

disintegration of the syntax, the use of fragmentation and repetition, and Shōyō's specific word choices all skillfully advance and internalize the operation of the trope.

In the ensuing dream, Atsumi encounters Lucy at a familiar-looking coffee shop in Hong Kong. There they share a romantic exchange that reveals their feelings for each other, much as Rubina and Shinjia reaffirm their love in Rubina's lyrically rendered dream. However, Lucy's confession of her love for Atsumi is interrupted when the ship founders during a storm. The novel went unfinished.

Excluding the hints in Toda Kindō's brief sketch of 1880, no Meiji-era *mirai-ki* before Shōyō's *Mirai no yume* had delineated romantic scenes, even when the plot nominally involved a romantic relationship. By contrast, political novels, more linear in their basic narrative form, typically did feature romance. Shōyō was the first to combine the romance of the political novel with the dream-device popularized by the *mirai-ki*, achieving both structural innovation (dream as a more fully integrated plot element) and greater psychological depth (dream as the projection of inner thoughts). In *Mirai no yume*, the dream does not merely frame the narrative, as it did in the earlier *mirai-ki*. Although the dialogue between Atsumi and Miss Houghton is couched in language reminiscent of the *gesaku* of the previous era, and although Atsumi's dream lacks the strong forward momentum and imaginative reach of the dream sequences in *Tsuyu dandan*, had Shōyō completed his novel it might very well have pioneered an effective integration of the future into narrative. *Mirai no yume* thus constitutes an important and overlooked link in the development of modern Japanese literature.⁵²

In *Tsuyu dandan*, Rohan took Shōyō's combination of romance and dream and developed it further to represent the way in which the imagination can help to model the ideal outcome. At the same time, he employed Shōyō's association of wind and dream to color his own literary encounter with Wordsworth. This is particularly appropriate,

⁵² Between the publication of *Mirai no yume* and of *Tsuyu dandan*, only a handful of works appeared that contained elements of both romance and the *mirai-ki* framework; I have found none that combined these elements successfully. For example, *Nijūsan-nen mugen no kane* (Meiji 23: the dream and the bell) by Shūfū Dōjin (pseudonym of Uchimura Gijō), published in Osaka by Shinshin Dō in August 1887, is an unfinished *mirai-ki* containing a projected romance in the style of the political novel. However, the young couple in the narrative do not meet in the published first half of the novel, and the second half either was never published or is not extant.

given Wordsworth's invocation at the beginning of *The Prelude* of the internalized "correspondent breeze" by which imagination is stirred to "consecrate" the precious yet unfulfilled "Liberty," to commune more deeply with nature, or to reflect upon experience (I, 31-35). Rubina's purported quotation of Wordsworth—lines that explicitly describe the action of the wind as a prelude to dream—enhances the literary quality of the dream device, as compared with Atsumi's artfully composed but essentially simpler mumblings.

What Rohan accomplished through his development of the trope of wind in *Tsuyu dandan* and other works was to heighten the Romanticism of this obvious metaphor for emotional turmoil. Then, going beyond metaphor, he internalized it so as to express more fully the struggles of the human soul and, more especially, of the creative spirit—its displacements, transports, and transmutations.⁵³

RETROSPECTIVE KOI AND PLURAL TIME

In concluding *The Prelude*, Wordsworth remarks that his path toward enlightenment has not been linear: "A humbler destiny have we retraced, / And told of lapse and hesitating choice, / And backward wanderings along thorny ways" (XIV, 136-38). *Tsuyu dandan* exhibits no such modesty or hesitancy; rather, it gleefully embraces non-linearity, multiplicity, and relativity, as Rohan endeavors to overcome simple dichotomies, or zero-sum contests, by uniting science and poetry, the physical and the metaphysical, the individual and the nation, Japan and the world, East and West.

This inclusive, pluralistic, and self-augmenting dynamic is what yields the novel's surprising denouement, in which the would-be matchmaker, Bunseimu, finds himself matched—but through no design of his own. The emergence of different "winners," the projected voyage to multiple "presents" similar to Bunseimu's past, and the surprise union of West and East, achieve more than just a dazzling and triumphant ending to an entertaining story. This denouement relativizes the notion of a single politically correct goal, as symbolized by the *saishi-kajin* match. *Tsuyu dandan* was remarkable in its own time for making the case that

⁵³ If *Tsuyu dandan* bears comparison both to a *Bildungsroman* and (in respect of its treatment of the creative imagination) to a *Künstlerroman*, it should not be surprising that Wordsworth's *The Prelude* has also been likened to both. See M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism*, p. 74.

"progress" could be measured by more than one yardstick.⁵⁴ The operation of Qualification No. 9 (insisting that aspirants to the ideal already be content) has in fact revealed a salutary double standard, a duality of historical and spiritual development.

