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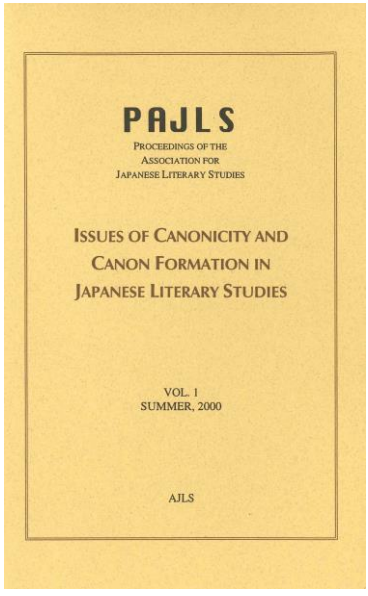
Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies 1 (2000): 121–139.



PAJLS 1:
Issues of Canonicity and Canon Formation in Japanese Literary Studies.
Ed. Stephen D. Miller.

THE STRANGE FATE OF *MONOGATARI* AFTER THE *GENJI*: THE GENEALOGY OF THE TERM "*GIKO*," FROM STYLE TO SUBGENRE

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Twentieth-century literary criticism of the *monogatari* genre makes fairly frequent use of the subgenre term "*giko monogatari*" to refer to late- and post-Heian era *monogatari*,[1] and especially those of the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The term itself appears to have emerged only very early in this century, and definitions that accompany its usage in literary histories are somewhat confusing and contradictory, varying in terms of the period to which it applies, whether it constitutes a writing style or a genre, and in terms of whether it is favourably or unfavourably evaluated.

Accordingly, it is worth examining the characteristics attributed to the subgenre to see if it can be defined in a principled way and to see if such a definition corresponds to any subgeneric awareness perceptible in works from the period it refers to, especially in the early thirteenth-century *Mumyō-zōshi* 無名草子,[2] an exceptionally interesting *monogatari* reception history text consisting of the discussion group of women regarding the *monogatari* they have read. As part of this process of defining the connotations of *giko monogatari*, it will be instructive to try to trace the genealogy of the

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[1] E.g., Tsuda Sōkichi, *Bungaku ni Ararwaretaru Waga Kokumin Shisō no Kenkyū*, 1916 (rpt. 1977-1978), Vol. III, 37, 259 (Kamakura Period); Vol. VII, 344, 375 (Edo Period); Nomura Hachirō, *Kamakura Jidai Bungaku Shinron*, 1922, Ch. 2, "Giko Bungaku"; Miura Keizō, *Sōgō Nihon Bungaku Zenshi*, 1924, Ch. 60, "Giko Bungaku" (Edo); Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, *Nihon Bungaku Hyōronshi*, 1936, 499 (Kamakura); Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, *Yōsetsu Nihon Bungakushi*, 1952; rpt. 1965, 197, Ch. III, Sect. 7, "Giko Monogatari" (Kamakura); *Nihon Koten Bungakushi*, 1992, 83 (Kamakura), 131 (Edo).

[2] A complete translation can be found in Michele Marra, "*Mumyōzōshi*: Introduction and Translation," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39.2 (1984): 115-45; 39.3: 281-305; and 39.4: 409-34. See also the French translation by Réné Sieffert, *D'Une lectrice du Genji* (Publications Orientalistes de France, 1994). An important recent study is by Thomas Rohlich, "In Search of Critical Space: The Path to *Monogatari* Criticism in the *Mumyōzōshi*, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.1 (June 1997): 179-204.

term itself, in order to be fully alert to different associations it may have had at different periods.

The subgenre of court *monogatari* after the *Tale of Genji* presents an interesting case with regard to canonization. No *monogatari* written after the *Genji* has even approached the *Genji*'s degree of canonization in the millennium since that text was written. Yet thirteenth-century texts, primarily the *Mumyōzōshi* and the anthology of poems culled from *monogatari*, the *Fūyōwakashū* 風葉和歌集,[3] reveal a very different level of canonization of the post-*Genji* tales by comparison with twentieth-century criticism and anthologies. To judge from the space allocation in these texts, the *Genji* is the focus of roughly half of the attention directed toward *monogatari*, but many other *monogatari* are also featured, and these two works are now the major sources of information for most of the more than 200 *monogatari* known to have existed by their surviving titles. Scarcely twenty *monogatari* now survive in some degree of completeness.[4]

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[3] Higuchi Yoshimaro, ed., *Ōchō Monogatari Shūkasen*, 2 vols., Iwanami Bunko No. 700 (Iwanami, 1987, 1989). This anthology was ordered in 1271 by a consort of ex-Emperor Gosaga (r. 1242-46), Ōmiya In Saionji Kitsushi (Yoshiko) 大宮西園寺院吉子, mother of the Emperors Gofukakusa 後深草 and Kameyama 亀山. It is possible that Lady Nijō (Go-Fukakusa-In Nijō, 1258-after 1307), author of the *Towazugatari*, which begins in 1271, might have assisted in her project.

