp. the sources cited in endnote 24 of Chapter Six.

[9] Smailbegović argues that Robertson's "poetics of description, *with its attunement to the temporalities of meteorological variation and change*, offers a way to attend to the changes in climate and other human-induced planetary transformations that have recently been framed as the period of the Anthropocene" (emphasis added). See Ada Smailbegović, "Cloud Writing: Describing Soft Architectures of Change in the Anthropocene," in *Art in the Anthropocene: Encounters Among Aesthetics, Politics, Environments and Epistemologies*, ed. Heather Davis and Etienne Turpin (London: Open Humanities Press, 2015), 93-107, quote on 96.

[10] Ibid., 102.

[11] Ibid., 103.

[12] I am building off Tim Ingold's understanding of "imagination" in his introduction to *Imagining Landscapes: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Monica Janowski and Tim Ingold (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), 3, also 14.

[13] I draw here on Itō Kazuo and Tim Ingold. See Chapter Seven.

[14] In focusing on this interplay, and on perceiver-narrators, I also take broad inspiration from Kamei Hideo, especially his work on the landscape writings of Shimazaki Tōson, Masaoka Shiki, and Kunikida Doppo. See chapters 11 and 12 of Kamei Hideo, *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*, trans. ed. Michael Bourdaghs (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002). The two chapters are translated by Antonia Saxon and Michael Bourdaghs, respectively.

[15] Earlier, a quote of Gibson: "'The furniture of the earth affords all the rest of behavior.'" See Tim Ingold, "Earth, Sky, Wind, and Weather," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13, no. S1 (2007): S28 and S27. In another essay, Ingold explains, referring to the work of Maurice

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Merleau-Ponty, that “to see the sky is to *be* the sky, since the sky *is* luminosity and the visual perception of the sky is an *experience of light*. For sighted persons, light is the experience of inhabiting the world of the visible, and its qualities—of brilliance and shade, tint and colour, and saturation—are variations on this experience” (“The Eye of the Storm: Visual Perception and the Weather,” *Visual Studies* 20, no. 2 [2005]: 101). And “the brilliance or cloudiness of the sky is an experience of light” (ibid., 103).

[16] Smailbegović, “Cloud Writing,” 102.

[17] See esp. Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 55, also 190.

[18] James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986), 254.

[19] The essential text on landscape and power is, precisely, W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002). On related matters in colonial travel writing, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992). On the distinct but germane subject of Tōson, the rural, nature, and social power, see James A. Fujii, *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in Modern Japanese Prose Narrative* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), chs. 2-3. The context differs, but in thinking through the individuation and fragmentation of vision, I have learned much from the discussions of perspectival painting and photography in Peter Galassi, *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981) as well as Itō Shunji, *“Shashin to kaiga” no arukeorojī: enkinhō, riarizumu, kioku no hen’yō* (Hakusuishа, 1987), chs. 1-2.

[20] See, e.g., Uchida Yoshiaki’s *Fūkei no hakken* [The Discovery of Landscape] (Asahi Shinbunsha, 2001), 60-67, esp. the section “Rasukin ni okeru ‘kumo no fūkei’ no hakken” (The Discovery of the “Landscape of Clouds” in Ruskin) (ibid., 62-67). Uchida locates the “discovery” of the “landscape of clouds” in the writing of John Ruskin and, as I understand it, in the writing of Tōson and the pictures of Japanese watercolor painters. Again, for a text that maintains the language of the “discovery of clouds” as well as that of landscape, see Morimoto Takako’s outstanding essay situating the cloud writings of Doppo and Tōson in relation to John Ruskin, Western landscape painting, and the “picturesque” (“‘Kumo’ o meguru essei,” 26-32). The essay also takes up Roka briefly (see ibid., 29-30). Finally, note that Ruskin himself identified “cloudiness” as the most striking feature of “modern landscape” in his treatise, *Modern Painters*. See Ruskin’s “Of Modern Landscape,” in *Modern Painters, Volume III*, in *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, 5:317.

[21] On different ways of “seeing” and conceiving clouds and other meteorological phenomena in Japanese textual sources from the eighth through the eighteenth centuries, see Uchida Eiji, “Nihon ni okeru 8-seiki kara 18-seiki made no kumo kansatsu no yōin kaiseki,” *Tenki* 37, no. 3 (1990): 185-92. On the language of “clouds” in classical Japanese literature, and particularly *tanka* poetry, see Yoshii Iwao, “Kumo (1): sozaimen kara no Nihon bungaku no shiteki kenkyū,” as well as the second and third installments of the same essay, in *Ōsaka Keidai ronshū*, no. 35 (1962): 108-31, no. 36 (1962): 150-69, and no. 40 (1963): 55-80, respectively. On the treatment of clouds in classical art and architecture in China and Japan, see Oka Junji, “Koten bijutsu ni arawareta kumo,” *Kagakushi kenkyū*, series II, vol. 8, no. 92 (1969): 194-202 (Uchida Eiji cites both Yoshii and Oka). “Realistic” white clouds and blue skies appear in *megane-e* (eyeglass pictures) thought to be by Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-95). See the *megane-e* reproduced in Hyōgo

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Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Maruyama Ōkyo ten: botsugo 200 nen kinen* ([Himeji, Japan]: "Maruyama Ōkyo Ten" Zenkoku Jikkō Iinkai, 1994), 9-17. (I take it that only *megane-e* "thought to be by the brush of Ōkyo" are given in ibid., 9-17; see Kimura Shigekazu's catalogue entry on p. 18.) For white clouds and blue skies in works by the literati painter Ike no Taiga (1723-76), the early Western-style painter Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), and the print artist Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), see Naruse Fujio, *Nihon kaiga no fūkei hyōgen: genshi kara bakumatsu made* (Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1998), 195, 199, 281-82, and 311 (but see ibid., 311 for Hokusai's differences from Taiga and Kōkan—for, in short, his more formal concerns).

[22] The phantom interlocutor here is Karatani Kōjin, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Kōdansha, 1980).

[23] On Shiki, *shasei*, and Fusetsu, see Matsui Takako, *Shasei no hen'yō: Fontanēji kara Shiki, soshite Naoya e* (Meiji Shoin, 2002). Also see Takumi Hideo, "Shiki 'shaseiron' no genryū: Shimomura Izan, Nakamura Fusetsu to no kōshō ni tsuite," in *Nihon no kindai bijutsu to bungaku: sashi-e shi to sono shūhen* (Chōsekisha, 1987), 177-88. On the topic of Shiki, *shasei*, and the Purple School (or the "Impressionists"), see Shibata Nami, "Shaseiron no saikentō: Shiki to Fusetsu no baai," *Okayama Kenritsu Daigaku Dezain Gakubu kiyō* 14, no. 1 (2007): 13-18, and especially Ōhiro Noriko, "Masaoka Shiki to Inshōha, Murasakiha: haiku kakushin ni okeru yōga shinpa no isō," *Handai hikaku bungaku* 7 (2013): 92-106.

[24] See Masaoka Shiki et. al., "Kumo," *Hototogisu* 2, no. 2 (November 1898): 22-24. The entries in the "Cloud Collection" are attributed to Shiki, Takahama Kyoshi (1874-1959), Ishii Rogetsu (1873-1928), Nakamura Fusetsu, Naitō Meisetsu (1847-1926), Fukuda Haritsu (1865-1944), Sakamoto Shihōda (1873-1917), and "a certain someone" (*nanigashi*). For letters from October 26, 1898 sent by Shiki to Takahama Kyoshi and Ishii Rogetsu requesting submissions to this collection, see *Shiki zenshū*, 19:348-49. I was pointed to Shiki's letter to Rogetsu by Kitazumi Toshio, *Shasei haiku oyobi shaseibun no kenkyū* (Meiji Shoin, 1971), 264.

[25] Shiki-shi [Masaoka Shiki], "Kumo no nikki," *Hototogisu* 2, no. 4 (January 1899): 17-18 (also available in *Shiki zenshū*, 12:269-70).

[26] Matsui, *Shasei no hen'yō*, 307-8.

[27] For these points about Fusetsu and Tōson's three volumes, see the entries for the volumes in "Shoshi" [Bibliography], in *Tōson zenshū*, *bekkan*, ed. Senuma Shigeki, Miyoshi Yukio, and Shimazaki Ōsuke, 915-17. Also see Hayashi Makoto, ed., "Nenpu," in *Gaka, shoka: Nakamura Fusetsu no subete; Taitō Kuritsu Shodō Hakubutsukan zōhin senshū*, ed. Taitō Kuritsu Shudō Hakubutsukan (Taitō-ku Geijutsu Bunka Zaidan, 2013), 149-50. See plates 110-12 in the same book for the cover pages of Tōson's three volumes. *Fallen Plum Blossoms* appears to have had a cover over the cover page; see "Shoshi," 917.

[28] Matsui, *Shasei no hen'yō*, 302-3.

[29] See Noboru [Masaoka Shiki], "*Wakanashū* no shi to e [畫]," in *Shiki zenshū*, 14:199-201, quote on 200, and also Matsui, *Shasei no hen'yō*, 304. For more on Shiki and Tōson, see ibid., part 3 ch. 1 sec. 2. Also see endnote 35 in Chapter Seven of this dissertation. Noboru (升) was a childhood name (*yōmei*) of Shiki's. See Miyaji Shin'ichi, "Masaoka Shiki," in *Nihon daihyakka zensho* (Shōgakukan), dated October 19, 2018, accessed through JapanKnowledge, http://japanknowledge.com.

[30] Matsui, *Shasei no hen'yō*, 303-4.

[31] See Shimoyama Jōko's nuanced essay, "Shasei: Shiki to Tōson," *Nihon kindai bungaku* 24 (1977): 82-94. Note that Shimoyama shows how Tōson began to move toward *shasei* prior to his

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stay in Komoro (where he interacted with the watercolorist Miyake Kokki). But also note that Chapters Seven and Eight of this dissertation focus on Tōson's stay in Komoro, where he would study clouds. For another essay on Shiki and Tōson, albeit one that deals largely with materials that postdate the cloud descriptions I will analyze, see Fujita Makiko, "Masaoka Shiki to Shimazaki Tōson no shasei," in the edited volume *Masaoka Shiki kenkyū* (Shiki Kenkyū No Kai, 2008), 74-80.

William E. Naff identifies a critical review by Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) of Tōson's early novella, *The Nap* (Utatane; 1897), as a principal reason why Tōson moved to the country town of Komoro in 1899. See Naff's *The Kiso Road: The Life and Times of Shimazaki Tōson*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 188. For Ōgai's review, see "Utatane," in *Unchūgo*, in *Ōgai zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1973), 24:380-87. On Ōgai's criticisms as being consonant with those of Shiki—as essentially demanding *shasei* (or perhaps *shasei*-like practice) from Tōson—see Shimoyama, "Shasei: Shiki to Tōson," 88.

[32] Itō Kazuo, *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū: kindai bungaku kenkyū hōhō no shomondai* (Meiji Shoin, 1969), 227; also see ibid., 240. Also with respect to "scientific knowledge," see Matsui, *Shasei no hen'yō*, 309.

[33] Nakajima cites one of Shiki's entries in the multi-authored collection "Cloud." He argues that, while it is unknown "how Tōson viewed *Hototogisu*," "if he saw this kind of writing about clouds during his years in Komoro, he surely would not have found it at all satisfactory. Shiki would later stop writing texts on these kinds of one-character topics [like 'cloud (雲)'], and would start canvassing diary entries at *Hototogisu*. The world of what Shiki called 'descriptive compositions [*jojibun*],' that is, *shaseibun* [*shasei* compositions], took another leap forward. But what we must be mindful of here is this: while this development [or 'movement'; *ugoki*] overlapped precisely, in [historical] period, with Tōson's years in Komoro, is it not the case that Tōson's '*shasei*' / '*suketchi*' differed in a fundamental way from those at *Hototogisu*?" See Nakajima Kunihiko, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei* (Chikuma Shobō, 1994), 419. See ibid., 420 for more on the distinction between the writing of Tōson and Shiki. The argument is difficult to summarize, but Nakajima highights Tōson's emphasis upon "naive[ty]," not proper to Shiki's "expression."

[34] Shinbo refers here to Doppo's essay, "Writing that Transcribes Nature" (Shizen o utsusu bunshō; 1906). For the essay, see *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:488-90, corresponding line on 488.

[35] Shinbo Kunihiro, "'Musashino' no shūen: Tōson ni furete," in *Doppo to Tōson: Meiji sanjūnendai bungaku no kosumorojī* (Yūseidō, 1996), 68-69.

[36] Ibid., 69.

[37] Doppo's "Yoga sakuhin to jijitsu" was one entry in a "collection of talks" (*dansō*) in *Bunshō sekai* 2, no. 10 (1907): 16-21. It is also available in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:519-24.

[38] Doppo, "Yoga sakuhin to jijitsu," 18; see Shinbo on more or less the same points of "My Works and Fact," although with some disparity. Shinbo also states that Doppo "wrote only one work that he recognized as a *shaseibun*" (i.e., "Policeman"). If the basis for this statement is "My Works and Fact," then I should note that, while "Policeman" seems to be the only story Doppo characterizes as a *shasei*(*bun*) in this essay, he does not specifically say it is the only work of his that is a *shaseibun*. Note that one of the lines I have quoted—"*shaseibun* are rubbish"—is reproduced with clearer, slightly modified formatting in Kunikida Doppo, *Kunikida Doppo shū*,

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Vol. [*hen*] 15 of *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* (Kaizōsha, 1931), 274, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/ 1119783.

[39] Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 69.

[40] See Kamei Hideo, *Kansei no henkaku* (Kōdansha, 1983), 264; Karatani, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen*, 33. Karatani goes on to state that writers' encounters with "landscape" were more significant than such relationships of "influence."

[41] Yoshida Masanobu, "*Seizan hakuun* oboegaki: bungakusha Roka no shuppatsu," *Kokugo kokubungakuhō*, no. 37 (1980): 21. For more on Roka's use of the word *shasei* in 1898, see endnote 67 in Chapter Five.

[42] Ibid., 22. For what I infer is the May 1899 entry by Shiki in question, see Masaoka Shiki, "Zuimon zuitō," in *Shiki zenshū*, 5:262-63.

Following the passage that I just quoted, Yoshida continues, "In this connection, [we may observe that] there was a period in which Roka used '*shashin*' as a word that corresponds to '*shajitsu*.'" He explains that, in the (autobiographical) novel *Fuji* (1925-28), Roka would refer to having felt in 1894 that he wanted to write a *shashinchō* (*shashin* notebook). Yoshida notes, among other things, that one can also find cases of "using '*shashin*' with the meaning of *shajitsu*" in Shiki. For these points, see Yoshida, "*Seizan hakuun* oboegaki," 22. For the relevant portion of *Fuji*, see Tokutomi Kenjirō and Tokutomi Ai, Vol. 1 of *Fuji* (Fukunaga Shoten, 1925), 196-97, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1016914. Note that, in a book that Yoshida also cites, Kitazumi reports that there is only one instance in which Shiki wrote (*kakinokoshita*) the actual word "*shaseibun*" (underline added), and this, only a few months prior to his death in 1902. See Kitazumi, *Shasei haiku oyobi shaseibun no kenkyū,* 259.

Incidentally, in *Fuji*, Roka would write that "K-kun," one of the top haiku poets in Shiki's circle, wrote him a postcard complimenting Roka's novel *The Cuckoo* (Hototogisu) upon its publication as a book in 1900. See Tokutomi Kenjirō and Tokutomi Ai, Vol. 2 of *Fuji* (Fukunaga Shoten, 1926), 377, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1016922. Perhaps "K-kun" is Takahama Kyoshi.

[43] See Noyama Kashō, "Kindai shōsetsu shinkō, Meiji no seishun: Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* (sono 8)," *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 44, no. 12 (1999): 154.

[44] Noyama Kashō, "Kindai shōsetsu shinkō, Meiji no seishun: Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* (sono 10)," *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 44, no. 14 (1999): 148. (Noyama also gestures briefly toward the importance of Roka's study under Wada Eisaku.) Elsewhere, Noyama seems to intimate the influence on Roka of other or others' understandings, from Masaoka Shiki on, of *shasei* as a "method of literature" (rather than as "only a method of painting"). See Noyama's "Kindai shōsetsu shinkō, Meiji no seishun: Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* (sono 2)," *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 44, no. 5 (1999): 155-56.

[45] Negishi Masazumi, *Kindai sakka no buntai* (Ōfūsha, 1985), 106 and 112-13 (but also see 94-95; see all the foregoing pages with reference to Doppo and Tōson, as well). For Kitazumi, see endnote 47 below.

[46] But see Noyama in endnote 16 of Chapter Five.

[47] *Hototogisu* had been published in Matsuyama (in Shikoku), with Shiki's support, starting in January 1897. It moved to Tokyo the next year. The first issue following the move came out in October 1898 (vol. 2 no. 1). It was from this point that the magazine, which "originally concerned itself principally with haiku," also came to focus upon prose composition, and quite vigorously at that. See Kitazumi, *Shasei haiku oyobi shaseibun no kenkyū*, 255-58, quote on 255.

Kitazumi goes on to address the relation between Shiki's *shasei* and painterly *shasei* and then remarks that "we must also consider how, nearly parallel to the *shaseibun* of the Shiki School, Tokutomi Roka and Shimazaki Tōson also were attempting compositions modeled on *shasei* in painting [*kaiga no shasei ni naratta bunshō*]" (ibid., 260). Having just referred to Roka's *Nature and Human Life*, he states, "Roka did not use the name *shaseibun*, but he was, in fact, writing compositions that can be seen as *shaseibun*" (ibid., 261). Further on, after speaking of Roka's and Tōson's meeting in the summer of 1900, Kitazumi comments that, while Roka and Tōson were linked to one another, Shiki had no connection (*botsukōshō*) with Roka and Tōson (but see Matsui Takako on Shiki and Tōson; the meeting between Roka and Tōson to which Kitazumi points occurred after the publications of their respective cloud descriptions). "However, by comparing Roka's and Tōson's [*shaseibun* with that of the Shiki School], it surely becomes clear what kinds of defining characteristics the *shaseibun* of the Shiki School possessed" (ibid.).

[48] I will pose a version of this question, however, when analyzing Tokutomi Roka's pictorial sketches in Chapter Five.

[49] In his essay "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," the literary historian Nakajima Kunihiko discusses a number of the writings on clouds that I will take up, including Tōson's "Clouds" (1900), Kubo Tenzui's "On Clouds" (Kumo o ronzu; c. 1900), Kōda Rohan's "This and That on Clouds" (Kumo no iro iro; 1897), the 1898 collection of entries on clouds in *Hototogisu* engineered by Shiki, Roka's cloud description in *Nature and Human Life*, Tayama Katai's novel *Country Teacher* (Inaka kyoshi; 1909), and the passage from Natsume Sōseki's novel *Sanshirō* (1908) that I cite at the end of this chapter.

[50] Kōda Rohan, "Kumo no iro iro," in *Rohan zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1979), 29:221-23. For the essay's publication information, see Uranishi Kazuhiko, ed., "Kōda Rohan chosaku nenpyō," in *Bekkan ge*, ed. Tanizawa Eiichi, Hida Kōzō, and Uranishi Kazuhiko, in *Rohan zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1980), 515. Incidentally, Kunikida Doppo, Masaoka Shiki, and Shiga Shigetaka all published texts in the same summer extra (*furoku*) of the magazine *Hansei zasshi* in which "Kumo no iro iro" originally appeared. I have referred to Chūō Kōronsha, ed., *Chūō kōron sōmokuji: sōkangō yori dai 1000-gō made* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1970), 30.

[51] See the names listed at the beginning of *Unchūgo* in *Mesamashigusa*, no. 21 (September 1897): 1. For the review of Rohan's text, see the subsection "Kumo no iro iro" in ibid., 6-7, also available in *Ōgai zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1973), 24:340-41. On the publication information for *Unchūgo*, see the explanatory *kōki* (postscript) in ibid., 24:640. Saitō Mokichi briefly discusses part of the passage I quote below from *Unchūgo*, as well as Rohan's "This and That on Clouds," in the essay "Rohan-sensei ni kansuru shiki," in *Kōda Rohan, Higuchi Ichiyō*, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai (Yūseidō, 1982), 9.

[52] On Goethe's poetic and prosaic writings about clouds, Howard, and Howard's cloud types, see Kurt Badt, "Goethe and Luke Howard," in *John Constable's Clouds*, trans. Stanley Godman (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), ch. 2, and Richard Hamblyn, "Goethe and Constable," in *The Invention of Clouds: How an Amateur Meteorologist Forged the Language of the Skies* (New York: Picador USA, 2001), ch. 11. On clouds in the history of Western painting, see Hubert Damisch, *A Theory of /Cloud/: Toward A History of Painting*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). On the poem "The Cloud" (1820) by Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), which describes six of Howard's cloud types in detail, see John E. Thornes, *John Constable's Skies: A Fusion of Art and Science* (Edgbaston, Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham, University Press, 1999), 190-91.

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[53] T. K. sei, “Tenki no hanashi: sono 1, kumo,” *Katei zasshi*, no. 108 (September 1897): 31-35 and T K sei, “Tenki no hanashi (2): kumo (zoku),” *Katei zasshi*, no. 109 (October 1897): 19-22.

[54] Nihonshi Kōjiten Henshū Iinkai, ed., “*Katei zasshi*,” in *Nihonshi kōjiten* (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997), 464.

[55] Ibid. Part of this entry also notes the significance of the journal as “a literary magazine aimed at women [and children; *fujoshi*]” (ibid.).

[56] Nishida Taketoshi, “*Katei zasshi*,” in Vol. 3 of *Fukyū shinpan Nihon rekishi daijiten*, ed. Nihon Rekishi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, 2nd ed. (Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1989), 44.

[57] Roka-sei [Tokutomi Roka], “Natsu no tsuki (ge),” *Katei zasshi*, no. 108 (September 1897): 58-69; “Dōji no hoshi no yume,” *Katei zasshi*, no. 109 (October 1897): 38-41. The latter text, a translation of the story “A Child’s Dream of a Star” by Charles Dickens (1812-70), first lists “Dikkensu” (Dickens) as the author (*saku*) and then “Kunikida Tetsuo” (Doppo) as the translator (*yaku*). (Dickens’s story was first published in 1850; see Paul Davis, *The Penguin Dickens Companion: The Essential Reference to His Life and* Work [London: Penguin Books, 1999], 75). Roka’s text would later be republished as “Moon After the Rain” (Ugo no tsuki) in *Nature and Human Life* (see Yoshida Masanobu, “Roka Tokutomi Kenjirō chosaku mokuroku-kō,” *Kokugo kokubungakuhō*, no. 40 [1983]: 30-31). The first installment of the text had appeared in August. See Roka-sei [Tokutomi Roka], “Natsu no tsuki (jō),” in *Kaki daifuroku*, appendix to *Katei zasshi*, no. 107 (August 1897): 28-31.

[58] The essay has been reproduced in the section “Various Unidentified Manuscripts” (Mikakutei zakkō) in the collected works of Kunikida Doppo (*Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 9:677-85). To follow Nakajima Kenzō’s explanatory notes (*kaidai*, in ibid., 9:603), the basis for attributing the text to Doppo is that, when it appeared in *Katei zasshi*, the author was listed as “Mr. T. K.” (T. K. 生). (There is variation between the two installments of the essay in the use of periods in the initials.) Doppo’s real name was Kunikida Tetsuo. The same name “Mr. T. K.” was also employed—again, I gather, with variation in the use of periods—to sign texts that appeared in other magazines linked to Doppo (e.g., a text in May 1897 in *Kokumin no tomo*). In addition, Doppo contributed other texts to *Katei zasshi* at around this time. However, because there is no additional corroborating evidence, the editors of the *zenshū* judged it safest to categorize “A Discussion of Weather” as an “unidentified” manuscript. Itō Shukundo evidently takes Doppo to be the author of the essay, which he discusses in “Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō,” *Tōkai Gakuen Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 19 (2014): 226-14 (reverse pagination).

[59] T. K. sei, “Tenki no hanashi,” 32-33.

[60] Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan, ed., *Ōshita Tōjirō no suisaiga: Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan shozō; Ōshita Tōjirō sakuhinshū* (Bijutsu Shuppansha, 2008), plates 50-53. The catalogue also reproduces two undated watercolor cloud studies (plates 48-49).

[61] On Constable and his cloud studies, see Badt, *John Constable’s Clouds*, chs. 5-6 and Thornes, *John Constable’s Skies: A Fusion of Art and Science*, ch. 2.

[62] See plate 46 in Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan, ed., *Ōshita Tōjirō no suisaiga*. On Ōshita and this painting, also see Uchida, *Fūkei no hakken*, 61.

[63] Harada, *Ōshita Tōjirō*, catalogue entry for plate 8.

[64] For the identification as Okada Takematsu of the “Okada” mentioned in the first two diary entries by Ōshita that I quote below, see Kawanishi Yuri, “Ronkō,” at the end of “Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan shozō: Ōshita Tōjirō nikki (daisankai),” *Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, no. 3 (2009): 35.

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[65] Ōshita Tōjirō, “Meiji sanjūsannen no koto o shirusu” (unpublished diary for 1900), entry for January 27, reprint (*honkoku*) available in ibid., 24. Below, I take the diary entry for February 16 from the same page.

According to Kawanishi’s explanatory notes (*kaidai*), and her explanation within the table (*hyō*) of diaries and notebooks by Ōshita held by Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan, Kawanishi’s *honkoku* is of a series of diaries, one per year, that Ōshita compiled ex post facto using other diaries that he kept on a daily basis. Kawanishi points, for instance, to how “January Meiji 27” is written at the start of the diary for Meiji 26. On these topics, see Kawanishi’s *kaidai* in “Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan shozō: Ōshita Tōjirō nikki (daiikkai),” *Shimane Kenritsu Iwami Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, no. 1 (2007): 17; also see the table on 19. Similarly, after a preface of sorts to the diary for 1900, Ōshita writes “January Meiji 34 [1901]” followed by “Ōshita Tōjirō *shuki* [手記; ‘recorded by’].” See Ōshita, “Meiji sanjūsannen no koto o shirusu,” 23.

[66] The visit is also noted in Morise Ryōko [? 森清涼子], ed., “Ōshita Tōjirō nenpu,” in Takashina Shūji, *Mizue no fukuin shisha Ōshita Tōjirō: hoyden* (Bijutsu Shuppansha, 2005), xiv (see xxxv on the expansion and revision of the original *nenpu*). The timeline lists Ōshita’s 1900 diary as a source. I was first alerted to the fact that information about Ōshita’s visit to the observatory might be found in such timelines by an online blog: Majo Sugawara, “Suisaigaka Ōshita Tōjirō-ten * Chiba-shi Bijutsukan (5-gatsu 20-ka ~ 6-gatsu 29-nichi),” *With Witch*, May 31, 2014, https://ameblo.jp/withwitch2/entry-11867013585.html.

[67] Ōshita, “Meiji sanjūsannen no koto o shirusu,” 32. I thank Kawanishi Yuri for her comments and advice. Ōshita also refers to “receiving much knowledge [*chishiki*]” from Okada, but I have not been able to parse the precise meaning of his statement: 岡田氏よりは随分上の知識をうくる事多し.

[68] Kawanishi, “Ronkō,” 36.

[69] See the entry “Clouds” (Kumo) within the chapter “The Author’s Experiences with Coloring” (Chakushoku ni tsuki chosha no keiken) in *Suisaiga no shiori* (Shinseisha, 1901), 79-83, quote on 79-80, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/850978. On the manual, see the Introduction of this dissertation.

[70] “Kumogata kaikyū no kaisei,” *Kishō shūshi* 13, no. 11 (1894): 567-74, quote 570. I have inserted given names in brackets for clarity’s sake. On the creation by Hugo Hildebrand Hildebrandsson (1838-1925) and Ralph Abercromby (1842-1897) of their “list of ten provisional cloud types” in 1887, and on the relation of their types to Luke Howard’s cloud taxonomy, see Hamblyn, *The Invention of Clouds*, 242-43. For more, also see Frances J. Pouncy, “A History of Cloud Codes and Symbols,” *Weather* 58 (2003): 71.

[71] See Nakajima Kunihiko, “Puromunādo 6: Inaka kyōshi no suketchi,” in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei*, 374.

[72] Tayama Katai, “*Inaka kyōshi*,” in *Tōkyo no sanjūnen* [1917], in *Tayama Katai zenshū* (Bunsendō Shoten, 1974), 15:648.

[73] Tayama Katai, “Yuki no Shinano,” in *Tayama Katai zenshū* (Bunsendō Shoten, 1974), 16:238. For the date of Katai’s visit, see Shimazaki Tōson, preface to *Ryokuyōshū* (Shunyōdō, 1907), 2, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/888671. Tōson identifies “the work [Katai] wrote as ‘Yuki no Shinano’” as a “travelogue” concerning that occasion. Morimoto Takako also notes the reference to Katai and “Yuki no Shinano” in this preface in her “Kumo o meguru essei,” 32.

In a different context, Okabe Mikihiko indicates how, judging from Katai's *Thirty Years in Tokyo* (Tōkyō no sanjūnen; 1917), it seems that Katai and Tōson became friendly starting around the beginning of 1896 ("Katai no shōsetsu *Totō* to Wada Eisaku," 25). While in Komoro, Tōson asked Katai, who lived in Tokyo, to acquire for him a range of reading materials from Maruzen (see Shimoyama Jōko, "*Rakubaishū* to Komoro, Hata Fuyu," in *Shimazaki Tōson: hito to bungaku* [Bensei Shuppan, 2004], 51). Note that Katai also corresponded with Tōson while the latter resided in Komoro; the earliest letter collected in Tōson's *zenshū* that Tōson sent Katai following the move to Komoro dates from December 15, 1899 (in *Tōson zenshū*, 17:52).

[74] Tayama Katai, *Inaka kyōshi*, in *Tayama Katai zenshū* (Bunsendō Shoten, 1973), 2:425.

[75] Nakajima Kunihiko also quotes much of the first part of this passage, and speaks of Seizō's "cloud *suketchi*," in "Puromunādo 6," 374.

[76] I assume that Katai placed the word *kumo* in double hook brackets for emphasis rather than to allude to the title of Tōson's essay ("Kumo").

[77] Katai, *Inaka kyōshi*, 2:427; translation adapted from Kenneth Henshall, trans., *Country Teacher, a Novel by Tayama Katai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984), 83-84.

[78] Katai, *Inaka kyōshi*, 2:427; translation adapted from Henshall, trans., *Country Teacher*, 84. Again, Nakajima quotes part of this passage in "Puromunādu 6" and offers a brief analysis.

[79] For instance: "On the desk were students' compositions, partially corrected in red, and a partially completed sketch in watercolor, which he had recently begun to practice [*kono goro hajimeta suisaiga no shasei shikaketa no . . . ga oite atta*]. . . . Over tea, he showed his friend two or three poorly done watercolors that he had drawn [*shasei shita mazui suisaiga*]" (*Inaka kyōshi*, 2:465-66; translation adapted from Henshall, trans. *Country Teacher*, 111).

[80] Katai, *Inaka kyōshi*, 2:477-78.

[81] For instance, the Meiji period witnessed the spread of a network of observatories that collected and centralized data regarding the weather across the nation (and empire). See Arayama Masahiko, "Meijiki ni okeru kishō kansoku nettowāku no keisei: kokudo kūkan o tsukuriageru gihō," in *Kūkan kara basho e: chirigakuteki sōzōryoku no tankyū*, ed. Arayama Masahiko and Ōshiro Naoki (Kokon Shoin, 1998), ch. 1. On the history of meteorology in Japan, see Nihon Kishō Gakkai, ed., *Nihon Kishō Gakkai 75 nenshi* (Nihon Kishō Gakkai, 1957).

Intriguingly, the year 1896 also witnessed the publication of an international cloud atlas. See Pouncy, "A History of Cloud Codes and Symbols," 71. On the cloud atlas, see Lorraine Daston, "Cloud Physiognomy," *Representations*, no. 135 (2016): 45-71 as well as Hamblyn, *The Invention of Clouds*, 245-48. Hamblyn writes that the atlas "needed to be published in time to coincide with the Meteorological Conference of 1896. For, as a means to publicize the event, and to mark out its significance, 1896 had been declared the *International Year of Clouds*. Meteorologists everywhere were patiently waiting for their copies of the commemorative guidebook" (emphasis added; ibid., 246).

[82] There is a wealth of scholarship on Shiga's treatise, but I have found the following two sources to be particularly enlightening: Ōmuro Mikio, *Shiga Shigetaka "Nihon fūkeiron" seidoku* (Iwanami Shoten, 2003) and Nobuko Toyosawa, *Imaginative Mapping: Landscape and Japanese Identity in the Tokugawa and Meiji Eras* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2019), ch. 6. Also see Anzai Shin'ichi, "Shiga Shigetaka *Nihon fūkeiron* ni okeru kagaku to geijutsu: mubaikaisei to kokusui shugi," *Geijutsu bunka* 11 (2006): 15-24.

[83] In fact, the treatise contains an entire chapter on Japan's copious "water vapor" (*suijōki*). Moreover, we may take a cue from Yoshida Masanobu and note that the treatise includes a

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passionate call for Japan's artists to thematize water vapor, among other subjects, in its chapter, "A Message to Japan's Writers, Poets, Painters, Sculptors, and Those of Poetic, Lofty Character" (Nihon no bunjin, shikaku, eshi, chōkokuka, fūkai no kōshi ni kigo su). See Shiga Shigetaka, *Nihon fūkeiron* (Seikyōsha, 1894), 186, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/762818. (Yoshida links Shiga's call to thematize these subjects with texts by Tokutomi Roka; see Yoshida's "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi: sono shugyō jidai," *Nihon bungaku* 26, no. 8 [1977]: 5-6, esp. 6, and see endnote 72 in Chapter Five.) In the context of addressing Japan's age of clouds, however, I am obliged to state that "water vapor" and "clouds" are not the same thing.

[84] Roka's autobiographical novel *Fuji* records that Kumaji, who is modeled upon Roka, stated around September 1894 that he was thinking of writing a text titled *Beautiful Japan* (Bi naru Nihon), an idea originally proposed by his brother (i.e., the journalist Tokutomi Sohō, head of the Min'yūsha coterie). See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 196. Then, upon reading Shiga's *On Japanese Landscape* for the first time around June 1895, Kumaji felt that he "had been beaten by someone else to composing *Beautiful Japan*, which he had hoped to write someday. But, even if he did not have as much grounding in science as the author of *On Japanese Landscape*, he could not help but feel that, in demonstrating the true beauty of Japanese landscape, *On Japanese Landscape* had merely scratched the surface" (ibid., 443). Citing this passage, Yoshida Masanobu identifies the "intention to represent 'Beautiful Japan'" (*"Bi naru Nihon" keishōka no kokorozashi*) as one of the "motivations or reasons for the composition of *Nature and Human Life*" ("*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kōsei to shisōsei," *Kokugo kokubungakuhō*, no. 55 [1997]: 1-2, quotes on 1). On Shiga's treatise and Roka, also see Fukawa Junko, "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," *Seikei jinbun kenkyū*, no. 3 (1995): 19-20 and Kaneko Takayoshi, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite: *Shizen to jinsei* 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' o chūshin ni," *Shiga Daigaku Keizai Gakubu kenkyū nenpō* 12 (2005): 15-19.

In January 1895, Doppo had cited Shiga's treatise by title in a series of reports made between October 1894 and March 1895 from a navy vessel during the Sino-Japanese War. These reports would be published together in 1908 as the book *Letters to a Beloved Brother* (Aitei tsūshin). See Kunikida Doppo, "Chiyodakan no teisatsu," in *Aitei tsūshin*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 5:100. I was led to Doppo's reference to Shiga's treatise by Nakajima Kunihiko, who quotes it in "Bannen no Shiki no shaseiron to kaigaron," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei*, 273. Shinbo suggests that Doppo and Shiga had formed a friendly relationship years prior, I take it, to 1898 ("'Musashino' no shūen," 68).

On Shiga's treatise and Tōson, see Itō Kazuo, "Shimazaki Tōson no shizenkan (ichi): seiritsu to tenkai," *Tōyōgaku kenkyū*, no. 15 (1980): 12 and Itō Kazuo, *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, 162-68, esp. 167. I was led to this last source by Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 67. Shinbo also proposes that Tōson was influenced by Shiga's treatise (ibid., 67-68), although I am unsure what he considers to be the timeline of this influence.

[85] Kawanishi, "Ronkō," 36.

[86] On this last topic of Ruskin and Shiga, see Kaneko Takayoshi, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 20 and Watanabe and Kikuchi, eds., *Ruskin in Japan 1890-1940*, 282. For more, see Ukita Keisuke, "Nihonjin no shizenkan no hikaku bungakuteki kōsatsu: Shiga Shigetaka no baai (sono 2)," *Dōshisha Joshi Daigaku gakujutsu kenkyū nenpō* 26, no. 1 (1975): 33-50. However, Moritani Uichi cautions that it is unclear to what degree Shiga had mastery

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over (*tsukaikonashita*) the content of Ruskin's lengthy *Modern Painters* ("Shiga Shigetaka *Nihon fūkeiron* o yomu," *Bungeigaku kenkyū* 6 [2002]: 41).

Uchimura Kanzō likened Shiga to Ruskin in a review of *On Japanese Landscape*: "Half a century ago, the Englishman John Ruskin, moved by the technique of the master of landscape painting [lit., 'nature painting'; *shizenga*] Joseph Turner, authored the famous *Kinsei no gakō* (Modern Painters [written in roman letters in the parentheses]). From that point, the eyes of the civilized world were first opened for discerning beauty in nature [*bunmei sekai wa hajimete bi o shizen ni yomu no me o hirakaretari*]. Having read *On Japanese Landscape*, I do not hesitate to present its author with the name, 'Japan's Ruskin.'" See Uchimura Kanzō, "Shiga Shigetaka-cho *Nihon fūkeiron*," in *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1933), 2:238. Toyosawa discusses Uchimura's review and the comparison to Ruskin in *Imaginative Mapping*, 228. Suzuki Sadami has proposed that Uchimura's review "may have been one trigger [*kikkake*] for the occurrence of a Ruskin boom among Japan's writers." See Suzuki's *Nihonjin no shizenkan* (Sakuhinsha, 2018), 555.

[87] Nonomiya then continues: "'I ought to tell Haraguchi about it,' he said. Sanshirō, of course, did not know the name of the *painter* [*gakō*] Haraguchi" (emphasis added). See Natsume Sōseki, *Sanshirō*, in Vol. 5 of *Sōseki zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 305; translation adapted from Jay Rubin, trans., *Sanshiro: A Novel*, by Natsume Sōseki (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 25.

Chapter Five

Sketching and Describing: The Clouds of Tokutomi Roka

In the previous chapter, I argued that movements in Japanese Western-style painting, and the circulation of John Ruskin's treatise *Modern Painters*, conditioned the efflorescence of descriptions of clouds among Japanese writers in the late 1890s. This chapter substantiates that argument. It does so by analyzing two types of works composed by Tokutomi Roka around the turn of the twentieth century: landscape sketches in watercolor and a verbal description of clouds. The analysis illustrates how a writer's knowledge and practice of Western-style painting, and his exposures to the historically specific modes of observing and describing clouds in *Modern Painters*, might combine to give shape to his cloud description. It further elucidates how that description exhibits multiple "descriptive tendencies," ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture. These tendencies, which I outlined in the previous chapter, include both describing clouds "from life" and also expressing the sensuous and affective experience of perceiving those clouds. They further include the textualization of a certain energy or totality—natural, divine, or both—that furnishes the clouds being described from life.

In the process of analyzing these tendencies, this chapter will demonstrate how Roka's cloud description stages a dynamic interplay between the observer-narrator and clouds overhead. On the one hand, the clouds potentiate and delimit the narrator's perceptual experiences. On the other hand, in disclosing those clouds through perception, the narrator perceptually attunes to the clouds, and specifically to their colors, in a manner conditioned by Roka's practice of watercolor painting in the late 1890s as well as his readings of John Ruskin. In Roka's text, this interplay between perceiver and world further enfolds the narrator's words, that is, Roka's prose. These words orchestrate and articulate the clouds represented in the text, and perceptions of those clouds by the observer-narrator, through historically conditioned uses and patterns of language. In turn, the perceptions and the clouds provide a focus for the words.

In Roka's cloud description, these interplays among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture are realized through acts of perception and expression. Accordingly, analyzing those interplays requires unpacking the historical influences that bore upon the modes of perception and expression at work in Roka's description. Much of this chapter consists in an exploration of those influences. In what follows, I will first consider the impact upon Roka's natural description in the late 1890s of his pursuit in the same period of the pictorial practice of drawing from life (*shasei*). Roka's critical essays on *shasei* reveal that this practice generally sensitized him to "nature" (*shizen*). This sensitization further informed Roka's natural description in these years.

Having examined Roka's essays on *shasei*, I next take up Roka's landscape sketches in watercolor from the late 1890s. These sketches exhibit two key characteristics that also typify Roka's verbal descriptions of clouds in the same period: an embedment of expression in perception and a distinct perceptual attunement to environmental color. Finally, I will draw on the work of Kaneko Takayoshi to argue that, in addition to the practice of sketching, Roka's reading of the discussions of clouds in John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* also shaped his practices of cloud observation and description in the late 1890s. Through these readings, as well as his watercolor sketching, Roka received what the psychologist James Gibson calls an "education of attention"[1]—an education by which he became perceptually sensitized to the colors of the environment in general and to the colors and shapes of clouds in particular.

As I indicated above, these multiple biographical, historical, and intellectual conditions shaped the modes of perception and expression at play in Roka's cloud description. By extension, they shaped the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world realized in that description through acts of perception and expression. By demonstrating as much, I aim to provide a concrete example of the methodology developed in this dissertation for studying literary landscape in a manner that negotiates between the perceptual and the discursive, the experiential and the historical. I also aim to clarify the kinds of understandings of late-Meiji landscape literature made available by reconceptualizing "landscape" as the site of a constellation of relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world.

Drawing from Life

Situating Roka's natural description in relation to his practice of painting first requires reviewing the timeline of that practice. According to his autobiographical novel *Fuji* (1925-28), Roka began studying watercolor at the end of 1895. The trigger appears to have been that Roka's wife, who already had knowledge of picture making, started to practice Western-style painting in the fall of that year.[2] While Roka undertook his study of watercolor on the eve of a boom in amateur watercolor painting in Japan at the turn of the twentieth century,[3] he differed from future amateurs in that he began to receive instruction starting in early 1896 from the professional Western-style painter, Wada Eisaku.[4] Wada was a member of the "New School" of Western-style painting, led by Kuroda Seiki and Kume Keiichirō (1866-1934), that was known for a plein-air style characterized by a bright color palette (see Chapter Six). Yoshida Masanobu writes that Roka "probably learned the painterly theory of the plein-airists from Wada, who was studying under Kuroda Seiki."[5] However, *Fuji* also indicates that Roka's training under Wada was not necessarily orthodox or even sustained over time or at a consistent rate. For instance, in a passage in *Fuji* set in around September or October 1896, Roka writes that Kumaji (Roka's in-text counterpart) and his wife "had, before they realized it, come to visit their painting teachers less frequently. But if one took nature as one's teacher, then one's teacher was every which way."[6] Again, a passage in *Fuji* set in spring 1897 indicates that Kumaji had not spoken since last summer with "Tarumi" (Wada), who had "first taught him the basics of *shasei* [drawing from life]."[7] (Kumaji then pays a visit to Tarumi.[8])

Roka would recall how he became feverishly committed to the practice of *shasei* when recounting his study of painting over the previous two years in the 1898 essay, "Sketchbook: Pictures" (Shaseichō: e).[9] Building on the work of scholars such as Kaneko Takayoshi, who also cites parts of the following passages of Roka's essay, I will contend that Roka's pictorial *shasei* intersected with and shaped his literary natural description in the late 1890s.[10] The first installment of the 1898 essay ends, "When it came to *shasei*, my fever had risen by now to over forty degrees [Celsius]."[11] The second begins,

> *Shasei*, *shasei*, yesterday *shasei*, today *shasei*! I just about became a *shasei* maniac. Time was short, and I had but two hands. How I regretted that I could not collect [*kakikomu*] everything in the universe into my sketchbooks [*shaseichō*]![12]

Certainly, Roka's language here may be hyperbolic. A good portion of this self-critical essay consists of Roka looking back upon and lampooning the gap between his technical incompetence and what seems to have been his pompous ambitiousness as a fledgling painter.[13] In fact, in *Fuji*, Roka would refer indirectly to this essay as "[the] confessions of an amateur sketch artist" (*shirōto shaseika no zange*).[14] Yet, he would also write that this essay "set forth Kumaji's [Roka's] state of mind [*kokoro*] just as it was," and that it was "an oath of his new resolution [*shinhosshin*], a bugle [announcing] the start of his journey [*kadode*]."[15] The block quote I offered above speaks to that new resolution by conveying Roka's real commitment to the practice of drawing from life. This practice was integral to Roka's study of watercolor painting, which, as the following lines suggest, facilitated a sort of perceptual and affective attunement to "nature." This attunement surely informed Roka's drive to compose *verbal* natural description from life, including that of clouds, in the late 1890s:

> Two years have passed, and paintings fill my basket [筐]. How much have I progressed? Not at all, not in the least bit. I have just felt my eyes swim and my hands shake before nature—a nature that I had previously thought I had [really] been able to see but that, [in fact], becomes the more magnificent [*yūdai*] and amazing the more I look at it. I have just felt that I am seeing before me something that should astonish me a great many times more than the works of master [painters; *shosensei*], whereas previously, when I saw those works, I asked myself where in nature one could possibly find those kinds of colors and forms.[16]

Judging from these lines, Roka's study of painting yielded little in the way of technical skill. But it did sensitize him to a "magnificence" in "nature" that he had previously overlooked. Put differently, it led him to find greater significance in one and the same nature, the subject of his perception and pictorial expression. This process recalls the following assertion made by the anthropologist Tim Ingold. Ingold reflects upon the significance of a knowledgeable figure leading a less knowledgeable figure about an area and pointing things out, showing things to them:

> Placed in specific situations, novices are instructed to feel this, taste that, or watch out for the other thing. Through this *fine-tuning of perceptual skills*, meanings immanent in the environment—that is *in the relational contexts of the perceiver's involvement in the world*—are not so much constructed as discovered [emphases added].[17]

The ramifications of Roka's practice of drawing from life, however, may have been more wide-ranging than this quotation of Ingold's work implies.[18] Near the end of the 1898 essay, Roka signals that his study of painting induced a transformation in what could be called his way of being, including his relation to painting (pictures) and his manner of engaging with nature (world). This transformation, I would propose, also rippled through his natural description (words):

> I spoke of looking at nature, but I was dreaming, not looking. I spoke of knowing painting, but I was arguing without knowing. What have I learned after devoting all my spirit for two years? All I have come to know is that I do not know the first thing about painting.
>
> But was this the case in just painting alone? No, it was the case in all things.

> I was feeling, not thinking. I was dreaming, not seeing. Without knowing, I was speaking.
>
> Even though the heavens opened for me the magnificent book of nature and humankind [*shizen oyobi hito*], I closed my eyes and sank into my own delirious babble.
>
> Two years of training in painting [*gagaku shugyō*] have opened my eyes. . . .
> I wish to empty my mind, become an infant, face downwards, and open the first page of the secret book of Creation.[19]

Roka would echo these sentiments in the following passage of a 1902 essay, identified by Yoshida Masanobu,[20] titled "'Nature,' My First Love" (Waga hatsukoi naru "shizen"). Earlier in the essay, Roka had spoken of his acute difficulties with other people, and of his strong love for nature, through young adulthood. His love for nature was blind, however, and "I knew nothing of the [true] form of the nature that I so loved or of the character of nature, let alone the meaning [*igi*] hidden in nature's depths." He continues:

> It was after I took up drawing pictures from life [*shaseiga no shikō* 嗜好 *yori*] that I realized I had been loving nature blindly and knew nothing of nature itself [*shizen sono mono*]. I did not formally study painting [*e*], and still now I cannot render a single contour line of a rice bowl satisfactorily. But art requires techniques of the hand [*geijutsu wa te nakute narazu*], and to use the hand requires the eye. Even in portraying one leaf of reed grass, one cannot portray it if one is dreaming. If one does not pass through reality [*genjitsu o hezareba*], it is difficult to express either feeling [*kan*] or thought [*sō*], and so I came to discard the arrogance of fancy and to begin studying from the ABC's in the lowest level class in this course of study.[21]

Roka goes on to write, in the following passage, that "*shasei* cut the membrane over my eyes [*waga me no maku o kirite*] little by little"—presumably the same membrane he later identifies as "'ego'" (我, given the reading *igo*).[22] Note that Roka lived in Zushi, a coastal town south of Tokyo, between 1897 and 1900[23]:

> I lived for four years in Zushi. In the afternoon, I looked up at the snow upon Fuji in the clear sky, and at night, I listened to the echoes of Sagami Bay; my mind was saturated with nature and attained unlimited tranquility. Along with this, *shasei* cut the membrane over my eyes little by little, and I came to catch glimpses sometimes of fragments of marvelous nature. While [these were] truly shallow appearances, and merely fragments at that; while appearances are appearances, and fragments are fragments, still I came to feel that I was in the process of gaining something unlike anything from back when I was merely dreaming.[24]

One could characterize the foregoing passages in terms of a "discovery" of landscape ("reality"), or see Roka's realism as germinating from his romanticism.[25] But my interest in these passages lies instead in the sense that the perceptual and technical practice of sketching helped to draw Roka outside of himself and—this is the key—to channel his attention toward "nature" (or, again, "reality"). Such a channeling of attention seems to have deeply affected Roka's *verbal* natural description, as well, in the same period.

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In Roka's case, the kind of opening of the perceiver-artist onto "nature" described in the foregoing essays occurred over the course of several years of sketching at the turn of the twentieth century. Today, the Roka Memorial Hall at the Tokyo Metropolitan Roka Koshun-en Gardens in Setagaya, Tokyo preserves twenty-eight of Roka's sketchbooks,[26] many of whose pictures date from the late 1890s to the early 1900s. These sketchbooks reveal two principal characteristics of Roka's landscape sketches in watercolor. (We will not be concerned with Roka's many pictures of human figures or with his drawings in pencil, charcoal, or perhaps pen [hereafter, "pencil sketches."[27]])

The first characteristic is the transcription of the perceived visible world. Indeed, the format, compositions, subject matter, and textual inscriptions upon and around Roka's sketches create the impression that the pictures were at least partially embedded in, and emerged from, the artist's perceptual experiences of the depicted scenes. Those experiences animated, and gained visible form through, the pictorial gesture of painting.[28] I stress that I speak here of connoted "embedment" and "emergence." That is to say, I am pointing to strong connections, but *not* identity, between perception and expression.[29]

The second characteristic of the sketches in Roka's sketchbooks is the use of a range of colors, sometimes quite vivid. As I demonstrate below, both of these aspects of Roka's drawings from life—the connoted embedment of expression in perception and variegated, sometimes vivid coloration—also characterize Roka's verbal description of clouds from life in the same years around the turn of the twentieth century.

Expression and Perception

In Roka's watercolors, an effort to transcribe the perceived world manifests itself in landscape illustrations whose formats, themes, compositions, and paratexts (inscriptions) connote their "embedment" in perceptual experience and in the sensible world. Put more simply, the scenes portrayed in the pictures seem to be linked to scenes previously perceived by the artist, although this is not to say that every picture was drawn, or drawn completely, on site. Roka's essays on drawing from life already evidence this link between perception and pictorial expression. But additional corroborating evidence can be found in the pictures contained in the sketchbooks themselves.

Before taking up those pictures, however, the context in which Roka kept the first sketchbook that I will examine demands some explanation. This is because the evidence suggests that this sketchbook dates from the same period in which Roka conducted the cloud observations on which he based the verbal cloud description that I analyze later in this chapter. The title page of the sketchbook reads as follows (I indicate line breaks with slashes)[30]: "Sketch Book. / No. 21. / May 7th / 1898. / K.T." (underlines in original). "K.T." presumably refers to Kenjirō Tokutomi, Roka's real name. The date "May 7, 1898" implies that Roka kept at least part of this sketchbook in the rural, mountainous hot-spring town of Ikaho (Gunma Prefecture), to which he and his wife, Tokutomi Aiko (1874-1947), traveled in early May 1898 for a two-week stay.[31] That Roka sketched during this stay is indicated by the following lines, identified by Kaneko Takayoshi, in Roka's autobiographical novel *Fuji*. While in Ikaho in May 1898, "husband and wife walked about each day carrying [their] sketching materials [*shasei dōgu*] . . . . His [Kumaji's (Roka's)] new sketchbook was soon chock-full" (alternatively, "their new sketchbooks were soon chock-full").[32] Perhaps this "new sketchbook" is the one we are examining here. In addition, in June 1898, Roka published a series of short texts in *The People's Newspaper* under the collective title "Mountains and the Sea" (Yama to umi), a kind of travelogue to Ikaho combined with reflections upon and descriptions of the area. In the first entry of "Mountains and the Sea," Roka describes how on May 7—the date upon the sketchbook's title page—he traveled to and arrived in Ikaho and lodged at "Mr. Chigira's Jinsentei [Inn]."[33]

It was likely during his stay at this inn that Roka conducted the cloud observations on which he based three verbal sketches of Ikaho's clouds, sky, and mountains later grouped together as "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan" (Kōzan mikka no kumo).[34] (Kōzan [香山] refers to Ikaho [伊香保], or more literally, to the mountains of Ikaho.[35]) Roka would publish "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan" for the first time as part of "Five Minutes with Nature" (Shizen ni taisuru gofunji). This was one of three collections of short prose pieces that, along with a novella and an essay on the landscape painter Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796-1895), composes Roka's volume *Nature and Human Life* (1900), perhaps the best-known collection of literary sketches of nature and human affairs published in the Meiji period.[36] Roka's three verbal sketches of clouds in Ikaho, one of which I analyze below, are dated to May 10, May 13, and May 18, respectively. They thus overlap with the period during which Roka kept the foregoing pictorial sketchbook, which bears the date May 7, 1898, although Roka may have revised the verbal cloud sketches upon their inclusion in *Nature and Human Life*.[37]

Three illustrations contained in the May 1898 sketchbook illustrate how Roka's sketches connote an "embedment" of pictorial expression in specific contexts of perception. The first illustration is likely a sketch of the view from the Chigira Jinsentei Inn where Roka lodged while in Ikaho (figure 2). The second displays billowing white clouds over a series of multicolored mountain ridges (figure 3). The last shows another series of multicolored mountain ridges beneath a band of the yellow light of sunset (or sunrise; figure 4).

Several characteristics of these sketches, and of the sketchbook that contains them, suggest that these pictures were tied to and emerged from particular places and times of perception. Consider, first and foremost, the material support and packaging of the illustrations: a booklet—a *sketchbook*—as opposed to discrete canvases. With its compact size and relative portability, the booklet format already lends itself to drawing this or that scene on site. This is not to say, however, that Roka necessarily *completed* his pictures on site. For instance, in a passage set in Zushi in early 1897 in the novel *Fuji*, we read that "when he [Kumaji (Roka)] went out, he would draw, and when he returned home, he would open the sliding door [*shōji*] and paint [the parts of the pictures that] he had left unpainted by the remaining daylight . . . . "[38]

The sketchbook format and packaging of the three pictures under consideration accord with both the prosaic quality of the depicted scenes, which suggests what is sometimes called "anonymous" landscape (at least in the second two sketches), as well as the relatively rough finish of the illustrations. The rough finish may indicate that these pictures were not reworked extensively following their initial execution, although it could also be a result of aesthetic preference or technical capacity. Also pertinent to the way the pictures connote their embedment in particular contexts of perception are the rough indication of the time of day through the lighting of figure 4 as well as the low viewpoints and sightlines of all three sketches. These viewpoints and sightlines signal that the depicted scenes could physically be viewed by a human on the ground—not the case with, say, the floating viewpoints common in traditional Japanese art.

In addition to examining the sketches' compositions, comparing the subject matter of these sketches to scenes that Roka could have really perceived in Ikaho also serves to establish the sketches' embedment in particular contexts of perception. For instance, the first sketch (figure 2) probably shows the view from the Chigira Jinsentei Inn where Roka lodged while in Ikaho. It may even show the view from Roka's third-floor room where he conducted the cloud observations on which he based "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan,"[39] although I will cast some doubt upon this particular argument below.

That the sketch displays a sliding screen door (*shōji*), here opened wide to reveal the view outside, supports the inference that the sketch is set in the Chigira Jinsentei Inn. This is because references to the opening of *shōji* appear in all three cloud sketches collected in "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan."[40] Likewise, references to "opening the *shōji*" surface in "Mountains and the Sea," Roka's travelogue to and series of reflections upon and descriptions of Ikaho.[41] Furthermore, as Minegishi Hideo has already noted, *shōji* appear at the start of Roka's best-selling novel, *The Cuckoo* (Hototogisu; serialized in 1898-99, revised and published as a book in 1900). In the novel's opening scene, Namiko views two clouds from the third floor of the "Chigira" Inn.[42] The novel begins, "A lady opened the *shōji* on the third floor of the Chigira [Inn] in Ikaho in Jōshū [Province] and gazed upon the evening scene."[43]

Despite this corroborating evidence, however, the fact that Roka's illustration displays no railing (*ran*) suggests that it presents either an abbreviated version of the view from Roka's room or the view from another part of the inn. For instance, at one point in the cloud sketch I analyze below, Roka's narrator states, "When [I] looked out from the upper floor [*rōjō yori*] . . . ."[44] (underline added). He then refers later on to "the trees on the mountains beyond the railing [*ranzen no yama*]" (underline added).[45] Likewise, in an entry in "Mountains and the Sea," Roka writes, "I lodged in a three-story building. Even the swallows who fluttered before the railing [*ranzen ni*] . . . ." (underline added).[46] In addition, in another entry in "Mountains and the Sea," Roka refers to "leaning upon the railing [*ran*]" and looking out at the clouds (underline added).[47] Finally, the novel *Fuji* contains a description of the "six-mat room on the third floor" of the Chigira Jinsentei Inn where Kumaji (Roka) and his wife lodged. The room was

> partitioned from the neighboring [room] to the right . . . by a paper-covered sliding door [*karagami*], and when one opened the four *shōji*, whose edges were black and whose lattice frameworks were thin, there was a narrow veranda with a railing [*rankan-tsuki no semai en*] that led out to the May-time sky and mountains that had just been washed thoroughly by the rain. From the narrow veranda of the six-mat back room . . . towered a pair of bald, reddish mountains [visible] above the other hot-spring inns, which were built one above the next above the next, higher and higher.[48]

While Roka's pictorial sketch (figure 2) does feature black-edged *shōji* with thin lattice frameworks, it does not display a railing. The view out the open door also seems too low to the ground for a room on the third floor.

What of the other two sketches (figures 3 and 4)? The correlation between the mountainous topography portrayed in these pictures and the topography of the actual Ikaho may evidence the basis of these pictures in Roka's perceptual experiences in Ikaho. That said, we cannot conclude definitively that these pictures display Ikaho. Certainly, only a single pencil sketch in Roka's sketchbook separates the first of the two sketches of mountains (figure 3) from the sketch of the view from the inn (figure 2). The pictures' proximity within the sketchbook may indicate that they were painted relatively soon after one another and so display the same geographical area (Ikaho), although the pictures in Roka's sketchbooks are not necessarily arranged in chronological order.[49] But the second sketch of mountains (figure 4), which appears two-thirds of the way through the sketchbook, sits a few pages after a pencil sketch on which is written, "Matsushima, May 23 Evening." Roka did indeed travel from Ikaho to Matsushima, a site famous for its scenery.[50]

The words written upon Roka's pencil sketch bespeak another aspect of Roka's sketchbooks that connotes his illustrations' embedment in perception and the perceived world: textual inscriptions. Indeed, one could argue that Roka textually announced and enhanced the "embedded" quality of every picture in the May 1898 sketchbook by writing the date "May 7th, 1898" upon the title page—that is, by signaling that he drew the pictures around this time.

Having said that, however, not all of the inscriptions in Roka's sketchbooks are necessarily reliable. This is because Roka (I presume[51]) appears to have retrospectively added some of these inscriptions to his sketchbooks, although Roka's very impulse to add these inscriptions arguably evidences the pictures' embedment in particular contexts of perception. For example, the appearance of a question mark in parentheses following some of the dates inscribed upon Roka's sketches signals that Roka added those inscriptions ex post facto. One sketchbook, whose title page includes the words "Nov. 1898." and "Dzushi Japan." (Zushi Japan), contains a picture that bears the inscription "Jan 14. 1899 (?)" followed by "Zushi" in Chinese characters.