Up to this point, *koi* has been the dominant concept in the novel. The different kinds of *koi* that appear throughout the novel were related to different orders of time for different characters, and even for different phases of the same character's life.⁵⁵ Whereas Rohan may have had Ecclesiastes 3:11 in mind ("To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven"),⁵⁶ the fundamental distinction here is between two aspects of the human condition, corresponding to two general levels of *koi* and two prevailing types of relationship to time.

Rubina and Shinjia each strive separately toward the fulfillment of a common personal goal. Even when they marry, they are still in their youth: their love story may have ended, but their communal "history" has only just begun. Like the young Bunseimu, or the young Japanese nation, they are subject to a sense of progress. Earlier political novels or *mirai-ki* had not successfully delineated the paradoxical psychology of that forward momentum. To open up the future, Rubina's proleptic dreaming—with its historicization of the future—turns out to have been essential. But the emphasis is on progress.

When Rubina and Shinjia marry, Bunseimu finds that his own circumstances have so changed that his earlier sense of progress will not suffice. Once his personal goals have been satisfied, he is faced with the curse of achievement—he has nowhere to go but "down." At one time

⁵⁴ In *Tsuyu dandan*, Rohan sometimes makes these differing standards explicit. For example, in a speech on "the interests of the flesh" and "the interests of the spirit," Shinjia notes that, since the time of Adam and Eve, humanity has made marked strides in material progress, but the world's lengthening catalog of crimes and evil deeds reveals a lack of progress in our spiritual history. He urges his audience to examine their lives from the perspectives of both "flesh" and "spirit" (RZ 7.24–26).

⁵⁵ Herbert Lindenberger sees *The Prelude* as a work suffused with "time-consciousness," and finds that "the Wordsworthian time-book is grounded in the Platonic doctrine of varying degrees of reality, each characterized by its own order of time." See his *On Wordsworth's "Prelude,"* p. 187. In this respect, as in so many others, *Tsuyu dandan* is a "Wordsworthian time-book."

⁵⁶ Rohan was familiar with the Bible, both as literature and as sacred text. While Rohan was in Hokkaido from 1885 to 1887, his father was so deeply moved by a speech by Uemura Masahisa that he accepted Christianity himself and on behalf of his family. On his return, Rohan refused baptism. However, out of filial piety and intellectual curiosity, he did go so far as to study the Bible, and to attend church and other gatherings to hear sermons. See Shiotani, *Kōda Rohan*, 1: 59.

he was burning with ambition and embraced a survival-of-the-fittest ethic. Later, he was obsessed with seeing his daughter safely into adulthood. Now, he turns to the pursuit of what I propose to call a "retrospective *koi*" for those who are as he once was. His new philanthropic ambition, made possible by his attainment of a new stage in life, is to spread spiritual "salvation"; to "heal" others afflicted by "misfortune" (RZ 7.143). It is an expansion and refinement of his earlier brick-and-mortar philanthropic activities. At this new level, his *koi* emulates the kind of all-encompassing *koi* that Christ or Buddha felt for humankind. Seeing his own past in the future of others becomes the basis for Bunseimu's empathy with their struggles and for his program of assistance. Since he is trying to help others duplicate his past success in their futures, his efforts are still deeply progressive, even as they are endlessly reflexive. Temporally and procedurally, however, the retrospective glance now becomes dominant. In contrast to Rubina's historicization of an imagined future for herself (and Shinjia), Bunseimu's vision of the future for humankind is based on his own real past. As he looks at the present time or the future time of others, he sees different stages of his own past. This temporal layering, and the pluralistic focus of Bunseimu's *koi*, cannot be accommodated by simple ideologies of social success or national "wealth and power" (*fukoku kyōhei*).

Bunseimu chooses Ginchō, the "oarsman of *fūryū*," as his companion on his global crusade, because he senses in the latter's serene composure something valuable that he himself lacks despite his worldly success. Ginchō, for his part, though he may seem the embodiment of serenity, was nevertheless vulnerable to the machinations of Den Kōryō. Henceforth, he will be protected from such exploitation (and from solipsism or entropy) by Bunseimu's new mission, which Ginchō has neither the social connections nor the financial resources, let alone the inclination, to carry out himself. Thanks to Qualification No. 9, the older Bunseimu (a materially advanced and progressive nation) and the ageless Ginchō (a spiritually wise but static nation), are brought together in an ideal philosophical marriage of West and East. The twain have met and become global partners in spiritual philanthropy. They show how to achieve "a pleasurable life" (to use the term in Qualification No. 9).

Bunseimu's "retrospective" *koi* has thus displayed emergent properties that take *koi* beyond *koi*. Rohan subsumes these properties into a self-revising and evolutionary dynamic of the liberated imagination, which he calls *fūryū*.

