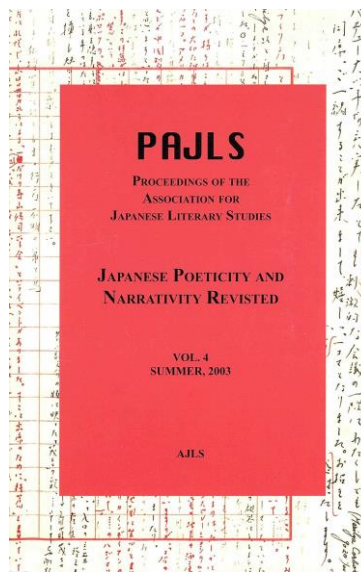


“Unsealing Yamakawa Tomiko’s Tanka:
Construction of Tomiko’s Gendered Image in
Contrast to Akiko’s”

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**UNSEALING YAMAKAWA TOMIKO'S TANKA:
CONSTRUCTION OF TOMIKO'S GENDERED IMAGE
IN CONTRAST TO AKIKO'S**

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THEME OF THIS STUDY

Nowadays, the classical language is not so familiar to the people of Japan. However, we cannot ignore the influence of novels written in modern language concerning the construction of the classical Japanese poem, 31-syllable 'tanka'. When a modern novel gives a definite direction to the reading of symbolism in tanka, we should critically examine if arguments of the novel's author blindly assume culturally established symbolism in reading, for instance, gender stereotypes.

Yamakawa Tomiko's tanka and her life were distorted in a remarkably gender-biased way in the novel, *Akiko Mandala* (1955) by Satō Haruo, the heroine of which was Yosano Akiko, Tomiko's friend and a rival in tanka and romance. In *Akiko Mandala*, Tomiko was described as a foil to the ideal poet Akiko portrays. Tomiko's gendered image in *Akiko Mandala* became the model for Tomiko's fictional image afterward. Since 1996, *Kimi mo Kokuriko Ware mo Kokuriko (You Are a Field Poppy, and So Am I)*, by Watanabe Jun'ichi, has added to the deformation and reproduction of that image.

In this paper, I would like to discuss the true facts of Tomiko's life in order to highlight the most gender-biased parts of the novel and to indicate the real Tomiko that has been concealed by the distortion. And I would like to also share some translations of Tomiko's tanka that add meaning to an honest discussion of her life and signify her feminist ideas and her criticism of patriarchy. I will quote these tanka from *Koigoromo (Love Clothes*, the only collection of tanka by Tomiko, Akiko, and Masako published in her lifetime), "Hana no Chirizuka" (unpublished selections of tanka by Tomiko), the magazine *Myōjō (Morning Star)*¹, and three notebooks (Articles left by the departed poet) that were found beneath Tomiko's 'futon' <Japanese mattress> and saved from fire by her youngest brother, Yamakawa Ryōzō.

¹ The first *Myōjō* published in the Meiji Era. Bulletin of 'Tokyo Shinshi Sha' (Tokyo New Poetry Society) which was established in 1899 by Yosano Tekkan. The first issue of *Myōjō* was published in April of 1900 (Meiji 33).

BRIEF SUMMARY OF TOMIKO'S CAREER

Yamakawa Tomiko was born in Tawara-village (presently Obama City), Shiga Prefecture (presently Fukui Prefecture), on July 16, 1879 (Meiji 12) as the fourth daughter of her family. Her father, a bank president, had been a chief retainer of the Obama han (a feudal clan) till the Meiji Restoration, so he was very conservative and stern with his children. For instance, he used to personally wake up his sons and daughters every morning, calling "Wake up!" at 4 a.m. in the summer, at 5 a.m. in the winter. After that, he made them wash their faces with cold water, clean the house, and weed the garden. Tomiko was surrounded by 'shizoku' (samurai families). They valued maintaining the honor of the family, securing an inheritor, and preserving a close union with their neighbors. These values caused Tomiko much grief later in life.

In 1895 (Meiji 28), Tomiko entered Baika Jogakkō (women's school) in Osaka. The president of the school was Naruse Nizō, who then founded Nihon Joshi Daigaku (Japan Women's University), the first women's university in Japan, six years later in 1901 (Meiji 34). In 1897 (Meiji 30), Tomiko graduated from Baika Jogakkō with new, modern ways of thinking that were influenced by the school's liberal westernized educational system based on Christian ideas. Her modern education would have been difficult to acquire in Obama, especially among samurai families. Soon she began to contribute tanka and essays to *Shinsei*² (*New Voice*) and *Bunko*³ (*Letter Box*) from her home village in Obama.