Another sketchbook, whose title page includes the inscriptions "May 1900" and "Dzushi Japan" (Zushi Japan), presents an additional irregularity with respect to Roka's inscriptions. This is because, according to Kaneko Takayoshi, Roka visited Ikaho in Gunma Prefecture at the end of April 1900 and remained there for four weeks.[52] In fact, the many mountainous landscape illustrations in this sketchbook correspond more strongly to the topography of the mountainous Ikaho area than to that of the seaside Zushi area. Yet, that part of the inscription upon one of these mountainous pictures reads "May 3., 10 A.M.", and so includes a time of day, suggests that Roka added this inscription while on-site or shortly afterwards. Perhaps Roka retrospectively added the information upon the title page but *not* that upon this picture. Or perhaps the location listed on the title page does not correspond to the locations of (a subset of) pictures in the sketchbook. In short, then, Roka's inscriptions are neither transparent nor necessarily reliable.

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I have argued that several characteristics of Roka's Ikaho sketchbook from May 1898 connote his sketches' "embedment" in perceptual experience and in the sensible world. I have focused upon this sketchbook because Roka kept it around the time when he conducted his cloud observations. However, the embedded quality of Roka's sketches would reach a higher degree of intensity in a series of pictures dating from January 1899 of Mt. Fuji as seen across Sagami Bay from the coast of Zushi.[53] That intensity derives from the way these pictures bear what I will call "timestamps" that mark the time of day at which the artist viewed and depicted the same scene repeatedly.

I want to be clear that these sketches postdate Roka's cloud observations and descriptions by more than half a year.[54] In addition, Roka's composition of these sketches roughly correlated with his decision to begin keeping a "diary" of nature starting on January 1, 1899, likewise half a year after the cloud descriptions (although the same sketchbook that holds the pictures of Fuji from January 1899 also contains such pictures from December 1898[55]). Indeed, the novel *Fuji* indicates that, in 1898, Kumaji (Roka) had been speaking with interlocutors about his literary sketch, "Dawn over Fuji Around this Time" (Kono goro no Fuji no akebono; January 1898), a watershed in the history of Roka's verbal descriptions of nature. One interlocutor then gossiped that Kamoshida (Kunikida Doppo) had remarked, "It'd be interesting if [Kumaji] wrote a nature diary [*shizen no nikki*]."

> "Indeed," thought Kumaji. And he soon began to carry this out. Last year [in 1899], from New Year's Day until New Year's Eve, he wrote down his observations [or "what he saw and heard"; *kenbun*] of nature each and every day, without missing a single day.[56]

Roka's diary of nature would be the basis for the third collection of literary sketches in the volume *Nature and Human Life*: "Assorted Writings from Shōnan" (Shōnan zappitsu[57]; Shōnan refers to a wider region that includes Zushi).

If there is some connection between Roka's Fuji sketches from January 1899 and his diary of nature, then analyzing those sketches in relation to Roka's cloud descriptions may require accounting for what Nakano Yoshio has argued to be sharp differences between "Assorted Writings from Shōnan," which is based on the nature diary, and "Five Minutes with Nature," the collection in *Nature and Human Life* that contains the cloud descriptions. Nakano contends that "Assorted Writings" "directly transcribes" changes in nature in the fashion of a "camera lens." It also does not "mix in any subjectivity or emotion." By contrast, "Five Minutes" can tend toward a "pantheistic, hylozoist [*bukkatsuronteki*] view of nature." It employs more figurative language, using many similes and metaphors and also featuring personification.[58] Similarly, Yoshida Masanobu has argued that, in "Assorted Writings,"

> the focus is upon the description of nature; the human is merely grasped as an incidental figure wrapped in nature. Insofar as the narrator, too, hardly narrates his feelings and thoughts toward nature, ["Assorted Writings"] differs greatly, methodologically, from "Five Minutes with Nature." It is almost entirely *shasei*, something that either preceded [*senkō*] or was just behind [*gankō* 雁行] the *shaseibun* movement of Masaoka Shiki and company.[59]

Given that Roka composed the Fuji sketches just as he began keeping the nature diary upon which he based "Assorted Writings," one could propose, judging from the foregoing arguments, that there was a certain drive toward precise, "photographic" transcription at work in those illustrations that was not to be found in Roka's May 1898 sketchbook or in his earlier cloud descriptions.

In these ways, the rough correspondence between the dates of Roka's Fuji sketches and the starting date of Roka's diary of nature complicates the process of reading the Fuji sketches against Roka's earlier cloud descriptions. Nevertheless, I believe the sketches merit consideration here for three reasons. First, they provide extremely strong evidence of the intersection between Roka's pictorial sketching and his verbal natural description in the late 1890s. To reiterate, the timestamps upon the Fuji sketches yoke those sketches to specific moments of perception. These timestamps neatly correspond to Roka's repeated specification of the time of day in a verbal description, included in "Five Minutes with Nature," of nearly the same location at the same historical moment: January 1899.[60] As we will see, this description itself consists almost entirely of a quoted diary entry.

Second, certain disparities between “Five Minutes with Nature” and “Assorted Writings from Shōnan” in fact bespeak a strong consonance between the Fuji sketches and “Five Minutes.” Yoshida suggests that a major difference between the two collections of literary sketches is that “Assorted Writings” presents “landscape portrayed from within nature.” It does not consist of “representation [*byōshutsu*] from a point [or ‘position’; *chiten*] that is separated from and that relativizes nature.”[61] By contrast, as Yoshida writes in another essay, the texts in “Five Minutes with Nature” generally contain portrayals of nature “as relativized within a delimited period of time. . . . Because the method is ‘to face nature’ [*shizen ni taisuru*], nature is treated as an externally existing object. [The collection] is almost all records or recollections in the form of observations from a single point.”[62] While I would stress that Roka’s verbal cloud descriptions do feature an embodied narrator who exists within the world represented in the texts, Yoshida’s reference to “facing nature” within a “delimited period of time” in “Five Minutes with Nature” distinctly recalls Roka’s Fuji sketches, which display the mountain as seen across Sagami Bay and which bear timestamps.

The final justification for analyzing the Fuji sketches is that the concern in these pictures with rendering a spatially and temporally specific scene—and, more basically, with expressing the perceived world—was already at work, if in a more inchoate fashion, in Roka’s pictorial sketches and verbal natural description in mid-1898. In other words, the Fuji sketches constitute a future development of a tendency toward embedding expression in perception that was already present in Roka’s painting and writing half a year earlier, when he composed the cloud descriptions. Take, for example, “Dawn over Fuji Around this Time,” the first literary sketch included in “Five Minutes with Nature,” itself the first of the collections of sketches contained in *Nature and Human Life*. Roka first published “Dawn over Fuji” in January 1898—several months before he observed and described the clouds in Ikaho. Roka records the text’s provenance in the novel *Fuji*. Kumaji (Roka), who had started off the new year in 1898 by writing a poem on Fuji,

> began waking up early each morning and gazing upon Fuji before sunrise from the mouth the river. At the start of the previous year, [Kumaji] had been distracted and had not paid much attention to Fuji at dawn, [something] about which Kamoshida [Kunikida Doppo] had spoken.[63] This year, he fixed his gaze upon it for the first time. He published “Dawn over Fuji Around this Time” in the newspaper.[64]

As the title suggests, “Dawn over Fuji” concerns the view of sunrise over Mt. Fuji. It describes, for instance, how the rose-colored light inches toward Fuji’s peak with each second, how the “crimson mist” then moves down Fuji’s figure from the peak minute by minute, and how that crimson mist then reaches mountains like Ashigara and Hakone.[65] The text is distinguished by an intense concern with moment-by-moment changes in the sensible world, although not as perceived on a specific day; it describes the *type* of view of dawn over Fuji that one may see “around this time” (*kono goro*).

As Yoshida Masanobu has observed, “Dawn over Fuji,” the first “work in which Roka transcribed nature from life [*shizen o shasei shita*],” appeared in print only shortly after Roka published his essay on drawing from life, “Sketchbook: Pictures.” Roka would then continue producing literary sketches of nature following “Dawn over Fuji.”[66] (He also soon published several short texts whose titles include the word “Shaseichō” [Sketchbook], although these texts are specifically concerned with *human* affairs.[67]) In a similar vein, Yoshida remarks elsewhere that, until 1897, Roka's "nature sketches" were all works that "may instead be called travelogues." It was after the publication of "Dawn over Fuji" that Roka came to publish "short works worthy of the name of nature sketches, [in which one] carefully observes nature and tries to transcribe it from life [*shasei shiyō to suru*]."[68]

What's more, Roka himself would, in retrospect, draw a direct connection between "Dawn over Fuji" and his Fuji sketches from early 1899. In the novel *Fuji*, Roka describes how Kumaji went on a trip at the end of April 1899, taking his sketching materials with him. In the process, Roka writes as follows (note that "the river" presumably refers to the Tagoegawa river in Zushi):

> Having grown busy with his writing, he no longer indulged in endless sketches like he had at the beginning [of his sketching], but he still sketched whenever he could. In order to capture in color and on paper [the content of] "Dawn over Fuji," which he had written at the start of last year [*kyonen no shōgatsu*], he set up his easel [*sankyaku*] at the mouth of the river each morning around the start of this year [*shōgatsu no koro*]. . . . As he sketched Fuji at dawn from the mouth of the river, blowing upon his numb hands, his paints hardened in the cold. In order to follow [*ou* 趁ふ] the changes every second of the colors that lived and moved [*ikite ugoku shikisai*], he first drew a number of outlines, and then hurriedly painted only the colors. He wrote in [*kinyū*] the time of day in each case using the watch he carried with him.[69]

Judging from this passage, Roka's sketches of Fuji from early 1899 were, in fact, an attempt to achieve in painting what he had achieved in writing in "Dawn over Fuji," published one year earlier.

In sum, then, Roka was already pursuing the verbal and pictorial expression of the perceived world by the time he produced the cloud descriptions in mid-1898. The kind of spatially and temporally situated sketching found in the illustrations of Fuji constitutes a subsequent development in this pursuit.

The sketchbook that holds these illustrations contains over a dozen pictures of Mt. Fuji, flanked by other mountains, as viewed to the west across Sagami Bay from the coast of Zushi. Other frequent subjects in these sketches include the island of Enoshima below Fuji's base and what is probably the cape of Ōsaki jutting in from the right (see figure 5 for a map of some of these locations). Some of these pictures bear inscriptions that hitch the depicted scenes to the specific times of day at which the artist encountered those scenes. For example, one sketch bears the inscription "January 5, 1899. 7.10" (figure 6). "7.10" is likely a timestamp that marks the picture as a portrayal of the scene as perceived by the painter circa 7:10 on January 5, 1899. Analogous timestamps may be found upon a set of four contiguous sketches of the same scene (figure 7). Here, we can make out "6.40" and, I believe, the date "Jan. 7" on the upper-right picture; "6.55" on the lower-right picture; and "7.05" on the bottom-left picture. These inscriptions, in conjunction with the variations in the reddish light upon Mt. Fuji and in the sky, suggest that Roka was rapidly portraying the same view of Fuji over Sagami Bay at briefly spaced times of day, probably in an effort to capture the subtle transformations in the color and lighting of the scene during sunrise on January 7 (1899).[70]

The sort of spatial and temporal specificity that defines these sketches equally typifies a short prose piece that Roka published on January 12, 1899 with the title, "Various Scenes of the Countryside (2): Water Vapor over Sagami Bay" (Inaka zakkei: [2] Sagaminada no mizujōki [*sic*]).[71] A modified version of this text would later appear in "Five Minutes with Nature" in *Nature and Human Life*. As the title indicates, "Water Vapor over Sagami Bay" portrays subtle shifts in the appearance and movements of water vapor over Sagami Bay.[72] The work consists almost entirely of a quoted diary entry dated to "January 4," probably of 1899[73]—a day on which Roka sketched the view of Fuji across the bay in watercolor once again (see figure 8). Like Roka's sketches from January 7, the verbal description from January 4 yokes the lighting and coloration of the scene, now with a focus upon water vapor over the bay, to defined temporal coordinates. It does so by specifying the time of perception at several points in the course of the description: 7:30, 7:40, and 7:50. Likewise, the last line of the text reads, in its entirety, "five minutes after eight." Roka's narrator further strengthens the geographical specificity of his description by employing an abundance of place names. These names, which correspond strongly to those of the locations depicted in Roka's sketches of Fuji, anchor the description in a defined location. In fact, the narrator's reference to the "villa of Mr. Ōshima" in the following passage, which falls at the very start of the text, allows us to pinpoint the location from which he viewed the scene that he now describes (see figure 9, a map that displays the location of the Ōshima villa).[74] The narrator states,

> On mornings of extreme frost, the water vapor over Sagami Bay rises like mist.
>
> About twenty or thirty paces uphill from my temporary lodging sits the villa [*bessho*] of Mr. Ōshima. It is on high ground, and [from there] half of the water of Sagami [*Sōyō* 相洋] spreads out before the eye. I go there just about every morning and look upon the sea. The following is an extract from my diary entry from the fourth [of this month; *saru yokka*], just as it is.

Having thus defined the context of perception, the narrator proceeds to describe a scene whose geographical scope and temporal specificity sharply mirror those of Roka's sketches of Fuji. Note that Mt. Ashigara and Mt. Hakone lie to the southeast of Mt. Fuji; the narrator is looking westward toward these mountains across Sagami Bay from Zushi. "The tip of Kotsubo" presumably refers to Ōsaki or to a location near it[75]:

> "7:30 a.m.: when I went up to the Ōshima residence as I always do, [there was] nothing but an expanse of blue-white water vapor from the Tagoshikawa river [*sic*; *Tagoshikawa* 田越川] to the water of Sagami, a thick haze like smoke; in the distance, Fuji; nearby, the tip [*hana* 嶋] of Kotsubo—they just barely showed pieces of themselves [*wazuka ni hanshin o arawasu nomi*]. Enoshima, too: though at first it occasionally came into view, it finally was concealed. [Mt.] Ashigara and [Mt.] Hakone could not hold off the onslaught of the vapor, and frequently disappeared.
>
> 7:40: the sun rose a little higher, and the water vapor, stretching as far as the eye could see, instantly turned a transparent, light purple. As it grew steamier in the sunlight, the purple vapor over Sagami Bay soared upwards with increasing force; Enoshima vanished entirely, and Ashigara and Hakone, too, just barely showed a little of their peaks [*kashira*]. One second, another second. The water vapor swirled . . . ."[76]

Read against Roka's sketches of Fuji as seen across Sagami Bay, these lines leave little doubt that, at the same historical moment—down to the same day—Roka was forging modes of both verbal and also pictorial expression capable of registering minute changes in light, color, and air as perceived in defined temporal and spatial contexts. To shift the focus, the lines suggest how, at the end of the 1890s, Roka was working out forms of writing and picture making that generate the effect of embedding expression in perception, whether that of an observer-painter or that of an observer-narrator who exists within the world represented in the text. A version of such embedment likewise characterizes the cloud description from mid-1898 that I analyze below.

Coloration

I have shown that Roka's landscape sketches in watercolor connote a type of embedment of expression in perception that also characterizes Roka's cloud description. These pictures also illuminate an additional quality shared between Roka's watercolor sketches and his cloud description: a fine attention to environmental color. Indeed, Roka's watercolor sketches attest to a type of perceptual attunement to environmental color that is likewise exhibited, I will show, by the observer-narrator of Roka's cloud description.

In making this argument, I follow the lead of several scholars who have drawn connections between Roka's practice of drawing from life and his verbal descriptions of color,[77] although I have not yet come across a study of Roka's actual watercolor sketches. Fukawa Junko, for example, links Roka's hobby (*shumi*) of watercolor painting to his expression of color in his natural description in "Five Minutes with Nature,"[78] which contains the cloud description I analyze below. Elsewhere, Fukawa locates a transformation in Roka's "description of color" before and after he began studying painting. In the process, she identifies a way of "grasping the diversity of the colors of nature in accordance with change over time" in two texts that date from after Roka began such study.[79] Moreover, this way of grasping colors "would tie, just as it was, into texts such as 'Dawn over Fuji Around this Time' in *Nature and Human Life*."[80] In addition, Fukawa identifies part of the following passage in *Fuji* that conveys the priority that Kumaji (Roka) placed upon color in his early study of drawing from life in 1896:

> Kumaji found painting increasingly enjoyable. But it was trying to squarely and humbly view the forms of things and reproduce them, so he chose the rash shortcut of immediately confronting nature through color. He saw things through color [*shikisai de mono o mita*]. Drawing from life in color was enjoyable [*shikisai o tsukatte no shasei wa omoshirokatta*].[81]

Similar to Fukawa, Kaneko Takayoshi points to Roka's watercolor painting as a significant factor behind his achievement of "precise natural description through this kind of rich, superb expression of color," specifically in the descriptions of the clouds, sky, and mountains of Ikaho in texts included in "Five Minutes with Nature."[82] Overall, through his practice with watercolor painting and his frequent encounters with nature when sketching, Roka's "natural observation became a level more minute and sharp" and his skill in vividly portraying nature improved. It was for these reasons that "the exquisite reproduction [*seimyō na saigen*] of the complex changes in the colors of the clouds, sky, and mountains in 'Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan' became possible."[83] Finally, Kaneko broaches the topic of perceptual attunement by commenting that, as a result of his practice in drawing from life in watercolor outdoors, Roka's "sense of color grew more sensitive and richer."[84]

The vibrant color palette and attention to changes in coloration over time in the watercolor sketches I considered above indirectly evidence this kind of perceptual sensitivity. The same holds for the color palettes of the watercolor sketches I take up below. These sketches display variegated clouds and skies at sunset and sunrise.

Once again, however, several qualifications are necessary when situating these sketches in relation to Roka's verbal descriptions of clouds. To begin with, while Roka's sketchbooks do include pictures that show skies of spectacular hues, no such pictures are to be found in the Ikaho sketchbook from May 1898. However, this issue may be mitigated by the fact that, as I demonstrate below, we can find multicolor skies in a sketchbook whose title page signals that it was kept shortly after Roka's stay in Ikaho. The title page reads: "Sketch Book / No. 22 / June. 1898. / Dzushi. Japan. / K.T." (underline added).

Another problem that surfaces when comparing Roka's pictorial sketches of the sky with his verbal descriptions of clouds concerns the time of day. The cloud description that I will analyze below registers the brilliant hues of clouds viewed in the middle of the afternoon. However, the sketches that I will consider show spectacularly colored skies at sunset or sunrise or otherwise at a time of day that is difficult to specify.[85] In this respect, the correlation between the coloration of the cloud description and the coloration of the skies in the sketches is indirect, if still substantial.

Finally, with respect to coloration, we should not conclude that Roka could and did describe the clouds' hues in words *because* he painted their hues in watercolor. As I will contend below, the writings of John Ruskin likely provided a more immediate impetus for Roka's observation and description of clouds. My goal in illustrating the vivid color palette of Roka's pictorial sketches by examining his pictures of spectacular skies is rather different. It is, namely, to show that the kind of perceptual attunement to environmental color evidenced by Roka's watercolors in general—attunement that significantly conditioned Roka's attention to environmental color in his verbal natural description in the late 1890s—also extended to his pictures of the skies in particular. Certainly, Roka's sketches of spectacular skies at sunset or sunrise may bear no more relation to the coloration of his verbal cloud descriptions than any of his other colorful watercolor sketches. But, given the weight placed upon color in the cloud descriptions, it seems prudent to at least introduce Roka's vibrant sketches of the sky. In one way or another, these sketches help contextualize Roka's colorful writing about the clouds.

Roka's impulse to depict spectacular skies at sunset or sunrise stretches back to the early stages of his study of watercolor painting. Consider the pictures contained in a sketchbook whose front or back cover reads "Sketch book / No. 12. 1896 / Nov" (underlines in original). The sketchbook contains two consecutive illustrations, perhaps drawn one after the next in real time, of a sun setting over a body of water (figure 10).[86] In the upper sketch, Roka depicts the sun as a flimsy disk composed of an inner circle of yellow encased by a thin corona of red. The disk appears like a cutout from the surrounding bands of purple-brown and yellow-brown. In the lower sketch, the sun, reddened as it falls below the horizon line, appears in relief against two concentric semicircles of a russet color, the outer ring more faded than the inner one.

The pictorial technique deployed in these sketches—portraying the sky by layering bands of color—resurfaces in the same sketchbook in two seascapes (figures 11 and 12), one of which again appears to position the sun over the watery horizon (see figure 12). Finally, the sketchbook closes with a more fleshed-out landscape illustration set at dusk (figure 13). A lone individual on a skipper floats upon the water below a black truss, itself located beneath a crescent moon, before an uneven horizon line of darkened landforms. Those forms are cast in shadow by what is probably the setting sun, which streaks the otherwise blue sky with the red-orange afterglow of the gloaming.

The 1896 sketchbook attests to Roka's early interest in portraying multicolored skies. But what of Roka's sketches during the period of his cloud descriptions? Spectacular skies are in short supply in Roka's two sketchbooks from May 1898 and June 1898. However, the latter sketchbook does include a rendition of a multicolored sky at sunset or sunrise (figure 14). In this sketch, Roka tucks a swath of crimson and orange between a gray-blue sky and a wall of gray below it that perhaps represents mountains in the distance. The upper sketch of another page of the sketchbook displays a mass of gray cloud tinged with magenta (figure 15), although this picture better evidences an attention to clouds in general, or perhaps to the shapes of clouds in particular, than to aerial colors.

It is not the case, however, that variegated skies disappeared from Roka's oeuvre of watercolor sketches. Take, for instance, the sketchbook that contains the sketches of Fuji that I analyzed above. The title page of this sketchbook reads, "Sketch Book. / No 23. / Nov. 1898. / K. T. / Dzushi Japan." That Roka marked this book as sketchbook 23 presumably indicates that it followed sequentially upon sketchbooks 21 and 22, i.e., the May 1898 and June 1898 sketchbooks. The first picture in the sketchbook features an almost corrugated sky composed of strokes of auburn, orange, and blue-black stacked vertically above the ridge of a distant mountain (figure 16). Elsewhere, we find salmon-colored skies reflected upon crystalline water (figure 17) as well as another setting sun, shown as a focal point of crimson encased by concentric coronas of coral, lilac, and the cream of the page (figure 18). In addition, the sketchbook includes a picture of a vibrantly colored country scene located beneath individually rendered, scattered clouds of pink and orange (figure 19). Such multicolored skies would continue to appear in Roka's later sketches, for example, in a picture of Fuji dated to May 17 in a sketchbook marked "Ap. 1899" (April 1899; figure 20).

The foregoing sketches convey the varied, vivid coloration of Roka's landscape sketches in watercolor. They also convey Roka's particular fascination with the sundry hues of the sky at sunrise and sunset. These two characteristics of Roka's sketches—certainly the former, possibly the latter—illuminate the sort of perceptual attunement to aerial color staged in the cloud description that I analyze below. Analyzing this description, however, requires considering one final, immediate influence upon Roka's cloud descriptions: the discussions of clouds in John Ruskin's treatise, *Modern Painters*.

The Clouds of Roka and Ruskin

Kaneko Takayoshi has argued that Ruskin's *Modern Painters* was a crucial influence upon Roka's efforts to observe and describe clouds.[87] I will unpack Ruskin's writing about clouds at greater length in Chapter Seven when analyzing Shimazaki Tōson's essay "Clouds" (1900), which explicitly engages with Ruskin's treatise. For this reason, and because Kaneko has already addressed the topic in detail, I will limit my discussion of Roka and Ruskin primarily to conveying highlights and examples from the work of Kaneko as well as Yoshida Masanobu that are directly pertinent to our concern with Roka's description of the colors of clouds.

Roka had already read some of *Modern Painters* by the time he visited Ikaho in May 1898. For instance, in a text dating from 1896, Roka specifically cites a line from Ruskin's treatise when speaking of the colors of the sky.[88] In *Modern Painters*, Ruskin proclaims, "The sky is not blue *colour* merely,—it is blue *fire*, and cannot be painted."[89] This imagery of a fiery (blue) sky shapes the description of the sky found in Roka's travelogue, "A Day upon the Tonegawa River" (Tonegawajō no itchūya; November 23, 1896). In a passage identified by Kaneko, the narrator views the sky at sunrise on November 2 from a boat on the Tonegawa river in the area of Toride:

> Myriad scattered clouds—coiling, entangling, winding, and stretching—instantly ignited in the eastern sky: yellow, orange-yellow, red-yellow, crimson, light crimson, and vermilion shone brilliantly—as Ruskin says, not colors but almost fires burning in the sky, reflecting upon the river, sublime and beyond language [*sōgon gongo ni zessu*].[90]

In this way, Roka's conception of aerial color was already tied to Ruskin's work in late 1896.

It should be noted, however, that Ruskin's reference to blue "fire" falls in the fourth volume of *Modern Painters*. This is important because it is volumes one and five of Roka's monumental treatise, rather than volume four, that contain major sections devoted to clouds in particular: "Of Truth of Skies" and "Of Cloud Beauty," respectively.[91] Although Roka had read some of *Modern Painters* by the time he undertook his cloud observations and descriptions in Ikaho, it is difficult to specify just *which* portions of the treatise he had read by this point.[92] This is in part because, while I have posited 1898 as the year in which Roka originally wrote his cloud descriptions, we do not know for certain when Roka wrote the descriptions. To the contrary, the date of composition has been a point of debate among scholars. The debate is worth reviewing because it helps clarify the timeline of the impact of both Ruskin's writings and also Roka's practice of watercolor painting upon Roka's cloud descriptions.

Okino Iwasaburō contends that Roka's "observations of nature" over nine days in May 1898 during his first visit to Ikaho would result in ("become") the texts "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan," "May Snow" (Gogatsu no yuki), and "Morning in Kōzan" (Kōzan no asa).[93] (The latter two texts follow "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan" in "Five Minutes with Nature.") However, remarking that Okino offers no evidence for his position, Nakano Yoshio asserts that these three works date from Roka's second trip to Ikaho, which stretched from the end of April to the beginning of June in 1900.[94] The basis for this claim is that the autobiographical novel *Fuji* indicates that, during this second stay in Ikaho, Kumaji (Roka) read Ruskin's *Modern Painters* with the exception of one missing volume.[95] According to *Fuji*, Kumaji and his wife Komako sojourned in the mountains for about forty days:

> On rainy days, [Kumaji] read a paper-covered [edition], with one book missing, of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, which he had purchased at Maruzen. Kumaji . . . was someone reading, now for the first time, the writings of Ruskin collected [in one place; *matomatta Rasukin no bun*]. When [Kumaji] traveled a roundabout path [that consisted] of a series of analyses [*kaibō raretsu*]—a path that [also] referenced science—and arrived at a place of outstanding writing and extraordinary words, he cried out in exultation, gratified [*kaishin no kaisai o Kumaji wa sakenda*]. Dawn in the Alps, glaciers [that looked] like rising red dragons, the morning in each valley—as Kumaji translated [*Modern Painters*] orally, Komako nearly leapt for joy.[96]

In his essay, Nakano points out how the two sections of *Modern Painters* that I noted above, "Of Truth of Skies" and "Of Cloud Beauty," "investigate the transformations and beauty of clouds in detail." He also remarks that "the aforementioned writings [by Roka] related to Ikaho—particularly 'Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan' is entirely cloud observations all throughout [*zenbun kotogotoku ga kumo no kansatsu de aru*]." Nakano further notes how, "stimulated" by Ruskin's treatise, Shimazaki Tōson carried out his own cloud observations and then wrote the essay "Clouds" (1900; see Chapter Seven). The same, Nakano holds, may be surmised with respect to Roka.[97]

Yoshida Masanobu argues against Nakano's position, however, by dating Roka's cloud descriptions to 1898 (a position supported by Kaneko Takayoshi).[98] In raising his counterargument, Yoshida cites "Mountains and the Sea," Roka's travelogue to and collection of descriptions of Ikaho published in June 1898. As Yoshida notes, "The Mountains in the Morning and the Evening" (Yama no chōseki), the seventh entry in "Mountains and the Sea," and "May Snow," the tenth entry, would be republished with modifications as "Morning in Kōzan" and "May Snow" in *Nature and Human Life*.[99] There, the two texts would appear in reversed order as the two entries immediately after "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan,"[100] which Yoshida suggests may have been an unpublished entry from "Mountains and the Sea."[101]

What's more, "The Mountains' Rapid Transformations" (Yama no hengen), the eighth entry in "Mountains and the Sea," already features cloud observations.[102] Indeed, Yoshida proposes that Roka wrote the entry "having learned somehow of Ruskin's investigation into the clouds."[103] While the entry concentrates upon the shapes and movements of clouds as opposed to their colors, the following two passages also convey environmental hues. They do so in part by employing the kinds of metaphors of battle whose use in *Nature and Human Life*, including in Roka's descriptions of clouds, has been tied by Kaneko Takeyoshi to an aesthetics of the sublime (on which more below)[104]:

> What is most interesting is when, after it rains, the clouds, sun, and mountains battle one another. The rain that had been falling since yesterday stops, the birds cry, and the slate-gray clouds that fill the mountain valley grow slightly whiter. The attacking forces [*yosete*] of the sun have already begun their assault. Even as they change colors, the clouds remain in formation, unmoving, like boulders.[105]

> If the rain happens to clear when the sun is setting, the clouds flip around their flags of five colors and scramble away, and the sun chases those who flee, letting rain ten thousand rays of golden arrows at a slant. The mountains that remain behind are a deep purple streaked with the color of turmeric, and the cedar forest, the young foliage, and the larch trees all cry golden tears.[106]

Finally, in considering the connection between Roka and Ruskin, one may also point, along with Yoshida and Kaneko,[107] to "View from the Upper Floor" (Rōjō no nozomi), the sixth entry in "Mountains and the Sea." The entry opens with a translation into Japanese of a statement by Ruskin that can be found in volume four of *Modern Painters*: "Ruskin says, 'Mountains are the beginning and the end of all natural scenery [*fūkei*].'"[108]

Judging from the foregoing points, Ruskin's writings were already having an impact upon Roka's natural observation and description in 1898. If we may infer that Roka had indeed read Ruskin's work on the sky and clouds by the time he composed his cloud sketches, then what role did *Modern Painters* play in Roka's cloud observations and descriptions?

In one respect, we may conjecture that Ruskin's treatise functioned to draw Roka's perceptual attention to the sky and clouds. It encouraged Roka to notice clouds, to perceptually engage with clouds in an intensive manner and then—as I show below—to stage that engagement in his literary sketches. Seen in this light, Roka's cloud sketches attest to a transformation in the very relation between perceiver and world. In another respect, Ruskin's treatise may have also directed Roka's attention toward aerial colors and shapes in particular, and conditioned his mode of expression regarding those colors and shapes, through its explanations and descriptions of these aspects of clouds, although Ruskin's chapters on clouds do not zero in on clouds' colors to the same degree as Roka's descriptions.

Two of the most vivid descriptions of the colors of the sky and clouds in the section "Of Truth of Skies" in Ruskin's treatise help illustrate these arguments. It is probably not a coincidence that, similar to Roka's watercolor sketches, these descriptions thematize aerial colors at sunset. Kaneko Takayoshi cites a portion of the first description, which I have broken up into two block quotes, when discussing the connection between Roka and Ruskin. The passage falls in Ruskin's chapter "Of Truth of Clouds—First of the Region of the Cirrus":

> Of the colours of these clouds I have spoken before . . . but though I then alluded to their purity and vividness, I scarcely took proper notice of their variety; there is indeed in nature variety in all things, and it would be absurd to insist on it in each case, yet the colours of these clouds are so marvellous in their changefulness, that they require particular notice.

Ruskin continues:

> If you watch for the next sunset when there are a considerable number of these cirri in the sky, you will see, especially at the zenith, that the sky does not remain of the same colour for two inches together. One cloud has a dark side of cold blue, and a fringe of milky white; another, above it, has a dark side of purple and an edge of red; another, nearer the sun, has an under side of orange and an edge of gold: these you will find mingled with, and passing into, the blue of the sky, which in places you will not be able to distinguish from the cool grey of the darker clouds, and which will be itself full of gradation, now pure and deep, now faint and feeble. And all this is done, not in large pieces, nor on a large scale, but over and over again in every square yard, so that there is no single part nor portion of the whole sky which has not in itself variety of colour enough for a separate picture, and yet no single part which is like another, or which has not some peculiar source of beauty, and some peculiar arrangement of colour of its own.[109]

One more passage from *Modern Painters*, this one concerning the colors of the sky rather than those of clouds, crystallizes the way Ruskin's treatise may have both directed Roka's attention toward aerial colors and also provided him with a rhetorical model for verbalizing those colors. In the chapter "Of the Open Sky," Ruskin speaks, when critiquing a painting, of that

> sunset purple which invariably extends its influence to the zenith, so that there is no pure blue anywhere, but a purple increasing in purity gradually down to its point of greatest intensity (about forty-five degrees from the horizon), and then melting imperceptibly into the gold, the three colours extending their influence over the whole sky; so that

> throughout the whole sweep of the heaven, there is no one spot where the colour is not in an equal state of transition, passing from gold into orange, from that into rose, from that into purple, from that into blue, with absolute equality of change, so that in no place can it be said, "Here it changes," and in no place, "Here it is unchanging."[110]

It is reasonable to propose that these passages encouraged Roka's efforts to observe and describe the clouds and sky and, specifically, their hues. Those efforts, combined with a sensitivity to environmental color honed through drawing from life, gave shape to the cloud description that I analyze below. Indeed, as Kaneko comments after quoting two passages of Ruskin's treatise that address the colors and forms of clouds, respectively,[111]

> We can imagine that Ruskin's insight [*shiteki*] regarding how clouds possess colors and forms of unlimited richness, and that Ruskin's extremely detailed and concrete delineations [*jojutsu*] of clouds, were truly eye-opening and enlightening for Roka. . . . If we look at the continuous, sharp observations and descriptions of the forms and colors of "clouds" in "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan," it would seem fair to say that, at this time, Roka had already read through a fair amount of *Modern Painters*, or at least [had read] quite closely the parts written about clouds. If this were not the case, I think Roka would probably not have thought to undertake observations and descriptions of clouds so thoroughly as he did. Regardless, it is doubtless that, without his admiration for Ruskin, Roka's detailed observations and descriptions of clouds would not have come to be.[112]

It is to such observations and descriptions of clouds that we now turn.

Describing Ikaho's Skies

Describing From Life

To this point, I have delineated two principal influences upon Roka's descriptions of clouds circa May 1898.[113] One is Roka's technical and perceptual practice of drawing from life in watercolor, and specifically, his production of sketches defined by an "embedment" of expression in perception and by a variegated color palette. The other is Roka's reading of Ruskin's treatise *Modern Painters*, which discusses clouds at length and addresses the topics of cloud color and shape.

The qualities of embedment and vivid coloration also characterize Roka's three verbal descriptions of clouds from life, grouped together as "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan," in the volume *Nature and Human Life*. Many passages of verbal natural description in this volume exhibit a distinct visual potency. This potency is intimated by the suggestion in a 1900 advertisement for *Nature and Human Life* that the texts collected in the volume might be considered "watercolor paintings" (*suisai no ga*):

> [The work] collects together into one volume something like a hundred pieces: what might be called brief notes, short stories, or blank verses, or perhaps watercolor paintings [*shōhin no kibun, tanpen no shōsetsu, muin no shi to mo iu beku, suisai no ga to mo iu beki mono*]; pieces that treat nature as primary [or "as host"; 主] and man as

> secondary [or "as guest"; 客], that extract the gems from [Roka's] old manuscripts and bring together the best of [his] new works [underline added].[114]

The pictorial qualities of *Nature and Human Life* also come through in the following comments, referenced by Minegishi Hideo,[115] in an essay from 1936 by the watercolorist Miyake Kokki. Likely speaking of around late 1900,[116] Kokki recalled that,

> around that time, I read *Nature and Human Life*, to which I was introduced by Shimazaki Tōson. Tōson recommended it, saying that it would be particularly useful reading for us painters. And indeed, when I took a look, I was really shocked.
>
> Even when I happened to read highly regarded novels or essays by other prominent writers, [I found that] they engaged very little with the colors of great nature, with air, with sunlight—things that painters try unflaggingly to see. It felt like eating fruit that had dried out. But when I read *Nature and Human Life,* I had the sense it was dripping with sweet juice; it felt just like viewing a richly colored picture [*shikisai yutaka na e*].
>
> At the time, I even tried walking from the coast of Zushi through Hayama, Isshiki, [and] Chōjagasaki with *Nature and Human Life* in my pocket.[117]

While set in Ikaho rather than Zushi, Roka's cloud descriptions in *Nature and Human Life* likewise engage with "the colors of great nature." The following passage, for instance, portrays the vibrant hues of the sky and clouds. The passage further mirrors Roka's watercolor sketches insofar as it is voiced by an observer-narrator who, retrospectively, verbalizes his perceptions of clouds at a relatively defined time and in a defined location. Specifically, the narrator speaks of the clouds that floated above and around nearby mountains as viewed from a building in Ikaho, Gunma Prefecture before sunset, but after two o'clock in the afternoon, on May 13.[118] Moreover, the passage of description comprises a cascade of color words. These words approximate the colorful bands in Roka's watercolor sketches, not only because they signify colors, but also because they are arranged into a succession of colorful verbal gestures, or phrased differently, linguistic strokes of color. Roka further organizes these linguistic strokes using a compressed rhythm that brims with syntactical parallelisms. This rhythm helps explain why the foregoing advertisement from 1900 also proposes that the works collected in *Nature and Human Life* might be called "blank verses." The resulting description, both painterly and poetic, succeeds in "transcribing" the clouds as previously perceived by the observer-narrator:

> When [I] looked out from the upper floor, [I saw] rapid transformations in the clouds that truly cannot be described. Abutting the mountains, the indigo clouds formed a foundation as though dyeing [the air; *sometaru yō ni ji o naseba*], while above them there were white clouds that seemed to have been left undyed [*shiroku somenukitaru yō no kumo*]. There were clouds that seemed to be of blurred [form; *bokaseru yō no kumo*]. There were clouds lodged in place and unmoving, like deep sorrow. There were clouds that moved along freely above other clouds. Like a giant raging, like a woman giggling: myriad clouds of extraordinary form; clouds stretched sideways, clouds like piled silk floss;[119] [ones] white like silver [*gin no gotoku shiroki*], [ones] gleaming like copper; there were purple [ones], there were teal [ones], there were slate-gray [ones]; in a disordered manner, unconstrained and intemperate [with] no place they did not reach;

> something one could not possibly believe if it were seen in a picture; drawn by nature's hand, [they] did not allow one the leeway to appreciate [each cloud].
>
> Really, how many layers deep must [they] have gone? There were clouds behind clouds, there were clouds above clouds; the teal sky that just barely peaked through the gaps in the billowing clouds—it truly gave the sense of gazing into a deep abyss from upon a boulder [*jitsu ni iwa no ue yori shin'en o nozomu no omomuki ari*].[120]

In these lines, the narrator delineates the hues and shapes of clouds as seen from a given viewing position: "the upper floor" (*rōjō yori*). In the process, he formulates the clouds around the mountains as a decorated garment or piece of cloth. (Elsewhere in the cloud sketches, the narrator explicitly likens the previously perceived world to a painting or to painted forms.[121]) The narrator fashions this visually arresting garment or cloth by speaking of the lower layer of indigo clouds as composing a "foundation" (*ji* 地) as though having dyed the air.[122] Perhaps these indigo clouds reflect the color of the mountains that appear bluish in the distance.[123] In turn, white clouds, which appear to have been left "undyed," float above the lower layer of indigo clouds. As a result, the white clouds appear in relief as the motifs or pattern upon the indigo foundation.

The term "indigo" (*aiiro* 藍色) used to describe this foundation is only the first of the passage's bevy of color words. Such words include "white," "purple" (*shishoku*), "teal" (*hekishoku*), and "slate gray" (*nezumiiro*). These words, which accumulate over the course of the passage, both mark and also verbally articulate the narrator's perceptual sensitivity to—his attunement to—the colors of the sky and clouds. Collectively, they constitute a kind of discursive, syntagmatic version of the strokes of watercolor that compose Roka's sketches.

In addition to its use of color words, Roka's verbal description further registers the clouds' "rapid transformations" (*hengen*) and varied colors and shapes through its rhythmic flow. That flow stems, to begin with, from the passage's extended use of parallelisms. Such parallelisms include "like a giant raging" and "like a woman giggling" (*kyojin no ikareru ga gotoki, nyonin no waraeru ga gotoki*); "clouds stretched sideways" and "clouds like piled silk floss" (*yoko ni hikeru kumo, sekimen no gotoki kumo*); and "[ones] white like silver" and "[ones] gleaming like copper" (*gin no gotoku shiroki, dō no gotoku hikareru*). In a looser sense, the parallelisms, or rather lines featuring broadly parallel and repetitive syntax, extend back to the second sentence of the passage. They do so by virtue of the way the narrator enumerates clouds of different types through consecutive sentences or parts of sentences, admittedly of varying length, that end with *kumo ari* (there were [are] clouds). Thus: "[above them] there were white clouds that seemed to have been left undyed" (*shiroku somenukitaru yō no kumo ari*), "there were clouds that seemed to be of blurred [form]" (*bokaseru yō no kumo ari*), "there were clouds . . . unmoving" (*utsurazaru no kumo ari*), and "there were clouds that moved along freely" (*jizai ni utsuriyuku no kumo ari*). An echo of these loosely parallel constructions resurfaces in the last sentence of the block quote through a more tightly structured "couplet": "There were clouds behind clouds, there were clouds above clouds" (*kumo no oku ni kumo ari, kumo no ue ni kumo ari*).

This parallel prose, apt in enumerating the rapid and multiple variations in the appearances of clouds, achieves a compressed, staccato rhythm in the first half of the elongated final sentence of the first paragraph (from "like a giant raging" to "there were slate-gray [ones]"). That rhythm stems, first and foremost, from the generous use of commas that chop the prose into short segments. It also owes to the use of parallel noun-final phrases listed up paratactically and without predicate words: *yoko ni hikeru* kumo, *sekimen no gotoki* kumo ("clouds stretched sideways, clouds like piled silk floss"). Similarly, it stems from the use, in Roka's non-vernacular language (*bungo*),[124] of *rentaikei* (attributive inflections) that yield noun phrases,[125] which are also not followed by predicate words. We find this use of language in the subsequent parallel phrases *gin no gotoku shiroki*, *dō no gotoku hikareru* ("[ones (clouds)] white like silver, [ones (clouds)] gleaming like copper"). Removing *kumo* (cloud) from this second set of parallel phrases introduces a rhythmic variation from the first set of parallel phrases, both of which end in *kumo*. More generally, each of these four phrases verbalizes a particular kind of cloud, or a particular kind of perceivable characteristic of different clouds, within its own terse, rather self-contained "block" of language. Those blocks of language are then hitched together paratactically via commas rather than, say, conjunctive expressions that would smooth the transition between each block.[126]

This compressed, choppy diction structures a barrage of taut semantic units that conveys the overwhelming transfigurations and variegation of the clouds. The units—and the clouds, colors, and shapes that they signify—are piled upon one another, one after the next, without respite. One could almost repurpose Roka's own words to ask, "Really, how many layers deep must they have gone?" (or "must they go?"; *ge ni ikue no fukasa naruramu*).

The passage's verbal barrage unfolds most clearly and intensely in the succession of abbreviated and colorful clauses, *shishoku ari, hekishoku ari, nezumiiro ari,* ("there was purple, there was teal, there was slate gray," or "there were purple [ones], there were teal [ones], there were slate-gray [ones],"). This succession consists of three extremely terse, syntactically parallel units of language joined through the continuative inflection (*ren'yōkei*) of the verb *ari* ("there are," here "there was" or "there were" by context).[127] The units consist solely of this verb, followed by comma, and a preceding color word. Such pronounced verbal compression results in a kind of rapid, percussive rhythm that is apt in registering the variegated appearances of the perceived world.

In one respect, each of these compressed blocks of language simply indicates one color that the narrator saw in the sky.[128] But we could also argue that, in the context of describing a plethora of clouds, jamming "purple," "teal," and "slate gray" together with only *ari* ("there was/were [is/are]") causes the isolated color terms to function as metonymic invocations of unspecified (parts of) clouds. (I add "parts of" in parentheses because the narrator could be speaking about clouds of different colors or about the differently colored parts of various clouds.[129]) Either way, the sheer brevity of these colorful units of language creates the illusion that the narrator's language is moving rapidly, even accelerating, in an effort to achieve adequacy to the (previously perceived) sky. Put differently, the prose creates the impression that the narrator and his language are working to keep up with the appearances of the clouds, which "did not allow one the leeway to appreciate [each cloud]." In a sense, the narrator primed the reader for this impression in the first line of the passage: "When [I] looked out from the upper floor, [I saw] rapid transformations in the clouds that truly cannot be described [*kumo no hengen jitsu ni meijō subekarazu*]." (Having said that, however, the three colors the narrator enumerates—purple, teal, and slate gray—may well have appeared concurrently rather than in succession via "rapid transformations."[130])

Describing the Feeling

I have argued that Roka synthesizes painterly vocabulary with staccato, parallelism-filled diction in a kind of cloud writing that is attuned to the lability and diversity of the clouds' colors and forms as previously perceived by the narrator. In so doing, he furnishes prose that generates the rhetorical effect of verbally "transcribing" those clouds from life. At the same time, however, Roka's cloud description simultaneously features another descriptive tendency, another way of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture. This is, namely, the verbal expression of the observer-narrator's sensuous and affective experiences of the previously perceived sky.[131] In a statement attributed to Roka and quoted in the 1900 advertisement for *Nature and Human Life* that I cited above, Roka claims that the volume's works transcribe, not merely the visible world as such, but rather the world as he perceived and, I stress, "felt" it:

> "While the title is *Nature and Human Life*, the work does not discuss the connection between earth and the human scientifically [*kagakuteki ni*]. In the end, it is merely a work that presents a few pages from my sketchbook [*shaseichō*] of nature and human life in which I [the author; *chosha*] obeyed my hand and directly transcribed [*chokusha*] what I saw with my eyes, heard with my ears, and felt in my heart-mind [*kokoro ni kanji*]."[132]

In Roka's cloud description, figural metaphor and emotive personification provide a glimpse of what the narrator both "saw with his eyes" and also "felt [or 'sensed'] in his heart-mind." For example, the narrator states that there were clouds whose forms resembled "a giant raging" and "a woman giggling," and again, that the clouds seemed "unconstrained and intemperate" (*hōjū shiō*). In one respect, these kinds of characterizations are linked to particular visible properties of the previously perceived clouds. At the same time, however, they are also not fully reducible to those properties. Rather, within the world represented in the text, such characterizations result from a combination, indivisible in literary analysis, of the clouds' visible properties (world), the observer-narrator's past sensuous and affective experiences of the sensible world (perceiver), and the orchestration and articulation of those experiences through figurative language (word). Simultaneously, one could argue that the rhythmic parallelism between "[ones] like a giant raging" and "[ones] like a woman giggling" already hints that the very rhetorical form of parallelism stimulated the formulation of these two corresponding figurative images. Put differently, one could argue that these two phrases indicate in a partial manner how, to lift a line from Viktor Shklovsky, "*form creates for itself its own content*" (emphasis in original).[133] Seen from this perspective, words not only convey but also orchestrate and indeed generate the narrator's perceptions and the sensible world represented within the text. Finally, to this composite of the visible world, perceptual experience, language, and rhetorical form could be added the workings of the observer-narrator's imagination. However, I would use the word "imagination" to refer, not to the creation of free-floating mental pictures, but rather to a contextually situated activity linked with the narrator's past perceptions of the clouds.[134]

In turn, the sensible properties of the clouds, such as their shapes and colors, help potentiate and direct the sensuous and affective experiences, verbal expressions, and imaginative responses by which the clouds are engaged and figured as they are in Roka's description. They do so in ways and degrees that, while significant, are ultimately indefinable. This is because, even within the world represented in the text, we cannot fully ascribe the cloud description to either the past moment of perception or the present moment of narration. In other words, we cannot definitively say which aspects of the narrator's description stem from his past perceptual experiences and which from the present practice of verbal expression, or again, which from past acts of imagining and which from present acts of imagining.

Describing "Nature," "God," and the Sublime

In the foregoing, I traced two descriptive tendencies through Roka's cloud description: describing from life and describing the feeling. In closing, I want to propose that Roka's text may enact yet another descriptive tendency, one irreducible to the transcription of this or that discrete sensible form or to the expression of the sensuous and affective experience of perception. This tendency is, namely, textualizing a wider totality or force—whether "nature," "God," or a combination of the two—that enfolds or engenders the very clouds being described from life.

Pursuing this argument requires an understanding of Roka's views of nature, God, and the sublime around the time he composed his cloud descriptions.[135] Yoshida Masanobu identifies "the formation of a pantheistic feeling toward nature" in Roka as one of the "motivations or reasons for the composition of *Nature and Human Life*."[136] He explains that, from around 1897, Roka "began to hold a view of nature that supposes God [is] behind nature."[137] Yoshida also characterizes the collection "Five Minutes with Nature," which contains Roka's cloud descriptions, as falling into a category of Roka's writings from 1898 to 1902 that consists of "nature sketches that [exhibit] a strong effort [*omoiire*] to see God behind nature (to see nature as the arm ['tentacle'; *shokushu*] of God)."[138] (However, Yoshida contends elsewhere that a tendency toward a "pantheistic view of nature"—a tendency that was "becoming prominent [*kencho*]" during Roka's stay in Zushi from 1897—was "not so [powerful] as to surface expressly [*arawa ni*] in his nature sketches."[139]) Fukawa Junko, too, has argued that Roka locates God in or behind nature in parts of *Nature and Human Life*, including texts in "Five Minutes with Nature."[140]

Roka himself would elaborate upon the views of God, nature, and Christianity that he held around this time decades later in his autobiographical novel *Fuji*. He would do so in the same chapter that describes how Kumaji (Roka) stayed in Ikaho in May 1898. We first read that

> Kumaji, who had been baptized at age eighteen, was no longer a "Christian" today at age thirty-one. He did not pray, he did not read the bible, and of course he did not go to church. But nature was his bible, and his respect and reverence for nature was, in short, his prayer.[141]

Shortly after this passage, the narrator refers to "Kumaji, who tried to reach back to God through natural beauty [*shizenbi kara kami ni sakanoborō to suru*]."[142] In addition, in a subsequent scene in *Fuji* set in the summer of 1898, the narrator conveys Kumaji's position that "all things are God's bible. I [Kumaji] want to see God through nature [*shizen o tsūjite kami o mitai*]."[143]

Scholars have offered varying interpretations of these suggestive passages in *Fuji* and of Roka's broader views of God and nature circa 1898. These interpretations are worth reviewing in some detail because they help contextualize, and clarify the real difficulties of analyzing, what I will argue is Roka's gesture in his cloud description toward a natural or divine totality or force that encompasses or furnishes the clouds in Ikaho's sky.

To begin with, Kanda Shigeyuki quotes nearly all of the lines I just reproduced from *Fuji* and points out the "pantheistic" quality of "Roka's Christian faith during the Meiji 30s [1897-1906]." He suggests that at the "root of this understanding of nature by Roka" inhered something that "shared a quality [*ichimen kayou*] with a biblical view of nature," namely, "grasping nature as art that hides God's love within itself, reading revelations of God in the depths of nature, and expecting [to hear] the Gospel [*fukuin o kitai suru*], [all] through the attitude of 'trying to reach back to God through natural beauty.'"[144]

Another scholar, Yoshida Masanobu, differs somewhat in his reading of the passages in *Fuji*. Yoshida first contends that the "view of nature" found in a selection of writings on art by Roka's brother Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957) from the late 1880s and early 1890s "occasioned [Roka's] consciousness of nature as something related to religion."[145] (Among these writings by Sohō, Yoshida had explained, were texts influenced by Ralph Waldo Emerson[146] [a transcendentalist.]) Yoshida then suggests, referring to the foregoing passages in *Fuji*, that the "disposition of trying to reach back to God through natural beauty, and to see God through nature," was an implementation of what Roka had learned through his readings of Sohō as well as of the poet William Wordsworth (although Katsumoto Seiichirō might disagree with this last point).[147] However, Yoshida further highlights how Roka speaks of *trying* to reach back to God, and of *wanting* to see God, not of having done so. In other words, as Yoshida writes elsewhere after noting this language of *wanting* to see, the "pantheistic tendency in the view of nature" in Roka's writings owed to a "strong will" (or "strong preconception"; *tsuyoi omoikomi*); the "revolution of his heart-mind through 'nature'" had only "just begun."[148] In addition, given how, to paraphrase, "nature" substitutes for "the bible" in the passages of *Fuji*, Roka's religion at the time can be seen as "'a religion of nature [*shizenkyō*],' as it were, in place of Christianity."[149]

What, then, is the status of God in this religion of nature? The answer to this question will shape the kinds of "divine" qualities we can locate in Roka's cloud description. Sasabuchi Tomoichi, for one, remarks that it is indeed ambiguous whether Roka's statement, "all things are God's bible," means that "God inheres in nature" or that "nature was created by the extraordinary hand of God" (note that Sasabuchi takes "self-denial" [*jiko hitei*] to be a "premise" of [Christian] faith):

> However, given that Roka's consciousness tended toward longing for and reverence of nature itself, and that such consciousness hardly stretched to an anthropomorphic God [*jinkaku to shite no kami*] who, transcending [nature], actually exists [*jitsuzai suru*] beyond nature, it seems fair to say that [this statement] is one that tends toward pantheism. This was an agreeable position for Roka, who left the matter of self-denial ambiguous [*aimai ni shita made de*] and sought to expand the self [*jiko o kakujū shiyō to suru*].[150]

Tsujihashi Saburō, in turn, supports Sasabuchi's arguments regarding both the absence of a notion of an anthropomorphic God, as well as "self-expansion" rather than "self-denial," with respect to the "adoration of nature" (*shizen raisan*) found in most of the same lines in *Fuji* as well as in the natural description in *Nature and Human Life*.[151] Mutō Terumaro goes yet further by finding a disregard for God in most of the lines in *Fuji*. In such lines, writes Mutō, we find

> laid out only words of direct yearning for and adoration of nature itself; we cannot find the least sentiment of yearning and appreciation for the Creator who created and developed the entirety of that nature, which [Roka] adulates unstintingly. This self-inflating attitude of passing right by the Creator and trying to confront nature, which is no more than one creation of [the Creator], bears a strong pantheistic tendency.[152]

But just who is the Creator in Roka's view? What, in other words, is the identity of Roka's God (*kami*)? Yoshida Masanobu proposes that, judging from a selection of texts published by Roka in the late 1890s and early 1900s, "what corresponds to God is something in which multiple religions are mixed and unified; [God] can be seen as a Creator who is free [*jizai na zōbutsushu*], unrestrained by existing religions."[153] Such "religions," I take it, include Christianity, Buddhism, and Confucianism.[154] In a similar vein, Suzuki Sadami takes up Roka's natural description in "Dawn over Fuji Around this Time" and proposes that, "for Roka, just as for Ruskin, [such description] had the significance of transcribing the manifestation of a God who governs nature."[155] But, while "Roka was very familiar [*sekkin shite ita*] with Christianity . . . we may consider his 'God' to be the traditional 'God of Creation [*zōka no kami*],' a Creator immanent in the world that was also mixed with the Buddha of Buddhism."[156]

The foregoing discussion should suffice to illustrate the complexities of Roka's (Christian) faith and, by extension, the difficulties of analyzing his natural description in terms of that faith.[157] Nevertheless, with respect to Roka's cloud descriptions in particular, I want to call attention to the connection drawn by the literary historian Kaneko Takayoshi between what is, in his view, Roka's sense of God's presence behind nature and the aesthetic category of the sublime as it functions in Roka's natural description. Kaneko's essay merits close consideration because it speaks to the significance of what I will argue to be the sublime qualities of Roka's cloud description. These qualities may gesture, in turn, toward a broader natural or divine force or totality that generates or enfolds the sublime clouds being described from life.

In his essay, Kaneko demonstrates how works by Roka, including "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan," present descriptions of precisely the "objects of 'sublime' beauty in Western Romanticism." One category of such objects is clouds, which "bear intricate hues and complex forms, move dynamically, are quite difficult to grasp in ordinary language, and are exemplary of precisely 'irregularity.'"[158] Kaneko goes on to suggest that Roka acquired from John Ruskin "'pantheistic' thought" that understands "God to be behind a 'sublime' nature that overwhelms humans."[159] For Ruskin, the most sublime entities in nature are mountains, a subject to which Ruskin helped turn Roka's aesthetic attention.[160] But Kaneko's subsequent comments regarding a passage in one of Roka's cloud sketches, dated to May 18, seem to apply this logic—this idea that God lies behind sublime nature—to Roka's descriptions of clouds:

> If a person sees before their eyes the complex, nuanced, and limitlessly beautiful changes in the shapes and colors of clouds, and sublime mountains so massive as to be incomparable to the human, their thoughts cannot but run to the mystical quality [*shinpisei*] of nature. In [the sketch] "(3): May 18" in "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan," [Roka] describes the bewildering changes in the weather, and [also describes] the appearance of the associated transformations, occurring one after the next, in the forms and colors of clouds, by writing that "a turbid white cloud [or 'turbid white clouds'], which appeared as though painted upon the wall of the limitless firmament by the first stroke of a divinely skilled painter, floated up into this slate-gray sky [*nezumiiro no sora*]

> from nowhere in particular."[161] Such a series of movements [*ugoki*] in clouds—their generation, growth, transformation, transposition, and disappearance—is not something that can be predicted or controlled by the human at all.[162] It can only be thought to be a reflection of what we might call the will of God.[163]

One could make a similar argument with respect to Roka's cloud sketch for May 13. As we have seen, Roka's sketch unfolds by piling description upon description of clouds, eventually reaching the compact enumeration of colorful clouds that I examined above: "there were purple [ones], there were teal [ones], there were slate gray [ones]." At this point, the narrator momentarily retreats from the task of listing sundry colors and shapes to offer broader, overarching characterizations of the sublime view of the clouds:

> . . . in a disordered manner, unconstrained and intemperate [with] no place they [the clouds] did not reach; something one could not possibly believe if it were seen in a picture; drawn by nature's hand, [they] did not allow one [*hito*] the leeway to appreciate [each cloud].
>
> Really, how many layers deep must [they] have gone? . . . The teal sky that just barely peaked through the gaps in the billowing clouds—it truly gave the sense of gazing into a deep abyss from upon a boulder.

The image of a "deep abyss" in the sky is perhaps the most straightforwardly sublime image in this passage. But such sublimity arguably also extends to the line "[they] did not allow one the leeway to appreciate [each cloud]" (*hito o shite ōsetsu ni itoma arazarashimu*). The dictionary definition of the phrase *ōsetsu ni itoma arazu* reads,

> Not having the leeway [*itoma*] to respond to each and every thing. [Used as] a characterization of [such matters as] the condition [or "appearance"; *sama*] of there being many beautiful scenic features [*keibutsu*] and so on, or again, the appearance [*sama*] of things being extremely hectic as matters occur continuously, one after the next.[164]

In the foregoing passage, this expression, which follows upon a cascade of descriptions of the various colors and shapes of clouds, conveys the sense that there is simply too much to take in, and too little time ("leeway") to do so. Interpreted more boldly, it signals that the perceived clouds surpass, or nearly surpass, human powers of appreciation. This is a sentiment that resonates with a statement made by the narrator in the lines that immediately follow the passage of the cloud description that I quoted above:

> . . . it truly gave the sense of gazing into a deep abyss from upon a boulder.
>
> Although I had thought that silk-floss [clouds] were floating here and there at the top of Mt. Komochi just now, when I looked again sideways clouds [*yokogumo*] like white flags were fluttering along the mountainside; although I had seen a cloud like a boulder stationed on the peak of Mt. Onoko just now, in a moment there remained not a fragment of cloud. The fluctuations in the clouds every second were of truly immeasurable force [*ichibyō jikan ni okeru kumo no hendō, jitsu ni tangei subekarazaru ikioi ari*; underline added].[165]

Yet, judging from Roka's description, the clouds do not merely surpass human powers of appreciation. More than that, the sublime view of the clouds nearly exceeds the limits of what can be conceived of as "real," as occurring in the real world. The narrator implies as much by characterizing the view as "something one could not possibly believe if it were seen in a picture" (*e ni mite wa tōtei shinzubekarazaru mono*). But the narrator himself does not question the reality of this view. For he witnessed it before his eyes in a "natural" picture, one created through the "representational" powers of nature itself: "drawn by nature's hand" (*shizen no te ni egakidasarete*).