FŪRYŪ: A NEW HERMENEUTICS
BEYOND OPPRESSION AND STRUGGLE

The term *fūryū* had, even in its original Chinese form (*fengliu*), a wide range of aesthetic implications, involving personal appearance, sexual desire, artistic taste, even political leanings. Writers through the centuries have used the term to cover concepts from eroticism to aesthetic meditation on beauty, and from appreciation of nature and natural simplicity to elegance and tastefulness of style and life-style.⁵⁷ In Japan *fūryū* underwent numerous transformations, starting in the eighth century, in part under the influence of Zen Buddhism.⁵⁸ In contemporary Chinese usage the term still retains markedly sexual associations. In Japan, the term, though broadly conceived, connotes primarily a sense of aesthetic refinement and pleasure detached from worldly concerns.

The word *fūryū* enjoyed a vogue in the early Meiji period, especially from the late 1870s to around 1890, in connection with a heightened awareness of aesthetics.⁵⁹ Western textbooks used in Japan at the time emphasized the relationship between aesthetics and what is "pleasurable."⁶⁰ Rohan invokes this relationship throughout *Tsuyu dandan* with reference to Qualification No. 9 and he associates it most strongly with Ginchō, who is clearly identified as a man of *fūryū* (RZ 7.52–63). As Japanese intellectuals engaged Western aesthetics for the first time starting in the late 1870s, Sino-Japanese aesthetic concepts were also redefined or revived, most notably by Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913) and Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908).⁶¹ *Fūryū* was one term that was ready-to-hand and conveniently vague.

Tsuyu dandan evinces an awareness of these new currents in aesthetics and art, and offers glimpses of fresh possibilities. Rohan's contemporaries responded enthusiastically to *Tsuyu dandan's* many literary novelties, especially to its celebration of *fūryū*. Although not the first author to

⁵⁷ Sasabuchi Tomoichi, *Meiji-Taishō bungaku no bunseki* (Meiji shōin, 1970), pp. 171–77.

⁵⁸ For a brief description of the bifurcation and diversification of the concept of *fūryū* in Japan from the Heian period (794–1185) through the Edo period (1600–1868), see Makoto Ueda's entry on *fūryū* in the *Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (1983), 2:374.

⁵⁹ Yanagida Izumi, *Meiji shoki no bungaku shisō*, 2:30–134.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Chapter 13, "Aesthetic Emotions," in Book 3 of Alexander Bain, *Mental Science; A Compendium of Psychology, and The History of Philosophy* (1880; rpt. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1868). Bain's book was used at the Imperial University (Tokyo) and elsewhere.

⁶¹ Rohan came to know both men personally in the early 1890s through their activities in the "Negishi Party," a non-political association of intellectuals founded by Morita Shiken and others. Shiotani, *Kōda Rohan* 1:180–85.

feature this term, Rohan should be given much of the credit for sparking the boom in *fūryū* fiction that followed the publication of *Tsuyu dandan*. Okazaki Yoshie documents forty-one novels and plays published during the Meiji and Taishō periods that have the word *fūryū* in their titles—all but two of them are later than *Tsuyu dandan*—including seven by Rohan. Okazaki notes that many other works dealt with *fūryū*, even if the word itself was not in the title, and that numerous critical works and articles treating this term also appeared.⁶² The trend was to treat *fūryū* as a rarefied, aestheticized appreciation of feminine beauty and allure.

Ozaki Kōyō and Ishibashi Ningetsu, two writers with whom Rohan was also personally acquainted, published works with *fūryū* in their *tsunogaki* supra-titles just before and just after Rohan took up this theme. They did not further develop the concept in their works but used *fūryū* as a catchall term for ineffable qualities of feminine beauty, charm, and attractiveness.⁶³ Along the same lines, in June 1889, the Ken'yūsha journal *Garakuta bunko* published a call for contributions to a series of special issues that together would make up a “*Fūryū* Literary Gathering” (*Fūryū Bunshō Kai*), beginning with the examination of *fūryū* as a figure of speech connoting feminine beauty. By this time, Rohan had already finished *Tsuyu dandan* and had begun serializing it in *Miyako no hana*. His own “response” to the Ken'yūsha project came with the publication of the novella *Fūryūbutsu* 風流仏 (The icon of liberty) in September of the same year.⁶⁴

Though *fūryū* became a keyword in Rohan's literature,⁶⁵ it has engen-

⁶² See “Meiji-Taishō no shōsetsu ni okeru fūryū,” in his *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, vol. 2.2 (Iwanami shoten, 1948):132–33. Of the two works with *fūryū* in the title, identified by Okazaki as having been published prior to *Tsuyu dandan* (though others may have taken up the theme), the one by Ozaki Kōyō did not develop the concept; the other, by “Fūrai Sanjin” (after the pen name of the Edo author, Hiraga Gennai), I have not been able to locate.

⁶³ In Kōyō's *Fūryū kyōningyō* (1888), *fūryū* seems to connote the physical beauty of Tatsumi Nagayo, the heroine, who is a student at a girls' high school. In Ningetsu's *Ganso fūryū yanagigoshi* (1889), the hero, Tobai Kinnojō, experiences an illusion in which he hears a woman's voice reading a book out loud, and calls it (and his experience) *fūryū*.