[4] Extant *monogatari* discussed or mentioned in *Mumyōzōshi* (10 *monogatari*): *Taketori Monogatari*, *Utsuho Monogatari*, *Sumiyoshi Monogatari*, *Genji Monogatari*, *Sagoromo*, *Yoru no Nezame*, *Mitsu no Hamamatsu* (*Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari?*), *(Ima) Torikaebaya*, *Matsura no Miya (Monogatari)*, *Ariake no Wakare*. Extant *monogatari* from which poems are taken in *Fūyōwakashū* (23 *monogatari*): *Genji Monogatari* (180 poems), *Utsuho Monogatari* (110), *Sagoromo* (56), *Kaze ni Tsurenaki* (46), *Iwade Shinobu* (33), *Masu no Hamamatsu (Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari)* (29), *Yoru no Nezame* (24), *Ariake no Wakare* (20), *Matsura no Miya Monogatari* (18), *Asaji ga Tsuyu* (10), *Mizukara Kuyuru* (10), *Ochikubo* (8), *(Ima) Torikaebaya* (7), *Sumiyoshi Monogatari* (7), *Waga Mi ni Tadoru* (7), *Iwashimizu* (5), *Taketori Monogatari* (3), *Shinobine Monogatari* (3), *Koke no Koromo* (2), *Shizuku ni Nigoru* (2), *Mugura no Yado* (2), *Hodohodo no Kesō* (1) *Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari* (4: *Ausaka Koenu* [1], *Kaiawase* [1], *Haizumi* [1], *Hanasakura Oru Chūjō* [1]).

It is interesting to compare this breadth and focus of critical attention with the position of the *Genji* in twentieth-century criticism, where it has been the object of perhaps as much as ninety percent of *monogatari* criticism, and less than half of the other surviving *monogatari* have tended to appear in canonical anthologies of Japanese literature. As it turns out, all of the eleven extant *monogatari* produced through the twelfth century except *Ariake no Wakare* have now appeared in the *NKBT*, *NKBZ*, *SNKBT*, or *SNKBZ*, although none of the twelfth-century *monogatari* appeared in these anthologies until the late twentieth century *SNKBT* and *SNKBZ*. On the other hand, of the thirteenth-century *monogatari*, only *Sumiyoshi Monogatari* has appeared in anthologies (presumably being treated as an "honorary Heian *monogatari*," since an earlier version is mentioned in the *Genji*). The other eleven languish unanthologized.

The tenor of critical remarks about the *monogatari* after the *Genji* has also varied considerably. Criticism on the *Genji*, whether from the twelfth, thirteenth, or twentieth century, is rarely short of encomiastic, but later *monogatari* are regarded rather differently. Whereas the *Mumyō-zōshi* finds much to admire, though not without a fair admixture of criticism, most twentieth-century criticism revolves almost exclusively around the terms such as "imitative" or "archaïzing, pseudoclassical," *giko* in Japanese, and the tone is for the most part strongly pejorative. For Nomura Hachirō, writing in 1922, these works showed a decline of creativity and a distinct inferiority compared to the mid-Heian *monogatari*.[5] "Unable to create a new point of view, . . . spiritless" was Hisamatsu Sen'ichi's judgement in 1960. They were regarded as mere Kamakura period imitations of Heian *monogatari*—parody or pastiche. "Degenerate medieval stuff" (*henshitsu chūseiteki no mono*) was the comment of the *Jidaibetsu Nihon Bungakushi Jiten* as late as 1989. However, the last decade or more has witnessed something of an upturn in the reception of this subgenre, with a more favourable tone of criticism and more inclusion in anthologies. Much criticism, though, has continued to use the term *giko monogatari*, which does foreground the imitativeness of these *monogatari*. Where did this term come from?

The term *giko*, "pseudo-classical," "classicising," or "archaïstic," is widely found nowadays in two quite distinct usages, one usage referring to an Edo period literary writing style, *gikobun*, and the other usage, *giko*

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[5] *Kamakura Jidai Bungaku Shinron*, 6.

monogatari, referring to certain *monogatari* of the Late Heian and Kamakura period. Interestingly, neither term was used at the times of the literary phenomena to which they refer, though as we shall see, there is certainly some evidence for awareness, at those times, of the categorical distinctions to which *gikobun* and *giko monogatari* now refer. I intend to show that these two uses are related in an unexpected way, one which throws some light on the nature of twentieth-century literary criticism of this subgenre. Furthermore, there are certain ambiguities and contradictions in the later use of *giko monogatari* which it shall also prove instructive to investigate.

The term *gikobun*, though referring to the later, Edo period literary style, in fact came into use before *giko monogatari*, the subgenre term for Late Heian and Kamakura period court *monogatari*. An authoritative and widely available modern definition of *gikobun* can be found in the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten*,[6] which refers to it as a "writing style," *buntai*, used from the mid-Edo period to the beginning of Meiji, "originated among *kokugakusha* and made an essential compositional exercise for the study of Japanese classics." Mid-Heian (and sometimes earlier) vocabulary was to be used, and kanji were to be given their Japanese (*kun*) readings. *Gikobun* usage is identified in five contexts: 1) prefaces, postscripts, and official records for which a *miyabi* みやび/風流,[7] "courtly" tone was required; 2) essays and lectures on *kokugaku*; 3) articles and travel diaries; 4) writings on current affairs (*shōzokubun*); and 5) translations and studies of the classics. It was also naturally used for text such as *waka* headnotes.