It is with this expression, "drawn by nature's hand," that readers may come to differ sharply in their interpretations of Roka's language. In one respect, the expression may merely be a florid turn of phrase indicating that the clouds are part of nature, a natural phenomenon that, in this passage, overwhelms the human (*hito*). But one could also argue that "nature" figures in this phrase as a sort of generative force that, in the guise of a painterly hand, has decorated the sky with clouds of overwhelming variety in both color and shape. In that case, we could take a cue from Kaneko to propose that, for Roka, somewhere behind that force, behind that painterly hand of nature, lies the hand of God. Alternatively—to judge from the scholarship on Roka's views of nature and God—we might say that this painterly hand *is* a divine hand, with God being immanent in nature, with the two being indistinct, or with nature itself being God-like in its power.[166] Perhaps a natural God, or a Godly nature, manifests itself in the brushwork of the sky.

Certainly, this is a speculative reading, the veracity of which may be impossible to determine. Nevertheless, I want to stress that the phrase "drawn by nature's hand," in conjunction with the sublime aesthetic of the cloud description, may bespeak a dimension of Roka's language not fully reducible to the transcription of this or that sensible form or to the expression of the sensuous and affective experience of perception. Rather, Roka may also be gesturing toward a greater force or energy, or perhaps a totality, whether it be "nature," "God," or a combination of the two. This force, energy, or totality is situated behind, encompasses, or constitutes the clouds, furnishing the aerial colors and forms that Roka's narrator transcribes from life in such detail.

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In the foregoing analysis, I have argued that Roka's cloud description exhibits three descriptive tendencies, three ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture. In the process, I have demonstrated that this description stages a dynamic interplay among these terms. I have traced this interplay by analyzing its instantiation through acts of perception and expression in Roka's cloud description. This analysis, in turn, demanded an examination of the historically specific modes of perception and expression at work in the description. Accordingly, much of this chapter was devoted to delineating salient influences upon these modes of perception and expression—primarily, Roka's practice of watercolor painting and his reading of Ruskin. Through this delineation, I hope to have given a concrete example of the methodology for the study of literary landscape elaborated and modeled in this dissertation. I offer another such example in the next chapter, which takes up a contemporaneous cloud description composed by another writer who mirrored Roka in his interest in illustration and Western-style painting: Kunikida Doppo.

Notes

[1] James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986), 254.

[2] See Tokutomi Kenjirō and Tokutomi Ai, Vol. 1 of *Fuji* (Fukunaga Shoten, 1925), ch. 21 sec. 2, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1016914, as well as Kaneko Takayoshi, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite: *Shizen to jinsei* 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' o chūshin ni," *Shiga Daigaku Keizai Gakubu kenkyū nenpō* 12 (2005): 7. Also see Yoshida Masanobu, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi: sono shugyō jidai," *Nihon bungaku* 26, no. 8 (1977): 6 and Yoshida Masanobu, ed., "Tokutomi Roka: nenpu," in *Min'yūsha bungakushū (2)*, ed. Hirabayashi Hajime, Vol. 6 of *Min'yūsha shisō bungaku sōsho* (San'ichi Shobō, 1984), 409. There are a number of references in *Fuji* to how Komako, who is modeled upon Roka's wife Tokutomi Aiko (1874-1947), had held an interest in or practiced painting or sketching prior to this point. For examples, see Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, pp. 23, 53, 217, and 299. Judging from *Fuji*, Kumaji, who is modeled upon Roka, had also sketched (I believe in pencil) and been interested in painting earlier in 1895; see ibid., 364, 376, 382-83, and 419.

The colophons to the four volumes of *Fuji* all list as their author "Tokutomi Kenjirō," which was Roka's real name, and "Tokutomi Ai [愛 or あい]," referring to Roka's wife (Aiko). Roka wrote the initial and revised drafts of the novel, but Aiko played an indispensable role in the novel's subsequent composition, revision, and completion over years. For details, see the 1928 afterword, titled "Shōsetsu *Fuji* daiyonkan o dasu ni tsuite" and signed by Aiko, to Vol. 4 of *Fuji* (Fukunaga Shoten, 1928), 1-21, esp. 1-3.

[3] On the history of watercolor painting in the Meiji period, see Seo Noriaki, *Kindai Nihon suisaiga 150 nenshi* (Kokusho Kankōkai, 2015), chs. 1-3, esp. ch. 3 on the topic of amateur watercolor painting in particular, and Chinghsin Wu, "Colors of Empire: Watercolor in Meiji Japan," in *The Visual Culture of Meiji Japan: Negotiating the Transition to Modernity*, ed. Ayelet Zohar and Alison J. Miller (New York: Routledge, 2021), ch. 10. On factors behind the popularity of watercolor from the second half of the Meiji 20s (1887-1896) to around Meiji 40 (1907), see Harada Hikaru, "Ōshita Tōjirō no shōgai," in Harada Hikaru, *Ōshita Tōjirō*, ed. [*kanshū*] Takumi Hideo, Nihon no suisaiga 1 (Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1989), 38.

[4] Roka recalls in *Fuji* that he had had a connection with Wada through *Home Magazine* (Katei zasshi) and the Min'yūsha coterie. See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 489. On when Roka began studying with Wada, see Yoshida Masanobu, "*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kōsei to shisōsei," *Kokugo kokubungakuhō*, no. 55 (1997): 3; Nakajima Reiko, "Tokutomi Roka to Kunikida Doppo," in *Kunikida Doppo to shūhen* (Ōfū, 2019), 225; Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 7-8; and Okamoto Masaomi, "Nenpu," in Okamoto Masaomi, *Tokutomi Roka: hito to sakuhin*, ed. Fukuda Kiyoto, new ed. [*shinsōban*] (Shimizu Shoin, 2018), 202. On Roka's pictorial sketching, also see Okamoto Masaomi, "Tokutomi Roka no shōgai," first *hen* in ibid., 68-70. Incidentally, Wada would create the *sashi-e* (inserted pictures) for *Lyric Poetry* (Jojōshi), the 1897 poetry collection published by Min'yūsha that I discussed in Chapter Two. See the preface to *Jojōshi*, ed. Miyazaki Yaokichi [Koshoshi] (Min'yūsha, 1897), unpaginated, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/876334, and also Tokutomi Kenjirō and Tokutomi Ai, Vol. 2 of *Fuji* (Fukunaga Shoten, 1926), 45, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1016922.

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[5] Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kōsei to shisōsei," 3. Roka writes in *Fuji* that Kumaji (Roka) and his wife were drawn more to Western-style painting than to Japanese-style painting. He also notes that a "bright, light painting style" had recently come to Japan from France; remarks that husband and wife did not disregard the "old subdued" style but were drawn more to the "bright paintings"; and finally observes that "Tarumi" (Wada) was a preeminent young painter of such bright paintings. See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 491.

[6] Ibid., 581.

[7] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 42.

[8] At this point, Tarumi is, I believe, doing preparatory work for the painting that would be titled *Twilight at the Ferry Landing*, which I discussed in the previous chapter. See ibid., 42-45.

[9] The essay opens, "I happened to strike upon the idea of studying painting at the start of the year before last." See Roka-sei [Tokutomi Roka], "Shaseichō: e" and "Shaseichō: e (zoku)," published in *Kokumin shinbun* on January 12 and 14, 1898, respectively. A nearly identical version of the essay appeared as the "preface" (*jo*) to Tokutomi Kenjirō [Roka], *Seizan hakuun* [Green Mountains, White Clouds] (Min'yūsha, March 1898), 1-7, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/889128. I learned of the preface's initial publication information from Yoshida Masanobu, "Meiji nijūnendai no Tokutomi Roka: sono bungō katsudō no sobyō," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 53 (1974): 77. I was directed to the essay by Kaneko Takayoshi, who quotes from the preface of *Seizan hakuun* in "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 8. Yoshida also discusses the essay at some length, and gives the phonetic reading *e* for the character 画 in its title, in "*Seizan hakuun* oboegaki: bungakusha Roka no shuppatsu," *Kokugo kokubungakuhō*, no. 37 (1980): 20-22.

In the 1898 essay, Roka states that, lacking any real background in drawing, he began to learn under (*tsukinu*) "Shitō Wada-kei" (紫桐和田兄; referring to Wada Eisaku), beginning with the basics. In a very different context, "Shitō" is given as one of Wada Eisaku's pseudonyms in the name index (*jinmei sakuin*) in the back of Panteonkai Zasshi Kenkyūkai, ed., *Pari 1900-nen, Nihonjin ryūgakusei no kōyū: "Panteonkai zasshi" shiryō to kenkyū* (Kunitachi, Japan: Buryukke, 2004), 12.

[10] See Kaneko Takayoshi's "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," esp. 7-9. I also look to the work of Fukawa Junko on this topic below.

[11] Roka-sei, "Shaseichō: e."

[12] Roka-sei, "Shaseichō: e (zoku)." For part of these passages, also see Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 8.

[13] Still, the notion of "collecting everything in the universe into my sketchbooks" testifies to a drive toward ocular possession.

[14] In *Fuji*, Roka states that Kumaji (Roka) used this essay, which he had recently published in the newspaper, as the preface to his collection *Seizan hakuun*. See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 170-71. The version of the essay employed as the preface to *Seizan hakuun* ends with a reference to Roka's writing "confessions" and using them as the preface. See Roka-sei [Tokutomi Roka], preface to *Seizan hakuun*, 7.

[15] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 172. Roka also describes one other text as such an oath and bugle: a poem, composed the previous year, that he used on New Year's Day in 1898 as a "good-fortune writing" (*kissho*). See ibid., 172 and, on the poem, ibid., 162-63.

[16] Roka-sei, "Shaseichō: e (zoku)." Note that the literary historian Noyama Kashō is critical of Roka's essay and is incredulous regarding its suggestion that Roka "came to comprehend for

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himself the idea and method of '*shasei*' after two years of hardship" (of painting). As I understand him, Noyama also implies the influence upon Roka of other or others' understandings, from Masaoka Shiki on, of *shasei* as a "method of literature" (as opposed to "only a method of painting"). See Noyama's "Kindai shōsetsu shinkō, Meiji no seishun: Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* (sono 2)," *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 44, no. 5 (1999): 155-56. (However, for what I think is an acknowledgement of the real importance of Roka's training in painting [under Wada] to his writing, see the eighth installment of the same essay by Noyama in the same journal, vol. 44, no. 12 [1999], p. 151. Also see endnote 44 in Chapter Four.)

[17] Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 22.

[18] To avoid confusion, I should state that "discovery" here does *not* name the moment when "landscape" comes to be conceived and represented as an "object" distinct from a viewing subject (as in the work of Karatani Kōjin; see Karatani Kōjin, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* [Kōdansha, 1980], esp. ch. 1).

[19] Roka-sei, "Shaseichō: e (zoku)." Also see Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 8 on Roka, sketching, and eye opening.

[20] Yoshida cites the essay when discussing Roka and sketching in "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 6.

[21] Roka-sei, "Waga hatsukoi naru 'shizen,'" *Shōtenchi* 2, no. 7 (1902): 103-6, quote on 104.

[22] After the next passage, and following a long quotation of a diary entry regarding his experiences in Zushi, Roka writes that "my ears and eyes had only begun to lift up just half of their membranes." Soon after: "What are [these] membranes? They are 'ego'" (ibid., 106).

[23] For the dates of Roka's stay in Zushi, see Okamoto, "Nenpu," 202.

[24] Roka-sei, "Waga hatsukoi naru 'shizen,'" 105. For more commentary by Roka on his early sketching in late 1895 and his (renewed) encounter with nature, see Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 468-69. Also see ibid., 582.

[25] On these topics, see Karatani, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen*, ch. 1. Karatani is critical of the opposition of "realism" and "romanticism." See esp. ibid., 29-31. For the translation into English, see Karatani Kōjin, "The Discovery of Landscape," trans. Brett de Bary, in *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. ed. Brett de Bary (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 29-30.

[26] Two are unused and several are largely blank. To the best of my knowledge, the total number is twenty-eight. In *Fuji*, Roka records that, upon moving to Tokyo in 1900, Kumaji (Roka) "tore up and threw away, or gave to kids as toys, the majority of the copious watercolor sketches he had drawn during his four years living in Zushi" (Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 449).

[27] Judging from my communication with Ishii Takako, former curator at the Roka Koshun-en Gardens, we cannot definitively say that the black-and-white pictures in the sketchbooks include both pencil and charcoal drawings; it is possible that they are all pencil or are all charcoal. According to *Fuji*, Roka also attempted pen sketches using a pen and a bottle of ink around spring 1897; see Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 47. He drew a picture in chalk using live models in mid-1897 (ibid., 108-9). In connection to Roka's pictures of indoor or human subjects, see Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 581-82.

[28] Here, I adapt the argument of Joseph Leo Koerner in *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), esp. 13-14.

[29] Having said that, the pictures *can* create the apparent effect of—to lift a line from Kurt Badt's work on John Constable's way of painting the sky—an "identity between the origin of the

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inspiration and the means of expression." See Kurt Badt, *John Constable's Clouds*, trans. Stanley Godman (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), 77.

[30] The "1" of "21" appears to be written over a "0." Note that, here and below, there may be inaccuracies in my transcriptions of periods in the inscriptions upon the title pages of Roka's sketchbooks. They can be difficult to decipher.

[31] On the stay, see Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 1-2. Roka also refers to "the two weeks I stayed" (in Ikaho) in [Tokutomi] Roka, "Yama to umi (5): kumo yabure yama arawaru," *Kokumin shinbun*, June 5, 1898. I will return to "Yama to umi" below.

[32] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 193; also cited in Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 8. Kaneko writes that, on days when the weather was poor, Roka stayed inside and viewed the scenery from his room, but on days when the weather was fair, he walked around outside and sketched. Kaneko also addresses the significance of the fact that Roka both described Ikaho's nature in words and also sketched it in paint during his stay. See ibid., 8-9.

[33] [Tokutomi] Roka, "Yama to umi: (1) kuwa no umi," *Kokumin shinbun*, June 2, 1898. This date of arrival in Ikaho, May 7, also appears to align with that presented in the novel *Fuji*. See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 181-90.

[34] Kaneko has discussed how "Three Days of Clouds in Kōzan" presents descriptions of the three motifs of the sky, clouds, and mountains ("Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 6-9). Satō Masaru also speaks of description concerning "the clouds of the mountains around Ikaho" in writings in Roka's "Five Minutes with Nature," and quotes from the cloud sketch from May 13, in his annotations to Roka's novel *Hototogisu* in Satō Yasumasa and Satō Masaru [*kaisetsu*] and Satō Zen'ya and Satō Masaru [*chūshaku*], *Kitamura Tōkoku, Tokutomi Roka shū*, Vol. 9 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1972), 479n5.

[35] On Kōzan as referring to Ikaho, see Yoshida Masanobu, "*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi: sono sozai to shippitsu, happyō no yōsō," *Kokugo kokubungakuhō*, no. 32 (1977): 15. Minegishi Hideo explains that "Kōzan" refers to "the belt of mountains in Ikaho." See Minegishi's "Tokutomi Roka to Ikaho," in *Tokutomi Roka no shisō genryū* (Emu Kōporēshon, 2003), 71. Nakano Yoshio also, I take it, glosses Kōzan as "the mountains of Ikaho" (see Nakano's "*Shizen to jinsei*," in Vol. 2 of *Roka Tokutomi Kenjirō* [Chikuma Shobō, 1972], 47). Roka appears to use the word as a place name, as when he writes "the weather in Kōzan" (*Kōzan no tenki*). See Tokutomi Kenjirō [Roka], *Shizen to jinsei* (Min'yūsha, 1900), 136. I have consulted the reprint of the first edition of *Shizen to jinsei* in the series *Seisen meicho fukkoku zenshū Kindai Bungakukan*, edited by Seisen Meicho Fukkoku Zenshū Kindai Bungakukan, Henshū Iinkai and published by Nihon Kindai Bungakukan in 1974 (sixth printing).

[36] The three collections contain eighty-seven prose pieces, some having their own subsections, that are of varying length. On the contents and textual history of *Nature and Human Life*, see Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi," 11-19; Okamoto Masaomi, "*Shizen to jinsei*," in *Sakuhin to kaisetsu*, second *hen* in Okamoto, *Tokutomi Roka*, ed. Fukuda, 130-43; and Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 1-26, esp. 2-4. I have also referred to the following three essays by Fukawa Junko on the three collections of prose pieces in *Nature and Human Life*: "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," "*Shizen to jinsei* no 'shaseichō' ni tsuite," and "*Shizen to jinsei* no 'shōnan zappitsu' ni tsuite," all in *Seikei jinbun kenkyū*, respectively no. 3 (1995): 19-33, no. 4 (1996): 1-10, and no. 5 (1997): 49-64.

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[37] Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi," 15.

[38] "Dete wa egaki, kaette wa shōji o akete yūakari ni nurinokoshi o nutte iru to . . . ." See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 23. For Kumaji drawing entire scenes from memory, see Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 467, also 465. In addition, with respect to an ink painting from memory by Kumaji, see Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 319-20.

[39] On the location, see Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 5.

[40] See Tokutomi [Roka], *Shizen to jinsei*, 133, 137, and 142.

[41] See Roka, "Yama to umi: (5) kumo yabure yama arawaru" and [Tokutomi] Roka, "Yama to umi: (10) gogatsu no yuki," *Kokumin no shinbun*, June 9, 1898.

[42] Minegishi Hideo identifies the overlap between the opening of the screen door at the start of the first cloud sketch—it begins, precisely, "when I opened the screen door"—and the opening of the screen door at the start of *The Cuckoo*. He also takes the setting in both cases to be Roka's room on the third floor of the Chigira Jinsentei Inn. See Minegishi, "Tokutomi Roka to Ikaho," 70-71. On the inn in the opening of *The Cuckoo*, also see Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 2. I thank Tomozoe Taiki for his comments with respect to the pictorial sketch and the beginning of *The Cuckoo*.

[43] See Tokutomi Roka, *Hototogisu*, in Satō et. al., *Kitamura Tōkoku, Tokutomi Roka shū*, 224-25. On the publication history of *Hototogisu*, see Satō's annotations to *Hototogisu*, 224n1 and 475-76n1. Also see ibid., 479n5 for more on the opening scene of *Hototogisu* specifically in relation to part of the cloud sketch in *Nature and Human Life* that dates from May 13. I analyze another part of this sketch below.

[44] Tokutomi [Roka], *Shizen to jinsei*, 138.

[45] Ibid., 140.

[46] [Tokutomi] Roka, "Yama to umi: (6) rōjō no nozomi," *Kokumin shinbun*, June 7, 1898,

[47] [Tokutomi] Roka, "Yama to umi: (8) yama no hengen," *Kokumin no shinbun*, June 9, 1898.

[48] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 190-91. I also thank Fukawa Junko for directing me to part of this passage.

[49] Nor are the pictures necessarily all from the same period of time. The title page of one sketchbook, "No. 25.", gives the date "January 1899." The sketchbook's pictures seem to bear inscriptions from January through March (presumably of 1899). We can also find inscriptions that read "Meiji 32" (1899) and one that reads "Meiji 32 (?)". However, the final inscription in the sketchbook begins "Meiji 33-nen go-gatsu" (May 1900). The rest of the inscription seems to read "Mt. Akagi / Minowa Pasture [*bokujō*]" (I thank the Tokutomi Roka Kinen Bungakukan in Ikaho for invaluable aid in deciphering this inscription). Roka did indeed visit Ikaho at the end of April in 1900 and stayed there for four weeks (see below). Note that this final inscription appears to sit on the backside of the watercolor sketch to which it refers, but that there is also a light pencil sketch of the outlines of mountainous forms on this backside of the same page.

[50] In a timeline of Roka's life, one entry under the year 1898 reads, "May Fifth: for their fifth wedding anniversary, husband and wife traveled, together, to Ikaho in Jōshū for the first time. They stayed for two weeks at the Chigira Jinsentei. In addition, they traveled to Sendai [and] Matsushima" (underline added). See Okino Iwasaburō, "Nenpu," in Vol. 18 of *Roka zenshū* (Roka Zenshū Kankōkai, 1930), 25, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1883548. Roka describes how Kumaji and his wife traveled to these other locations after leaving Ikaho in Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 196-201.

The subject matter of figure 4 does recall Roka's reference in *Fuji* to his picture of "the haze of the evening scenery of the mountains of Ikaho" (ibid., 436), but Roka may just as well be referring to another one of his many sketches.

[51] I am assuming that Roka added these inscriptions, although it is conceivable that they were authored by someone else.

[52] Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 2.

[53] While in Zushi, Roka and his wife Aiko lived at the "Yanagiya" (Willow House). The Yanagiya was located by, and near the mouth of, the Tagoegawa river that flows into Sagami Bay, on which more below. On Roka as well as Kunikida Doppo and the Yanagiya, see Kimura Hikosaburō, *Yanagiya no Doppo, Roka* (Zushi, Japan: Ishiwatari Kiichi, 1961). Also see the entries in *Kikan māmeido: Zushi Shiritsu Toshokanpō*, no. 1 (2013), which led me to Kimura's book, at https://www.library.city.zushi.lg.jp/images/upload/kno01.pdf;jsessionid=E06A90B2EB0FD24E5FB13C264E4F8A3F. In addition, see Shimamoto Kazuya, *Umibe no ikoi: Shōnan bessō monogatari* (Fujisawa, Japan: Shimamoto Kazuya, 2000), 268-69.

[54] However, as I stated above, Roka may have revised the descriptions upon their inclusion in *Nature and Human Life* (published in 1900).

[55] Two two-page spreads in the sketchbook each contain two depictions of nearly the same scene of Fuji, but with variation in the hues of the sky and the mountains, while bearing only one inscription of the date per pair of pictures ("Dec. 16" and "Dec. 25," respectively). In each pair of pictures, only the lower picture displays a rocky outcropping on the right. Broadly speaking, all four of the illustrations in the two pairs show the same general view of Fuji as the sketches from January that I examine below.

The sketchbook also contains another illustration of the same general scene, but again from a slightly different viewing position, that is also dated to "Dec. 16." In this picture, the lighting is not reddish or orangish, as it is in the two pictures of Fuji on the two-page spread also dated to December 16. Perhaps, in the case of the standalone illustration, Roka witnessed the scene in the afternoon.

A third two-page spread presents a sketch of the same scene, with both Fuji's lower half and also the mountains to its left in blue, Fuji's peak in red, a rocky outcropping to the right, and a reddened sky above. Below these forms is painted a slightly smaller, reddened Fuji with abbreviated red mountains to the left. Roka may have again portrayed the same scene twice, in succession, on this two-page spread, but no inscription of the date accompanies these two sketches.

[56] Roka continues: "Until this time, Kumaji had written all [his works] using a brush, but he used a pen and a notebook with Western paper for the first time for the nature diary. Sometimes he included pen drawings in the writing." Roka goes on to state that there were "many pieces taken from it [the diary]" in the new book Kumaji was putting together, i.e., *Nature and Human Life*. See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 401.

With reference to Kunikida Doppo and the diary, see Nakano, "*Shizen to jinsei*," 43-44 and Satō Masaru, "Tokutomi Roka: *Shizen to jinsei*," in *Nihon kindai bungaku meicho jiten*, ed. Nihon Kindai Bungakukan (Nihon Kindai Bungakukan and Horupu Shuppan, 1982), 125. In addition, on Doppo and the diary, see Nakajima, "Tokutomi Roka to Kunikida Doppo," 224-25 and, briefly, Fukawa, "*Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," 28n3. Finally, see Okino Iwasaburō, "Kaidai (3)," *kaidai* (explanatory notes) to Vol. 3 of *Roka zenshū*, pp. 10-11. The *Roka zenshū*, which runs twenty volumes, was published by Roka Zenshū Kankōkai

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between 1928 and 1930. In the version of this *zenshū* that I consulted at the library of Waseda University, *kaidai* for the volumes are collected as a separate book whose spine reads "Roka zenshū kaisetsu." However, the book does not list its own publication information.

[57] See Okamoto, "*Shizen to jinsei*," 139 and also Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi," 16. Okamoto characterizes "Assorted Writings from Shōnan" itself as a "diary," based on the "notes" Roka kept over one year, and Yoshida indicates that "Assorted Writings from Shōnan" "takes the form of a diary about nature."

[58] For Nakano, these characteristics of the writing, I take it, are "hackneyed and irksome." See Nakano, *Shizen to jinsei*, 44, also see 47 and 54. That said, Nakano also argues that precise sketching can be found within "Five Minutes" itself. Citing a passage from an entry in the collection, he states that, "to the end, [the entry] transcribes nature itself and indulges in no unnecessary rhetoric" (ibid., 46).

[59] Yoshida Masanobu, "*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kichō to shinbisei," *Aichi Kyōiku Daigaku Daigakuin kokugo kenkyū*, no. 5 (1997): 39.

[60] Yoshida suggests that the bulk of the texts in "Five Minutes with Nature" were "written around 1898 or 1899" ("*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi," 18). For more on the publication information of the texts included in "Five Minutes with Nature," see Fukawa, "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," 21.

[61] It is this situation of the narrator within nature that allows the "thought of wanting to see God behind nature" *not* to surface in this writing. See Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kōsei to shisōsei," 11.

[62] Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kichō to shinbisei," 44.

In a way, Yoshida's argument recalls Kamei Hideo's evaluation of *Nature and Human Life*—an evaluation that differs in tenor from this dissertation's perspective on Roka's cloud descriptions. For Kamei, in *Nature and Human Life*, "the landscape objectified therein [*taishōteki keikan*] was never drawn according to the visually intentional gaze of someone who actually lived it [*shikōteki ni ikiru shisen*]. To the end, it was never more than nature depicted merely as it was gazed upon, drawn with a colorist's eye for momentary, instant-by-instant changes in its colors [*aku made mo tada nagamerareta dake no shizen no, sono jijikokkoku ni shikisai o kaete yuku sama ga kararisuto no me de egakarete iru ni suginakatta no de aru*]" (underline added). See Kamei Hideo, "Miru koto no sabetsu to kiki," in *Kansei no henkaku* (Kōdansha, 1983), 278; translation slightly modified from Kamei Hideo, "Discrimination and the Crisis of Seeing: Prejudices of Landscape in Shimazaki Tōson, Masaoka Shiki, and Uchimura Kanzō," trans. Antonia Saxon, in Kamei Hideo, *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*, trans. ed. Michael Bourdaghs (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 249.

[63] Speaking to Kumaji around the start of 1896, Kamoshida had "praised the beauty of the view of Fuji in the morning" and had "spoken of the beauty of the moment when the sunlight first touches one corner of Fuji." See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 475-76.

[64] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 164-65.

[65] [Tokutomi] Roka, "Kono goro no Fuji no akebono," *Kokumin shinbun*, January 25, 1898.

[66] See Yoshida, "*Seizan hakuun* oboegaki," 21-22. Also relevant here is Fukawa Junko on the order of the publication of the texts in "Five Minutes with Nature"; see her "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," 21.

In *Fuji*, Roka writes that, “starting with ‘Dawn over Fuji,’ Kumaji occasionally published short works in the style of prose poems in the newspaper” (Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 167). He also states that, “in addition to sketches in words [*moji no suketchi*], Kumaji of course did not stop [making] sketches done in colors [*shikisai de suru suketchi*]. If only he went out with his easel [*sankyaku*], he found something [to sketch]” (ibid., 168).

[67] Drawing on Kitazumi Toshio, Yoshida explains that, while the word *shasei* in Roka’s essay “Sketchbook: Pictures” does seem to refer to *shasei* in painting, Roka was also using the word *shasei* with reference to writing circa early 1898. Indeed, Roka published a series of texts whose titles include “Shaseichō” (Sketchbook) following the first such text, “Sketchbook: Pictures” (January 1898) (Yoshida, “*Seizan hakuun* oboegaki,” 21; also see Kitazumi Toshio, *Shasei haiku oyobi shaseibun no kenkyū* [Meiji Shoin, 1971], 260). The original titles of the texts to which Yoshida refers were “Shaseichō: itsudai” (Sketchbook: Untitled), “Shaseichō: itsudai,” “Shaseichō: itsudai; sakuya no yume” (Sketchbook: Untitled; My Dream Last Night), and “Shaseichō: karenji” (Sketchbook: A Pitiful Child), published in *Kokumin shinbun* on March 8, March 10, March 11, and March 15, respectively. As Yoshida indicates, the first two texts and the last text would be included in the collection “Sketchbook” (Shaseichō), itself included in *Nature and Human Life*, with the titles “Siblings” (Kyōdai), “The Nation and the Individual” (Kokka to kojin), and “A Pitiful Child” (Karenji), respectively. (Roka modified each of these texts upon their republication.) As Yoshida suggests, whether in painting or writing, the object of portrayal in Roka’s *shasei* could be, not only nature, but also humans or human affairs. The four aforementioned texts that were published in March 1898 and whose titles include “Shaseichō” all deal with human affairs (*jinji*). See Yoshida, “*Seizan hakuun* oboegaki,” 21-22. I was led to Yoshida’s building off of Kitazumi in this essay, on a distinct but related point, by Noyama, “Kindai shōsetsu shinkō, Meiji no seishun: Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* (sono 8),” 154.

[68] Yoshida, “*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi,” 16. Having said that, Roka’s “practice in picture [making]” had already affected his writing prior to the start of 1898. See Yoshida, “*Seizan hakuun* oboegaki,” 23. In addition, Roka had begun writing works that “primarily take ‘nature’ as the object of description” years earlier. On this point, see Yoshida Masanobu, “Roka Tokutomi Kenjirō no shizenkan: sono keisei katei to bungaku e no keishōka ni tsuite no gaikan,” *Aichi Kyōiku Daigaku kenkyū hōkoku, jinbun kagaku*, no. 41 (1992): 225. However, Yoshida argues that it was from the time of Roka’s story “A Fisherman’s Daughter” (Ryōshi no musume; January 1897) that “‘nature’ started to be treated [in Roka’s writings] as an important object of description, one that might even be called a character. Over the next six years or so, [Roka] primarily put out works in which ‘nature’ is significant” (ibid., 224). These works differed from Roka’s previous works dealing with nature. The earlier works, I take it, had treated nature “at most only as an aesthetic object” (ibid.). Yoshida also explains that “the main ‘nature’ sketches of *Nature and Human Life* began to be written in 1898” (ibid.).

[69] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 269-70.

[70] For another, clear example of a timestamp on a sketch by Roka, see the picture in sketchbook 28 (May 1900) whose inscription includes “10 A.M.”

[71] [Tokutomi] Roka, “Inaka zakkei: (2) Sagaminada no mizujōki,” *Kokumin shinbun*, January 12, 1899. I was led to the original publication information for this text by Okamoto, “Nenpu,” 202.

[72] In his treatise *On Japanese Landscape* (1894), Shiga Shigetaka calls for Japan’s artists to thematize water vapor, among other subjects. Yoshida remarks upon the influence of Shiga’s call to thematize these subjects on works by Roka, who read the treatise in 1895. As regards water

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vapor, one can look, as Yoshida does, to Roka's "Water Vapor over Sagami Bay." See Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 5-6, esp. 6.

Incidentally, Roka's literary sketch, and Shiga's speaking of water vapor in connection with art, brings to mind Eva Horn's call to develop "an aesthesis of air." See Horn's "Air as Medium," *Grey Room*, no. 73 (2018): 6-25, esp. 22-23.

[73] On the probable year, see Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi," 15. Yoshida also notes that modifications were made to the text upon its republication in *Nature and Human Life*.

[74] Shimamoto reproduces this map in *Umibe no ikoi*, 272-73. He lists the source as Takada Otozō's *Zushi annaishi* (Guide to Zushi; 1897). Takada's book is available through the National Diet Library Digital Collections, but without the map, at https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/764020.

[75] Roka writes "Kotsubo no hana [𡽶]." Later in the sketch, Roka uses the phrase "Kotsubo no saki [岬] no itadaki" (the peak of the cape of Kotsubo). My best guess is that "the tip of Kotsubo" refers to the elevated edge (cape), as seen from the Ōshima Villa, of the elevated mass of land on the north side of Sagami Bay. The southwestern tip of that elevated mass of land is Ōsaki, so Roka is referring either to Ōsaki or to a location very close to it. In drawing these inferences, I have referred to: the entry for 𡽶 in Kamata Tadashi and Yoneyama Toratarō, *Shin kangorin* (Taishūkan Shoten, 2004), 401; the entries for *yama no hana* and *yama no ha* in Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 3:1063; descriptions of the Zushi coast in Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 578 and Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 244, also 335; pp. 17-18 and 22-26, and esp. p. 22, of a 1906 guide to Miura Peninsula by Satō Zenjirō titled *Miura Taikan*, available at https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/764402 (the colophon lists Shōrindō Shiten in Zushi as the seller; the NDL metadata gives the publisher as Kamakura Shōrindō in Kamakura-machi, Yokohama Prefecture); the openings of the entries on Zushi-shi and Kotsubo-mura in *Kanagawa-ken no chimei*, ed. Shimonaka Kunihiko, Vol. 14 of *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Heibonsha, 1984), 369 and 370, respectively; figure 9 of this dissertation (an 1897 map of the area in question); and the 1927 *Map of the Entire Town of Zushi* (Zushi-machi zenzu), reproduced [寫] by Saitō Sakura [?; 齋藤作良] and included as an appendix to Arai Tomosaburō, ed., *Zushi chōshi* (Zushimachi, Japan: Zushimachi, 1928).

[76] I have cut the final sentence short.

[77] For instance, thinking through how Roka's fervent practice of *shasei* concretely "benefitted his [literary] nature sketches," Yoshida Masanobu points to "how his observations became scrupulous, and in particular, how his sense of color grew rich" ("Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 6; also see ibid., 1 on what Yoshida calls "nature sketches").

[78] Fukawa, "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," 23. Fukawa also catalogues the "color words" in the collection "Five Minutes with Nature." There are seventy-three kinds (*shurui*) of color words in the collection.

[79] Fukawa Junko, "Tokutomi Roka 'Ryōshi no musume' ni tsuite," *Seikei kokubun*, no. 26 (1993): 60. In the passages of the texts that Fukawa takes up, Roka attends to temporal change "from dawn to morning" and "from evening to night" (i.e., around sunset).

[80] Ibid.

[81] Fukawa cites the words I have underlined in ibid., 58. For the full passage, see Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 491. For more on Kumaji and color, see ibid., 465.

[82] Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 7.

[83] Ibid., 8.

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[84] Ibid. Kaneko also suggests that Roka gained an expanded "stock of color words and color expressions." For more on Roka, painting, and natural description, also see Minegishi Hideo, "'Kangeki' no bungakushi: Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no jidai to sono shūhen," *Kōhyō* 45, no. 5 (2008): 42-43.

[85] "Five Minutes with Nature" contains a number of entries that portray scenes at sunrise and sunset. On this topic, see the subsection "Nature Changing with Each Passing Moment" (Kokkoku to henka suru shizen) in the section "The Natural Description of 'Five Minutes with Nature'" ("Shizen ni taisuru gofunji" no shizen byōsha) in Fukawa, "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," 22.

[86] I have found the inscription to the side of these illustrations to be illegible.

[87] See Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 19-23, esp. 21-22.

[88] Citing a line from the passage I quote below—"as Ruskin says . . . burning in the sky"—Yoshida Masanobu comments in passing that Ruskin's name appears "when [Roka is] characterizing color" ("Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 11).

[89] He continues: "Next, observe, this blue fire has in it *white* fire; that is, it has white clouds . . . ." See John Ruskin, "Of Turnerian Light," in *Modern Painters, Volume IV*, in *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, 6:51.

[90] See Man'yūsei [Tokutomi Roka], "Tonegawajō no itchūya," *Kokumin shinbun*, November 23, 1896. I was led to this passage by Kaneko, who quotes a later version of it from "Water Country in Autumn" (Suikoku no aki) in Roka's collection *Seizan hakuun* (1898), in "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 20 (see ibid., 20n19 on the travelogue's publication history). Judging from *Fuji*, Roka also produced pictorial sketches during the trip on which he based the travelogue. See Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 1 of *Fuji*, 586-89. I take the phonetic reading "*gongo*" of 言語 from p. 152 of "Suikoku no aki" in *Seizan hakuun*.

It is emblematic of the age of clouds that Roka's travelogue appeared in *The People's Newspaper* immediately prior to a review of the ongoing first exhibition of the White Horse Society. The first painting addressed in the review is *A Small Boat in Hinkai* (Hinkai no henshū) by Shirataki Ikunosuke (1873-1960). The critic lauds Shirataki for "having managed to excellently compose the appearance of the shadows of the string of clouds drifting at an angle toward the right-hand side of the picture plane." See "Hakubakai tenrankai o miru (zoku)," *Kokumin shinbun*, November 23, 1896.

[91] "Of Truth of Skies" is section 3 of part 2 of volume 1 of *Modern Painters*. "Of Cloud Beauty," is part 7 of volume 5. Nakano Yoshio points to these two portions of *Modern Painters* that are devoted to clouds when discussing the connection between Ruskin and Roka. See Nakano, "*Shizen to jinsei*," note on p. 47. As I will show in Chapter Eight, it was "Of Truth of Skies" that proved essential to Shimazaki Tōson's cloud observations and writings in 1899-1900. It is also from this section of the treatise that Kaneko Takayoshi culls passages on the colors and shapes of clouds when he considers Ruskin's impact upon Roka's cloud observations and description (I return to this point below). Ruskin, we may note, refers back to this earlier discussion of clouds in volume one at a few points in "Of Cloud Beauty" (in volume 5).

[92] See Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 19-22.

[93] Okino, "Kaidai (3)," 9.

[94] For the dates, see Nakano, "*Shizen to jinsei*," note on 47, and Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, ch. 18, esp. 388-89 and 393.

[95] Nakano, "*Shizen to jinsei*," note on 47.

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[96] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 389-90.

[97] Nakano, "*Shizen to jinsei*," note on 47. Note that Nakano refers to "Of Truth of Skies" and "Of Cloud Beauty" in *Modern Painters* by volume, part, and section numbers rather than by title. Also on Okino's and Nakano's positions, see Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi," 19n6 and Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 12n8.

[98] See the essays by Yoshida that I cited in the previous endnote. For Kaneko, see "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 4.

[99] Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 2. See [Tokutomi] Roka, "Yama to umi: (7) yama no chōseki," *Kokumin no shinbun*, June 7, 1898, and Roka, "Yama to umi: (10) gogatsu no yuki."

[100] Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 12n8.

[101] Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei* no shizen suketchi," 15.

[102] Ibid., 19n6 and Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 12n8.

[103] Then: "The degree of influence from Ruskin [on Roka] was merely such that we can surmise that [Roka] was edified by Ruskin's cloud observations; it is difficult to grasp anything more detailed than that." See ibid., 11.

[104] Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," esp. 10, 14-15.

[105] Roka, "Yama to umi: (8): yama no hengen." "Boulders" is an educated guess; the logograph is difficult to decipher with precision.

[106] Ibid.

[107] See Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 11 and Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 20.

[108] I take the English version of the statement from *Modern Painters*, although there are minor disparities between it and the Japanese rendition. See Roka, "Yama to umi: (6) rōjō no nozomi" and John Ruskin, "The Mountain Glory," in *Modern Painters, Volume IV*, 6:418.

It may also be worth remarking that the next entry in "Mountains and the Sea," titled "The Mountains in the Morning and the Evening," presents colorful descriptions of the surrounding mountains. For instance, as the light of the rising sun pierced the morning mist and then spread throughout the valley, "*the dull, white-lead color of the mountains gradually became transparent*, Mt. Akagi was tinged by a faintly violet light, and the mountains Komochi and Onoko were tinged a teal color [*hekishoku*] with a streak of faint green" (emphasis in original). See Roka, "Yama to umi: (7) yama no chōseki." I quote only part of Roka's sentence here. Note that the dictionary definition of *hekishoku* is "Blue. Green. Again, blue-green or blue-white." See Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, "Hekishoku," in *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 3:531.

[109] John Ruskin, "Of Truth of Skies," section 3 of part 2 of *Modern Painters, Volume I*, 3:368.

[110] Ibid., 3:350.

[111] One is part of the passage I just quoted regarding the "marvellous . . . changefulness" of cirrus clouds.

[112] Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 22.

[113] To these discursive and biographical factors, one could add a geographical factor. Kaneko explains that various clouds did form "around the peak of Mt. Fuji," visible from Roka's home in Zushi, and that the sky's hues did change. "In the same way in Ikaho—no, more so in Ikaho—because of the complicated terrain [*chikei*] surrounded by tall mountains, the clouds came in and out very quickly, and the appearance of the sky and the mountains constantly changed." See Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 5.

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[114] "*Shizen to jinsei*," *Kokumin shinbun*, July 5, 1900 (*Shizen to jinsei* would be published in August 1900). Just about all of the advertisement is reprinted nearly as is in Tokutomi Roka, *Shizen to jinsei*, 86th printing (Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 244 (the 37th printing, from 1958, is listed as having been of a revised edition).

[115] See Minegishi, "'Kangeki' no bungakushi," 43.

[116] In (around) November 1900, Roka visited Tōson in Nagano and then, subsequently, sent him a copy of *Nature and Human Life*. Tōson in turn sent a letter to Roka on November 18 thanking him for the book, complimenting it, and explaining that he had recommended it to Kokki, who was likewise moved by the "precision and originality of [your] observations." See Nakajima Kunihiko, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei* (Chikuma Shobō, 1994), 424; for Tōson's letter, see *Tōson zenshū*, 17:54-55. However, also see Nakajima (p. 424) for a somewhat skeptical or at least nuanced take on Tōson's reception of Roka's book. Also see the entry for the end of October 1900 in Okino's timeline of Roka's life and work ("Nenpu," 27).

[117] Miyake Kokki, "Gakyō," in *Tokutomi Roka: kentō to tsuisō*, ed. Rokakai (Iwanami Shoten, 1936), 94.

[118] The narrator also sharpens the geographical specificity of his description by characterizing the appearance, positions, and movements of the clouds around explicitly identified mountains: Mt. Onoko, Mt. Komochi, and Mt. Akagi.

[119] The word is 積綿, given the phonetic reading *sekimen*. One could also translate this word as "piled cotton," but the first definition of *wata* 綿 in an 1898 dictionary is "the same as *mawata* [silk floss]." (The second is "the same as *momenwata*," defined elsewhere as "a white, extremely soft substance [*mono*] that grows in the seeds of *kiwata* [cotton trees]"). See Ochiai Naobumi, *Nihon daijiten: kotoba no izumi*, 4:1497 and 4:1391.

[120] [Roka], *Shizen to jinsei*, 138-39. I have also referred to the (abbreviated) translation of this passage available in Tokutomi Roka, *Nature and Man*, trans. ["Re-Written in English" by] A. and M [*sic*] Lloyd, M. von Fallot, and H. Ono (Tokyo: Kogakukwan, 1913), 117-18. "A. Lloyd" is Arthur Lloyd; "H. Ono" is Ono Hidetarō. I thank Nakagawa Eri for her invaluable comments in revising the translation.

[121] "As for Mt. Onoko and Mt. Komochi, their blue surfaces and indigo shadows were vivid and appeared as though painted [*egakeru ga gotoshi*]" ([Roka], *Shizen to jinsei*, 135). Again: "[the scene] was just like a picture of a landscape before the rain falls [*ippuku uzen sansui no zu*]" (ibid., 142). We will also encounter a passage further on in this chapter that refers to a "divinely skilled" painter (of nature).

[122] The third definition for *ji* (地) in an 1898 dictionary reads, "The part of a piece of paper, or again, of cloth [*fuhaku*] or such where there is no figure [*mon*] or pattern [*moyō*] or such." See Ochiai, *Nihon daijiten: kotoba no izumi*, 3:875. (*Fuhaku* is defined elsewhere in the dictionary as "*momen to, kinu to*," meaning "cotton and silk" or "cotton fabric and silk fabric"; see ibid., 4:1237).

[123] I thank Katsumata Motoi and Nakagawa Eri for sharing their thoughts on "dyeing" and the "foundation."

[124] On the literary style of *Nature and Human Life*, see Suzuki Yoshiaki, "Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei*: bibun to shite no kanbun kundokuchō," *Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō, dai 3-bunsatsu*, no. 44 (1998): 37-50. Suzuki observes how *Nature and Human Life* employs a range of literary styles (including the vernacular). He goes on to push against the

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characterization of Roka's text as consisting of "*kanbun kundokuchō no bibun*" (flowery writing in the tone of Japanese readings of Chinese). He asserts instead that "it is conceivable that the outstanding aspect [of the text] lies in the mixture of '*kanbun kundokuchō*' with '*wabunmyaku* ['classical' or 'indigenous' Japanese diction]'" (ibid., 47). For more on the literary styles in *Nature and Human Life*, see Noyama Kashō, "Kindai shōsetsu shinkō, Meiji no seishun: Tokutomi Roka *Shizen to jinsei* (sono 1)," *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 44, no. 4 (1999): 155-56. Nakano Yoshio refers in passing to the "*bungotai bibunchō*"—the "tone of flowery prose in the style of literary [non-vernacular] Japanese"—when speaking of (many of) the works in "Five Minutes with Nature." See Nakano, "*Shizen to jinsei*," 44. I thank Munakata Kazushige for directing me to Nakano's remark.

[125] This is a case of *juntaihō*: "The use of rentaikei [連体形] as a noun phrase is known as its substantive use, or [準体法（じゅんたいほう）]" (all brackets in original). See Akira Komai and Thomas H. Rohlich, *An Introduction to Classical Japanese* (Tokyo: Bonjinsha, 1991), 20.

[126] A significant portion of this paragraph developed through conversation with Brendan Morley, whom I also thank for "staccato."

[127] Roka is using what is called *ren'yō chūshikei/hō* (the form/technique of ending with continuative inflections), on which see Tanaka Hiroshi, "Ren'yō chūshihō," in *Nihongo bunshō, buntai, hyōgen jiten*, ed. Nakamura Akira et. al. (Asakura Shoten, 2011), 102-3.

[128] I thank Nakagawa Eri for her comments with respect to this topic.

[129] Perhaps he is speaking of colors visible among the kinds of clouds he just listed: "clouds stretched sideways, clouds like piled silk floss," sometimes white, sometimes copper, sometimes purple, or changing into these colors over time. I thank Tomozoe Taiki and Nakagawa Eri for their thoughts on the matter.

[130] Perhaps the sense of succession would have been stronger if Roka had used the conjunctive particle *te* (I thank Hayashi Naoki for his comments on this topic). With respect to the distinctions between conjunction through *ren'yōkei* and conjunction through *te*-form in modern Japanese, I have also referred to Tanaka, "Ren'yō chūshihō," 103 and esp. Teramura Hideo's essay on "parallel conjunction" (*heiretsuteki setsuzoku*), for which see Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, "Heiretsuteki setsuzoku," in Vol. 2 of *Nihongo no bunpō*, Nihongo kyōiku shidō sankōsho 5, written by [*shippitsu*] Teramura Hideo (Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1981; repr., 1998), 35-36. Again, I thank Hayashi Naoki for directing me to Teramura's essay.

[131] Amidst a rather different argument, Yoshida Masanobu once commented that the texts collected in "Five Minutes with Nature" "are no doubt nature sketches, but the focus is upon ['Roka's' or 'the human's'] various thoughts and feelings toward nature [*shizen ni yoseru zuisō zuikan*], which are briefly appended in words, or discernable in the treatment of nature" ("*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kichō to shinbisei," 38).

[132] The statement I am translating here, which is quoted in the advertisement and described as "what the author said himself" (*chosha mizukara iu tokoro*), does not include "I" or "my" in the Japanese but, instead, "the author" (*choshaga me ni mi mimi ni kiki*).

Intriguingly, the preface to Shimazaki Tōson's collection of poetry and prose, *A Leaf Boat* (Hitohabune; 1898), begins similarly: "Since this little volume has been put together from pieces in which I wrote down matters that I saw with my eyes, that I heard with my ears, and that came to my heart-mind [*kokoro ni ukabitaru*] over the past five years . . . ." See "Jo," signed "Tōson," in Shimazaki Haruki [Tōson], *Hitohabune* (Shun'yōdō, 1898), unpaginated; pieces of

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the translation taken from William E. Naff, *The Kiso Road: The Life and Times of Shimazaki Tōson*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 181.

[133] This is a "common principle." See Viktor Shklovsky, "The Relationship between Devices of Plot Construction and General Devices of Style," in *Theory of Prose*, trans. Benjamin Sher (Elmwood Park, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1990), ch. 2, quote on 24. Also see Shklovsky on parallelism in ibid., 24 *et seq*.

[134] I am drawing again upon Tim Ingold's understanding of "imagination" in his introduction to *Imagining Landscapes: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Monica Janowski and Tim Ingold (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), 3, also 14. I made the same point, while referring to Ingold's essay, in the Introduction and in Chapter Four.

[135] Along with the sources cited below, on the topic of Roka and Christianity, I have also referred to Morita Susumu, "Kirisutokyō to seishun: Tokutomi Roka shōron," *Shikoku Gakuin Daigaku ronshū*, no. 23 (1972): 45-59.

[136] Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kōsei to shisōsei," 2 and 1.

[137] Ibid., 2.

[138] Yoshida Masanobu, "Tokutomi Roka ni okeru kirisutokyō: sono zenhansei o megutte," *Aichi Kyōiku Daigaku Daigakuin kokugo kenkyū*, no. 14 (2006): 12.

[139] Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka no shizen suketchi," 7.

[140] Fukawa, "*Shizen to jinsei* no 'Shizen ni taisuru gofunji' ni tsuite," esp. 27-28; Fukawa, "*Shizen to jinsei* no 'shaseichō' ni tsuite," esp. 3, 8; and Fukawa, "*Shizen to jinsei* no 'shōnan zappitsu' ni tsuite," 53.

[141] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 186.

[142] Ibid.; also cited in Yoshida, "Roka Tokutomi Kenjirō no shizenkan," 222.

[143] Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 224; also cited in Yoshida, "Roka Tokutomi Kenjirō no shizenkan," 222. For more on Kumaji and God, also see Tokutomi and Tokutomi, Vol. 2 of *Fuji*, 386. Each of these passages in *Fuji* that addresses or thematizes Kumaji's relation to God appears in the context, or alongside a recounting of, Kumaji's conversations with a brother-in-law who is a pastor.

[144] Kanda Shigeyuki, "Tokutomi Roka," *kaisetsu* to *Tokutomi Roka, Kunikida Doppo*, Vol. 2 of *Kindai Nihon kirisutokyō bungaku zenshū* (Kyōbunkan, 1975), 253-54. Kanda then cites the following passage from "Sunset over Sagami Bay" (Sagaminada no rakujitsu) in *Nature and Human Life*: "One who views the sunset on this kind of serene evening feels just as though they are attending upon the deathbed of a holy one [or 'the deathbed of a great sage'; *taisei* 大聖 *no rinjū*]. Utter solemnity, total peace—even an average person [or 'unenlightened person'; *bonbu* (or '*bonpu*')], wrapped in holy light [*reikō*], feels their flesh melt and their spirit alone stand upright upon the beach of eternity" ([Roka], *Shizen to jinsei*, 84). In this language, Kanda writes, we find "the shading of a biblical view of nature" (*seishoteki shizenkan ga kage o otoshite iru*). See Kanda, "Tokutomi Roka," 254.

[145] Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka ni okeru kirisutokyō," 6, also see 5.

[146] Ibid., 5, also 6.

[147] Ibid., 8. Briefly on Roka and "Wordsworth's pantheistic view of nature," see ibid., 6, also 7.

For Katsumoto Seiichirō, Roka's "Christian thought in the first half of his life was, in its essence, not Christian thought at all." See Katsumoto's "Roka to kirisutokyō," *Bungaku* 24, no. 8 (1956): 13. Katsumoto later remarks that the backside of the title page of *Nature and Human Life* bears a quote of a verse by Wordsworth. However, "behind this [Roka's] natural-literary prose

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poetry [*shizen bungaku no sanbunshi*], too, religious thought of the kind found in Wordsworth is surprisingly sparse. At the least, Roka poses as a nature poet without Christian faith." Katsumoto continues: "Wordsworth, too, was certainly not, strictly speaking, a Christian poet. The worldview that determines the character of his poems is a pantheism in which nature equals God" (ibid., 16). See ibid., 16-17 for more on Wordsworth, Roka, and pantheism.

[148] Yoshida, "Roka Tokutomi Kenjirō no shizenkan," 222. In making this argument, Yoshida also refers to the way Roka conveys an "expectation" (Yoshida's word) of loving people in the future in the essay "'Nature,' My First Love" (ibid.). On Roka's view of nature, tied up with God, in the years with which we are concerned, see ibid., 226-15.

[149] Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka ni okeru kirisutokyō," 8-9. Also see ibid., 6 on the transformation of Roka's "Christian faith, which had cooled," into a "'religion of nature'" in the period of, I believe, 1896 to 1900.

[150] Sasabuchi Tomoichi, "Roka to kirisutokyō," *Meiji Taishō bungaku kenkyū*, no. 23 (1957): 21, available in Vol. 5 of *Tōkyōdōban Meiji Taishō bungaku kenkyū, zen 25-gō* (Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1984).

[151] Tsujihashi then writes, "There is no issue calling this pantheism, but it can also be interpreted as a way of thinking that takes nature as a place of self-fulfillment [*jiko jūjitsu*], and here I see a shading of self-worship [*jiga shinkō no omokage*]." See Tsujihashi Saburō, "Roka to kirisutokyō," *Kirisutokyō shakai mondai kenkyū*, no. 1 (1958): 7-23, esp. 13. See ibid., 12-14 on Roka's "period of the cooling of faith" (*shinkō reikyaku no jiki*), i.e., 1891-1905.

[152] Mutō Terumaro, "Roka bungaku ni tōei suru kirisutokyō seishin ni tsuite no gimonten," *Kumamoto Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu kiyō, dai 2-bunsatsu (jinbun kagaku)*, no. 13 (1965): 15.

[153] Yoshida, "Tokutomi Roka ni okeru kirisutokyō," 13.

[154] See ibid., *et passim*. Yoshida's essay touches several times upon this topic of the religious identity of Roka's "God."

[155] Suzuki Sadami states that, in "Dawn over Fuji Around this Time," Roka's "description, which solely and earnestly conveys the changes in the landscape, freely uses metaphors, but all 'interiority,' to say nothing of self-consciousness, has disappeared. It is literary Japanese [*bungotai*] that frequently uses present-tense [predicate words; *genzaikei*] and . . . the perfective 'nu' at the end of sentences." This is the description that, as is indicated by the line I just quoted in the body of the text, had the significance of transcribing the manifestation of God. See Suzuki's *Nikki de yomu Nihon bunkashi* (Heibonsha, 2016), 217-18.

[156] Ibid., 218.

[157] Another complicating factor in exploring Roka's views of God and nature in this period is the fact that he wrote *Fuji* decades later. Nakano Yoshio, for example, quotes the lines in Fuji about Kumaji not praying, reading the bible, or going to church at age thirty-one. He also notes how, later in *Fuji*, Roka conveys the same points about Kumaji at age thirty-five. But Nakano further reminds us that Roka wrote these recollections "after his revival of faith late in life . . . . He clearly tends to exaggerate and emphasize the era of the cooling of his faith." See Nakano's "Roka to kirisutokyō," in Vol. 3 of *Roka Tokutomi Kenjirō* (Chikuma Shobō, 1974), 267 and 268 (on Roka's faith late in life—much more "Roka-ism" [Rokakyō] than "Christianity"—see ibid., ch. 9, esp. 286). I was led to Nakano's point on exaggeration by Yokoyama Haruichi, who refers to Nakano on the same point, and also quotes the foregoing lines, in "Roka bungaku to kirisutokyō," *Bungaku* 47, no. 4 (1979): 34. Yoshida Masanobu affirms Nakano's point about "Roka-ism" in "Tokutomi Roka ni okeru kirisutokyō," 1-2.

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[158] Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 14.

[159] Ibid., 22. For other possible influences on or sources for Roka with respect to the idea that "God lies behind nature," see ibid., 22n22. Kaneko specifically mentions Emerson, Wordsworth, and Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881).

[160] On mountains as the most sublime entities in nature, see ibid., 22. Kaneko argues firmly that "what Roka learned from Ruskin was, to begin with, the new aesthetic concept of 'mountain beauty'" (ibid., 20). See Kaneko's essay on "this discovery of mountain beauty" (ibid.), Ruskin, the geographer Shiga Shigetaka, and the sublime. Kaneko also writes that Roka's "encounter with Ruskin" was instrumental to his "descriptions of 'sublime' mountains behind which the divine seems to glow" (ibid., 23).

[161] Tokutomi [Roka], *Shizen to jinsei*, 143. I have drawn upon the translation of the line by A. and M Lloyd, M. von Fallot, and H. Ono in *Nature and Man*, 120. The term I render as "divinely skilled" is *shinwan* 神腕. Lloyd et. al. simply give "divine."

[162] See Kaneko, "Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite," 13 on how "humans are unable to predict or control the movements [*ugoki*]" of "sublime nature."

[163] Ibid., 22-23. Also relevant to the subject of Roka and the sublime, although perhaps not with respect to the cloud descriptions, is Yoshida, "*Shizen to jinsei*: sono kichō to shinbisei," 43-44.

[164] Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, "Ōsetsu," in *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 1:702.

[165] Tokutomi [Roka], *Shizen to jinsei*, 140.

[166] For parts of this analysis, I am indebted to the comments of Fukawa Junko. I also find indirect guidance in Fukawa's remarks on Roka grasping nature as God, more than seeing God behind nature, in her reading of Roka's story "A Fisherman's Daughter" in "Tokutomi Roka 'ryōshi no musume' ni tsuite," 61-64, esp. 61 and 64.

Chapter Six

Kunikida Doppo and Suburban Clouds

In the previous chapter, I analyzed Tokutomi Roka's watercolor sketches and verbal descriptions of clouds by situating them at a point of intersection between literature and painting. This chapter adopts an analogous approach to examining a cloud description composed by another late-Meiji landscape writer invested in visual art: Kunikida Doppo. My argument is threefold. I will begin by exploring Doppo's exposures to visual art, Western-style painting, and the pictorial practice of drawing from life (*shasei*) in primarily the 1880s and 1890s. I will contend that these exposures indirectly conditioned, helped pave the way for, or otherwise resonated with Doppo's description of clouds and of Tokyo's suburbs in the prose-poetic essay, "Today's Musashino" (1898). Next, and notwithstanding this contention, I will draw critical distinctions between pictorial *shasei* (drawing from life) as well as verbal *shasei* (describing from life) and Doppo's own practices of landscape description circa 1900. Finally, I will demonstrate that Doppo's description of clouds in "Today's Musashino" exhibits three "descriptive tendencies," three ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture. These tendencies include "describing from life," or "transcribing" the world as previously perceived by an observer-narrator, and "describing the energy," or rendering an airborne energy (*ki*) that is tied to or manifested by, but that is irreducible to, particular perceived and sensible forms. They also include "describing the feeling," that is, expressing the sensuous and affective experience of perceiving the world, or again, expressing the world as thus experienced.

In one respect, Doppo's cloud description generates the rhetorical effect of "transcribing" the world (clouds) represented in the text as previously perceived by an embodied observer-narrator. I will propose that Doppo's familiarity with Western-style painting, particularly the work of the White Horse Society (Hakubakai), conditioned this description. It did so by directing Doppo toward the rendition of the visual effects of outdoor light and air. Doppo's painterly cloud description also achieves its "transcriptive" effect, I will suggest, in part by drawing upon the mode of natural description found in Futabatei Shimei's translation "Aibiki" of the story "The Tryst" by Ivan Turgenev, who himself held an interest in landscape painting. The resulting, visually potent language of Doppo's essay catches and attends to the clouds' lighting, colors, textures, and spatial arrangement as previously perceived by the narrator. Simultaneously, it orchestrates, articulates, and—this being a written text—generates these features of the clouds.

In analyzing this "transcriptive" language, I will identify a loose connection or resonance between Doppo's cloud description and the pictorial and verbal practices of *shasei*, that is, drawing from life and describing from life, respectively. This connection owes largely to the fact that the cloud description falls within an anecdote in "Today's Musashino" in which the narrator recounts his perceptual experiences on a particular day in specific locations in Musashino. It owes, in other words, to the way the narrator's verbal expressions in the anecdote are embedded in relatively defined contexts of perception. Seen for this embedment, the anecdote, and the cloud description it contains, bears a real affinity to the practices of drawing from life and describing from life. This is a principal reason why I speak of "describing from life" as one of the "descriptive tendencies" at work in Doppo's cloud description.