⁶⁴ The title has been rendered by Donald Keene as “The Buddha of Art” and by Chieko Mulhern as “The Love Bodhisattva.” This work first appeared in *Shincho hyakushu* in September 1889.

⁶⁵ Okazaki Yoshie identifies seven works (mostly novels) by Rohan that have “*fūryū*” in their titles: *Fūryū zen tenma* (1888; unpublished and not extant), *Fūryūbutsu* (1889), *Fūryū enma den* (1891), “*Fūryū go*” (1891), *Ka fūryū* (1892), *Fūryū mijūzō* (1893–95), and *Fūryū ma* (1898). See “Rohan no fūryū shisō,” in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, vol. 2.2:17. The concept of *fūryū* figures in other works, such as *Tsuyu dandan*, even if the word itself does not appear in the title. This topic is too complex, as well as too pervasive in Rohan's thinking, to be understood without an in-depth analysis of each of these works.

dered remarkably little fruitful discussion.⁶⁶ Rohan's attraction to *fūryū*, as well as to *koi*, reflects his immersion in the early Meiji social and intellectual environment. However, *fūryū* as it appears in *Tsuyu dandan* and *Fūryūbutsu* is far more complex a term than it is in the works of Kōyō and Ningetsu, whose treatments are focused on superficially aesthetic issues. Rohan's *fūryū* is a thorough-going reconceptualization, an interpretation of the word that is neither purely aesthetic nor strictly religious. Rohan considered *fūryū* from various angles in various works. In some works the term suggests something relatively fatalistic; in others, it points to an immanent transcendence. As with many words used in Meiji literature, the term often seems unstably polysemous, retaining at least the overtones of more conventional aesthetics. Rohan's principal contribution was to allow the many other meanings of the term to participate in a broadened conception of *fūryū* signifying the spiritually liberated imagination or consciousness: "Enlightened Liberty." *Fūryū* may further be described as *koi* for the Sublime. *Fūryū* is born from Romantic yearning but sublates its forward-striving directionality into a relativized awareness of human limitations.

The only previous use of *fūryū* that seems to have influenced Rohan deeply occurs in the work of Narushima Ryūhoku 成島柳北 (1837–1884). Ryūhoku's interpretation was radically original and paved the way for Rohan's appreciation and absorption of *The Prelude*. A poet and Confucian scholar, Ryūhoku became the president of the *Chōya* newspaper after the Meiji Restoration, and wrote its editorials. He is now best remembered for his *Ryūkyō shinshi* (The new journal of Willow Bridge; 1859–74), a work that reflects both the influence of the previous regime on his thinking and his own progressive view of modernization. Although Ryūhoku had served the Shogun's family, he came to respect Western civilization, especially after his journey to Europe in 1872. He promoted the ideas of a democratic government, freedom, and the rights of all people.

⁶⁶ Okazaki Yoshie attempts a comprehensive discussion of *fūryū* in Rohan's literature in "Rohan no fūryū shisō" in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, vol. 2.2:3–131. He concludes that it is "extremely difficult" to construct a unified interpretation. I take his conclusion as my starting point. Nihei Aizō neither defines nor analyzes *fūryū* in his *Rohan: fūryū no ningen sekai* (Tōensha, 1988). Miura Masaki offers a cursory analysis of works by Rohan that include the word *fūryū* in their titles. See his "Rohan no 'fūryū' kan," *Kokubungaku ronshū* 23 (January 1989): 113–28, and his "Tenmei no ikō—zoku Rohan no 'fūryū' kan," *Kokubungaku ronshū* 25 (January 1991): 87–105. Chieko Mulhern has discussed this term in English in her *Kōda Rohan* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), pp. 59–62.

On June 15, 1882, Ryūhoku's article, "*Fūryū no shugi*" (The principle of *fūryū*), appeared on the front page of the *Yomiuri* newspaper. Ryūhoku, noting the recent rise in popularity of the word *fūryū*, criticizes false aestheticism and libertinism. Then he declares abruptly, "Liberty (*jiyū*) is the basic principle of *fūryū*. . . . Those who do not know the rights and freedom of the people are not qualified to talk about *fūryū*."⁶⁷ This bold definition of *fūryū* in terms of its relation to liberty is, to my knowledge, the first time aesthetics and politics were so firmly yoked in a conceptual discussion in Japan. It preceded Komuro Angaidō's linkage of politics and *koi* in *Mu renren* by two years, and in some ways anticipated it.

It is possible to speculate that Ryūhoku's politicization of aesthetics inspired Rohan to aestheticize politics, but such a formula would be too neat. One could, more conservatively, argue that Rohan, whose family (like Ryūhoku's) had served the Shogunate and who (like Ryūhoku) was sympathetic to the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, was at least aware of Ryūhoku's article and may have been influenced by its contents. What would be difficult to contest is that—in spite of the generational difference between the two men—they show striking resemblances in their family backgrounds, their political sympathies, and, above all, their unprecedented political interpretation of *fūryū*. Both men eventually chose to voice their support for the goals of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement through literary expression, positing correspondences between political liberty and spiritual liberation in their writings.

