

The Birth of Modern Japanese Literature (I)

From the Letters between Shiki, Kyoshi and Souseki

(With the Quotation of Lecture by Teiko Inahata)

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要 約

近代日本文学の誕生（１） 子規、虚子、漱石の手紙・交流から （稲畑汀子氏の講演・英訳を紹介して）

平井 雅子

異なる精神、異質な文化が出会うとき、ときにその交流・友情・対話は、人間的ドラマをともなう新しい芸術・文学の「胎動」、「創造」の場面を生む。江戸時代から明治に代わる最後の年に生まれた漱石と子規。彼らより少し、若い虚子。この三人が交流し、文学者として活躍した、あるいは活躍し始めるきっかけをつかんだのは、今からおおよそ百年前である。いまや近代俳句の父とされる正岡子規、子規の俳句思想を受け継ぎ俳誌『ホトトギス』とともに近代俳句の伝統と今日にいたる発展の礎を築いた高浜虚子、近代日本小説を代表する作家・夏目漱石、という三人はそれぞれの出身地、個性、才能、志や欲望をもつ若者であった。彼らが文学への情熱と若者らしい純粋さ、権力への批判、挫折や孤独感をぶつけ合う中で生まれた発見、実践、決断…。その道筋を彼らの手紙を中心にたどってみると、それまで日本の教養人を育んできた漢文と日本の古典・和歌の伝統と、一度に開かれた扉から導入される西洋文明思想と近代化の潮流がせめぎ合うさま、そのなかで彼ら自身が夢中で体得した文学創造のリズムが、今日の読み手にもリアルに伝わってくるように感じられる。言葉においても、漢文と英文が、俳句と小説が、批評と創作が、対話しつつ新たなものを生み出すエネルギーとなった時代。そうした坩堝のような状況下で、感性豊かな人間たちが、各自の個性と才能を活かしきる「文学創造」とは何であったか。

「近代日本文学の誕生」と題する本稿は、第一部、第二部に分かれる。第一部（今回）は序論にかえて、虚子の孫で『ホトトギス』主宰の稲畑汀子氏の講演「子規・漱石・虚子」を本学学生の対訳で紹介し、その視点の意義を示す。この講演は、三人の出会いと交流が後の彼ら文学形成の契機を生む過程、概要を、彼らの手紙の抜粋をもとに構成したもので、普通の文学研究、資料研究には見られにくいものをもつ。すなわち、文学をめざす三人の「人間」の生きた交流が、彼らの手紙を通して直に伝わることを素直に示していて、分かりやすい。

第２部は、「手紙を通して…」の視点をさらに進めて、筆者自身が、子規と漱石の出会いからロンドン留学中の漱石の手紙と子規の死にいたるまでの13年間の往復書簡を読み解き、その「文章」と歴史文化的背景を通して彼らの交流と文学の本質を明らかにしようとする「本論」である。主に英文学を通して彼らが吸収した西洋思想、古典、漢文の伝統の間で、異なる文化、思想にぶつかっていく一つ一つの言葉の意味とその流れに注目した抜粋・英訳を行い、手紙の文章の対話性と変化から、近代日本人として東西文化に対する漱石と子規の対応の違いを探り、彼らの葛藤、批評、発見の瞬間と、そこに生み出された文学の核心にせまる。

We can sometimes feel the quickening pulse of creative exchange when different minds, even different cultures, meet. We can feel it in the letters exchanged just over 100 years ago between Shiki, the now classic *haiku* poet, and Souseki, later a great novelist, who had been a student of English and had been sent to London to study. They had been friends ever since their high school days together in Tokyo, and had written poems and prose in Chinese, poems in Japanese, essays and travel-pieces, each sending them to the other as the ideal critic. Souseki later left his university post in Tokyo to teach English at the High School at Matsuyama, Shiki's home town, letting Shiki stay with him there for a time on his return from being a war correspondent in the Sino-Japanese war, as he had vomited blood and tried to recover from the tuberculosis which slowly killed him. Kyoshi, the younger friend and poet who deeply respected Shiki, supported him and developed his ideas by publishing *Hototogisu*, which attracted the readers and subscribers of *haiku* and *shasei-bun* (sketch in prose) and has continued to make *haiku* a popular literary tradition. It was in *Hototogisu* that Souseki made his debut as a novelist, with *I Am a Cat*, which Kyoshi encouraged him to write. The letters which Souseki wrote from London, full of sharp humour, conveyed penetrating sketches of the foreign metropolis and its people to the dying Shiki who was confined to bed in Tokyo and writing the *haiku*, the diaries and the letters which are his testament. Out of their long friendship and literary exchange grew the best of modern Japanese literature.

Souseki stayed in London from 1900 to 1902, while Shiki, the founder of modern *haiku* and the radical poet-critic, was writing and painting till the last day of his life—the artist who was forced to stay in bed during the large part of his youthful but productive career. Just by examining his long letters from London, we can see that Souseki wrote them primarily for Shiki, who was confined to bed and dying from spinal tuberculosis, and also intended them to be read by Kyoshi who wanted his London report for *Hototogisu*. Letters, in this sense, were not only personal but also the literature to be published as a report to the Japanese public, of Souseki's experience in London.

It is important to notice that Souseki recorded the small events of his daily life, with the idea 'to write what has happened... in the style of a diary, which *Hototogisu* invites the readers to subscribe, and show it to you, though the loafing wizard's life is quite uneventful and commonplace'. This 'idea' which comes somewhat close to what the *haiku*-poet Shiki proposed as *shasei*, sketching natural life, shows Souseki's clear intention of following Shiki's example also in prose. Shiki himself wrote *shasei-bun* (prose sketching and recording real life) 'in the style of a diary' and encouraged the readers to write a similar sketch of their own life and subscribe to the *Hototogisu* journal—the diary of a farmer, the diary of a fish-seller, the diary of

a housewife....

The 'idea' has its origin back in their high school days, when they started exchanging their letters and showing each other what they were writing, and documenting changes and development during the thirteen years of their friendship. The idea of *shasei* itself, which today seems almost a commonplace in *haiku*, went through subtle changes as Shiki, both through his own practice and through the classification and criticism of other people's *haiku*, from the period before Basho to Buson and to his contemporaries. I find it hard to classify him as an academic. He was full of 'ideas', and ready to 'experiment' in his writings, which included Chinese poetry and prose, classic-style Japanese poetry (*waka* and *haiku*), new poems, travel-writing, fiction, diary, and letters, as well as critical essays which were often radical appeals for change and renunciations of the 'authoritative' views. Both his practice as a poet and his research contributed to the development of his ideas, but primarily he was a *challenger* and *artist* who acted on his own instinctive sense and passion for beauty. With his challenging spirit, guided by his instinct for the real and beautiful, he discovered new openings and was free to renounce his old views. That is not to say, he was by any means 'adoptive' or ready to accept other people's criticisms of his own views. Far from it. Yet what seems to me a remarkable, almost miraculous sense of freedom in Shiki's spiritual quest is supported by the freedom of exchange between the two young genius-writers—the exchange of ideas and works in prose and poetry, criticisms, jokes, advices, confessions and remonstrations—so that I am tempted to say that they *together* formed and developed Shiki's ideas, poetry and prose, and that they *together* wrote Souseki's novels.