Regarding the practitioners of *gikobun*, the *Daijiten* identifies three periods or major groupings. The first grouping consists of Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769) and his disciples, based in Edo. He valorized the *masuraoburi* ("manly, heroic") qualities of ancient Japanese vocabulary (i.e., Kojiki and Man'yōshū) and the *tawayameburi* ("graceful, delicate, feminine") qualities of mid-Heian vocabulary and offered them as "exemplary models" or, in his usage, *tataegoto* or *michiyukiburi*. This style was continued by his disciples and later scholars, often being highly ornamented with stylistic devices such as *makurakotoba* 枕詞.[8] In fact, the first object

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[6] *NKBD*, Vol. II, 124-25.

[7] "Courtliness," especially associated with the Heian era aristocracy.

[8] "Pillow word," a word or phrase conventionally attached to a specific following word or phrase, thus functioning as a standardized epithet.

of this classical revival seems to have been *waka* poetry, but the principles were soon applied to prose also.

A second grouping is identified around Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) (himself a disciple of Mabuchi) and his disciples. Norinaga's major contribution to the development of *gikobun* emerged from his detailed philological studies, which gave him a heightened sense of the varying lexical and grammatical features of different periods, as discussed in his *Tama Arare* 玉あられ. As a result, he studiously avoided mingling vocabulary and grammar from different periods, producing a more harmonious and less mannered *gikobun*.

The third and final *gikobun* grouping identified is that of the *gikobun* prose fiction writers, including Ueda Akinari (*Harusame Monogatari*—"Tales of the Spring Rain," *Kuse Monogatari*) and various others. The rather lengthy listing should serve to show how widespread the practice of this style was and how nearly coextensive it was with *kokugaku* itself.

The *Daijiten* notes that, despite its enthusiasts, the style gradually died out and, after acquiring the label *gikobun* in the Meiji period, it survived only as a scholastic exercise. We shall see, however, that the Meiji reflexes of *gikobun* were in fact many and various. Although the precise style denoted by its narrowest definition—the imitation mid-Heian style promoted by Norinaga—is indeed rare, the pseudoclassical impulse certainly survived into the twentieth century in the guise of styles like *bibun* 美文[9] and *futsūbun* 普通文.[10] The *Daijiten* also draws attention to this style's artificiality by referring to it as a *jinkōteki na bunshō*, though it would be interesting to know why this style rather than any other (for example *kanbun*),[11] should be considered "man-made." This entry draws attention to the fact that the Edo period terms used were *inishieburi no fumi* いにしへぶりのふみ, *gibun* 擬文, and *gibunji* 擬文辞, with *gikobun* not in general use until the Meiji period.

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[9] "Bellelettristic prose," an ornate, florid prose style.

[10] "General style," the Meiji Classical Standard after c. 1897 in newspapers, magazines, textbooks, and government business. A "blend of the most familiar idioms and grammatical features of *kambun*, *wabun*, *wakankonkōbun*, and *sōrōbun*" (Twine 1991, 188).

[11] Tsuda Sōkichi does include *kanbun* in his wide-ranging use of *giko bungaku*. His appears to be the broadest use of the term and is perhaps not typical.

On further examination, one finds that in fact *gikobun* is not in general use for this Edo style until quite late in the Meiji period. For example, what is considered the earliest "modern" comprehensive history of Japanese literature,[12] the 1890 *Nihon Bungakushi* by Mikami Sanji (1865-1939) and Takatsu Kuwasaburō (1864-1921) 三上参次，高津鍬三郎：日本文学史, principally uses the term *kanabun* 仮名文 rather than *wabun* for prose in Japanese as opposed to Chinese, particularly for Heian *monogatari*[13] and *nikki*.[14] It uses *gabun* 雅文[15] quite widely to refer both to the Heian *monogatari* and diaries in Japanese[16] and the *kokugakusha* (or *wagakusha*) authors' writings in that style.[17] A later *monogatari* such as *Torikaebaya* is still merely called a *tsukuri-monogatari*, a term which does go back a long way, appearing at least as early as the *Imakagami* (The Mirror of the Present), c. 1170. The last chapter of the *Imakagami* has the startlingly modern title "Tsukurimonogatari no Yukue" (The Future of Narrative Fiction).[18] References to a wide range of Heian and Kamakura period *monogatari* are gathered together there without any subgeneric distinction.[19]

However, by the time of the 1916 *Bungaku ni Arawaretaru Waga Kokumin Shisō no Kenkyū* by Tsuda Sōkichi (1873-1961) 津田左右吉，文学に現れたる我が国民思想の研究, the usage to denote the Edo style is firmly entrenched enough to figure as a chapter title: "Gikobungaku oyobi

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[12] For a discussion of the emergence of "modern" comprehensive literary histories in Japan, see Brownstein 1987.

[13] Mikami & Takatsu 1890, Vol. 1, 281ff.

[14] Describing *Tosa Nikki*, Vol. 1, 302.

[15] Some later writers prefer the characters 華文. Higuchi Ichiyō has been referred to as "the last writer of the Gabun," in Chizuko Ueno, "Vernacuralism and the construction of gender in modern Japanese language," *Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies*, Vol. 3 *Ga/Zoku Dynamics in Japanese Literature* (West Lafayette [Purdue University], 1997), 8.

[16] Used regarding the styles of *Genji Monogatari* and *Makura no Sōshi*, Vol. 1, 318, 321. The *Genji* is even referred to as "*gabun no kyokubi naru mono*" (the most extremely beautiful *gabun*), Vol. I, 233.

[17] Vol. 2, 344, 345, 37, 349, à propos of Motoori Norinaga.