She loved art and literature and wanted to proceed to Kyoto Art College (founded in 1880 or Meiji 13), but her father would not permit it. On April 11, 1898 (Meiji 31), Tomiko wrote a letter⁴ to President Naruse asking how far his plan to build a women's university⁵ was progressing, describing her passionate wish for the plan to actualize and her deep fear of living a meaningless life without following her desires. This proves

² A nationwide magazine for contributors (1896–1904), founded by Satō Gisuke in 1896, published by Shinsei Sha (New Voice Society). Tekkan was one of the selectors of tanka. Tomiko was a regular contributor to *Shinsei*, which changed its name to *Shinchō* in 1904.

³ A nationwide magazine for student contributors (1895–1910) published from Shōnen En (Boys' Garden) and founded by Yamagata Teizaburō in 1895. Tekkan was one of the selectors of tanka. Tomiko often contributed to *Bunko*.

⁴ Aoki Takako, "New Data, Yamakawa Tomiko's Letter," *Tanka*, Vol. 23, 12, (1976).

⁵ This university was later materialized as Nihon Joshi Daigaku. At first, he was planning to build it in Osaka and hosted a fund-raising campaign, but because of confusions in the government, the plan was put on hold. Cf. Sakamoto Masachika, *Yamakawa Tomiko Zensyū* (Tokyo: Bunseidō, 1994), Vol. I, pp. 344–346.

that Tomiko had been wanting to formally study art or literature at a university since 1897 (Meiji 30). And it also proves that she entered Nihon Joshi Daigaku in 1904 (Meiji 37) out of her own volition, though Satō says in *Akiko Mandala* that Tomiko entered because Yosano Tekkan wanted to gather his lovers in Tokyo.⁶

In 1900 (Meiji 33), Tomiko reentered Baika Jogakkō as a research student. She became a member of Shinshi Sha (New Poetry Society), founded by Yosano Tekkan in 1899 (Meiji 32), and met Tekkan and Akiko for the first time. Soon she and Akiko both became promising contributors to *Myōjō*.

In a letter dated October 26, 1900, Tomiko's father writes to his wife who had been staying at their daughter's. In this letter, He is pressing his wife to ensure that all relatives agree to a marriage proposal from Tomeshichirō, a relative of his Yamakawa family, and to take Tomiko back to Obama regardless of her own will. Tomiko's father is also reporting Tomeshichirō is hastening the marriage. At that time, Tomeshichirō was being suspended from work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because of tuberculosis. He seems to have concealed the seriousness of his condition—his lung hollows were filled with active tubercle bacilli—because he had to secure his inheritor as soon as possible in order to carry out his duty as a legal son who was adopted to take the name of his sister's husband's family. Tomiko's father seems to have thought that he should cooperate with his head family to keep its inheritor, little dreaming he was going to force his daughter to marry an invalid.⁷

Tomeshichirō had been in Melbourne as a secretary of the Foreign Office for several years, so nobody in Tomiko's family had accurate information about him except a medical certificate proving no problem for marriage. According to a personal history that was offered after his death from the Foreign Ministry⁸ on December 27, 1903 (Meiji 36), Tomeshichirō had been suspended when he died, not retired from the office.⁹ He seems to have worked for a trading company in Yokohama before he formally left the Foreign Ministry (March 4, 1901), without devoting himself to medical treatment of the tuberculosis.

⁶ Satō Haruo, *Akiko Mandala* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1955), pp. 208–209.

⁷ Shirasaki Shōichirō, *Yamakawa Tomiko to Meiji Kadan* (Yamakawa Tomiko and Tanka Circles in the Meiji Period), (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1996), p. 99.

⁸ Sakamoto Masachika, *Yamakawa Tomiko zenshū* (*Complete Works of Yamakawa Tomiko*), (Kyoto: Kōsaisha, 1973), Vol. II, pp. 92–94.

⁹ Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–94.