There, too, the role Kyoshi played in supporting Shiki, organizing collaborations among his poet friends, seeking new possibilities of *haiku* through his own writing, and developing modern *haiku* from where Shiki started, could not be overlooked. While Souseki was to be a hallmark and true founder of modern Japanese novels, Kyoshi was to take over and develop the tradition of modern *haiku*, which Shiki as a master-challenger had started so dramatically, burning the candle of his life until he died at the age of thirty-five from spinal tuberculosis. The secret for their creativity lies in their friendship which started much earlier in their youth. In this light, Kyoshi's grand-daughter Teiko Inahata's lecture on the centennial anniversary of Shiki's death, on the relationships between the three young writers, would be very helpful for grasping their general picture and history. I have the privilege to introduce this special lecture, which some graduate students and undergraduate students of Kobe College translated into English from the original Japanese text in *Hototogisu*.

記念講演

「子規、漱石*、虚子*」

稲畑汀子

"Shiki, Souseki*, Kyoshi*"

—a lecture by Teiko Inahata

(英訳：山内理恵、角谷由美子、宇和里織、門口弘枝、田村るり子)

Translated by: Rie Yamanouchi, Yumiko Sumitani, Saori Uwa,

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これは、正岡子規没後百年の年を記念して、子規の孫にあたる稲畑汀子氏が、第三十六回子規顕彰全国俳句大会（俳誌『ホトトギス』主催）に於いて行った講演（2001年9月『ほととぎす』掲載）の一部を引用させていただいたものです。途中、文意を明らかにするため、その間の事情を訳者の言葉で挿入させていただいた箇所があります。ご了承ください。

This is a partial citation of the lecture given by Ms. Teiko Inahata, Shiki's granddaughter, commemorating the centenary of Shiki's death in the 36th National Haiku Meeting honoring his achievement (hosted by the haiku magazine *Hototogisu*). In places the translators have summarized the lecture in their own words, so as to clarify the context.

- *子規（1867-1902）：正岡子規。若くして文学的才能をあらわし、多くの詩人や芸術家とその周りに集まり俳句を詠んだ。芭蕉が江戸時代に美的瞑想的文学として俳句を確立したのに対し、子規は近代俳句の父とされ「写生」の大切さを説いた。
- *漱石（1867-1916）：夏目漱石。近代小説を代表する明治時代の小説家。小説家になる以前は、東大英文学教授。ロンドンに数年留学した。
- *虚子（1874-1959）：高浜虚子。近代俳句を日本全国に広めた。全国規模の雑誌『ホトトギス』を創刊した俳人。
- *Shiki（1867-1902）：He showed his literary talent early in life and was surrounded by poets and artists, who wrote and exchanged *haiku*. He is regarded as the founder of modern *haiku*, emphasizing the importance of 'sketching natural life', though earlier Basho (1644-94) had established *haiku* as an aesthetic and meditative art.
- *Souseki（1867-1916）：Souseki Natsume. A novelist of the *Meiji* period whose works are represented the modern Japanese novel. He used to be a professor of English Literature in Tokyo University before he became a novelist. He studied in London for several years.
- *Kyoshi（1874-1959）：Kyoshi Takahama. A poet who contributed to the nationwide spread of the modern *haiku*. He started *Hototogisu*, a *haiku* magazine with a national circulation.

子規は明治二十一年、予備門と言われた「第一高等中学予科」を卒業。同年九月、第一高等中学校本科に入学致します。

夏目漱石とはここで同級生になりました。二人は翌二十二年の一月ごろから仲良くなったようです。

ところがこの年の五月九日に子規は咯血を致します。子規は「七草集」という自作自筆の詩文集に「子規」という号で署名し、それを漱石に見せます。「子規」とは「ほととぎす」のこ

とで、「鳴いて血を吐くほととぎす」という言葉から子規と名づけたのでしょう。

それを見せられた漱石は、子規の文章の巧みなのに驚き、その詩文集の巻末に感想を書き、七言絶句の漢詩を九首作って書き添え、漱石と署名しました。

「漱石」とは、中国の晋の時代の或る文人が「石を枕にし、流れに口を漱ぐ」という処を、「流れを枕にし、石に口を漱ぐ」と間違っって言って、皆から笑われたのですが、祖の文人は強情にもこれで良いのだと言い張ったという故事から取ったものです。夏目は自分の性格を良く知っていて、自分のことを「強情な変人」という意味を込めて「漱石」と名乗ったわけです。「子規」「漱石」という二つの著名な雅号が、ほぼ同時にここに誕生した訳であります。

その年の夏休みになりますと漱石は子規に競争心を燃やし、房州へ旅行し、その印象をすべて漢文と漢詩で書き、『木屑録』と題して子規に見せます。

子規は感嘆して、「君が英語のよく出来ることは知っていたが、漢文、漢詩をこんなに自在に駆使するとは。君のような人は千万人の中の一人だ」と書いています。

同じ明治二十二年の年末から二十三年の一月にかけて、二人の間には有名な文章論議が闘われます。

子規という人は記録魔で創作意欲に溢れた人で、『筆まかせ』を見ても分かるように何でも記録し、何でも分類して自分のまわりに世界を構築してしまう人でした。

最初に論争を仕掛けたのは漱石の方でした。年末の休暇で松山に帰省していた子規の所に書簡が届きました。それには、「君の文章は女のようになよなよしていて良くない。」と先ず言っ
て、「文壇に立て赤幟^{せきし}を万世に翻さんと欲せば、主として思想を涵養せざるべからず。・・・
文字の美、章句の法などは次の次の其次に考えふべき事にて・・・お前の如く、朝から晩まで
書き続けにではこのアイデアを養ふ余地なからんかと懸念つかまつる也。・・・お前、少しく
手習いをやめて、余暇を以て読書に力を費やし給へよ」

こんな事を言われては子規も黙って居るわけには参りません。直ちに反論の返事を書いたようですがその手紙は失われて現存しません。先日漱石のお孫さんにお目に掛り（半藤さん）漱石は手紙を捨てたとの事です。

しかし子規の反論に対して、漱石は更に追いつきの手紙を書きます。それを見ますと、子規の反論がどのようなものであったか、大体推測が出来ます。

第一は、自分は君のように英語がよく読めぬ、それに本を読めと言っても読む本が無いし、どう言う本がいいのか知らぬ。と言いつつを言い。

第二は、文学者の目的には二つあって必ずしも思想を述べるものだけとは限らない。と言ったような事であったと想像されます。

これに対して明治二十三年の一月に漱石が書いた手紙は厳しいものでした。

「読む本を知らねば人に聞くがいいではないか」、「読む本がなくば買うても借りてもいいではないか」、「英文が読めなければ勉強してもよし、己むを得ずば日本書、漢籍を読むでもいいではないか」と第一の反論は切り捨てています。

第二の子規の反論について漱石は、「仮に君の云ふことを認めて、文学者の目的が二つある

にせよ、君の云ふようにレトリック、オンリーで、(つまり表現だけで)此の目的が達せらるると思ひ給ふや。又はレトリック、オンリーが此の目的を達するに最も必要なりと思ひ玉ふや。今一度御勘考あらま欲しう」と書いています。

どうやら漱石の方が威勢がよろしいですね。

しかしこれは二人の資質の違いを図らずも示す興味深い論争だと私は思います。

アイデア、つまり思想を重視する漱石は、思想を述べる小説に向いており、レトリック即ち表現、或いは修辞と言った方がよいかもしれませんが、これを重視する子規は俳句に親和性があつたのではないのでしょうか。後年、漱石は成るべくして小説家になり、子規は成るべくして俳人になったのだと私には思えます。

それにしても、お山の大将でなければ気が済まない、負けん気の強い子規が、漱石にこれほどきつく言われても、それが子規の胸にスッと入って行き、論争はしても、決して感情的にはならない、それは二人の友情が本物であつた証でしょう。