At the same time, however, both existing scholarship on Doppo's work and also critical essays by Doppo himself suggest significant differences between Doppo's practices of landscape description circa 1900 and the verbal and pictorial practices of *shasei*. The differences boil down to a sense that, in Doppo's description, the previously perceived world is heavily mediated by the expressive subject or "self." That is to say, the sensible world is modified substantially through the feeling, memory, imagination, thought, expression, and so on of the subject who previously perceived and now describes that world. To be clear, the practices of drawing and describing from life themselves entail the mediation of the world through the perceiver-painter or perceiver-narrator. They do so precisely insofar as they are premised upon sensuous experience. In Doppo's case, however, the balance between "self" and "world" is tilted relatively more strongly, although not exclusively, toward the subject. Put differently, there is a certain and, in Doppo's essays, sometimes explicit emphasis upon the degree to which the landscape description is rooted in the subject as opposed to—or rather, I will argue, in addition to or even in conjunction with—the sensible object of description.

I will suggest that this emphasis can also be found in the cloud description. The description is contained within an anecdote in which Doppo's narrator recounts perceptual experiences that he had had in the summer three years earlier (in 1895). Within the world represented in the text, those experiences, and the sensible world onto which they opened, do undergird the content of the narrator's anecdote, including the cloud description. But the significant lapse in time between the initial perceptual experiences and their expression, along with the narrator's use of markedly abstract or conceptual descriptive language, already hints that the described experiences and the previously perceived sensible world have been deeply reformulated through the activities and processes of memory, imagination, and expression.[1] Certainly, these activities and processes cannot be extricated simply or fully from the narrator's previous experiences or from the previously perceived sensible world. Nevertheless, they operate with a certain intensity in Doppo's text.

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, to find that "describing from life" is not the only descriptive tendency at play in Doppo's cloud description. In fact, the narrator's description of clouds, and of the suburbs beneath those clouds, broaches another descriptive tendency by working to verbalize an "energy" (*ki*) in the sky, of which clouds are a transformation. This energy is tied to or manifested by, but is not necessarily reducible to, particular perceived, sensible forms. Doppo's narrator also verbalizes a different type of "intangible" matter by invoking abstract and conceptual qualities of the sky that are linked, but that are again irreducible, to perceived and sensible features of that sky. As I began to indicate above, the narrator's invocation of these qualities may bear some relation to the fact that he is describing previously perceived forms as reworked through the operations of memory, imagination, and language.

Finally, Doppo's prose gives expression to the narrator's sensuous and affective experiences of perceiving the world ("describing the feeling"). These experiences, I will show, are intersubjectively shared, at least in part, between the narrator and his "friend" (*tomo*) during a walk in Tokyo's suburbs.

This chapter aims to analyze the way that Doppo's description of clouds and the surrounding suburbs enfolds and enacts these three descriptive tendencies. Before proceeding to this analysis, however, I want to specify that this chapter deals more or less exclusively with only one portion of "Today's Musashino." Specifically, it takes up a segment of the essay's sixth section. This section features a robustly embodied narrator who recounts a trip that he took with a "friend" three years earlier to the Koganei region of Musashino. I focus on this part of Doppo's essay both because it contains a substantial description of clouds and also because, by virtue of its embodied narrator who describes an area he visited and perceived, it exhibits a stronger connection to the pictorial practice of drawing from life than many other parts of the text. But it bears mentioning that much of "Today's Musashino" consists of relatively generalized characterizations of Tokyo's suburbs rather than descriptions of particular, previously perceived scenes.[2] In fact, we will encounter such characterizations even within the cloud description that is, in retrospect, "drawn from life."

Doppo and Visual Art

While not as clear-cut as in the cases of Tokutomi Roka and Shimazaki Tōson, Doppo's writings attest to a deep investment in visual art prior to and during the late 1890s. This investment broadly informed, prepared the ground for, or otherwise resonated with Doppo's cloud description in "Today's Musashino." It did so by directing Doppo toward the portrayal of the visual effects of outdoor light and air and by familiarizing him with the practice of drawing from life (*shasei*). Again, to identify this connection between the cloud description and pictorial *shasei* is not to claim that "Today's Musashino" is simply or strictly the product of verbal *shasei*, that is, describing from life. Rather, it is to call attention to how the essay suggests that the observer-narrator's cloud description bears an explicit basis in his past experiences of the sensible world as perceived in a relatively defined place and time. I am underscoring the similarity between this basis and the kind of embedment of expression in perception that characterizes the pictorial practice of drawing from life.

One text that speaks directly to Doppo's longstanding fascination with visual art is the posthumous and autobiographically based essay, "Pictures" (Ga; composed c. 1893).[3] In the essay, Doppo sheds light on his own practices of illustration by indicating that "I" (the speaker) deeply enjoyed picture making during primary school and middle school. Kitahara Yasukuni has identified a passage in the essay "Half of Doppo's Life" (Doppo no hansei; 1908), written by Doppo's younger brother Kunikida Shūji (1878-1931), that corroborates the account in "Pictures" of Doppo's fondness for drawing in his youth. Shūji seems to be speaking of around the mid-to-late 1880s:

> After reading [*dokusho*], he was most engrossed in painting [*kaiga*], and he often drew pictures in chalk. When he returned to the hometown [*kiseichū*], he would draw portraits for people in the neighborhood, and was quite proud of them.[4]

In "Pictures," the speaker further recounts how, when he was in (returned to) his "hometown [*kyōri*] between spring two years ago and spring last year," he and his younger brother traveled about drawing outdoors—that is, drawing from life:

> I consulted with him, and we each made our own drafting boards. We always took them with us every time the two of us went out far and roved the mountains and fields or rambled about the environs [of the town; *kinkō*], and whatever moved us [or "touched our senses"; *kan ni fururu mono*], we immediately drew with our pencils [*tadachi ni enpitsu ni noboshinu*]. Autumn in the country is the best for pictures. One day, a long-awaited Sunday arrived. We brothers bounded out of the house carrying our drafting boards and climbed up a mountain called Miyama, the tallest mountain in the surrounding area. Forests, thickets, straw-thatched houses, farmers, persimmons, maple trees, scarecrows—

> we drew a number of rough sketches [*shita-e*] with our brushes as we went along.[5]

On this "long-awaited Sunday," "I" drew sites such as Umajima and Iwaijima while his younger brother drew sites such as Nagashima.[6] These are real islands off the coast of the area where Doppo lived at the time in Yamaguchi Prefecture. Indeed, the basis of "Pictures" in Doppo's biography is suggested by how the dates of the return to the "hometown" align with Doppo's actual move back home from Tokyo to Yamaguchi Prefecture between May 1891 and June 1892.[7]

In addition to these practices of drawing outdoors, "Pictures" also testifies to the type of affective and existential value that "pictures" hold for the speaker. Consider the following passage, in which the speaker reveals that his relation to pictures has darkened as he has grown older:

> But o pitiful young man!—I dare call myself pitiful—he was born and fell unto the earth; twenty-one years he passed[8]; the joyous dream of nature has been utterly shattered. His eyes, which shined when they turned toward pictures, have now come to brim with silent tears when they look upon pictures. He, who used to yell out when he faced pictures, has now come to sink silently into thought. That he enjoys looking at paintings is the same; still now, pictures are his life. But previously, they were like sustenance; now, they have become like miraculous medicine [*reiyaku*] for an invalid. . . . His soul has been wounded, has dried up; when he hears this whispering [from pictures[9]], it is as though he has gained a little spring of vitality [*kassen* 活泉].[10]

Even so, the essay closes by recording that "I" has long since traded the brush for the pen:

> Oh, it has already been a number of years since I ["my hands"; *yoga te*] threw away the paintbrush; there is no reason to brace myself [*niku kowaku shite*] and return to drawing once again. Alas! I will, for the time being, change my brush for a pencil and express my inner thoughts [*isasaka fude o enpitsu ni kaete yūkai* 幽懐 *o yaru*].[11]

Notwithstanding this shift from painting to writing, however, a flash of Doppo's continued interest in illustration appears in his series of newspaper reports made from a navy vessel during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). The reports, which date from between October 1894 and March 1895, were published together posthumously in 1908 as the book *Letters to a Beloved Brother* (Aitei tsūshin). In one report, "Assault on Dalian Bay" (Dairenwan shingeki), the narrator indicates his desire to illustrate his text, although he lacks the ability to do so:

> There is nothing so dull [*sappūkei*] as to explain everything using a map [*chizu*]. This is truly what it means to be dull [*fūkei o korosu to wa jitsu ni kono koto nari*]. Having said that, because I am not an artist [*bijutsuka*], I also cannot [explain] using pictures. Out of necessity, I have drawn a map [*zu*] of Dalian Bay below. As for the true scenery [*shinkōkei*], I leave it to your imagination.[12]

Because he is not an "artist," the narrator cannot produce pictures that would convey the "true scenery," although he clearly wishes he could. Previously, however, the narrator had revealed that he had, in fact, attempted to draw scenery that he viewed from the boat. In an earlier report, the narrator explains that seven days have passed since he parted ways with his younger brother to report on the war. He thought only of his brother on the various occasions since their parting that he now enumerates. One such occasion was when the ship passed through a certain area and,

> taken aback by the extraordinariness of the landscape [*fūkei no kii*] of the previous temporary base, I took up a pencil and attempted to transcribe the actual [site; *jissha o kokoromi*], but ultimately could not and stopped.[13]

"Transcribing the actual [site]" with a pencil presumably refers to the pictorial practice of drawing from life, although the narrator admits that he ultimately failed to draw the scene.

Following his return to the mainland, Doppo's literary production would exhibit distinct parallels or overlaps with developments in Western-style painting. For instance, Doppo's impulse to describe Tokyo's suburbs in "Today's Musashino" mirrors the pictorial practices of painters of the Fudōsha Academy (est. 1887), headed by Koyama Shōtarō (1857-1916), a leader of the Meiji Fine Arts Society (Meiji Bijutsukai; est. 1889). This is because academy students went sketching all about Tokyo's suburbs.[14] Citing Kawamoto Saburō, Akasaka Norio has noted the general contemporaneity between, to paraphrase, the artists' and Doppo's interest in (or "discovery" of) Musashino.[15] Indeed, Kawamoto argues that, "just as Kunikida Doppo discovered [*hakken*] the beauty of the thickets [*zōkibayashi*] in *Musashino*, these painters discovered [*miidashite*] a quiet poetic tenor in the commonplace fields of Musashino—what Doppo called the outskirts [*machihazure*]."[16] Referring to the work of Shiga Hidetaka, Kawamoto had explained that these painters drew "'*dōro sansui*'" ("'road landscapes'"), preferring unassuming country and roadside landscapes to "famous places and old ruins."[17] Taii Ryō, too, writes that "the Fudōsha at that time thoroughly pursued pencil drawing centered upon '*dōro sansui*,' and the students frequently undertook plein-air sketching [*kogai shasei*] in Tokyo's suburbs."[18] *Dōro sansui*, Taii explains, refers to "a method of composition in which one places a road in the center of the picture and, through the method of perspectival drawing, positions stores with straw-thatched roofs, rural homes, trees, and so on along both sides of the road."[19]

The following passage of Doppo's short story, "Parting Ways" (Wakare; published in October 1898, probably composed months earlier[20]), signals that Doppo himself associated these kinds of suburban-agricultural regions, and specifically villages, with Western-style painting. It thus evidences the extent of Doppo's exposure to such painting around the time when he published "Today's Musashino" (January-February 1898), although I am not suggesting that Doppo viewed the sketches of the Fudōsha painters. "Parting Ways" opens with a description of the area around the "thatch-roofed house" (*kusaya*) where a Doppo-like young man resides. The thatch-roofed house is modeled on the house in Shibuya Village on Tokyo's western edge where Doppo lived between September 1896 and April 1897, during which time he also gathered materials later employed in "Today's Musashino."[21] The following lines of "Parting Ways" link the appearance of the "rural town" located near the thatch-roofed house to the kinds of pictures shown in "Western-style painting exhibitions." The description of this town is quite redolent of a "road landscape":

> Crossing [the bridge], and going through the woods, one immediately came out into the middle of the town. As this was one of those rural towns [*inaka machi*] often seen in the works shown at the Western-style painting exhibitions [*yōga tenrankai*] and such held in

> the capital [*miyako*], thatch-roofed houses and tile-roofed houses were mixed together. The general store was next to the barber. A farmhouse was next to the general store.[22]

The narrator does not specify which school of Western-style painting he has in mind. Nevertheless, the passage clearly indicates that Doppo associated Western-style painting with scenes of "rural towns" of the sort found near his own residence in Shibuya Village—the area that formed the basis for the setting described in "Today's Musashino" (see Chapter Two). More generally, the passage indicates that Doppo attended Western-style painting exhibitions, or at least that he was familiar with their contents.

Finally, scholars have elucidated the ties between Doppo's landscape writing and Western-style painting by identifying connections between Doppo's natural description and the "plein-air" (*gaikō*) pictorial style of the White Horse Society, led by Kuroda Seiki and Kume Keiichirō.[23] (The "plein-air" style is sometimes called "Impressionist."[24]) Yagi Mitsuaki, for one, states the case quite strongly. He first discusses Doppo's description of color in "Today's Musashino," showing, for example, how a passage captures the way the colors of a scene change in response to changing conditions of light. Yagi then goes on to propose that

> the following is conceivable: was Doppo's natural description not an attempt to bring the plein-air expression ["outdoor-light-expression"; *gaikō hyōgen*] of Impressionist painting into his own literature? In other words, isn't it the case that Doppo's natural description could not have been attained without the significant influence of Impressionist painting?[25]

Yagi is not alone in raising this kind of argument. For example, Shinbo Kunihiro points to the "descriptions of clouds and water in the sixth section [of 'Today's Musashino']"—the section from which Yagi draws the example passage that I just mentioned, and the section that includes the cloud description that I analyze below. Shinbo then briefly discusses "brightness" and, to paraphrase, proposes the possibility of Impressionist influence.[26] Beyond "Today's Musashino," Nakajima Reiko, who cites Yagi's and Shinbo's essays, situates a scene in Doppo's short story "River Mist" (1898) in relation to the connection between Doppo and the Plein-Air School (i.e., Kuroda Seiki's circle of painters). She speaks in particular of the scene's "perspectival" configuration and of the "grasping of the scenery through light and shadow."[27]

As this last point already hints, critics of Kuroda's circle characterized the group's pictorial style as being distinguished by the rendition of subjects as they appeared in certain conditions of outdoor light and air. The importance of capturing such conditions, and specifically the weather, comes through in the passage I take up below from an interview with Kuroda Seiki conducted in 1896. In the passage, Kuroda juxtaposes the pictorial practices of the "New School" with those of the "Old School."[28] The interview had begun with the interviewer asking Kuroda about the basis for these two names. In contemporary scholarship, "New School" usually refers to Kuroda's circle (the White Horse Society), "Old School" to the Meiji Fine Arts Society. In the course of the interview, Kuroda specifies his own use of the terms as follows (I have added the quotation marks for clarity's sake):

> We began speaking in the first place about loose [*iikagen na*] names like "New School" and "Old School," but when I say "Old School," I primarily mean the oil paintings made in Japan up until now. "New School" refers to the bright [*akarui*] paintings being done in

> the West these days in general, not only to Impressionism; please bear that in mind.[29]

Kuroda later states that, in Japan, the New School first formed following his return from the West.[30]

Kuroda clarifies the salience of light, air, and weather in the work of the New School, which includes his circle of painters, when responding to the question, "Are there no differences between the New School and the Old School in the way of training or the way of drawing?" Kuroda first replies that,

> in the West, there is no difference in the way those who draw dark pictures and those who draw bright pictures train.[31] There are many outstanding schools for painting, as well, and generally one trains [by] taking nude people as models.[32]

However, "in Japan until now, there was not a single [place] where [students] trained in a formal manner [or 'orthodox manner'; *honshiki ni keiko suru*]." Because they have not pursued such training, Japanese painters have first learned "a little about 'how to use the brush'" by copying "model pictures" (*tehon*), such as those in the form of "chromolithographs" (*kuromosekiban*). The "forms" (*katachi*) learned through such copying—"a tree leaf is drawn like this; a cloud is drawn like this"—become "habitual" (*kuse*), such that "when they [the painters] face natural things and then try to draw them, before all else, the picture that they [previously] took as their model appears before their eyes, and they draw [the natural thing] using the brushwork of the model":

> Such can be considered the method of training in the Old School and the way of drawing in the Old School. If the subject is the evening sun, then one draws the sun half hidden behind a mountain, with the rays of light overflowing a little and the upper part of the trees becoming just a little bright—that sort of thing. [By contrast,] in transcribing such a scene, to portray [the scene with] the sun having set to a certain extent in certain conditions of weather—that's the New School.[33] But unlike this, to draw famous landscapes [*keshiki*] such as Aki no Miyajima or, again, Ama no Hashidate in a similar way, as one learned it—that's the Old School. If the subject is a landscape, then one records the form [*katachi*] of the landscape—that's the Old School. The New School first looks at the landscape and draws the impression [or "feeling" or "sense"; *kanji*] that emerges. When one looks at a given landscape, sometimes rain is falling, sometimes the weather is fair; there are various [kinds of conditions]. [The New School] transcribes those changes [*henka*].[34]

Certainly, these comments should be treated with caution. Kuroda is probably speaking polemically in an effort to legitimize and distinguish the work of his own circle of painters over against that of the Old School.[35] Nevertheless, the foregoing passage speaks to the distinct concern with light, air, and weather in the pictorial practices of the New School.

In the following lines of the same interview, Kuroda further specifies what he claims to be the approach of the Old School to portraying the sky and clouds in particular. In so doing, he illuminates the presumably distinct way that painters render the same subjects in the New School—the school in relation to which I am situating Doppo's cloud description. Kuroda had been asked if students attain competency as painters faster by studying with the Old School or with the New School. Old School students see returns more quickly at first, Kuroda had explained, because they begin by copying model pictures. (By contrast, New School students begin by drawing from plaster [figures] or nude models and first cultivate an eye for viewing objects; the skill of the hand then naturally follows.[36]) Kuroda goes on to suggest that Old School students learn certain rules or formulae for drawing different subjects, including the sky:

> I do not know how those called the Old School in Japan today studied painting. But, in any case, if one judges from the pictures drawn by those whom society calls the Old School, one can generally see their method. Whether portraying the sky or trees, the pictures are done using the same kinds of colors and forms. Even in the case of the sky, [the painters] first lay down a blue color as a foundation, then lay down upon that a white color or a color that is like slate gray or egg-yolk yellow for clouds—they do it like this. [The viewer] cannot tell if it is the color of morning, the color of afternoon, or the color of evening, if it's a time when rain is falling or a time when the sunlight is hitting [the scene]. This is because [the painters] totally adhere to a single rule [when painting; *kisoku*] . . . .[37]

Once again, these lines imply that, in contrast to Old School painters, New School painters portray their subjects as they appear in particular conditions of outdoor light. This approach presumably extends to the portrayal of the sky, although we should bear in mind that the sky is not an "object" seen in light but rather *is* luminosity.[38]

The entry for October 12, 1896 in Doppo's diary, *An Honest Record*, reveals Doppo's familiarity with the work of Kuroda's circle by suggesting that Doppo attended an exhibition held by the White Horse Society. The diary entry is particularly germane in analyzing "Today's Musashino," which contains Doppo's cloud description, because it dates from the period of Doppo's half-year residence in Shibuya. Doppo's experiences in Shibuya during this period would serve as a basis for the content of "Today's Musashino." That said, as I explain below, a couple of issues complicate any attempt to link the contents of "Today's Musashino" or of its cloud description *directly* to the exhibition of the White Horse Society that Doppo witnessed.

The entry in Doppo's diary begins by recording his activities a few days earlier: "The ninth: on Friday afternoon, I went to Ueno with Jūji and viewed a painting exhibition [*kaiga tenrankai*]."[39] To follow the analysis of Yagi Mitsuaki, who cites this diary entry when exploring the connections between "Today's Musashino" and painting, the Japan Painting Association (Nihon Kaiga Kyōkai) had opened its Competitive Exhibition (Kyōshinkai) in Ueno, Tokyo the previous month (September). The first White Horse Society exhibition then began in coordination with the Competitive Exhibition on October 7.[40] Yagi argues that Doppo set out on the ninth to view the White Horse Society's paintings. He adduces evidence such as Doppo's own investment in painting as well as the way Kuroda Seiki's works had already been attracting attention for several years. Yagi also points to the "public attention attracted" by the relatively recent debate between the critics Mori Ōgai and Takayama Chogyū (1871-1902) over the Old School and the New School of Western-style painting.[41]

Judging from Yagi's analysis, we may safely infer that Doppo traveled to Ueno to view the first exhibition of the White Horse Society. That he did so in early October may itself elucidate the links between the Society and "Today's Musashino." This is because, to follow Yagi once more, Doppo moved to Shibuya early in September 1896. Subsequently, in late October, he wrote in his diary that his conception of "'Musashino'" was taking shape.[42] Between these two events, Doppo witnessed an exhibition of paintings by a group of painters known for their commitment to capturing the visual effects of outdoor light and air.[43]

Despite these connections between the White Horse Society and Doppo, however, there are two problems with drawing a direct link between the 1896 exhibition and "Today's Musashino." One is the possibility that not all of the Society's pictures were on display when Doppo visited the exhibition on October 9. In a letter sent to the Western-style painter Nakamura Katsujirō (1866-1922) on October 7, 1896,[44] Kuroda Seiki states that the Society's exhibition opened on that day. But he also reveals that

> the paintings have not yet been gathered together at all, so we have really finished placing [the paintings] on display in merely one third of the venue. But I think that, by around the fifteenth of this month, the [venue] will probably be more or less full [of paintings]. I have not yet put out all my own paintings, either.[45]

The second, more substantial issue in linking the Society exhibition and "Today's Musashino," including its cloud description, is that it would be some time before Doppo actually composed his essay. Doppo published "Today's Musashino" in two installments: sections one through five in January 1898 and sections six through nine in February 1898 (the cloud description falls in section six). Ashiya Nobukazu argues convincingly that Doppo wrote the first installment of "Today's Musashino" late in 1897, the second installment early in 1898. Ashiya contends, furthermore, that when Doppo composed what would become the first installment late in 1897, he did not have a second part in mind, but rather intended for the work to be complete with only sections one through five.[46] For these reasons, any connection between Doppo's visit to the 1896 exhibition and "Today's Musashino" or its cloud description must be seen as indirect. The significance of the visit is, rather, that it attests to Doppo's interest in and familiarity with the work of the Plein-Air School in roughly the same period in which he lived in and wrote about Tokyo's suburbs and its clouds.

Doppo and *Shasei*

I have traced Doppo's exposures to visual art through the year 1898, at the start of which he published "Today's Musashino." In subsequent years, Doppo would continue grappling with practices of painting and drawing in his fiction. For example, he would publish several short stories that both use the term *shasei* (drawing from life) and also thematize this pictorial activity as conducted by characters who are artists. Examples include "The Suburbs" (Kōgai; 1900), "Mild Late Autumn" (Koharu; 1900), and "The Sadness of Pictures" (E no kanashimi; 1902, thematically rooted in the posthumous essay "Pictures").[47] One particular passage in "Mild Late Autumn" warrants analysis here. This is because, while I have highlighted links between Doppo's writing and visual art in the 1890s, the passage hints at critical differences between Doppo's practices of landscape description circa 1900 and the pictorial and verbal practices of *shasei*, that is, drawing from life and describing from life, respectively. After examining the passage in "Mild Late Autumn," I will elaborate upon these differences through reference to secondary scholarship, and to Doppo's own critical essays, regarding Doppo's methods of natural description and of literary composition more generally around the turn of the twentieth century. Doing so paves the way for an analysis of Doppo's cloud description in "Today's

Musashino." Part of the analysis will illustrate how that description both echoes and also diverges from the practices of pictorial and verbal *shasei*.

In the passage of "Mild Late Autumn" that I analyze below, a Doppo-like narrator, "I," speaks with an aspiring painter named Koyama. As Shinbo Kunihiro has noted, the model for Koyama was the painter Oka Rakuyō (1879-1962), who "later stated that this work was based in facts."[48] Specifically, Oka would recall in 1908 that "Mild Late Autumn" recorded a conversation that he and Doppo had shared one day around November 1900 (the story was published the following month, although Oka appears to misdescribe or misremember the date of publication).[49] In the story, the narrator tells Koyama of his stay seven years earlier in Saiki, a town in Kyushu where Doppo had worked as a teacher between the fall of 1893 and the summer of 1894.[50] In the course of the conversation, the narrator compares and contrasts the ways he and Koyama approach the perception and expression of "nature." On the one hand, the narrator signals both that he is aware of the pictorial practice of drawing from life and also that he has, in the past, attempted an equivalent practice in writing. In this respect, the passage attests to a firm connection between his landscape writing and *shasei*. On the other hand, and perhaps more crucially, the narrator sharply differentiates between his current approach to engaging with "nature" and that of the painter Koyama. He does so by stressing the difference between "feeling" (or "sensing"; *kanzuru*) nature and seeing and drawing nature.

Because the conversation between the narrator and Koyama broaches the topics of verbal sketching and of the narrator's stay in Saiki seven years earlier, it is worth reviewing Doppo's own practices of writing and describing from life around that time. Nakajima Reiko has shown that, just prior to his move to Saiki in 1893, Doppo undertook a kind of self-directed study of prose composition and novel writing. This study consisted in reading, transcribing, and translating published texts.[51] Nakajima has also identified an entry in Doppo's diary from April 1893, recorded just before or early on in this study, that suggests Doppo attempted his own kind of literary *shasei* (lit., "transcribing [*sha*] life [*sei*]").[52] The diary entry indicates that Doppo had recently spoken at length with three individuals. Each of the three differed in their own way, but all were equally "of the age of 'youth [*shōsō*].' All three provided tremendous materials for me to know youths; [I shall] try transcribing these three people [*ware o shite kokoromi ni sannin o utsusashimeyo*]" (underline added).[53] Later in the diary entry, Doppo admonishes himself to "read" and "make" (write) the next day. He then states that he will "try to record [lit., 'try to write-transcribe'; *kisha shite min*], as precisely as possible, the conversation I tried having this evening" with one of the three people. He will also do the same for a conversation he had with another one of the three people. "This is practice [*jisshū*]," he concludes.[54] Having cited much of this portion of the diary entry, Nakajima remarks that, "as a kind of 'practice' in prose composition, Doppo assigned himself the task of 'transcribing' the 'materials' [presented by these] persons and 'recording precisely' his 'conversations.' This was a first step for Doppo in acquiring the techniques of novel [writing]."[55]

Following his move to Saiki, Doppo proceeded to conduct, as Nakajima puts it, "observations of humans and nature on the basis of Wordsworth's poetic thought."[56] These observations, Doppo's overwhelming interest in Wordsworth while in Saiki,[57] and Doppo's efforts at prose composition all undergird the discussion of observing, sketching, and "feeling" nature in the following passage of "Mild Late Autumn." The Doppo-like narrator first tells the painter Koyama that, while in Saiki, the fervor of his commitment to Wordsworth was no less than that of Koyama's commitment to painting in the present. Indeed, "As you wander the suburbs carrying a drawing board, I roamed [*arukichirakashita*] the mountains and fields of Saiki with this poetry collection in my pocket."[58] Soon after, the narrator "begins speaking of nature in Saiki . . . even drawing figures [*zu made hiite*]":

> We were both worshippers of nature, him [Koyama] due to pictures, me led by poetry. What I said, he understood well. What he asked was what I wanted to speak about.
>
> "Anyhow, I was simply entranced like that. But where I differ from you is that, once you look, you quickly want to draw; I only feel [*kanzuru*]. And so sometimes you are overwhelmed by how the beauty of nature appears with too much complexity; that doesn't happen to me. You try to grasp nature; I look and feel as much as I can feel. My way is much easier. At times, I, too, have written down in my diary something like [the content of] your *mitorizu* ['quick sketches,' lit. 'look-take-pictures'; *toki ni yoru to boku mo nikkichū ni kimi no mitorizu kurai na tokoro o kakitometa koto mo aru*], but those are truly cursory [writings]."[59]

Koyama responds, "I'd like to see those *suketchi* [sketches]." "I" then obliges by reading from the diary he kept in Saiki. The verbal "*suketchi*" that "I" recites—verbal equivalents of pictorial sketches—are descriptions of what "I" experienced on a given day (which is not to say that they do not contain narrative elements or reflexive commentary). The following passage is the first half of the first sketch, dated to November 3. Note that, while one could translate the entire passage in the past tense, the verbs in the Japanese are just about uniformly in present tense. I maintain this tense in my translation because it helps engender the rhetorical effect (illusion) of a temporal proximity or even simultaneity between perceptual experience and its expression. It thus enhances the impression that the description is embedded in a particular context of perception, i.e., is drawn—derived and described—from life:

> I walk in the fields, the sunlight is warm; the season is [now] a mild late autumn [*koharu*]. Half of the fall leaves of the wax trees are scattered, half remain [*nokoritaru*] on the branches; every time the wind blows, they flutter and fly off. I arrive at the mouth of the river near the sea. The tide is low, the sandbank has appeared, and a flock of birds flies about. There is a child lowering the floodgate. There is a youth sitting on the side of a boat who appears to be waiting for the tide to roll in so that he may ferry over to Nada Village. The short wax trees stand upon the embankment and are blown upon by the beach wind; each crimson leaf shines in the light. [I] can hear the shrikes chirping restlessly far off in the distant fields.[60]

In one respect, the passages I have cited from "Mild Late Autumn" evidence substantial connections between the descriptive practices of the painter and, at least formerly, those of the writer. This is because the Doppo-like narrator reveals that, while in Saiki, he attempted verbal descriptions from life. The narrator appears to align these descriptions with the *mitorizu* of the painter, who in turn refers to the descriptions as *suketchi*. In addition, and more generally, the writer and the painter are both "worshippers" of nature. Still in the present, each pursues practices of perceptually engaging, if in varying ways, with the sensible world ("nature"). Such engagement is, without question, pivotal to the painter's practice of drawing from life. It also seems reasonable to infer that such engagement is related in one way or another to the writer's own practices of natural description in the present (I return to these practices below). In short, then, as Shinbo Kunihiro has remarked, "The content of 'Mild Late Autumn' tells us that Doppo's *shasei* was certainly not unrelated to the methods of Western-style painting."[61]

In another respect, however, the differences between the perceptual and descriptive practices of the painter and the writer may outweigh the similarities. The artist Koyama, on whom the writer "projects his past self,"[62] pursues the practice of drawing from life in the present. Once Koyama looks, he "quickly wants to draw." By contrast, the writer "only feel[s]." Evidently, the immediate transcription of the perceived world is neither the writer's primary method nor his goal in the present, although it may have been his wont seven years earlier in Saiki. In fact, earlier in the story, the narrator had commented that

> Wordsworth, who sneered at Scott for going out on strolls [*sanpo*] carrying a notebook and a pencil, certainly did not look at nature and expound upon the Lake Country's topography and mountains, rivers, and vegetation in his poetry realistically [*shajitsuteki ni*, lit. "in the manner of transcribing the actual"]; he only observed the manifestations and changes of nature itself [*sono mono*] and versified the aesthetic sense of its essence [*shinzui no bikan*].[63]

In an essay on "Mild Late Autumn," Morimoto Takako cites a passage that includes these lines and states,

> The protagonist evaluates the method of transcribing out the intricate landscape just as it is, using "a notebook and a pencil," as "*shajitsuteki*." In all likelihood, as a method of description, [this word] means "*shasei*." Of course, this calls to mind the "*suketchi*" in which, in the period in Saiki, "I" portrayed the charm of the landscape before his eyes through and through [*ganzen no fūkei no kyōshu o, sumizumi made egakitometa*].[64]

How, then, might we characterize the Doppo-like narrator's current method of landscape description? To summarize and draw a key point from a complex argument, Morimoto contends that the narrator's current method involves describing landscape as it has been reworked over time through the operations of memory and imagination.[65] While somewhat speculative, Morimoto's identification of these operations may shed light on the distinction in "Mild Late Autumn" between the Doppo-like narrator's early practices in Saiki of verbal *shasei*—practices implicitly critiqued or rejected in the story[66]—and his landscape description circa 1900. The distinction calls to mind a statement made by Doppo years later in his talk, "My Works and Fact" (Yoga sakuhin to jijitsu; 1907). In Chapter Four, I quoted Doppo's declaration in this talk that "*shaseibun* [*shasei* compositions] are rubbish [*kudaranai*]."[67] Toward the end of the same talk, Doppo offers comments consonant with Morimoto's arguments regarding *shasei* in contrast to a mode of landscape portrayal that involves the operation of memory and imagination over time:

> In short, based on my experience, no matter how interesting actually existing people or actual events seem to be in themselves, immediately writing them down is not the path to attaining true poetry [or "literature"; *shi*[68]]. One must store these [matters] in the deepest place in one's heart-mind and wait for them to ferment. The minute facts are easy to forget, so [the composition] may end up further and further from *shaseibun*, but in attaining literature [*shi*] that touches upon the truth of human life, there is no [greater] mistake than not doing this [waiting for matters to ferment].[69]

For Doppo, the attainment of “true literature” does not result from immediately transcribing “actually existing people” and “actual events,” as one presumably does in *shaseibun*. Rather, it requires allowing such matters to “ferment” over time in one’s “heart-mind.”[70] Admittedly, Doppo immediately proceeds in his talk to reveal that he has not produced all his works in this way. To the contrary, he has composed the vast majority under constraints of circumstance and time (and with dissatisfaction). Nevertheless, the foregoing comments regarding “fermentation” in the “heart-mind” chime strongly with Morimoto’s interpretation of the distinction between the earlier *shasei* and the current methods of landscape description practiced by the Doppo-like narrator in “Mild Late Autumn.”

Nor is Morimoto the only scholar who has identified this kind of distinction with respect to Doppo’s writings. For instance, Nakajima Reiko cites the passage I just quoted from “My Works and Fact” in the process of discussing how Doppo himself (rather than a narrator) advanced from his early *shaseibun* to his novels (*shōsetsu*), published beginning from mid-1897. In Nakajima’s view, it was Doppo’s lyric poetry, through whose production Doppo “discovered” the “self,” that would lead Doppo from the *shaseibun* to the novels, which require expression of the “self” in their treatment of materials.[71] The turning point, for Nakajima, came when Doppo acquired a “method of fictionalization in which one pulls ‘poetic [or “literary”] materials’[72] toward the self and ‘works [*nashiage*]’ them into ‘poetry’ [or ‘literature’] following one’s ideas and assertions.”[73] We need not agree with the particulars of Nakajima’s argument or with the framework of the “discovery” of the self. However, as in the case of Morimoto’s analysis of “Mild Late Autumn,” we are encountering distinctions being drawn between Doppo’s or his narrators’ early *shasei* and their later writings. These distinctions essentially concern a sense that, in the later writings, the contents of the writing undergo significant mediation and reformulation in and through the expressive subject, or again, are drawn into the subject’s self-expression.

Doppo himself provides a window onto the connection in his landscape writing between “world” and “self” in the essay, “Writing that Transcribes Nature” (Shizen o utsusu bunshō; 1906). As Itō Shukundō suggests, early lines of this essay present “nothing but a commonplace theory of realism [*shajitsuron*].”[74] For instance, one line cited by Itō reads, “In order to transcribe the nature one sees [*shizen o mite shizen o utsusu*], one must write just what one saw, just what one felt when one saw.”[75] This is quite *shasei*-like. Doppo also warns against the use of, in short, flowery or overwrought language.

However, as Itō observes, “Doppo’s own theory of writing [*bunshōron*]” comes through in Doppo’s subsequent commentary on “Today’s Musashino” as well as on his travelogue, “The Banks of the Sorachi River” (Sorachigawa no kishibe; 1902). For example, Doppo states,

> “Musashino,” too: the writing may be poor, but it is a fact that I directly described what I felt just as I felt it [*kanjita koto o sono mama chokujo shita*]. It is a work where I was in Musashino, my head was constantly full of nature [*tsune ni atama no naka ni shizen ga michimichite*], and I described nature, just as it was, that appeared to me so lucidly that I could not erase it from my mind. [I described] what I sensed in nature just as I sensed it, so in one respect, one could say that I unreservedly entrusted my heart to nature and wrote that down [*shizen yori kantoku shita tokoro sono mama de aru kara ichimen kara ieba, jibun no kokoro o uchitsuke ni shizen ni takushite kaita mono to mo ieru*]; it is a lyric poem in which I borrowed nature and wrote down the feeling I received from it.[76]

In the second sentence, Doppo speaks of his head being "full of nature." He also claims to have described what "appeared" (*utsutta*) to him "so lucidly that I could not erase it from my mind." At first blush, this imagery of a mind replete with nature, and of a nature so vivid that the subject cannot "erase" it from his mind, could be taken to imply something like what Timothy Morton dubs "the Aeolian," a notion of self-generating processes in nature that speak through the writer.[77]

Yet, judging from the foregoing passage, the subject is also an active participant in this encounter with nature. Doppo specifies that he described "what I felt just as I felt it," and again, "what I sensed in nature [lit., 'what I sensed from nature' (*shizen yori kantoku shita tokoro*)] just as I sensed it." In fact, one could say, "in one respect," that he "entrusted" his "heart to nature and wrote that down." Doppo then reformulates this process as that of composing a "lyric poem" (*jojōshi*) in which he "borrowed nature" (*shizen o karite*) and "wrote down the feeling I received from it."

What the foregoing passage suggests is that Doppo's description of nature is simultaneously his description of his affective and perceptual engagement with nature. In such description, perceiver, word, and world cannot be cleanly extricated from one another. A similar kind of inextricability comes through in Doppo's statement later in the essay that, in "The Banks of the Sorachi River," "I did not describe nature in detail; I wrote nothing other than [what I] felt in nature—the focal point of the depths of my heart-mind to which nature truly permeated [*shizen no kanjita, shin ni kokoro no soko e shizen ga shimiwatatta chūshinten*] . . . . All I expressed with the brush was what I felt so much that it overflowed in my heart-mind."[78]

Citing Doppo's characterizations of "Today's Musashino" and "The Banks of the Sorachi River," Itō explains that the "theory" (*riron*) Doppo sets forth regarding his writing is "not that of objective description that transcribes facts, but rather something based on subjectivity that has objectivity at its core; [it] would seem to be a theory of subjective description [*shukanteki na byōsharon*]."[79] Itō's summary and analysis of the essay's closing lines capture this intermixing of the subjective and the objective, of self and world in Doppo's "writing about nature":

> At the end of this essay, [Doppo states that], in writing about nature, "a single look, a single glance will not do"; [the writing] must be [about] either [something] that has strongly "permeated the mind" or otherwise something that has made a firm "impression." One must "research," "study," and "walk through" nature, and "walk about searching" in every place. If we do this, then nature "shows us something new each day, and enlightens us"—so the essay is brought to a close. This theory is not on the plane of the everyday appreciation or observation of nature. It is a way of grasping nature at a higher level: [through] intense observation and discernment as well as study and research. It is a robust theory of prose: not just being moved and writing [about nature], but pursuing [matters] so much as to research them, actually experiencing nature, embodying it [*nikutaika shite*], and expressing it.[80]

It should be clear by this point that each of the essays I have examined, by contemporary scholars and by Doppo himself, shares a common theme. This is a notion of "internalized" or "subjectivized" landscape description or literary composition distinguished from a more immediate kind of "transcription" of the perceived world "from life" (i.e., *shasei*). At the same time, however, I want to stress that there remains a basic substratum of perceptual experience, and of the sensible world onto which that experience opens, beneath or within such "subjectivized" writing.[81] Itō captures something of this substratum in his neat turn of phrase, "subjectivity that has objectivity at its core" (*kyakkan o kontei ni oita shukan*), and in his reference to the "embodiment" of nature. Seen for this substratum, Doppo's "subjectivized" writing does not necessarily signify or evidence a *split* between subject and object, "self" and "world." It testifies, rather, to a kind of tilting of the balance between these terms.

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Where does this tilting leave "Today's Musashino," which was published years earlier than the essays by Doppo that I just took up?[82] The relations between subject and object, self and world are particularly difficult to analyze in "Today's Musashino," which includes the cloud description I examine below, because this text enfolds multiple modes of landscape description.[83] It encompasses both description that leans toward *shasei* and also description that, to build off Morimoto, functions to verbalize the "essences" (*shinzui*) of previously perceived landscapes as extracted and reworked through imagination, memory, and language.[84] The distinction between these two modes of description is one of degree, and is partially heuristic, but it nevertheless serves to capture a crucial characteristic of Doppo's landscape writing.

In one respect, the second section of "Today's Musashino" contains passages of landscape description that, like descriptions from life (*shasei*), embed verbal expression in relatively well-defined contexts of perception. These passages are framed as quotations of entries in the diary that the narrator kept while living in Musashino from the early fall of 1896 to the early spring of 1897. The diary entries recall the "sketches" (*suketchi*) of Saiki that are likewise read from a "diary" (*nikki*) in "Mild Late Autumn." They do so because they describe the Musashino plain, and the narrator's perceptual experiences there, on particular days between 1896 and 1897, although the entries are also much shorter and, perhaps, more "poem"-like than the "sketches" of Saiki.[85]

Consider, for example, the narrator's diary entry for September 7 (1896), also discussed by Morimoto[86]:

> "Yesterday and today, the southern wind blew strongly, bringing the clouds on and sweeping the clouds away; it rained on and off, and when the sunlight filtered through the gaps in the clouds, the woods glistened all at the same time."[87]

Here, we are relatively close to the world of *shasei*, to the transcription of the (previously) perceived world. The same holds for the following diary entry for November 23:

> "Nearly all the tree leaves shook and fell in the storm last night. Nearly all the rice paddies, too, have [had their rice] harvested. [Things] have taken on the lonesome, withered appearance of winter."[88]

The content of this entry is not so far from that of the sketch of Saiki in "Mild Late Autumn" that I quoted above, although the final sentence—"Things have taken on the lonesome, withered appearance of winter"—moves from the "transcription" of the previously perceived world toward more explicit environmental-aesthetic judgement.

> "[January] 20: A beautiful morning. There was not a speck of cloud in the sky, and ice

> needles [*shimobashira*] glittered like silver on the ground. Little birds chirped in the treetops. The tips of the branches were like pins [*hari*]."[89]

Collectively, these quoted diary entries should suffice to illustrate the presence in "Today's Musashino" of a mode of landscape description that approximates, or that at least overlaps with, describing from life (*shasei*). This is not to say that, in these diary entries, the (previously) perceived world is not mediated through the narrator, that the world is not channeled through the perceptual and expressive subject. Sensuous experience, affect, imagination, and figurative language all play a role in, for example, the description of ice needles as glittering "like silver," or again, the likening of the tips of branches to "pins." Nevertheless, the foregoing diary entries feature a type of embedment of expression in relatively specified contexts of perception that aligns quite strongly with the practice of verbally describing from life.

Yet, in "Today's Musashino," such *shasei*-like diary entries are largely confined to the second of the essay's nine sections. By contrast, subsequent sections often, although not always,[90] feature a mode of landscape description that is less grounded in this or that instance of perception. Such description is exemplified by the following lines in the essay's fourth section. These lines fall within a longer passage that, as Morimoto writes, "extracts the essences of landscapes seen in the past through the power of recollection and ties them together."[91] While still implicitly based upon the narrator's experiences in Musashino, the description is not set in any one particular moment. Rather, it presents a chain of temporally dispersed images, or alternatively, presents multiple temporalities within one "picture" of the plain.[92] The passage begins,

> When it comes to the time when the rice plants ripen, the paddies in the valleys grow yellow. When it comes to the time when the rice is reaped and the mirror images of the woods are reflected upon the water, the radish fields are in bloom, and when the radishes are finally pulled up, and come to be washed in pools of water or by small streams here and there, the fields grow verdant with the sprouts of wheat.[93]

As Morimoto remarks, the landscape that "leans toward visual perception" in the diary entry for September 7, and the landscape that "has been sublimated internally" in the passage I just quoted, are "of different levels [*reveru*]. However, it is the world of '[Today's] Musashino' that, in a single sweep, unfolds these various landscapes that appear, at a glance, to differ in their modalities [*yōsō*]."[94]

What makes analyzing the cloud description in "Today's Musashino" especially tricky is that it falls between these "levels" or "modalities." This is because it is contained within an anecdote that concerns the narrator's experiences strolling with a friend through the Koganei region of Musashino on a summer's day three years earlier (in 1895). On the one hand, the anecdote constitutes a single, self-contained narrative that recounts experiences had on a particular day in a particular location. As a result, the landscape description presented in the anecdote is relatively "concrete" compared to, say, the foregoing passage that "extracts the essences" of previously perceived landscapes. It is "concrete" in the sense of being grounded, at least nominally, in a more specifically defined perceptual context, that is, a place and time of perception. In this respect, it echoes the verbal practice of *shasei*.

On the other hand, however, the anecdote conveys experiences recollected long after the fact. Based on this alone, it seems reasonable to consider these experiences to have been reworked significantly through memory and imagination. That reworking, I will suggest below, may bear some relation to the narrator's use of conceptual or abstract vocabulary to characterize the sky and clouds in the anecdote. In addition, while he speaks of the experiences he had on a particular day, the narrator does not frame his anecdote as a quotation from a diary. Such a framework would have suggested, though not guaranteed, a comparatively "immediate" connection between perceptual experience and its expression.[95] In fact, as I stated above, the passage I just quoted—the one that "extracts the essences" of previously perceived landscapes—falls in the fourth section of "Today's Musashino." This section covers, and is implicitly based upon perceptual experiences that the narrator had during, the same seasons of fall and winter when he kept the diary that he quotes earlier in the essay. From this perspective, one could argue that the passage in fact has a stronger grounding in "immediately" recorded landscape description (the diary) than the anecdote, which the narrator appears to recount only from memory.[96]

In this anecdote, then, we encounter a kind of landscape writing that combines aspects of *shasei* and of description of landscape that has been, as Morimoto puts it, "sublimated internally." This combination characterizes the cloud description within the anecdote, as well.

Suburban Clouds

Given this combination, it is not surprising to find that Doppo's cloud description, and his description of the wider suburban environment in the anecdote, enacts multiple descriptive tendencies. That is, it enacts multiple ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture. These tendencies include "describing from life," or "transcribing" the world as previously perceived by the observer-narrator. They also include "describing the feeling," i.e., expressing the sensuous and affective experience of the world, or again, expressing the world as thus experienced. Finally, the narrator's description broaches a third descriptive tendency: "describing the energy." By this I mean that the narrator textualizes a relatively intangible energy in the sky that is linked, but that is not necessarily reducible, to particular perceived and sensible forms. He also textualizes another kind of "intangible" matter, likewise irreducible to such forms, by invoking a set of abstract or conceptual qualities of the sky. The invocation of these qualities, I will propose, bears some relation to the way the narrator is describing the sky and the suburbs in retrospect and, in the process, is conveying something of their "essence."

The following passage, which composes the first portion of the narrator's cloud description, exemplifies the first descriptive tendency: describing from life. The passage consists of a single elongated sentence. The sentence's rhetorical properties, such as its particular use of color words and its discursive syntax, function to transcribe the momentary changes in clouds' hues, textures, and spatial arrangements. The sentence simultaneously orchestrates and articulates those changes in time, space, and the rhetorical structure of the text. As I show below, the passage also incorporates language apparently drawn from Futabatei Shimei's translation "Aibiki" of Ivan Turgenev's short story "The Tryst," whose relation to "Today's Musashino" I discussed in Chapter Two. Doppo's adaptation of this language to the description of Musashino's clouds enhances the visual potency of the prose. Perhaps this potency helped spur the watercolorist Miyake Kokki to recall years later, with respect to Doppo's volume *Musashino* (1901), how "we read his short compositions [*tanbun*] and even felt they were outstanding pictures written in letters."[97] Note that, in the following translation of one such verbal picture of clouds, I maintain Doppo's use of the historical present tense. As in the "sketches" of Saiki quoted in "Mild Late Autumn," this tense accentuates the apparent "immediacy" of the description by creating the rhetorical effect of a coincidence between the unfolding of language and the becoming of the sensible world. Put differently, it works to belie the mediation of signification and, furthermore, temporal passage, as the narrator describes how the sky appeared during his stroll in the summer three years earlier[98]:

> Sultry clouds gush forth in the sky,[99] and clouds are hidden behind layers of clouds, with blue sky appearing deep in the gaps between one cloud and the next; the places where the clouds touch [*sessuru*] the blue sky bear a color not quite comparable to the color of white-silver or to the color of snow, [a color] pure white, transparent, and somehow gentle and faint [*awaawashii*]—and so [or "hence"; *soko de*] the blue sky appears all the deeper and bluer.[100]

Several characteristics of this passage enhance the visual impact of the description. To begin with, the narrator shifts among spatial scales as the passage unfolds. He first speaks of the air and the clouds in general, next focuses on certain layers of and gaps in the clouds, and finally homes in on the clouds' edges. Moving between spatial scales in this way texturizes the image of the clouds and sky conveyed to the reader. It does so by specifying smaller details within a larger whole, such as the blue sky visible in the gaps between the clouds. In the process of thus texturizing the image, the narrator further clarifies how the blue of the sky appears deeper and bluer due to the color of the clouds' edges.[101] He defines the tonality of those edges through negative comparisons[102]: "not quite comparable to the color of white-silver or to the color of snow." This rhetoric of description through negative comparison coalesces, in turn, with a painterly attention to chromatic saturation ("transparent" [*tōmei*] and "faint" [*awaawashii*]). These visual qualities are woven into a verbal canvas structured by words that function to scaffold the clouds' spatial arrangement—for instance, "in back of" (*oku ni*), "between" (*aida*), and "where the clouds touch" (*sessuru tokoro*).

Discursive syntax helps this verbal picture to respond to and, simultaneously, to articulate the visible properties of the sky—a sky perceived three years ago, although it seems to be in flux right now before the reader's mind's eye. For example, the foregoing passage consists of a single distended sentence that uses a comma, which I have rendered as a dash, to conjoin what might be two distinct sentences: " . . . bear a . . . faint [color]—[and] so . . . ." (. . . *awaawashii iro o obite iru, soko de* . . . .). Deploying a comma in this way allows for and underscores a kind of continued piling of characterization upon characterization of the sky. In the context of this passage, I would propose that this piling helps create the impression and effect of markedly granular description, of language whose level of detail implies a sort of adequacy to the ineffable tints of the skies.

The description's granularity derives, in part, from the way these lines draw upon a passage of cloud-related description in Futabatei Shimei's translation "Aibiki" of Ivan Turgenev's story, "The Tryst." In Chapter Two, I demonstrated the impact of the mode of expression found in "Aibiki," which is quoted at length in "Today's Musashino," on Doppo's figurations of Musashino's acoustic environment. Comparing the following passages of "Aibiki" and "Today's Musashino" suggests that this impact extended from sounds on the ground to clouds in the sky. That it did so further contextualizes the painterly quality of Doppo's verbal description of the sky. This is because Turgenev was himself invested in the Barbizon school of landscape painting. As Cynthia Marsh writes,

> Turgenev arrived in Paris in 1847. He was soon absorbed in the painting of the Barbizon school with which Corot was loosely associated through a common and concurrent attention to landscape. The writing of the short stories *Zapiski okhotnika* (1847-1852[103]) coincided with the burgeoning of Turgenev's interest in art. . . . Landscape predominates in these stories, much as it does in the notes of another hunter, S. T. Aksakov, whom Turgenev praised for his "clear," "loving" and "observant" descriptions of nature. Thus Turgenev shows his acute sensitivity to the treatment of nature in literature. Landscape figures strongly throughout his work.[104]

The volume Marsh references, *Zapiski okhotnika* (Notes of a Hunter[105]), contains the short story "The Tryst" that Futabatei would translate as "Aibiki." "Aibiki," in turn, includes the following portrayal of the sky (I quote here from the passage of "Aibiki" reproduced in "Today's Musashino"):

> Just when faint, white clouds seemed to hang across the entire surface of the sky, suddenly clearings would open up in the clouds for an instant; between the gaps in the clouds, which seemed parted by force, could be glimpsed a blue sky that was bright and clear as an eye that appears limpid and clever.
>
> *Awaawashii* (あわ／＼しい) *shirakumo ga sora ichimen ni tanabiku ka to omou to, fu to mata achikochi matataku ma kumogire ga shite, muri ni oshiwaketa yō na kumoma* (雲間) *kara sumite sakashige ni mieru hito no me no gotoku ni hogaraka ni hareta aozora* (蒼空) *ga nozokareta.*[106]

These lines of "Aibiki" probably served as a model for the following passage in "Today's Musashino":

> Clouds are hidden behind layers of clouds, with blue sky appearing low in the gaps between one cloud and the next; the places where the clouds touch the blue sky bear a color not quite comparable to the color of white-silver or to the color of snow, [a color] pure white, transparent, and somehow gentle and faint—and so the blue sky appears all the deeper and bluer.
>
> *Kumo no oku ni kumo ga kakure, kumo to kumo to no aida* (間) *no soko ni aozora* (蒼空) *ga araware, kumo no aozora ni sessuru tokoro wa shirogane no iro to mo yuki no iro to mo tatoegataki junpaku na tōmei na, sore de nantonaku odayaka na awaawashii* (淡々しい) *iro o obite iru, soko de aozora ga ichidan to okubukaku aoao to mieru.*[107]

The similarity in the imagery and diction of these two passages signals that the perceptual attunement to clouds and the visually potent mode of cloud description found in "Today's Musashino" take their measure in part from "Aibiki"—a text composed by another landscape writer interested in visual art.[108]

In the next portion of the cloud description, the narrator continues to describe the visible properties of previously perceived clouds as recollected from the standpoint of the present. In the process, his language also enacts another descriptive tendency: "describing the energy." It does so because, in the lines I examine below, the narrator's verbal registration of clouds' visible properties opens onto an invocation of a kind of diffuse, pervasive "energy" (*ki*), which quivers "in the sky" (*kūchū*).

Analyzing this invocation requires unpacking the dense concept of *ki*. Truth be told, I am not entirely sure precisely what Doppo intends by *ki*, which I have translated as "energy." The work of the literary historian Suzuki Sadami, however, may offer guidance in making sense of this word. Suzuki explains that "what brought about the biggest change in the view of nature among Meiji-period intellectuals was the spread, along with Darwin's theory of biological evolution, of a theory of energetic monism [*enerugī ichigenron*] that took energy as the root of all activities of nature."[109] With respect to the "concept [*gainen*] of energy," Suzuki writes,

> The flourishing of the theory of energetic monism in physics, and the notion [*kannen*] of spiritual energy that originated in Thomas Carlyle's resistance to the advance of mechanical civilization [*kikai bunmei*], were both understood in terms of the traditional concept of "*ki*," gave rise to such vague notions as "natural energy [*shizen enerugī*]" and "vital energy [*seimei enerugī*]," were combined with various kinds of traditional thought, and formed the foundation for the development of the current of a multifaceted vitalism [*tasai na seimei genri shugi*] at the turn of the twentieth century [underline added].[110]

Doppo, too, made use of the language of "energy." For example, Suzuki notes the appearance of the phrase *shizen no chikara* (自然の力, lit. "the power of nature") in Doppo's story, "The Fatalist" (Unmei ronsha; 1903). He remarks,

> It is fair to take this "*shizenryoku* [自然力]" as a translation for "natural energy [*shizen enerugī*]." However, we should not hastily conclude that this indicates the spread among the younger generation of natural scientific thought, of the theory of energetic monism that was arising in the world of physics. For, at the time, the concept of energy was also shaded by how Thomas Carlyle had—in response to [*ni taishite*] the advent of the "mechanical age [*kikai no jidai*]" brought about by the Industrial Revolution—thrust forward [the notion of] spiritual energy echoing throughout the universe.
>
> Carlyle saw the manifestation of spiritual energy in those who built history, and called them "heroes." . . . This can also be seen distinctly in the writings of the American transcendentalist philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was friendly with Carlyle.[111]

As I understand him, Suzuki gestures toward the impact of the idea of spiritual energy on Doppo and his use of a phrase meaning "natural energy." I infer as much because Suzuki proceeds to state as follows, after referencing Ruskin, with regard to Doppo's intellectual formation. Notice how Suzuki refers again to the language of *ki*, a central concept in Neo-Confucian philosophy:

> Based on Kunikida Doppo's reading tendencies, we can infer that he was strongly influenced by the works of [Ralph Waldo] Emerson, as concerns Western [works], and [the Neo-Confucian philosopher] Wang Yangming, as concerns Eastern [*Tōyō*] [works]. In short, the notion of spiritual energy resounding throughout the universe was understood in terms of the traditional concept of "*ki*," and if one does not look at the

> matter from the perspective of the writer who utters [“natural energy”], then [it seems as though] the language of “natural energy [*shizenryoku*]” was truly being thrown about [*tobikatte ita*] indistinct from the theory of energetic monism in physics.[112]

It is unclear if the word *ki* as used in “Today’s Musashino” is related in a significant way to these ideas of spiritual energy and energetic monism. The fact remains, however, that the narrator invokes the notion of *ki* in the following portion of his description of the sky and clouds in “Today’s Musashino.” In the course of describing that *ki*, which I interpret as an intangible yet palpable “energy,” the narrator also deploys conceptual and figurative language to textualize another kind of “intangible” matter, something else that is tied, yet irreducible, to sensible form. This is, namely, a set of relatively abstract or conceptual qualities of the sky that exceed the strictly sensible properties of that sky and of the wider suburban environment. The narrator states,

> —and so the blue sky appears all the deeper and bluer. This alone would not be very summery, but there is also something like a kind of haze, colored with a turbid hue, that disturbs the space between the clouds, and that yields the sky’s appearance agitated, intermixed, unburdened, and intricate [*dōyō, shinshi, ninpō, sakuzatsu* (動揺, 参差, 任放, 錯雑)]; the beams of light piercing the clouds and the shadows given off by the clouds intersect here and there, and a free, uninhibited energy quivers in the sky with no particular direction [*fuki hon’itsu no ki ga izuko to mo naku kūchū ni bidō shite iru*].[113]

From one perspective, these lines continue to transcribe the sensible world that the narrator previously perceived. They still pertain to the sky and clouds, to the color, haze, and heat of a certain region of Musashino one day during the summer three years earlier. They also exhibit a handling of light and shadow that has been analyzed in relation to the methods of depiction in Western landscape painting.[114]

From another perspective, however, the prose also moves beyond this or that visible property of the clouds or sky by speaking of a rather diffuse “energy” that quivers in the sky. In fact, the passage exhibits a rich assortment of conceptual and abstract language. It refers to clouds that appear “agitated, intermixed, unburdened, and intricate” and to an “energy” that is “free and uninhibited” (or perhaps “running wild”; *fuki hon’itsu* 不羈奔逸). The semantic content of such language is not necessarily ascribable, in its entirety, to the narrator’s previous, situated perceptions of discrete visible forms. Rather, it veers into the intangible, into conceptual characterizations that may derive as much from the operations of memory, imagination, and rhetoric as from the sensible properties of the previously perceived sky and clouds.

In identifying and thinking through this intangibility, I take important direction from Sasaki Masanobu’s critique of Komori Yōichi’s analyses of “Aibiki” and “Today’s Musashino.” A significant part of Komori’s argument is that these texts feature a type of verbal expression in which an expressive subject (*hyōgen shutai*), located within the narrative world represented in the text, works to verbalize that world as he perceives and senses it, that is, to describe it using words that adhere to his perception and senses.[115] In response, as I show below, Sasaki points out the impossibility of reproducing in language, just as they are, direct and given perceptual experiences had in a present moment and location. He also demonstrates that the writing of “Today’s Musashino” often exceeds the natural description of particular, perceived scenes and offers more markedly general and abstract language and characterizations of Musashino.[116] For example, Sasaki concedes that the first part of Doppo’s cloud description—the elongated sentence that I quoted above—creates the sense, upon first reading, that "'the appearance of the external world grasped by one's own perception and sense' is captured in words 'minutely and clearly.'"[117] He also concedes that, as Komori writes, "If Turgenev's *Notes of a Hunter* had not been translated by Futabatei Shimei, presumably no one would have paid attention to something like the beauty of 'the places where the clouds touch the blue sky,' and presumably no one would have even thought to express it in words."[118] However,

> the fact that Doppo then continues on, "This alone would not be very summery," is significant. In short, what Doppo is trying to put into words does not stop simply at "the form of the external world grasped through the I's [or 'his own'; *jibun no*] perception and senses" or "the particular scenery 'only of [unique to] that time and place,'" but is the totality of "summeriness" that transcends that ["form" and "particular scenery"].[119]

Perhaps we are encountering, once again, the way that Doppo's description works to retrospectively squeeze an "essence" from the landscape: here, "summeriness."