Rohan and Ryūhoku celebrate an aesthetic that is grounded in political experience but ultimately derived from moral calm and imaginative grace. Both authors connect human aesthetic pleasure with an uncorruptible universal ideal. In Rohan's work, this transcendent perception leads us to what Wordsworth called "that peace / which passeth understanding, that repose / In moral judgments which from this pure source / Must come" (XIV, 40–129). Cultivated over a lifetime, this peace and repose can help us to achieve that freedom within the self that "alone is genuine liberty" (XIV, 132).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ "Fūryū no shugi," *Yomiuri shinbun*, June 15, 1882.

⁶⁸ Cf. also Wordsworth's declaration, at the beginning of *The Prelude*, when he first mentions "the correspondent breeze" (I, 35) and hints at the importance of the imagination in penetrating to truths that lie deeper than even the most uncorrupted human experience of Nature: "Dear Liberty! Yet what would it avail / But for a gift that consecrates the joy?" (1:31–32).

FŪRYŪ'S DEEP TEMPORALITY AND DEMOCRATIC MISSION

In *Tsuyu dandan*, Rohan presents a confident ethos that is optimistic and socially engaged. The advertisement for a bridegroom that sets the narrative in motion turns out to have been programmed by Rohan (if not designed by Bunseimu) to satisfy the requirements of both *koi* and *fūryū*. To put it another way, Qualification No. 9 has, by the end of the novel, educated us into the possibility of a higher *koi*, pointing us to *fūryū*, or *koi* for the Sublime. Ordinary *koi* is the product of "displeasure" arising from lack and longing. *Fūryū* goes beyond this, accepting the limitations of reality (without sacrificing *koi*), to produce the ability to lead a "pleasurable" life. The emphasis shifts from goal to process. That in itself is a form of liberation.

In uniting forces with Bunseimu, Ginchō's already liberated consciousness will be further liberated by his adaptive engagement with society. Since the world will never lack for either vicissitudes or new generations of humanity, and yet continues to be governed by an enduring Absolute, life at any given moment is compounded of both pleasure and displeasure; that is, at any given moment, people at different stages or degrees of happiness and unhappiness, joy and sorrow, are looking either forward toward their goals or backward at their pasts. Once the perspective is broadened beyond one's own life, one realizes that there is no single history for us all, but rather a meta-narrative made up of the histories of many individuals whose *koi* and temporalities vary one from another.

Bunseimu's and Ginchō's global crusade acknowledges difference by rendering sympathetic aid to people at different stages of life or nation-building. Truly liberated and enlightened individuals and nations can cooperate peacefully to help others find their own Liberty.

THE END OF THE FUTURE

The year after Rohan transformed the *mirai-ki* genre in *Tsuyu dandan*, the National Diet opened and the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued. As Rohan and some of his contemporaries had sensed increasingly in the late 1880s,⁶⁹ the window for dissident or alternative

⁶⁹ In "Meiji shoki bungakkai" (1933), Rohan recalled that 1887 was the rough turning point in the history of Meiji, when governmental policy changes signaled a shift toward more authoritarian, autocratic control. See *RZ* 18:291-92.

methods of political participation was greatly narrowing. Then came the great deflation of expectations when the chaotic sessions of the first Diet failed to offer any glimpses into a brighter future. These developments affected both the viability of the *mirai-ki* as a genre, and Rohan's own temporal outlook.

The politically dispossessed members of the former *sabaku-ha* (supporters of the Tokugawa *bakufu*) and their descendants tended not to subscribe without reservation to what has been called the separated and "empty" *Neuzeit* (new time) of Japan's Westernizing economy. Nor did they automatically accept the linear teleologies implied in the propositions of "Civilization and Enlightenment" or in the "horizon of expectations" of the Meiji state. On the other hand, they were not necessarily trapped in a "nonmodern" layering or glorification of pasts.⁷⁰ These writers considered temporal themes creatively in their fiction and not from an establishment point of view. It has been observed that, on the whole, Meiji literature is *sabaku-ha* literature.⁷¹

As for the Meiji *mirai-ki*, such factors as the institutionalization of the Meiji state, the lasting effect of Tsubouchi Shōyō's denunciation of the genre, and above all the advent of the Diet (the starting point of the future, for most *mirai-ki*) all left the genre with few future prospects of its own. In the short run, having lost its standing as a laboratory of political and temporal experimentation, it almost died out. Subsequently, the *mirai-ki* experienced sporadic revivals in the form of science fiction, "future war" fantasies, and socialist dystopian fiction. In these later examples, the visions of the future are not so much futurological as futuristic or apocalyptic; significantly, the Dioscoridean dream device drops out of the genre. For further experimentation with temporal dialectics, one must look elsewhere in Meiji literature.