子規と漱石は、もちろん論争ばかりしていたわけではありません。

明治二十三年八月九日付けで漱石が子規に送った手紙が残っています。

「爾後眼病兎角よろしからず、其がため書籍も筆硯も悉皆放擲の有様にて 長き夏の日を暮しかね・・・」という書き出しで、

「此頃は何となく浮世がいやになり、どう考えても考え直してもいやでいやで立ちきれず、去りとて自殺する程の勇氣も無きは矢張り人間らしき所が幾分かあるせいならんか。『ファウスト』が自ら自殺する程の勇氣も無きは矢張り人間らしき所が幾分かあるせいならんか。『ファウスト』が自ら毒薬を調合しながら口の辺りまで持ち行きて遂に飲み得んだといふ『ゲーテ』の作を思ひ出して自ら苦笑ひ致され候」

「定業五十年の旅路をまだ半分も通り越さず既に息竭き候段、貴君の手前はづかしく吾ながら情なき奴と思へども、これもミザントロピック病なれば是非もなし。いくら平等無差別と考へても無差別でないからおかしい。人生とは二つの無限の間にあるちつぽけな一つの点だとあきらめてもあきらめられないから仕方がない。」

「小生箇様な愚痴ッばい手紙君にあげたる事なし。かかる世迷ひ申すは是れが皮切り也。苦い顔せずと読み給へ。

漱石拝

子規机下」

これは深刻な手紙ですね。漱石は手紙の中に英語をよく使うので困るのですが、ミザントロピックというのは「人間嫌い」という意味のようです。

これに対して子規はすぐに返事を書くのですが、これが実にユニークなのです。

「何だと女の崇りで眼がわるくなつたと、笑はしやあがらあ。此頃の熱さでは、のぼせが強くてお気の毒だねへ、といはざるべからざる巖汗の時節、自称色男はさぞさぞ御閑却と存じ候」という書き出しなのです。

「『此頃は何となく浮世がいやでいやで立ち切れず』ときたから又横に寝るのかと思へば今

度は棺の中にくたばるとの事、あなおそろし、あなおかし。も少し大きな考へをして天下不大、瓢^{ふくべふさい}不細といふ量見にならではかなはぬこと也、芥子粒程の世界に邪魔がられ、うじ虫めいた人間に追放せらるるとは、さても情けなきことならずや。」

「今が今、死なうとしても毒薬は一寸にて入らず、すりこぎには刃がなく(飛び込もうと思つても)吾妻橋には巡查がつて中々思ひ通りに行く人間にもあらず。」

「見よや、人間の最期も、一時代の最期も、世界の最後も、同じく両極中の一点に過ぎざるべし。それを長いといふは狭い両見なり。短いといふも小さい見識なり。悟れ君！」

このようなおどけのめした、ひやかしの様な子規の手紙を見た漱石はどう思ったでしょう。漱石は早速、八月末に子規に書いて寄こします。

「女の崇の攻撃、昼寝の反対、奇妙奇妙。然し滑稽の境を越え悪口となり、おどけの旨を損じて冷評となつては面白からず。」

「悟道徹底の貴君が東方朔^{さく げいご}の藝語に等しき狂人の大言を真面目に攻撃してはいけない」

「悟れ君なんかと怒鳴つても駄目だ。狐禅生^{なまざと}悟りなどとおつにひやかしたつて無効とあきらむべし、又理屈詰め、雪隠詰めの悟り論なら此方も大分言ひ草あり。反対したき点も沢山あれど、此頃の天気ぐあひ兎角よろしからず。摑み合ひ、取つ組み合ひ、果ては決闘でもしなければならぬ様になると、どつちが怪我をしても海内幾多の美人を愁殺せしむるといふ大事件だから、一先づここは仲直りをして置きましょう。」

漱石は慰めてくれる子規の真意はよく理解しながらも、それにしても一寸やり過ぎじゃないかと少し怒っているのです。しかし漱石の文章を見ると、先の書簡に比べて生き生きと精彩を帯び、子規の慰めが功を奏していることが分るのではないのでしょうか。

これは明治二十三年七月、二人が第一高等中学校を卒業し、九月には、片や子規は東京大学哲学科に、一方の漱石は帝大英文学科に入学するという夏休みの間の出来事でした。共に二十三歳という若さでした。

ここで二人が友情を育んで来た過程を振り返って見ますと、才能のある若者が知り合い、始めはお互いに自分の長所、能力をひけらかし相手に認めさせながら、お互いに敬意を抱き合うようになる。更に進んでは、自分の弱点もさらけ出し、相手に理解してもらうことで、長所も弱点も含めた全人格と全人格の触れ合いを通して真の友人関係を結んで行ったことが分ります。そして二人の友情は一生変ることがありませんでした。

In 1888 (the 21st year of *Meiji*), Shiki graduated “Dai-ichi koutou chuugaku yoka” (pre-high school) and entered “Dai-ichi koutou chuugakkou” (high-school) in September. The friendship with his new classmate, Souseki Natsume, started in about January 1889.

Shiki vomited blood on May 9th 1889, and wrote a collection of poems titled *Nana-kusa shuu* (*The Seven Herbs*) using the pen-name Shiki. Shiki means “a little cuckoo.” Probably he took the pen-name from the saying “a little cuckoo sings till it coughs up blood.”

Reading *Nana-kusa shuu*, Souseki was amazed by Shiki’s skillful use of language, and wrote

his impressions at the end of the book, in the form of 9 Chinese poems of “Shichi-gon zekku” (7 words 4 verses) style. He gave himself the name “Souseki” in it.

The pen-name Souseki originates from the novelist’s recalling an old Chinese episode in *Fu* Period that a poet made a slip of his tongue when he wanted to say, “Use stone (seki) as a pillow and clean (sou) your mouth in the stream.” Instead, the poet said, “Use the stream as a pillow and clean (sou) your mouth with a stone (seki)” and was laughed at, but obstinately insisted that nothing was wrong with it. Soseki decided to use the pen-name ‘Souseki’ to imply his own obstinate and eccentric character. In this way, the two most famous pen-names in Japanese literature came into being, almost simultaneously.

During the summer vacation in 1889 (the 22nd year of *Meiji*), the sense of rivalry was aroused in Souseki, who traveled round Boushuu (the southern part of Chiba prefecture) to write a collection of Chinese poems expressing his impressions. He titled it *Kikuzu-roku* (Records on Wood Shavings), and showed it to Shiki.

Amazed, Shiki wrote “I knew you are fluent in English, but had no idea that you have such a good command of Chinese poems as well! You have a talent 10 million people can never have!”

From the end of 1889 (the 22nd year of *Meiji*), to January 1890 (the 23rd year of *Meiji*), they had their famous argument over writing-styles.

Shiki was full of creative energy, and wrote down everything as he assorted everything around him to create a world, as we can see in *Fude-makase* (Entrusting a Pen).

Souseki started the argument. He sent a letter to Shiki, who was in Matsuyama for winter holidays. It said:

Your sentences are ladylike and not good. If you want to succeed in the world of letters, you must first of all perfect your thought.... Graceful sentences and the skills of writing are much less important.... Writing from morning till night like that, you do not have time to develop your ideas.... Stop writing for a while and do some reading instead.

Shiki, annoyed, immediately sent back a letter refuting Souseki, but it does not exist today. According to Souseki’s grandson, Souseki threw it away.

Souseki went on to counter Shiki’s objections in his next letter. Reading it gives us a sense idea of Shiki’s objections. They would have been:

- (1) I cannot read English as well as you do. Besides, I do not have books to read, or have no idea which books are good.
- (2) Writers can have two aims. It is not sufficient to give ideologies.

