

Keynote Address for International Conference, Ewha Institute for the Humanities, Jun 2015

Fields of Modern Knowledge and Journalism;

“How did journalism change the fields of knowledge?”

The Birth of Two New Genres from Japanese Journalism of 1920s and 1930s

Sadami Suzuki

Professor Emeritus of International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto

1. Formation of Conceptual System

In order to answer the question raised by this conference “How did journalism change the fields of knowledge?” I would like to introduce two important cases. One is the “diary literature” usually believed to have been produced in the Heian period. Today, upon hearing the words “diary literature”, many Japanese immediately recall *The Tosa Diary* (土佐日記, ca. 935), *The Kagerō Diary* (蜻蛉日記, ca. 975), *The Sarashina Diary* (更級日記, after 1059), *The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* (紫式部日記, 1010), and *The Dairy of Izumi Shikibu* (和泉式部日記, 1008), and so on. This is because students read these works in preparation for university entrance examination. However, if someone carefully considers the differences among these works, she or he may quickly give up an attempt at grouping them under one genre.

The Tosa Diary seems to be a typical diary as it records daily activities of a journey by boat. *The Kagerō Diary* writes in a retrospective style about the life of the author who has a grudge against her husband. By using “nikki” in the title, the female author differentiates the work from fictional narratives “monogatari.” Therefore, the work may look like an I-novel from the modern period.

The Sarashina Diary is a recollection of the author’s life without providing dates of the events. The author was the paternal niece of the author of *The Kagerō Diary*, and admits that she learned from her aunt. *The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* describes court life in a chronicle-like style with dates indicated. It was obviously written for one of the documents by a court lady who served the governing Fujiwara family. But one part in the middle is

written in an epistolary style. This part has long been discussed by researchers. *The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* had different titles in the Middle Ages. We are uncertain about when the current title was attached to it.

The above-mentioned works all describe their authors' actual experiences. However we cannot tell whether *The Dairy of Izumi Shikibu* reflects its author's real life or not. It is a recollection of a nine months' love affair of the main character whose name is "a certain woman." For that reason, the work is also titled *The Tale of Izumi Shikibu* in some old documents. We can guess it was written as a new type of romance by Izumi Shikibu or someone else.

In the works described above, the characters are very different from each other, but they have one thing in common: these works have many *waka* (和歌), Japanese poetry, which is a common feature of monogatari in those days.

Why are these works bundled together in a genre or a category? The answer can be found in the modern times. In *The Encyclopedia of National History* (国史大事典, Yoshikawa kōbunkan 1990, vol. 11), under the heading of "Diary Literature," it is written that "this term was first used between the end of the Taishō (大正) period and the early Shōwa (昭和) period". This probably indicates a book published in 1928, titled *The Diary Literature by Court Ladies* (宮廷女流日記文学), written by Ikeda Kikan (池田亀鑑), a well-known researcher of Japanese classics. In this book, Ikeda points out that these works share a common feature, that is, the authors all expressed their own emotion (作者自身の心の表白). However, in fact, not only the so-called "diary literature by court ladies," but also other writings about real experiences expressed their authors' emotion more or less. If the abundant descriptions of authors' emotion are used to define the genre of the "diary literature by court ladies" in the Heian period, then this definition is neither sufficient, nor convincing.

In 1996, in her article on genre, gender and the discourse of literature history, Suzuki Tomi pointed out that the "diary literature" is a newly invented genre.¹ She

¹ 鈴木登美「ジャンル・ジェンダー・文学史記述—『女流日記文学』の構築を中心に」, ハルオ・シラネ, 鈴木登美編 創造された古典—カノン形成・国民国家・日本文学 新曜社、1996年、p.108. "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National*

introduces Ikeda's article titled "A Historical Development of the Literature of Self-Reflection (自照文学の歴史的展開)", published in the journal *Education of National Literature* (国文教育, November 1926), in which Ikeda wrote of this genre as "a type of literary work of confession and prayer in which the author's individual personality attempted to tell the innermost truth (自己みずからの真実を、最も直接的に語ろうとする懺悔と告白と祈りの文学の一系)", and also as "contemplation of and reflection on the past (過去への思索と反省)", in contrast with the lyrical which was "a rapturous absorption with the present "(現在への陶醉と沈潜)". He also added that "the golden age of the literature of self-reflection (自照文学の全盛時代)" led to a new interpretation of national classics (新しい眼で、国文学を解釈しようとする機運を導いた)².

It is obvious that not only the term "diary literature," but also the concept of the genre was invented by Ikeda. Without being questioned, this illusionary genre has been inherited in the study and education of Japanese classics since 1926. Today, most Japanese people believe that the genre of "diary literature" existed in the Heian period. Although Suzuki Tomi correctly pointed out the origins of the term invented by Ikeda, she has not adequately informed us why Ikeda grouped these different writings of the Heian period into one genre. We need to carefully examine the circumstances of the journalism of the age that created the discourse of "golden age of the literature of self-reflection."

Fields of knowledge usually appear when the genre concepts spread generally in a certain period. A genre concept is usually held in a conceptual system, belonging to a superordinate concept, and has subordinate concepts. To study concepts and conceptions we should first find the context of the concept. The new genre of "diary literature" has no sub-genre like long narrative fiction "tsukuri monogatari (作り物語)" and short narrative fiction "uta monogatari (歌物語)" to accompany it in the Heian period. So, we should first approach the superordinate concepts of "diary" and "literature".

