

THE CONCEPT OF ROMANTIC LOVE IN THE *TAIYŌ* MAGAZINE 1895-1905

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The concept of romantic love has been increasingly come to be recognized as one of the key components in the development of a modern sensibility in fin-de-siècle Japan. This paper is an investigation of the development and understanding of romantic love ("ren'ai") as it is revealed in the *Taiyō* (The Sun) magazine between 1895 and 1905. The paper is part of the multidisciplinary research project on the *Taiyō* magazine directed by Professor Suzuki Sadami of the Nichibunken. The focus here is on culture, and more particularly on literature, as the phenomenal mode in which notions such as "love" come to manifest themselves in history. By the empirical investigation of general journals like *Taiyō*, we establish the base for a rewriting of cultural and literary history and also establish the ground for cross-cultural comparisons between Japanese and European modes of thought.

Key words: TAIYŌ, REN'AI, ROMANTIC LOVE, KITAMURA TŌKOKU, IZUMI KYŌKA, JOGAKU ZASSHI, IWAMOTO YOSHIHARU, TAKAYAMA CHOGYŪ

Prolegomenon

This paper is an investigation of the concept of romantic love ("ren'ai") as it appeared in the *Taiyō* (The Sun) magazine from 1895 to 1905. The investigation was carried out as part of the multidisciplinary research project on the *Taiyō* magazine directed by Professor Suzuki Sadami of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto, Japan.

The *Taiyō* journal was the first mass-circulation general interest magazine aimed at a middle-class market to be published in Japan, and incorporated columns on a wide variety of topics including politics, literature, law, society, education, the Imperial family, commerce, women, the home and science. Generally speaking, "middle-class" meant, in the context of the time, graduates from middle schools for men, and the equivalent girls' schools for women. Although comparisons are difficult, in contemporary Japan such a readership may translate into senior high school or junior college graduates. The idea of the magazine may have derived from overseas models, the British journal *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817-) has been mentioned as one possible model but other more general journals such as the *British Illustrated London News* (1842-) or the American journals *Vogue* (1892-), *Scribner's Magazine* (1887-1939) or *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1850-) may also have influenced Hakubunkan, the publisher, during the course of its publication.

Taiyō was published from January 1895 to February 1928 — a grand total of some 531 issues over 33 years (Suzuki, 1996: 63). The first issue of the magazine noted that 285,000 copies had been published but, five years later, issue No. 25 (Vol. 5), of the journal stated that "hundreds of thousands" (jūsūman) of copies of that issue had been printed. Suzuki Sadami quotes Nagamine Shigetoshi to the effect that the Metropolitan Police Board (Keishichō) statistics are a more reliable guide to circulation figures than those which appear in the journal. The Metropolitan

Police Board figures for 1895 indicate a total of some 1,182,448 copies of *Taiyō* published that year (11 regular issues were produced in 1895). The same source estimates an average figure per issue in 1895 of 98,537 copies (Suzuki 1996: 64). In any event, the circulation figures for *Taiyō* dwarf those of any comparable Japanese journal. There can be no doubt that it was the most widely read, and highly regarded, magazine of its time in Japan (Suzuki 1996: 64-6).

Between 1895 and 1905 a total of 189 issues (regular and special) of *Taiyō* were produced, from Vol. 1 to Vol. 11, No. 16. The number of issues per year varied from as few as 11 to as many as 27. In the first five or so years, the number of issues produced was somewhat on the high side, with 25 issues respectively for 1896 and 1897 (Vols. 2 and 3), but from 1900 to 1905 the number per year stabilized at between 15-16. The average page length per issue was around 250 pages. There were various special issues produced on topics like an index of current treaty revisions (*genkōkaisei jōyaku ruisanmokuji*) in Vol. 5, No. 19 (1899) or an index of new legislation (*shinhōreimokuji*) in Vol. 7, No. 6 (1901) or an indexed history of naval engagements during the Russo-Japanese War (*Nichiro Kaisenshi Mokuji*) in Vol. 10, No. 15 (1904). However, it was only in the regular issues that I found references to the word “ren’ai” — which I shall here interpret as connoting romantic love (for reasons that I will discuss later) — from the 189 issues of the journal produced between 1895 and 1905 that go to make up the data base for the research contained in this paper.