In January, 1890 (the 23rd year of *Meiji*), Souseki wrote back a harsh letter to Shiki. To the first objection, he wrote:

If you do not know which books to read, you can ask others.... If you have no book to read, you can either buy or borrow some.... If you cannot read English, you can study it, or, at least, read Japanese or Chinese books.

To the second objection, he wrote:

Admitting your claim that there are two aims for writers, do you think just having a stylistic gift is enough to achieve them? Or do you think having a style is the single most important element? Think again.

It seems that Souseki was more forceful than Shiki.

This is an interesting argument which reveals their different endowments. Souseki, who valued ideas, was good at writing novels which expressed ideologies; and Shiki, who attached more importance to style and expression, was drawn to haiku. Later, Souseki became a novelist and Shiki a poet, following their own inclinations.

Though Shiki and Souseki sometimes had heated discussions, the true friendship between them enabled Shiki to accept harsh criticism from Souseki. Shiki, who was very competitive, like a king of the castle, listened to his opinions without getting angry.

Of course, Shiki and Souseki did not always quarrel with each other.

Here is the letter which Souseki sent Shiki on August 9, 1890 (the 23rd year of *Meiji*):

I am still suffering from an eye disease, so these days I neither read nor write. I don't know what to do with my long summer days.... Lately, somehow, I got sick and tired of the world. Though I think it over and over again, my thoughts do not change. However, I don't have the courage to kill myself. Is it because of the humanity in myself? Remembering one of the Goethean works, I give a wry smile. Though Faust prepared poison and raised it to his lips, he could not bring himself to drink it.... Though I am not even halfway through my life, I am already short of breath. I'm ashamed of myself, but it can't be helped because being misanthropic is my disease. How frequently I long for an equal and indiscriminate world! There is no point in recognizing that life is only a tiny moment between the two worlds of infinity.... You may be surprised at my plaintive letter. This is the first time I have written to you. Please don't pull a wry face in reading it.

From Souseki

Dear Shiki.

This is a serious letter. Souseki often uses English in his letters, which makes them difficult to understand. Here, he uses the word "misanthropic", which means "a man-hater", without translating it into Japanese.

Shiki immediately answers the letter. His answer is quite unique. It begins like this:

You make me laugh! You are suffering from an eye disease because a woman has infected you, aren't you? It is a pity that you have nothing to do in this summer heat and hot flush, being the self-proclaimed womanizer that you are.... Since you wrote, "These days, somehow, I am sick and tired of the world," I assumed that you must be lying on the bed, but the implication of your words was to drop dead into a coffin. It is awful, and queer. Please take it easy. Isn't it woeful to be regarded as a drag by the world—the world which weighs as little as a grain of mustard—and to be exiled from it by the worm-like people?.... Even if you wish to die right now, you cannot take poison. Your pestle doesn't have a blade. (Though you may think of diving in and being drowned), there is a policeman on the Azuma-bridge. Human beings cannot choose to die just when they feel like it... The ending of human beings, like that of an era and that of the world are all a tiny point between two poles. It is so self-obsessed to see it as a very long time. But it is also merely personal to regard it as a short time. Clear your mind!

What did Souseki think when he read this funny sharp letter from Shiki? Souseki immediately wrote back to him at the end of August:

Your attack on the woman's curse, and against taking a nap—queer, queer! But your words go beyond the bounds of caricature and the comic and become a slander and cynical criticism, which is no fun.... You, who are an enlightened monk, should not take so seriously and attack a maniac's bragging words, or his provincial kind of wild talk.... It is vain to say "Enlighten your spirit!" Give up teasing me with words like, "a half-hearted believer in such a sham Zen practice." I have something to say about your unsparing, theoretical argument of enlightenment which drives a person into a corner. Though I feel like refuting you on many points, let's remember we have had some bad times these days. If we two scrimmage, grapple and duel to the end, our injury will make the beauties of the nation cry. Let's make it up.

Souseki understands Shiki's wish to console him, but is angry that Shiki has gone too far. But when we look at Souseki's words, we can see the difference between the spirit of this letter and that of the previous one. This letter is full of life. In this, we can see the effect of Shiki's consolation.

Those letters were exchanged in the summer vacation [July-September 1890 (the 23rd year of *Meiji*)]. They have now graduated from Daiichi High School and were about to enter what would later become Tokyo University, Shiki majoring in philosophy and Souseki in English literature. They were both 23 years old.

In this way, the talented young men met each other. First they showed their strong points to each other and came to have mutual respect. Then, they showed their weak points and

came to understand each other. Through this process, they came to acknowledge themselves as true friends. Their friendship did not change during their whole life.

以下は高校卒業後から子規の最期までの、子規と漱石との関係をまとめたものである。

大学入学後、子規は俳句の分類に熱中し、次第に授業に出ないようになった。在学中、小説も書いてみたが、あまり評価されず新聞「日本」に俳句を連載していく。なんとか進級させようとする漱石の努力も虚しく、とうとう大学を辞め、子規は新聞社「日本」の社員となる。

一方漱石は帝大英文学科を主席で卒業。同年、高等師範学校英文科の教授職に就任。その後、急転直下、松山中学の英語教師になる。

就職後、日清戦争の従軍記者として派遣されていた子規が終戦後、帰国の途において大咯血。神戸病院に運ばれ、約二ヶ月入院。退院後、松山にて二ヶ月の休養。

明治二十九年一月三日、子規庵で「俳句始め」を催し、漱石との久々の再会に喜ぶ。多くの著名な俳人達が集ったこの俳句会が、のちの大きな俳句革新の力となった。この頃から、子規は腰痛に悩まされ、歩くのも困難になってきた。漱石は松山から、熊本へ赴任したが上京のたびに子規を見舞い、子規も漱石に絵を添えた手紙を送り互いを気遣いあった。

最後に子規と漱石が会ったのは、明治三十三年。漱石がロンドン留学を命ぜられ、子規に別れを告げに来たのを最後に、二人はもう二度と会うことは無かった。留学後も漱石は、「ロンドン通信」を書いてホトトギスに寄稿し子規を遠い異国から慰めたが、まもなく明治三十五年九月十七日、子規はこの世を去った。

The following passage summarizes the part of Teiko Inahata's lecture which describes the relationship between Souseki and Shiki after his graduation from the high school, and up to his death.

After entering the university, Shiki began to refuse to attend classes because he was absorbed in categorizing *haiku*. Though he wrote a novel while he was a student, he could not yet win himself a reputation. Then he started to serialize *haiku* in the newspaper, *Nippon* (Japan). Although Souseki tried to make Shiki proceed to the next year, Shiki quitted the university and began to work for *Nippon*.

At the same time, Souseki graduated from the Department of English literature of Tokyo University with top honors. He was appointed to be a lecturer, but suddenly, he left the university to be an English teacher of junior high school at Matsuyama.

Shiki, who worked as a war correspondent in the Sino-Japanese War, spat a lot of blood on his way back to Japan after the war. He was conveyed to Kobe Hospital and stayed there for 2 months. After discharge, he had a 2-month break at Matsuyama.

On January 3rd, 1896 (the 29th year of *Meiji*), Shiki held the party, "the Opening of *Haiku*", in his house, and enjoyed a reunion with Souseki. This meeting, in which many famous *haiku* poets met, became an important element in the subsequent renovation of *haiku*. From this time on, Shiki suffered with backache, and he found difficulty in walking. Souseki, who moved to Kumamoto from Matsuyama, visited Shiki whenever he came back to Tokyo. Shiki, too, sent Souseki letters with pictures and they were concerned with each other.