Then we shall observe carefully the literary journalism around 1925, before moving on to the concept of the Japanese "zuihitsu" (随筆), which has more styles and is not only

Identity, and Japanese Literature, eds. H. Shirane, T. Suzuki, Stanford University Press, 2000.

² Ikeda Kikan, *Nikki · Waka literature* (日記・和歌文学), Shibundō, 1968, p.56

focused on “logical thinking”. It is very different from the European “essay”. The famous notion of the I-novel tradition was invented around the same time. These genre concepts and notions have continued until today.

In this paper we will outline a history of the Japanese concepts equivalent to “diary”, “I-novel,” and “essay” or “zuihitsu”. I will attach an appendix at the end of this paper to show how the concept of Japanese “literature” *bungaku* was formed as it was used in a broad sense to mean “humanities” *jimbungaku*, which is a unique Japanese concept.

2. Conceptual Change of “Diary” or “Nikki” in Japan

The word “diary” or “nikki” (日記) in Japanese was not a concept of literary genre at least until the pre-modern age. Originally, “rijì” (日記) in ancient China means all private writings, in contrast with public writings, such as *Jōhyobun* (memorandum to the emperor)*.

* The oldest writing of “rijì” (日記) in China appears in Wang Chong (王充, Wáng Chōng)’s *Lunheng* (論衡, lùnhéng, late 1st century)’s Volume 13, titled “On the Effect” (効力, xiàoli). Wang shows examples of public writings by Gu Ziyun (谷子雲) who served Emperor Chen (成帝), the 11th Emperor of the Han (漢), and examples of private writings (日記) by Confucius (Kǒng-zǐ, 孔子) in *Chūnqiū* (春秋), the ancient chroniclers of the state of Lu (魯), believed to be written by him as “rijì.” In China, records with dates had been written since ancient times. But these writings were not called “rijì” according to today’s Chinese scholars. And in the *General Catalogue of Siku Quanshu Tiyao* (四庫全書總目提要), the classification of “rijì” as a genre name did not appear.

In my research on the history of concepts in Japan from the ancient time to the pre-modern time, the word “nikki” was used with three or four overlapping meanings: (1) private writing; (2) record with dates, or record of a certain period without dates, or recollection of past events, such as a traveler’s journal; (3) Daily record of government offices and the business activities.*

* In *Kagerō Diary*, one sentence indicates that “this writing” should not to be called “nikki”, as it records the private experience of a personal life from the author’s heart. It is the first time in Japan that an author privately wrote of her personal experience for readers.

The Categorized Collections of Japanese Classics, Gunsho Ruiju (群書類從, published, from

1819 till 1911), first edited in the Edo era, has the heading “nikki”, which lists “uta nikki”, record of waka, written with dates, or written during a certain period. Beside the heading “nikki”, there is another heading “kikō”, travel records, with or without dates, which includes some works with “nikki” in their titles, such as *Tosa Nikki* or *Sarashina Nikki*. It is evident that “nikki” was not an independent genre in the pre-modern age*.

Traditionally the classification of genres in Japan usually follows the Japanese way of categorizing Chinese books (類書) for models of Chinese composition, such as, *Collection of Literary Works by Categories* (藝文類聚, 624) of the Tang Dynasty with the addition of headings for Japan’s gods, Japanese poetry, and so on.³ We can see typical examples in *A Classified Collection of Classics* (類聚国史, 892) edited by Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真) who was ordered to do so by the Emperor Uda (宇多天皇), and *A Collection of Things Heard, Old and New* (古今著聞集, early 13th century) edited by Tachibana Narisue (橘成季) according to narrative topics. With the exception of *The Categorized Collections of Japanese Classics*, *Gunsho Ruiju*, we cannot find a genre heading “nikki” in these books organized by category.

In the Meiji period, the English words “diary” and “journal” were accepted in Japan. “Diary” originally means the style of memorandum or future plan with dates attached. The original meaning of “journal” is a written record with dates. Although the diary style of book and handbook were first published in 1895, the recording of business activities did not change.*

* The haiku magazine *Hototogisu* established by Masaoka Shigi invited readers to contribute their “diaries” and published them around 1900, without changing the ending of the colloquial sentences into classical written forms, such as from “suru” or “shita” to “da” or “dearu”. This is an example of unification of the written and spoken language in the Meiji period⁴.

However, the words “diary” and “journal” do not always mean memorandum of daily life with dates or future plans. For example, *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson: with Annotations* (1909),

³ See my forthcoming book *A History of Concepts of Diary and Essay in Japan: from Ancient to Today*, Rinsen Shoten, 2016..

⁴ See Sadami Suzuki “On People’s Writing of Daily Life” in *The Birth of Daily Life*, ed. Barbara Satō, Kashiwa-shobō, Tokyo, 2007

edited by Edward Waldo Emerson, is ambiguous because dates were not always provided.

Another example is the translation into Japanese by Togawa Shūkotsu in 1907 of the collection of Ivan Sergeevich Turgenev's short stories *A Sportsman's Sketches* (1852, 1890), from its 1897 English version by Constance Clara Garnett. Togawa titled the translation as *A Hunter's Diary* (Ryōjin nikki, 獵人日記). As is well known, each short story in *A Sportsman's Sketches* is a glimpse of the country life in Russia without dates. I think the title *A Hunter's Diary* may have been inspired by the fact that around the turn to the 20th century close observation of nature, accurate expression of impressions from nature, and short descriptions of impressions, were fashionable among artists and writers.