[18] Harper 1971, 51. Harper also gives a translation of this chapter, 52-55.

[19] Sanji & Takatsu 1890, Vol. 1, 232.

Kanbungaku."[20] In this chapter the mid-Heian *monogatari* are called *ko monogatari*, contrasting with all later court *monogatari*, *giko monogatari*; *ko bungaku* is contrasted with *giko bungaku*; and Mikami and Takatsu's usage of *gabun* seems to be firmly replaced by *gikobun*. This substitutes a perfectly clear opposition of "original" and "imitation" in place of the previous lexical dyads that opposed *wabun* with *kanbun* and *gabun* with *zokubun*. As we shall see, the first appearance of the term *giko* seems to have been in about 1896. What might account for this change in usage over a period of about twenty years?

Attempting to trace the origins and changing usage of a term in literary history raises considerable problems. Given the rarity of indexes for the texts surveyed (which would permit a properly quantitative stylometric analysis), it seems that one is limited to two kinds of assertion, focusing on texts where the term might be expected to occur (in this case, texts which examine Edo and Meiji period literary styles or which treat late Heian and early Kamakura period *monogatari*). First, one can report whether the term is, in fact, used in the expected context. Second, one can try to establish whether it is the term generally used by the author in that context and go on to note what kind of definition is functioning and with what connotations.

As it happens, the question of writing style was one of the great cultural debates of the Meiji period, one that was not entirely resolved until after the Second World War—if even then. This issue had a prominence in Japan in the last decades of the nineteenth century that is perhaps hard for most speakers and writers of Japanese and English to appreciate now.[21] So central was the issue to the entire perception of Japan's modernization project, that a leading enlightenment journal such as *Meiroku Zasshi* 明六雑誌 devoted its entire first issue to the topic in 1874.[22] The debate over whether Japan

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[20] Iwanami edition, Vol. 6, Book I, Ch. 12, 76.

[21] Though not so hard, of course, for contemporary speakers of Norwegian and Greek to appreciate, for example, for whom the very issues that so exercised the Japanese in the late 1800s are still the subject of intense polemics between the advocates of *rijksmal* vs. *bokmal* and *demotiki* vs. *katharevousa*, being in each case the modern colloquial and conservative literary forms respectively.

[22] This comprised Nishi Amane's famous essay promoting the adoption of the Western alphabet and Nishimura Shigeki's essay on "Why the reform of writing should depend on the level of enlightenment" (Braisted 1976, 3-16, 16-20).

should adopt a standardized written style based on the spoken language or on a more grammatically conservative style came to be known as the *genbun'itchi* 言文一致 debate—the debate on "unification of the written and the spoken language"—and this debate was at its height in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

Since discussions of style are the natural place to look for the emergence of a term that originally denoted a literary style, these *genbun'itchi* debates and style histories, to some extent prescriptive and descriptive approaches to the same subject, need to be added to the analysis of literary histories that started to be produced at the height of the *genbun'itchi* movement and are thus inevitably connected with it. A typical example from a literary history is in Mikami and Takatsu's *Nihon Bungakushi* itself. It points out that the style of *Genji*, although not "pure *genbun'itchi*," was, in the speech of its dialogues, "actually not terribly far removed from it."[23] This shows that at this time even critical discourse on Heian era prose writing style could be conducted in the terminology of *genbun'itchi.*

In a movement that parallels the debates and developments regarding prose style in several respects, poetic diction also became the object of intense controversy in the late nineteenth century and spawned another stylistic application of the term *giko*. In 1882 Toyama Masakazu (1848-1900), Yatabe Ryōkichi (1851-1899), and Inoue Tetsujirō (1855-1944) published the treatise *Shintaishishō*, which advocated what was essentially a *genbun'itchi* approach to poetic diction, though several years before that term achieved general currency. Traditional alternating five- to seven-syllable rhythms were to be maintained, but poetic diction was to be modernized, in terms of both vocabulary and grammar, substituting the contemporary written standard (not yet itself the equivalent of colloquial) for the classical diction that had prevailed hitherto—largely tenth-century diction for the *tanka* and modern vocabulary with classical grammar for the *haiku*.[24]

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[23] "*Junsui nara genbun'itchi itaru ni wa arazarubeki mo, taiwa mondō no ku wa, tadashi jissai wo saru koto, hanahada tōkarazarubeshi*" (Vol. 1, 271-72).

[24] Makoto Ueda, *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1983). As he points out, "The 'new style' was not strikingly new, because its basic rhythm, the repetition of five- and seven-syllable lines, was that of traditional Japanese verse. Its vocabulary was pseudoclassical, too. Yet poems writ-

As with the case of prose, the adoption of norms closer to the spoken language did not proceed at an even pace, the concept itself was controversial, and a strong anti-*shintaishi* reaction was felt by the late 1880s. *Shintaishi* itself split into variants that were either more colloquial or more classicizing in their diction. The latter emerged especially prominently in 1896, with the publication of the anthology *Bibun Imbun Hana Momiji* 美文韻文花紅葉 (Blossoms and Autumn Leaves of Belletristic Prose and Rhymed Verse), containing ornate prose and classicizing *shintaishi* by Ōmachi Keigetsu 大町桂月 (1869-1925) (whose contributions to literary and stylistic criticism we shall have cause to examine later), Shioi Ukō 塩井雨江 (1869-1913), and Takeshima Hagoromo 武島羽衣 (1872-1967). All three were classmates in the Japanese Literature course of Tokyo Imperial University; they taught at various schools and had been publishing poetry in the conservative style of *shintaishi* in the magazine *Teikoku Bungaku* for several years prior to the success of *Bibun Imbun Hana Momiji*. They were known as the *Akamonha* 赤門派 or *Daigakuha*—the "Tokyo Imperial University School" of poetry. However, they also became known as the *Gikoha* 擬古派, owing to their classicizing *shintaishi* diction. Most importantly, as we shall see, Ōmachi Keigetsu went on to become a widely published literary critic and historian, as well as poet and *bibun* prose stylist, and thus a likely disseminator of the term *giko*.