Subsequent lines in "Today's Musashino" concerning the sky's "unburdened" appearance and, especially, the "energy" that quivers in the sky likewise characterize the suburbs in a way that exceeds particular sensible properties of the clouds. Citing this portion of the passage—"There is also something . . . with no particular direction"—Sasaki remarks,

> By this point, we see that the writing separates off from "perceptual" elements (of the "five senses") [*"chikaku" ("gokan")-teki yōso*], from that particularity and concreteness, and—whether in [phrases like] "an appearance [that is] agitated, intermixed, unburdened, and intricate" or "*a free, uninhibited energy*"—converges toward the universality and abstractness of "words," i.e., of "concepts"—that is, toward precisely linguistic proposition as such.[120]

The rhythm and tone of the line "agitated, intermixed, unburdened, and intricate" (*dōyō, shinshi, ninpō, sakuzatsu*) augments this sense of verbal abstraction, of words becoming (partially) unmoored from sense perception. As I noted in Chapter Three, Doppo uses only commas instead of conjunctive phrases between the four words in this line. Doing so yields a dense syntagm of two-character logographic compounds. This string of compounds, complete with the elongated vowels (*dōyō* and *ninpō*) found in some of the characters' Chinese readings (*on-yomi*), yields a type of Sinicized rhetoric at the heart of the cloud description. This rhetoric reinforces the kind of conceptual flavor of the prose that Sasaki identifies. Indeed, in an endnote that follows upon the passage that I just reproduced as a block quote ("By this point . . . proposition as such"), Sasaki remarks how "one notes, moreover, that these matters are, from beginning to end, expressed aptly [in this passage] through the abstractness, the conceptuality borne by '*kanbun* [Chinese]-style vocabulary' and 'logographic compounds.'"[121]

Finally, further on in his analysis of section six (the anecdote) of "Today's Musashino," Sasaki addresses the gap between perceptual experience and its retrospective verbal evocation. His argument recalls aspects of Morimoto Takako's analysis of "Mild Late Autumn" in its focus on the topics of memory and "recollection" (*sōki*).[122] Sasaki contends that, although the anecdote is narrated almost entirely in the present tense, no matter the degree to which particular perceptual experiences are registered directly in language,

> they are “memories,” “recollections [*sōki*]” of the “past”; that is to say, they can only be recounted in “words.” Furthermore, insofar as this is the case, [they are not recounted as] “perception” (“the five senses”), i.e., color or form or sound or taste; they are a linguistic construction or production, a comprehension, a confirmation. Therefore, even if “recollection” means “remembering” “past” “experiences” in the “present,” it is never the case that “perceptions” of that time and that place are regenerated or reproduced just as they were.[123]

In the anecdote, “‘embodied perceptions and sense’” were “recounted” as “‘words’=‘concepts,’” through “‘thoughts’” and “‘meanings,’” and so “all deviated [*zurete*] from the direct experiences of that time and that place [or ‘of each time and each place’] and, we can say, were something ‘narrated’ retrospectively, after the fact.”[124]

Sasaki is right to identify the conceptual or abstract quality of the narrator’s descriptive language. He is also right to argue that the narrator’s retrospective narration of his stroll in Musashino, including the clouds he perceived on that day, involves “deviation” from past perceptual experiences. Having said that, I would stress that deviation is not the same as disconnection. That is, within the world represented in the text, the narrator’s retrospective narration still retains a basis in the previously perceived world, in a stratum of previous perceptual experience. The language does not simply “give” previous perceptions, and it certainly modifies them, but it is also not absolutely without grounding and motivation in those perceptions.

Similarly, I would stress that, notwithstanding their conceptual quality, the narrator’s characterizations of the “energy” that quivered in the air, and of the “unburdened” quality of the clouds, remain bound up with the practice of verbally “transcribing” the world from life. This is, again, because those characterizations are not fully independent of that previously perceived world, which itself is simultaneously orchestrated and produced through language. Rather, within the world represented in the text, it is the recollected sky and clouds, which the narrator at least partially viewed, that appeared unburdened. It is the recollected sky, which the narrator at least partially witnessed, that was suffused with a quivering energy. (The act of recollection does not, in principle, void the previous existence of the sky and clouds or the actuality of their previous perception.) To put this another way, the narrator’s abstract words are hitched in part to the world, components of which the narrator previously perceived and which he now figures in language (and which, to repeat, is simultaneously fashioned and generated by that same language). Seen in this respect, the narrator’s description of intangible or relatively intangible matters—his invocation of the diffuse “energy” or of the abstract qualities of the appearance of the sky and the clouds—is bound up with his practice of, retrospectively, describing the perceived world from life.

Allow me to rephrase the point I am making here. It is worth doing so given that the topic at hand speaks directly to the relations among perceiver, word, and world in late-Meiji landscape literature. Sasaki’s argument reminds us that, as he shows at length, the words of Doppo’s text do not verbally reproduce, just as they were, direct and given perceptual experiences. Certainly, as I have argued, the language can generate the rhetorical effect of “transcribing” the perceived world. Yet it is not, in fact, “transparent” to past perceptions of particular percepts—perceptions and percepts that are simultaneously orchestrated and generated by that language. Nor is it necessarily grounded in specific contexts or acts of embodied perception. The conceptual, figurative, and recollection-filled language of the foregoing passage of “Today’s Musashino” exemplifies this non-transparency and (relatively) ungrounded quality.

Having said that, however, this dissertation also asks and shows how such language sits in a dynamic interplay with worlds and embodied perceptions recounted in words, how it simultaneously expresses and fashions those worlds and perceptions, being grounded in them even as it shapes them. In the foregoing passage, for example, words, world, and perception certainly do not coincide in perfect union. But such non-coincidence does not entail mutual exclusion. It does not, in other words, entail the absolute loosing of language, or again of memory or even imagination, from all ties to the sensible world. Rather, within the world represented in the text, the words remain yoked in part to the previously perceived world described by the narrator even as they transcend it. In this sense, the words flit in and out of—sit on the edge of, but remain inextricably tied to—the practice of, retrospectively, describing from life.[125]

Yet, in "Today's Musashino," the narrator's description of the sky and clouds in fact encompasses yet another descriptive tendency. I have called this tendency "describing the feeling," that is, expressing the sensuous and affective experience of the perceived world, or in this case, expressing the very experience of perceiving that world. In the following passage, Doppo's description of clouds opens onto a description of the wider suburbs, and of its perceivers, that achieves such expression. In the passage, the object of the narrator's description first slides down from the clouds above to the ground below. It then passes over to the perceivers—the narrator and his friend—who view the sky and the ground. In the process, the narrator's language expresses a sensuous experience that he shares (shared) intersubjectively with his walking companion:

> . . . a free, uninhibited energy quivers in the air [or "sky"] with no particular direction. Each and every wood, each and every treetop, to the tips of the blades of grass: [everything] is melting, dozing, slackening, nodding off drunk in the light and heat. In one corner of the woods, [the trees] have been cut in a straight line, and a broad field is visible [*mieru*] through the gap; from the entire surface of the field rise heat shimmers, making it impossible to gaze for long.
>
> While wiping away our sweat, we look up at the open sky, peek into the depths of the woods, gaze at the area where the sky on the horizon meets the woods and, short of breath [*aegiaegi*], push forward along the embankment. Suffering? Not a bit! Our bodies are overflowing with hardiness.[126]

In this passage, the focus of the narrator's description first descends from the sky to the woods, grasses, fields, and finally the walkers on the ground. The language then verbalizes a series of actions undertaken by the walkers as "we" (*jibunra*) wipe away sweat, "look up at the open sky," and "gaze at the area where the sky on the horizon meets the woods." In other words, the description of the clouds gives way to the reflexive description of the embodied navigation and perception of the suburban environment, including the sky where the clouds float. As I argued in Chapter Two, such navigation and perception occasion a sort of sensuous, intersubjective commingling among the narrator, his friend, and the suburbs. It is a commingling secured, perhaps, by the circulation of air among the walkers and the suburbs through respiration. It also owes, to build off Sasaki, to a (partial) "melting" together of walker and world in the summer swelter.[127] In short, the narrator's description of the clouds, the sky, and the plants comes hand in hand with the description of the very intersubjective and sensuous experience of perceiving the clouds, the sky, and the plants.

In these ways, the narrator's description of clouds and of the wider suburbs of Musashino enacts multiple descriptive tendencies, multiple ways of articulating the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world. In this chapter, I have shown how those relations are realized through acts of perception and expression staged in Doppo's essay. I have also placed special emphasis upon how these acts intersect with the operations of memory and imagination.[128] I have examined these acts and operations of perception, expression, memory, and imagination by tracing transformations in Doppo's approach to and thinking about natural description and literary composition, by analyzing the descriptive language of "Today's Musashino," and by delineating artistic, intellectual, and biographical influences upon the content and the modes of perception and expression at work in "Today's Musashino." In this way, I have attempted to forge and implement a methodology for the study of literary landscape that negotiates between the experiential and the historical, the perceptual and the discursive, and—especially in this case—the perceived and the recollected. The next chapter deploys this methodology once more in exploring the connections between literary and painterly practice in the cloud descriptions of another writer, Shimazaki Tōson.

Notes

[1] One could add: thought, reflection, judgment, and so on.

[2] See Chapter One. On the topic of "generalized" description, I am indebted to Sasaki Masanobu, to whom I return below.

[3] Kunikida Doppo, "Ga," in *Doppo shōhin*, ed. Kunikida Haruko (Shinchōsha, 1912), 33-46, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/889191; also available in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 9:328-33. Yagi Mitsuaki proposes that the text is best dated to 1893 ("Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino' no shūhen," *Uozu shinpojiumu*, no. 5 [1990]: 92). Kitahara Yasukuni firmly dates it to April 1893 ("Kunikida Doppo no shōnen shōsetsu," *Shinshū Hōnan Tanki Daigaku kiyō* 32 [2015]: 16). Nakajima Reiko identifies a diary entry by Doppo from April 1893 that refers to the production of "Ga" and so constitutes strong evidence that Doppo composed the essay that I am analyzing here at that time. See Nakajima's "Tokutomi Roka to Kunikida Doppo," in *Kunikida Doppo to shūhen* (Ōfū, 2019), 225.

[4] Kunikida Shūji, "Doppo no hansei," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppō zenshū*, 10:132; Kitahara, "Kunikida Doppo no shōnen shōsetsu," 17-18. Kitahara had just cited a passage from "Ga." I infer "mid-to-late 1880s" based on the contents of Doppo's essay. In this connection, I have referred to Sakamoto Hiroshi, *Kunikida Doppo: hito to sakuhin* (Yūseidō Shuppan, 1969), 10-11, and to Sakamoto's "Doppo nenpyō (seikatsu to sakuhin)," in ibid., 223.

[5] Doppo, "Ga," 39. For more on "Ga," and for an interpretation of how Doppo's pictorial *shasei* (drawing from life) would feed into his literary *shasei*, see Itō Shukundo, "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," *Tōkai Gakuen Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 19 (2014): 222-21 (Itō's essay led me to the treatment of drawing from life in the essay "Ga"). Also see ibid., 215-14 for Itō's reference to the way that Doppo's "heart that loved pictures, [and] his pictorial sketches [*suketchi*], turned directly into sketches [*suketchi*] in writing." See Itō's essay for the context of this claim, which I extract from a longer sentence.

[6] Doppo, "Ga," 40.

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[7] On the move, see Sakamoto, “Doppo nenpyō,” 223-24. Also see Yagi, “Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino’ no shūhen,” 92 for more on the essay and the actual move.

[8] There seems to be a discrepancy, with respect to Doppo’s biography, between “twenty-one years” and the speaker’s earlier claim to have returned to the “hometown [*kyōri*] between spring two years ago and spring last year.” See Yagi, who notes the misalignment when inferring the date of the text’s composition, in “Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino’ no shūhen,” 92.

[9] In the lines I have elided, Doppo writes of how the awful “journey of life finally came and appeared before him,” how all scenes and things started seeking “new explanations [*setsumei*] from him,” and how pictures have come to “present a different color [*ishoku*] before him, and *to whisper a deep and sad meaning to him*” (emphasis added; Doppo, “Ga,” 43).

[10] Ibid., 43-44; also quoted, without elision, both in Yokota Hajime, “Doppo to ga, gaka: ‘Ga,’ ‘Kōgai,’ ‘Koharu,’” in “Kunikida Doppo no sōsaku taido to hōhō: kiten to shite no ‘shōmin’” (PhD diss., Hokkaidō Daigaku, 2017), 51, and also in Yagi, “Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino’ no shūhen,” 92.

[11] Doppo, “Ga,” 45-46; also quoted in Yokota, “Doppo to ga, gaka: ‘Ga,’ ‘Kōgai,’ ‘Koharu,’” 52.

[12] Kunikida Doppo, “Dairenwan shingeki,” in *Aitei tsūshin*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 5:39. Note that one of the narrator’s subsequent “maps” includes sparse landscape-like elements as well as what I take to be human stick figures (see ibid., 5:42).

[13] Kunikida Doppo, “Hatō,” in ibid., 5:15.

[14] See Shiga Hidetaka, “Meiji no Musashino o aruita Fudōsha no gakatachi: Kanokogi Takeshirō no enpitsu shakei o chūshin ni,” in *Meiji o aruku: Shōnan to Musashino*, ed. Chigasaki-shi Bijutsukan, Tsukimoto Toshihiko, and Takagami Sanae [? 竹上早奈恵] (Chigasaki, Japan: Chigasaki-shi Bunka, Supōtsu Shinkō Zaidan, Chigasaki-shi Bijutsukan, 2014), 6-11, esp. 6, and the sources cited in endnotes 15-18 below. See esp. the quote of Taii Ryō in endnote 18. The Fudōsha artists’ sketching in Musashino is also mentioned in the exhibition catalogue by Shiga Hidetaka et. al., *Okaeri utsukushiki Meiji: “Meiji no hohoemi” o anata ni; Fuchū shisei shikō 65-shūnen kinen* (Fuchū, Tokyo: Fuchū-shi Bijutsukan, 2019), 54, also see 8.

[15] Akasaka Norio, *Musashino o yomu* (Iwanami Shoten, 2018), 182-83.

[16] Kawamoto Saburō, *Kōgai no bungakushi* (Shinchōsha, 2003), 19.

[17] Earlier, Kawamoto had stated, “Unlike [in] traditional *meisho zue* [(collections of) illustrations of famous places],” the Fudōsha painters “tried to locate new landscapes. When [they did so], the landscape they discovered was Tokyo’s environs—the belt of country landscape called Musashino” (ibid.). Also see ibid., 20-21 on Doppo in relation to the work of the Fudōsha artist Kanokogi Takeshirō (1874-1941). In addition, see Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 181-84 on Kawamoto’s arguments regarding these and related topics. Note that Kawamoto refers to the exhibition held at Fuchū-shi Bijutsukan for which there was an associated publication—a guide to works held at the museum—titled *Hyakunenmae no Musashino, Tōkyō: Fudōsha gakatachi no suketchi o chūshin ni*, by Fuchū-shi Bijutsukan (Fuchū-shi, Tokyo: Fuchū-shi Bijutsukan, 2001). Kawamoto also specifically cites Shiga Hidetaka’s essay “Hyakunenmae, Musashino o egaita Fudōsha no gakatachi,” in ibid., 3-9. Also see pp. 15-17 of *Hyakunenmae no Musashino, Tōkyō* for sketches by Kanokogi of the area of Shibuya Village (and, briefly in this connection, see Kawamoto, *Kōgai no bungakushi*, 21).

[18] Taii continues, “and the students frequently undertook plein-air sketching [*kogai shasei*] in Tokyo’s suburbs. The excursions were one-day long, from early morning to sundown. Starting from Hongō, where the Fudōsha was located at the time, they also traveled frequently to Ayase,

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Komatsugawa, Hikifune, Senjū, Itabashi, Negishi, Koshigaya, and so on. They also carried out sketching trips of about one week in length in the spring and the fall. As they became more familiar [with the practice], they gradually came to travel to more distant locations such as Nikkō, Mt. Fuji, Mt. Asama, and so on." See Taii Ryō, "Dōro sansui to fūkeiga ni tsuite," in *Mō hitotsu no Meiji bijutsu: Meiji Bijutsukai kara Taiheiyō Gakai*, ed. Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan et. al. (Shizuoka, Japan: Mō Hitotsu No Meiji Bijutsu-ten Jikkō Inkai, 2003), 20.

[19] Ibid. Ogawa Minoru quotes a comment by Ishii Hakutei that suggests that the term *dōro sansui* came into use after the fact, in retrospect. See Ogawa's "Enpitsu to fūkei," in Chigasaki-shi Bijutsukan, Tsukimoto, and Takagami [?], *Meiji o aruku*, 12-21, esp. 16. Also see Tsukimoto Toshihiko on the term in *Meiji o aruku*, 29. Ogawa and Tsukimoto both speak of Doppo and his essay, but Ogawa's interpretation of the essay differs significantly from my own.

[20] Nakajima Reiko proposes that Doppo composed a draft (*sōkō*) of "Parting Ways" around, to paraphrase, roughly the end of 1897. See Nakajima's *Kunikida Doppo: shoki sakuhin no sekai* (Meiji Shoin, 1988), 250. In the process, however, Nakajima suggests that Doppo wrote "Parting Ways" after "[Today's] Musashino" (ibid.). The date she tentatively proposes for the submission of the second installment of "Musashino" to the magazine editors is a couple of months earlier than the date that Ashiya Nobukazu gives for this installment's composition (see Ashiya's "Doppo 'Ima no Musashino,'" *Hanazono Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 7 [1976]: 234-38). But note that Ashiya's argument on this point is very strong (see esp. ibid., 237).

[21] For how "Parting Ways" opens with a description of the Shibuya cottage, see Senuma Shigeki, "Kaidai," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 2:554. Senuma notes how this geographical region formed the background for "Today's Musashino." Also relevant here is Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 250. On the location of Doppo's residence in Shibuya Village, see Fujii Hidetada, annotations to "Musashino," in *Kunikida Doppo, Miyazaki Koshoshi shū*, ed. Fujii Hidetada and Shinbo Kunihiro (Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 30n2.

[22] Kunikida Doppo, "Wakare," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 2:204.

[23] On the establishment, spread, and position in Japan of the circle and style of Kuroda and Kume, both of whom returned to Japan in 1893 after studying for years in France, see Harada Minoru, "The Plein-Air School: Kuroda Seiki," in *Meiji Western Painting*, trans. Akiko Murakata (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), ch. 4 and Tanaka Atsushi, *Meiji no yōga: Kuroda Seiki to Hakubakai* (Shibundō, 1995), 42-48. Also see Ueno Kenzō, *Nihon kindai yōga no seiritsu: Hakubakai* (Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2005), section 2 of ch. 1 for an overview of the formation and activities of the White Horse Society.

[24] On the multiple painting styles that fed into Kuroda's art, see Miura Atsushi, "Kuroda Seiki to Furansu kaiga," in *Kuroda Seiki, seitan 150 nen: Nihon kindai kaiga no kyoshō*, ed. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan et. al. (Bijutsu Shuppansha, 2016), 37-44. On the complex topic of Kuroda and Impressionism, see Chinghsin Wu, "Institutionalizing Impressionism: Kuroda Seiki and *Plein-Air* Painting in Japan," in *Mapping Impressionist Painting in Transnational Contexts*, ed. Emily C. Burns and Alice M. Rudy Price (New York: Routledge, 2021), 133-44. Briefly on Kuroda's landscape expression and Impressionism, see Yamanishi Emiko, "Kuroda Seiki no fūkei hyōgen to sono eikyō," in *Nihon kindai bijutsu to seiyō: Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai kokusai shinpojiumu*, ed. Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai (Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1992), 122-23.

[25] Yagi, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino' no shūen," 87. See Yagi's essay starting from p. 85.

[26] Shinbo Kunihiro, "'Musashino' no shūen: Tōson ni furete," in *Doppo to Tōson: Meiji sanjūnendai bungaku no kosumorojī* (Yūseidō, 1996), 72. For "brightness," see Shinbo's

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preceding discussion of Koshihara Tetsurō's comments on Shimazaki Tōson. In addition, with respect to the way passages in "Today's Musashino" can recall Impressionist painting, see Morimoto Takako, "Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu: 'Koharu' ni okeru 'pikucharesuku' no seijuku," *Shizuoka Daigaku Kyōyōbu kenkyū hōkoku: jinbun, shakai kagakuhen* 26, no. 2 (1990): 106 (also see Morimoto's reference to Sasabuchi Tomoichi on this page).

[27] Nakajima Reiko, "Kawagiri," in *Kunikida Doppo: tanpen shōsetsu no miryoku* (Ōfū, 2000), 35-55, esp. 42-43, also 52. Nakajima draws her points about perspective and grasping scenery through light and shadow from Shinbo's discussion of plein-air influence on Shimazaki Tōson and Doppo (although I am unsure if Shinbo speaks of both points for both writers). Yagi also speaks of *gaikō hyōgen* ("plein-air expression" or "outdoor-light expression") in Doppo's "River Mist." See Yagi's "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino' no shūhen," 90-91.

[28] Kuroda Seiki, "Yōga mondō," interview by Otowa-sei [Ōhashi Otowa], reproduced in *Kuroda Seiki chojutsushū*, ed. Tōkyō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Kikaku Jōhōbu (Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2007), 26-34.

[29] Ibid., 27.

[30] Ibid., 28. Kuroda then remarks in passing that "our paintings are bright." As this statement suggests, the paintings of Kuroda's circle were distinguished by their bright color palette.

[31] Earlier in the interview, when asked about lightness and darkness with respect to the Old School, Kuroda had noted, among other things, how paintings done in the manner of the Old School all have "dark shadows" (or "black shadows"; *kuroi kage*) (ibid., 27).

[32] Ibid., 28-29.

[33] *Sō iu baai o utsushite dō iu tenki guai no toki no dono kurai hi ga irikakatta toki to iu no o kaku no ga kore ga shinpa nan de*.

[34] Ibid., 29. I have also referred to the translation of part of this passage in Wu, "Institutionalizing Impressionism," 136. Parts of this passage are taken up in Ōhiro Noriko, "Masaoka Shiki to Inshōha, Murasakiha: haiku kakushin ni okeru yōga shinpa no isō," *Handai hikaku bungaku* 7 (2013): 100; Tanaka, *Meiji no yōga*, 48; and Shimoyama Hajime, "Kindai Nihon yōga ni miru fūkei hyōgen to sono haikei," in *Tōzai no fūkeiga: Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan kaikan kinenten, Metoroporitan Bijutsukan tokubetsu shuppin*, ed. Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan (Shizuoka, Japan: Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1986), 43.

[35] In considering the politics of Kuroda's statements, I am indebted to the comments of Matsui Takako.

Allow me to supplement Kuroda's characterizations of the training of Old School painters. At the Technical Arts School (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō), where the Italian painter Antonio Fontanesi (1818-82) taught future leaders of the Old School like Koyama Shōtarō and Asai Chū (1856-1907), classes were broken up into lectures and practice (*jitsugi*; see Iseki Masaaki, *Gaka Fontanēji* [Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1984], 184). The curriculum in the latter case proceeded, in very broad strokes, from copying model *dessin* (by Fontanesi) to sketching (*shasei*) (pictures of) plaster figures, human models, and then landscapes. Fontanesi's students produced landscape sketches (*shasei*) both near the school and also far off in Tokyo's suburbs. They also worked with media such as crayon, charcoal, pencil, and, finally, oil. Fontanesi resigned before reaching the third year of the program and his contract, but the curriculum probably would have consisted in producing landscape paintings in oil. I compiled the foregoing points from ibid., 184-87; Aoki Shigeru, *Shizen o utsusu: higashi no sansuiga, nishi no fūkeiga, suisaiga* (Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 46-49; Aoki Shigeru, "Kaisetsu (1)," in *Bijutsu*, ed. Aoki

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Shigeru et. al., Vol. 17 of *Nihon kindai shisō taikei* (Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 464; Kumamoto Kenjirō, *Meiji shoki raichō Itaria bijutsuka no kenkyū* (Sanseidō, 1940), 25-26; and Matsui, *Shasei no hen'yō*, 13, also see 10 and 31. See ibid., 10-13 on the consistencies of the curriculum with those of art schools in Europe.

"The curriculum of the Fudōsha," Matsui explains, "emulated that of the Technical Arts School: beginners started by copying model pictures and then moved on to sketching [*shasei*] plaster figures. They also sketched models and, much as Fontanesi took his students to sketch outside [*yagai shasei*], sketching trips [*shasei ryokō*] were held frequently at the Fudōsha as well" (ibid., 56). On Koyama, the instruction offered at the Fudōsha, and how that instruction passed on Fontanesi's teachings, see ibid., part 1 ch. 2.

[36] Kuroda, "Yōga mondō," 31.

[37] See ibid., 33.

[38] "No more than the wind is the sky an object of perception. It is not something we look *at*. On our walk in the countryside we could see all manner of phenomena, thanks to their illumination by the sunlight. The sky, however, was not something we saw in the light, it was luminosity itself. Just like the feeling of the wind, the light of the sky is experienced as a commingling of the perceiver and the world without which there could be no things to see at all." See Tim Ingold, "Earth, Sky, Wind, and Weather," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13, no. S1 (2007): S29.

[39] Kunikida Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, kōhen*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 7:482.

[40] Yagi, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino' no shūhen," 93. On the date of the exhibition of the White Horse Society, also see Miwa Hideo, Satō Dōshin, and Yamanashi Emiko, "Kaidai," in *Meijiki bijutsu tenrankai shuppin mokuroku*, ed. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Bijutsubu (Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1994), unpaginated. Shinbo Kunihiro, too, discusses Doppo's diary entry in "'Musashino' no shūen," 72. The Japan Painting Association was a *Nihonga* (Japanese-style painting) group.

[41] See Yagi, "Kunikida Doppo 'Musashino' no shūhen," 93. Although it is unclear if this is the moment Yagi is referencing, Ōgai and Chogyū had clashed over the two schools of painting earlier in 1896. See Chogyū taking up the "Southern School" (Nanpa; another name for Kuroda's circle) in several of the brief, consecutive, individually titled entries, starting with "Bungaku to bijutsu to," published in *Taiyō* 2, no. 6 (March 20, 1896): 130-35. Then see Ōgai's response: "Taiyō no garon," in "Shigi no hanegaki," *Mesamashigusa*, no. 4 (April 25, 1896): 13-17. For a useful summary of the arguments raised by both essayists, see Takumi Hideo, "Murasakiha, Yaniha no tairitsu," in *Kindai Nihon yōga no tenkai* (Shōrinsha, 1977), 111-13.

[42] "In the woods, I thought silently, looked around [*kaiko shi*], gazed intently, and looked up and down [*fugyō seri*]. [My] idea for 'Musashino' cohered more and more [*'Musashino' no omoi* (想) *masumasu naru*]." See Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, kōhen*, 7:487 (entry for October 26). "Kaiko" (回顧) also means "reminisce," but I take Doppo to mean "look around" based on his use of related words in "Today's Musashino," where he states, "In my diary entry for October 26, I wrote: I sat deep in the woods and looked in all directions [*shiko* 四顧], listened closely, gazed intently, and thought silently'" (underline added). See Kunikida Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 365 (January 1898): 56-65, quote on 59, and Kunikida Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 366 (February 1898): 109-114. Nakamura Akira notes how, elsewhere in the essay, Doppo uses the word *kaerimite* (顧みて) in the sense of looking back

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behind oneself rather than “recalling” or “reflecting.” See Nakamura’s *Meibun* (Chikuma Shobō, 1979), 79.

[43] See Yagi, “Kunikida Doppo ‘Musashino’ no shūhen,” 93. In addition to the foregoing points, Yagi also comments that “there were of course many works among the pictures in the lineage of the White Horse Society, which placed weight upon [the rendition of] outdoor light, that took their material from suburban nature” (ibid.).

[44] On Nakamura, I have referred to the entry for “Nakamura Katsujirō” in *Nihon jinmei daijiten* (Kōdansha), accessed on July 5, 2022 through JapanKnowledge, http://japanknowledge.com.

[45] The letter, later reproduced in the Society journal *Kōfū*, is available in Kuroda Seiki, *Kaiga no shōrai* (Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1984), 283.

[46] Ashiya, “Doppo ‘Ima no Musashino,’” 234-38, esp. 235-36.

[47] On the relationship between “Pictures” and “The Sadness of Pictures,” see Kitahara, “Kunikida Doppo no shōnen shōsetsu,” 16-21. On the topic of Doppo and painting, also see Yokota, “Doppo to ga, gaka: ‘Ga,’ ‘Kōgai,’ ‘Koharu,’” esp. on the connections between painting and Doppo’s “The Suburbs” and “Mild Late Autumn” with a focus on the Meiji Fine Arts Society and classical or traditional Japanese painting. In addition, see the comments on the painterly manner or effects of the “compositions” as well as coloration in passages of description in Doppo’s “Unforgettable People” (Wasureenu hitobito; 1898) in Yokota’s “‘Fūkei’ kara hito e: ‘Wasureenu hitobito,’” in “Kunikida Doppo no sōsaku taido to hōhō,” section 2-2, also p. 41 (and also see section 2-2 on the description of sound). Finally, on the “painterly” quality of “Mild Late Autumn,” and on “‘painting’” as “a key motif that forms an undercurrent in the first period” of Doppo’s literature (from 1894 to 1901), see Morimoto, “Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu,” 105-6.

[48] Shinbo, “‘Musashino’ no shūen,” 73. Yokota Hajime, too, has observed that Oka was probably the model for the painters in “Mild Late Autumn” and “The Suburbs.” See Yokota, “‘Fūkei’ kara hito e,” 48n55 and Yokota, “Doppo to ga, gaka.”

[49] Oka states, “What we talked about when I visited him one dreary winter day in the fall of 1900, around November, is all written out in ‘Mild Late Autumn.’ At that time, [the technique of] *shasei* was not used as it is now [*shasei nado to iu koto wa ima no yō ni mochiirarete inakatta*], but that work was a true *shasei* [*shinjitsu no shasei*].” See Oka Rakuyō, “Doppo no hansei,” in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 10:233. I was led to this part of Oka’s essay by Shinbo, “‘Musashino’ no shūen,” 73 and 84n19. Note, however, that Oka immediately continues, “It was two or three years later that ‘Mild Late Autumn’ was published [or ‘appeared’; *arawareta*].” It may be worth remarking that Doppo would include “Mild Late Autumn” in the volume *Musashino*, published in March 1901.

[50] Sakamoto, “Doppo nenpyō,” 224-25. For more details regarding Doppo’s stay in Saiki, see Saiki Shishi Hensan Iinkai, ed., “Saiki to Kunikida Doppo,” subsection of *Saiki shishi* (Saiki, Japan: Saiki-shi, 1974), 844-51, esp. 845.

[51] Nakajima addresses this topic in the chapter “Shintaishi to shōsetsu” in *Kunikida Doppo*. See subsection two, “Shōsetsu shikō to sono kokoromi,” esp. pp. 147-54. Given that we will be addressing the topic of “sketching,” I should note that Doppo commented, in a diary entry from June 2, 1893, that he had been reading “Dickens’s *suketchi*” during the morning of the previous day (cited in ibid., 149; for the entry, see Kunikida Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, zenpen*, in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 6:144). “Dickens’s *suketchi*” seems to refer to *Sketches by Boz, Illustrative of Every-day Life and Every-day People* (published in the 1830s) by Charles Dickens

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(1812-70). On the identification of the text, see Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 150. On the content and publication history of Dickens's collection, see Paul Davis, *The Penguin Dickens Companion: The Essential Reference to His Life and Work* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 448. Davis explains that the "sketch" names "a traditional literary form, analogous to the visual art form from which it takes its name; the sketch is usually a short piece describing a character or a place, or evoking a mood." He then elaborates upon Dickens's character sketches. See ibid., 447-48.

[52] Nakajima introduces her quote from the diary by stating that, "furthermore, in the following way, Doppo was also beginning to attempt *shasei* as a concrete step toward [becoming] a 'poet [or "writer"; *shijin*]'" (*Kunikida Doppo*, 147).

[53] Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, zenpen*, 6:102-3, quote on 6:103 (entry for April 16, 1893); also cited in Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 147-48.

[54] Doppo, *Azamukazaru no ki, zenpen*, 6:103; also cited in Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 148. I translate "kokoromishi danwa" as "the conversation I tried having."

[55] Ibid. Elsewhere in her essay, Nakajima suggests that Doppo's short manuscript titled "A Pitiful Child" (Karenji) may be considered a *shasei* (ibid., 156). See Kunikida Doppo, "Karenji," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 10:632-36. The manuscript appears to date from around the end of 1893. Before the title, we find the words, "Begun on November 28, 1893"; after the "Introduction," the words, "As regards the foregoing, I took up the brush on November 28 and finished [*owaru*] on the ninth"; and, at the start of a postscript following section one (the last section), the words, "The foregoing account is something I had already written twenty days ago." For these quotes, also see Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 156. This brief text, "A Pitiful Child," does give the strong impression of being drawn from or based in life, although it contains little in the way of natural description.

[56] Specifically, Nakajima writes that such observations (by Doppo) are "well known" (ibid., 150). While in Saiki, Doppo would encounter what he called "stories" (*monogatari*) all about him (see ibid., 155 and 182; also see endnote 72 below). For more on Doppo's frequent walks while in Saiki, see Saiki Shishi Hensan Iinkai, "Saiki to Kunikida Doppo," esp. 846-47.

[57] In fictional and critical texts, Doppo wrote of a narrator's or of his own immersion in Wordsworth's writings while in Saiki. See, for example, "Mild Late Autumn" [Koharu; 1900], in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, esp. 2:296; "How Did I Become a Novelist?" [Ware wa ika ni shite shōsetsuka to narishi ka; 1907], in ibid., 1:497; "Mysterious Great Nature (Wordsworth's Naturalism and Me)" [Fukashigi naru daishizen (Wāzuwāsu no shizen shugi to yo); 1908], in ibid., 1:540; and "View of Art" [Geijutsukan], in *Byōshōroku*, ed. Mayama Seika (Shinchōsha, 1908), 133, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/889233. The posthumously published *Byōshōroku* (Deathbed Record) was transcribed by Mayama Seika and Nakamura Murao.

[58] Doppo, "Koharu," 2:300.

[59] Ibid., 2:300-1.

[60] Ibid., 2:301.

[61] Shortly before this line, Shinbo had observed how Doppo "attempted a comparison of the *suketchi* of the painter and the *suketchi* of the poet" in this story ("'Musashino' no shūen," 72).

I should state that the two words *suketchi* and *shasei* were not necessarily or always synonymous in the Meiji period. *Shasei* often connoted a transcriptive copy of a subject whereas *suketchi* often suggested an abbreviated, "incomplete" work. However, the historical relation between these two terms is a topic that requires further research. For an important study of the

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two words, see Matsui Takako's seminal essay, "Suketchi to shasei: bijutsu yōgo kara bungaku yōgo e" [*Suketchi* and *Shasei*: From an Artistic Term to a Literary Term], in *Shasei no hen'yō*, 113-35. In the case of Doppo's text, too, *suketchi* arguably connotes an "incomplete work," but my concern in this chapter lies in how those *suketchi* are "drawn from life."

[62] Morimoto, "Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 111. See ibid., 110-12 on Koyama and "I."

[63] Doppo, "Koharu," 2:296.

[64] Morimoto, "Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 136. Morimoto's essay takes up two texts by Doppo and Wordsworth: "Mild Late Autumn" and "Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey, On Revisiting the Banks of the Wye During a Tour, July 13, 1798," respectively. Doppo's story, which itself contains a rough translation of "Lines," takes inspiration from and plays off of Wordsworth's poem. Morimoto identifies a movement in the two texts from an outward-looking gaze upon "picturesque beauty" toward an inward-looking gaze proper to "the picturesque eye." This eye actively reformulates perceived scenery through the operation of the viewing subject's imagination (see esp. ibid., 127). In the context of picturesque aesthetics, such an eye works to synthesize "picturesque beauty," which is defined by its incoherent variety and intricacy, into a single coherent picture (see esp. ibid., 135). For Morimoto, the passage of "Mild Late Autumn" that I just quoted regarding Wordsworth and *shajitsu* expresses Doppo's answer, presented through Wordsworth, to the "contradiction of portraying 'picturesque beauty' while having attained the subjectivity [*shutaisei*] of 'the picturesque eye.'" That answer is, not to transcribe each and every natural form, but rather to approach the "'essence'" (*"shinzui"*) of things. Resituated in the context of picturesque aesthetics, this answer could be extended to (or "elaborated upon as"; *fuen*) "unifying [the landscape] around a focal point [*chūshinten*] without being enthralled by [its] intricacy" (ibid., 136).

[65] Situating Doppo's story in relation to the aesthetics of the picturesque, Morimoto proposes the "rough sketch" as a framework for thinking through the method of natural description currently employed by the story's narrator (ibid., 136-37). In the process, she cites a passage by William Gilpin (1724-1804), a key theorist of the picturesque. There may be some confusion in her argument between verbal description (as referred to in Gilpin's passage) and *pictorial* sketching, and then regarding whether the process of reworking a portrayal of landscape over time should be considered as falling *within* the purview of a rough sketch (rather than as occurring subsequent to the execution of an initial sketch, or as being distinct from rough sketching). However, Morimoto's references in her discussion of the "rough sketch" to "the power of recollection" and the way "memory and imagination freely make modifications to the landscape" have been crucial to my reading of Doppo's story. In trying to make sense of sketching, the imagination, and picturesque theory, I have referred to Wendelin A. Guentner, "British Aesthetic Discourse, 1780-1830: The Sketch, the *Non Finito*, and the Imagination," *Art Journal* 52, no. 2 (1993): 40-47. I have also referred to Katayama Mamiko's reading of the same passage from Gilpin that Morimoto quotes in Katayama Mamiko, "Wordsworth to 'the picturesque' no shinbikan: William Gilpin to no hikaku ni oite," *Kōbe ronsō*, no. 15 (1985): 52, also see 50-54. In addition, see the preface by Gilpin from which Morimoto and Katayama quote: preface to Vol. 1 of *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, On Several Parts of England; Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* (London: Printed for R. Blamire, Strand, 1786), v-xxxi (quote on p. v), available through HathiTrust Digital Library. On the topic of the rough sketch, Morimoto (p. 148n42, also p.

144n13) cites Katayama as well as Anzai Shin'ichi, "Pikucharesuku no bigaku riron: Girupin, Puraisu, Naito o megutte," *Bigaku* 40, no. 2 (1989): 36-49, see esp. 38, also 41-42 and 43.
[66] Morimoto argues that the narrator's sketches in Saiki are "extracted and thrown away" along with the "landscapes of a sort that an 'unskilled painter' would draw'" ("Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 112). (In the story, "I" and Koyama do indeed converse about such landscapes, and "I," one could argue, ultimately turns away from [the portrayal of] those landscapes; see Morimoto for more.) Morimoto comments with respect to one of the narrator's sketches of Saiki that "the subject is opening himself ['opening his body'; *mi o hiraite*] to all [these things] and transcribing them" (ibid., 110). "Mild Late Autumn" ends, by contrast, with a "convergence" or funneling of the landscape "inside" the narrator; that funneled landscape marks "the maturation of the 'picturesque eye'" (quotes on ibid., 131; also see ibid., 110).
[67] Kunikida Doppo, "Yoga sakuhin to jijitsu," *Bunshō sekai* 2, no. 10 (1907): 18; also see Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 69 on this same point.
[68] See Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 139-47 both on how, judging from early entries in *An Honest Record* (1893-97), *shi* 詩 meant "literature in general" for Doppo, and also on how this understanding of *shi* accorded with that held more widely in this period.
[69] Doppo, "Yoga sakuhin to jijitsu," 20.
[70] Judging from Katayama Mamiko's essay "Wordsworth to 'the picturesque' no shinbikan," 52-53, this idea finds parallels in statements by Gilpin and Wordsworth. Again, also see Morimoto's essay, "Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu."
[71] "What occasioned the discovery of 'the path to attaining true poetry'—that is, what [led to] the projection of the 'self' onto '*shaseibun*' and raised [the writing] to fictionalized language—was nothing other than lyric poetry." See Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 196, also see 192-97. Note that Nakajima argues that Doppo's work with and practice in prose composition just prior to and during his time in Saiki did not bear fruit in the form of novel writing. See, e.g., ibid., 159 and also 182-83.
[72] Doppo had searched for or encountered what he called "poetic materials" and "stories" (*monogatari*) around him in Saiki as well as Yamaguchi (see, e.g., ibid., 151, 155, 182). He did so, I gather, in the years 1893 to 1894. Doppo's thinking about "poetic materials"—about the significance of and the basis for selecting such "poetic materials" and about what constitutes "poetry" and "the poet"—is a complex topic that intersects strongly with Doppo's philosophical thought. See Masuda Michizō, "Kunikida Doppo no 'shiryō' ni tsuite," *Shizen shugi bungaku*, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai (Yūseidō Shuppan, 1975), 13-29; also see ibid., 13-14 on "monogatari." The key for our purposes is that Doppo appears to have located such poetic materials in human life and in nature, and in this sense, in the "world."
[73] Nakajima, *Kunikida Doppo*, 189.
[74] Itō, "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," 217.
[75] Kunikida Doppo, "Shizen o utsusu bunshō," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:488.
[76] Ibid., 1:488-89.
[77] Timothy Morton, *Ecology Without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 41-43.
[78] Doppo, "Shizen o utsusu bunshō," 1:489.
[79] Itō, "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," 216.
[80] Ibid.

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[81] I am raising a conceptual point in response to the essays I have just cited. I am *not* claiming that every one of Doppo's writings is based in "fact" or that every part of each work has a basis in "fact." Doppo's talk "My Works and Fact" already clarifies that neither of these claims holds water.

[82] Doppo and Oka Rakuyō, the model for the painter Koyama in "Mild Late Autumn," seem to have grown close or particularly close only from around 1899-1900, although they had known each other for years. Consequently, Doppo's thinking about the verbal and pictorial expression of nature may not have been quite as developed at the time he composed and then published "Today's Musashino," which includes his cloud description.

One can reconstruct a rough timeline of Doppo and Oka's friendship from the following essays by Oka on Doppo: "Doppo-shi ga shōgai no hanmen: koi no Kunikida Doppo; shizen no dainaru kanka" [1908], in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 10:208-212; "Doppo no hansei" [1908], 10:231-35; "Kunikida Doppo no shinpen," *Nippon kosho tsūshin* 20, no. 8 (1955): 1-4; and "Doppo no omoide," *Nippon kosho tsūshin* 21, no. 8 (1956): 7-9. Compare "Doppo-shi ga shōhai no hanmen," 10:208, which indicates that Oka first met Doppo when Doppo returned home for a "conscription examination" at age twenty-one, with Shioda Ryōhei [*kōetsu*] and Kawagishi Michiko [*hen*], "Kunikida Doppo nenpu," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 10:29, which gives the date of Doppo's "conscription examination" in the year 1891, at age twenty-one (this is assuming Doppo was age one in 1871, the year he was born).

[83] I build off Morimoto, who, in the context of her own argument, positions the essay at a point of transition between "picturesque beauty" and "the picturesque eye" (see "Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 142).

[84] See endnote 64 above.

[85] Also see my reference to Noyama Kashō on the diary entries in Chapter Two, endnote 120.

[86] Morimoto identifies a struggle between "picturesque beauty" and "the picturesque eye" in this passage, which "just barely synthesizes the intertwining light and shadow into a single canvas" ("Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 141-42). Further above, I cited a passage of "Mild Late Autumn" in which the narrator speaks of how a complex nature sometimes "overwhelms" Koyama. Referring to part of the passage, Morimoto writes that "we can say [the lines] grasp 'picturesque beauty' and 'the picturesque eye' as being in a relation of competition, a kind of relation of opposition" (ibid., 134).

[87] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 57; also see Morimoto, "Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 106. In translating this and the next two diary entries, I have referred to and drawn upon both David G. Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," in *River Mist and Other Stories by Kunikida Doppo* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982), 98-100 and also Takahashi Kazutomo, "Wabun eiyaku sakurei: Musashino nikki; Kunikida Doppo," parts one and two, in *Eigo seinen*, vol. 62, no. 9 (February 1, 1930): 19 and vol. 62, no. 10 (February 15, 1930): 17-18.

[88] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 57.

[89] Ibid., 58; translation adapted from Chibbett, trans., "Musashino," 100.

[90] For example, references to diary entries can be found in later sections. Conversely, more "generalized" natural description is interspersed among the diary entries in section two (I thank Ashikawa Takayuki for his comments on this topic). In brief, the contrast I am drawing between section two and the later sections is one of degree rather than total opposition.

[91] Morimoto locates a relatively mature "picturesque eye" in the longer passage ("Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 142).

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[92] According to Morimoto's analysis of a longer passage that includes these lines, the writer's "walk [*hokō*] is something being traced back through in memory . . . . The time that governs each space [in the passage] is entirely separate; the seasons are, respectively, 'the time when the rice plants ripen,' [when] 'the radish fields are in bloom,' and [when] 'the sprouts of wheat' are 'verdant.' We might say that, within a single picture, time passes steadily from fall to winter. If this is so, then even while [the passage] seems just like something that transcribes the scenery of a single place, [what it describes] is not the landscape before the eye as such. [The passage] could probably be called a landscape painting qua a vision, produced by combining [the landscapes'] essences in memory" (ibid., 107).
[93] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 62; also see Morimoto, "Doppoteki fūkei no seiritsu," 106.
[94] Ibid., 107.
[95] If we look outside the text, however, we find that the entries are only roughly based on Doppo's own diary. See Chapter Two, endnote 120.
[96] I draw this point, somewhat modified, from Sasaki Masanobu, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," in *Doppo to Sōseki: hanshinron no chihei* (Kanrin Shobō, 2005), 46. Looking outside the text, however, reveals that the anecdote is in fact linked to the content of Doppo's diary, *An Honest Record*. See, e.g., Fujii, annotations to "Musashino," 48n1 as well as Akasaka, *Musashino o yomu*, 129-36. Also see, in this connection, the argument by Komori Yōichi discussed in endnote 108 below.
[97] In the autobiography, Kokki records that he moved to (what is now) part of Shinjuku in Tokyo at the end of 1900. The "vestiges of Musashino" still remained in this general region, and provided excellent topics for painting: "At around that time, Kunikida Doppo published a collection of assorted essays called *Musashino*. Much of it skillfully presented passes through Musashino [武藏野の野越]. The woods, the streams, the forests of zelkova trees, the rows of pines, and so on: Doppo aesthetically observed [*biteki ni kansatsu shita*] the changes in the four seasons of such nature. We read his short compositions [*tanbun*] and even felt they were outstanding pictures written in letters." See Miyake Kokki, *Omoiizuru mama* (Kōdaisha, 1938), 218-19. (I have been unable to determine the exact meaning of 武藏野の野越, which I translate as "passes through Musashino.") Mori Yoshinori also cites this passage of Kokki's autobiography in "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (7): shizen o meguru bungakushatachi to no kōryū, dainikai toō, kikokugo no kyakkō to suisaiga būmu," *Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, no. 19 (2018): 6. On Kokki's move and the location of his new home, see ibid., 4-5 and, in Kokki's diary *Omoiizuru mama*, pp. 215, 218. For corroborating evidence that Kokki was reading *Musashino* circa 1901, see Oka Rakuyō, "Meiji Taishō no bunshi-mura: Ōkubo," *Nippon kosho tsūshin* 21, no. 6 (1956): 3.
[98] Sasaki Masanobu also discusses Doppo's use of the present tense in section six of "Today's Musashino" ("'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," 46).
[99] *Sora wa mushiatsui kumo ga wakiidete.*
[100] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 109.
[101] For more on Doppo's painterly description, see Itō Shukundo's discussion of how the natural description of "Today's Musashino" leverages the painterly technique of "perspective" (*enkinhō*) in "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," 220-19. Also see ibid., 215 on this topic, on the landscape description's movement back and forth between part and whole (a point from which I take inspiration here), and on how "the very structure of the writing is [composed in] the way of

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establishing the composition of a painting" (*bunshō no kōsei jitai ga kaiga no kōzu no torikata de*).

[102] In thinking through such "comparisons," I have found loose, roundabout inspiration in Michael Baxandall's quite distinct discussion of "comparison words." Drawing comparisons, Baxandall explains, is one way we may "frame our sense of the effect," here of a picture on a beholder, in "secondarily indirect ways," as in, e.g., "columnar" drapery. See Baxandall's "Introduction: Language and Explanation," in *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 6.

[103] Richard Freeborn explains that Turgenev first published the tales later collected in *Notes of a Hunter* in a journal between 1847 and 1851. The texts were then "published for the first time in a separate edition" in 1852 (Turgenev added additional tales years later). Turgenev composed most of the tales "while he was outside Russia between 1847 and 1851, either while travelling in Europe or during a period spent on the Viardot estate of Courtavenel outside Paris." See Richard Freeborn, introduction to *Sketches from a Hunter's Album*, by Ivan Turgenev, trans. Richard Freeborn (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), 7 and 9-10.

[104] Cynthia Marsh, "Turgenev and Corot: An Analysis of the Comparison," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 61, no. 1 (1983): 110. Marsh offers a detailed reading of a passage in another story in Turgenev's collection. She contends, "By working through the verbal medium of his text on the visual sense of his reader, and by employing the aural devices of language to reinforce the visual appeal, Turgenev creates the effect of viewing a painting. It is an accomplished example of compositional synaesthesia" (ibid., 115; see Marsh's essay on "compositional synaesthesia"). For more in this vein, see the brief remarks on Turgenev's volume, Turgenev's being in Paris, and the plein-airists (*gaikōha*) in Suzuki Sadami, *Nikki de yomu Nihon bunkashi* (Heibonsha, 2016), 219 (Suzuki, too, refers to Corot). Also see Suzuki's *Nihonjin no shizenkan* (Sakuhinsha, 2018), 610-11.

[105] On the meaning and translation of the title *Zapiski okhotnika*, see Freeborn, introduction to *Sketches from a Hunter's Album*, 7.

[106] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 58-59. I take parts of the translation from Constance Garnett, trans., "The Tryst," in Constance Garnett, trans., Vol. 2 of *A Sportsman's Sketches*, by Ivan Turgenev (New York: MacMillan, 1920), 92. Garnett's translation of Turgenev's passage reads, "The sky was at one time overcast with soft white clouds, at another it suddenly cleared in parts for an instant, and then behind the parting clouds could be seen a blue, bright and tender as a beautiful eye" (ibid.).

[107] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 109.

[108] Komori Yōichi asserts as follows when contrasting the description of the Koganei area in "Today's Musashino," which mobilizes Turgenev's literary style, with that in an earlier entry in Doppo's diary, *An Honest Record*: "It is not that 'natural description' was transformed through the appearance of an ingenious person who bore an entirely new sensibility vis-à-vis external nature. To the contrary, through the creation of an entirely new [mode of] linguistic expression regarding nature, matters [or 'objects'; *taishō*] that until then had not, in experience, been felt to be beautiful came to appear beautiful, and came to be seen as worthy of being expressed in words. If Turgenev's *Notes of a Hunter* had not been translated by Futabatei Shimei, presumably no one would have paid attention to something like the beauty of 'the places where the clouds touch the blue sky,' and no one would have even thought to express it in words" ("'Yuragi' to shite no kindai sanbun," in *"Yuragi" no Nihon bungaku* [Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1998],

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38; also see ibid., 32 on Doppo's narrator's claim that the writing in "Aibiki" allowed him to understand the "beauty" of the deciduous woods). Komori's comments are incisive and important, although I would also add that we must distinguish, even while recognizing a mediated and salient connection, between what had not been felt as beautiful in living, real-world experience and what had not been expressed as beautiful in writing or experienced, within a world represented in a text, as beautiful. My own approach to this issue is to ask how "Aibiki" conditioned, not only the mode of expression employed in "Today's Musashino," but also the kind of perceptual attunement to clouds that is staged in the essay.

[109] Suzuki, *Nihonjin no shizenkan*, 525.

[110] Ibid. It is possible that keywords in this translation should be rendered differently. See ibid., 711 for "*enerugī ichigenron*" (lit., "energy monism") as "energetics," and ibid., 754 (in the index) for "*seimei shugi* (*seimei genri shugi*)" as "Life-centrism" (but also see ibid., 107 for "*vaitarizumu* [vitalism]" restated parenthetically as "*seimei genri shugi, seimei shugi*").

[111] Ibid., 561.

[112] Ibid., 561-62. On a distinct but related note, see ibid., 608-9 on Doppo, "Today's Musashino" (and *Musashino*), and the beginnings of "expression that takes in the notion" of "universal life" in the vein of Carlyle and John Ruskin. On Wang Yangming (1472-1528), see ibid., 290-91 *et seq*.

[113] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 109.

[114] See Morimoto Takako, who cites most of the cloud description in "Today's Musashino" that I have broken up into three quotations, in "'Kumo' o meguru essei: 'Musashino' o yomu tame ni," *Shizuoka kindai bungaku* 5 (1990): 26-32, esp. 26-27.

[115] See Komori, "'Yuragi' to shite no kindai sanbun," esp. 29-42.

[116] See Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," 40-49.

[117] Ibid., 44.

[118] Komori, "'Yuragi' to shite no kindai sanbun," 38; also see Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," 44 for almost the entire quote.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid. The words "a free, uninhibited energy" bear emphasis marks in Sasaki's quotation of Doppo's text. Note that these words do not bear emphasis marks in the original 1898 version of Doppo's essay but do bear such marks in the 1901 version. For the latter version, see Kunikida Doppo, "Musashino," in *Musashino* (Min'yūsha, 1901), 29, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/888366. There are also emphasis marks on these words in Kunikida Doppo, "Musashino," in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 1:79.

[121] Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," 49n5. The endnote is to a longer sentence that includes the entire foregoing block quote.

[122] "Recollection" (*sōki*) is a focal point of Morimoto's argument regarding the "maturation" of the "the picturesque eye" that I have been unable to address adequately in this chapter.

[123] Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," 47. I have not engaged here with Sasaki's analysis of Doppo's thinking regarding "amazement" (*kyōi*), a central topic in Sasaki's argument and in Doppo's philosophical thought. Sasaki also addresses some of the issues he brings up in his analysis of the sixth section of Doppo's essay, such as the gap between perceptual experience and its retrospective verbal evocation, in his chapter on the essay's second and third sections: "'Musashino' o yomu: mazu ni, sanshō o megutte," in *Doppo to Sōseki*, ch. 1, 7-34, esp. see 28-31.

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[124] Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," 47.

[125] Beyond this anecdote, with its robustly embodied narrator, much of "Today's Musashino" consists of more generalized natural description that is not necessarily wedded to a specified perceiver. Yet, as I explained in Chapter One, the text also leaves little doubt that its descriptions are to be understood as being based upon the perceiver-narrator's experiences in the suburbs. Thus, we find neither full coincidence nor full disconnection among perceiver, word, and world.

[126] Doppo, "Ima no Musashino," 109-10.

[127] I take the point about "melting" together from Sasaki, "'Musashino' o yomu: rokushō o megutte," 45. I cited Sasaki's argument on this topic at the end of Chapter Two.

[128] Setting "memory" aside for a moment, while we may infer that "imagination" informed the cloud description, we cannot definitively say *when* that imagination was operative: during the initial walk in Koganei, during the final moment of expression, or during the period in-between. In all cases, however, that imagination was not entirely free-floating but rather was yoked, to some extent, to the (previously) perceived world, i.e., to the (previously) perceived object of imaginative description. I made an analogous argument in the Introduction and again in Chapter Five.

Chapter Seven

Shimazaki Tōson's "Clouds," I:
John Ruskin and Verbal Painting

Shimazaki Tōson published the essay "Clouds" (Kumo) in August 1900.[1] Tōson had left Tokyo the previous year to take up a teaching position in the rural town of Komoro in the mountainous Shinano (Nagano) region. While there, he "made it a regular practice," as he writes in "Clouds," to "record in my notebook the views over time of the clouds and haze [*un'en*] floating here [in Komoro]."[2] Tōson may have been encouraged in this endeavor by the texts on clouds recently published by Masaoka Shiki.[3] He may have also been acting on a more general desire to hone his skills in natural observation and prose description.[4] The content of "Clouds" itself, however, suggests at least two other pertinent influences upon Tōson's cloud studies.[5] The first was his encounter with John Ruskin's treatise *Modern Painters*, which outlines a typology of cloud types and examines the rendition of clouds in Western landscape painting. The second was Tōson's lifelong engagement with visual art and, in particular, his exposures to Western-style painting and painters in the 1890s.

This chapter examines how Tōson's exposures to Ruskin's treatise and to Western-style painting conditioned his verbal descriptions of clouds from life in the essay "Clouds." By descriptions "from life," I mean descriptions voiced by Tōson's first-person observer-narrator of the clouds perceived by that narrator on particular days over the past year within the world represented in the text. I specify as much because, as I indicated in the Introduction, this dissertation does not directly equate first-person narrators with the actual authors of landscape texts. Nor does it directly equate worlds represented in texts with the extra-textual world. While respectively related to living authors and the extra-textual world in important if ultimately indefinable ways, narrators and worlds represented in texts must be treated on their own terms. This point holds for "Clouds," too, even though "Clouds" is, generically speaking, more or less an autobiographical essay concerning Tōson's cloud studies in Komoro.

The descriptions of clouds "from life" in Tōson's essay, I will argue, generate the rhetorical effect of "transcribing," of verbally "copying," the clouds previously perceived by the narrator. They do so even as they simultaneously generate and fashion those clouds in language.[6] Tōson achieves the rhetorical effect of transcription by implementing a type of "analytical" cloud description shaped by his readings of Ruskin and by his knowledge of painting. Such analytical description, I will show, disaggregates and then verbally collates the previously perceived colors, textures, and shapes of clouds. In so doing, it registers those clouds in language.

This chapter's analysis of such verbal registration proceeds in two parts. In the first, I demonstrate how Ruskin's *Modern Painters* generally stimulated the cloud observations recorded in "Clouds" by directing Tōson's, or rather his narrator's, attention toward the sky. I then show how the narrator incorporates meteorological knowledge accessed through Ruskin's treatise—specifically, Ruskin's cloud typology—into "analytical" cloud description. In the second part of the chapter, I argue that Tōson's cloud descriptions were also influenced by his lifelong investment in visual art and by his exposures to Western-style painting and painters in the 1890s. These exposures included Tōson's dialogues with the watercolorist Miyake Kokki, who resided in Komoro from 1899 to 1900. Tōson's various engagements with the visual arts, I contend, familiarized him with the pictorial practice of drawing from life (*shasei*) as well as, more broadly, the vocabulary and techniques of painting. They further shaped the distinct focus in "Clouds" upon the observation and description of, in particular, the colors of clouds.[7] Taken together, the two parts of this chapter trace what this dissertation calls a constellation of landscape: a series of historically contingent relations among perceiver (Tōson's observer-narrator), picture (painting), word (descriptive language), and world (clouds).

Before proceeding, a few provisos are in order. First, in an effort to clarify how and why Tōson's writing creates the rhetorical effect of registering visible forms (clouds) in language, this chapter extracts a number of discrete verbal descriptions of clouds from the chronological narrative presented in the essay "Clouds." I will return to that narrative in the next chapter. This chapter, however, will focus instead upon the intersections of Tōson's cloud descriptions with Ruskin's treatise and with visual art, especially Western-style painting.

Second, while I will analyze these intersections in detail, I am not suggesting that they were the *only* factors that bore upon Tōson's cloud studies. One must also consider, for instance, the climatic and topographical properties of the Komoro area, as the narrator himself does in the following lines near the beginning of the essay. Perhaps he is channeling the natural-scientific stance of Ruskin or even the geographer Shiga Shigetaka (see Chapter Four):

> Komoro is in the county [*gun*] of Kitasaku that lies along the Chikumagawa river. There are five advantages to viewing the clouds here. One is that there is little rainfall from spring through fall. One is that it [Komoro] is three thousand *shaku* [about nine hundred meters] above sea level, its height being just about the same as that of the peak of Mt. Tsukuba. One is that, to the northeast, it nestles against the side of the belt of mountains about Asama. One is that the air is clear. One is that it is located on a high plateau and the sky is wide open.[8]

The last proviso concerns the relation between Tōson's cloud descriptions and those composed by his contemporaries Tokutomi Roka and Kunikida Doppo. In Chapters Five and Six, I argued that Roka's and Doppo's cloud descriptions feature multiple "descriptive tendencies," ways of verbally articulating the relations among perceiver, world, and word as well as picture. These include describing from life ("transcribing" the world as previously perceived by an observer-narrator); describing the feeling (expressing the sensuous and affective experience of the world, or again, expressing that world as thus experienced); and describing forces or totalities (Roka) or energies (Doppo) that are tied to or manifested by, but that are not necessarily reducible to, discrete sensible forms. However, this chapter primarily explores the way Tōson's narrator "describes from life" by verbalizing his perceptions of clouds at discrete moments in the past. I concentrate on this descriptive tendency in an effort to account for the wealth of historical evidence that suggests how Tōson's exposures to Ruskin and to painting shaped his verbal descriptions of clouds from life. I also concentrate on this tendency because "Clouds" really does exhibit a strong orientation toward "transcribing" the previously perceived world.