In his famous article "The Green Sun" (緑色の太陽, 1910), Takamura Kōtarō, a poet and sculptor, wrote that if you see the sun as green, then you can paint it green. Such an impressionistic style of writing was gradually adopted by the society. We can find this idea in the textbook of composition, *Q & A on New Composition for the General Public* (通俗新文章問答, Shinchōsha, 1913), which states that new literary arts treasure one's own sense that combines sharp sensitivity and original expression.

After this Impressionism movement, diary writing started to focus on one's inner life, and became the "self-cultivation diary (修養日記)" through a process of three stages. The first stage is the acceptance of the Arts and Crafts Movement of William Morris, a socialist activist in England, who suggested the happiness arises from "the interest in all the details of daily life" and leads to creating "an ornamental part of life." His idea was influential among intellectuals until 1910. In Japan, after the Incident of High Treason in 1910, the socialist movement was suppressed completely until 1920. When the crackdown was somewhat lifted, Japan became a member of the League of Nations, which had the International Labor Organization under its umbrella. From around 1920, the socialist ideology revived.

The second stage is characterized by philosopher Abe Jirō (阿部次郎)'s *The Diary of Santarō* (三太郎の日記, Vol.1,1914 ; Vol. 2,1915, combined three volumes, 1918) which was popular among young intellectuals. This book does not "create" a main character, but

rather expresses the author's own psychology. As early as 1911, Abe already promoted in his essay "Literature of Directly Expression of Inner Life" (内生活直写の文学, 1911) a method of "directly expressing" an ever-changing emotional state accompanied by over-flowing pathos that lingers in heart, by following Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's idea of pursuing "direct and internal experience" in *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (1872).

The third stage witnessed the spread of the idea of "self-building" in diary writing that reflects one's spiritual growth. Around the turn of the twentieth century in Japan, between the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), the period of self-cultivation (shūyō, 修養) started, and the highly valued social success arising from the Meiji Restoration was questioned. This enabled people to freely choose their occupations. After the Russo-Japanese War, as the capitalist development intensified which caused great societal suffering, the young generation was encouraged by leading intellectuals to seek the objects of their lives, to contemplate the meaning of life and the universe, and to build up their spiritual strength and calmness by reading the life stories of the great men of the world, with a particular attention to Zen Buddhism and Wang Yangming's philosophy.*

*"Shūyō" (修養) traditionally means self-cultivation in East Asia, similar to the word "shūshin" (修身). In the Meiji period, "shūyō" (修養) emphasizes one's self training, while "shūshin" is used in the public education to foster talents for the state and society, equivalent to the "social success" promoted by Neo-Confucianism in Japan with emphasis on loyalty and patriotism. That is why writing about one's inner life in diary form is termed "diary of self-cultivation" (shūyō nikki, 修養日記). However, it is said that the mode of writing often moved from traditional "shūyō" to Western "cultural refinement" as seen in Abe Jirō's advancement from personal individualism to universal individualism. It is said that in China in the 1920s, the diary was typically called "xiūshēn rìjì (修身日記)". In China the meaning of "xiūshēn" is more inclusive than "xiūyǎng (修養)", different from their usage in modern Japan.

We can assume the diary style of recording one's inner life enabled Ikeda Kikan to

invent the new genre “diary literature” in reference to the Japanese classics. However, Ikeda said in his article, it is the “golden age of the literature of self-reflection,” not the “diary of self-reflection” that led to a new interpretation of national classics. Next, we should consider the concept of “literature” at that time.

3. Conceptual Change of “Literature” around the Turn to the Twentieth Century

Around the turn to the twentieth century, a great change occurred in the fine arts. The symbolist movement changed the concept of aesthetics and included into the fine arts what was judged by Christianity to be “heresy” and “useless worship”. This movement spread quickly and widely, especially to the sphere outside of Christianity. For instance, Rabindranath Tagore, who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913, the first winner in Asia, encountered the symbolist movement in London. After he returned to Bengal, he wrote his poetry based on Hindu mysticism.

In modern Europe, philosophically the concept of “beauty” was separated from the concepts of “truth” and “morality,” when Immanuel Kant suggested that “beauty” is judged by emotion, and “truth” and “morality” by reason in his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (1790). On the one hand in a public space we can see traditional images far from being fine art. On the other hand, as industries developed, artisans of the middle age gradually split into laborers and artists. Over all, the fine arts were made independent from religion. French academism limited “fine art” to only paintings and sculptures. This is the narrow sense of “fine art.” The broadest sense of “fine art” is “liberal arts,” and the middle sense of “fine art” is today’s “fine art”.

The symbolist movement made a significant change in the middle and narrow senses of “fine art.” We can find this in Arthur Symons’ book *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1899). Symons was on friendly terms with symbolist poets in Paris, and wrote about French literature of the nineteenth century, focusing on the movement in the midst of decadence. The “Introduction” tells that the original meaning of “symbol” in Ancient Greek denotes “the two halves of the tablet that divided between themselves as a pledge of hospitality,” and it mentions Thomas Carlyle’s definition of “symbol” as “some embodiment

and revelation of the Infinite” in Chapter 3 of Carlyle’s *Sartor Resartus; The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (1831). Symons pointed out that today’s symbolism differs from the past symbolism by conscious use of symbols. He concluded the “Introduction” by declaring that symbolism had become “a kind of religion”. It is this declaration that places symbolist art in the world, substituting for Christianity. In other words, this is the start point of the movement which makes fine art an object of worship.