As may be expected, the vast bulk of material referring to love came from only a small number of columns in the magazine. Excluding fugitive or irrelevant references, I found some 76 separate articles, stories or poems which dealt with the theme of love in a substantial or significant way. In compiling this list, I tended to focus on analytic and descriptive articles rather than fiction or poetry, but occasionally, when finding such material clearly related to the ideal of romantic love (as opposed to the old-fashioned *ninjōbon* style romances), I included it in my analysis. The majority of this material was contained in the “Katei” (in the English digest of the magazine, “katei” was translated as “Domestic Economy”) column or in the “Shōsetsu”, “Bungaku” or “Bungei” columns (referred to in the English digest as “fictions” or “Fiction and Miscellaneous Notes” and “Belles Lettres”). But, occasionally, articles dealing with matters that touched upon the theme of love, such as relations between the sexes or women’s education, were found in other columns like “Kyōiku” (“Education” in the digest) or “Kaigai Jijō” (“Foreign Intelligence” in the digest).

This paper will not describe each of the 76 items in detail but concentrate on the most important to provide a snapshot of views found in *Taiyō* relating to the topic of love in the period under review. The span of this study — the ten years from the Sino-Japanese War to the Russo-Japanese War — was the period proposed for the first stage of the *Taiyō* project, primarily on the grounds that this was one of the most climactic periods in Japanese history. After her victory over Russia, Japan went from being regarded as a minor player in the Asian sphere to an emerging world power. Similarly, in terms of intellectual, literary and cultural history, this was one of the most innovative periods in Japan’s development with, for example, some of the major writers of the twentieth century making their literary debuts about this time; writers of the stature of Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), Mori Ōgai (1862-1922) and Yosano Akiko (1878-1942). The literary historian Isoda Kōichi describes this period (the third decade of Meiji) as the time when people began to feel that a massive change had taken place in society. The old Edo-style political and intellectual world had finally disappeared with the true emergence of the modern age (Isoda

1990: 52-61). The cultural historian Yamazaki Masakazu places special emphasis upon the period from 1902 onwards as heralding the end of an era in the lives of the Japanese middle-class (Yamazaki, 1986: 134). Thus, for the purpose of evaluating the notion of romantic love, describing how it arose and was interpreted by Japanese at the turn of the century, the data provided by *Taiyō* is a unique storehouse of information unavailable elsewhere.

Meiji Views of Romantic Love

Before providing a summary of Meiji viewpoints concerning romantic love, I will give a brief description of the legacy that the literature of the Tokugawa period had bequeathed to its successor. Tsuda Sōkichi (1873-1961)'s massive history of Japanese literature, which he commenced in 1916, and, almost half a century of additions and rewritings later, was finally published complete in five volumes in 1965 under the title of *Bungaku ni Arawaretaru Waga Kokumin Shisō no Kenkyū* (A Study of Japanese Thought as Expressed in Literature), represents perhaps the most sustained attempt by a single Japanese scholar to investigate the cultural and literary history of Japan (with the possible exception of Konishi Jin'ichi's recent *Nihon Bungeishi*). So Tsuda's account of ren'ai or love as it was manifested in Tokugawa literature is the logical starting point for any discussion.