Rohan's own literary response to the rapidly disappearing future went through dramatic changes. The strongly willed optimism and boundless possibilities of *Tsuyu dandan* gave way almost immediately to the tragicomedy of *Fūryūbutsu*, published later the same year. This novella shows how difficult it is for the anti-hero, the icon-sculptor Shuun, to achieve his goal. He is sidetracked from his career when he

⁷⁰ For "empty time," *Neuzeit*, "horizon of expectations," and similar terms, see Tanaka, pp. 2, 7, 13-14, 29-31, 76, and *passim*.

⁷¹ Kimura Ki, paraphrased by Hiraoka Toshio in *Sōseki: aru sabaku-ha shijo no monogatari* (Ōfū, 2000), p. 43. The title refers to Sōseki as one of the "children" of the *sabaku-ha*.

meets and falls in love with a beautiful and virtuous country girl, but their planned wedding never takes place. She disappears on their wedding day, taken back in by a newly wealthy father she has never known. Shuun tries to fill the void caused by her disappearance by sculpting a life-size image of her, an object of love and veneration that offers him some hope of emotional and spiritual liberation. But, in contrast to the Pygmalion myth, his union with his ideal woman takes place only after the narration shifts into a surrealistic mode. In the mythic ending, an apotheosized Tatsu assumes the characteristics of a universal icon of Enlightened Liberty (*fūryū*), appearing globally in manifestations that are different in the eye of every beholder.

In the next year, 1890, Rohan published *Tai dokuro* 対髑髏. The embedded dream-noh (*mugen nō*) structures⁷² of this novella radically question the linearity of time and the religion of progress, two key features of Meiji Enlightenment thought. In *Tai dokuro*, a traveler named Rohan seeks refuge in a mountain hut inhabited only by a beautiful young woman named Tae. He spends the night listening to her life-story: how she lost her parents; her courtship by a wealthy, aristocratic bachelor, educated abroad and representing the hopes of the New Japan; and how her suitor died of a broken heart after she rejected him. "Rohan" wakes up the next morning outdoors, amidst withered grasses, lying next to a skull; he realizes it had all been a dream. A local villager describes a woman, badly disfigured by leprosy, who used to live here. The traveler (we realize) has encountered an apparition of the woman as she was before she showed symptoms of her disease.

Rohan's pessimism in *Tai dokuro* contrasts both with the newly orthodox myth of the progressive development of the Japanese nation-state and with the more positively Romantic (but still linear) development of the *saishi-kajin* political novel. The optimism of *Tsuyu dandan* has entirely evaporated. In *Tai dokuro*, the future loops back into the past: the "dream woman" turns out to have been hereditarily diseased (leprosy being thought hereditary at that time). She never had a future.

⁷² In a standard *mugen nō* play, a traveling priest arrives in a certain place and encounters a villager, who tells him the story of a heroic figure associated with this place. When the story ends, the priest awakens: the encounter was a dream. Contemporaries could not have failed to notice the similarities between this device and the Dioscoridean dream employed in the *mirai-ki*, yet Rohan was the first to exploit this resemblance creatively. *Tai dokuro* essentially reverses the pattern of a *fukushiki* (complex) *mugen nō*, replacing human glory with tragic Fate. For the underlying pattern of *mugen nō*, see Tokue Gensei, *Muromachi geinōshi ronkō* (Miyai shoten, 1984), p. 211.

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR LITERARY HISTORY

Rohan's vast oeuvre has been neglected during the half-century or so since his death largely because modern Japanese readers have found his language difficult. Though a joy for those who would engage it, his language has also denied his works a place in the conventional historiography of modern Japanese literature. Although Rohan experimented with colloquial language (in *Tsuyu dandan*, for example), modern readers are apt to find his work old-fashioned and difficult. Given his predilection for Edo settings, Buddhist terminology, and Chinese historical references, critics have simultaneously celebrated and marginalized him as a "classical" or "Oriental" writer. Though more subtle than the matter of language, another factor that has kept Rohan out of the mainstream is the complexity of narrative stance and narrative temporality in his works.

Ever since the publication of Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (Drifting Clouds; 1887-1889), now commonly viewed as the first modern Japanese novel, critics have made much of Futabatei's effort to distance the third-person narrator from the characters' thoughts. The narrator accompanies the protagonist and observes the action like an invisible reporter. The narration in this work did not maintain its objectivity and soon merged with the protagonist's thoughts; but Futabatei's intention was clearly to shift from narration-as-knowing to narration-as-describing. The change in narrative stance entailed a relatively linear temporality that sacrificed the potential for a multiple temporality. It confined the relationships of narrator, protagonist, and reader to a series of aligned points of view, as does a photograph that unites the perspectives of the photographer, the camera, and the viewer. Temporality became correspondingly linear. If one considers this objectivity and linearity to be modern and scientific, then Futabatei's narrative was formally modern, or at least attempted to be. By contrast, *Tsuyu dandan* and other early works by Rohan employ a multiple temporality, a deep temporality, even a kind of relativity.