Interestingly, both of the major European commentators on the contemporary Japanese literary scene commented favourably on the popularity of this poetic faction. William G. Aston in England (1899)[25] regarded the "Gikoha" as the Japanese poetry of the future, as did Karl Florenz in Germany (1906),[26] referring to them as the "Teikoku-Bungaku Schule." Aston went so far as to claim that "the day of Tanka and Haikai seems to have passed"[27] and closed his *History of Japanese Literature* with an unprecedentedly long (two-page) translation of a poem by Shioi Ukō from *Hana Momiji*, albeit qualifying it as "the following specimen, which may be taken as characteristic of the vague and dreamy style of most recent Japanese

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ten in this style looked radically different from *haiku* and *tanka*, since they were longer, and more open" (6).

[25] Aston, 1898; rpt. 1972, 395.

[26] Florenz, 1906; rpt. 1909, 624.

[27] Aston, 1898, 396.

poetry."[28] Yet most anthologies of Japanese poetry largely ignore their works now, and Donald Keene, in the one mention of Hagoromo in his compendious *Dawn to the West*, refers to him as "the now forgotten poet."[29]

The second major challenge to the *genbun'itchi* movement, following the resurgence of conservative styles from the late 1880s to the mid 1890s,[30] began just after the turn of the century. Mozume Takami (1847-1928) in his essay "Genbun'itchi no Fukanō" in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, December 1902, is the most salient instance of this, owing to the fact that having been "instrumental in leading the way from the theory to the practice of colloquial style in 1886,"[31] with his essay "Genbun'itchi,"[32] he then recanted his former support for the movement in favour of a *futsūbun* with more modern expressions. In fact, similar public advocacies of *futsūbun* can be found in essays like "Kongo no Buntai" by Ōmachi Keigetsu, which had appeared in the magazine *Taiyō*, of which he was literary editor. In his later criticism, Keigetsu continued to speak very favourably of the contemporary classicizing style which he terms *bibun*, not defining it as conservative or archaïzing, but focusing on its poetic, affective nature in his 1914 essay "Sakubun Jūsoku."

The term *gikobun* was certainly in use by this time. But how, if ever, does Keigetsu use it? Certainly not to characterize the style of post-*Genji monogatari*. In the entire Heian and Kamakura chapters of his *Nihon Bunshōshi* (1907)[33] it makes no appearance, and the *monogatari* style is referred to as *wabun* for the late Heian period.[34] Kamakura *monogatari* are, in fact, scarcely discussed, in favour of *wakankonkōbun* 和漢混淆文[35] and *kanbun* texts. *Gikobun* is used, however, for *wabun*-style prose in the Edo period,

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[28] Aston, ibid.

[29] Keene, *Dawn to the West*, Vol. 2, *Poetry, Drama, Criticism*, 215.

[30] Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State*, Ch. 7.

[31] Twine 1991, 205.

[32] In *Meiji Bunka Zenshū* 20, Nihon Hyōronsha, 1967, 129-39.

[33] Characterized as "the first comprehensive style history" in *Kokugogaku Kenkyū Jiten*, 40.

[34] *Nihon Bunshōshi*, 1664.

[35] A style of written Japanese with free use of Sino-Japanese vocabulary and some Classical Chinese grammatical constructions, lexically intermediate between *wabun* and *kanbun* but grammatically closer to *wabun* than *kanbun*.

though often alternating with *wabun* and usually with positive evaluation.[36] This sparing use of *gikobun* seems characteristic of late Meiji literary historians, who, while not sticking exclusively with the *wabun* and *gabun* that the first modern literary historians of the 1890s employed, nevertheless use these more positive terms on a more regular basis to refer to the Edo period classicising style. Ōmachi Keigetsu is certainly a strong candidate for playing a role in the introduction of the term *giko* into literary critical discourse, since he was associated with its original application to the classicizing *shintaishi* school of which he was a member; however, as already hinted at, the first use of this term in this context in the texts surveyed actually predates Keigetsu's 1903 usage.

The writer in question is in fact Haga Yaichi (1867-1927), who featured prominently as the author of numerous works of relevant literary history-related texts from the Meiji and Taishō periods. He is one of the giants of late Meiji and Taishō literary history and criticism, not to mention wider-ranging linguistic, historical, and cultural studies. It is in his *Kokugakushi Gairon* of 1900 that we find an early—perhaps the earliest—use of *gikobun* in its later widespread usage to denote the Edo period *kokugakusha*'s classicizing style. In fact Haga Yaichi shares with Mikami and Takatsu the distinction of authoring one of the first two comprehensive "modern" Japanese literary histories, his *Kokubungaku Tokuhon*, which appeared in April 1890, whereas Mikami and Takatsu's appeared in the fall of that year.