Tsuda argues that after the glories of the art and writing of the Genroku era (1688-1703), literature, especially literature dealing with love, fell into a decline. This decline reflected, in some measure, the growing influence of Confucian morality on society at large, which, in the latter half of the Tokugawa era, acted to inhibit the free expression of love. The portrayal of love (*koi*) in *yomihon* (reading books) and *kusazōshi* (illustrated fiction), the chief prose genres of the time, tended to be playful. This, Tsuda concludes, demonstrated a falling away of the literary representation of passion which had achieved a peak in the drama of the Kabuki and Jōruri theaters. Tsuda further observes that women were seen (in terms of Confucian morality) as evil, and this too prompted the appearance of stereotypical, wicked female characters in *sewa-Jōruri* "domestic drama". In the *ukiyo zōshi* (prose tales of the floating world) narratives, sexual desire came to dominate over love as the central thread in the depiction of relations between the sexes. "*Iro goto*" (erotic trysts) — the trademark of erotic relations in the brothel quarters — could not be described as a depiction of love. How much these trends were indicative of the actual situation prevailing at the time is impossible to say (Tsuda, 1978: 187-201). Naturally, a variety of words are used to convey the notion of "love" but "ren'ai" was not among them.

Tomita Yasuyuki has recently argued along similar lines to Tsuda, observing that "irogoto" cannot be equated with the later notion of "ren'ai". However, given the social constraints of the time, especially the unequal status of men and women, and the class-based society, such passion came close to imitating the urgency of romantic love. Tomita finds evidence for this in Jōruri puppet plays, especially those of Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724) (Fujita, 1995: 105-134). Nishida Masaru also finds in *yomihon*, like Tsuda, some evidence of romantic passion but concludes that the loss of social freedom inherent in the Tokugawa era model of marriage disqualifies such an emotion from belonging to the same category as "ren'ai" (Nishida, 1995: 141-169). Tomita focuses on the brothel culture of the Tokugawa era for information on how the people of the time experienced love. In addition to the dramas of Kabuki and Jōruri theaters, manuals on "the way of love" (*shikidō*) like Fujimoto Kizan's (1626-1704)'s famous *Shikidō*

Ōkagami (The Great Mirror of the Way of Love), completed in 1678, describe how deeply-felt were the passions of the courtesans in the licensed quarters. The supreme pledge of love made by a courtesan was to cut off a finger (Tomita, 1995: 106-9; Keene, 1976: 163; Rogers, 1994: 31-61).

The contemporary literary critic Noguchi Takehiko argues that in the Edo era “what corresponded to courtly love and its heresy, Tristanism, was not love between man and woman but the homosexuality that appeared in the *bukemono* tales of Saikaku or in the *Hagakure*.” (Noguchi, 1979: 165) His view is shared by Paul Schalow who discerns a link between male love and romantic devotion. Schalow claims that “devoted male love” (the clearest literary example of which was Saikaku’s *Nanshoku Ōkagami*, 1687) became the model for later depictions of the devoted male-female couple (Schalow, 1994: 362-364). Neither Noguchi nor Schalow hold that homosexual love had much in common with *ren’ai*, however.

In the early nineteenth century a genre of fiction arose that dealt specifically with romantic love. The genre is called “*ninjōbon*” (books about passion) and Tamenaga Shunsui (1790-1843) is considered to be its most important practitioner (Keene, 1976: 417-8; Kornicki, 1982: 29-32). The depiction of the passionate emotions the two women Yonehachi and Ochō felt for Tanjirō, the hero of Shunsui’s most famous *ninjōbon* *Shunshoku Umegoyomi* (Colours of Spring: The Plum Calendar, 1832-33), made an enormous impact on the readers of the day. But, despite Shunsui’s innovative use of the colloquial, and his vivid dialogue, the relationship between the fickle Tanjirō and his adoring lovers cannot be described as romantic in the sense in which the word came to be understood fifty years or so later when the notion of *ren’ai* took hold of the intellectual imagination (Keene, 1976: 417; Kornicki, 1982: 106).