Thus Tomiko was forced into a provisional marriage in Obama in December, 1900, followed by a formal marriage in Tokyo in April, 1901. The provisional marriage or *karishūgen* attracts our attention here. It is usually performed among close relatives as an informal and often emergency ceremony before the formal one. A bridegroom's sudden job transfer or deployment to the battlefield on short notice may be typical cases for the *karishūgen* ceremony. There was, however, no real emergency situation in Tomiko's case. Tomeshichirō married her in Obama and returned to Tokyo by himself to live with his parents-in-law. Tomiko stayed at her parents' house in Obama for four months before the formal wedding to be held in Tokyo. It was on the day of the formal marriage (April 28, 1901) that a wedding gift was offered to her father, Yamakawa Ichirō, from his former feudal lord of Obama and it was May 13, 1901 that her name officially appeared in her husband's family register. In short, there was no real reason for the provisional marriage to be performed except for Tomeshichirō to show off his patriarchal power to silence Tomiko's resistance.¹⁰

Suppressing her love for *tanka* and *Tekkan*, Tomiko started to live in Tokyo with her husband's family. Tomeshichirō and his family did not like her to subscribe to *Myōjō* or to contribute *tanka* to it. There is a letter¹¹ (which was possessed by Masatomi Oyō) written by Tomiko to Akiko, most likely in June of 1901 (Meiji 34). In the P.S. at the end of this letter, Tomiko asks Akiko, "Please show me your *Myōjō* of this month, when you finish reading it." This message proves that Tomiko was prohibited from even subscribing to *Myōjō*. The strict atmosphere of her husband's household was obviously stifling to Tomiko, an earnest expressionist.

Her husband already had a recurrence of TB in the summer, which then worsened in winter. In 1902 (Meiji 35), she nursed her husband in Izu from May to June, then moved to Obama (at Tomiko's parents' house) from September till his death on December 22. On January 13, 1903, her name was removed from the late husband's family.

¹⁰ See the following *tanka* by Tomiko, which expresses her agony before marriage (a) and despair on the wedding day (b): (a) *Tōku yuki/yasuki kokoro o/hagukuman/ hito uru koe mo/ kikanu anata ni* (I wish I could go to a far away place where my heart would rest peacefully, a place where no voice of a slave trader should be heard; *Myōjō*, 1907); and (b) *Koyoi tare/ kareki ni nitaru/ hito no yubi ni/ chikai ataete/ hogiuta ukuru* (How can he celebrate this evening after placing the symbolic ring on the bride's finger, which looked like the dead limb of a tree, *Myōjō*, 1901).

¹¹ Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 317–319.

In April of 1904 (Meiji 37), Tomiko entered Nihon Joshi Daigaku at the age of twenty-five and made a fresh start again with *Myōjō*. In October, Tomiko and Masuda Masako were suspended from the university for a month because of their *Koigoromo*¹² (*Love Clothes*) publishing project. Masuda Masako was a freshman from Osaka at the age of twenty-four. Tomoko and Masako quickly became close friends because of their commonalities—late learning, unhappy experiences at home, and *Myōjō* subscribers. Their friendship lasted until Tomiko's death. In January of 1905 (Meiji 38), *Koigoromo* was published.¹³

In November, Tomiko was sent to the Takada Hospital in Tokyo for kidney disease (tubercular, in fact). In February of 1906 (Meiji 39), she left the hospital but was often absent from the university for health reasons. In July, she had her illness diagnosed as pleurisy by a doctor at the Kyoto University Hospital: In December, she ran a high fever and was sent to the hospital.

In February of 1907 (Meiji 40), Tomiko left the university because of her illness, then left the hospital in early spring. At the end of the year, she returned to Obama because her father was seriously ill. On January 24, 1908 (Meiji 41), her father died. After his death, she became bedridden due to her own illness. In November, the first *Myōjō* ceased publication at volume one hundred. On April 15 of 1909 (Meiji 42), Tomiko died of tuberculosis in Obama at the age of 29.

TOMIKO IN *AKIKO MANDALA* VS. THE REAL TOMIKO

Tomiko's image in *Akiko Mandala* can be summarized as follows:

"Tomiko's behavior of today is beyond endurance and dissolute."¹⁴

"Tomiko is just a conservative, self-centered girl spoiled by her parents, brothers, and sisters, though she seems to be a modern girl."¹⁵

"Tomiko was expelled from her elder sister's husband's house because of her dissolute life."¹⁶

"The reason why the young widow Tomiko came back to Tokyo, removing her name from the late husband's family, and entered Japan

¹² The only collection of poetry by Tomiko, Akiko, and Masako, published during Tomiko's lifetime in 1905. Akiko's antiwar free verse, "Kimi Shinitamaukoto Nakare" ("Please don't die in a war") was reprinted from *Myōjō*, 9, 1904 (Meiji 37), in this book.