Souseki was ordered to go and study in London and visited Shiki to say good-bye. It was the last time they saw each other. It was 1900 (the 33rd year of *Meiji*). During his stay in London, Souseki contributed to *Hototogisu* as "London correspondent" and sent comforting messages to Shiki. However, Shiki died before long, on September 17, 1902 (the 35th year of *Meiji*).

次に、講演は虚子と子規の交流に進みます。

虚子が始めて郷里の先輩で帝大の学生である子規と関係が出来たのは明治二十四年五月、碧梧桐を介し、子規に手紙を出してからであります。虚子は十八歳、伊予尋常中学の学生でした。子規は二十四歳、東大哲学科から国文科に転じた二年生でありました。既に俳句分類を手掛け、常磐会*宿舎で俳句を指導し、紀行文を書いたりしていましたが、大学の成績は振わず、そろそろ大学を辞めようかと考え始めていた頃です。

虚子の手紙は純情そのもので

「小生大兄の高名を承ること久しく・・・」

で始まり、「蓋し余の兄に向て斯く恋情忍ぶ能はざる所以のものは全く君と嗜好を等しうするによるものにして、以て余が勇気を奮ふ可し・・・伏して請ふ。正岡雅兄爾後時に叱声を垂れ教導、訓戒の労を惜まるる無くんば君は一の救世主なり」といったものでした。

これに対して子規は直ちに返事をくれます。それは「請ふ国家の為に有用の人となり給へ、かまへて無用の人となり給ふな。法律なり経済なり政治なり医学なり、ことごとく名人学者の来るを待つものならざるはなし。然れども真成の文学者また多少の必要なきにあらず」「賢兄、僕を千里の外に友とせんといふ。僕あに友好を得るを喜ばざらんや。然し天下無用の学に至ては僕の知らざる処・・・」

と言った格調の高いものでありました。

六月には子規が学年試験を放棄し、木曾路を歩いて、松山へ帰省して来ます。

虚子は松山でこの時初めて子規と会います。十月には「虚子」という俳号をもらい、松山でせっせと俳句を作り東京の子規の許へ送り批判は添削をしてもらいます。

ところが明治二十五年一月、子規から思わぬ叱責の手紙と共に「心竹」と名付けられた熊笹の葉に朱で俳句を書いたものが送られて来ました。文面は次のようなものです。

「・・・青桐君の書に、大兄小説家になつては飯が喰へぬとお嘆きの由、若し真ならば小生は太息せざるを得ず」「貴兄は飯くふ為に世に生まれ給ひたるか」「小説家にはなりたいが喰へぬに困ると仰せあらば小生衰へたりといへども貴兄に半碗の飯を分かつたん」「大兄請ふ努力せよ。」

そして追伸として「『心竹』というささいな贈り物、御受納下されたく、これは小生寓居庭前のものに之有候。熊笹の長さ一尺*に満たずといへども、霜雪に堪へて萎まぬ処珍重し給へとの寸志、はたこれも都の塵にかかり候ふものにて候よ」と書かれていました。

子規は実は前年の十二月から常磐会*宿舎を出て下宿を借り、困窮に耐えて小説「月の都」を執筆していたのです。小説はなかなか進まず、いらいらしている処へ、虚子が小説家になつては飯が喰えぬと言っていると碧梧桐から聞かされて怒り心頭に発したのでしょう。

しかしこれは誤解だったのです。虚子は身に覚えのないことながら、正しく子規の真意を理解し、夫れは碧梧桐の誤解で、昨年夏、碧梧桐が来て「小説家も小説家なれども衣食の事亦おもんばからざるべからず」と言ったのであって、その時自分は反対論の随筆を書いたと説明し、

「しかはあれど余は桐仙に謝せざるべからざるものあり。何ぞや。小生の一言一句に意を止め、少しも訓戒譴責の労をいとはざる事すでに斯くの如くなるを喜ぶ。又大兄の懇情溢るるばかりの芳簡、覚え涙を流したり。」と書き、更に「飯が喰へぬ」といふ一文を創出して書き送ります。

子規はすぐに誤解であったことを覚り、虚子の「飯が喰へぬ」を激賞した手紙を虚子に送っています。

この「心竹」は現在、虚子記念文学館で展示されていますが、子規の心と、それに応えようとする虚子の心、二人の友情を偲ぶよすがとして今も何かを私達に伝えてくれるような気が致します。

こんなことがあって虚子は小説に目を向けるようになり、小説家になりたいという希望がますます大きく膨らんで行きます。

この頃の二人の関係は虚子の、思慕の情にも似た子規への傾倒と、それに応えて弟のように虚子を可愛がりながら厳しく教育しようという子規の友情と言ったお互いに純粋な気持ちであったと思われます。

その後、虚子は伊予尋常中学を卒業し、九月には京都第三高等中学に入学します。一方子規は「月の都」が成功せず、進級試験にも落第し、大学を辞めて、俳句で身を立てようと新聞「日本」に入社する事は、先に漱石との関係でお話しした通りです。

京都に居る虚子の目からは、そのような子規の生き方が本当に文学者の生き方のように格好よく映ったのではないのでしょうか。虚子は勉強しなくなり、文学熱がますます高まっています。

虚子が二年生になった時、一年遅れた碧梧桐が三高に入学して来、二人は同居を始めますが、明治二十七年の一月、虚子は三高の退学手続きを碧梧桐に頼んでおいて、東京の子規の許に転がり込み小説を書こうとします。

しかし何も書くことが出来ず、自分の非力を悟った虚子は六月、悄然と京都へ帰り一年遅れで三高に復学致しました。ここで虚子と碧梧桐はまたまた同級生になったわけであります。ところが悪いことは重なるもので、一月後の七月に学生改革があり三高は廃止になってしまいました。二人は仙台の第二高等中学に配属され、九月に仙台へやって来ますが、二高が嫌で嫌でたまらず僅か一月後に二人は示し合わせて二高を退学し東京へ出て来て来てしまいます。

勿論子規は大反対したのですが、二人は言うことを聞かなかったのです。

東京に出た虚子と碧梧桐は、俳句だけは作っていたようですが、二人で一緒になって亜所通いをしたり、娘義太夫にうつつを抜かすなど放蕩生活を始めます。

子規は心配して監督を強化し、或時は二人が一緒に下宿するからいけないんだ。別々に下宿しろと言ったり、或時は二人は一緒に居る方が勉強するだろうかと考えて一緒に住ませたりするのですが効果は余りありませんでした。この年の八月にはもう日清戦争が既に始まっていました。

明治二十八年三月、子規は従軍記者として中国に行くことになります。子規の居ない間、日

本新聞の俳句の選を代行するように指名されたのは碧梧桐の方でした。

虚子はそれが不満でした。

子規が新橋を発ったのは三月三日です。三月九日、虚子は碧梧桐を酒に誘い本心を告白します。

今回の人選に自分は全く不満である。しかし君の事を考えると君の為には良かった。君は日本新聞で頑張って身を立てて行ってくれ。自分は一旦松山に帰り、将来のことを考えて改めて学校に行くか、或いは文学雑誌を出して経営することを考えると涙を流して言います。

そして四月には松山へ帰って行きます。虚子は実家で暫く居た後京都へ行き、寒川鼠骨の下宿に同居して京都に滞在します。

丁度そんな時、五月二十三日に子規が咯血して神戸病院に入院したという報が入り、虚子は京都から神戸へ駆けつけ、神戸病院、須磨保養院と看病を続けることになります。

子規が一応回復した七月二十四日、虚子は東京に帰ることになりますが、その前夜子規は虚子に向かって「この恩は一生忘れん。自分も咯血したのだからそう長くは生きられんだろう。自分の俳句革新の仕事に虚子が後継者になってくれ」と頼みます。虚子は余りのことに返事が出来ず、只頷いて生返事をしておりました。子規はもしかしたら承諾と受け取ったかも知れせんね。