Nevertheless, other descriptive tendencies do surface in Tōson's essay. For instance, within the world represented in the text, the kind of metaphorical and imaginative description found in the following passage is inextricable from the narrator's sensuous and affective experiences of clouds. (This description was also conditioned by Tōson's knowledge of Western music; he had briefly studied piano and violin at the Tokyo School of Music [Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō] in 1898[9]). Note that Tōson draws the language of cloud "regions" from John Ruskin, to whom I return below:

> During the entire summer last year, it was rare for cirrus clouds to gather together and please my eyes with their colors and forms as they did on this evening. In particular, beneath the first region's orderly rows of clouds, the uninhibited and overflowing [汪蕩] clouds of the second region drifted about, so I compared the former to the clear [sound] of what musicians call the soprano range [*kōon*] and analogized the latter to the deep [sound] of the tenor range [*jichūon*]; moreover, high and low responded to and conformed with one another, and I even found myself feeling [*kokochi mo serareki*] like they entered into marvelous harmony.[10]

Another descriptive tendency—what could be called "describing 'life'"—peaks through in the following portion of the narrator's description of the clouds that he viewed at dusk on July 26 (1899). Here, the clouds seem to "live" and "breathe":

> Because they were accompanied by the brilliant light of the setting sun, the clouds all seemed to be living [*ikite*] and to be breathing the air of the atmosphere [*taiki o kokyū suru ga gotoku*], and I found myself wondering if it were not just as though the whole sky were in a state [or "domain"; *iki* 域] of great passion [*takaki jōnetsu*]. I thought of how, even if they had a brush, a painter probably would not transcribe such a scene [*kore o ba utsusaji*]; of how, even if they had phrases [or "verses"; *ku*], a poet probably would not versify [*utawaji*] such a scene; and I was shocked to find how it in fact seemed foolish that [I] had spoken of enjoying the view with respect to the activity of nature—[activity] that human power cannot approach [*jinriki no chikazukumajiki shizen no katusdō ni, nagame-tanoshimu to iwan wa mushiro oroka ni nitaru o odorokinu*].[11]

In analyzing this passage, one might highlight how the narrator invokes a sort of airborne "vitality," as Itō Kazuo puts it, after having verbalized the brilliant colors of stratus clouds.[12] Alternatively, one might suggest that these lines present the clouds as being "alive" in the sense of being struck by the sunlight, perhaps being moved along by the wind, not so much manifesting life as being "*in* life, caught up in a current of continual generation."[13] Indeed, the clouds surely participate in what the narrator calls the "activity of nature" (*shizen no katsudō*). In any case, I would argue that there is something more at work in the foregoing passage than the verbal transcription of perceived form alone. There is a gesture toward the "life," or "lives," of clouds and nature (*shizen*).

Notwithstanding the presence of these other descriptive tendencies in Tōson's essay, however, there is little doubt that "Clouds" is distinguished by its "transcriptive" verbalizations of previously perceived forms (clouds). As I will now show, the narrator's very impulse to describe clouds in this way, and to observe the clouds at all, owed much to the work of John Ruskin.

Ruskin, Convention, and Cloud Description

Analyzing the cloud descriptions in "Clouds" necessitates some understanding of how Ruskin's treatise *Modern Painters* stimulated and shaped Tōson's study of clouds at the turn of the twentieth century. Although it is unclear when Tōson first read Ruskin's treatise, Tōson's writings attest to his engagement with *Modern Painters* in the 1890s.[14] The opening lines of

"Clouds" signal that Tōson's narrator, too, took inspiration from the treatise in pursuing his cloud studies in Komoro from 1899:

> When I left the capital for Shinano [the region where Komoro is located] in April last year [1899], I stowed the five volumes of *Modern Painters* in my trunk. There are not a few travelogues for the lonely traveler to take as companions when wandering about mountains and fields of pure water and verdant grass. The same is true of collections of poetry. But how could any equal those five volumes [of *Modern Painters*] as aids when carefully studying a single landscape [*hitotsu no sansui o kenkyū suru no tayori*] while staying in a single place for one year? When traveling, one keenly feels changes in the seasons. Thinking of the clouds and haze that I viewed in the morning and gazed upon at night, I determined to learn something about [this] part of nature. In this, I was, in fact, spurred by that deceased man's [Ruskin's] efforts.[15]

Unpacking the nature of this "spurring" helps clarify the context in which Tōson's narrator undertook the cloud studies that he presents through his verbal descriptions of the skies in "Clouds." Perhaps most fundamentally, this spurring consisted in directing the narrator's attention toward clouds overhead in Komoro. It also consisted, I will argue, in encouraging the narrator to critique "common" and, perhaps, "conventional" conceptions of clouds, including his own.

Early in "Clouds," the narrator summarizes Ruskin's altitude-based typology of cloud regions: the upper region of cirrus, the central region of stratus, and the lower region of rain cloud. He then reflects that, "looking back, I had previously had not a few opportunities to focus my attention on clouds" (*kaerimireba kumo ni tsukite waga kokoro o yosubeki kikai mo sukunakarazariki*).[16] There were clouds to be found, for instance, in an extensive range of earlier media such as old paintings, statues, textile designs, pictures on lacquerware, volumes of poetry and prose, and more. In those cases,

> artists stood between nature and me; portrayed the appearance [*omomuki*] of clouds and haze, difficult to grasp, in easily accessible art [*miyasuki geijutsu*]; and, whether by brush or by chisel, taught a great deal. But my comprehension of knowledge [*chishiki*] regarding clouds was extremely delayed and immature. Until I read [Ruskin's] treatise on landscape painting, I was satisfied while looking up at clouds by a vague pleasure [*oboroge naru kankyō*]. At the time, clouds and haze were merely like poetry written in the words of a foreign language that I did not know. I first turned my heart-mind to clouds upon hearing Ruskin's translation [*ware wa Rasukin no tsūben o kikite, hajimete kokoro o kumo ni katamukenu*].[17]

One could argue that these lines recount the narrator's "discovery" of clouds. That is, one could interpret these lines as testifying to the way Ruskin's treatise wrought an epistemological rupture that unveiled the "actual" clouds to the narrator from behind the cloak of mediating knowledge, or rather, that brought those clouds into being for the narrator *as* objects of knowledge. I will argue below that this view requires significant qualification. Here, however, I want to explore how and why it is that "Clouds" exhibits a distinct and explicit concern, strongly informed by Ruskin's writing, to buck "conventional" or otherwise mediated approaches to and conceptions of clouds.[18] This concern merits close consideration because it suggests that "Clouds" does indeed mark a certain transformation, although not a *break* (as "discovery" implies), in the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world (cloud) in the late-Meiji period. It was a transformation catalyzed by Ruskin's treatise.

Take, for example, the passage from Ruskin's *Modern Painters* that Tōson's narrator quotes in translation at the end of "Clouds." The passage serves as a kind of summation of the outcome of the narrator's cloud studies over the past year. "Ruskin," he remarks, "stated as follows in ridiculing painters of the classical age" (I take the following English from *Modern Painters*, although one can find disparities between it and the translation in "Clouds"):

> Their ["the old masters'"] idea of clouds was altogether similar; more or less perfectly carried out, according to their power of hand and accuracy of eye, but universally the same in conception. It was the idea of a comparatively small, round, puffed-up white body, irregularly associated with other round and puffed-up white bodies, each with a white light side, and a grey dark side, and a soft reflected light, floating a great way below a blue dome. Such is the idea of a cloud formed by most people; it is the first, general, uncultivated notion of what we see every day. People think of the clouds as about as large as they look; forty yards over, perhaps; they see generally that they are solid bodies subject to the same laws as other solid bodies, roundish, whitish, and apparently suspended a great way under a high blue concavity. So that these ideas be tolerably given with smooth paint, they are content, and call it nature.[19]

Tōson's narrator then exclaims, "Oh, after spending a year [on the subject], I have just barely come to understand the bitterness of Ruskin's derisive words."[20] In short, the narrator synopsizes his year of cloud studies by stating that, through those studies, he has come to understand the meaning of Ruskin's excoriations of classical pictorial uniformity or convention, of common ways of perceiving and knowing clouds, and of a common standard of or taste for depictions of "nature" (clouds).[21]

These excoriations resonate with, and perhaps bear some connection to, the narrator's auto-critical evaluations of his own thinking about and approach to studying clouds. Indeed, one of the real complexities of "Clouds" is that, even in the process of recounting his early cloud studies in July 1899—cloud studies in which, as I will show, he finely dissects clouds' forms and colors—the narrator also critiques those very cloud studies as being elementary and, we might say, "conventional."[22] In a sense, through these critiques, the narrator signals his own progression over time toward a more "cultivated notion of what we see every day" (i.e., of clouds). He does so from the standpoint of the present moment of narration in August 1900, which postdates what he calls a "complete change" in his "thinking and feeling" regarding clouds. This change, as I illustrate in the next chapter, involves abjuring an exclusive focus on "form" and "color" in the study of clouds.

Consider the narrator's comments after his description of the clouds seen on July 25 but before his description of the clouds witnessed at sunset on July 26 and July 27:

> For a person who has mastered savoring clouds [*kumo o ajiwau koto no itareru hito*], it would be shameful [*hazuru*] to choose to speak of such [aspects of clouds as] strange forms, simple outlines, and vibrant colors. However, it is surely the case that, on the path to mastering this state of mind [*sakai*], even such people—those able to grasp the boundless exquisiteness of the view of a sky that appears, at a glance, to lack anything

> remarkable [*ki* 奇 *naki*]—were elated, at least once, by strange forms, simple outlines, and vibrant colors. Among the summer clouds are many that suit this grade [*kaitei*]. That those learning about clouds must begin from a simple grade is just like how those learning painting must begin from the forms of objects [*mono no keishō*]. Summer sunsets were my entryway into [the study of] clouds. I ought not hesitate to write about my past naivety [*mujaki*].[23]

He continues:

> Even with my immature eyes, I did not take the strange shapes of clouds [*kii naru kumo no katachi*] to be outstanding appearances [*omomuki*] of clouds. I felt that their peculiarity was like the peculiarity of a [pictorial] model [or "a copied peculiarity"; *iyō* (依様) *no ki*], similar to the novelty [or "rarity"] of the design of a decorative picture [*sōshokuga no ishō no mezurashiki ni nitari*].[24] But because, at the time, my mind was enthralled by brilliant colors, and I had not yet realized that mine was a simplistic focus, I counted the sunsets of July 26 and 27 as having truly exhausted the skill of heaven's handiwork.[25]

In these passages, the narrator highlights the mediocrity of the subject of his early cloud observations: "strange shapes of clouds" that were not, in fact, "outstanding appearances of clouds." In the second block quote, the narrator evaluates these strange forms negatively by likening their "peculiarity" to "the peculiarity of a [pictorial] model" (or "a copied peculiarity") and to the "novelty" (or "rarity"; *mezurashiki*) of the designs of "decorative pictures." Both analogies underscore the "simplistic" and, I would propose, "conventional" quality of the narrator's early ("immature") fascination with the spectacular colors and forms of clouds during sunsets.

In a similar vein, just before the cloud description for July 25, we read,

> Nature is thought to be beautiful when, as one views it, it yet gives one the feeling that it[26] might be art. Art is said to be beautiful when, even as one looks at it and is aware that it is art, it yet gives one the feeling that it might be nature. These are the words of a German philosopher. As one would expect, they hold great interest. However, depending upon the extent of one's experiences and observations, the associations and imagination one has are surely shallower, deeper, more immature, more thorough, narrower, or richer.[27]

The narrator elaborates upon this final point:

> [Seeing] the sky as though it were an unmoving ocean, as though it were the surface of a flat object; only occasionally considering the passage of beams of light, the quality of the air; seeing clouds as though they were something unrelated to the sky[28]; neither thinking that each form is filled out richly, nor knowing that their manifest features [*hassō* 発相] are profound and exquisite—the shallowness of my observations, in which my mind was captivated solely by matters such as simple changes in the colors of clouds, or otherwise, by the shapes of clouds that would also surely catch the eye of most travelers, also came

> with an unsophisticated imagination [by which] I thought of and compared [clouds] to suitable paintings and, while viewing clouds, yet [imagined] that they might be art.[29]

Perhaps, in addition to the unnamed "German philosopher," the specter of Ruskin also sits behind these words, and particularly behind the final critique of the way the narrator imaginatively compared clouds to "suitable paintings."

To reiterate, one could interpret these auto-critiques of elementary, "common," and "conventional" thought regarding clouds as marking the process of the narrator's "discovery" of clouds. The language of discovery carries real explanatory force in this case because Tōson's narrator both (indirectly) thematizes the issue of convention and also, as I demonstrated above, explicitly juxtaposes clouds in art with clouds in the sky. But I would add a critical qualification. This is, namely, that the "discovery" in question involves, not the emergence of a newfound object-world (clouds) divorced from the viewing subject, but rather a process of perceptual attunement to and study of this part of the sensible world.[30]

As a whole, "Clouds" testifies to a kind of (re)direction and refinement of the narrator's attention toward and understanding of clouds.[31] This redirection and refinement were initially sparked by what the narrator calls Ruskin's "translation," which was itself a form of knowledge that conditioned the relation between clouds and the narrator ("between nature and me"). In other words, Ruskin's writing, such as his descriptions of different cloud types, facilitated the narrator's intensified perceptual engagement with and increased (meteorological) comprehension of clouds, which had previously seemed like "poetry written in the words of a foreign language I did not know." (It did so even if the narrator would later come to critique his early cloud studies as being elementary and conventional.) As I demonstrate below, Ruskin's treatise fulfilled this function in part by supplying the narrator with a prompt and a framework for his cloud observations.[32] Those observations then constituted a kind of perceptual training by which the narrator became attuned to particular features of clouds—to their colors and shapes, or again, to the recognizable features, such as the relative altitudes, of cloud types discussed in or derived from Ruskin's treatise.[33] It was through this "fine-tuning of perceptual skills," as Tim Ingold puts it, that the narrator "discovered" new meaning in the clouds, i.e., "meanings immanent in the environment—that is in the relational contexts of the perceiver's involvement in the world."[34]

In a more negative sense, Ruskin's treatise further directed the narrator's attention toward clouds, and stimulated his autodidactic perceptual training, by encouraging him to investigate aspects and types of clouds that Ruskin's treatise had not explained exhaustively. The narrator indicates as much in the following lines, which fall immediately after the passage I quoted above that ends with the statement, "I first turned my heart-mind to the clouds [upon] hearing Ruskin's translation":

> Various questions now ran through my mind. . . . From a mindset of trying to break through the simplicity of [my] thought[35]; from a love of nature that welled up like the spring tide; from a wish to alleviate the fever to solve the unsolvable mysteries of this enjoyable, sorrowful world of people,[36] my mind turned toward the limitlessness of the clouds and haze moving in the sky, and the more I dug into [*kumu*] and savored [*ajiwau*] such matters as the distinctions among the clouds in spring, the clouds in fall, the clouds at dawn, and the clouds at dusk [*boun*]—all of which the author of *Modern Painters* had not yet explained in detail—the more I felt an indescribable overflowing of interest [*kyōmi*].[37]

We can witness such overflowing interest in the way the narrator adapts Ruskin's cloud typology—the three "regions" of cirrus, stratus, and rain cloud—to produce a chart of the colors of the clouds that he observed on the evening of July 27, 1899 (figure 21). As the narrator explains, "on this evening [of July 27], I further divided the stratus clouds in the second region into upper and lower portions based on their height in the sky, and I wrote down the changes in the colors of the clouds before and after sunset in my notebook."[38] The resulting chart signals the narrator's efforts to perceptually pick up and home in on clouds of types either taken from, or otherwise derived from those found in, Ruskin's treatise: cirrus, upper stratus, and lower stratus. It does so precisely because it classifies the clouds witnessed on July 27 into these types.

In the process, the chart also emblematizes in an extreme way how, in "Clouds," such meteorological knowledge, as well as painterly knowledge, feeds into a kind of "analytical" descriptive language that creates the effect of "transcribing" the colors of previously perceived clouds. This is because the chart disaggregates those clouds into discrete cloud types and times of day and, further, assigns those meteorological and temporal values to different color words. More specifically, it organizes the colors of the clouds into three rows—allotted to "cirrus," "upper stratus," and "lower stratus"—and seven columns—allotted to "evening" (*kure*), "before sunset" (apportioned three columns), "sunset," "after sunset,"[39] and "dusk" (*tasogare*). Analyzing the clouds into so many colors, cloud types, and times of day works to secure a kind of "transparency," a one-to-one correspondence, between word and world (clouds). It does so by furnishing a relatively closed, relatively non-contingent system of signification in which signifiers, here terms for colors, signify more-or-less exactly defined referents.[40] In this case, those referents are the colors of clouds as perceived at specific moments and altitudes on July 27, 1899 in Komoro. In fact, it is possible that the narrator perceived these colors from a particular location within Komoro. This possibility is signaled by the following passage, in which the narrator explicitly and reflexively positions himself as an embodied observer in a particular location, albeit one specified only partially[41]:

> I counted the sunsets of July 26 and 27 as having truly exhausted the skill of heaven's handiwork. Thinking back [now], there had been occasions when sunsets I had seen in the past, carved into my memory, arose before me like beautiful figments . . . . But, climbing the hill here and viewing the appearance of dusk clouds that seemed to spring forth while I stood still amidst a mulberry field of freshly colored green leaves, I judged that this was a grand view of sunset more or less not to be seen from low-lying land [*hotohoto heichi ni arite mirarematjiki nichibotsu no taikan*] [underline added].[42]

The chart in Tōson's essay records the colors of the clouds witnessed during one of these sunsets. In the process, it fosters the kind of airtight semiosis I outlined above through both the descriptive specificity of its entries (the color terms) and also the way the narrator adjusts the chart's variables (time and cloud type) to match the clouds' colors' rate of change. To begin with, some of the entries feature a "painterly" analysis of the sky's crepuscular hues into combinations of colors and tones. Thus, for instance, did the upper stratus clouds appear as the color of "gray mixed with purple" (*hai ni murasaki no majiritaru*) at dusk. Moreover, the entries in the chart's rows register fine shifts in the shades of the clouds' colors as a function of temporal passage. For example, at sunset, the lower stratus clouds were "dark slate gray" (*koki nezumi*); after sunset, "slate gray mixed [*majiritaru*] with purple"; and at dusk, "the same color become darker." Again, in the second column of "before sunset," the lower stratus clouds are listed as "deep purple"; in the next column of "before sunset," they are "dark purple." Finally, in the third column of "before sunset," the cirrus clouds are listed as "white-brown"; in the next column ("sunset"), they are "dark brown" (or "burnt brown"; *kogecha*).

In addition to registering these fine shifts in color over time, the entries in a few of the chart's columns also reflect subtle gradations in the tonality of similarly colored clouds that were perceived synchronically but at different altitudes. The entries distinguish, for instance, between the "silver-white," "gray," and "slate gray" of each of the three cloud types when viewed in the "evening" (prior to "before sunset"). They also differentiate between the "light purple," "slate gray mixed with purple," and "the same color [slate gray mixed with purple] become darker" of the cloud types at dusk. In all these ways, the entries register minute distinctions among the perceived colors of the clouds.

The narrator further enhances the capacity of the chart to record such distinctions by manipulating one of its variables: time of day. He manipulates the variable by apportioning three columns to the temporal category of "before sunset" while allotting only one column to the other four temporal categories. Dilating the category of "before sunset" in this way enables the chart to calibrate different color terms to the clouds' hues, not only as they change over a relatively extended period of time, but also as they shift rapidly prior to sunset. By adjusting the chart's temporal scale in this fashion, the narrator tabulates even finer distinctions among aerial colors. To put this another way, he dices ever more finely the colors of the clouds that he perceived in the continuous fabric of space and time. He then taxonomizes the resulting pieces and, in so doing, furnishes an elementary type of cloud description.

In considering how the narrator's chart manages to capture synchronic and diachronic variations in cloud color, we may take direction, as I already have in the foregoing analysis, from the work of Ada Smailbegović. I have in mind Smailbegović's comments regarding a kind of "cloud-writing" found in the meteorologist Luke Howard's landmark essay on the "modifications" of clouds (first published in 1803; Smailbegović cites the 1865 edition). In his essay, Howard "devised a form of cloud-writing, suggesting the use of concrete, nearly hieroglyphic marks as indicators of specific cloud types, which would help convey the sequence of transitions and relations between weather phenomena." Smailbegović continues:

> Howard suggests that such marks be inserted into "a column headed *Clouds*" in meteorological registers and that "modifications which appear together be placed side by side, and those which succeed to each other" in the sequential order within the column. Such a mode of cloud writing would create diachronic and synchronic fields of relations, which would allow the reader of the meteorological register to gauge the coincidence of cloud types and envision the temporal flux through which different cloud types would metamorphose from one modification to another.[43]

A similar logic is at work in Tōson's narrator's chart, which adapts a Ruskinian cloud typology that itself employs Latinate vocabulary linked back to Howard.[44] The key difference lies in the primary object of the chart: cloud color as opposed to cloud type.

I have demonstrated that the function and method of Tōson's narrator's chart are the analysis and classification of the clouds' perceived colors. This function and method shed light upon the consonantly analytical diction of the discursive, as opposed to charted, description of clouds that immediately follows the chart in "Clouds." Like the chart, this description disaggregates the clouds' hues at different moments into a number of color terms. At the same time, however, the description also differs significantly from the chart because it does not taxonomize these terms into sharply differentiated rows (cloud types) and columns (times of day). Instead, it concatenates them into continuous syntagms. Such concatenation, which yields the discursive description less extremely analytical than the chart, functions to both express and also verbally articulate transformations in the clouds' colors over time:

> It would be more appropriate, to refer to these as changes in the clouds' colors when struck by the light of the setting sun, and by the reflection, and afterglow[,] of the light after sunset. The colors of the clouds before and after sunset shifted nearly every minute [*funji ni henten shi*]; as it grew darker the transparent color of the petals of Chinese bellflower changed into the color of pale-yellow porcelain, pale yellow became gray, or otherwise it became cerulean [*hanada no iro*]. When the sun was about to sink, the eastern sky appeared as though it were dyed a light crimson.[45]

The passage opens with explication. The mutability of the sky's hues, we learn, owes to the optical effects of sunlight, which the narrator breaks down into the light of the setting sun and the reflection and afterglow of the light after sunset.

Visually potent verbal expressions of the perceived world follow upon this explication. Much as in the chart, the narrator disaggregates aerial tints into a variety of color terms that correspond to the aerial colors perceived at different moments. But his description also diverges from the comparatively analytical chart by concatenating these disaggregated color terms into syntagms. Indeed, he organizes the color terms into a series of semi-distinct units of language, each roughly corresponding to a chromatic change, that he then yokes together into sentences. (In the second sentence, at least, commas function to mark off these units.) Thus, the transparent color of the petals of Chinese bellflower changed into the color of pale-yellow porcelain; pale yellow became gray; alternatively, pale yellow became cerulean; and finally, as we read in the second half of the last sentence, the sky was dyed a light crimson. In a sense, these descriptions of the clouds mirror the rows of the analytical chart, as read from right to left (chronologically), by employing discrete color terms and by arranging those terms chronologically (although "gray" and "cerulean" seem to have appeared synchronically, as in a column of the chart). But, again, the descriptive sentences also diverge from the rows because they do not divvy up and separate out the color terms according to distinct temporal categories (columns) as rigorously or sharply as the chart does. True, the final sentence does begin with a clear indication of a shift in temporal category ("when the sun was about to sink"). Here, we move to a new "column" in the description. But in this sentence, too, the color term "light crimson" is woven into a longer descriptive sentence that, we may safely conclude, is relatively less analytical than the chart. The fact that the narrator does not explicitly distinguish among cloud types in the foregoing passage likewise suggests a comparatively less analytical mode of description.

As I just indicated, a principal rhetorical technique of the foregoing passage is to string together a number of color terms that evoke the variegated appearance of the clouds, which here change color over a brief stretch of time around sunset. This rhetorical technique finds a strong echo in Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. Certainly, Ruskin's chapters on clouds in *Modern Painters* do not zero in on clouds' colors in the same manner as Tōson's essay. However, in Chapter Five, I called attention to Kaneko Takayoshi's suggestion that "we can imagine that Ruskin's insight [*shiteki*] regarding how clouds possess colors and forms of unlimited richness, and that Ruskin's extremely detailed and concrete delineation [*jojutsu*] of clouds, were truly eye-opening and enlightening for [Tokutomi] Roka."[46] The same points hold for Tōson.[47] Indeed, passages such as the following one, highlighted in part by both Kaneko and Tsukada Hidehiro,[48] may have provided Tōson with a rhetorical model for figuring aerial hues. I already quoted this passage in Chapter Five, but it bears repeating given the intense focus of "Clouds" upon aerial color. Ruskin first identifies the variety in the colors of cirrus clouds:

> Of the colours of these clouds I have spoken before . . . but though I then alluded to their purity and vividness, I scarcely took proper notice of their variety; there is indeed in nature variety in all things, and it would be absurd to insist on it in each case, yet the colours of these clouds are so marvellous in their changefulness, that they require particular notice.[49]

Ruskin immediately continues with a description of colorful cirri at sunset:

> If you watch for the next sunset when there are a considerable number of these cirri in the sky, you will see, especially at the zenith, that the sky does not remain of the same colour for two inches together. One cloud has a dark side of cold blue, and a fringe of milky white; another, above it, has a dark side of purple and an edge of red; another, nearer the sun, has an under side of orange and an edge of gold: these you will find mingled with, and passing into, the blue of the sky, which in places you will not be able to distinguish from the cool grey of the darker clouds, and which will be itself full of gradation, now pure and deep, now faint and feeble. And all this is done, not in large pieces, nor on a large scale, but over and over again in every square yard, so that there is no single part nor portion of the whole sky which has not in itself variety of colour enough for a separate picture, and yet no single part which is like another, or which has not some peculiar source of beauty, and some peculiar arrangement of colour of its own.[50]

These lines resonate strongly with the cloud description in "Clouds" that I examined above. They do so in their cascade of color words arranged in sinuous prose, admittedly more extreme in Ruskin's passage,[51] that figures what, in this case, appear to be simultaneous variations in aerial colors around sunset. Either Ruskin's description of cloud color conditioned Tōson's narrator's ways of observing and describing cloud color or, otherwise, the narrator's Ruskin-inspired cloud studies yielded cloud descriptions that happened to be rhetorically consonant with Ruskin's description of cloud color.

Such consonance also extends to the following portion of another cloud description in Tōson's essay. The narrator verbalizes the sky as seen at around twilight (*yūgure*) on July 24 after the rain had cleared completely:

> Above the evening sun declining beyond the mountains of Hida gathered light-purple clouds, at a slight distance [from which] were white and gray clouds, [among] whose forms were some that appeared just like mushrooms.[52] Naturally the blue sky near the evening sun changed to a light yellow-gold color as the clouds that were white also became tinged [*obite*] with gray and purple, and the edges of the clouds that glowed as they reflected the light of the sunset appeared like *beniguma*.[53]

Like Ruskin's description of cirri at sunset, and like Tōson's narrator's description of the clouds seen at sunset on July 27, these lines convey the sky's hues at sunset by stringing together a number of color terms and phrases.[54] In the process, they also invoke what is both a culturally specific turn of phrase and also a culturally specific imaginative response to perceived clouds: "appeared like *beniguma* [紅隈]." As Kenmochi Takehiko explains, this phrase indicates that the clouds "appeared as though outlined [*fuchidorareta*] in crimson."[55] To dig deeper, the word "bengiuma" denotes a style of Kabuki makeup (*kumadori*) in which red lines are painted on an actor's face.[56] To the observer-narrator, the red edges of the white clouds looked like such red lines.[57] In the foregoing passage, the term "beniguma" as well as a slew of color words work to verbally render what Ruskin calls the "separate picture[s]" floating in the sky. In the case of "Clouds," those pictures shift in tint and tone as the lighting changes with the passage of time. In this way, both painterly and also meteorological knowledge, acquired in part through Ruskin, as well as culturally specific knowledge, embodied in the word "beniguma," feed into the narrator's analytical description. This description "transcribes" the previously perceived clouds, which are simultaneously generated by and articulated through that description.

To this point, I have primarily asked how Ruskin's treatise influenced the perceptual and descriptive focus in "Clouds" upon particular cloud types as well as cloud colors. That influence also extended to the narrator's focus upon the shapes and arrangements of clouds. Indeed, the narrator's description of these aspects of the clouds that he witnessed on July 25, 1899 perhaps provides the most lucid evidence in "Clouds" of the impact of *Modern Painters* upon the narrator's observations of and writing about clouds. The description crystallizes the way Tōson's narrator verbally articulates previously perceived clouds through a mode of expression adapted in part from *Modern Painters*. Simultaneously, it crystallizes how, within the world represented in the text, the observer-narrator perceptually attunes (attuned) to the perceivable properties of clouds in a manner strongly influenced by his reading of Ruskin's treatise. In addition, it presents yet another example of analytical description. It does so by disaggregating the sky into particular spatial regions (east, west, north, and south); by specifying variations in clouds' appearances according to the time of day; by disaggregating clouds' colors; and by distinguishing among different cloud types (cirrus and stratus).

Part of this analytical description, which I take up below, mirrors the following lines of *Modern Painters*. These lines fall amidst Ruskin's discussion of "symmetry," the first of the "chief characters" of cirrus clouds in the upper region of the sky. Tōson's narrator, we may note, also lists "symmetry" as the first characteristic of cirrus clouds when he outlines Ruskin's cloud typology early in "Clouds."[58] Ruskin writes,

> Another frequent arrangement [of cirrus clouds] is in groups of excessively fine, silky, parallel fibres, commonly radiating, or having a tendency to radiate, from one of their extremities, and terminating in a plumy sweep at the other; these are vulgarly known as "mares' tails."[59]

As Kenmochi Takehiko has already indicated,[60] these words bear a distinct connection to the portion of the following passage in "Clouds" that I have underlined. Prior to this passage, Tōson's narrator had remarked upon how the appearance of the "morning clouds" seen on July 25 differed from that of "dusk clouds." He then stated that, "in the same way, with respect to clouds at dusk, those one sees to the east and those one sees to the west are of different colors as they reflect the light of sunset":

> In a similar fashion, with respect to the morning clouds that floated lightly on this day, if one looked to the east they were pure white, and if one looked to the west they were a mixture of gray, white, and light crimson. On this morning in the western sky, I saw clouds high up that proceeded to vanish like [silk] gauze [*usumono*]. I also saw ones that were floating like smoke. Around the time when the sun had climbed up and finally reached the zenith, cirrus clouds were running parallel at a slant in the east[ern sky][61]; their appearance—absent even a single line that might disturb the beauty of their symmetry [*seitai*], like what they call "mares' tails" [*hinba no o*] in the West—looked like, for example, a number of zither strings lined up alongside one another.

The narrator continues immediately:

> Beneath the cirrus clouds were grouped together stratus clouds where "peaks of summer clouds"[62] were piled up and layered upon one another; other [stratus clouds] separated off and gave an appearance like that of a flock of sheep frolicking. To the north, along the ridges of the mountains . . . the pure white stratus clouds were round like spheres; in the lower half of the southern sky were cirrus clouds that looked like thin degummed silk cloth; in the upper half, water vapor that seemed just like white smoke covered the blue sky.[63]

In these lines, the narrator presents a description of clouds that bears a strong analytical tenor. For instance, he disaggregates the clouds' colors ("a mixture of gray, white, and light crimson"), differentiates among cloud types, and divvies the sky into several regions (east, west, north, the lower half of the southern sky, the upper half of the southern sky). In the process, in the portion of the passage I have underlined, he verbalizes the shapes and spatial distribution of cirrus clouds using language strongly informed by, or even partially siphoned from, Ruskin's *Modern Painters*.[64]

At the same time, however, to recognize this adaptation of Ruskin's prose in "Clouds" is not to say that Tōson's narrator mentally recasts the perceived clouds on the model of the clouds discussed in Ruskin's text. Rather, within the world represented in the text, Ruskin's treatise functioned, as far as we can tell from the narrator's retrospective description, to channel the narrator's perceptual attention toward the perceivable features of cirrus clouds.[65]

Tōson and Verbal Painting

The foregoing analysis demonstrates that Tōson's familiarity with John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* conditioned his descriptions of clouds from life in the essay "Clouds." In the remainder of this chapter, I argue that these descriptions were further influenced by Tōson's lifelong interest in illustration and, in particular, by his engagement in the 1890s with Western-style painting and painters. Tōson's exposures to the visual arts familiarized him with both the practice of drawing from life (*shasei*) and also the vocabulary and techniques of painting. In addition, as Itō Kazuo has asserted, "One of the things that Tōson learned in particular through his interactions with painters, and that we can show concretely, is the expression of color" (Itō then cites "Clouds" in support of this assertion).[66] In these ways, the visual arts shaped Tōson's verbal descriptions of clouds from life.

Before leaving Ruskin, however, I want to emphasize that Tōson's engagements with Western-style painting and with Ruskin's treatise, titled *Modern* Painters, went hand in hand. Shinbo Kunihiro, for one, points to Tōson's earlier interest in Western painting in order to explain his interest in Ruskin's treatise.[67] Itō Kazuo holds that, "due to how *Modern Painters* was [a work of] art criticism concerning the painter [J. M. W.] Turner," Tōson "started to attend to the interrelation between painting and literature in their methodologies [*hōhō*]."[68] (Itō also cites Tōson's friendship while living in Sendai with the painter Fuse Awashi [1873-1901] as one "motivation" [*dōki*] for this attending.[69]) While not necessarily a matter of "methodology," Tōson's narrator, too, recognizes the capacity of Ruskin's writings on clouds to speak beyond the concerns of visual art. Early in "Clouds," the narrator prefaces his explanation of Ruskin's cloud typology by remarking that Ruskin "originally raised his argument" in *Modern Painters*

> in order to champion the English landscape painter Turner, so it is clear that his intent was not to teach poets. Consequently, what he focuses upon with respect to landscape [*sansui*] is often geared entirely toward the spatial arts, and it is clear that he rarely addresses himself to the temporal arts. *However, many of his observations have much to teach even to those uninvolved in painting* [emphasis added].[70]

When Tōson wrote these words in 1900, he presumably included himself in the category of "those uninvolved in painting" (*tansei no koto ni tazusawaranu mono*). But this categorization should not blind us to Tōson's longstanding interest in visual art. For example, Tōson's autobiographically based *Days of Youth* (Osanaki hi; 1911-12[71]) indicates that he, like his fellow cloud writer Kunikida Doppo,[72] enjoyed drawing from life as a youth (note that "I" was living in the Toyoda house):

> For me, too, I feel like a love for painting [*kaiga o konomu koto*] is close to an innate disposition [*tensei*]. From childhood until I began somewhat advanced general education [*futsū kyōiku*], it was what I excelled in the most. This proclivity appeared from very early on, and around my second year at Mr. Toyoda's house, I occasionally took a soft pencil and drawing paper and headed out as far as the foreign settlement at Tsukiji to make pencil drawings. Wondering what I was doing, Grandmother Toyoda walked with me one day to where I was going. I had Grandmother stand at the approach to the bridge and transcribed [*utsushimashita*] the scenery of the area of Tsukiji. I also went as far as the General Staff Office [*Sanbō honbu*] and made a pencil drawing that portrayed that building [*ano tatemono o utsushita enpitsuga*]. It was rough [*somatsu*] and childish, but nevertheless, I did my best to make just what I saw into a picture, without relying upon a model [or "copybook"; *otehon ni yoranaide, jibun de mita mama o ga ni shiyō to honeotta mono deshita*].[73]

Tōson may have subsequently ceased to draw in this manner, but he was certainly connected, directly or indirectly, to a number of practicing artists before and around the period of his cloud studies at the turn of the century. I have already mentioned his relationship in Sendai with the painter Fuse Awashi, with whom he also roomed for a short time.[74] Fuse taught drawing at Sendai's Tōhoku Institute (Tōhoku Gakuin).[75] Tōson relocated to Sendai for a job at the Institute in September 1896. (He would resign and leave for Tokyo in July of the following year.)[76]

Tōson's collections of poetry as well as prose also substantiate his links to painting and painters. *Summer Grasses* (Natsukusa; December 1898), for example, contains six pictures by six Japanese-style (*Nihonga*) painters, all identified in the collection's front matter.[77] The painters were Saigō Kogetsu (1873-1912), Yamada Keichū (1868-1934), Terasaki Kōgyō (1866-1919), Shimomura Kanzan (1873-1930), Hishida Shunsō (1874-1911), and Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958). All of these artists were formerly instructors at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō; opened in 1889). All had resigned their posts earlier in 1898 following upon the conflicts that led to the resignation of the school's head, Okakura Kakuzō (1863-1913). They then became members of Okakura's Japan Art Institute (Nihon Bijutsuin; est. October 1898).[78] This "New School" (*shinpa*) of *Nihonga* would, among other things, work to innovate Japanese-style painting.[79] As Tōson would recall in a 1913 *danwa* (talk), "For my third [collection], *Summer Grasses*, I made requests to various people of the former [*izen no*] Bijutsuin School, but primarily Shimomura Kanzan oversaw things for me." (Later: "The cover page [*hyōshi*] was completely Shimomura's design."[80])

Beyond the Japan Art Institute, Tōson's professional ties with painters also extended to the world of Western-style painting. They encompassed, for example, the illustrator and Western-style painter Nakamura Fusetsu. Fusetsu did the book designs (*sōtei*) and illustrations for Tōson's collections *Seedlings* (Wakanashū; 1897), *A Leaf Boat* (Hitohabune; 1898), and *Fallen Plum Blossoms* (Rakubaishū; 1901).[81]

Fusetsu was in the lineage of the Meiji Fine Arts Society, known as the "Old School" of Western-style painting. But Tōson's connections to Western-style painters and painting also reached the White Horse Society, i.e., the "New School" of Western-style painting led by Kuroda Seiki and Kume Keiichirō. For example, Tōson's writings testify to his knowledge of Kuroda and Kume's circle prior to his move to Komoro. Consider the following passage, cited by Aoki Shigeru, in Tōson's travelogue "Tidings from the Tonegawa River" (Tonegawadayori; 1898), later republished in *Fallen Plum Blossoms*.[82] In one part of the text, the narrator describes how he traveled from Chōshi to the nearby Inubōzaki (both locations in Chiba Prefecture). In the process, he begins a sentence by stating, "[When] I climbed a knoll that those of the 'Purple School,' I think they're called, would want to draw in an oil painting" (*Murasaki-ha to yaran ga abura-e ni mo kakamahoshiki koyama o nobori*).[83] The "Purple School" refers to the circle of Kuroda and Kume.

Reference to this group of painters resurfaces in the following lines, identified by Shinbo Kunihiro, of Tōson's multi-perspectival but autobiographically based novel, *Spring* (Haru; 1908).[84] In this scene set in April 1896, Kishimoto Sutekichi, who is modeled on Tōson, recalls a recent exhibition he had seen in Ueno of "bright pictures [*akarui ga*] in the style of the Impressionists":

> When he closed his eyes, he saw before him the scene of the exhibition of Western-style paintings [*yōga*] that he had viewed in Ueno about a week earlier. There were bright pictures in the style of the Impressionists lined up for the first time. There were landscapes [*keshiki*] [seen] through light and air that seemed haphazardly arranged. There were shaking purple shadows [*dōyō shita murasakiiro no kage*]. Incidentally, the friend with whom he had enjoyed his time at the school in Takanawa was just emerging as a new artist.[85]

In these lines, Tōson writes about the pictures at the exhibition in Ueno using the words "light," "air," and "purple shadows." All of these terms and visual properties were associated with the work of painters in the lineage of the White Horse Society in the 1890s. However, as Shinbo has remarked, the first exhibition of the White Horse Society began in October 1896, by which point Tōson had left Tokyo for his teaching position in Sendai. Accordingly, the foregoing passage presumably portrays the state (*jōkyō*) of the exhibition of the Meiji Fine Arts Society that was held from October 1895. Kuroda and Kume presented works at this exhibition, as did members of their academy, Tenshin Dōjō (est. 1894).[86]

In addition to describing the exhibition, the passage also refers to the imminent rise of Sutekichi's "friend" from "the school in Takanawa," that is, Meiji Institute (Meiji Gakuin).[87] The "friend" in question is Wada Eisaku,[88] another Western-style painter who joined Kuroda's circle. Wada was a member of Tenshin Dōjō, where he began studying in late 1894.[89] In the 1913 talk I referenced above, Tōson states that he had known Wada "since my days at Meiji Institute" (*izen Meiji Gakuin jidai kara*).[90] Both Tōson and Wada had entered the school in 1887.[91] (Miyake Kokki entered in the following year, but Tōson and Kokki do not seem to have become acquainted while at the school.[92]) Wada also provided the frontispiece for the novel *Spring* when it was published as a book in 1908.[93]

Finally, Tōson continued to expand his knowledge of painting through his dialogues with the watercolorist Miyake Kokki in Komoro between 1899 and 1900. Kokki, who himself displayed works at White Horse Society exhibitions in 1899 and 1900,[94] moved to Komoro in July 1899. He relocated to this particular region in Shinano (Nagano) in large part to work near the watercolorist Maruyama Banka (1867-1942), who lived in the nearby village of Nezu. In July, Kokki met with Tōson and Kimura Kumaji (1845-1927), head of Komoro Private Academy (Komoro Gijuku) where Tōson taught Japanese letters (*kokugo*) and English. Kokki then left Komoro in August for his marriage and honeymoon, returned in September, and began teaching drawing at the Academy around October. He would eventually move from Komoro to Tokyo in December 1900.[95]

Judging from the timeline of the essay "Clouds," Tōson's cloud studies may have been well underway by the time he became friendly with Kokki.[96] Moreover, the essay suggests that Tōson carried out little cloud study between the winter of 1899 and the summer of 1900 (see Chapter Eight), during which time Kokki lived in Komoro. Nevertheless, Tōson's narrator explicitly declares a debt to Kokki in the closing lines of "Clouds," published in August 1900:

> The watercolorist Miyake Kokki came to live in Komoro at around the same time that I did. Out of sympathy for one another as lonely travelers, we regularly took solace in visiting one another and discussing art and such. When he [Kokki] traveled to the West, he went about renowned museums, closely examined the works of Turner, Corot, and the like, and studied their use of color [*tansei no ato o tazunetaru*]. In writing this piece [*kō* 稿], I benefitted considerably from his stories [*monogatari*]. I record this here to make my debt [*ou tokoro*] clear.

Along with hearing stories about Western painters and their use of color, this "debt" may also have included learning from or finding affirmation in Kokki's practices of picture making. This is because, as Mori Yoshinori's discussion of Kokki and Tōson indicates, Kokki was a landscape painter invested at the time in the portrayal of natural light and in drawing from life.[97] Indeed, after citing statements by Maruyama Banka regarding pictures that Kokki made soon after returning from abroad, Mori writes that "Kokki was trying to pursue in Japan the expression of outdoor light, [a kind of expression] he had acquired in Europe; he probably felt that, in this area [around Nezu or Komoro], he could procure subject matter with which he could undertake such study."[98] In addition, Mori suggests that the titles of a number of Kokki's submissions to the White Horse Society's fifth exhibition, held between September and October of 1900, signal that Kokki's concern in portraying Komoro's landscape (*fūkei*) lay in "expressing the changes of the seasons and, within those changes, grasping the appearance of forms changing according to differences in time and weather conditions."[99] In fact, Kokki's submissions included works specifically titled *Clouds at Dusk* (Boun) and *Rain Clouds* (Uun).[100] One critic even commented as follows upon Kokki's contributions to the exhibition: "When it comes to his way of portraying clouds and such, one truly feels nothing other than admiration."[101]

Notwithstanding Kokki's skill in depicting clouds circa 1900, however, we should note again that Tōson had likely begun his cloud studies before Kokki arrived in Komoro. Moreover, those studies more or less ceased between the winter of 1899-1900 and the summer of 1900, during which time Kokki was living in Komoro.[102] Accordingly, it seems prudent to interpret the connection between Tōson's and Kokki's investments in the subject of clouds as being one of historical parallel, strong resonance, or mutual reinforcement rather than simple cause and effect.[103] (That said, the situation is further complicated by how the content of "Clouds" runs up to, and how Tōson published the essay in, the summer of 1900; see Chapter Eight.)

Another relation of resonance, and perhaps direct influence, also obtained between Tōson's verbal practice of describing from life and Kokki's pictorial practice of drawing from life (*shasei*).[104] In a letter to Togawa Shūkotsu (1870-1939) from October 8, 1899, Tōson writes,

> A person named Miyake Kokki, a specialist in watercolor painting, also moved here this summer with his family. *He frequently sketches* [alternatively, "draws from life"; *shasei*] *the mountains and fields of this area* [emphasis added]. It seems he has also traveled to Europe and America. What he says about old Italian paintings, his stories about modern watercolor painting, and so on—he is the person for interesting conversation in [this] home in the mountains.[105]

Evidently, Tōson was aware of Kokki's pictorial practice of drawing from life. And not only was he merely aware; he also viewed Kokki's pictures. Consider the following line in Tōson's autobiographically based *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River* (Chikumagawa no suketchi; 1911-12). Although published in 1911-1912, *Sketches* was based on brief writings and literary sketches that Tōson composed while in Komoro, which he left in 1905.[106] At one point in *Sketches*, Tōson refers to "the period when M-kun [Miyake Kokki] stayed in Komoro" and soon states that "I often called upon him, viewed his *shasei* of the area, and spoke with him about the pictures of [Jean-François] Millet" (underline added).[107]

A well-known passage in the 1936 afterword to *Sketches* further illuminates the connections among Kokki, Tōson, and *shasei*. However, the passage must be treated with particular caution in analyzing "Clouds." For one thing, it addresses how practices of describing from life served as a basis for *Sketches*, not "Clouds," although both texts appear to have resulted from these practices as Tōson carried them out in the same general period.[108] For another, Tōson wrote the afterword decades after the publication of *Sketches*, which was itself published a decade after "Clouds." In addition, as I have already stated, Tōson's cloud studies were probably underway by the time he and Kokki grew close to one another (although this does not void Tōson's self-declared debt to Kokki in writing "Clouds"). Moreover, those studies slowed to a crawl starting in the winter of 1899-1900. Still, the following lines in the 1936 afterword to *Sketches* warrant quotation here because they clearly attest to a convergence among Tōson, Kokki, and describing from life at the turn of the twentieth century. Tōson writes that,

> around the time I put out my fourth poetry collection [*Fallen Plum Blossoms*; published in August 1901], I determined to learn to see things more correctly [*motto jibutsu o tadashiku miru koto*]. This demand from within was quite strong, so, to this end, I came to live in silence for nearly three years. At some point, I found myself beginning these kinds of sketches [*suketchi*], and I made it like my daily routine to write them down in a notebook. The watercolorist Miyake Kokki, who came to Komoro just around the same time as I did, made a new home in a place called Fukuromachi [?; 袋町] and lived there for about a year. He also went to teach the students at Komoro Academy in his spare time. . . . I made a request to him [Kokki] and acquired a three-legged stool [*sankyaku*] like that used by painters. I took it out to the fields on occasion and tried to cultivate a mind that learns from nature, which is renewed with each passing day [*hi ni hi ni atarashii shizen*]. These sketches were born on the high plateau at the foot of Mt. Asama, amidst the hot stones, the stand, and the gales.[109]

A number of scholars have analyzed portions of this suggestive passage. For example, Yoshimura Yoshio proposes that the phrase "seeing things more correctly" signifies "a changeover from romantic subjectivism to objectivism."[110] Mori Yoshinori, in turn, links Tōson's strong concern with "'learn[ing] to see things more correctly'" to "stimulation from Kokki, who faced the landscape outdoors and fervently sketched it."[111] Fujita Makiko, too, cites most of the passage and remarks, "Tōson clarifies that he was stimulated by Kokki. Indeed [*mō*], modern sketching [*suketchi*] was taught [to Tōson] by this Miyake [Kokki]."[112]

To repeat, we must exercise caution in reading "Clouds" against Tōson's 1936 afterword and its scholarly interpretations. For example, Tōson may have acquired and used his three-legged stool after his period of cloud study or after Kokki had left Komoro. Nevertheless, at the very least, the passage outlines the direction in which Tōson's descriptive practice would move following "Clouds." It may also convey a painterly sensibility that Tōson was already cultivating, in part through his dialogues with Kokki, prior to the publication of "Clouds" in August 1900.

Along with viewing Kokki's pictures and requesting a three-legged stool, Tōson also offered comments upon Kokki's paintings on at least two occasions. That Tōson voiced such comments bespeaks his general interest in painting as well as the nature of his dialogues with Kokki. In his autobiography, Kokki recounts how he received a request from the journalist Tokutomi Sohō, relayed through Kimura Kumaji, for a watercolor painting of Mt. Asama as seen in the fall. Learning of this request, Tōson volunteered his opinions on the prospective painting:

> When I soon told Shimazaki what was going on, he was as pleased as though he himself [had been asked to make the painting]. He offered his help, considering what vantage point onto the mountain would make for a good composition [*kōzu*].[113]

Tōson's input also took the form of criticism. Kokki remarked in a 1907 essay that, while in Komoro, Tōson critiqued what, I think, he implied to be Kokki's overvaluation of mimetic transcription. This critique recalls one of the auto-critiques presented by the narrator of "Clouds" regarding his early cloud studies. As I explained above, the narrator draws an analogy between the way he began those studies from a "simple grade"—specifically, by observing dazzling summer sunsets—and the way "those learning painting must begin from the forms of objects [*mono no keishō*]."[114] Kokki, too, felt that he had to begin from a similar starting point:

> After entering Komoro, I fervently studied *shajitsu* ["realism," lit. "transcribing the actual"], trying to transcribe the forms of objects [or "the shapes of things"; *mono no katachi*] just as they were reflected in my eye. At the time, Shimazaki Tōson looked at [my pictures] and said that, while transcribing something just as it is certainly is *shajitsu*, a picture must be more relaxed [*arinomama o utsusu koto wa, shajitsu ni wa chigai nai ga, e to shite wa kutsuroganeba naranu*]. He said that it's unpleasant to lock eyes with an impeccable picture [*e to niramiatte, issun no suki mo nai yō de wa omoshiroku arumai*]. However, while Shimazaki's view [*setsu*] was close to the ideal, a point to be reached, I believed it was not something to be done from the start, and so, as before, I [continued] steadily doing *shasei* that were entirely faithful.[115]

In addition to this critique, the following passage of Kokki's autobiography reveals that Tōson's conversations with Kokki also extended to the topic of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. In the process, the passage offers insight into Tōson's practices of cloud study and description. It does so both by testifying to how Tōson kept a cloud diary and also by recording Kokki's image of Tōson as, in a sense, a literary "painter." On (some) evenings,

> I would visit Shimazaki in Babaura [in Komoro]. I would listen to him speak of nature in Shinshū, or speak to him of painting. Sometimes, I would ask him for lectures on those portions of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* that were instructive for us.[116] I was shocked to learn that Shimazaki, who was not even a painter, recorded changes in clouds and such in a notebook every day, as one would a diary.
>
> Whatever I sensed about landscape and such [*fūkei nado ni tsuite jibun ga kanjite iru koto*], Shimazaki [had] studied all the more thoroughly; in a way, I thought of him as my senior who actually drew pictures [*nandaka jissai e o egakareru senpai no yō ni omowareta*].[117]

Kokki's surprise at the cloud diary reveals his image of Tōson as being like someone who "actually drew pictures." This image neatly accords with Tōson's proclivity for equipping his narrator in "Clouds" with language by which to describe the sky as though it were a canvas fabricated using painterly materials. This proclivity emerges, for instance, in the statement that the "color of the clouds" in the late autumn sky in Komoro was "non-transparent, as though white chalk had been mixed in."[118] "White chalk" (*gofun*) is a pigment used in Japanese(-style) painting (*Nihonga*).[119] The narrator's painterly proclivity also manifests itself in part of the description that I referenced above regarding the clouds seen as dusk fell on July 24: "The floating clouds changed from gray to purple, from purple to a dark hue [*anshoku*]; the edges [of the clouds] looked like a dark brown, or the color 'sepia' used in Western-style paintings [or 'Western paintings'; *yōga*]."[120] In addition, the narrator's painterly disposition surfaces when he speaks of the colors of the sky, mountains, and rain clouds on the morning of August 8: "It was an appearance [*omomuki*] that I would have liked to draw if I had had a brush."[121]

The kind of "painterly" quality that distinguishes the foregoing passages also characterizes a rhetorical and, in a sense, observational technique that I identified above when examining the narrator's chart of cloud colors: analyzing the sky's hues into combinations of colors and tones. For example, the narrator verbalizes the appearance of the sky around the time the moon rose on July 24, 1899 by referring to "the sky, which I almost want to say was a purple mixed with blue."[122] Again, at dusk on July 26, there were clouds to the east in whose appearance "gray and light purple were mixed."[123] A variation of this sort of description of color appears in the description of the clouds viewed at dusk (*kure*) on September 9. The stratus clouds to the east were of a "color" that was "seven parts white, three parts yellow."[124]

Elsewhere in "Clouds," the narrator takes the overlap between painting and verbal description even further. He does so by speaking of the cloudy sky as being, not merely a subject of painting, but instead a painting as such. Indeed, he casts the cloudy sky as a sort of aerial piece of paper drawn upon using techniques redolent of those current among late-Meiji painters. Comparing the passage from "Clouds" that I reproduce below with the discussion of methods for drawing the "appearance [or 'state'] of the air" (*kūki no sama*) in the 1898 manual *A Handbook on Western-Style Painting* (Yōga tebikigusa) substantiates this point.[125] This is because both texts refer to the pictorial practice of applying colors to a support—aerial and metaphorical in Tōson's case—that has been prepared with a "first coating" of paint.

Before addressing this pictorial practice, however, a word on the manual's authorship is in order. As Kanki Teiichi notes, the manual's colophon lists the art historian Ōmura Seigai (1868-1927) as the "editor and issuer" (*henshūsha ken hakkōsha*). However, the title page lists the names of four persons along with the rather inscrutable word *dōsen* (同選[126]). The persons in question are the eminent art critic Mori Rintarō (Ōgai), the White Horse Society leader Kume Keiichirō, the art historian Iwamura Tōru (1870-1917), and Ōmura.[127] These four individuals were all contributors to the journal *Art Criticism* (Bijutsu hyōron; est. 1897). They also had ties to the White Horse Society and the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō; est. 1887).[128] Kanki cites the scholar Kobori Keiichirō, who explains that the manual probably had its basis in "a manuscript [whose content was] transmitted orally to Ōmura Seigai by Ōgai while [Ōgai] read the original text [*genpon*]." The *genpon* in question was a German text by Karl Raupp (1837-1918), although there are parts of the Japanese manual that do not have corresponding parts in Raupp's text.[129]

The manual contains a chapter, "Techniques of Painting in Oil" (Abura-e no gikō), that includes a subsection on "Sansui," translated as "Landschaft, Paysage, Landscape." In the subsection, the manual's authors advise that, "in order to capture a momentary scene, there is no better [method] than to make a color 'sketch [*suketchi*]' using a small support [or 'small canvas'; 小幀]."[130] Soon after, they explain the advantage of preparing one's canvas with a "first coating": "When one first places necessary color[s] on the canvas [*gafu*[131]], it has the advantage of [allowing the picture to be] completed as quickly as possible. This is called 作地 [*sakuji* (?)]," for which the authors give the translations "Grundiren [*sic*], Donner la couche, First coating."[132] This technique is then integral to the authors' recommendations concerning how to transcribe the mutable "appearance [or 'state'] of the air":

> In landscape paintings [*keshikiga*], nothing requires as much speed to transcribe [*utsushitoru*] as the appearance of the air [*kūki no sama*]. For this reason, when, for instance, one aims to draw the appearance of the well-lit air on a thinly clouded day [*usugumo no hi no akaruki kūki*], sometimes one first uses a large brush to lay down the light color one thinks to be the tonality [*konchō*[133]] of the air all around. Not only will that color immediately prove useful [in the picture] but, furthermore, this preparation has

> the benefit of making it easier to lay down other paints when adding new colors.[134]

In short, the artist was to begin the process of transcribing the "appearance of the air" by placing a "first coating" upon the canvas. The color of that coating was to correspond to the general tone of the perceived, surrounding air. The artist would then add additional colors on top of this coating, presumably also in response to other perceived tones of the air or of the wider surroundings situated and viewed within that air.

The following verbal description in "Clouds" of cloud formations observed on December 7, 1899 strongly echoes this pictorial practice. It does so by explicitly comparing the colorful, cloudy sky to a piece of paper upon which an artist first applied a layer of gray and then added other colors:

> What the autumn clouds bear is a yellow color; what the winter clouds bear is a gray color. On December 7, when I looked upon the appearance of the sky as it grew dark, the winter clouds that hung above the setting sun were brown, or again a brown-tinted red, those down low were a dark purple, those yet lower were a dark gray, and in the distant southern sky I saw clouds that were all mixtures of purple and gray although there were some differences in shading [or "in darkness and lightness"; *nōtan* 濃淡]. It was as if, say, a painter had first put down a layer of gray on the paper [*tatoeba gakō ga mazu ichimen no haiiro o shijō ni okite*], and then colored on top of it [*sono ue ni*] red, purple, or again brown, in some places darkly and others lightly [*koku mo awaku mo* 濃くも淡くも].[135]

The passage leaves little doubt that Tōson's narrator is thinking of the clouds' colors in terms of pictorial colors. For, in the final line, the narrator figures the generally gray tone of the clouds by analogizing what he saw to a piece of paper on which a painter—as though heeding or adapting the advice of *A Handbook on Western-Style Painting*—had "first put down a layer of gray." As I understand it, this layer of gray tinted all the other colors of the winter clouds, which generally "bear . . . a gray color," that were subsequently painted upon the "paper" of the sky as witnessed by the narrator at dusk on December 7. In considering the narrator's "painterly" description, I would also underscore the correspondence between the "darkness and lightness" in the colors of the southern sky and the way the metaphorical painter has applied colors "in some places darkly and other lightly" when painting the clouds upon the "paper" of the sky.

In addition to invoking the pictorial practice of layering colors upon a "first coating," the foregoing cloud description also mobilizes other rhetorical techniques for figuring the clouds' colors. For instance, in the first half of the second sentence of the passage, the narrator organizes his description of those colors in accordance with, or on the model of, the spatial distribution of the previously perceived clouds. He does so by generally describing the colors of three layers of clouds in order of height, from highest to lowest. Moreover, this colorful description consists of four semi-discrete units of language, marked off by commas, that correspond to these three distinct layers. Thus, the clouds that "hung above the setting sun" were "brown," (*cha no iro,*); alternatively, they were "brown-tinted red," (*chagakaritaru akairo,*); the clouds "down low" were "dark purple," (*kuraki murasakiiro,*); and those "yet lower" "were a dark gray," (*kuraki haiiro ni shite,*]).[136] In this way, the structure of the narrator's description broadly corresponds to the spatial configuration of the colorful clouds, i.e., to the way the clouds and their colors were located above, below, and alongside one another upon the "picture plane" of the sky.

As I just demonstrated, this description comprises successive units of language—brief segments of colorful description—that are articulated both syntactically and also, with respect to the world represented in the text, spatially. I would speculate that this articulated succession constitutes something like a verbal equivalent, in the narrator's retrospective description, of dabbing pigments onto a piece of paper in response to the colors of the clouds perceived in different segments of the sky on December 7. These successive verbal gestures express, even as they rhetorically orchestrate, the narrator's recollected perceptions of the clouds' variegated colors—colors conceived as painted and, perhaps, described as one would paint them.

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This chapter has asked how Tōson achieved the rhetorical effect of verbal painting—of verbally "transcribing" previously perceived forms—by integrating meteorological and painterly knowledge into his analytical descriptions of clouds. In the process, it has examined how Tōson's language works to draw together the components of what this dissertation calls a constellation of landscape: perceiver (the observer-narrator), picture (painting), word (descriptive language), and world (clouds). In so doing, it has modeled a methodology for studying such relations, and in this way, for studying literary landscape. This methodology consists in analyzing how such relations are instantiated through acts of perception and expression in particular texts. It also consists in unpacking literary, artistic, and historical influences upon the thematic content and the modes of perception and expression found in those texts. This chapter has explored two such influences in particular: Tōson's engagement with the treatise *Modern Painters*, and his exposures to Western-style painting and painters in the 1890s.