¹³ Twelve tanka by Tomiko protest the university's ban on student publication of love poems, as well as the school's general educational policy of ryōsai kenbo.

¹⁴ Satō Haruo, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁵ Satō, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

¹⁶ Satō, *op. cit.*, p. 199

Women's University, seems to be at the instigation of Tekkan. Tekkan wanted to see his lover as a university student, because he himself had had a secret longing towards universities."¹⁵

"In February of Meiji 36 (1903), Tomiko came back to her late husband's house in Ushigome, Tokyo, and took care of her parents-in-law for six months. During these days, Tekkan and Tomiko must have consulted each other about Tomiko's entering the university. It was at this same time that Tekkan began to complain that Shibuya-mura was an inconvenient place to live."¹⁶ "At the end of the year, Tomiko asked her husband's family for her legal return to her own family and came back to her beloved parents' house in Obama."¹⁷

These characterizations in *Akiko Mandala* were followed directly by the author of "Introduction" in *Tangled Hair*, an English translation of Akiko's *Midaregami*, translated by Sanford Goldstein and Seishi Shinoda:

Masatomi claims Tomiko had been intimate with Tekkan before her marriage. The truth of this assertion cannot now be ascertained, yet the point is irrelevant. Before her marriage Akiko was not jealous of her rival. However, this time she suffered.

In the spring of 1903, Tomiko returned to Tokyo to live with her mother-in-law, but at the end of the year went back to her father's house. It was in the interval that her relationship with Tekkan revived. In 1904 she entered Japan Women's College possibly for several reasons. Some say she wanted to become a teacher of English, others that she wanted to escape from her home. Haruo Sato surmises Tekkan advised her to enter in order to see her often. At the college Tomiko became friendly with Masako Masuda, who is said to have been one of Tekkan's lovers.¹⁸

In these contexts in *Akiko Mandala*, readers are painted the following picture of Tomiko:

¹⁵ Satō, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–209

¹⁶ Satō, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹⁷ Satō, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–209

¹⁸ Yosano Akiko, *Tangled Hair*, Trans. Sanford Goldstein, Seishi Shinoda (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan: 1987), "Introduction", p. 13.

a) Two months after her husband's death, Tomiko returned to her husband's house in Tokyo and lived with his parents.

b) At the same time, Tekkan began to complain about the inconvenience of Tekkan and Akiko's house in Shibuya-mura. Wasn't Tekkan's complaint due to the fact that Tomiko was now living in Tokyo?

c) Tomiko had been Tomeshichirō's legal wife till the end of Meiji 36 (1903).

d) It was because of the progress of the intimate relations between Tekkan and Tomiko that Tomiko asked for her legal return from her husband's family to her own family in Obama.

However, we have seen that the real Tomiko was not so conservative, self-centered, or weak in her daily life. Nor was she so dissolute or loose in her sexuality. As a matter of fact, Tomiko's name was removed from the late husband's family two months after his death at the end of 1902. Unlike Satō suggests, she was no longer Tomemeshichirō's legal wife at the end of 1903. Both parents may have thought they should give her a chance to make a new start in life. Moreover, Tomiko's nursing and Tomeshichirō's struggle against his illness were carried out at Tomiko's father's house in Obama for the last four months, which shows that she and her family were generous and caring, not selfish as the book make them seem. Instead of properly thanking Tomiko and her father, Tomeshichirō's family wanted more from them—they wanted to adopt Tomiko's nephew, Eizō, as the inheritor of the family since they wanted a male instead of the widowed Tomiko. This wish, later realized, enhances our understanding of the family's preoccupation with male superiority and obeying the patriarchal conventions.

In May of 1903 (Meiji 36), Tomiko stayed for a while at her eldest sister's, who had invited her to the National Exposition held in Osaka in order to comfort Tomiko. During her stay in Osaka, Tomiko contributed tanka to *Myōjō*. But Tomiko's decision to work on tanka in Osaka seem to have backfired, adding to her negative image in *Akiko Mandala*. Satō used this as evidence of her self-centeredness because she was not mourning for her husband. Satō also suggested that Tomiko tried to advance her intimacy with Tekkan this year, although Tomiko, in fact returned to Obama from Osaka after her eldest brother's death on July 26 and Tekkan stayed in Tokyo during the year. Women's creative actions are often twisted in this way by the male-dominated literary world.