In terms of envisioning the future creatively, as the *mirai-ki* tried to do, the contribution made by *Tsuyu dandan* was epoch-making. The novel offered important technical modifications in the use of dream as well as dramatic breakthroughs in the portrayal of character psychology. Most significantly, despite the popularity of the Dioscoridean dream device in Meiji literature, no works prior to *Tsuyu dandan* had achieved such complete integration of the future into the narrative.

Until Rohan had fully invented the future for Japanese literature, even the *mirai-ki* were trapped in the psycholinguistic dichotomy and value-laden implications of verbal aspect and the negative *mi-rai*: the “not-yet come” of an inherited future. By incorporating a freely imagined future in a complex narrative texture *Tsuyu dandan* transformed the temporal and psychological terrain available to Japanese fiction.

One can take the measure of Rohan's achievement by considering the impact, on Japanese literary convention, of *Tai dokuro*, a work that developed the temporal complexity and literary sophistication of the previous year's *Tsuyu dandan*. Rohan was the first major writer to realize fully the potential for a tragic Romanticism that lay in the *mugen nō* aspects of Dioscoridean dream. In *Tai dokuro*, Rohan modeled the use of structures, such as the circularity of a dream of an inescapable past, that were adapted in many “encounters” in later Japanese fiction.

Published in January 1890, at the crest of Rohan's early fame,⁷³ *Tai dokuro* became highly influential on a number of levels.⁷⁴ Although other writers did not necessarily echo Rohan's radical pessimism, they were, like him, reacting to a situation in which the “future” (in the sense of the bright promise of early Meiji) was being closed off. *Tai dokuro* focused their attention once again on the utility of dream, compounded of Wordsworthian, Dioscoridean, or *mugen nō* elements, in conveying temporal complexity (however burdened with the past) and Romantic revaluations (however pessimistic). A dream-like state provides a way to present multiple levels or layers of consciousness, and offers a topos in which the author can develop a critical stance. Kitamura Tōkoku's long poem, *Hōraikyoku* (Song of Hōrai), the first work in which he employs

⁷³ Yoda Gakkai, a Sinologist and a powerful literary figure, was sufficiently impressed by the manuscript of *Tsuyu dandan* to write an introduction for it. See Shiotani, *Kōda Rohan*, 1:63. Yamada Bimyō, chief writer for the journal *Miyako no hana* (in which *Tsuyu dandan* was first serialized), commented to the writer Uchida Roan, at the time of Rohan's debut, that a genius such as Rohan was like a comet, appearing out of nowhere. By the end of 1889, many critics were hailing Rohan as a genius. See Shiotani, 1:68–69. Even Tsubouchi Shōyō held the young Rohan in awe, calling him a reincarnation of Leonardo da Vinci. See Yanagida Izumi, *Zuihitsu Meiji bungaku* (Heibonsha, 2005), 2:422.

⁷⁴ Noborio Yutaka points out that Tsuta, the heroine of Ozaki Kōyō's *Uzumagawa* (first published in *Shincho hyakushu* in December 1890), is reminiscent of Tae, the tragic heroine of *Tai dokuro*. See his “*Tai dokuro* ron,” *Bungaku* 44 (August 1976): 59. A passage in Ōtsuka Kusuoko's short story, *Shinobi oto* (published in the January 1897 issue of *Bungei kurabu*), is clearly based on *Tai dokuro*. See *Ōtsuka Kusuoko shū* (Satsuki Shobō, 2000), pp. 135–43. Tanizaki Junichirō, who considered Rohan his most important modern Japanese literary influence, admired *Tai dokuro*. See Ishii Kazuo, “Shūbi no keifu,” *Kindai bungaku ronshū* 24 (1998): 67, 75 n. 4.

a *mugen nō* structure, was not published until May 1891; he began working on it only in mid-1890.⁷⁵ Other notable works employing comparable devices are Shimazaki Tōson's *Komachi monogurui* (Komachi's madness; 1894) and Izumi Kyōka's *Kōya hijiri* (The traveling priest of Koya; 1900). It is even possible to discern a similar pattern in Natsume Sōseki's *Kusamakura* (Pillow of grass; 1906). Tracing the adaptation of *mugen nō* structures reveals one path along which Romanticism and temporal complexity developed in the Japanese novel after the general demise of the political novel and the *mirai-ki*.