In the next chapter, I return to Tōson's "Clouds" in order to explore a type of verbal expression of the relations among perceiver, picture, word, and world that differs from the "analytical" cloud descriptions considered in this chapter. This is, namely, "synthetic" environmental description, which the narrator broaches as the chronological narrative of "Clouds" unfolds.

Notes

[1] Shimazaki Tōson, "Kumo," *Tenchijin*, no. 40 (August 1900): 1-17, in *Kindai Nihon kirisutokyō shinbun shūsei. Dai 3-ki*, ed. Nihon Tosho Sentā (Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1995), reel 93 [microfilm]. In 1912, Tōson would speak of having included his "study [*sutadi*] of clouds" (underline added) in his 1901 collection *Fallen Plum Blossoms* (Rakubaishū), in which he republished "Clouds." See Tōson's "Kaitei shishū no jo" (Introduction to the Revised Poetry Collection), included in the 1912 revised edition of *Tōson shishū* (Tōson Poetry Collection) and reproduced in the *kaidai* to *Tōson zenshū*, 1:527-29, quote on 1:528. For "Clouds" in *Fallen Plum Blossoms*, see Shimazaki Tōson, "Kumo," in *Rakubaishū* (Shun'yōdō, 1901), 44-75, https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko03a/bunko03a_00459/index.html.

[2] Tōson, "Kumo," 2.

[3] On Tōson and Shiki, see Chapter Four. Itō Shukundō has tentatively proposed that certain works by Kunikida Doppo that thematize clouds may have provided "hints" with respect to, or otherwise "influenced," "Tōson's famous training in prose composition [*bunshō shugyō*] through observations of clouds." See Itō's "Kunikida Doppo no bunshō gihō," *Tōkai Gakuen Daigaku*

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kenkyū kiyō, no. 19 (2014): 223. Note that Itō takes Doppo to be the author of the essay "A Discussion of Weather" (Tenki no hanashi; September-October 1897). On the essay's unclear authorship, see endnote 58 in Chapter Four.

[4] Tōson would remain in Komoro until 1905 for a half-decade stay that ultimately saw him move definitively toward writing novels. In fact, following "Clouds," Tōson basically ceased to publish new materials for over two years, devoting this time to reading widely and to practicing creating short prose descriptions of the world around him. (He would later revise a number of these descriptions and collect them together as *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River* [Chikumagawa no suketchi; 1911-12]). Only in 1902 would Tōson begin publishing a string of (practice) novellas. He then went on to produce his groundbreaking naturalist novel, *The Broken Commandment* (Hakai; 1906). See William E. Naff, *The Kiso Road: The Life and Times of Shimazaki Tōson*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), ch. 7, esp. 222-25. I have also referred to the "Sakuhin nenpyō" (Timeline of Works) in *Tōson zenshū, bekkan*, ed. Senuma Shigeki, Miyoshi Yukio, and Shimazaki Ōsuke, 873.

Scholars have characterized Tōson's years in Komoro, his composition of "Clouds," the broader transformation in his literary production, or combinations of these and related topics in terms of a shift from Romanticism to Realism, or from the subjective to the objective, as well as a shift from poetry to prose. See Negishi Masazumi, "Shizen byōsha ni okeru Tōson to Doppo: *Chikumagawa no suketchi* to *Musashino*," in *Kindai sakka no buntai* (Ōfūsha, 1985), 102; Yoshimura Yoshio, "Shimazaki Tōson no shisō tenkai: kindai no unmei," *Shinshū Daigaku Kyōyōbu kiyō; daiichibu, jinbun kagaku*, no. 8 (1974): 15; and Nakajima Kunihiko, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no Kumo," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei* (Chikuma Shobō, 1994), 413. However, for a somewhat a different perspective or emphasis, see Hosokawa Masayoshi, "*Rakubaishū* ron: jinsei to geijutsu no 'shin' o motomete no tatakai no hōhō," in *Shimazaki Tōson bungei kenkyū* (Sōbunsha Shuppan, 2013), 92-93.

[5] See the next chapter for more such influences, including Kubo Tenzui's essay on clouds from around 1900.

[6] On the interplay between verbal expression and the verbal generation and fashioning of perceptions as well as of worlds represented in texts, see the Introduction, Chapter Two, and Chapter Four.

[7] Here I follow Itō Kazuo, to whose work I return below.

[8] Tōson, "Kumo," 1-2. In translating this passage, I have referred to Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 193.

[9] On Tōson's attending of the music school, see Kenmochi Takehiko's note to a part of the following passage in "Clouds" in his annotations to *Rakubaishū* in Yamamuro Shizuka [*kaisetsu*] and Seki Ryōichi and Kenmochi Takehiko [*chūshaku*], in *Tōson shishū*, Vol. 15 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1971), 451n8. Also see Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 180 and 184-86, as well as the entry for 1898 in the timeline by Kameyama Heikurō, "Komoro Gijuku no rekishi," in Ōkawa Kimikazu, *Seishun Komoro Gijuku: samurai kyōshi to mirai no gakkō* (Shinano Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2018), 278. In addition, see Kerim Yasar, *Electrified Voices: How the Telephone, Phonograph, and Radio Shaped Modern Japan, 1868-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 72, also see 79.

I give the name "Tokyo School of Music" because it is well known. However, speaking more strictly, the school that Tōson attended in fact changed names several times over the course of its complicated institutional history. See Mori Setsuko, "Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō," in *Kokushi*

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daijiten (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan), accessed on July 13, 2022 through JapanKnowledge, http://japanknowledge.com.

[10] See Tōson, "Kumo," 8-9 and Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 450-51n6-9.

[11] Tōson, "Kumo," 8.

[12] While identifying Ruskin's impact in "Clouds" upon Tōson's attainment of a "scientific" stance toward nature, of "objective observation," and of "realistic" or transcriptive description, Itō Kazuo also quotes, among other things, Tōson's references to living and breathing clouds and to a passionate sky: "The fact that the author's observations of phenomena, as surmised from these kinds of portions [of the essay], are not objectively grasping the features of phenomena themselves but, instead, are discerning the animated, overflowing vitality [*seidō shi jūitsu suru seimeiryoku*] within phenomena is, we can say, an extension of a highly Romantic view of nature." See Itō's *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū: kindai bungaku kenkyū hōhō no shomondai* (Meiji Shoin, 1969), 208-9. But note that Itō raises this point as a kind of concession, or at least as a separate aspect of Tōson's work, when discussing "Clouds" and the key impact of Ruskin upon Tōson.

[13] Tim Ingold: "Conceived as the creative potential of a world-in-formation, however, life is not *in* things; rather, things are *in* life, caught up in a current of continual generation" ("Earth, Sky, Wind, and Weather," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13, no. S1 [2007]: S31).

As I indicated in Chapter Four, Ingold would go further by remarking that clouds are not "objects" (ibid., S28). Indeed, "the wind is not an object. . . . As the fire *is* its burning and the cloud *is* its billowing, so the wind *is* its blowing" (underlined added; ibid., S30).

[14] On Tōson's encounter with and early references to Ruskin, see Kenmochi Takehiko, "Gakugei e no aibo no hito, Tōson: Rasukin *Kindai gakaron* to Tōson bungaku," *Shimazai Tōson kenkyū*, no. 28 (2000): 41-51; Itō Kazuo, *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, 201-3 *et seq.*; Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 615n236; and Ui Kunio, "Rasukin no Meijiki Nihon e no senbushatachi," *Rasukin bunko tayori*, no. 47 (2004): 11. In December 1896 and May 1897, Tōson published the first and second parts, respectively, of "Ōshū kodai no sansuiga o ronzu" (On Classical European Landscape Painting), a two-part translation of much of the chapter "Of Classical Landscape" in Vol. 3 of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*. The translation is available in *Tōson zenshū*, 16:379-391.

Notwithstanding Ruskin's impact upon Tōson, Yagi Isao holds that Tōson had neither the linguistic proficiency nor the time to read and comprehend the entirety of the monumental treatise *Modern Painters*. On when Tōson read which portions of the treatise, see Yagi's "Tōson to Rasukin: *Hakai* o chūshin ni," *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, no. 29 (2001): 69-70.

[15] Tōson, "Kumo," 1.

[16] See ibid., 3.

[17] Ibid., 3-4.

[18] In an essay on Kunikida Doppo, Tōson, John Ruskin, and the discovery of clouds, Morimoto Takako writes at one point that "[the notion of] 'nature just as it is' in Ruskin had, as its original purpose, the removal of patterns of understanding of nature [*shizen ninshiki no patān*] produced by Claude [Lorraine] and Salvator [Rosa]—that is, the removal of the typologized views of nature known as 'the beautiful' and 'the sublime.' Accordingly, [the notion of] 'just as it is' that Tōson carried forward [*tōshū shita*] did not refer to scientific truth but rather meant the human encountering nature directly without being caught in typologized patterns of thought." See Morimoto's "'Kumo' o meguru essei: 'Musashino' o yomu tame ni," *Shizuoka kindai bungaku* 5 (1990): 29-30, quote on 30. I extract these lines from a nuanced context.

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[19] John Ruskin, "Of Truth of Skies," section 3 of part 2 of *Modern Painters, Volume I*, in *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, 3:379.

[20] Tōson, "Kumo," 16.

[21] Ruskin raises additional points consonant with those found in the foregoing block quote. In the chapter "Of the Open Sky" in *Modern Painters*, Ruskin states that "I fully believe, little as people in general are concerned with art, more of their ideas of sky are derived from pictures than from reality," and that, "if we could examine the conception formed in the minds of most educated persons when we talk of clouds, it would frequently be found composed of fragments of blue and white reminiscences of the old masters" (in "Of Truth of Skies," 3:345-46). The corresponding section headnote on p. 345 reads, "Many of our ideas of sky altogether [*sic*] conventional."

[22] The narrator already presents an auto-critical evaluation before his first cloud description, which concerns the clouds he viewed at dusk on July 24, 1899: "The view of the sky that easily attracts the eye and amazes the mind is that of sunset. Because I was not yet able to savor [*ajiwau hodo*] the dark and light [shades] of the blue sky created by the shadows of the white summer clouds, I first tried to climb up a level [or 'tried to advance a level'; *ikkai o noboramu to kokoromitariki*] with respect to the vividly colored dusk clouds [*boun*]" (Tōson, "Kumo," 4).

[23] Ibid., 7.

[24] *Iyō* can be translated as "to copy the model" or "to depend on the form." Kenmochi Takehiko writes that the phrase refers to "a fixed model for drawing a picture" (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 449n13). I interpret the compound *iyō* as referring to a pictorial model, not only because of Kenmochi's annotation, but also because the narrator immediately restates his analogy by comparing the peculiarity of the clouds in question to the novelty (or "rarity") of the design of, specifically, decorative pictures. The original sentence in "Clouds" reads: *sono ki naru wa iyō no ki naru ga gotoku, sōshokuga no ishō no mezurashiki ni nitari to omoeriki*.

[25] Tōson, "Kumo," 7-8.

[26] The 1900 version of "Clouds" gives 是て. The 1901 version gives 是れ. In both versions, the corresponding word in the next (parallel) sentence is 是れ. I have translated 是れ.

[27] More literally, "one's associations and imagination are surely thought [or 'felt'] more shallowly, deeply, immaturely, thoroughly, narrowly, or richly" (*sono rensō to sōzō to wa . . . asaku mo, fukaku mo, osanaku mo, komayaka ni mo, semaku mo, yutaka ni mo oboenubeki nari*) (Tōson, "Kumo," 5).

[28] This line foreshadows the narrator's recent realization, stated at the end of the "Clouds," that "clouds and the sky are difficult to separate." As I discuss in the next chapter with reference to the work of Yagi Isao, this notion of the indivisibility of clouds and the sky may itself stem from Ruskin's work.

[29] Tōson, "Kumo," 5-6. Such imagination also calls to mind past written texts, for instance, a haiku by the poet Yosa Buson from 1774. In full, Buson's haiku reads, "Rape blossoms—the moon to the east, the sun to the west" (see Nagata Ryūtarō, ed., *Yosa Buson kushū, zen* [Nagata Shobō, 1991], 81; also see Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 452n8). "Rape blossoms" (*nanohana*) is a seasonal word (*kigo*) for spring (Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten,* 2:1965).

Tōson's narrator alludes to this vernal verse when describing the clouds as viewed at dusk on August 11 (in the summer): "Beyond myriad clouds that I almost want to call cinnabar [*niiro*], the evening moon reigned over the eastern heavens, and I recalled the circumstances [or

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‘poetic scenery’ or ‘poetic state of mind’; *shikyō*] of that poem, ‘The moon to the east, the sun to the west’—then it was spring, now it is summer: the scene [*kei*] differs markedly between then and now, but should the emotions [*jō*] be quite in agreement, should the inspiration [*kyō*] be quite comparable?—[thinking] such things, I gazed out, stood still, and for a while became a person in a poem [*shibashi shichū no hito to nariniki*]” (“Kumo,” 11). The narrator describes himself as having entered a poem because his engagement with the sensible world on August 11 was reflexively mediated through an earlier text and its *shikyō*. At least, this is how the narrator expresses that reflexively mediated engagement from the standpoint of the present moment of narration.

[30] From this perspective, I find Morimoto Takako’s comment, quoted above in endnote 18, to be very persuasive: “Accordingly, [the notion of] ‘just as it is’ that Tōson carried forward did not refer to scientific truth but rather meant the human encountering nature directly without being caught in typologized patterns of thought.”

[31] This is not to say that the process was linear. See Chapter Eight.

[32] In his book *John Constable’s Clouds*, trans. Stanley Godman (London: Rouledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), 50-51, Kurt Badt writes that, “after Constable had become familiar with this classification based on visible differences of shape”—“this classification” ultimately being, I take it, that of Luke Howard—“it could not help but influence his observations and the painter’s vision in him, since it superimposed a *comprehensive and distinguishing principle* on the haphazard observation of constantly changing phenomena; or, to put it differently,—because it had made unreflecting and amateurish observation of clouds impossible” (emphasis added). One could argue that Ruskin’s altitude-based typology of clouds provided Tōson’s narrator with a similar organizing “principle” for his cloud observation (and description), although I would contest the word “superimposed” because it suggests too strongly a kind of mental projection onto the “actual” world. (On this last topic, see Tim Ingold as referenced in the Introduction and Chapter Two.) For more on Constable and his cloud studies, see Badt’s book, chs. 5-6 as well as John E. Thornes, *John Constable’s Skies: A Fusion of Art and Science* (Edgbaston, Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham, University Press, 1999), ch. 2.

[33] I take inspiration here from Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), the key passage again being pp. 21-22. Note that Ruskin’s treatise did provide Tōson’s narrator with information about clouds. But “information, in itself, is not knowledge . . . . Our knowledgeability consists, rather, in the capacity to situate such information, and understand its meaning, within the context of a direct perceptual engagement with our environments” (ibid., 21). Tōson’s narrator achieved as much through his practices of cloud observation.

[34] See ibid., 22. “Discovered” is also Ingold’s word, but he uses it to a different end than does Karatani Kōjin.

[35] As I explained in Chapter Four, Matsui Takako links the *shasei* of Tōson and that of Masaoka Shiki in part by citing Shiki’s largely negative review of Tōson’s poetry collection, *Seedlings* (1897). One passage that she quotes from the review reads, “Tōson’s poems are all lyrical. It may be that lyricism is the essence of poetry. But lyric poetry that does not make use of [or ‘that does not borrow’; *karazaru*] description and reportage has little variation.” See Matsui Takako, *Shasei no hen’yō: Fontanēji kara Shiki, soshite Naoya e* (Meiji Shoin, 2002), 304, and Noboru [Masaoka Shiki], “*Wakanashū* no shi to e [畫],” in *Shiki zenshū*, 14:199. Matsui argues that “it is surely clear that Tōson’s words”—she refers to “trying to break through the simplicity of [my]

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thought," the line I just quoted in "Clouds"—"were [stated] conscious of Shiki's words, 'Lyric poetry that does not make use of description and reportage has little variation'" (*Shasei no hen'yō*, 307).

[36] ". . . *hito no yo no nazo no tokite tokigataki hannetsu*." An analysis of this last "wish" (*negai*) exceeds the scope of this chapter. On the "wish" and Tōson's efforts at examining the self and human life in Komoro, see Hosokawa, "*Rakubaishū* ron," esp. 100-1.

[37] Tōson, "Kumo," 4.

[38] Ibid., 9.

[39] Both the version of "Clouds" published in 1900 and also the version included in *Fallen Plum Blossoms* (1901) give 日没役 (没 is written with a slightly different character). The version of *Fallen Plum Blossoms* in *Tōson shishū*, Vol. 15 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (1971), p. 451, gives 後 instead of 役. I have assumed that the intended meaning was that of 後 ("after" sunset, counterpart to "before sunset" in a previous column of the chart).

[40] I take loose inspiration here from Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "The Algorithm and the Mystery of Language," in *The Prose of the World*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. John O'Neill (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973), ch. 4, esp. 120-21.

[41] The other such moment that comes to mind is the narrator's discussion of his day trip from Komoro to Nagano: "I returned home along the Chikumagawa river while gazing upon the [appearance] of the grand clouds winding and stretching" (Tōson, "Kumo," 10).

[42] Ibid., 8. Kenmochi Takehiko writes that "the hill here" (*koko no oka*) refers to "the hill around the old castle of Komoro. The way [*tochū*] down from the remains of the castle to the bank of the Chikumagawa river is [covered by] an expanse of mulberry fields" (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 450n1). Note that "Around the Old Castle of Komoro" (Komoro naru kojō no hotori) is the first poem in *Rakubaishū*. It was originally published in 1900 as "The Pathos of Travel" (Ryojō; see the "Sakuhin nenpyō" in Senuma, Miyoshi, and Shimazaki, *Tōson zenshū*, *bekkan*, 873).

I take Tōson to be using *heichi* (flatland) in the sense of "lowland" in contrast to the elevated, mountainous area where Komoro is located. The other locations of remarkable sunsets recalled by the narrator are Gotenyama in Takanawa (in Tokyo), by the sea in Arahama, the shore of Lake Biwa, and the bank of the Tonegawa river. I thank Ōtake Hiroko for her comments on this passage.

[43] Ada Smailbegović, "Cloud Writing: Describing Soft Architectures of Change in the Anthropocene," in *Art in the Anthropocene: Encounters Among Aesthetics, Politics, Environments and Epistemologies*, ed. Heather Davis and Etienne Turpin (London: Open Humanities Press, 2015), 101.

[44] Daniel Williams writes that "Ruskin uses [Luke] Howard's Latinate terms, *cirrus*, *cumulus*, and *stratus*, and the compound *cirrostratus*. . . . He never uses *nimbus* or *cumulo-cirro-stratus* (the rain-cloud), and initially warps the arrangement by referring to cloud types dictated by altitude, where Howard's system sought to describe clouds as modifications, forms in movement. There is no evidence, however, that Ruskin knew of Howard's *On the Modifications of Clouds* (London: J. Taylor, 1803)." See Daniel Williams, "Atmospheres of Liberty: Ruskin in the Clouds," *ELH* 82 (2015): 174n11. Cumulus and stratus both fall within Ruskin's central region. See ibid., 144 for more on Ruskin's "three hierarchical regions of cloud formation."

[45] Tōson, "Kumo," 9.

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[46] Kaneko Takayoshi, “Tokutomi Roka ni yoru Ikaho no shizen byōsha ni tsuite: *Shizen to jinsei* ‘Shizen ni taisuru gofunji’ o chūshin ni,” *Shiga Daigaku Keizai Gakubu kenkyū nenpō* 12 (2005): 22.
[47] In fact, Kaneko’s essay includes a section titled, “The Description of ‘Clouds’: Roka and Tōson” (“Kumo” no byōsha: Roka to Tōson). See ibid., 23-24, esp. on Ruskin, Roka and Tōson, and cloud color and shape.
[48] For Kaneko, see ibid., 21. Tsukada Hidehiro compares part of Ruskin’s passage with Tōson’s writing about clouds both in another passage of “Clouds” and also in a passage in Tōson’s *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River*. See Tsukada Hidehiro, “Shimazaki Tōson no ‘Bunpai’ saihyōka: Rasukin no kakugen haichi no imi,” *Eibei bunka* 48 (2018): 15-16.
[49] John Ruskin, “Of Truth of Skies,” 3:368.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Note, however, that the different editions of Ruskin’s text are not uniform in punctuation or sentence breaks.
[52] The word I translate as “mushrooms” is *inohana* (lit., “the nose of a wild boar”), another term for *kōtake* mushrooms. See Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, “Inohana,” in *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 1:395.
[53] Tōson, “Kumo,” 4.
[54] I am indebted to Yagi for his characterizations, in this case not focused on “Clouds,” of Tōson’s “Ruskin-style painterly, precise description” as well as of Tōson’s later shift toward more “abbreviat[ed]” description (Yagi, “Tōson to Rasukin,” 67-69).
[55] Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 447n13.
[56] See Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, “Beniguma,” in *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 3:545.
[57] On the morning of September 11, too, the cirrus clouds in the east “were illuminated by the light of the rising autumn sun, and the edges of the clouds almost appeared like *beniguma* [*beniguma ka to mietaredo*]” (Tōson, “Kumo,” 12).
[58] See ibid., 2.
[59] Ruskin, “Of Truth of Skies,” 3:359.
[60] Kenmochi cites a longer translated passage from *Modern Painters*—one that includes a translation of the line I just quoted—in an annotation to Tōson’s statement that, “as the saying goes in the West, they were like “mares’ tails.” (This statement appears in the passage of “Clouds” that I quote below.) See Kenmochi’s annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 448n6.
[61] *Higashi ni wa hosogumo naname ni heikō* 並行 *shite*.
[62] *Kaun* [or “*natsugumo*”] *no kihō*. See Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 448n7 on the meaning of this phrase.
[63] See Tōson, “Kumo,” 6.
[64] In this connection, also see Morimoto, “Kumo o meguru essei,” 27.

Another pertinent influence upon the foregoing passage in “Clouds” may have been Kubo Tenzui’s recent essay “On Clouds” (c. 1900), which I address in the next chapter. Tenzui, too, writes as follows when synopsizing and translating Ruskin’s statements on “symmetry of form” (*keitai no seitai*), which is the first characteristic of “cirrus clouds” (*hosomaigumo*): “In the parallel groupings [*heikōteki* 平行的 *shūgō*] of these light and supple fibers, the tip [or ‘extremity’; *hashi* 端] is *blurred*; in the Western vernacular, these [clouds] are called *mares’ tails* [*hinba no o*]” (alternatively, “this is called a *mare’s tail*”; emphasis in original). See Kubo

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Tenzui, "Kumo o ronzu," in *Sansui biron* (Shinseisha, 1900), 20. However, within the world represented in the text, Tōson's narrator himself observed parallel cirrus clouds in 1899. At least, he suggests as much through his present narration.

[65] It may or may not be noteworthy, however, that the narrator does not speak of the "mares' tails" as ending in a "plumy sweep."

With respect to the conceptual argument I have just raised in the body of the text, see my quotations in Chapter Two of Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment*, 21-22 and 56.

[66] Itō, *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, 231. In the process, Itō comments in passing, "'Clouds,' which seems to have been drafted [*sōshita*] based on the guidance [*kyōji*] of Miyake Kokki . . . ."

[67] I am paraphrasing Shinbo's argument. See Shinbo Kunihiro, "'Musashino' no shūen: Tōson ni furete," in *Doppo to Tōson: Meiji sanjūnendai bungaku no kosumorojī* (Yūseidō, 1996), 70.

[68] This was one of the things that "Tōson was made to realize [*jikaku saserareta*] through Ruskin" (Itō, *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, 209).

[69] Ibid.

[70] Tōson, "Kumo," 2. For "spatial arts" and "temporal arts," I have followed Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 445n14-15.

[71] The title of this text changed during its serialization in *Lady's Magazine* (Fujin gahō). See the *kaidai* to *Tōson zenshū*, 5:593n5 and the "Sakuhin nenpyō" in Senuma, Miyoshi, and Shimazaki, *Tōson zenshū*, *bekkan*, 881-83.

[72] In the posthumous manuscript "Pictures" (Ga; c. 1893), Doppo writes, "I did not stop just with enjoying looking [at pictures]; I was not satisfied unless I myself drew. Even when I grew older and proceeded from primary school to middle school, 'drawing [*gagaku*]' was, along with math and baseball, the school subject I liked the most. Among these [subjects], my [fondness] for drawing was particularly acute." See Doppo's "Ga," in *Doppo shōhin*, ed. Kunikida Haruko (Shinchōsha, 1912), 34, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/889191; also available in *Teihon Kunikida Doppo zenshū*, 9:328.

[73] Shimazaki Tōson, "Osanaki hi (aru fujin ni atauru tegami)," in *Tōson zenshū*, 5:406; on this text, see Naff, *The Kiso Road*, ch. 2. I have referred to and taken phrases from Naff's translation of this passage on ibid., 79. I thank Nakajima Keihachirō of the Koyama Keizō Museum in Komoro for directing me to this passage of Tōson's text.

In another context, Naff comments that Tōson "had harbored childhood dreams of becoming an artist in the grand, romantic European style, and he retained a deep interest in painting throughout his life" (ibid., 225). Naff also notes that Tōson's "intense interest in art makes it not surprising that two of his sons would grow up to become painters in the European style" (ibid.).

[74] See ibid., 155, and the "Index of Important Persons" in Naff, *The Kiso Road*, ed. Rimer, 600. The "Index" records that Fuse was a "close friend" of the painter Nakamura Fusetsu, on whom more below.

[75] See Itō, *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, 174.

[76] For the content of the last two sentences, I have referred to Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 155 and 172, as well as to Kanda Shigeyuki, "Shimazaki Tōson ryakunenpu," in *Komoro, Tōson kinenkan: bungaku tanbō*, ed. Komoro-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 4th rev. ed. (Sōkyū Shorin, 2010), 148.

[77] See the section "Sashi-e" (Inserted Pictures) in the unpaginated front matter of Shimazaki Tōson, *Natsukusa* (Shun'yōdō, 1898), https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko03a/bunko03a_00453/index.html. (One of the pictures is identified as the *kuchi-e* [frontispiece].)

Kenmochi Takehiko points to the fact that *Summer Grasses* "included plenty of inserted pictures [*sashi-e*] by rising artists of the time and had precisely the appearance [*omomuki*] of a collection of poetry and pictures [*shigashū*]" as evidence of Tōson's "uncommon interest" in painting (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 452n2).

[78] I have referred to the entries by Satō Dōshin for the six painters in *Kindai Nihon bijutsu jiten*, ed. Kawakita Michiaki (Kōdansha, 1989). Some of the entries specifically indicate that a given painter followed Okakura out upon the trouble (*sōdō*) at the school; others do not name Okakura in this regard but still reference the trouble. Also see the entry by Miwa Hideo, Yamanashi Emiko, and Satō on "Nihon Bijutsuin," in ibid., 408-9. Note that the group had held an opening ceremony for a temporary office in July 1898 (ibid., 408).

For more on the Institute, see Matsuura Akiko, "The Japan Art Institute," trans. Ted Mack and Reiko Tomii, in *Nihonga: Transcending the Past; Japanese-Style Painting, 1868-1968*, by Ellen P. Conant, in collaboration with Steven D. Owyoung and J. Thomas Rimer (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1995), 102-3. On Okakura, see Kinoshita Nagahiro, "Okakura Tenshin and *Nihonga*," trans. Sumiko Obata and Reiko Tomii, in ibid., 100-1. On Okakura, the Institute, and related issues, see Conant's "The Tokyo School of Fine Arts and the Development of *Nihonga*, 1889-1906," in ibid., ch. 3, esp. 25-29.

[79] But see ibid. 29 on the topic of personnel overlaps between the New School (the Institute) and the Old School of *Nihonga*. Again, on the activities of the Institute, see Matsuura's brief essay.

[80] For Tōson's statements, see his "Sōtei ni tsuite: *Haru* to *Ie* oyobi sono hoka," in *Tōson zenshū*, 6:565. Also see the entry for *Natsukusa* in "Shoshi" [Bibliography], in Senuma, Miyoshi, and Shimazaki, *Tōson zenshū*, *bekkan*, 916.

[81] See the sources cited in endnote 27 in Chapter Four.

[82] I take the English title, slightly modified, from Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 179. I was led to the passage by Aoki Shigeru, *Shizen o utsusu: higashi no sansuiga, nishi no fūkeiga, suisaiga* (Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 73. (Aoki cites the full sentence that includes the phrase I quote below).

[83] [Shimazaki] Tōson, "Tonegawadayori," *Teikoku bungaku* 4, no. 6 (1898): 38.

[84] Shinbo, "'Musashino' no shūen," 70. See ibid., 71-72 for Shinbo's take on the influence of the work of the Plein-Air School on Tōson.

[85] Shimazaki Tōson, *Haru*, in *Tōson zenshū*, 3:213.

[86] Shinbo Kunihiro, "*Haru* no zahyō: 'jinsei no haru' o motomete," *Kōhon kindai bungaku* 4 (1981): 28. This 1895 exhibition, the seventh of the Meiji Fine Arts Society, was held in Ueno. On the location, see "Shūroku bijutsu tenrankaimei ichiran," in *Meijiki bijutsu tenrankai shuppin mokuroku*, ed. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Bijutsubu (Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1994), unpaginated.

[87] On "the school at Takanawa" as referring to Meiji Institute, see Wada Kingo, annotations to *Haru* in Miyoshi Yukio [*kaisetsu*] and Wada Kingo [*chūshaku*], *Shimazaki Tōson shū II*, Vol. 14 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 267n8. Also see ibid. and ibid., 463n78 on the connection between Tōson and Wada Eisaku.

[88] Shinbo provides this identification ("'Musashino' no shūen," 70). Also see Wada, annotations to *Haru*, 267n8.

[89] On Wada's being a member of Tenshin Dōjō, see Shinbo, "*Haru* no zahyō," 28. For when he began his study at Tenshin Dōjō, see Yamanishi Takeo, "Wada Eisaku no geijutsu," in *Wada Eisaku ten*, ed. Shimoyama Hajime, Taii Ryō, and Yamanishi Takeo (Yomiuri Shinbunsha; Bijutsukan Renraku Kyōgikai, 1998), 12.

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[90] Tōson, "Sōtei ni tsuite," 6:566.

[91] For Tōson's date, see Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 84 and Kanda, "Shimazaki Tōson ryakunenpu," 148. For Wada's date, see Miwa Hideo and Yamanashi Emiko, "Wada Eisaku," in Kawakita, *Kindai Nihon bijutsu jiten*, 390. Mori Yoshinori's "Abbreviated Timeline of Miyake Kokki's Life" indicates that Kokki entered the school in 1888 and "met Wada Eisaku, who was one class above [Kokki]." See Mori Yoshinori, ed., "Miyake Kokki ryakunenpu," in *Miyake Kokki kaikoten: suisai hyōgen no kaitakusha; seitan 140-nen, botsugo 60-nen kinen*, ed. Mori Yoshinori (Tokushima, Japan: Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 2014), 237. Another source indicates that Kokki entered a year after Tōson and that Wada was in Tōson's class. See Saeki Shōichi, "Shimazaki Tōson: jidai no kokuin," in *Sakka ronshū: Shimazaki Tōson kara Abe Kōbō made* (Michitani, 2004), 43. However, a timeline for Wada Eisaku himself lists 1887 as the year he entered the school, with Tōson being his senior (*senpai*) and Kokki being in the same class (*dōkyū*). See Wada Raku (?; 和田楽), ed., "Nenpu," in Shimoyama, Taii, and Yamanishi, *Wada Eisaku ten*, 141.

[92] Saeki, "Shimazaki Tōson: jidai no kokuin," 43.

[93] For Wada's frontispiece, see Shimazaki Tōson, *Haru*, Ryokuin sōsho dainihen (Shimazaki Haruki, 1908), https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko03a/bunko03a_00462/index.html.

[94] Kokki showed his works in 1899 and 1900 at the White Horse Society's fourth and fifth exhibitions. In fact, as Mori Yoshinori has documented, Kokki "was invited to participate in the Society by Kuroda," who sent Kokki a letter on this subject in January 1900. See Mori Yoshinori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6): daiikkai toō kara no kikoku to Komoro jidai, Kokki to kirisutokyō," *Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, no. 18 (2017): 18.

The leading watercolorists during the watercolor boom of the Meiji 30s (1897-1906) were concentrated in the vein of, not the White Horse Society, but rather the Pacific Painting Society (Taiheiyō Gakai; est. 1902), which was the successor to the Meiji Fine Arts Society. Such watercolorists included Ōshita Tōjirō, Maruyama Banka, and Yoshida Hiroshi (1876-1950). Miyake Kokki was the main exception. See Hayashi Makoto, "Meiji no suisaiga to Taiheiyō Gakai," in *Mō hitotsu no Meiji bijutsu: Meiji Bijutsukai kara Taiheiyō Gakai e*, ed. Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsukan et. al. (Shizuoka, Japan: Mō Hitotsu No Meiji Bijutsu-ten Jikkō Inkai, 2003), 37-42, esp. 37. For suggestions as to the causes of this institutional distribution of watercolorists, see ibid., 40. Hayashi notes how the exhibitions of the White Horse Society were "centered on oil paintings" (ibid., 37). Seo Noriaki, too, has remarked that the White Horse Society was generally focused on oil painting. See Seo's *Kindai Nihon suisaiga 150 nenshi* (Kokusho Kankōkai, 2015), 85. For more on watercolors at the Pacific Painting Society, see Chinghsin Wu, "Colors of Empire: Watercolor in Meiji Japan," in *The Visual Culture of Meiji Japan: Negotiating the Transition to Modernity*, ed. Ayelet Zohar and Alison J. Miller (New York: Routledge, 2021), 169.

[95] On these dates, see Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6)," 5. On Tōson, Kokki, and the watercolorist Maruyama Banka in Shinshū, see Mori's essay, esp. pp. 8-10, as well as Seo, *Kindai Nihon suisaiga 150 nenshi*, 63-64. For the subjects that Kokki and Tōson taught, see ibid.; Hayashi Isamu, "Komoro Gijuku kyōshi, Shimazaki-sensei," in Komoro-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Komoro, Tōson kinenkan*, 122; and the column for 1899 in Kameyama, "Komoro Gijuku no rekishi," 278-79. Also see Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 193. On Tōson approaching Kokki about

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teaching at the Academy, see Miyake Kokki, *Omoiizuru mama* (Kōdaisha, 1938), 202 (but also see Mori, “Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai [6],” 11).

[96] The first cloud description in Tōson’s essay concerns the clouds seen on July 24, 1899. Judging from a source cited by Mori, Tōson and Kokki seem to have only just been introduced to one another on July 16. See ibid.

[97] Mori addresses Tōson and Kokki’s overlapping interests in the sky, the clouds, and *shasei* (drawing from life) in “Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6),” esp. 22-24, also see 11-13.

[98] Ibid., 10.

[99] Ibid., 21. I have extracted the quote from a longer sentence. See the essay for details.

[100] See ibid., 20-21 and Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Bijutsubu, *Meijiki bijutsu tenrankai shuppin mokuroku*, 193-94.

[101] “Hakubakai tōshohyō (5),” *Mainichi shinbun*, October 16, 1900. Two years later, a reviewer wrote as follows of Kokki’s paintings at another Society exhibition: “The manner of drawing in Miyake Kokki’s eighteen watercolors is vibrant. They almost all seem to be works in which he has tried to transcribe clouds. . . . [In all of the paintings,] he exerted every effort in portraying the colors and the forms of clouds.” See “Ueno no kakutenrankai, Hakubakai (6),” *Kokumin shinbun*, October 9, 1902. I accessed these articles through the 2014 “Hakubakai kankei shinbun kiji ichiran” (Catalogue of Newspaper Articles Related to the White Horse Society) by Ueno Kenzō (database produced by the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties [Tōkyō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo]), available at https://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/hakuba.

[102] See Chapter Eight. Mori Yoshinori examines a letter that Tōson wrote to Kokki in January 1901 and notes how it suggests that Tōson did not carry out much study of the sky in the winter of 1899-1900. Mori further observes that this was a period in which Kokki, too, was unable to sketch (*shasei*) much. Mori states, “It is conceivable that the two [Kokki and Tōson] proceeded to deepen their observations of the sky from the spring of 1900 on.” See Mori, “Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6),” 22. But also see Chapter Eight regarding Tōson’s quite limited study of spring clouds.

[103] While Kokki mirrored Tōson in holding an interest in clouds, he was not necessarily a proponent of the sketch artist’s *meteorological* study of clouds. Consider the content of Kokki’s manual for amateur watercolorists, *A Handbook on Watercolor Painting* (Suisaiga tebiki, 1905; I have referred to *Suisaiga tebiki*, 6th ed. [Nihon Hagakikai, 1907]). Kokki does write that “the sky is what landscape painters must study most deeply; it is also extremely difficult to draw from life” (ibid., 59). Furthermore, he himself uses the words “cumulus clouds” (*sekiun*; given a gloss in the manual) and “cirrus clouds” (*ken’un*) (ibid., 68). However, Kokki later states, “If one tries to explicate the topic of clouds meteorologically, there are a great many types [of clouds], and studying each and every one of these is no easy task. Moreover, while there is no harm whatsoever in a beginner learning about these things simply in the abstract and for reference [*gakuri to shite sankō no tame*], when one learns these principles and tries to fit each and every cloud in nature into these categories and to express one’s knowledge in *shasei* as well, one often ends up with the ironic result of ruining [one’s portrayal of] nature [*kaette shizen o yaburi ōō kokkei no kekka ni owaru*], so one must be careful about these matters and beware of falling into such folly” (ibid., 70-71). Further on: “At this time, I do not have the knowledge to explain the categories of clouds and so on in detail. And because I think explanations of these matters [*korera no setsumei*] are not actually of much benefit in *shasei*, I have decided to omit them entirely here” (ibid., 72).

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[104] Again, see Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6)."

[105] Shimazaki Tōson to Togawa Meizō [Shūkotsu], October 8, 1899 (letter), in *Tōson zenshū*, 17:51. I am indebted to William E. Naff, who refers to this letter, and to its mention of Kokki, in *The Kiso Road*, 189.

[106] See Kanda Shigeyuki, "*Chikumagawa no suketchi*," in *Shimazaki Tōson jiten*, ed. Itō Kazuo, new ed. (Meiji Shoin, 1982), 284. Hirano Ken cites an (unspecified) timeline (*nenpu*) that indicates that "Tōson began writing *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River* at almost the same time as the publication [*happyō*] of 'Clouds' in 1900." See Hirano Ken, *kaisetsu* to Shimazaki Tōson, *Chikumagawa no suketchi* (Shinchōsha, 1955; reprint of revised edition, 1993), 170. A timeline compiled by Senuma Shigeki records under the entry for 1900 that, "in this year, Tōson conducted '*shasei*,' emulating Miyake Kokki, and quietly prepared the path from poetry to prose. The first draft of *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River* came into being in this period [*kono aida ni*]." See Senuma Shigeki, ed., "Tōson nenpu," in *Tōson zenshū*, 17:582.

[107] Shimazaki Tōson, *Chikumagawa no suketchi*, in *Tōson zenshū*, 5:145. I have extracted the quoted lines from longer sentences. The lines are also quoted in Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6)," 12 as well as in Hayashi Isamu, "Miyake Kokki," in Itō, *Shimazaki Tōson jiten*, 433.

[108] William E. Naff remarks that, "between 1900 and 1902, . . . [Tōson] placed himself under a rigorous discipline in the depiction in words of the life he saw around him. The first published product of this 'practice in seeing' (*mono o miru keiko*), as he called it, was 'Clouds'" (*The Kiso Road*, 223). At the same time, Tōson began recording "descriptions of local scenes and activities" in notebooks. He later revised and published portions of these notebooks as *Sketches* (ibid., 223-25). Also see endnote 106 above. On Tōson and "practicing seeing," see Chapter Eight.

[109] Shimazaki Tōson, "*Chikumagawa no suketchi* okusho," in *Sōshun*, Vol. 3 of *Tōson bunko* (Shinchōsha, 1936), 414.

[110] Yoshimura, "Shimazaki Tōson no shisō tenkai," 14-15, quote on 15.

[111] Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6)," 12.

[112] Fujita Makiko, "Masaoka Shiki to Shimazaki Tōson no shasei," in the edited volume *Masaoka Shiki kenkyū* (Shiki Kenkyū No Kai, 2008), 76. Fujita suggests that Tōson "received" (*uketomete iru*) *shasei* directly through Kokki and the watercolorist Maruyama Banka as well as indirectly through Ruskin (ibid., 75-76).

Banka lived in Nezu Village near Komoro. He would go abroad at the end of 1900 (see Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai [6]," 24). In "Masaoka Shiki to Shimazaki Tōson no shasei," 76, Fujita writes that Tōson and Banka began to interact from the time Tōson came to Komoro, and that Kokki, Tōson, and Banka were close with one another (*shitashiku kōyū shita*). Banka and Tōson would grow yet closer (*kōryū wa . . . sara ni fukamari*) after Banka took over Kokki's old position at Komoro Academy. (Banka took the job in 1902; for this date, see Seo, *Kindai Nihon suisaiga 150 nenshi*, 64). Fujita suggests that, "in the description of nature in *Fallen Plum Blossoms* . . . especially 'clouds,'" Tōson leveraged (techniques of) sketching (*suketchi*) that he learned through both Kokki and Banka ("Masaoka Shiki to Shimazaki Tōson no shasei," 76).

In a brief biographical essay on Banka, Kagesato Tetsurō likewise writes that Kokki, Tōson, and Banka came to interact frequently (*kōyū wa shigeku natta*) during, I gather, the period in which the three lived in Komoro and Nezu (1899-1900). See Kagesato Tetsurō, "Seichi na den'en fūkei kara sekai no fūkei e," in Kagesato Tetsurō, *Maruyama Banka*, ed. [*kanshū*]

Takumi Hideo, Nihon no suisaiga 11 (Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1989), 40. Also see Kagesato's "Nenpu" (Timeline) for Banka, in ibid., 43.

[113] Kokki, *Omoiizuru mama*, 199-200. On the request for the painting, see Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6)," 24. Also for this passage, see "Shiryō: Tōson no Komoro seikatsu," in Komoro-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Komoro, Tōson kinenkan*, 132.

[114] Tōson, "Kumo," 7.

[115] Miyake Kokki, "Yo ga fumeru shasei no dankai," *Bunshō sekai* 2, no. 3 (March 1907): 28. Kitazumi Toshio also refers to Kokki's essay, and perhaps to this part of the essay, when discussing Tōson and Kokki in *Shasei haiku oyobi shaseibun no kenkyū* (Meiji Shoin, 1971), 261.

[116] On January 21, 1901 (after the publication of "Clouds"), Tōson would write a letter to Kokki in which he speaks of his recent visit during the winter of 1900 to a meteorological observatory in Nagano. There, Tōson "heard various stories about meteorological experiments. It was scientific research, considerably newer than Ruskin's, done using an advanced method in which the cloud gradation has ten or twelve grades. I, too, was greatly enlightened by it" (in *Tōson zenshū*, 17:56; also quoted in Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai [6]," 22, as well as in Nakajima, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no Kumo," 422).

[117] Kokki, *Omoiizuru mama*, 198; also cited in Mori, "Miyake Kokki no gagyō to shōgai (6)," 12. In addition, see Uchida Yoshiaki, *Fūkei no hakken* (Asahi Shinbunsha, 2001), 60-61. In translating the passage, I have referred to Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 202-3.

[118] Tōson, "Kumo," 13.

[119] See Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 455n8.

[120] Tōson, "Kumo," 5.

[121] Ibid., 10.

[122] Ibid., 5.

[123] Ibid., 8.

[124] Ibid., 12.

[125] For the manual, see Ōmura Seigai et. al., *Yōga tebikigusa* (Gahōsha, 1898), https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/851923.

[126] *Sen* is written with a slightly different character.

[127] Kanki Teiichi, "*Yōga tebikigusa*, *Geiyō kaibōgaku* nicho no iwayuru 'dōsen,'" in *Bi no hito, gaku no hito: Kume Keiichirō* (Kume Bijutsukan, 1992), 171-73.

[128] On these points, and on the four individuals, see Mikiko Hirayama, "Restoration of Realism: Kojima Kikuo (1887-1950) and the Growth of Art Criticism in Modern Japan" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 92 and 92n60.

[129] See Kobori Keiichirō, *Mori Ōgai: bungyō kaidai, hon'yakuhen* (Iwanami Shoten, 1982), 417-18 as well as Kanki, "*Yōga tebikigusa*, *Geiyō kaibōgaku* nicho no iwayuru 'dōsen,'" 171-73, esp. 172 for the reference to Kobori.

[130] Ōmura et. al., *Yōga tebikigusa*, 35r.

[131] For *gafu* (畫布) translated as "Leinwand, Toile, Canvas," see ibid., 5v.

[132] Ibid., 35r.

[133] Earlier in the text, the authors translate *konchō* (根調) as "Grundton, Tonalité, Tonality" (ibid., 3r).

[134] Ibid., 36v.

[135] Tōson, "Kumo," 14.

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[136] In turn, clouds that were mixtures of “purple” and “gray” were located in the “distant southern sky.” As my translation indicates, this last part of the sentence differs in its syntax from the previous parts of the sentence (the parts starting from “the winter clouds that hung”). Unlike those previous parts, the last part does not “land” or nearly “land” upon a color word. It reads, *nanten no kanata ni wa nōtan no wakachi koso are subete murasakiiro to haiiro to o majietaru kumo o mitariki*.

Chapter Eight

Shimazaki Tōson's "Clouds," II:
On Synthetic Environmental Description

In the previous chapter, I argued that verbal descriptions of clouds in Shimazaki Tōson's essay, "Clouds," exhibit an "analytical" mode of description that disaggregates and collates in language the colors, textures, and shapes of clouds as previously perceived by the observer-narrator. These descriptions both attest to and also verbally articulate the narrator's perceptual attunement to clouds in general and to perceivable characteristics of clouds such as color and shape in particular. In analyzing these descriptions, however, I considered only one facet of Tōson's complex essay, which also arranges the cloud descriptions within a chronological narrative. This narrative runs from the narrator's move to Komoro in April 1899, through his cloud studies between July and December, and across a gap or cessation in those studies from the winter into the spring of 1900. It then reaches a climax in the narrator's proclamation of a recent "complete change" (*ippen*) in "my thinking and feeling regarding clouds" (*kumo ni taisuru waga kokoro* 吾心).[1] Finally, it concludes by touching upon the narrator's investigations into clouds since June 1900.

This chapter asks how and why it is that, as this chronological narrative unfolds, Tōson's narrator increasingly presents, not only "analytical" cloud description, but also "synthetic" environmental description. Such synthetic description does not isolate and collate the colors and forms of clouds as seen on particular days. Instead, it figures clouds as one part of a broader, interconnected environment whose various components are synchronized in their changes across the seasons.[2] In "Clouds," such synthetic description sits alongside and often prefaces or interweaves with analytical description of the clouds perceived on a given day. Accordingly, I use the words "analytical" and "synthetic" to denote, not antithetical or incompatible modes of description, but instead interlocking yet distinguishable descriptive tendencies that run through "Clouds." They are operative terms that I employ to the heuristic end of registering variations in the quality of Tōson's natural description.

The first half of this chapter tracks synthetic environmental description across Tōson's essay. Such description, I will show, is distinguished primarily by its sensitivity to correspondences between seasonal changes observable in the sky and those observable on the ground. This kind of description generally emerges as the narrative of "Clouds" progresses from descriptions of clouds viewed in July 1899 to descriptions of clouds viewed in late summer, fall, and winter. I will set the stage for an analysis of this seasonally attuned environmental description by first detailing the broader role played by seasonality in the narrator's cloud studies. These studies focus to a significant extent upon variations in the appearances of clouds in different seasons as well as at different times of day.

In the process of raising this argument, I will briefly contend that, in the opening of "Clouds," the theme of seasonality accompanies and perhaps intersects with a language of *tabi* ("journey" or "travel"). Tōson's impulse to use this word, I will suggest, was likely conditioned by his interest in the writings of the poet Matsuo Bashō (1644-94). Seen for this conditioning, the appearance of *tabi* in "Clouds" presents another case of what I called "accreted language" when analyzing Kunikida Doppo's essay "Today's Musashino" in Chapter Two. I use the phrase "accreted language" to describe how earlier and multiple forms and uses of language feed into present acts of verbal expression, thus resulting in a kind of "layering" of language. In the case of "Clouds," the narrator's invocation of *tabi*—an invocation consonant with the essay's apparent allusions to or resonances with a range of older literary texts[3]—compels us to grapple with such "layering."

After addressing the language of *tabi* and tracing synthetic environmental description through "Clouds," I will next illustrate how, near the end of the essay, the narrator's most extended passage of synthetic description leads immediately into what the narrator calls a "complete change" in his "thinking and feeling regarding clouds." The change seems to consist, at least in part, in a shift from analytical to relatively synthetic cloud study. However, the narrator provides few details about the change or its connection to a synthetic way of apprehending and describing clouds and the wider environment. Drawing upon existing scholarship, I will outline several factors that may have informed this self-proclaimed transformation in the relation between the narrator and clouds. These include Tōson's Ruskin-inspired sense of an interconnected environment as well as the recent publication of an essay on John Ruskin's cloud writings by the scholar and essayist Kubo Tenzui. They also include Tōson's growing frustration with an "anatomical" (*kaibōteki*) approach, itself tied to Ruskin, toward observing and, perhaps, describing clouds. Finally, they encompass Tōson's intensifying interest at the turn of the century in the Barbizon-school landscape painter Jean-François Millet (1814-75).

Seasonality and Synthetic Environmental Description

As "Clouds" unfolds, Tōson's narrator increasingly presents the reader with synthetic environmental description. Such description attends to synchronized seasonal changes observable in the sky and on the ground. Briefly addressing the broader function of seasonality in the narrator's cloud studies helps contextualize the growing presence of this kind of description over the course of Tōson's essay.

Seasonality in "Clouds"

The theme of seasonality surfaces in the opening lines of "Clouds." There, it appears alongside the language of *tabi* ("travel" or "journey"), a recurring theme in Tōson's work that scholars have connected to his interest in Matsuo Bashō.[4] This topic itself requires explanation.

Uno Kenji classifies the period between Tōson's relocation to Sendai (1896) and his move to France (1913) as the second period in Tōson's relation to and reception of Bashō.[5] In this period, Bashō and references to him rarely appear directly in Tōson's writings: "Tōson's reception of Bashō in the second period was not about pursuing Bashō directly; rather, he was coming to think of Bashō's heart-mind [*kokoro*] and to consider the meaning of '*tabi*' itself in human life."[6] While Uno also considers works that postdate "Clouds" by a number of years, I believe he locates *tabi* or at least associated themes in poems in Tōson's collections *Seedlings* (1897) and *Fallen Plum Blossoms* (1901). (Tōson would republish "Clouds" in the latter volume.[7]) Likewise, in his first annotation to the essay "Clouds," the literary historian Kenmochi Takehiko draws links among Tōson, Bashō, and *tabi* as well as clouds:

> Tōson's attachment to clouds was deep. This [attachment] was rooted in a mindset [*kokoro*] that adored Bashō, who saw "life" as a "journey [*tabi*]." [This mindset] was Tōson's reverence [*akogare*] for the state of mind [*shinkyō*] found in the opening of [Bashō's poetic travelogue], *Narrow Road to the Deep North* [Oku no hosomichi]: "I myself fell prey to wanderlust . . . desiring nothing better than to be a vagrant cloud [*hen'un*] scudding before the wind."[8]

In "Clouds," the classical theme of the loneliness of travel appears in the text's opening lines, which feature the culturally resonant ("accreted") language of *tabi*. The key for our purposes is that the narrator immediately associates such travel with a heightened sensitivity to the passing of "the seasons" (or "the time [of the year]"; *orifushi*). This sensitivity, I will show, also underwrites the narrator's cloud studies:

> When I left the capital for Shinano in April last year [1899], I stowed the five volumes of *Modern Painters* in my trunk. There are not a few travelogues for the [lonely] traveler to take as companions [*kakushin* 客心 *no tomo to semu*[9]] when wandering about mountains and fields of pure water and verdant grass. The same is true of collections of poetry. But how could any equal those five volumes [of *Modern Painters*] as aids when carefully studying a single landscape while staying in a single place for one year? When traveling, one feels changes in the seasons especially keenly [*tabi wa kotosara orifushi no utsurikawari mo mi ni shimite*]. Thinking of the clouds and haze that I viewed in the morning and gazed upon at night, I determined to learn something about [this] part of nature. In this, I was, in fact, spurred by that deceased man's [Ruskin's] efforts [underlines added].[10]

The narrator frames his relocation to Komoro as an instance of *tabi*, during which one experiences an enhanced awareness of seasonal passage.[11]

This kind of awareness, this sensitivity to transformations in one's surroundings over time, bears directly upon the cloud studies recounted in "Clouds." The following passage of the essay strongly suggests as much. In the passage, the narrator explains that his cloud studies were motivated in part by a desire to investigate how the appearance of clouds varies according to the season as well as the time of day. This desire was negatively stimulated by Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, in whose chapters on clouds, as Kenmochi Takehiko observes, "[Ruskin] barely touches upon the changes in clouds [that occur] in response to shifts in the seasons."[12] (By contrast, "Tōson's clouds are clouds of the unceasingly changing four seasons of Japan."[13]) The narrator states,

> The more I dug into and savored such matters as the distinctions among the clouds in spring, the clouds in fall, the clouds at dawn, and the clouds at dusk—all of which the author of *Modern Painters* had not yet explained in detail—the more I felt an indescribable overflowing of interest.[14]

As these lines already intimate, much of "Clouds" consists of the narrator's observations of and comments regarding clouds that form in different seasons and at different times of day (dawn and dusk). In a sense, such comments already exhibit a "synthetic" quality insofar as they identify connections between clouds and environment-wide phenomena (the season and the time of day). Take, for example, the passage I quote below in which the narrator enumerates the characteristics of summer clouds. This enumeration follows upon the narrator's descriptions of clouds seen in the morning and evening between July 24 and July 28. It mirrors the kind of enumeration of the characteristics of cirrus clouds given by Ruskin in *Modern Painters*. Tōson's narrator had listed these characteristics near the start of "Clouds" when summarizing Ruskin's cloud typology:

> As characteristics [*tokushoku*] of cirrus clouds, he [Ruskin] lists, firstly, symmetry [*seitai*]; secondly, sharpness of edge [or "sharpness of line-edge"; *jōtan no senri*]; thirdly, multitude [or "grouping together"; *gungō*]; fourthly, purity of color [*shikisai no junrei*]; fifthly, variety [or "changes"; *henka*].[15]

Analogously, the narrator identifies the following lineaments of summer clouds:

> Attempting to list what should be taken as the characteristics of summer clouds, I counted the following as pronounced [*kencho*] qualities of these clouds: one is the way various clouds collect together, and particularly the way stratus clouds spread all around; one is the clarity of [the clouds'] outlines; one is the great size of the layer of clouds [*unsō*]; one is the suddenness in [the clouds'] changes; and especially the powerful [appearance] of the tones of the colors [of the clouds].[16]

In addition to defining the lineaments of summer clouds, the narrator's approach to cloud study also involves comparing the skies and clouds characteristic of different seasons and times of day. As may be expected, such comparisons regarding seasonal clouds generally surface more frequently as the narrative of "Clouds" begins to progress more quickly through the seasons following the descriptions of summer clouds viewed each day between July 24 and July 28. It is also at this point in the narrative that, as I demonstrate below, the narrator begins to repeatedly present synthetic environmental descriptions of seasonal changes on the ground and in the sky. Consider the following passage, in which Tōson's narrator echoes Ruskin by turning his attention to the connections among water vapor, clouds, and the sky.[17] The passage broaches a synthetic mode of description by grasping seasonal connections between clouds and the surrounding sky[18]:

> If we take summer clouds to be as enjoyable as tree shade, then autumn clouds must hold as much interest as fall leaves.[19] The sky in autumn is a clear, high sky; copious water vapor [*taryō no suijōki*] does not rise [in the sky] as in the summer, nor is [the sky[20]] hit directly by strong beams of sunlight as in the summer; because of this, the clouds bearing shaded segments of white, pale yellow, or gray, too, naturally appear like faint smoke. The sky in summer is extremely bright; consequently, even the collections of white water vapor are seen through, [leading the sky to] lack lucidity.[21] The light of the sun in autumn gradually comes to fall at an angle; consequently, water vapor obstructs one's vision less, and gradually, [this] results in a high sky.[22]

A few more examples serve to illustrate the robust connections between seasonality and clouds in "Clouds." They also clarify how the narrator's remarks concerning these connections interweave with his cloud descriptions (or, in the first example, appear within a cloud description):

> [Amidst the cloud description for July 24:] Around the time the moon rose, when I looked up, the sky was not as clear as in the fall.[23]

> [Following the cloud description for September 9:] The weighty stratus clouds disappeared from the sky when the feeling of autumn [*shūki*] at last pressed in upon one [*hito ni*].[24]

> [Before the cloud description for November 12:] The transition of the seasons in Komoro from the fall to the winter is extremely short, and the change is extremely acute; there were many dusk clouds visible in this period whose colors included a non-transparent purple.[25]

> [Before the cloud description for December 7:] What the autumn clouds bear is a yellow color; what the winter clouds bear is a gray color.[26]

As I have already suggested, these statements regarding the characteristics of clouds in different seasons are mirrored in “Clouds” by statements regarding the characteristics of clouds at different times of day. Both kinds of statements share a concern with temporal passage. For example, just before charting and describing the colors of the cirrus clouds that he viewed to the east on the morning of September 11,[27] the narrator comments as follows upon the appearances of autumn clouds in the morning and in the evening:

> [The appearance of] the yellow tinge in autumn clouds reflecting the evening sun, [the appearance of] the yellow tinge in autumn clouds reflecting the morning sun: although there were distinctions in the deepness or paleness of the colors depending on the time [of day; *toki ni tsurete*], there was something they naturally shared in their tones [*chōshi*].[28]

Or consider the narrator’s remarks following his description and chart of the colors of the cirrus clouds that he witnessed on the morning of September 11:

> When the sun sets, the red-colored autumn clouds change from purple to dark gray. One surely knows [from this; *shirubeshi*]: even if dusk clouds shine, a dark hue lies hidden on their backsides. When the sun rises, gray autumn clouds change from red to a soft yellow. One surely knows [from this]: even if morning clouds do not shine, they store light and heat within themselves. Realizing these things, I felt [*omoi o nashinu*] that I had come a little closer to the distinction between morning and dusk [clouds].[29]

An additional example drives the point home. The following lines appear after the cloud description for the morning of July 28 and before the narrator’s enumeration of the characteristics of summer clouds:

> The non-transparency of the color of the sky as dusk falls and the non-transparency of the sky as day breaks: the one owes to the weakness of the sunlight as it ages, the other owes

> to the indistinctness of the still-youthful sunlight; the time differs, but I felt that their appearance [*omomuki*] was somewhat similar.[30]

Synthetic Environmental Description

In the foregoing, I extracted passages from "Clouds" in which the narrator likens or juxtaposes clouds viewed in different seasons and at different times of day. In Tōson's essay, these passages, which are already synthetic in their concern with the environment-wide phenomenon of temporal passage, sit alongside and work in conjunction with segments of yet more markedly synthetic environmental description. These segments are distinguished by the way they figure a synchronicity between seasonal changes witnessed in the sky and those witnessed upon the ground. Again, such description generally emerges once the narrative of "Clouds" moves on from discussions of clouds witnessed in the morning and the evening in late July and progresses more rapidly through discussions of clouds seen in late summer, fall, and winter.[31] Take, for example, the early, relatively subtle synthetic tendency in the lines that appear immediately prior to the narrator's description of the clouds viewed at dusk on August 11:

> When the young fruits of the apple trees ripened and changed color [*umaki hodo ni irozukite*], and the worm-eaten plums fell, the appearance of the clouds also naturally took on a form different from [the one they had at] the height of summer. At dusk on August 11, in the yellow sky in the direction of the setting sun, the stratus clouds up high were colored sienna [*kabairo*] and were beautiful [*utsukushiku*]; those below, struck by the light of the lucent sunset, [had the appearance of] a dark purple in the middle of which shined a red hue, [and this] too was pleasurable.[32]

In the second half of the passage, the narrator presents an analytical cloud description. This description both disaggregates the colors of the previously perceived clouds and also divvies those clouds into particular heights, directions, and types. However, the narrator prefaces this analytical description by identifying a correlation, amidst the passage from summer to fall, between seasonal shifts in the plants and fruits on the ground and seasonal shifts in the appearance of clouds. It is the synthetic quality of this identification that I want to highlight.