七月二十四日、虚子は東京に帰り、子規は七月二十七日、松山の漱石の居る愚陀仏庵に向います。

東京に帰った虚子がどうしたかと言うと、東京専門学校に籍を置きます。これが松山で虚子が考えて来た身の振り方だったかも知れせんね。東京専門学校は今の早稲田大学の前身です。

しかし虚子は相変わらずぐうたらして学校に行かず二ヶ月で学校を辞めてしまいます。

十月になると子規が愚陀仏庵から東京へ帰って来ました。そして碧梧桐は新聞社と首になってしまいます。その理由は碧梧桐に余りに知識が無かったことと、スキャンダルを引き起こしていたと言われていますが、はっきりしたことは分かりません。

十二月九日、虚子は子規に呼び出されて、道灌山に行き、子規の後継者になることを膝詰談判で依頼されますが、この話は余りにも有名なので、結果だけを申します。虚子は、「アシは学問する気はない」と言って拒絶致します。子規はそれを聞いて大変なショックを受けました。

明治二十九年になりますと虚子の長兄、政忠が病気になり二月から三月にかけて松山に帰りますが、愚陀仏庵に居る漱石や、村上霽月と伸び伸びと俳句を作ります。この時の俳句は神仙体と言われました。

三月二十日、子規よりの手紙で自分の腰痛が脊椎カリエスだと分かったと知らされ、東京に帰ることにして、丁度四月から熊本の第五高等中学に赴任することが決まった漱石と共に船に乗り広島で漱石と別れ東京へ帰って来ました。

碧梧桐が下宿していた高田屋に虚子は仮の宿を定めるのですが、高田屋には「糸」という娘が居て碧梧桐と恋愛関係にありました。

年が明けて明治三十年の一月と言いますと、この一月に柳原極堂が松山で「ほととぎす」を発行しました。私達にとっては重要な時期になりますが、もう一つ重要なことがありました。子規が一月二日から新聞「日本」に二十四回にわたって「明治二十九年の俳諧」と連載したのです。この論票によって虚子と碧梧桐は一躍有名となり、日本の最も勝れた俳人と目されるようになります。

又、この一月には碧梧桐が疱瘡にかかって入院する事情もありました。そしてその間に高田屋の娘、糸と虚子が恋愛関係に陥ってしまったのです。碧梧桐も傷つきましたが、虚子も悩んだ筈です。年末まで苦しんだあげく、虚子は糸と結婚する事を決心し、明治三十一年八月二十八日、やっと子規に事の次第を報告致します。

この頃になって来ると子規と虚子の関係も曾てのような純粋な友情だけでは済まなくなって来ます。

子規からすれば、いつまで経っても愚図愚図している虚子にしっかり勉強させようと厳しくする一方、段々動けなくなって行く身体を抱えて虚子を頼りにする度合が増えて行くわけですからイライラも増します。

虚子の方は、子規の態度を束縛と感じ、出来るだけ子規から逃げようとします。また虚子は小兄政夫の下宿屋の手伝いもしなければならず、又結婚もするわけですから生活が関わってきます。「糸」にすれば虚子を縛り、こき使う子規に対して、虚子は私のものだという思いもあるでしょう。

子規の虚子に出す手紙の文章も段々変わって来ます。たとえば明治二十九年五月二十六日の書簡では「近頃はお目にかかりても、ろくろくお話しも承らず、なつかしきまま、その他「日本人」に関する用事も兼ねて御来駕願上候わけに有之候。それをとやかくと邪推せらるるだけは余程御心みだれ候事と存じ奉り候。」とあり、又、六月三日の書簡では「貴兄は兎角用御多にや、御枉駕下され候事も少なく、小生方より出掛け申し度く存候へども、それも出来ず、まことに御帰京以来しみじみお話申したる事一度も之無きやと存じ居り候。我身ふつつかなる故と存ずれば致方これ無く候。近来に至り貴兄の御心底は、われらには全く相分り申さず、或は御立腹なされしやら、或いは小生をうるさしとて近寄り給はぬにや。或は話にならぬとて見はなしたまひしにや。」などとあるように、子規は弱気になり、虚子に対して媚びるようなところさえ見て取れます。あの颯快とした子規のお山の大将ぶりはどこへ行ってしまったのでしょうか。私はこれらの手紙を見ていて無慚な感じさえ覚えずにはられません。

このような子規と虚子の危険な関係は、しかし明治三十一年の九月になって或ることから急転直下解決してしまいます。

結婚した虚子はこの年の一月から生活費を稼ぐために「万朝報」に月給二十円で勤め始めます。五月に虚子の母が重病になり、看病のために松山に帰りますが、六月になって虚子は解雇されてしまったのです。理由は長期欠勤でした。途方に暮れた虚子は生活の糧を得る方法を色々探るのですが、考えた方法は東京で文芸雑誌を出版するという事でした。そうなるとうしても子規の助けが必要です。虚子は松山から東京の子規に手紙を飛ばします。

ところがなんとという偶然でしょう。虚子の手紙が届いた翌日に松山から柳原極堂が出て来て子規の家を訪ねたのです。用件は「ほととぎす」を出すのを止めたいという事でした。

これは私の推測ですが、子規は「しめた、これで虚子を手中に握ることが出来る」と思った事でしょう。しかしそれは心に秘めて、極堂との間で「ほととぎす」を譲り受けることを即決で決めてしまいます。その一方では虚子に、非常に長くて厳しい手紙を出します。七月一日付の手紙がそれですが、雑誌を出すことは非常に厳しいと云い、しかし要は虚子の決心次第だと言います。そして虚子の欠点を挙げつらいます。「貴兄はたやすく決心する人でなかなか実行せぬ人じや。これは第一、書生的の不規則な習慣が抜けぬためであらう。第二には感性が強くて意志を圧する為であらう。第三に、目的が未来の快樂よりも寧ろ目前の平和にある為であらう。今度もしやるなら臍を固めてやり給へ、いよいよやると決まれば小生は刑場に引かる心持ちがする。」

流石に子規らしい見事な分析で、文章にもいつもの澁刺さが戻っています。

更に子規は雑誌の内容にも踏み込んでいます。「文芸の区域の事じやが、初めは俳句が主になることは勿論であるが、少なくとも韻文だけは包含して置きたい。今少し小生をして望ましめば初めから新体詩と歌と俳句と平等にやつて行きたい。(小説などはあつてもなくても善いこととして)。併し俳句さへ困難なのだからとてもその他は覚悟ない。矢張り俳句八分、その他二分位で始めねばなるまい。いよいよやるなら体裁などの事は面会の上ならでは申し難い。『ほととぎす』との関係はいつでもどうともなる。」

注意して頂きたいのは、子規は「ほととぎす」を引き継ぐことを決めていながらにあくまでも「ほととぎす」とは別の雑誌を出すという形で物を言っている処でしょう。虚子は勿論別の雑誌を出す積りです。しかも小説主体の雑誌です。しかし虚子も生活のために必死です。子規の手紙に狂喜し、長兄から三百円を借りて資金を作り、相談の結果、誌名も「ほととぎす」で、俳句の雑誌と決め、虚子が発行人となり東京から出版することになりました。子規は編集責任者といった所でしょうか。

子規と虚子はこのようにして運命共同体となり、離れられない同士となったのです。

これが矢張り子規と虚子の最大の人間ドラマであったと私は思います。

*常磐会：旧松山藩主久松家の育英事業。子規は常磐会の給費生であった。

*一尺　：=30.3cm

Next, Teiko Inahata speaks about the relationship between Kyoshi and Shiki.