What happened to the future in Japanese literature? It became internalized. Rohan integrated it thoroughly into all his narratives after *Tsuyu dandan*. Not only were such works as *Fūryūbutsu* and *Tai dokuro* informed by a sense of the future and a command of deep time; so too were his historical novels, including the mid-career masterpiece, *Unmei* (Destiny; 1919). After Rohan opened up new temporal vistas for literary exploration, Mori Ōgai ventured into the same territory. Beginning with *Maihime* (The dancing girl; 1890), Ōgai creatively incorporated temporal complexity into narrative. The ship in *Maihime* suggests future progress, while the novel's flashback framework sets up a complex temporal layering that has attracted scholarly comment.⁷⁶ Later, when Rohan turned to historical novels, Ōgai too began to address historical themes in similar ways in a series of historical novels culminating in *Shibue Chūsai* (1916).⁷⁷ In this late masterwork, Ōgai incorporates an awareness of future time by continuing a "biography" beyond the death of its main subject to include a chronicle of the lives of his descendants. The interplay between the works of these two authors has yet to be considered with respect to their treatment of temporality, particularly the incorporation of the future.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ See *Tōkoku shū*, in *Meiji bungaku zenshū* (Chikuma shobō, 1976), 29:403. In an 1892 essay critiquing Rohan and Ozaki Kōyō, Tōkoku makes clear his admiration of Rohan's earliest works. See "*Kyara makura oyobi Shin hazue shū*," in *Tōkoku zenshū* (Iwanami shoten, 1950) 1:272-79.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Matsuzawa Kazuhiro, "Bōkyaku no memowaaru; *Maihime* no seiseiron-teki dokkai no kokoromi," *Bungaku* 8.3 (Summer 1997): 29-41; Hanada Toshinori, "Nagaretsutsu aru jikan to, nagare satta jikan; *Maihime* ron to Berukuson," *Mori Ōgai kenkyū* 8 (1999): 184-97.

⁷⁷ The temporal perspectives of Ōgai's historical novels have naturally attracted analysis, but I know of none that focus on his incorporation of the future. One comparative study brings in Proust; see Emanyueru Rozuran [Emmanuel Lozerand], "*Shibue Chūsai to Ushinawareta toki wo motomete*," in *Ōgai no chiteki kukan*, vol. 3 of *Kōza Mori Ōgai*, ed. Hirakawa Sukehiro, Hiraoka Toshio, and Takemori Ten'yū (Shinyōsha, 1997), pp. 276-89.

⁷⁸ Rohan and Ōgai are known to have interacted closely, on both professional and personal

Natsume Sōseki also took up the literary exploration of temporality,⁷⁹ particularly the historicity of the future. His *Kojin* (The wayfarer; 1912) and *Kokoro* (1914), for example, both strongly suggest an interest in future time. Time is the main theme of *Kojin*. In *Kokoro*, although Sensei's letter to the first-person narrator is written at the end of the Meiji, the reader is prompted to wonder about the unwritten history of the narrator after Sensei's death—in other words, that which is to come.

The expanding importance of time-consciousness, especially future-consciousness, in Japanese literature after *Tsuyu dandan* itself invites a comparison. *The Prelude* figures aboriginally in the line of literary influence that then runs through George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* to other "time-books" by Proust, Joyce, and other authors.⁸⁰ *Tsuyu dandan* was Japan's first modern time-book. As such, its relationship to *The Prelude* and to later time-books in Japan and elsewhere deserves further study. To paraphrase Hayden White on Paul Ricoeur, it may be possible to consider *Tsuyu dandan* as a "disemplotted" narrative, a "fable about time" that we should read alongside *Mrs. Dalloway* and *À la recherche du temps perdu*.⁸¹

Yet *Tsuyu dandan* remains a product of its own place and era. Faced with the developing hegemonies exerted over morality and art by the political orthodoxies, social conformities, and literary fashions of the mid-Meiji period, the young Rohan resorted to aestheticized representations of a desired future as a means of self-liberation and self-expression. His debut novel should now be recognized for its contributions to the development of modern Japanese literature. It is about time.

levels, starting in 1889, and were keenly aware of each other's work. See Shiotani, *Kōda Rohan*, especially vols. 1 and 2, *passim*. That the influence went both ways is discernible in the echoes of *Maihime* found in Rohan's later *Sora utsu nami*, serialized from 1903 but never finished. See Endō Seiji, "Ōgai *Maihime* to Rohan *Sora utsu nami* shōron," *Ōgai* 66 (January 2001): 141–43.

⁷⁹ Numerous articles in Japanese have addressed this subject; recent studies include Naomi Mariko, "Natsume Sōseki *Sorekara* no dōtai—atarashii shōsetsu no jikan-ron no kokoromi," *Gengo Bunka Gakkai ronshū* 26 (Spring 2006): 108–19. Also see Yamazaki Masakazu, "*Sorekara* no jikan," in his *Fukigen no jidai* (Kōdansha, 1985), pp. 134–63. Studies in English include Ken Ito's treatment of time (though not specifically future time) as a theme in *Kokoro*; see his "Writing Time in Sōseki's *Kokoro*," in *Studies in Modern Japanese Literature: Essays and Translations in Honor of Edwin McClellan*, ed. Dennis Washburn and Alan Tansman (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997), pp. 3–21.

⁸⁰ Lindenberger, *On Wordsworth's "Prelude"*, pp. 202–4.

⁸¹ *The Content of the Form*, p. 184.