In Japan, this movement was widespread. We can see it in the special issue of the magazine *Shirakaba* in 1910 on French sculptor August Rodin, The Shirakaba group worshiped Rodin. The symbolism movement in Japanese was mixed with the movement of “unifying fine art and life,” which is similar to William Morris’ socialistic ideology. I think this phenomenon was born from the particular modern concept of “literature” in Japan. Like it or not, the concept itself has been inevitably confused with traditional religious thoughts: Shintōism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. In a broad sense, “the humanities” are included into “fine art,” and in a narrow sense all the “fine arts” are included.⁵

In the symbolism movement of literature, Abe Jirō presented *The Diary of Santarō*, as a sort of “fine art.” And it accepted recording one’s own life as part of “fine art.” Next we will examine the concepts of the subgenre of literature, that is, the novel and essay in journalism of 1920s.

4, Conceptual Changes of Novel and the Circumstance of Journalism

As mentioned above, in 1926 Ikeda Kikan wrote that “the golden age of the literature of self-reflection led to a new interpretation of the national classics.” It is well known that around 1926 the I-novel was enjoying its “heyday” as well. At the same time, two new movements occurred, “proletarian literature” and “mass literature”, which was composed of historical novels and detective stories that are easy to read. The I-novel style started to decline, which motivated active discussion on it. It is natural that Ikeda formed his opinion against this background.

This discussion is implied in the 18th chapter of Uno Kōji’s I-novel *A Dolce World* :

⁵ See the appendix of this paper.

New Tale of Urashima Tarō (甘き世の話—新浦島物語—), in the magazine *Chūou kōron*, September 1920), narrated as: “Recently in Japanese novels, there occurs a strange phenomenon. Many unidentified “I”s appear and only talk about their weird feelings. The “I” seems to be the author himself. Now readers and authors all believe that the “I” is the author (近頃の日本の小説界の一部には不思議な現象があることを賢明な諸君は知つて居らるゝであらう。それは無暗に「私」といふ訳の分からぬ人物が出て来て、(略) 妙な感想のやうなものばかりが綴られてあるのだ。気を付けて見ると、どうやらその小説を作つた作者自身が即ち「私」らしいのである。大抵さう定つてゐるのである。だから「私」の職業は小説家なのである。そして「私」と書いたらその小説の署名人を指すことになる、といふ不思議な現象を読者も作者も少しも怪しまない).⁶

Uno Kōji continued to write that this illusion causes trouble for the man or woman used as a model. Uno at that time wrote a series of short I-novels about a romance with Yumeko, a beautiful geisha girl he met in the Suwa Spring. In *Dolce World* the narrator talks about his love affair, and guesses that Yumeko is affected by the assumption of today’s readers. Near the ending, the narrator describes himself as “thirty-years-old and baldhead.” It is a self-parody in the fashion of the I-novel.

During that time, the term I-novel (私小説) was often used in literary circles, and problems of models were frequently discussed too. But the major problem pointed out by Uno was blurred, as it is the problem of the novel’s style, not the characteristics and the circumstance of the protagonist in the novel. In the I-novel, the narrator usually tells its personal experience and impression directly, just like an essay. Uno had the Shirakaba group in mind when writing his essay “My Personal Opinion on the ‘I-novel’” (『私小説』私見』1925). From this we can assume whose writing style he was referring to.

At the beginning of Shiga Naoya’s work *At Kinosaki* (城の崎にて, *Shirakaba*, May 1917), the narration starts: “I was hit by a Yamanote Line train. For recuperation, I went to the Kinosaki Spring in Tajima by myself.” (山の手線の電車に跳飛ばされて怪我をした、其後養生に、一人で但馬の城崎温泉へ出掛けた)⁷ We wonder who is the narrator, how old is he,

⁶ Uno Kōji, *Beautiful Woman: Novel*, (美女:小説), Arusu (アルス), 1920, p. 355. Revised version, *Uno Kōji Zenshū*, vol.2 Chōōkōron-sha 1968, p.301,

⁷ *Shiga Naoya Zenshū*, Vol,3, Iwanami-shoten, 1999, p.4

what does he like, and what business does he have? We cannot find these answers in the work, without looking at the “family tomb in the Aoyama cemetery” mentioned in the work. However we assume that it is based on the author’s experiences of watching the dead body of a wasp, the struggling of a rat being pierced by a skewer before dying, and the process of dying of a newt accidentally hit by a stone thrown by the hero, who feels that life and death are inseparably connected. The description of the narrator’s observation and contemplation is exactly like that of an essay or diary.

Uno pointed out that this style of writing is different from that of fictional novels, in which the author creates the individual character’s profile with words, and the reader understands it through the words. This essay-like style was not named in China and Europe, even in Japan until that time*.

*For example, a little earlier, Nagai Kafū in his 1916 work “Yahazugusa” (Japanese clover) writes by way of introduction:

As for a novelist such as myself, taking up incidents in my personal life as they happened and making that the subject of a novel (monogatari), this is a practice that appeared in society starting around the beginning of the 19th century. This sort of novel is called roman personnel and such works continue, unabated, to be written down to the present. For example, Goethe’s *The Sorrows of Young Werther* and Chateaubriand’s *René* are novels of this type. Ozaki Kōyō’s “Gen Grapes” is perhaps the first example in our country. But for me, at this point, to try and turn my various experiences with Yae into a book length novel is, contrary to what one would expect, a difficult thing to manage. If one is to write a novel, one must determine in depth the natures of one’s characters and carefully map out the plot of the monogatari. I have recently suffered from frequent illnesses and in any case I do not have a strong physical constitution, and so writing a full-length novel based on my experience would be an arduous endeavor I simply could not endure. Rather I put my pen to paper and began writing at random of my time with Yae in the form of an essay.