The 1890 *Tokuhon*, after brief mention of Kamakura period *wabun*, presents *wabun* as one of six kinds of Japanese prose current in the Edo period and notes the use of *gabun* in this context in relation to the *wabun* writings of Norinaga. At this point *gikobun* is still apparently absent from literary historical discourse, though this section speaks of Keichū and Kigin's imitation (*naraite*) of mid-Heian style and the artifice (*sakui*) of their sentences.[37] In the 1900 *Kokugakushi Gairon* there is a distinct impression that the use of *gikobun* is indeed a recent one, since the phrase in question, referring to Mabuchi, reads "iwayuru gikobun wo kaita no desu" initially, then with more assurance on the same page "gikobun wo tsukutta Mabuchi,"[38] which might credit Mabuchi with inventing *gikobun*. Elsewhere

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[36] Ibid., 1711, 1721, 1722, 1726, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1753.

[37] *Kokubungaku Tokuhon*, 202.

[38] *Kokugaku Gairon*, 213.

on the same page and later in the text[39] *gabun* is used for the same kind of writing, and Kurosawa Okinamaro is even referred to as a *bibunka*. The associations do not seem to be pejorative, as the conclusion stresses that "writers of *gikobun* must always be treated with our respect."[40] As such a major figure, one can assume that Haga Yaichi's choice of terms could be quite influential. In his 1908 *Kamakura Jidai no Bungaku* there is the important development of the application of *gikobun* to Kamakura period writing, though *gabun* is still the more frequent term.[41] *Gikobun* is in fact used to characterise the style of the *rekishi monogatari* 歴史物語[42] of the *Mizukagami* (late twelfth century) and *Masukagami* (mid-fourteenth century),[43] and it is pointed out that *gikobun* writing continued on into the Meiji period.[44] There is still only one use in his *Kokubungakushi Gairon* of 1913, and that is as an explicit alternate to *gabun—gabun wa sunawachi gikobun*, for the writings of *kokugakusha*.[45] Elsewhere in the text *gabun* prevails for both the Kamakura and Edo period styles.

Overall then, although Haga Yaichi may possibly have originated the term *gikobun* for its Edo and perhaps also its Kamakura uses, it remained interchangeable with *gabun* for him and it cannot be considered his preferred term in these contexts. As we shall see below, for the earliest widespread use of *gikobun* in both of these contexts it seems that Tsuda Sōkichi's 1916 *Bungaku ni Arawaretaru Waga Kokumin Shisō no Kenkyū* is the key text.

Fujioka Sakutarō, in his 1905 *Kokubungaku Zenshi—Heianchō Hen*, despite the fact that he discusses in detail *Sagoromo*,[46] *Hamamatsu Chūna-*

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[39] Ibid., 220.

[40] Ibid., 224.

[41] "*Gabun*" on 486 (perhaps a consciously new usage is denoted by *iwayuru gabun*), 487, 489 (*Izayoi Nikki*).

[42] "Historical tales," works in the *tsurkuri-monogatari* written style but with subject matter based on historical figures and events.

[43] Ibid., 489.

[44] Ibid.

[45] *Kokubungakushi Gairon*, 392.

[46] Vol. III, 153ff. "*narai*," 153, 164; "*mogi*," 163.

gon Monogatari,[47] *Yowa no Nezame*,[48] and *Torikaebaya*[49] and frequently alludes to their derivative or imitative qualities, he never categorizes them as *giko*. Similarly, in his posthumously published *Kamakura Muromachi Jidai Bungaku Shi* (1935, edited 1915, from lectures 1906-1909), although there is an entire chapter on *shōsetsu*,[50] including *Kaze ni Tsurenaki*, *Matsura no Miya Monogatari*, *Iwashimizu*, *Koke no Koromo*, and *Sumiyoshi Monogatari*, and their penchant for imitation is stressed,[51] with regard to the question of style the only reference is to *kobuntai*.[52] In Fujioka's essay "Nihon Hyōron Shi" (also posthumously published in 1911) he does use the term *giko* in the context of early Kamakura works in the *Genji* style, such as the *Ōkugishō* and *Shinchūshō*, but only to state that this awkward imitative writing was different from the *gikobun* that resulted from the *kokugaku* movement of the Edo period,[53] and the latter are also referred to in the same paragraph as *gabun*.

One possible source for spreading the use of the term *gikobun* may well be its appearance in the novella *Seinen* 青年 (Youth) by Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862-1922), which was published serially between March 1910 and August 1911 in the journal *Subaru*. In an early episode the young protagonist Jun'i-

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[47] Vol. III, 166f. *"mohō," "Genji ni gi suru,"* 174; *"zensaku o mo shite," "Genji no mosha,"* 175.

[48] Vol. 4, 63ff. *"Genji ni uru tokoro ooshi,"* 77; *"mata Sagoromo ni uru tokoro mo aru ga gotoshi"; "mata Genji nado no komonogatari ni genwaku shi, kore ni naraitaru mono naru ga, tsutomete sono mogi no ato o kakusan to shite,"* 78.

[49] Vol. 4, 79ff. *"Genji nohō no ato rekireki tari,"* 84.