Tomiko's heartless and dissolute image in *Akiko Mandala* created 'a binominal opposition' in the comparison of Tomiko and the adored Akiko:

1) Akiko carried out her original love to Tekkan and got married to him, whereas Tomiko gave up her love to Tekkan and obeyed her father to unwillingly marry another man.

2) Akiko was frank, brave, and had a strong will, but Tomiko was a manipulative double-dealer with little courage.

3) Akiko was brought up strictly, while Tomiko was indulged and spoiled.

4) Akiko lived a plain life and was an economist, but Tomiko lived in luxury.

5) Akiko was an innovative thinker, but Tomiko could not escape from the conservative thought of her family.

6) Akiko served her family as both wife and mother, but Tomiko tormented Akiko with her lewdness.

By forming Tomiko's image, in this way, the writer emphasizes 'conservative,' 'self-centered,' and 'weak will' on the one hand and puts stress on 'dissolute life' or 'loose sexuality' on the other.

I see Satō's strategy here as a clear effort to draw attention on the Great Akiko in the contrast to the disagreeable and immoral Tomiko. Satō blames Tomiko's misfortune on her personality and sexuality instead of recognizing that in fact her problems were caused by a patriarchal system that forced her into an unloving, oppressive marriage. Because Akiko succeeds in this system by being both an excellent poet and the married mother of thirteen children, Satō places her in the role of heroine. Tomiko, meanwhile, becomes the stereotypical antagonist because she does not fulfill her expected role in this system.

AKIKO'S SEALING AND SATO'S UNSEALING

There is an obvious lack of warmth in Akiko's elegies to Tomiko's death in comparison with Tekkan's "lamentation" ('aika'). Akiko's elegies are cold and impersonal in *Tokiwagi (Ever Green Tree)*, No. I (M.42/1909.5.15) whereas Tekkan's are filled with the open sorrow (English translations are mine).

seto ware to (Akiko)	Something secret
shinitaru hito to	Once enclosed together
mitari shite	At the bottom of a pot,
motai no naka ni	By my husband,
fūjitsuru koto	I, and the departed.

hikiuta no (Akiko)	Don't blame your friend,
naka ni hitotsu no	For mixing one poem
tadanaranu	Being unusual
koto o majiuru	Among the elegies
tomo o togamuna	Over your death.

The former poem can be seen as Akiko's wish for some kind of secret to be revealed to the world. And the latter poem signifies Akiko's confidence that when this secret is opened, she will be at an advantage over Tomiko. In both poems Akiko seems to be expressing her condolences for being the mistress instead of the superior position as wife. However, her condolences are ambiguous and could be seen as insincere, or even spiteful. Thirteen years after Akiko's death, the pot which had been sealed by Akiko was unsealed by Satō in just the way Akiko would be pleased with. Soon after the book was published, fresh fuel was added to the current of admiring Akiko, especially when compared to Tomiko.

However, judging from these poems and the resulting image of Tomiko as sexually immoral, the accusation of 'double-hearted person' seems more suitable in describing Akiko instead of Tomiko. In addition, it seems that Akiko's confidence rests on her pride at accomplishing her gender, though she was also an influential and talented poet. By embracing the value of her gender role, Akiko conceals Tomiko's real struggle as a woman poet in the Meiji period, who had to fight the trap of marriage, the heavy disadvantages and isolation she faced as a creative woman in a system of male supremacy, and the unfairness of dying young of tuberculosis. As we have seen, Satō reinforces this same value in Akiko in order to glorify her and at the same time to undersize the reality Tomiko lived through.

CATEGORIZING TOMIKO'S TANKA IN ORDER TO RECONSIDER TOMIKO'S IMAGE

Myo=*Myōjō*, *K*=*Kansaibungaku*, *Koi*=*Koigoromo*, Hana="Hana no Chirizuka" ("Mound of Fallen Blossoms": Unpublished selection by Tomiko, seems to be edited a little before *Koigoromo* was published in 1994), SN=Small Notebook, MN=Middle Notebook, LN=Large Notebook, M=Meiji. (English Translations are mine).

A. Tanka that were used for the distortion of Tomiko's sexuality by ignoring the time and place of construction:

mitezu kara (*Myo*) M33/1900.10 With your own hands,
 hitoha tsumimase Please pick this violet
 kono sumire In which my warm feelings
 kimi omoide no To remember you
 nasake komoreri Are confined.

hana sakaba (*Myo*) M33/1900.10 When flowers bloom,
 futari kazashi ni Let's try to adorn our hair
 sashite min With them —
 kono sumire-gusa The color of this violet
 iro wa kwaraji Will not change.