What Kafū calls a roman personnel is a French term and corresponds in German to the Ich-Roman. The Pioneering “Ich-Roman” is said to be Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774) which was published when he was twenty five years old, and

made him famous all over Europe. With a broken heart, Werther committed suicide, but Goethe lived on and wrote this novel based on his experience. In this novel, Werther's appearance, personality and every day life are well described.

In Goethe's novella, when Werther is happy and excited, the surrounding nature looks bright, but when he is depressed, the surroundings are gloomy. This mode of writing follows the viewpoint of the main character, no matter which personal pronoun is used.

"Ich-Roman" was carried on by French Romanticism. The well-known works are *René* (1802) by François-René de Chateaubriand, *Obermann* (1804) by Étienne Pivert de Senancour, as well as *Adolphe* (1805) by Benjamin Constant which is said to be the first that examines the psychology of the main character. Almost all the works by Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828-1910) are based on his own experiences. In the twentieth century, the stream of consciousness in a broad sense (overflowing unconsciousness in a narrow sense) became the main mode of writing as seen in the works by Marcel Proust (1871-1922), James Augustine Aloysius Joyce (1882-1941), Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), William Cuthbert Faulkner (1897-1962), and Henry Miller (1891-1980), etc. In Japan, Iwano Hōmei (岩野泡鳴), poet and novelist, practiced this method of writing under the name of "unitary description" (一元描写), which was inspired by the impressionism movement.

For another example, under the title "essay" in *Shinchō's Little Dictionary of World Literature* (新潮世界文学小辞典, 1966), Fukuhara Rintarō (福原麟太郎), scholar of English literature, wrote that "accidentally, the works like Japanese I-novels are taken as 'essays' in England (偶然、わが国の私小説のごときものがイギリスにおいてはエッセイに数えられている) because Fukuhara knew well the European "Ich-Roman". (His "essay" will be discussed later.)

In the discussion of the I-novel, the works in essay style are also called "state of mind novel (心境小説)". And Uno Kōji, influenced by Kasai Zenzō's (葛西善蔵) works written in essay style in 1924, took the "state of mind novel" as a particular form of I-novel, in his article "My Personal Opinion on the I-novel" mentioned before, in which he also mentioned that it is difficult for Japanese writers to write like Honoré de Balzac, a great French novelist, but easy to write like Bashō (芭蕉), Japan's great master of *haikai*.

At that time, almost all discussants could differentiate the I-novel from “state of mind novel” in which the author directly tells of his inner life, including the method of first-person viewpoint and inner monologue. It means that when Ikeda Kikan wrote about “a series of literary works of confession and prayer in which the author’s individual personality attempted to tell the innermost truth,” he did not consider fictional characters in the classics.

When comparing the “state of mind novels” with European “orthodox novels” (本格小説), or its affinity with Haiku, the major problem raised by Uno Kōji was lost, because the discussion has been confused and chaotic for a long time. Another lost issue is Satō Haruo’s *A Pastoral Elegy* (佐藤春夫, 田園の憂鬱, revised version, 1919) in which the state of mind situated in the country life of the narrator = protagonist is shown. In one episode the narrator appreciates Bashō’s haikai deeply, like other young literary enthusiasts.

Eleven years after writing *At Kinoshiki*, in his talks titled “On My Writing, Part II” (続創作余談, 1928), Shiga Naoya said: “for me the difference between fiction and essay is very vague” (私では創作と随筆との境界が甚だ曖昧だ).⁸ This attitude can be seen from Shiga’s early writing when he wrote the words “non-novel” (非小説) in his draft of “One Morning” (或る朝, 1908) and employed an essay style, typical of him. His short article “Occasional Thoughts” (偶感, January 1924) published in the essay column for the magazine *Josei*, was put into the collection of his short stories titled *Rain Frog* (雨蛙, 1925). The journalism of that time did not distinguish the difference among I-novel, state of mind novel, essay of occasional thoughts, and diary. This situation of journalism also enabled Ikeda Kikan to form his idea of “diary literature” or “literature of self-reflection” which categorizes different styles of writing into one genre. In order to prove my theory, I will further examine the situation of essays of the time in the following section.

5. The Formation of the Concept of “Zuihitsu”

Under the title “essay” in *Shinchō’s Little Dictionary of World Literature* mentioned above, Fukuhara Rintarō first introduced the pioneering “suībì (随筆)” in classical Chinese, *Róngzhāi Suībǐ* (容齋隨筆, 1180) edited by Hóng Mài(洪邁) of the Nán Song period (南宋),

⁸ Shiga Naoya *Zenshū* vol.6 Iwanami-shoten, 1974, p.221

and the first use in Japan titled “zuihitsu (隨筆)” *Tōzai Zuihitsu* (東齋隨筆, ca.1430?) edited by Ichijō Kaneyoshi (一條兼良), a court noble of the mid-Muromachi period. Then, Fukuhara expounded the concept of “essay” in Europe, from philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626) to the massive volume of essays *Les Essais* (1580, 1588) written by French moralist Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, and later adding the letters written by philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca (ca.BC.1 - AD.65) of the Roman Empire. This category spread widely and contained casual writings on reasoning and emotion, which indicates that this style of short prose included miscellaneous contents. That is why Fukuhara wrote that “accidentally the works like Japanese I-novels are taken as ‘essays’ in England.”