[50] "Period II: Kamakura Era," Ch. XIV, 204ff. Individual *monogatari* are summarized and critiqued in Ch. XV-XVII. Note that in this text the *Shinkokinshū* is treated separately as a period unto itself, "Period I: Shinkokinshū Era," lest it be contaminated by the concept of the Kamakura period. The problem stems from the widespread characterization of the Kamakura period and its associated *monogatari* as lacking in imagination (or "self-confidence" even, as some critics would have it). How then to account for the quality of the *Shinkokinshū*, a Kamakura period work that is widely regarded as the best and freshest imperial anthology since the *Kokinshū*, by these same critics?

[51] Ibid., 225, 226, 232, 236.

[52] Ibid., 225.

[53] "Nihon Hyōron Shi," *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū*, Vol. 44, 371.

chi visits the seasoned man of letters Ōishi and tentatively suggests his ambitions of becoming a poet or novelist. Ōishi implies that poetic ability is largely innate and one cannot study how to write poems but, presumably with novel writing in mind, he says:

> Of course if you want to imitate the style of ancient literature (*gikobun de kakō to iu ni wa*), you may have to practice their sentences and such, but I myself can't do it. My own work may have numerous inappropriate words in it itself, but I pay no attention to that. After all, it's the brain, the mind, that's important.[54]

The implication here seems to be that the time for preoccupation with the superficialities of style is now past, together with the *genbun'itchi* debate (which seemed to have been largely resolved by 1905), and content and the imagination are much more valorized.

Earlier it was pointed out that the use of *gikobun* to denote Edo or Meiji period use of the Heian "pure Japanese" style (also known as *wabun*), while seemingly unknown at the beginning of the Meiji period, was extensively used by the time of Tsuda Sōkichi's 1916 *Bungaku ni Arawaretaru Waga Kokumin Shisō no Kenkyū*. It was being used for the Edo and Meiji *wabun* styles, passim in Tsuda's chapters on Edo period *kokugakusha wabun* writings,[55] and he even uses the term *giko shōsetsu*[56] for the long prose fiction in imitation of Heian models, written by the fascinating Edo period figure of the female *kokugakusha* Arakida Reijo 荒木田麗女 (1732-1806) who, having produced a collated edition of the *Utsubo Monogatari* at the age of thirty-six, turned to both long and short fiction as well as *nikki*, in the *gikobun* style. Evidently she was a Kamakura period woman writer of *monogatari* born after her time, but ironically it may have been this usage of *giko shōsetsu* that suggested applying the term to the late Heian and Kamakura period genre that are now known by that name.

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[54] *Seinen, Gendai Nihon Bungaku Zenshū*, Vol. 13, *Mori Ōgai (Part 2)*, 160. Trans. Shōichi Ono and Sanford Goldstein, *Youth and Other Stories—Mori Ōgai*, ed. Thomas Rimer (Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1994), 393.

[55] Tsuda 1916; rpt. 1977, Vol. 7, Ch. 11, 344, and Ch. 12, 375, both subtitled "Giko Bungaku."

[56] Ibid., 401.

As it happens, *giko* was now being routinely applied to Kamakura period works as well as Edo and Meiji period works in the *wabun* style. An early use of this broadened definition of *gikobun* is found in the 1906 *Nihon Bungaku Jiten* (perhaps the earliest comprehensive Japanese literary dictionary) by Sassa Seisetsu, Yamanouchi Sōkō, and Ueda Kazutoshi, where it is defined as simply the use of the style of Heian *monogatari*, *nikki*, and *zuihitsu* in later ages (*kōsei*).[57] The same dictionary defines *wabun* as the style of Heian court *monogatari*, diaries, and *zuihitsu*, or texts written in imitation of them.[58] Thus this is a period of extremely broad use of the term, since books on style regularly referred to *gikobun* as one of the contemporary style options, and literary critics used it to characterize contemporary authors' styles. For example, the naturalist novelist Tokuda Shūsei (1871-1943) in his 1914 *Meiji Shōsetsu Bunshō Hensen Shi* refers to Ōgai's "pseudoclassical tone" (*gikochō*)[59] and Rohan's "pseudoclassical endeavours" (*gikoteki na doryoku*).[60]

Tsuda is also using *giko* freely to refer to Kamakura period wabun writing in this work. Here finally, amidst terms like *gikoteki shōsetsu*,[61] there emerges the term *giko monogatari*: "What one should regard as a second aristocratic literature are the *giko monogatari*."[62] The list which follows the term indicates that it is the post-*Mumyō-zōshi monogatari* that are so designated: *Iwashimizu*, *Kaze ni Tsurenaki*, *Koke no Koromo*, *Hyōbukyō*, *Sumiyoshi*, etc. Where Tsuda refers to *Sagoromo*, *Hamamatsu*, *Torikaebaya*, and *Matsura no Miya*, although there is much reference to "imitation," they are not designated by the term *giko monogatari*. The term is used fairly freely in this chapter, yet, as previously remarked, it was not found in Haga Yaichi's 1908 *Kamakura Jidai no Bungaku*, nor does it appear in Hiraide Kojirō and Fujioka Sakutarō's 1909 *Kinko Shōsetsu Kaidai* or Fujioka's 1911 *Nihon Hyōronshi* or his posthumously published 1915 *Kamakura Muromachi Jidai Bungakushi* nor in Haga Yaichi"s intervening 1913 *Koku-*

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[57] Sassa 1906, 52.

[58] Ibid., 240.