Noguchi identifies the view of romance epitomized by the notion of *ren’ai* with the absorption of Christian notions of romantic love by Meiji writers in the 1880s and 1890s (Noguchi, 1979: 166-7). The word “*ren’ai*” first appeared in Japanese letters in 1870 in Nakamura Masanao (1832-91)’s translation of Samuel Smiles’ *Self Help* (1859) published in Japanese as *Saikoku Risshi Hen*. It is well to remember that Nakamura’s version of Smiles was an incomplete paraphrase rather than a translation, with cuts and, also, embellishments not found in the original (Kinmonth, 1981: 25-6). The relevant quotation (Chapter 12, Part 2) reads: “Lee once saw a maiden in the village and fell deeply in love with her (*ren’ai shi*) and then visited her family.” (Kabashima *et al.*, 1984: 331) I could find no passage corresponding to this in the original (Smiles, 1859). The lexicographical evidence tells us that from this time “*ren’ai*” was used as a translation of the English word “love” but it was specifically meant to convey the sense of romantic love or love between a man and a woman; in contrast to the word “*ai*”, also used to translate the English word “love” but only in the sense of love between parent and child or between friends or in the general sense of humanity (Sōgō *et al.*, 1986: 602-3).

There is no doubt that by mid-Meiji a revolution was underway in regard to notions of love, marriage and the status of women. The distinguished diplomat Mori Arinori (1847-89), who later was to become a reformist Minister of Education, published in the leading enlightenment journal *Meiroke Zasshi* from May 1874 to February 1853 a series of articles collectively called “*Saishōron*” (On Wives and Mistresses) in which he argued for a marriage relationship based on mutual love and fidelity, backed by a legal contract. In 1875 Mori put his ideals into practice by entering into a public marriage contract with Hirose Tsuneko where both parties undertook to love and respect each other (Hall, 1973: 245-253). Such a Western-style marriage was, as Ivan

Hall suggests, probably inspired by J. S. Mill's famous emancipist tract *The Subjection of Women* (1869) but, in any case, it came as a shock to the society of the day (Hall, 1973: 253). Later, when challenged, Mori clarified his position by stating that in "Saishōron" he argued that the *status* of husbands and wives was equal but he was not advocating equal *rights* for men and women (Hall, 1973: 249). Nevertheless, the importance of such a thesis cannot be overestimated in its radical revision of Tokugawa-style notions of love and marriage.

Mori's contract failed to mention Christianity, and if we return to Noguchi Takehiko's point about the importance of Christian notions of love, then we can conclude that the romantic, woman-worshipping ideal of *ren'ai* was not at this stage a prominent thread in Meiji thinking. However, with the founding of the *Jogaku Zasshi* (The Woman's Magazine) in 1885 by Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1942), such a trend started to become apparent. Iwamoto was baptized as a Christian in the same year as the magazine was founded and soon began articulating a vision of love clearly indebted to Christianity (Brownstein, 1980: 319-327). He condemned geisha and prostitutes and extolled true love in his essay "Risō no Kajin" (The Ideal Beauty), published in the *Jogaku Zasshi* in April 1888: "Now, we should proudly turn our backs upon vulgar and base women like geisha and prostitutes. All they know is desire and money, they are utterly ignorant of the true and correct path... Oh true love (*makoto no ai*) always requires mutual respect. Without respecting one's partner, without spiritual love (*korega tamashii wo ai sezu*), how can husband and wife truly attain nuptial bliss?" (Iwamoto, 1888: 13-14) Opponents of Iwamoto's thinking were legion; the most prominent being Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957).