Fukuhara probably kept in mind the *Essays of Elia* (1823), a representative collection of essays of 19th century England. Elia, who criticizes the new manners and morals ironically in the essays, is a fictional person created by the author Charles Lamb. But in the work, Elia and the author stayed in the same student hostel of the University of Oxford. Then the name of Charles Lamb appears in the first part of Chapter 3 in *Essays of Elia*, which implies that this is in fact an autobiography of the author.

Róngzhāi Suíbǐ (容齋隨筆) of 12th century China was highly regarded, and was given more volumes after its first publication. The 5th volume was interrupted by the death of the author Hóng Mài. This series was well known because of the author’s precise commentary on many excerpts from classics and his keen criticism of annotations selected from miscellaneous disciplines such as ethics, politics, history, intellectual thought, astronomy, calendar, medicine, herbs, Buddhism, folk belief and morals. In the preface of the 1st volume, he wrote that “suíbǐ” means occasional and free writing. Each volume of the collection has more than two hundred and fifty short pieces without classification.*

*One of the preceding writings of this kind is *Mèngxī Bītán* (夢溪筆談, 26 main volumes, 2 additional volumes, late 11th century) edited by Shěn Kuò (沈括) of the Běisòng period (北宋), which includes miscellaneous areas: astronomy, calendar, music, civil engineer, chemistry, and arithmetic, etc. “Bītán” probably means a dialogue-like writing. Each volume has categorized chapters by his method. We can assume that this collection is a result of development of printing technology, a growing reading population, and increased demand for annotated

classics for easy reading. These kinds of books, composed of commentary, criticism and annotation of excerpts of classics selected from miscellaneous areas are considered to form a genre concept.* The big difference between *Mèngxī Bǐtán* and *Róngzhāi Suíbǐ* is that the former has a classification and the latter has none. From the occasional and free writings in China, equivalent to essays in Europe, we can conclude that a genre concept of this kind of writing was not formed in pre-modern Japan, as the writings were treated only like scribbled notes (雜纂).

The *General Catalogue of Siku Quanshu Tiyao* Siku Quanshu Tiyao (四庫全書總目提要) arranges Chinese classics into in four big groups, ethics (經部), history (史部), Hundred Schools of Thoughts (子部), and anthology (集部). In the five sections numbered 50, 51, 52, 53 and 54 of the Hundred Schools of Thoughts (子部), the cluster of novelists (小說家類) are located. In No. 52 and No. 54 include three volumes of *Yijǎnzhi* (夷堅志, 1192), a collection of folklore famously edited by Hóng Mài.

In Japan, *Tōzai Zuihitsu* edited by Ichijō Kaneyoshi is a collection of narratives excerpted from older books, without comments and classification. More than half a century later, *Moritake Zuihitsu* (守武隨筆), a book of *waka* and manuscripts written by Arakida Moritake (荒木田守武, 1473 - 1549), a *renga* poet of the late Muromachi (室町) period, was published. His manuscripts were a collection of jokes and examples of fashionable love affairs between men and women in the town, with no comments and classification. We can still see why it was named “zuihitsu,” in comparison with the collections of excerpts from Chinese and Japanese classics along with commentary or annotations which were called “Shōmono” (抄物) at the same time.

In the Edo period, free writings were abundant, and were named “zuihitsu,” “manpitsu” (漫筆), and “manroku” (漫録), etc. In the late Edo period, historical investigation became fashionable among the town residents. Many amateur historians started to group writings of each field, and called their reports “zuihitsu”. However, the genre concept equivalent to that of essays in Europe was not formed yet. We cannot find the heading of “zuihitsu” in *Gunsho Ruijū*.

Although we can find genre concepts, such as, shī (詩), xiǎoshuō (小說), xìqū (戲曲) in pre-modern China and Japan, equivalent to poetry, novels, drama in literary fine arts in Europe, the prose writings were separated from the system of classification. In China the big four groups—ethics (經), history (史), thoughts (子), and anthology (集)—had more detailed classification in their sub-groups. In Japan, it was not so evident, and the classification was made mainly by themes according to the Japanized system of Chinese categorization (類書), as mentioned earlier. Even though many essay-like works were written in pre-modern China and Japan, the genre concept equivalent to that of “essay” in Europe did not occur in the end.

In the Meiji period, the word “zuihitsu” as a genre name appeared in Japan’s history of literature*. But but because it did not include Kamo no Chōmei’s *Hōjōki* (鴨長明, 方丈記, 1212) and Kenkō Hōshi’s *Tsurezuregusa* (兼好法師, 徒然草, ca.1330), its meaning was not yet stable. *Hōjōki* was written in a style with frequent use of couplets from Chinese classics, accompanied by realistic descriptions based on the author’s actual experience, and *Tsurezuregusa* is a collection of short fragments without classification. If the editors of history of Japanese literature know *Tōzai Zuihitsu* and *Moritake Zuihitsu* well, then they should reconsider their concepts of “zuihitsu.”