It was in May, 1891 (the 24th year of *Meiji*) that Kyoshi made his first acquaintance with Shiki, who was from the same prefecture and a student at the Imperial University at that time. Kyoshi wrote to Shiki through Hekigodo. Kyoshi was then 18 and was a student at Iyo Junior High School. Shiki was 24 and in the 2nd year at Tokyo Imperial University, having transferred

from the department of philosophy to that of Japanese literature. He was already experienced in classifying *haiku*, taught *haiku* at the lodgings of *Tokiwakai**, and wrote travel pieces, though he was not doing very well in the university and was beginning to think about quitting it.

Kyoshi's letter was full of naïve passion:

I have long heard of your name.... I cannot help admiring you, and I think it is because I have the same tastes as yours, so that I can be courageous.... I bow to you and beg you that hereafter you will sometimes correct me and teach me without sparing your reprimand, and so you will be a savior.

Shiki responded to the letter immediately:

I beg that you should be of great service to the nation. Never be idle. There is no person who does not long for the coming of talented men and scholars in law, economics, politics and medicine. However, genuine scholars of literature are also required.... You said that you would keep company with me even with thousands of miles between us. How can I be reluctant to have a friendship with you? However, I am not clear about the field of study which is most useful to the country....

In June, giving up his final examination, Shiki came back to Matsuyama after walking along Kisoji. It was at this time that Kyoshi met Shiki for the first time. Given his penname as a *haiku* poet, Kyoshi, in October, Kyoshi assiduously composed *haiku* and sent them to Shiki in Tokyo to have his work criticized and corrected.

In January, 1892 (the 25th year of *Meiji*), Kyoshi, however, received an unexpected and stern letter from Shiki, enclosing striped bamboo leaves called "Shin-Chiku" (heart-bamboo) with *haiku* written in red on them:

Seido [Hekigodo] wrote to me that you complained you could not make a living by writing novels. If you really said that, I cannot help sighing. Were you born to earn your daily bread? Though my life is in decline, I will give you half of my bread if you will give up the idea of being a novelist in order to earn a living. I beg that you should keep trying. And I hope you will accept this little gift called "Shin-Chiku" (heart-bamboo) as a postscript. It is from my garden. It hardly reaches 1 shaku*, but it does not shrink even under frost and snow. I hope you prize the nature of those leaves, though it may be soiled with the dust of the city.

In fact Shiki had left his lodgings provided by *Tokiwakai** in December of the previous year and rented a room. So he was writing the novel, *Tsuki no Miyako* (City of the Moon) in poverty. Its progress was difficult and slow, and he was irritated when he heard from Hekigodo that Kyoshi was saying he would not be able to make a living by writing novels. That must have been why he got angry and sent Kyoshi the letter.

Yet, this exchange was due to a misunderstanding. Kyoshi had done nothing to deserve being reproached by Shiki, but still understood what Shiki really meant. Kyoshi explained that it was Hekigodo who had misunderstood him. Kyoshi made the situation clear, telling Shiki that Hekigodo had met him the previous summer and said, "Novelists they may be, but still they should not ignore food and clothing," and Kyoshi himself had argued against the remark, writing an essay about it. He went on in his letter to Shiki:

Yet, I am not saying I will not apologize to you. And why? I was pleased to have you take note of any word of mine, sparing no effort to admonish and rebuke me as your letter has done. And indeed, the tears trickled down my face unawares, while I read your letter, so full of sympathy.

Moreover, he composed an essay, "I cannot earn my bread," and sent it to Shiki.

Shiki soon realized it had been a misunderstanding, and sent back Kyoshi a letter in which he praised the essay.

This "Shin-Chiku" (heart-bamboo), which is now exhibited in Kyoshi Memorial Museum now, still seems to send a message to those who recall Shiki's mind and Kyoshi's trying to respond, and the friendship between these two writers.

This exchange stimulated Kyoshi's interest in novels, and his wish to be a novelist grew more and more.

I think that their friendship in those days was genuine and pure: Kyoshi's yearning admiration for Shiki and Shiki's responsive affection for Kyoshi, in which he tried to give discipline and guidance to his younger friend.

Kyoshi graduated from Iyo Jinjo Junior High School and entered the third high school in Kyoto, while Shiki was going through a difficult period. Not only was his novel *Tsuki no Miyako* (City of the Moon) unsuccessful, but he also failed to pass the exams which would allow him to go on to further studies. And so he later took a post at *Nippon*, the newspaper publishers, in order to make his living by composing *haiku*.

Kyoshi might have admired Shiki because, in his eyes, Shiki was pursuing the life of the true writer. Kyoshi gradually lost interest in study and became more enthusiastic about literature. When he proceeded to his second year, Hekigodo entered the third high school and became his house-mate. In January 1894 (the 27th year of *Meiji*), Kyoshi asked Hekigodo to go through the procedure of withdrawing from school. He lodged in Shiki's place in Tokyo and tried to write a novel.

However, Kyoshi was unable to produce an effective literary work. Disappointed with his own incompetence, he returned to Kyoto to resume his studies after a year's absence. Once again, Kyoshi and Hekigodo were pupils at the third high school. Unfortunately for Kyoshi, the reform of the educational system in July 1894 (the 27th year of *Meiji*) closed down the third

high school. In September, Kyoshi and Hekigodo were relocated to the second high school in Sendai. They disliked it so much that after a month they left the school and moved to Tokyo, in spite of Shiki's attempts to persuade them not to do so.

Kyoshi and Hekigodo did not forget to compose *haiku* but they spent more time in the entertainment districts and with young *kabuki* actresses.

Out of his great concern for them, Shiki tried to be stricter with the two men. He thought that they would be more disciplined if they spent less time together, and he made them find separate lodging houses. This was quickly reversed when Shiki brought them back together, hoping they would have a good influence on each other in their studies. Unfortunately, his attempts to influence Kyoshi and Hekigodo were never successful. Meanwhile, the Sino-Japanese War was declared in August, 1894 (the 27th year of *Meiji*)

In March 1895 (the 28th year of *Meiji*), Shiki went to China as a war correspondent. Hekigodo took over Shiki's role on the *haiku* selection board of the *Nippon* newspaper, which made Kyoshi very unhappy.

Shiki left Shinbashi, Tokyo, on March 3. On March 9, Kyoshi asked Hekigodo out for a drink and tearfully spelled out his honest thoughts: "I am not satisfied with this selection as substitute board member in Shiki's place, but I hope it will be a great chance for you to achieve more at the *Nippon* newspaper. Meanwhile, I will go back to Matsuyama and think over my future career. I will probably return to school or start a new literary magazine."

Kyoshi left for Matsuyama in the following April. He stayed with his parents for a while before moving to Kyoto to lodge with Sokotsu Samukawa.

Around this time Kyoshi received news in Kyoto that Shiki had coughed up blood and been admitted to the Kobe hospital on May 23. On hearing this, Kyoshi rushed to Kobe to look after Shiki, first at the Kobe hospital and then at the Suma sanatorium.

As Shiki's condition improved, Kyoshi returned to Tokyo on July 24. On the night before Kyoshi's departure, Shiki thanked him and made a proposal: "I will never forget what you have done for me. Having vomited blood, I know I won't be able to live much longer. Hereby, I ask you to realize my unfulfilled dream of revolutionizing the *haiku*." Stunned by Shiki's request, Kyoshi was lost for words. All he could do was to nod and give vague answers, which Shiki might have taken as Kyoshi's acceptance of his request.