B. Tanka that are revolutionary in aiming for the emancipation of men and women and the right of individual expression:

hitosuji o (*Koi*) M38/1905 I wish a king would pay
 senkin ni kau A large sum of money
 ō mo are For the hair of a woman,
 nanashaku midori Long and a green shade of black,
 aki no ochigami Fallen in autumn.

kami nagaki (*Koi*) M38/1905 As I am a girl
 otome to umare With long and straight hair,
 shiro yuri ni Into a white lily
 nuka wa fusetsutsu My forehead is hidden.
 kimi o koso omoe I am longing only for you.

waga iki o (*Koi*) M38/1905 Please don't compare my breath
 fuyō no kaze ni With the breeze
 tatoemasuna Of cotton rose;
 jūsan-gen o I will cut thirteen koto strings
 hitoiki ni kiru In one breath.

atarashiku (*Koi*) M38/1905 I will die in the last ditch
 hirakimashitaru On the way
 uta no michi ni To a newly-opened poetry world,
 kimi ga na tatae Praising you
 shinan tozo omou For your achievement.

mata no yo wa (*Myo*)M33/1900.11 In the next world,
 magami no mete no I wish to grub the whip
 muchi ubai From the right hand of the devil,

utsukushiki koi And to beat
minagara utan All of the beautiful loves.

kurueri ya (*Koi*) M38/1905 Ah, I have become mad!
yo zo urameshiki How cursed and hateful
norowashiki The world is;
kami toki-sabaki With my hair disheveled,
kaze ni mukawan I will advance against the wind.

C. Tanka that signify the firmness of the rule and law of a head of a samurai family vis-à-vis Tomiko's forced marriage:

kono chi no ko (Hana) M32-37 Though I am a girl
futokoro-gatana With hot blood,
tamawarite Handed a suicidal dagger
chichi no mimae ni For the honor of samurai family,
nan to ka iwan What should I say to my father?

chie yaoe (Hana) M32/1899-1904 Now she is being dragged
ima shi mekakushi To a marriage
hikare yuku Blindfolded thousandfold
okite no mae ni Crying, "No!"
sakebu kono kata Before the law (of patriarchy).

mune ni atete (LN) M39/1906.7-41 Putting a dagger on my breast,
sarani haishite Drawing it up
sukashi mireba Against the moon,
tsuki kurou narinu I saw in the sword's reflection
kono mamori-gatana The moon turn black ominously.

D. Tanka that signify the agony of a wife abused by her husband's family:

kurete samuki (Hana) 1899-1904 Though I'm weeping secretly now
kamado ni naku mo By a range in the cold evening,
sachi yoban I will invite happiness in the future;
ima no yo onna No wives are living without tears
taso namida naki In this cruel world for women.

utaruru ni (Hana) 1899–1904 itasa wa shinobe soranzen ya waga shi mo nakishi onna-daigaku	While being beaten, How patiently I endure the pain, I'll recite and abuse the cruel law Of Onna Daigaku (College for Women) My teacher has ever cried for me.
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E. Tanka that signify her resistance to the university's punishment of *Koigoromo* publishing plan:

nunogire ni (<i>Koi</i>) M38/1905 kawara tsutsumite sai hakaru hakari no o niwa nobosarenikeri	Like a roof tile, Wrapped in a piece of cloth, To weigh a talent, We have just been hung On the cord of a steelyard.
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irarete wa (<i>Koi</i>) M38/1905 hitotsu katachi no hito-iro no haniwa no sama ni kamado iden ka	Like clay images Cast in a mold, In a single color, We will be produced Out of the kiln.
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uta yomite (<i>Koi</i>) M38/1905 tsumi serareki to hikari aru ima no yo o miyo nochi no chitose ni	We were punished Because we wrote poems In this bright civilized world; Look back upon this fact, A thousand years later.
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ana kashiko (<i>Koi</i>) M38/1905 namida no oku ni hisomaseshi inochi wa tsuyoki koe ni iraenu	How edifying! A voice of life Which I had hidden At the bottom of my tears Answered me encouragingly.
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F. Tanka that signify her anger and grief towards her deceptive marriage and the self-deprecation she feels for falling into the trap:

ya no gotoku (<i>Myo</i>) M41/1908.5 jigoku ni otsuru tsumazuki no ishi to mo shirazu hiroimishi kana	Not knowing the fate, I did pick up the stone That should make me stumble And fall to the hell As straight as an arrow.
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kokoroyoshi (LN) M39/1906-41 I will be pleased
 kitsune no wana ni To laugh at and scold myself
 ochishi hi to Saying it was on that day
 warai nonoshiru That I fell into a fox's trap
 ware mo sabishiki Though I will be lonely.