*The major four books: *A History of Japanese Literature* (日本文学史) edited by Mikami Sanji and Takatsu Kuwasaburō (三上参次, 高津楸三郎, Kinkōdō, 1890), claimed to be the first history of literature in Japan, based on a broad sense of “literature” or Japanese sense of “humanities;” *Ten Lectures on History of National Literature* (国文学史十講, Fuzanbō, 1899) by Haga Yaichi (芳賀矢一) based on the narrow sense of “literature” as fine art; *Lectures on History of National Literature* (国文学史講話, Iwanami-shoten, 1911) by Fujioka Sakutarō (藤岡作太郎), including both the narrow and broad senses of literature; and *A Study of Our National Thoughts as Manifest in Literature* (文学に現はれたる我が国民思想の研究, Rakuyōdō, 1916-21) by Tsuda Sōkichi, based on the narrow sense of literature.

In Japan, the word of “zuihitsu” was used very frequently as a genre concept from around 1920 in general magazines including women’s magazines with growing demand for

miscellaneous writings that are easy to understand. Because the new middle class was expanding, and the quantity and quality of literary writings increased, a mass readership was formed.

In the Meiji period, the magazine *The Nation's Friends* (国民之友, 1887 - 98) led by Tokutomi Sohō (徳富蘇峰) attracted a lot of attention in society. It put essays on history (史論) at the center of “literature,” or “humanities.” We also see that “shiden” (史伝) meaning “essays on history and biography” was put in the list of contents in the general magazine *The Sun* (太陽) published from 1885 by Hakubunkan (博文館). *The Sun* was a giant magazine that shaped general opinions in the late Meiji period. “Shiden” was put in the genre of “hyōron” (評論) meaning “critical essay”. On the contrary, “essays” not related to criticism was put in the column of miscellaneous “zatsuroku” (雜録), “zasso” (雜俎), “zassan” (雜纂) and “sōdan” (叢談) from the start until 1910. From 1911, the list of contents of *The Sun* stopped such a classification. *The Sun* fad was declining.

The general magazine *Chūō kōron* (中央公論) started from 1887, and began to grow from around 1912, riding on the waves of the Taishō democracy. Its table of contents usually listed four columns: “public opinions” (公論), “contemporary opinions” (時論), “garden of opinions” (説苑), and “literary creation” (創作). The editor, Takita Choin (滝田樗陰), appointed alternatively every month, Muramatsu Shōhū (村松梢風) and Tanaka Kōtarō (田中貢太郎) to write for the “garden of opinions” that are easy reading. Their miscellaneous writings and rewriting of love stories and ghost stories popular in the Edo period gained special reputation, and consequently the number of readers increased. From around 1920 *Chūō kōron* started an occasional column “Essence of Thinking” (想華) and “Essence of Poetry” (詞華), and from 1927 started another occasional column, “Zuihitsu by Kafū” (荷風隨筆) and later “Zuihitsu by Hakuchō” (白鳥隨筆). In addition to “literary creation” (創作), a column of “literary art” (文芸) was started in *Chūō kōron* from 1913, which was sometimes used in the cases of novels and dramas side by side. But from 1919, the “literary creation” began to be used only for novels. *The Sun* also used the “literary creation” for novels from February 1921 in its table of contents. However, *The Sun* disappeared from journalism in February 1928.

Japan participated in the First World War for “liberty” as an ally of the U.K. After the war, capital merger occurred, the economy boomed, and the system of mass production / mass propaganda / mass consumption expanded. With the damage of to the publishing industry in Tokyo caused by the Kantō earthquake, Kansai publishers unified cooperation among companies. The newspaper *Osaka Mainichi* cooperated with *Tokyo Nichinichi*, and *Osaka Asahi* collaborated with *Tokyo Asahi*, each of which gained national circulation. Radio broadcast started from 1923, and the number of receivers increased around 1930. This is the time when mass media led mass movements.

In the publishing industry, the mass magazine *King* (キング) started in 1924 by Dainippon-Yūbenkai- Kōdansha (大日本雄弁会講談社) increased its number of copies to ten-million in a short span of time. The so-called series of “Enpon”—one yen per copy—published by various companies was popular around 1926.

As the industry was fast-growing, many magazines flourished. Kikuchi Kan (菊池寛) started *Bungei Shunjū* (文藝春秋) in January 1923, first as a pamphlet-like publication composed of aphorisms by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (芥川龍之介), novels and gossip in literary circles by Naoki Sanjūgo (直木三十五), a novelist belonging to the mass literature circle, and miscellaneous short easy writings, called “zatsubun” (雑文) by Kikuchi Kan himself. Kikuchi’s policy was “neutral as to right and left wings” and “60% for comfort, 40% for study (六分の慰安、四分の教養)”. Within a short time, *Bungei Shunjū* climbed to the top of general magazines, and began to lead the new middle class.

In contrast, the magazine *Zuihitsu* with a high quality standard, started by Nakatogawa Kichiji (中戸川吉二) in December 1923, with cooperation of novelists Mizumori Kamenosuke (水守亀之助) and Makino Shin’ichi (牧野信一) had a short life. However, Mizumori established a publishing company Jinbunkai Shuppanbu (人文会出版部) and started to publish the series *Meiji Taishō Zuihitsu Senshū* (明治大正随筆選集) in November 1924.* And in 1926, Mizumori started a new miscellaneous writing series in a new style, authored by writers, critics and journalists, including reports from foreign countries. Many publishers followed his practice, and the word “zuihitsu” flooded Japan.