On July 24 Kyoshi left for Tokyo, and Shiki headed for Gudabutsuan on July 27.

After his return to Tokyo, Kyoshi entered Tokyo Senmon Gakko (Tokyo College for Higher Education), the predecessor of Waseda University. Perhaps he had made this decision while staying in Matsuyama.

However, he continued to live an idle life and did not attend classes very often; he left the college within two months of starting his course.

In October, Shiki left Gudabutsuan for Tokyo, while Hekigodo was dismissed from his job at the newspaper publishing company. According to rumor, Hekigodo was fired for his lack of knowledge, and for some scandal or other, although it is uncertain what the actual cause was.

On October 29, Shiki summoned Kyoshi to Mt. Dokan and asked him once again to take on the fulfillment of his dream. This is such a famous story that I will quickly move to the conclusion: Kyoshi turned down Shiki's request because he had "no intention of studying", which greatly upset Shiki.

In 1896 (the 29th year of *Meiji*), Kyoshi's elder brother Masatada became ill. Kyoshi returned to Matsuyama and stayed there for February and March. During this period, Kyoshi greatly enjoyed composing *haiku* along with Soseki, who was then staying in Gudabutsuan, and Murakami Saigetsu. Kyoshi's style in this period was later called *Shinsen-tai*.

On March 20, Shiki wrote to Kyoshi to report that his back pain was diagnosed as tuberculosis of the spine. This news led Kyoshi to go back to Tokyo. He sailed from Matsuyama with Souseki, who was about to start teaching at the Fifth High School in Kumamoto. They parted in Hiroshima and Kyoshi went back to Tokyo.

In Tokyo, Kyoshi temporarily settled in a lodging house Takadaya, where Hekigodo was also living. At this point, Hekigodo was having a relationship with Ito, daughter of the owner of Takadaya.

In January, 1897 (the 30th year of *Meiji*), Yanagihara Gyokudo launched *Hototogisu* in Matsuyama. This in itself proves for us the significance of the 30th year of *Meiji*. Moreover, the same year also witnessed another pivotal event: Shiki serialized "*Haiku* in the 29th year of *Meiji*" in the *Nippon* newspaper, and the first of 24 parts appeared in the January 2 issue. Shiki's arguments here won fame for Kyoshi and Hekigodo as the best poets of *haiku* in Japan.

In January, 1897 (the 30th year of *Meiji*), Hekigodo developed smallpox and was hospitalized. While he was in hospital, Kyoshi fell in love with Ito. Their relationship most certainly hurt Hekigodo, but Kyoshi must also have felt for his friend. Kyoshi struggled until the end of the year but finally decided to marry Ito. He informed Shiki of his marriage on August 28, 1898 (the 31st year of *Meiji*).

It was around this time that the friendship between Shiki and Kyoshi was getting complicated.

Shiki advised Kyoshi not to be lazy and idle but to study harder. One can imagine how frustrated Shiki was, precisely because his illness made him increasingly dependent on Kyoshi.

On the other hand, Kyoshi found Shiki oppressive and tried to keep his distance from him. He had to help his younger brother, Masao, with the management of his lodging houses. Moreover, as a married man, Kyoshi could not continue a carefree life. For Ito, too, Shiki was a nuisance, I suspect, because Shiki put her husband under strain and dominated him. As a wife,

Ito may have felt it unbearable to see someone else control her husband.

Gradually, Shiki's letters to Kyoshi took on a different tone. The letter written on May 26, 1896 (the 29th year of *Meiji*), exemplifies this:

I am really sorry that we haven't had a good talk recently. I truly miss your company. I would be honored if you could come and see me so that we could discuss, among other things, the remaining issues regarding *Nihonjin*. I have no other intention than to talk with you, although you seem to be too preoccupied with other matters to take my words at face value.

Following this letter, Shiki again wrote to Kyoshi on June 3:

You must be really busy these days. I would like to come and see you, but it is simply not possible. Do you realize that we haven't had a chance to sit down and talk since you came back to Tokyo? Of course, it all comes down to my ill health.... I can no longer see what you really have in your mind. Perhaps you do not consider me to be your true friend any more.

These letters clearly show how timid Shiki had become. He even seemed to beg Kyoshi for his sympathy. I cannot help feeling pity for Shiki—why had he lost his confidence and bravery?

The friendship between Kyoshi and Shiki was on the verge of collapse. However, in September, 1891 (the 31st year of *Meiji*), something happened that got them back together again.

In January 1898 (the 31st year of *Meiji*), Kyoshi took a job at *Manchoho* to support his family, for the salary of 20 yen per month. In May, Kyoshi's mother became seriously ill and he returned to Matsuyama to look after her. His long absence from work because of his sick mother resulted in his dismissal from his job. At a loss, Kyoshi desperately looked about for a source of income and decided to publish a literary magazine in Tokyo. To realize this plan, he certainly needed Shiki's support; therefore, he sent Shiki a letter from Matsuyama to ask for his help.

Coincidentally, the day after the arrival of Kyoshi's letter, Shiki had a visitor from Matsuyama, Gyokudo Yanagihara, who announced his unwillingness to continue *Hototogisu*.

I assume that Shiki saw this as the biggest chance ever to take the initiative in his relationship with Kyoshi. With this in mind, Shiki quickly decided to take over *Hototogisu* from Gyokudo. On July 1, Shiki sent a long and severe letter to Kyoshi. He stressed that the magazine would fail without Kyoshi's unshakeable determination. He made rather harsh remarks about Kyoshi, listing his shortcomings:

It is easier for you to decide things than to realize them. First of all, this is due to your erratic life like a pupil. Secondly, your great sensitivity overwhelms your will. Thirdly, you aim for immediate peace rather than joy in the future. Next time you do

something, you must be truly determined. If you show me how strong your will is, I would be obliged to offer you help, even though it could cost my own life.

One can never admire too much Shiki's sharp judgments in this letter, written in such a lively style.

The letter also referred to the contents of the magazine:

The magazine would initially focus on *haiku* as its central interest. It would be better to include other genres, prose at least. To be more precise, from the start I would put equal emphasis on *shintai-shi*, *uta* and *haiku* (to tell the truth I wouldn't care much about novels). However, I am aware that it is already difficult to collect good *haiku*, let alone other genres. Perhaps it would be best to give 80% of the magazine to *haiku*, and the rest to other genres. If you are serious about your plan, we must talk. Do not worry if the magazine has a similar approach to that of *Hototogisu*. I can take care of that.

It is worth noting that Shiki was pretending to launch a new magazine, other than *Hototogisu*, whose publication rights he had already decided to take over. Of course, Kyoshi had no idea about Shiki's deal with Gyokudo. His original plan was to launch a brand new magazine, for novels if possible. Overjoyed by Shiki's letter, Kyoshi borrowed 300 yen for the magazine from an elder brother. After discussion with Shiki, he settled on *Hototogisu* for the magazine's title, with *haiku*, not novels, as its central subject matter. *Hototogisu* was published in Tokyo under Kyoshi's name and Shiki worked for the magazine as, in some sense, its chief editor.

This is how Shiki and Kyoshi became inseparable as lifetime companions.

I believe this was the biggest drama in their relationship.

*Tokiwakai: an educational board of scholarship founded by the Hisamatsu family, the master of the old domain of Matsuyama, from which Shiki had got a scholarship.

*1 *shaku*: 30.3cm

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