Kokoro yowaku (LN) 1906-1908 As my will was weak,
 ashi kurakereba And the light at my feet
 orokani mo Was dim,
 tsumetaki ishi ni I talked to a cold stone
 mono o iishi ka So foolishly.

wana ni ochi (LN) 1906-1908 Pain and struggle
 kurushimi madou Of a little mouse
 konezumi no Who has fallen into a trap,
 nageki mo hito ni I have realized that a human also has to
 ari to shiriki ya Suffer from the same grief.

hate no ima (LN) 1906-1908 At the edge of life
 koe saezaeto The voice of my laughing
 waraikeri Is reverberating clearly in the air
 kami o azakeru Like a heart
 kokoro nimo nite Mocking God.

G. Tanka that signify despair and terror at the tuberculosis, and the isolation from being excluded from her regular life:

kinou made (LN) 1906-1908 Till yesterday,
 ware o hokorinu I had been proud of myself,
 tōtobinu Not knowing
 akuta tsutsumishi My chest has been wrapped in
 mune to mo shirazu Dust and trash.

fue fukite (MN) M39/1906 I've just seen the shade
 oka o mayoishi Enter the ginkgo tree
 kage wa ima After wandering about the hill
 ichō ni irite Playing the flute;
 naku hototogisu Now I hear a little cuckoo sing.

oiyarare (LN)1906–1908	The dwelling
ma to sumu mono no	Where I am living with the demon
noki kazari	With piling icicles
taruhi kasanari	Being driven away from the world
to mo tojirarenu	Has just shut the door tight.

H. Tanka that signify her determination to entrust the estimation of her life to modern intellect, not on God or Buddha:

ottosei (<i>Myo</i>) M41/1908.5	Now I found
kōri ni nemuru	A fur seal
saiwai o	Sleeping on the ice
ware mo ima shiru	To be happy;
omoshiroki kana	It is really a fun thing.

otoshimase (<i>Myo</i>)M41/1908.5	Please let me fall
okugo samuki	To the land of the dead,
yomi no to ni	At the cold bottom forever,
sono itsuwari no	I will keep my love
koi o mamoran	Unrealized in this world.

gose wa nao (<i>Myo</i>) M41/1908.5	Not for the after life,
konjō sae mo	Nor for this life, of course,
negawazaru	Having no desire any longer,
waga futokoro ni	I let cherry blossoms come
sakura kite chiru	And fall to my breast.

waga hitsugi (<i>Myo</i>) M41/1908.5	I see my coffin
mamoru hito naku	Being carried in solitude,
yuku nobe no	No funeral procession seeing me off,
sabishisa mietsu	In the field
kasumi tanabiku	Misted over.

sakashirani (LN) 1906.7–40	I wouldn't go on a fast
yoki na motomete	At a temple
danjiki no	As if I were awakened
midō ni yukaji	Looking for a saint;
taorete shinan	I would fall and die as I am.

I. Tanka that signify her love as a support in her life, her distress at Akiko's jealousy, and earnest desire for the strength to survive:

- sakura chiru (*Myo*) M39/1906.5 I am listening to the sound
oto to mune utsu Of the cherry blossoms falling
chi no myaku to And the pulse of my blood,
tsumetashi namida Feeling the coldness of the world
sozoro otsuru hi On a day when somehow tears are flowing.
- omoi tsunori (MN) M36/1906 My yearning for you
tsunori habikori Has grown more and more
taiboku no As cotyledons grow
hi o ōu sama ni To the height
kimi omoikeri That covers the sun in the sky.
- yū tsumi to (MN) M36/1906 Sin of saying,
iwanu nayami to Anxiety of not saying,
yo wa gunari The world is foolish—
hito no takara o It binds treasure to one's heart
sore mote shibaru With criterion, saying or not.
- hito kou mo (LN) M39/1906.7–40 Missing someone
hotoke no michi o Or adoring Buddha,
tōtomu mo It makes no difference
onajikarazu ya To the heart
uetaru mune ni Starved for love and truth.
- aa iwan (MN) M39/1906 Ah, I will say
kimi o koishi to I am yearning for you,
natsukashi to Missing you,
hito tarazunba If I am less than a human,
hito tarazu yoshi I will.
- sebamerare (MN) M39/1906 No way out,
michi naki iwa no Driven to the edge
gakezutai Of a precipice
shishi ni owaruru It feels like being chased after
kokochi suru kana By a lion.
- munetataki (LN) M39/1906.7–40 An ill-omened bird in my dream,
shine to sainamu Beating my breast
magatsudori Crying, “Die!”
yume ni koshi yo yo Tormented me that night
nyonin no sama ni In the figure of a female.