*The first three collections are *Masaoka Shiki* (子規随筆集), *Kunikida Doppo* (独歩随筆集),

Shimazaki Tōson (藤村隨筆集) written by the giants of literature of the time. In the following year 1925, he published two collections of *zuihitsu* by Shimamura Hōgetsu (島村抱月) and Ōmachi Keigetsu (大町桂月), and in 1926 the collections of *zuihitsu* by Masamune Hakuchō (正宗白鳥), Koizumi Yakumo, (小泉八雲, also Lafcadio Hearn), and Kuriyagawa Hakuson (厨川白村), etc. This series continued to 1927.

In addition, around 1923, the word “shōhin” (小品), was used to mean short articles, not belonging to any genre. Shōhin was originally popularized in China during the Ming period. In Japan, it was popular through the Meiji period. Like “conte,” it had a nuance of irony, satire, and nonsense. The word of “conte” comes from French, also belonging to no genre. The examples can be seen from a collection of fables *Histoires ou contes du temps passé, avec des moralités: Contes de ma mère l'Oye* (1697) by Charles Perrault, a collection of short novels *Contes cruels* (1883) by Comte de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, poetry in prose *Le Spleen de Paris: Petits poèmes en prose* (1869) by Charles Pierre Baudelaire, etc. It is said that conte was introduced to Japan by novelist Okada Saburō who returned from Paris in 1923. We also need to pay attention to a collection of short stories *Meido* (冥途, 1922) by Uchida Hyakken (内田百閒), and a few short stories by Kawabata Yasunari (川端康成) named “palm stories” by himself published in magazines. Some of these short stories resemble the *zuihitsu* style.

The mixture of genres accelerated. As I mentioned earlier, many similar names and writing styles, such as, *Zuihitsu*, “Manpitsu” (漫筆), “Manroku” (漫録), “Zakki” (雜記), “Zatsuroku” (雜録), “Yowa” (夜話), “Chawa” (茶話), etc. were abundant in the book market of the Edo period. Putting them into one package and publishing them under the title of *Zuihitsu Zenshū* (隨筆全集, 20 volumes, 1927-30) was begun by Kokumin-tosho (国民図書) in the early Shōwa period. Incidentally Yoshikawa Kōbunkan (吉川弘文館) also published *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei* (日本隨筆大成, 1st series with 12 + 2 volumes, 1928-29, 2nd series with 12 + 2 volumes, 3rd series with 13 volumes). Today, from the digitalized copy we can see an accompanying catch phrase of the time: “*Zuihitsu* collected here, different from today’s essays, have more grandeur and are richer in terms of the reports of experience, recollections of the past, travel accounts, historical investigations and so on. They were

written freely by the people of the Edo period. These volumes compile various strange events and curious information. They are also a treasure trove of history, national writings, folk customs and manners, much more interesting than novels.

(ここに収める『随筆』とは、現代のエッセイ等とは違い、もっと幅広く内容豊富な、見聞・述懐・紀行・考証など、江戸人の自由な筆にまかせて書かれた多種多様な奇事異聞の集大成である。小説よりも面白く、歴史・国文・民俗・風俗の資料の宝庫でもある。)

I think this phrase was probably written in the early Showa period. At that time “zuihitsu” became a word that include prose writings in all the genres except novels. In addition, “novel” became a neighboring concept to “zuihitsu” as I mentioned before. These are the reasons behind the birth of the concept of Japanese “zuihitsu” which is different from European “essay.” Japanese “zuihitsu” encompasses free writings of almost all the disciplines with a neighboring concepts of novels, poetry in prose, and conte.

6. Conclusion

Finally I would like to add that another tradition was invented. Novelist Funabashi Seiichi wrote about how the I-novel tradition originated from Heian women’s ‘diary literature’ in his essay “I-Novel and the Theme Novel” (私小説とテーマ小説) in the literary magazine *Bungakkai* (文学界, October 1935), when the discussion on I-novel was revived. Funabashi graduated from the Department of National Literature of Tokyo Imperial University, three year later than Ikeda Kikan. Ikeda invented the new genre of “diary literature” in the Heian period around 1925, and his junior Funabashi invented the I-novel tradition anew. We can see in many cases the terms “I-novel tradition”, or “I-novel features” from the post-WWII period until today, in various dictionaries.

However, no researcher in Japanese literature could find “diary literature” like “I-novel” after the Kamakura era. Although from the Muromachi period to the mid-Meiji period, there are many descriptions of one’s own experiences, written in the styles of reportage (見聞記) or autobiography (自伝), these were never regarded as in the novel genre at that time. Apart from that, as well known, popular tales and novels in many styles were abundant from the 17th century to the 19th century in Japan. All novel writers inherited

the two traditions of the family of monogatari fiction and narrative fiction. Both of them were influenced by the imported China's romances (伝奇) and colloquial novels (白話小説). All novel writers put their observations to use in those fictional styles. And, we can be sure that I-novel style was produced from the mid-Meiji period because of accepting the European I-novel.

In conclusion, the "diary literature," the Japanese "zuihitsu" with a broader sense than that of Europeans "essay," were the two invented genres. These inventions rose from the prolific and competing situation of journalism in the early Shōwa period from 1920s to 1930s. We need to study a genre concept by examining its relation with other genres, not only in academic systems, but also in the conditions of journalism. Only by criticizing the established methods to evaluation of works, especially concepts of genres and conventional tools of analysis, can we find new cultural aspects in the past history.

(Edited by Nanyan Guo and Torrance Richard)