An analogous interweaving of synthetic and analytical descriptive tendencies characterizes the following lines. These lines precede the narrator's next cloud description, which concerns clouds observed at dusk on August 24, 1899. The narrator prefaces the description by touching, now in more strongly synthetic fashion, upon the harmony between the seasonal changes that occur in the sky and those that occur upon the ground. "Fall," he remarks, "arrives early in the mountains of Kitasaku[33]":

> At the end of August, the bell crickets were already crying frequently. The flowers of the seven grasses were blooming; the crimson of the stems [*miki*] of the cockscombs, the yellowing of the leaves of the cowpea plants[34]: in their various ways, [(all) these things (the flowers and plants)] presented the air of a mountain retreat [*yamaga*]; comparing [the changes in the distant sky] with the changes in the manner [of things] upon the ground, I felt that the distant sky, too, was changing in the same manner.[35] Nature changes unceasingly. As regards the dusk clouds on August 24, for instance: I detected in the

> purples and in the grays a shared yellow tone not to be seen in mid-summer [*seika no koro ni miraremajiki kiiro*]. The color of the stratus clouds floating near the sun was red or, again, a reddish sienna. It was also from around this time that I no longer saw a hue of so deep a crimson as to strike the eye with blinding brilliance.[36]

Once again, in the second half of the passage, the narrator describes the colors of the clouds he viewed on August 24 in analytical fashion. But this description follows upon a rather synthetic characterization of the environment in the first half of the passage. There, the narrator calls our attention to the correspondences between the ceaseless seasonal changes he observed on the ground and those he witnessed in the colors of the sky and clouds. That the clouds he viewed on August 24 bore a yellow not seen in mid-summer, for instance, marks a seasonal variation in aerial hues correlated with seasonal changes visible in plant and animal life upon the ground. The same kind of variation also seems to characterize the disappearance around this time of the sky's brilliant crimson color.

The narrator picks up on the correspondences between the clouds in the sky and the plants on the ground once more when speaking of seasonal changes in Komoro in late autumn. He first elaborates upon the length of different seasons in Komoro in the following passage, which comes just after the lines I quoted above regarding disparities in the water vapor in the sky in summer and fall:

> Komoro's four seasons should be [categorized] as follows: April and May make up spring; June, July, and August make up summer; September and October make up fall; and November until March the following year make up winter. Winter stretches a long five months. Spring begins a month later than in the capital; the plum flowers finally blossom in April. Fall begins a month earlier than in the capital; the frosted leaves are already crimson in October.[37]

The narrator then proceeds to describe the passing of the seasons in 1899 and, in the process, the correlations between changes he witnessed in the sky and those he witnessed upon the ground:

> The first frost reached the area of the fields on October 23; the first snow fell upon [Mt.] Asama on November 7. The persimmon fruits grew red, the yuzu fruits yellow; looking at the late-autumn sky from beneath a tree where the shrikes chirped a ruckus, the color of the clouds was non-transparent, as though white chalk had been mixed in; the effect [or "appearance"; *omomuki*] differed greatly from that of summer clouds bearing light and moisture. It appeared as though a color that was not fresh enveloped all the late-autumn scenery. I realized that there is a fascinating correspondence between the colors of the sky and the colors on the ground in the rhythm of the way they change as the seasons pass, but I had not yet come to think deeply about their connection [*ware wa ten no shikisai to chijō no shikisai to, kisetsu ni tsurete kawariyuku chōshi no naka ni, omoshiroki fugō no aru koto o kokorozukitaredo, imada fukaku wa sono kankei ni omoiitarazariki*].[38]

Again, the narrator verbalizes the "correspondence," the "connection" between the seasonal hues of the sky and those upon the ground. But he also professes that he "had not yet come to think deeply about [the] connection" between these elements of the environment. In so doing, he lends a progressive or evolutionary quality to his synthetic environmental study and description in "Clouds." For the narrator to say that he "had not yet come to think deeply about [the] connection" is for him to say that he has since come to do just that—to think about the connection, to think more synthetically.

As I will demonstrate below, the narrator would achieve such synthetic thought in the summer of 1900. He would do so following upon an extended lull and even loss of confidence in his previous cloud studies—a loss that, we might speculate, opened the door for a new approach to cloud study.

Some sense of the chronology of the narrative presented in "Clouds" helps clarify the logic of this argument. Most of "Clouds" recounts the narrator's cloud studies between July and December 1899. But the narrator then reveals that his studies all but ceased during the winter:

> From the middle of December, the air [*ten*] was cold, the light dim; the flowing water of the Chikumagawa river was covered in ice, and the smoke of Mt. Asama disappeared from sight. From this point into the new year until February, it was rare even to see the sun in the dark, dreary, snowy sky. There were few views of the clouds, and my inkwell also froze over.[39]

The narrator then confesses how, during this period, he came to fundamentally doubt the value of his earlier cloud studies:

> Having much time to ponder quietly while nestled by a window under eaves from which hung icicles like blades in [this] mountain village where the snow piled up, I reflected intently upon the changes in clouds and haze and so on, and I even found myself feeling that I, who had thought I had come a little closer to the distinction between [the clouds] in the morning and [those] at dusk, had in fact become yet less knowledgeable [*mugaku*] than I had been in the past. It is said that the victor, the king, starts out as a hunter,[40] but I felt like the deer I was pursuing was slipping further and further away.[41]

The arrival of spring did little to rejuvenate the narrator's practice of cloud watching:

> From the beginning of March until the end of May this year, thinking to scavenge for clouds in volumes of poetry, I also paid little attention to the view of the changing sky.[42] All I was able to grasp about the spring clouds was that, no matter whether they were high, low, near, or far, they all bore a crimson color. Within this same crimson color, it appeared as though what the clouds of early spring bore was a crimson color that glimmered deep [in the clouds], and that what the clouds of mid-spring bore was a crimson color that manifested itself on the surface [of the clouds]. The order of things was for this crimson color to finally change to the purple color of late spring.[43]

It is as this point in the story that the narrator finally comes to "think deeply" about the seasonal connections between the sky and the ground. In the process, he verbalizes his most extended passage of synthetic environmental description, which I have broken up into three block quotes. It does not seem coincidental that, as I will demonstrate below, this description immediately precedes the narrator's proclamation of a "complete change" in his "thinking and feeling regarding the clouds." This is because that "complete change" appears to consist, in part, in a movement from analytical to synthetic cloud study. The narrator reflects as follows:

> The clouds and haze that appear and disappear in the heavens and the grasses and trees that bloom and wither upon the ground: no matter the extent to which their properties and structures differ, there is a deep connection [*fukaki kankei*] in the manners in which they change and move, fade and flourish as the seasons pass—something that I had frequently noticed before, but now I have come to clearly sense this way of things [*kotowari*]. One would surely know [*shirubeshi*] even from looking at the sky around the time when the cuckoos come and sing: the appearance of the clouds swelling in early summer is like that of the fresh leaves flourishing in the treetops. The clouds of early summer are the young leaves of heaven.[44]

Previously, the narrator had not "thought deeply" about the "connection" between the seasonal hues of the sky and those upon the ground. Now, however, he has come to "clearly sense [a] way of things" in which there is a "deep connection" between "the clouds and haze" (*un'en*) and "the grasses and trees" (*sōmoku*; less literally, "vegetation"). He identifies such a connection in these entities' homologous cycles of rise and decline, birth and death. The narrator aligns and compares these entities and their cycles using a rhetoric of parallelism, which is also found in his juxtapositions elsewhere in the essay of clouds of different seasons and times of day.[45] Such parallelism defines the relationship between the phrases "the clouds and haze that appear and disappear in the heavens" (*ten ni shutsubotsu suru un'en to*) and "the grasses and trees that bloom and wither upon the ground" (*chijō ni eiko suru sōmoku to*). Notice the symmetrical diction in the Japanese: [location], *ni*, [logographic compound (*jukugo*) that signifies two contrastive processes], *suru*, [logographic compound that signifies two entities either in the sky or on the ground], *to*. The repetition of the particle *to* at the end of both sets of words itself signals that the narrator is presenting parallel terms—here, two sets of entities.[46]

Further on in the passage, the narrator formalizes the correspondence between these sets of entities and their seasonal changes through figurative language whose metaphorical impulse escalates rapidly. After perhaps tapping the association in classical Japanese poetry between the cuckoo's cry and the arrival of summer,[47] the narrator introduces the "appearance [*sama*] of the clouds swelling in early summer" as being "like" (*gotoki*) that of "the fresh leaves flourishing in the treetops." The simile then gives way to a metaphor that effects a sort of rhetorical synthesis of these entities: the clouds simply are the young leaves of the sky.

Immediately after the foregoing passage, the narrator proceeds to verbalize this unity and interconnectivity between the clouds and the vegetation, the sky and the ground using imagery of a Darwinian sort[48]:

> The height of summer is when the positive energy [*yōki*] reaches its acme and all things are at the peak of their growth [*kaiku*], the sun is close, the heat is great, the particles of water evaporating above the ground are plentiful and the direct rays of light are powerful; heaven and earth are precisely a stage [*butai*] of struggle, will [*eii*], and activity, a world of procreation and competition; and so, when one roams about the shadows of luxuriant trees [*ussō taru ryokuin*] and looks at the magnificent [appearance] of the layer of clouds hanging in the distant blue sky, one surely knows that these trees' shadows and those grand clouds conform with [or "correspond to"]

> one another in how their colors are sharp, their shades deep; how they bear powerful tones, [and] fierce expressions [*kono ryokuin to kano taiun to, sono iro no surudoku sono kage no fukaku shite, kyōsei naru chōshi, mōretsu naru hyōjō, tagai ni ai-kanau koto o shirubeshi*].[49]

The final part of this passage again employs rhythmic parallelisms to organize its description of the qualities shared between the sky and the ground. The parallelisms include "their colors sharp, their shades deep," (*sono iro no surudoku sono kage no fukaku shite,*) as well as "powerful tones, [and] fierce expressions," (*kyōsei-naru chōshi, mōretsu-naru hyōjō,*). In the latter case, for instance, each of the two phrases begins with a *nari* adjectival verb whose stem is a logographic compound (*jukugo*), underlined here: *kyōsei-naru* and *mōretsu-naru*. These parallel adjectival verbs modify nouns that are placed prior to commas and that are again logographic compounds: *chōshi* and *hyōjō*. These parallelisms in the final portion of the passage present the shared qualities that sustain and mark a "deep connection" between two sets of entities, themselves presented in parallel: "these trees' shadows and those grand clouds" (*kono ryokuin to kano taiun to,*). The deep connection between these entities obtains on a "stage" of "struggle" (*funtō*), in a dynamic, interactive world of "procreation" (*seishoku*) and "competition" (*kyōsō*). It obtains, that is, in a Darwinian environment conceived and described as a synthetic whole.[50]

Finally, the narrator expands further upon this sense of the correspondences between the sky and the ground by stating, immediately after the lines I just quoted, that "the connection between the clouds and haze and the grasses and trees in early summer is also the same":

> Because it is a time when nature is about to proceed into a domain of real activity [*jitsudō*] of yet more vigor than a youthful spring of pleasant dreams, [the clouds] are not spring clouds, which are like a white haze of cherry blossoms and [like] grasses sprouting; nor are they [the clouds] of the height of summer, which are like [a canopy] of deep shade and overspread leaves; the clouds and haze of early summer appeared just like gently flourishing young-leaved greenery that felt pure and fresh [*sanagara shoka no un'en wa wakaba no midori yawaraka ni shigerite sugashiku atarashiki omoi o okuru ni nitaru nari*].[51]

Taken together, this and the foregoing passages enact a mode of synthetic environmental description. It is a mode that differs substantially from the kind of analytical cloud description that I examined in the previous chapter.

Historical Conditions

To this point, I have demonstrated how the chronological narrative in "Clouds" stages the progressive if intermittent emergence of a type of synthetic environmental description defined by its attunement to seasonal changes in the environment. As I stated at the start of this chapter, the narrator follows his final passage of synthetic description, which I just analyzed, with a declaration of a total transformation in his "thinking and feeling" concerning clouds. He offers little explanation, however, regarding what occasioned this transformation. Nor does he specify if or how that transformation relates to the kind of synthetic grasp of clouds and the environment at work in the preceding passages of environmental description. After briefly examining the narrator's announcement of his transformation, I will propose four factors that may have shaped or motivated that transformation. These are Tōson's Ruskin-inspired notion of an interconnected environment, Kubo Tenzui's recent publication of an essay on Ruskin's cloud writings, Tōson's discomfort with an "anatomical" (*kaibōteki*) mode of cloud study linked to Ruskin, and Tōson's intensifying interest in the landscape painter Jean-François Millet.

Immediately after the passage I reproduced above regarding the "clouds and haze of early summer," Tōson's narrator makes a rather enigmatic declaration concerning a change in his approach to the study of clouds:

> . . . the clouds and haze of early summer appeared just like gently flourishing young-leaved greenery that felt pure and fresh.
>
> From this point, my thinking and feeling regarding clouds finally changed completely [*yōyaku ippen shitari*]. Previously, I had thought that clouds and the sky [*sora*] must be studied separately. Now, I have realized that clouds and the sky are difficult to separate. Previously, I had thought that research on clouds extended only to form and color. Now, I have realized that, beginning with light and air, there are other narrow roads [*hosomichi*] by which to enter into [this research].[52]

Again, the narrator specifies neither what catalyzed these changes nor how those changes relate to the extended passage of synthetic environmental description upon which this announcement follows. However, that some such relation exists is suggested by the very fact that the narrator makes this announcement just after speaking of the seasonal correspondences between the sky and the ground in the summer: "From this point [*kore yori*], my thinking . . . ." What follows are speculations, built upon existing scholarship, regarding the nature of this relation and the substance and causes of the narrator's "complete change."

John Ruskin and Environmental Interconnectivity

Some hint of the nature of the relation between the narrator's "complete change" and his synthetic environmental description may be provided by the connection between the narrator's newfound understanding of the indivisibility of clouds and the sky and John Ruskin's treatise *Modern Painters*. This is because, as the work of Yagi Isao suggests, *Modern Painters* may have encouraged in Tōson a sense of the environment as an interconnected totality.

The logic of this argument becomes clearer when understood in light of the way Ruskin's treatise probably shaped the very language and content of the narrator's announcement of his "complete change." As Yagi has pointed out,[53] the first portion of this announcement, in which the narrator speaks of the inseparability of clouds and the sky, strongly echoes the words I have underlined below in a passage from *Modern Painters*:

> The sky is to be considered as a transparent blue liquid, in which, at various elevations, clouds are suspended, those clouds being themselves only particular visible spaces of a substance ["aqueous vapour"] with which the whole mass of this liquid is more or less impregnated. Now, we all know this perfectly well, and yet we so far forget it in practice, that we little notice the constant connection kept up by nature between her blue and her clouds; and we are not offended by the constant habit of the old masters, of considering

> the blue sky as totally distinct in its nature, and far separated from the vapours which float in it. With them, cloud is cloud, and blue is blue, and no kind of connection between them is ever hinted at.[54]

For Tōson's narrator to realize that clouds and the sky are indivisible was for him to realize something that Ruskin had already brought to light: the "constant connection" between clouds and the sky. In fact, the narrator himself underscores Ruskin's treatment of this topic. Not long after declaring his "complete change," the narrator comments that "the connection [*kankei*] between the blue sky [*seiten*] and clouds" is one of the topics covered in Ruskin's "research on the sky."

This link between Ruskin and the narrator's newfound sense of the "constant connection" between clouds and the sky may help contextualize the emergence of synthetic environmental description over the course of "Clouds." In proposing as much, I build once more upon the work of Yagi Isao. Yagi has implied, I think, that there is a link or resonance of sorts, again tied to Ruskin's influence, between the "constant connection" and a "synthetic" conception of an interconnected environment.

In his article on Tōson and Ruskin, Yagi first cites Tōson's 1909 essay, "Shasei" ("Transcribing Life" or "Drawing from Life"; an earlier version of the essay had appeared in 1907 as an essay under the title "Musings on Shasei" [Shasei zakkan]).[55] Yagi references or quotes Tōson's statements in the essay that "I adopted the method of *shasei* [in order to undertake] this [kind of] 'practice in seeing things'" and that, "in my *shasei*, . . . I began by observing parts, since it is impossible to see the [general] gist [*daitai*] of things from the start, and then, slowly, I tried to bring myself closer to grasping the 'truth [*shin*]' of the thing [*mono*]."[56] Yagi suggests that the fact that "this stance was influenced by Ruskin" can be determined from Tōson's subsequent comment that,

> when I was in Shinshū [where Komoro is located], I often tried keeping such a thing as a cloud diary [*yoku kumo no nikki nazo o tsukete mita*].[57] Thanks to this commitment to *shasei*, I believe I was able to draw a bit closer to that vast thing called "nature."[58]

Yagi remarks,

> The method of beginning from the observation of clouds, which are one piece of nature, and expanding to the observation of the open sky, the ground, and the lives of the animals, plants, and humans who inhabit it—to the totality of nature—was something Tōson learned from Ruskin's *Modern Painters*.[59]

Finally, after identifying the correspondence I noted above between lines in the narrator's announcement of his "complete change" and lines in *Modern Painters*, Yagi cites part of one of the passages that I gave as an example of synthetic description: "The clouds and haze that appear and disappear in the heavens . . . I have come to clearly sense this way of things." In these lines, Yagi states, Tōson "confirms anew that the various phenomena of the natural world interconnect organically."[60] Judging from Yagi's insightful analysis, then, Ruskin's *Modern Painters* was a touchstone for, not only Tōson's analytical cloud descriptions, but also his synthetic environmental description.

Kubo Tenzui and John Ruskin

A second factor behind the "complete change" in the narrator's stance toward clouds may have been the publication three months prior to Tōson's essay of the treatise *On the Beauty of Landscape* (Sansui biron; May 1900) by the scholar Kubo Tenzui. Tenzui's treatise contains an essay, titled "On Clouds" (Kumo o ronzu; original date of publication unknown), that takes up Ruskin's writing about clouds in *Modern Painters*.[61] Tenzui's essay is pertinent when analyzing Tōson's essay "Clouds" because, in "Clouds," Tōson's narrator directly critiques Tenzui's essay for failing to address a particular portion of Ruskin's writing on the sky and clouds in *Modern Painters*. Precisely that missing portion discusses, as Tōson's narrator has it, "the connection between the blue sky and clouds"—a notion integral to the narrator's newfound approach to a more "synthetic" kind of cloud study.

Making this argument necessitates some understanding of the content of Tenzui's essay, which may have jump-started Tōson's own cloud studies from June 1900,[62] as well as the structure of Ruskin's treatise. Tenzui's essay presents an abridged adaptation and translation, as well as a few critiques and supplementations, of primarily three chapters on clouds in *Modern Painters*. The chapters concern, respectively, the upper region of cirrus clouds, the central region of stratus clouds, and the lower region of rain clouds. In Ruskin's treatise, these three chapters follow another chapter, "Of the Open Sky," within "Of Truth of Skies," which is section three of part two of volume one of *Modern Painters*.

Early in "Clouds," Tōson's narrator states that "I had often thought to translate the four chapters [*setsu*] that take up clouds in the third section [*shō*] of the first volume of *Modern Painters*, and to transmit their scrupulous observations." The narrator then found, however, that Tenzui's essay in *On the Beauty of Landscape* had already accomplished in full what he had sought to do. Moreover, many "parts" (*fushi*) of the narrator's own "trifling study" are "tied to" (or "affected by"; *kakawaru*) Tenzui's essay.[63]

Yet, near the end of "Clouds," Tōson's narrator also critiques Tenzui for having omitted treatment (translation) of the chapter "Of the Open Sky" when he introduced Ruskin's work on clouds. It is in the course of this critique that the narrator speaks of Ruskin's discussion of "the connection between the blue sky and the clouds" (underline added):

> When he introduced the section [of *Modern Painters*] on clouds [*kumo no shō*] in *On the Beauty of Landscape*, Kubo Gakushi [Scholar Kubo] omitted the chapter on the sky [*sora o ronzuru no issetsu o habukitari*]. Ruskin's study of the sky is the secret key needed to open up clouds; within that [research], what [Ruskin] says of nature and the distinctive qualities of the blue sky; of the connection between the blue sky and clouds; of the phenomena and properties of sunlight, and their causes; and of the matter of clouds' shadows and so on are all observations that penetrate the intricacies of nature [*shizen no bi ni iritaru kansatsu*]. It is beyond regrettable that, despite this, [Kubo] Gakushi did not include [an (abridged) translation of this chapter] in his essay on clouds.[64]

In short, Tōson's narrator critiques Tenzui for failing to address a portion of Ruskin's treatise. Precisely that portion of the treatise contains statements on the "connection" between the sky and clouds that seem to underwrite the narrator's new, more synthetic approach to cloud study—that is, study that attends to the indivisibility of the sky and clouds.

The foregoing critique of Tenzui's essay in "Clouds" may also elucidate the second aspect of Tōson's narrator's new approach to cloud study as he describes that approach in his announcement of his "complete change." This aspect is, namely, the narrator's abjuration of an exclusive focus on form and color, which had been central to his analytical cloud descriptions, and his concomitant realization that there are other "narrow roads" into cloud study.[65] Immediately after the passage from "Clouds" that I just quoted, the narrator enumerates the "narrow roads" of cloud study in which he has engaged of late (he humbly calls this study "unpromising" [*obotsukanaki*]). The topics of these "narrow roads" seem consonant with those the narrator had just located in Ruskin's "Of the Open Sky," although it is up for debate as to how strongly they chime with a synthetic apprehension of clouds and the environment:

> Since the start of June, I have followed unpromising narrow roads of study regarding the appearance [*sama*] of endless water vapor seen in the blue sky in summer, the connection between sunlight and the blue sky, the appearance [or "manner"; *omomuki*] of the shadows of clouds seen at sunset, the appearance [*nagame*] of rain clouds and their low-hanging undersides [*kumoashi*], clouds on moonlit nights, and so on. But [discussing these narrow roads] would require a whole new essay, so for now I should lay down my brush at this juncture [*ichirizuka*].[66]

Ruskin and "Anatomy"

I have suggested ways in which Ruskin's *Modern Painters* may have positively influenced both the narrator's transformed stance toward clouds and also his recent cloud studies. Yet, the "complete change" in the narrator's "thinking and feeling regarding clouds," and indeed his attempts at synthetic as opposed to analytical description, can also be interpreted as a shift away from Ruskin.

One manifestation of this shift may have been a growing discomfort on the part of Tōson with an approach to cloud study that was overly "anatomical" (*kaibōteki*, also the word for "dissective"). I will argue below that this approach was tied to Tōson's readings of Ruskin. Tōson would voice his discomfort with such an approach years later in the following passage of his 1907 essay, "Musings on Shasei" (Tōson would revise the passage slightly in "Shasei," the 1909 version of this essay). Although the passage postdates "Clouds" by a number of years, it chimes with the growing presence in "Clouds" of synthetic environmental description as well as with the narrator's movement toward more synthetic cloud study. More importantly, it uses a language of "anatomy" (*kaibō*) that can already be found in "Clouds," where this term appears to make reference to a methodology of cloud study acquired through Ruskin. Note that, in these lines, the phrase "practicing seeing" alludes to a statement by Jean-François Millet quoted earlier in "Musings on Shasei":

> I kept my sketchbook [*shaseichō*] in the style of a diary. In the course of practicing seeing things in this way, a doubt [*gimon*] that arose in my mind a number of times was, "Am I really transcribing the nature of things [*mono o shizen*]?" There were sometimes cases when it became too anatomical [*kaibōteki*], as though I were treating living things like they were dead things [underline added]. I believe that, unless there is vitality [*seiki*] in oneself [the transcriber], one cannot truly transcribe "life [*sei*]." Millet says, "One must

> always view matters [starting] from the root [*konpon*]; this is the sole basis for authenticity [*shinsei no jiban*].” If one came to be able to view things from the root, and then proceed freely to the details [*shiyō*], that would be the height of *shasei*.[67]

I will return below to the connection between Tōson and Millet, whom Tōson quotes in this passage based on material that was not available to him in 1899-1900.[68] Here, however, I want to emphasize how, at least as of 1907, Tōson saw his early *shasei* as having verged upon “anatomical” study, as having sometimes treated living things as though they were dead. Such a critique would seem to apply to the kind of analytical cloud study found in “Clouds” that I examined in the previous chapter. Indeed, as Nakajima Kunihiko writes after quoting the slightly revised version of foregoing lines found in the 1909 essay “Shasei,” “Every time I read this passage, I think that, ultimately, a [work] like ‘Clouds’ is a prototypical example of ‘becoming too anatomical [*kaibōteki*].’”[69]

Evidence for this position lies in the fact that the narrator of “Clouds” already uses the word *kaibō* (anatomy) in the midst of his very first cloud description. The description concerns the clouds seen on the evening of July 24, 1899. The narrator states,

> The colors of the clouds changed a number of times, and I did not know what to apprehend as which [color; *izuko o nan to torauru ni yoshi naku*]. Because my eye was unreliable,[70] I was unable to firmly grasp such [matters] as the position of the clouds on that day or the properties of summer clouds. I had the feeling that I was holding a knife and facing a human body on the floor. I was helpless to implement even my limited knowledge of the principles of anatomy [*hakujaku naru kaibō no gakuri mo hodokosu ni sube nakariki*].[71]

Read against the 1907 essay, this passage signals that the narrator’s early cloud studies, which I have characterized as “analytical,” attempted to approach clouds through an anatomical framework of the sort that Tōson would later critique in his essay on *shasei*.

This framework, furthermore, appears to derive from Ruskin’s *Modern Painters*. As Kenmochi Takehiko writes in his annotations to Tōson’s essay, “‘The principles of anatomy [*kaibō no gakuri*]’ refers metaphorically to a method of observation learned from Ruskin.”[72] This method formed the basis of Tōson’s analytical cloud descriptions. Morimoto Takako, too, has identified a similar link between Ruskin and Tōson. She observes how Ruskin’s text and Tōson’s text each include the word *kaibō*.[73] Mikimoto Ryūzō, whose Japanese translation of *Modern Painters* Morimoto cites elsewhere in her essay, sometimes uses *kaibō* to translate Ruskin’s word “anatomy.” This word can also be found in the section on clouds in the first volume of *Modern Painters*. For example, near the end of his chapter on the “central cloud region,” Ruskin refers to “their [the clouds’] real anatomy.”[74] Mikimoto translates this phrase as “kumo no shinjitsu no kaibō.”[75]

In her essay, Morimoto suggests that “anatomical knowledge” (*kaibōteki chishiki*)—I believe in the work of Ruskin and Tōson alike—is but a “means” toward the greater end of fostering a “direct encounter between the human and nature without being caught in typologized patterns of thought.”[76] But perhaps, over the course of his cloud studies, Tōson’s narrator had grown frustrated with this particular means, with this Ruskin-inspired, anatomical approach to the study of clouds. Perhaps that approach had yielded clouds too much like “dead” things[77]—had yielded cloud study that was overly anatomical (analytical) in tenor—and had thus prepared the ground for a more synthetic approach to studying and describing clouds and the environment as a whole. One could, following Yagi Isao, see this latter, synthetic approach as itself being Ruskinian in nature. Alternatively, one could join Nakajima Kunihiko in locating a movement in "Clouds" away from Ruskin toward a new intellectual touchstone: Jean-François Millet, the person whom Tōson quotes in "Musings on Shasei" when critiquing his earlier "anatomical" approach to *shasei*.

Jean-François Millet

As Nakajima has documented,[78] Tōson held a growing interest in Millet around the turn of the twentieth century. This interest may have undergirded Tōson's narrator's newly synthetic grasp of the environment in "Clouds."

That there is some relation between Millet and the content of "Clouds" would seem to be intimated by the appearance of Millet's name at the end of the version of "Clouds" that Tōson published in August 1901 in the collection of prose and poetry, *Fallen Plum Blossoms*. In the final lines of the 1901 essay, Tōson writes as follows regarding Miyake Kokki, his interlocutor in Komoro:

> The watercolorist Miyake Kokki came to live in Komoro at around the same time as I did. Out of sympathy for one another as lonely travelers, we regularly took solace in visiting one another and discussing art and such. When he traveled to the West, he went about renowned museums, closely examined the works of *Millet*, Corot, and the like, and studied their use of color [emphasis added].[79]

Quoting these lines, Nakajima Kunihiko stresses the significance of the fact that Tōson

> learned stories, and about the works, of Millet through Miyake Kokki. . . . One might say [*iwaba*] that this was the genesis of an eye that relativized the self that had been influenced by Ruskin [*Rasukin ni eikyō sarete ita jibun*]. Born there was, I think, the path [*hōkō*] of escaping, little by little, from Ruskin's spell. From Ruskin to Millet: the names of [these] two people of the arts [*geijutsuka*], recorded at the beginning and the end of "Clouds," neatly show precisely the change in Tōson's consciousness in the period from 1899 to 1900. And, here, I want to emphasize again that the entire text "Clouds" was also a record of that change.[80]

To summarize roughly, Nakajima's broader point concerns Tōson's shift while in Komoro away from a Ruskin-like concern with clouds overhead (rather than with people and their world below) to a Millet-like concern with rural people, labor, and environment.[81] For instance, shortly before the lines I just quoted, Nakajima cites Tōson's narrator's declaration that, "previously, I had thought that clouds and the sky must be studied separately. Now, I have realized that clouds and the sky are difficult to separate." Nakajima asserts, "This change of perspective, put in terms of a relation to people [*ningen*], ties into the stance of trying to discern [*misueyō*] the relation between country people (clouds) and the climate (the sky)."[82] Nakajima then extends this point to the content of Tōson's *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River* (written over a number of years but published only in 1911-12):

> It was likely inevitable that the object of Tōson's expression proceeded to expand from the "*suketchi* [sketches]" of clouds to the first draft of the "*suketchi*" of Komoro's people and climate later collected together as *Sketches Along the Chikumagawa River*.[83]

It is in connection with this point that Nakajima then addresses Tōson's statement concerning his friendship with Kokki, and also Tōson's reference to Millet, at the end of "Clouds."

Nakajima's arguments regarding Tōson and Millet are illuminating and suggestive. They may provide a key to understanding the movement toward synthetic cloud study and environmental description in "Clouds." One potential issue, however, is that the final lines in "Clouds" concerning the works that Kokki examined in Europe differed slightly in the original version of the essay, published in August 1900 in the magazine *Tenchijin* (Heaven, Earth, and Human). In the original version, we read that Kokki closely examined the works of "*Turner*, Corot, and so on" rather than "*Millet*, Corot, and so on" (emphases added).[84] That Tōson replaced J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851), whom Ruskin championed, with Millet in the later version of the essay may indicate that Tōson's shift from Ruskin to Millet transpired between the latter part of 1900 and 1901—that is, after the initial publication of "Clouds." In fact, similar historiographical issues arise in reading "Clouds" against Tōson's later essay "Musings on Shasei," as I did above when examining Tōson's use of the word "anatomy," because the essay draws on material regarding Millet that had not been available to Tōson in 1899-1900.[85]

Having said that, however, there is ample evidence to suggest that Tōson was already familiar with and interested in Millet before 1901. Indeed, Nakajima illustrates persuasively that Tōson was exposed to Millet through Kokki while Kokki resided in Komoro between 1899 and 1900.[86] In fact, even prior to moving to Komoro and interacting there with Kokki, Tōson appears to have referred to Jean-François Millet in the text "Sunday Conversation" (Nichiyōbi no danwa; May 1898, later included in *Fallen Plum Blossoms*).[87] There, the "sculptor," speaking to the troubled "painter," says, "What became of the preliminary drawings [*shita-e*] you prepared in order to make a copy of Millet's farmers [*Mirē ga nōfu no mosha*]?"[88]

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As I stated at the start of this chapter, Tōson's narrator provides little guidance in interpreting either the motivation behind the "complete change" in his stance toward clouds or the relation of that change to his efforts at synthetic environmental description. What is clear, however, is that "Clouds" testifies to a transformation of sorts in the narrator's approach to cloud study. That is, it stages a transformation in the relations among perceiver and world as well as, arguably, word (descriptive language).

This dissertation has attempted to forge a methodology for studying such constellations of relations as staged in landscape texts. The methodology works to reconcile experiential and discursive approaches to the study of literary landscape.

In one respect, drawing upon scholarship in the fields of environmental perception and landscape phenomenology, I have sought to highlight the way a selection of late-Meiji landscape writings stages an embodied perceiver's *perceptual engagement* with the environment. I have done so by repeatedly invoking the notion of perceptual attunement. Tracing the operation of such attunement in the writings of Shimazaki Tōson, Tokutomi Roka, and Kunikida Doppo has illustrated the inadequacy to late-Meiji landscape literature of a strictly epistemological conception of landscape as an object-world known from a distance by a detached or alienated perceiving subject.

At the same time, I have sought to modify such a phenomenologically inspired approach to the study of landscape in order to furnish a methodology viable for the literary historian. I have done so by combining an emphasis upon perceivers' experiences of the environment with the analysis of historically contingent modes of perception and expression. I have carried out such analysis by delineating literary, artistic, and historical conditions that shaped the modes of perception and expression, as well as the thematic content, found in particular landscape texts. Doing so has served to illustrate how those conditions influenced the relations among perceiver and world as well as picture and word realized in the texts through acts of perception and expression.

It is my hope that this hybrid methodology for studying literary landscape will provide something of a starting point—a methodological prompt—for future scholarship on expressions of landscape in literature within and beyond Meiji Japan.

Notes

[1] Shimazaki Tōson, "Kumo," *Tenchijin*, no. 40 (August 1900): 1, in *Kindai Nihon kirisutokyō shinbun shūsei. Dai 3-ki*, ed. Nihon Tosho Sentā (Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1995), reel 93 [microfilm].

[2] I initially culled the language of "analysis" and "synthesis" from Peter Galassi, *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1981). But I am significantly repurposing and recontextualizing Galassi's terminology.

One scholar who has also addressed the "synthetic" aspect of "Clouds" that I am identifying here is Yagi Isao in "Tōson to Rasukin: *Hakai* o chūshin to shite," *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, no. 29 (2001): 64-70, esp. 65-66. I will return to Yagi's essay below.

[3] In his annotations to the essay, Kenmochi Takehiko identifies apparent or possible allusions to or resonances with passages in *The Pillow Book* (Makurazōshi; c. 1000), a verse by the Chinese poet Du Mu (803-52), a verse in the *Collection of Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* (Kokin wakashū; c. 905), and lines in *Essays in Idleness* (Tsurezuregusa; early fourteenth century). See Kenmochi's annotations to *Rakubaishū* in Yamamuro Shizuka [*kaisetsu*] and Seki Ryōichi and Kenmochi Takehiko [*chūshaku*], *Tōson shishū*, Vol. 15 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1971), 450n4, 451n13, 454n5, 455n13, 456-57n10, and 457n11. Also see endnote 11 below and endnote 29 in the previous chapter on references in Tōson's essay to a poetic almanac by Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848) and to a haiku by the eighteenth-century poet Yosa Buson, respectively. It is worth remarking that, as William E. Naff once wrote, "Tōson belonged to the first generation for whom modern printing technology and modern marketing had made the entire corpus of classical Japanese literature readily accessible." See Naff's *The Kiso Road: The Life and Times of Shimazaki Tōson*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 92.

Note that the theme of seasonality itself boasts a long history in Japanese aesthetics. See Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[4] Naff, for one, has addressed the importance of *tabi* to Tōson's work as well as the theme's connection to earlier Japanese literature and particularly Bashō. However, Naff's reference to Itō Kazuo indicates that the theme was especially significant in writings by Tōson that postdate

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"Clouds" by a number of years. See Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 93-94. For more on Tōson and Bashō, also see Itō's "Tōson bungaku ni okeru Bashōteki sekai no seiritsu to tenkai," chapter subsection in *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū: kindai bungaku kenkyū hōhō no shomondai* (Meiji Shoin, 1969), 542-70 (on *tabi*, see esp. 553-55).

[5] For the dates of Tōson's relocation and move, see Kanda Shigeyuki, "Shimazaki Tōson ryakunenpu," in *Bungaku tanpō: Komoro, Tōson kinenkan*, ed. Komoro-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 4th rev. ed. (Sōkyū Shorin, 2010), 148-49.

[6] Uno Kenji, "Tōson to Bashō," *Hijiyama Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, no. 4 (1998): 35-49, quote on 40.

[7] See ibid., 38-39, and see p. 39 on Tōson's changing thinking about *tabi* around the time of these two collections. Itō Kazuo has discussed both Tōson's position as and feeling of being a "traveler" in Komoro and also the expression of the "feeling of travel" in works by Tōson that either date from or deal with his years in Komoro (again, Tōson would leave Komoro in 1905). See Itō's "Kansatsu to shisaku: Komoro no tabi," in Kitakōji Ken, Hayasaka Reigo, and Itō Kazuo, *Tōson ni okeru tabi* (Mokuji, 1973), ch. 6, esp. 143-53. Note that Itō's focus in this essay is not upon Tōson's connection to Bashō (although do see ibid., 152).

[8] Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 444n1; translation of Bashō's text taken from Helen Craig McCullough, trans., "The Narrow Road of the Interior," in *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*, ed. Helen Craig McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 522. Further on in his annotation, Kenmochi suggests that, "on top of this kind of Bashō-style view of nature [*Bashōteki shizenkan*], Ruskin's eye for observing nature exerted an influence upon Tōson from early on" (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 444n1).

[9] Kenmochi's annotation to *kakushin no tomo* reads, "something that soothes one's [sorrowful] feeling of travel [*ryojō*]" (ibid., 444n4). The dictionary definition of *kakushin* is, "The lonely [or 'uneasy,' 'worried,' or 'helpless'] feeling felt at one's destination when traveling" (*tabisaki de no kokorobosoi kimochi*). See Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten,* 1:1011.

[10] Tōson, "Kumo," 1.

[11] In the next paragraph in "Clouds," the narrator elaborates upon his year-long study of clouds in part through a reference to *Almanac of Seasonal Words for Linked Verse* (Haikai saijiki; 1803) by Kyokutei Bakin. Bakin's text "divides over 2,600 seasonal words [*kigo*] into four seasons and further compiles and explicates them by month" (see the entry for *Haikai saijiki*, under the entry for *haikai*, in Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten,* 3:9). In "Clouds," the narrator identifies "five advantages [of Komoro] for viewing clouds." He then remarks, "I was encouraged by an awareness of the rare suitability of this topography for making observations and, while not [seeking to] blindly mimic Bakin's *Almanac of Seasonal Words*, I made it a regular practice to record in my notebook the views over time of the clouds and haze [*un'en*] floating here [in Komoro]" ("Kumo," 2; translation taken in part from Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 193-94).

For the identification of the text by Bakin referenced in "Clouds," see Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 444n8. Judging from the online catalogue of the National Diet Library (available at https://ndlonline.ndl.go.jp/#!/) and the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books from Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan (available at http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/), both accessed on July 15, 2022, Bakin's text had been reprinted in 1882. Also see Hisatomi Tetsuo, "*Haikai saijiki*," in *NKBD*, 5:12-13.

[12] See Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 616n238.

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[13] Ibid. Also see ibid., 454n4 on Tōson's focus upon clouds' seasonal changes.
[14] Tōson, "Kumo," 4.
[15] Ibid., 2-3. Ruskin's five characteristics are "Symmetry," "Sharpness of Edge," "Multitude," "Purity of Colour," and "Variety." See John Ruskin, "Of Truth of Skies," section 3 of part 2 of *Modern Painters, Volume I*, 3:359-61.
[16] Tōson, "Kumo," 10.
[17] One could also argue that Tōson's focus upon water vapor owes something to the geographical treatise *On Japanese Landscape* (1894) by Shiga Shigetaka. I made an analogous point regarding Tokutomi Roka and water vapor when referring to the work of Yoshida Masanobu in endnote 72 in Chapter Five. On Shiga's treatise, see Chapter Four.
[18] As we will see, the very investigation into the connection between the sky and clouds is a defining aspect of what the narrator later calls the recent "complete change" in his "thinking and feeling regarding clouds."
[19] On the meaning of this line, see Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 454n2.
[20] Alternatively, "nor are clouds."
[21] *Natsu wa sora amari ni sayaka nari, yue ni shiroki suijōki no gun made mo miesukite, kaerite seichō o kaku narubeshi.*
[22] Tōson, "Kumo," 13.
[23] Ibid., 5.
[24] Ibid., 12.
[25] Ibid., 13.
[26] Ibid., 14.
[27] The narrator's discussion of the clouds on this day includes another chart, briefer than the one I examined in the previous chapter, of the colors of the cirrus clouds seen to the east at different times before, during, and after sunrise.
[28] Ibid., 12.
[29] Ibid., 12-13.
[30] Ibid., 10.
[31] However, one might locate an inkling of such description amidst the narrator's very first cloud description, which concerns clouds viewed on the evening of July 24: "The light of the evening sun, which was sinking low, rose up in the sky; as night fell along with the cries of the cicadas [*higurashi*], the tinge of yellow on the western edge of the sky, which [otherwise] appeared just like water, just barely retained traces of the [light of the] setting sun" (underline added; ibid., 5). Kenmochi's annotation to *higurashi* reads, "Cicadas that cry *kana kana* in the evening around the beginning of fall" (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 447n17).
[32] Tōson, "Kumo," 10-11.
[33] "Komoro is in the county [*gun*] of Kitasaku that lies along the Chikumagawa river" (ibid., 1).
[34] On these insects and plants, see Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 453n12-15.
[35] In the 1900 version of the essay, Tōson writes "chijō wa ware no sama no utsurikawari ni kurabe mite, ten no kanata mo mata onaji sama ni utsuriyuku koto o kanjitariki" (emphasis added; Tōson, "Kumo," 11); in the 1901 version, "ware wa chijō no sama no utsurikawari ni kurabe mite . . ." (emphasis added; Shimazaki Tōson, "Kumo," in *Rakubaishū* [Shun'yōdō, 1901], 63). The second version fits much better into the overall logic and context of the passage. Accordingly, I have translated the line in the 1900 text assuming that Tōson intended the meaning presented by the line in the 1901 text.

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[36] Tōson, "Kumo," 11.

[37] Ibid., 13. "Frosted leaves" (霜葉) refers to "leaves that are hit by frost and change color" (Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 454n5). "The frosted leaves are already crimson in October" seems to allude to a line in a verse by the Chinese poet Du Mu (see ibid.).

[38] Tōson, "Kumo," 13.

[39] Ibid., 14. Kenmochi's annotation to "my inkwell also froze over" reads, "This means both that the cold was severe and also that, in this period, the sky was covered by snow clouds and changed little, [so] he [Tōson] could not describe the clouds" (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 455n12).

[40] This is how I interpret the line "Ryōfu wa shōsha, ōja no hajime [to iu kotoba mo aredo] . . . ." Kenmochi states that the source of this expression is unknown (ibid., 456n1).

[41] The narrator continues: "Because nature can be understood by just about any method, if one draws from it using a measure of a deciliter [*ichigō*], then about a deciliter is drawn; if one draws from it using a measure of a liter [*isshō*], then even about a liter is drawn. But although it is only proper that, when I began to realize that what I had drawn was only a deciliter, I wished to multiply that deciliter by ten and make it a liter, how strange [*okashi*] it is that I, instead, felt a desire to tip over and throw away even the deciliter that I had been able to draw. Not to mention that what I had drawn did not even amount to a deciliter. Not to mention that nature is not a spring that measures merely one liter, that it is ten liters [*itto*], a hundred liters [*ikkoku*]—oh, that it is ultimately limitless." The narrator's "crude knowledge," he goes on to say, made him "a captive of despair [*shitsubō*] a number of times." Only his feeling of love for nature freed him from such captivity. See Tōson, "Kumo," 14-15.

Kenmochi Takehiko writes that "the deer I was pursuing" refers to "the beauty of nature." He proposes that, in the words "how strange it is . . . able to draw," we probably find a confession by Tōson of his "powerlessness" in the face of Ruskin's work in *Modern Painters*. Kenmochi also points out a connection to this powerlessness in his annotation to the line that recounts how Tōson's (the narrator's) "crude knowledge" made him a "captive of despair." See Kenmochi's annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 456n2, 456n4, 616n239, and 456n7.

[42] Perhaps, in searching through volumes of poetry, the narrator was also "scavenging" for a new method of cloud study. For different interpretations of this activity, see ibid., 456n9 and Nakajima Kunihiko, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei* (Chikuma Shobō, 1994), 420-21.

[43] Tōson, "Kumo," 15.

[44] Ibid. Kenmochi Takehiko identifies links in two parts of this passage with *Essays in Idleness* by Yoshida Kenkō (c. 1283 - c. 1350) (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 456-57n10-11).

[45] E.g., "The non-transparency of the color of the sky as dusk falls and the non-transparency of the sky as day breaks: the one owes to the weakness of the sunlight as it ages, the other owes to the indistinctness of the still-youthful sunlight; the time differs, but I felt that their appearance was somewhat similar" (underline added; Tōson, "Kumo," 10).

[46] In this connection, see Haruo Shirane on the particle "to" in his *Classical Japanese: A Grammar* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 167 and 169.

[47] On this topic, I have referred to Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, esp. 38, also 117. (Also relevant are ibid., 176, 178-79). On the association between the summer and the cuckoo, I have also referred to Takizawa Sadao, "Hototogisu" [*kadai*], in *Waka daijiten*, ed. Inukai Kiyoshi et. al. (Meiji Shoin, 1986), 892.

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[48] William E. Naff writes that Tōson had been introduced to Darwin's theories of evolution while studying at Meiji Institute (Meiji Gakuin). See Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 86. According to Kenmochi Takehiko, in 1901, Tōson would arrange to borrow a copy of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) through a student at Nagano Normal School (Nagano Shihan Gakkō). See Kenmochi's "Gakugei e no aibo no hito, Tōson: Rasukin *Kindai gakaron* to Tōson bungaku," *Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, no. 28 (2000): 48. Itō Kazuo records more or less the same events, citing a text by Tōson's student Hayashi Isamu in the process (*Shimazaki Tōson kenkyū*, 244). (But also see Shinbo Kunihiro, "'Musashino' no shūen: Tōson ni furete," in *Doppo to Tōson: Meiji sanjū nendai bungaku no kosumorojī* [Yūseidō, 1996], 67).

Note that, judging from the website of the Faculty of Education (Kyōiku Gakubu) of Shinshū University (Shinshū Daigaku), the normal school would have been known as "Nagano Prefectural Normal School" (Nagano-ken Shihan Gakkō) in 1901. (The Faculty appears to be a later iteration of the Normal School). See the section "Enkaku" (History) on the web page titled "Gakubu gaiyō" (Overview of the Faculty) on the website of Shinshū Daigaku Kyoiku Gakubu, Shinshū Daigaku, accessed July 18, 2022, https://www.shinshu-u.ac.jp/faculty/education/about/ideal/.

[49] Tōson, "Kumo," 15. Tōson writes "相協ふ" (*ai-kanau*). Earlier in the essay, too, he had written that "high and low respond and correspond to one another [相應じ相協ひ (*ai-ōji ai-kanai*)]" (underline added; ibid., 9). Kenmochi Takehiko, or another editor, gives the reading "kana" for 協 when it appears in this earlier instance (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 450).

[50] Suzuki Sadami, too, observes how "Darwin's theory of 'natural selection' is reflected in [the phrase] 'world of procreation and competition.'" See Suzuki Sadami, *Nihonjin no shizenkan* (Sakuhinsha, 2018), 614.

[51] Tōson, "Kumo," 15-16.

[52] Ibid., 16.

[53] Yagi, "Tōson to Rasukin," 66. Yagi's quotations differ just slightly from the words I underline in the following passage.

[54] Ruskin, "Of Truth of Skies," 3:346-47.

[55] Shimazaki Tōson, "Shasei," in *Shinkatamachi yori* (Sakura Shobō, 1909), 97-104, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/886815. For the earlier version of the essay, see Shimazaki Tōson, "Shasei zakkan," in the "collection of talks" (*dansō*) in *Bunshō sekai* 2, no. 3 (March 1907): 39-41.

[56] Tōson, "Shasei," 98-99; translation taken in part from Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 224.

[57] In the 1907 version of the essay, Tōson does not refer to the fact that he kept a cloud diary while in Shinshū.

[58] Tōson, "Shasei," 101; translation adapted from Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 224.

[59] Yagi, "Tōson to Rasukin," 65-66.

[60] Ibid., 66. See ibid., 65-66 on Tōson, Ruskin, and the movement from part to whole in observation.

[61] Kubo Tenzui, "Kumo o ronzu," in *Sansui biron* (Shinseisha, May 1900), 18-40. Nakajima Kunihiko records that six of the nine texts contained in *On the Beauty of Landscape* had appeared in the magazine *Hansei zasshi* ("Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," 416). It is not clear if "On Clouds" had been published previously or if it appeared for the first time in *On the Beauty of Landscape* (see ibid.).

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[62] For more on Tōson's restarting of his cloud observations, see Nakajima, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," 420-421. Nakajima also explores the ties and contrasts between Tōson's essay "Clouds" and Tenzui's essay "On Clouds" in some detail in ibid., 415-18. In addition, on the topic of Tōson and Tenzui, see Yano Hōjin's entry for the text "Clouds" in the *Shimazaki Tōson Encyclopedia*. There, Yano writes, "I think the reason Tōson suddenly felt inclined to compile this text [*honkō*] when he came to relocate to Komoro was because he was stimulated by Kubo Tenzui's *On the Beauty of Landscape*, which came out in May 1900." See Yano Hōjin, "Kumo," in *Shimazaki Tōson jiten*, ed. Itō Kazuo, new ed. (Meiji Shoin, 1982), 120.

[63] See Tōson, "Kumo," 2.

[64] Ibid., 16.

[65] This abjuration helps explain why, as I argued in the previous chapter, the narrator repeatedly evaluates his early studies of dazzling summer sunsets as having been elementary, common, and "conventional." In fact, one could contend that a critique of the "common" and the "conventional" constitutes another reason for the narrator's "complete change." In the previous chapter, I noted that the narrator presents an extended quotation of and brief commentary on a passage from *Modern Painters* that serves as a summation of his year of cloud studies. Those studies have finally enabled him to understand Ruskin's excoriations, in the quoted passage, of classical pictorial uniformity or convention, of common ways of perceiving and knowing clouds, and of a common standard of or taste for paintings of "nature." It seems significant that the narrator's quotation of and commentary on Ruskin's passage fall immediately after the narrator's declaration of his "complete change"—in a sense, the climax of "Clouds"—and immediately before his critique of Kubo Tenzui's take on Ruskin. The difficulty, however, lies in determining just how much of the cloud study undertaken by the narrator prior to his "complete change" can be evaluated as "common" or "conventional."

[66] Tōson, "Kumo," 16-17. All that remains in "Clouds" after this line is a kind of postscript to the essay in which Tōson speaks of his debt to Miyake Kokki. On this topic, see Chapter Seven.

[67] Tōson, "Shasei zakkan," 39-40; I take much of the translation from Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 224. For the corresponding passage in the 1909 version of the essay, see Tōson, "Shasei," 99-100.

[68] Nakajima Kunihiko has already identified and discussed the sources of Tōson's quotes of Millet in Nakajima, "Tōson, Mirē, Iwamura Tōru," in *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei*, 445-46, also see 806n10-11. Tōson specifies in his essay that his first quote of Millet comes from Iwamura Tōru's book, *Various Writings from the Garden of the Arts* (Geien zakkō). (In *The Kiso Road*, p. 224, Naff translates the title as *Random Thoughts from the Garden of the Arts*). See Iwamura Tōru, "Mire no garon" [Millet on Painting], subsection within "Rekitei kanwa," in *Geien zakkō* (Gahōsha, 1906), 227-243. See ibid., 232-33, 236, and 241 for lines that correspond to Tōson's quotes of Millet (there are some variations between Iwamura's and Tōson's texts). Judging from its prefatory opening lines (ibid., 227-28), "Mire no garon" consists of translations of Millet's *garon* (writings on painting).

However, as Nakajima indicates, the subsection "Mire no garon" in Iwamura's 1906 book had appeared earlier as "Rekitei kanwa (5): Mire no garon," "Rekitei kanwa (6)," and "Rekitei kanwa (7): Mire no garon, sono san," all signed by "Ōsai," in *Bijutsu shinpō*, vol. 2 no. 17 (1903): 4, vol. 2 no. 19 (1903): 3, vol. 2 no. 22 (1904): 4, respectively. The lines in this earlier version of Iwamura's text that correspond to Tōson's quotes of Millet can be found in "Rekitei kanwa (6)" and "Rekitei kanwa (7)." (In this case, too, there are some variations between Iwamura's and Tōson's texts.) See Nakajima's argument regarding Tōson and the different

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versions of Iwamura's essay. No matter which version or versions Tōson referred to in writing his essay, those materials postdated "Clouds." Finally, note that Tōson quotes Millet, as translated in Iwamura's text(s), four times (on this last point, see Nakajima, "Tōson, Mirē, Iwamura Tōru," 806n11).

[69] Ibid., 446-47.

[70] Kenmochi writes that this phrase means, "because I was not yet used to observation" (annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 447n14). The narrator had, after all, only recently begun his perceptual training.

[71] Tōson, "Kumo," 4.

[72] Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 447n16; also see ibid., 447n15 for "surgeon."

[73] Morimoto Takako, "'Kumo' o meguru essei: 'Musashino' o yomu tame ni," *Shizuoka kindai bungaku* 5 (1990): 29.

[74] Ruskin, "Of Truth of Skies," 3:391.

[75] Mikimoto Ryūzō, Vol. 1 of *Kinsei gakaron*, Vol. 67 of *Sekai daishisō zenshū* (Shunshūsha, 1932), 245. Note that, a little earlier in the same chapter, Ruskin had used the phrase "the real anatomy of cloud-form" (3:390-91). Mikimoto had given "kumo no katachi no shinjitsu no bunseki" (p. 244).

[76] Morimoto, "'Kumo' o meguru essei," 30. To use the terms introduced in the previous chapter, such "anatomical knowledge" facilitated Tōson's Ruskin-inspired critique of "conventional" conceptions and representations of clouds.

[77] This is not the case throughout "Clouds," however. In the previous chapter, I quoted a passage of the essay that portrays clouds that seemed to "live" and "breathe."

[78] I will refer to two essays in Nakajima's book *Kindai bungaku ni miru kanjusei*: "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo" (ch. 24) and "Tōson, Mirē, Iwamura Tōru" (ch. 25).

[79] See these lines in the version of "Kumo" contained in the 1901 edition of *Rakubaishū*, p. 75. Also see the same lines, including the reference to Millet, in Shimazaki Tōson, "Kumo," in *Rakubaishū*, in *Tōson zenshū*, 1:264.

[80] Nakajima, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," 421.

[81] In addition to the following example, see Nakajima's "Tōson, Mirē, Iwamura Tōru." Also germane is Nakajima, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," 804n5. However, also see ibid., 804n6 on Tōson's feeling of being unable to (truly) understand farmers.

Within "Clouds" itself, laborers and farmers make a rare appearance when the narrator speaks of the clouds he viewed during his day trip from Komoro to Nagano on August 8: "On this day, the figures of the workers [*ninpu*] constructing the embankment disappeared into the long green grass when I looked while on the road [*michisugara*]; the [appearance] of the weeping willows and river willows covered in sand was like that of a flock of sheep [*yōryū* 楊柳 *no suna ni uzumoretaru wa hitsuji no mure* 群 *no gotoku*]; nearby, in the stretch of mulberry fields, clusters of [seeds] hung from the ends of ears of sorghum; dark green trees of unripe peaches [青桃] created deep shade for the farmers moving along the road; and [one] could see flowers of bean plants blooming in various places" (Tōson, "Kumo," 10). On the word *yōryū*, see Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu, *Seisenban Nihon kokugo daijiten,* 3:1164-65 and Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 452n3. According to Kenmochi, Nagano City "is not along the Chikumagawa river, but to travel from Komoro to Nagano would mean going down[stream; *kudaru*] along the Chikumagawa river" (ibid., 452n1). In translating the passage, I

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have also referred to the entry for "Sorghum" in Vol. 25 of *Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition* (Danbury, CT: Scholastic Library Publishing, 2005), 231-32.

With their mixture of labor, agriculture, and pastoral imagery, the foregoing lines are particularly amendable to analysis and critique from the kind of Marxist/cultural-Marxist approach to landscape found in John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986); and Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998). Also in this vein, see Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). John Wylie discusses or cites all these scholarly texts as well as cultural Marxism and the study of landscape in *Landscape* (London: Routledge, 2007), ch. 3, esp. 58-69.

[82] Nakajima, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," 421.

[83] Ibid.

[84] See Tōson, "Kumo," 17.

[85] "Musings on Shasei" opens as follows: "'In order to remember well what one has seen, one must first practice seeing in such a way that one understands [what one sees]. In order to see things, it will not suffice just to open one's eyes; there must be a working of the mind [*kokoro*].' This is one of the views of Millet that Mr. Iwamura introduces in *Various Writings from the Garden of the Arts* [*Geien zakkō*]. It does not apply only to painting; I think it is probably just the same in literature, too. Seeing things is not so easy to do. For example, even though one may see the smoke from charcoal-making deep in the mountains [*shinzan ni sumiyaki no keburi no tachinoboru no mo nagameru ni shite mo*], it requires some practice in seeing things before one becomes aware that mortal human beings are there. I adopted the method of *shasei* [in order to undertake] this [kind of] 'practice in seeing things'" ("Shasei zakkan," 39; translation taken in significant part from Naff, *The Kiso Road*, 224; in the 1909 version of the essay, Tōson writes *shinzan ni sumiyaki no kemuri no tachinoboru no o nagameru ni shite mo*).

Tōson may have held such ideas years earlier, and Nakajima Kunihiko has shown that Tōson learned about Millet through the watercolorist Miyake Kokki while in Komoro in 1899-1900. But the fact remains that the different versions of Iwamura's introduction of Millet's writings on painting first became available to Tōson after the publication of "Clouds." See endnote 68 above. For more on the sort of "seeing" described in the passage I have quoted here, see Nakajima, "Komoro no kumo, Pari no kumo," 424-25. Also note that, citing part of this passage—"Seeing things is not easy . . . living and dying"—Nakajima observes in passing how "the 'smoke' and 'people' referred to here correspond precisely to 'clouds' and 'sky'" (ibid., 425).

[86] Nakajima, "Tōson, Mirē, Iwamura Tōru," 437-39.

[87] [Shimazaki] Tōson, "Nichiyōbi no danwa," in *Getsuyō furoku* [Monday Appendix] of *Yomiuri shinbun*, May 9, 1898, accessed through Yomidasu Rekishikan database. I intentionally qualify by saying "appears to." The entry on "Mirē" ([Jean-François] Millet) in the *Shimazaki Tōson Encyclopedia* cites Tōson's reference to "Mirē" in the text "Farewell Address" (Kokubetsu no ji; January 1898). This is, I gather, the earliest such reference the entry presents. However, in response to this reference cited in the *Encyclopedia*, Nakajima Kunihiko quotes the opening lines of "Farewell Address" to explain that the name "Mirē" as used in this text in fact refers to the English painter J. E. Millais (1829-96). "Farewell Address" begins, "Once Rossetti, Hunt,

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Millais [*Mirē*], and so on formed the poetic society [*shisha*], P.R.B. [Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood], while they were yet young, ...” (underline added; in *Tōson zenshū*, 16:485). Nakajima then contends that “the issue of [Jean-François] Millet” must be considered beginning from Tōson’s time in Komoro. See Nakajima, “Tōson, Mirē, Iwamura Tōru,” 805n1. For the encyclopedia entry in question, see “Mirē,” in Itō, *Shimazaki Tōson jiten*, 434-35.

[88] I was first directed to this passage and its reference to Millet by Shinbo Kunihiro, “Nijū utsushi no ‘fūkei,’ soshite ‘jitsu no sekai’ e: ‘shibunshū’ to iu seido kara,” in *Shimazaki Tōson: bunmei hihyō to shi to shōsetsu to*, ed. Hiraoka Toshio and Kenmochi Takehiko (Sōbunsha, 1996), 85. I believe Shinbo understands the “Millet” in question to have been associated with the Barbizon School. That is to say, the “Millet” in question is Jean-François Millet.

Kenmochi Takehiko lists a few possible candidates for the painting(s) to which Tōson is referring in the line I have quoted. See Kenmochi, annotations to *Rakubaishū*, 531n20. Note that Kenmochi takes “Millet” to be the “French painter of peasants [*nōmin*]” (i.e., Jean-François Millet).