a ware ni (LN) M39/1906.7-40	Ah, will such a day
kakaru hi ari ya	Come to me
chikara aru	In the future?
hito tarazunba	Even if I am less than human,
hito tarazu tomo	I could I live at full strength.

J. Tanka that seem to precede Akiko's ideas or influence her work in some way:

midaregami (<i>K</i>) M33/1900.8	Holding tangled hair
kuchi ni fukumite	In her mouth,
te o mune ni	Putting her hands,
otome sugata no	On her breast,
nani ni yatsureshi	What was a girl so worn out by?

cf. Akiko (*Midaregami*) M34/1901.8 & (*Myōjō*) M34/1901.12
 hito kaesazu/ kuren no haru no/ yoigokochi/ ogoto ni motasu/ midare
 midaregami; midaregami / kyō no shimada ni/ kaeshi asa/ fushite imase
 no/ kimi yuriokosu.

cf. Tekkan (*Myōjō*) M33/1900.11 (to Akiko): akikaze ni/ fusawashiki
 na o/ mairasen/ sozoro-gokoro no/ midaregami no kimi.

soretonaku (<i>Myo</i>) M33/1900.11	I gather the tawny day lilies
akaki hana mina	Giving all red flowers implicitly
tomo ni yuzuri	To my friend,
somukite nakite	Keeping the grief all to myself
wasure-gusa tsumu	And crying.

cf. Akiko. (*Myo*) M34/1901.12
 uta ni kikenā/ tare no no hana ni/ akaki inamu/ omomuki aru kana/
 harutsumi motsu ko.

ugokanu o (LN) M39/1906.7-40	Men described the mountain
yama to tatoeshi	As an example
masurao mo	Of an immovable thing,
uta wa shirubeshi	But they should know the poem
yama wa hi o fuku	In which the mountain explodes.

cf. Akiko. “Sozorogoto” (*Seitō* M44/1911.9)

yama no ugoku hi kitaru/ kaku iedomo hito ware o shinzeji/ yama wa
shibaraku nemurishi nomi/ sono mukashi ni oite/ yama wa mina hi ni
moete ugokishi mono o.

CONCLUSION

Yamakawa Tomiko’s image in Akiko Mandala is full of distortions and inaccuracies. It is because Satō Haruo used Tomiko as a foil for the idealization of Yosano Akiko portraying her as an excellent poet and devoted wife and mother, who bore and raised thirteen children while financially supporting her family. Apparently, Satō values Akiko’s conformism to the “good wife, wise mother” ideal for the patriarchal society at the time. In contrast, he demonized Tomiko because of her failure to conform to that ideal.

Tomiko’s misfortune should not be blamed in the name of immorality and weakness as described by Satō. She was a victim of the patriarchal system empowered by the Meiji Civil Code, which strengthened and codified the rights of householders, fathers, and husbands. Tomiko’s biggest misfortune came from the concealment of true information about her future husband. Her husband’s control of such key information during their marriage arrangement was also justified by the male-centered system.

In English, Tomiko’s life is outlined in the “Introduction” to *Tangled Hair*, including a single tanka poem of Tomiko’s. The author of the “Introduction” describes Tomiko’s life following the portraits made by Satō’s *Akiko Mandala* and Masatomi’s *Meiji no seishun*. Tomiko’s image here, which mostly copies the one created by Satō, is, to my knowledge, the only material available in English regarding Tomiko’s life and works.

I believe Tomiko deserves to be recognized by American readers: she should be described and judged on her own terms. In spite of her unhappy circumstances, the real Tomiko lived her life admirably. A number of her tanka demonstrates that she was a modern, strong-willed, thoughtful, and romantic woman. My above categorization of some of Tomiko’s poems will serve as a preliminary survey for an in-depth reevaluation of what Tomiko achieved as a poet and woman. We can already see in her not only a talented poet who created beautiful metaphors but also a feminist thinker, who constantly resisted surrendering to the patriarchal society she was confined in.

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