[59] Tokuda 1914, 117.

[60] Ibid., 164.

[61] Tsuda 1916, Vol. 2, 37.

[62] *Kizoku bungaku no dai-ni to shite kangaeneba naranu no wa giko monogatari de aru* (Ibid., 49).

bungakushi Gairon. In all of these, the style of the *monogatari* or "*shōsetsu*" may be referred to as *gikobun*, but the term *giko monogatari* either has not been coined or is not in general use. This seems to have changed notably by the time of Tsuda's 1916 work, and with it there begins a shift from characterization by style to characterization by content.

By the 1920s Nomura Hachirō's 1922 *Kamakura Jidai Bungaku Shinron* has a substantial section under the title "Giko Bungaku," as Tsuda did, encompassing chapters on the *Mizu Kagami*, *Izayoi Nikki* and other diaries, in addition to "Sumiyoshi Monogatari oyobi sono hoka no shōsetsu," under which may be found the usual culprits, from *Matsura no Miya* to *Kaze ni Tsurenaki*. The Taishō histories are rounded out with Miura Kōzō"s 1924 *Sōgō Nihon Bungaku Zenshi*, which reserves the term *giko bungaku* for the *wabun* writings of the *kokugakusha*.

Shōwa and Heisei literary histories are too numerous to mention exhaustively. But examination of a substantial sample reveals there are broad fluctuations in the use of *gikobun*, from its widest sense extending to all post-Heian *wabun* to a narrow use that restricts it to the Edo (and sometimes Meiji) *wabun*.

When it comes to the term *giko monogatari*, there is much more agreement in these texts to restrict it to Kamakura period *monogatari*. The main area of variance is on whether to include the pre-*Mumyō-zōshi monogatari* *Ariake*, *Asaji ga Tsuyu* and *Matsura no Miya* in this category. Of particular interest is Konishi Jin'ichi's argument for categorizing *giko monogatari*. According to Konishi, imitative subject matter more than style should be the principal criterion.[63]

Neither arguments based on chronology or subject matter lend themselves to sharp distinctions for classifying *giko monogatari* and, given the rather small fraction of the corpus that survives, probably under ten percent, all generalizations at the level of genre must be extremely hazardous. There seem to be some grounds for hypothesizing that the term *giko monogatari* came about more as a response to language than to subject matter. If the relevant background to the emergence of the term *giko* is indeed the *genbun'itchi* movement, then in that context, *monogatari* were perhaps conceived of as becoming *giko* to the extent that their language gradually distanced itself from that of their writers and readers. It is worth recalling that

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[63] Konishi, Vol. 3, 284ff. (Japanese), 284ff. (English).

Mikami and Takatsu, as cited above, felt that the language of the *Genji* was almost, but not quite *genbun'itchi*. In this sense, pursuing a sharp division between bona fide *monogatari* and *giko monogatari* really is to pursue a chimera. Nevertheless, tracing the emergence of the term itself does throw interesting light on a period of literary history suprisingly far removed from the texts in question.

The term is still very much in use in the present vocabulary of Japanese literary history. The most recent literary history which I have consulted, Prof. Kubota Jun's 1997 *Nihon Bungaku Shi*, has a section under the heading "Giko Monogatari."[64] Rather gratifyingly to me, the paradigmatic *giko monogatari* described in rather more detail, as opposed to others that are merely listed, are *Matsura no Miya* and—"once thought to be lost, *Ariake no Wakare*," the focus of my own research.[65]

The most incontrovertible aspect of the term *giko monogatari* is that it foregrounds the genealogical relationship between any text in that category and a given text or texts that are the originals that it imitates. To that extent, it is a well-chosen designation, because one's understanding and enjoyment of the *giko monogatari* is immeasurably deepened by knowledge of the models of which it might be maintained the *giko monogatari* are deliberately imperfect copies. The interest is in the juxtaposition of similarity and difference, the interplay of what is expected in a *Genji*-style *monogatari* and what is unexpected.

To give some idea of just how favourably this imaginative but imitative style could be regarded, I close with Ōmachi Keigetsu's 1907 allegorical summa of Japanese literary history.

> The archaic period is winter. The *norito*, *senmyō*, and the *Kojiki* are the dense woods of pine and oak deep in the snow. The early Heian *Taketori Monogatari*, *Ise Monogatari*, and *Tosa Nikki* are the budding of the first plum blossoms in early spring. The period of the women writers, Murasaki and Sei Shōnagon, is the season of genial spring breezes when masses of flowers are in full bloom. If Murasaki Shikibu is the cherry blossom, then Sei Shōnagon is the red flowering plum. Izumi Shikibu is the peach

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[64] Kubota 1997, 167.

[65] Ibid., 168-69.

> blossom. The rise of *wakankonkōbun* in the Kamakura period is the fresh verdure of early summer. The Muromachi period is like high summer festooned with crape myrtle and lilies. Coming to the Edo period with the sudden appearance of so many and various great writers, it is an autumnal landscape of the moors with their seven flowers, the hills with their yellow and scarlet leaves. The ripening of *kanbun* is that of the chrysanthemums and orchids made native to Japan. And the revival of *wabun*, that is to say *gikobun*, is the second flowering of the cherry blossom.[66]

This encomiastic late-Meiji account of *gikobun* as a highly valorized Edo period writing style comes as some surprise to the modern reader reflecting on the term *giko monogatari.*

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