A leading advocate of democracy in his youth, Sohō later became a conservative nationalist (Pierson, 1980). In September 1889, in the journal he founded, *Kokumin no Tomo* (The People's Friend), Sohō wrote an article entitled "Ai no Tokushitsu wo Toite Wagakuni no Shōsetsuka ni Nozomu" (I Appeal to Japanese Novelists to Expound the Virtues of Love). The article admonished Japanese novelists to write of love, a virtue conspicuously missing from traditional Japanese belles-lettres. By love (*ai*) Sohō meant an all-encompassing compassion: "Love is patient, love seeks to benefit all. Love does not aspire to individual advantage, does not take pleasure in immorality, rejoices in the truth." (Sohō, 1889: 30-35) Sohō's notion of "ai" seems as much borrowed from Confucian morality as Christian principle. But in July 1891 Sohō sharply distinguished between "ai" and "ren'ai" with his famous article in *Kokumin no Tomo* entitled "Hiren'ai" (Against Romantic Love). In this essay, specifically addressed to young men and women, Sohō blasts the notion of romantic love: "If we wish to attain feelings of romantic love, then we must cast away ambitions of worldly success; if we wish to achieve our ambitions of worldly success, we must abandon any notions of romantic love." Later in the essay he argued: "Remember this! Once a person becomes a slave to love, then all freedom is inevitably sacrificed on this altar... What is romantic love? What is the relationship between men and women? What is free marriage? ...Finally, you become a slave of love (*ren'ai*), you end by thinking of nothing but romance (*ren'ai*), you do nothing; people at this point while alive are already dead." (Sohō, 1891: 47-9)

These essays signaled the beginning of a debate about *ren'ai* which centered on the question of whether or not romantic love was moral, whether or not it was compatible with the ideology of the Meiji state. The well-known journalist, Yamaji Aizan (1864-1917), published an essay entitled "Ren'ai no Tetsugaku" (The Philosophy of Romantic Love) in November 1890 in *Jogaku Zasshi* in which he adopted a more explicitly statist line: "Oh, love! Which brings about a

revolution in body and mind... Love! Which binds together the family and strengthens the nation.” (Yamaji, 1890: 7-8)

Sohō’s attack on *ren’ai* prompted a number of rejoinders. Iwamoto Yoshiharu wrote a short piece in *Jogaku Zasshi* in August 1891 entitled “Hiren’ai wo Hi to Su” (In Opposition to “Against Romantic Love”) in which he made his Christian view of romantic love abundantly clear: “Romantic Love is sacred.” (Iwamoto, 1891: 40) However, a much more significant rejoinder was the poet Kitamura Tōkoku’s (1868-1894) explosive thesis “Ensei Shika to Josei” (Woman and Pessimistic Poets), published in two parts in February 1892 in *Jogaku Zasshi*, which lifted the debate over romantic love to an entirely different level altogether.

Tōkoku had met an intelligent young woman called Ishizaka Mina, the daughter of a prominent Democratic activist, in 1885. After her conversion to the Christian faith in 1887, Tōkoku’s own interest in Christianity had quickened. That year his feelings for Mina had progressed so rapidly that in a letter to Mina dated 4 September 1887, he was expressing such sentiments as “Our love (*rabu*) stands outside sexual passion, we love in our hearts, we love in our hopes: in contrast to the sexual love of others, we possess a much stronger love. Even though we are not yet one body, I feel as if we already together. We will build an impregnable fortress of love where no enemies will frighten us.” (Tōkoku, 1955: 3: 185) The literary historian Itō Sei commented that Tōkoku’s love for Mina was a kind of goddess-worship (*issu no jouseishinseishi*), the new Christian view of womanhood that Iwamoto Yoshiharu was expounding (Itō, 1954: 118). In 1958 in a famous article about the falsehood of love (*ai no kyogi*), Itō Sei argued that as the imported notion of romantic love was so inextricably linked to Christianity (the love relationship being essentially a reflection of the divine relationship of God to humankind), and to Christian notions of divinity, therefore it was unnatural for Meiji Japanese, and alien to the Japanese tradition (Quoted Ichiyanagi, 1995: 17-18). Itō’s proposition can perhaps be argued in the case of Tōkoku and Mina, for, despite their marriage in November 1888, love’s difficulties, as well as love’s ideals, are reflected in Tōkoku’s contradictory essay.

“Ensei Shika” is a complex meditation on love, humanity, marriage, God, the ideal and the visionary. The two halves of the essay seem to be contradictory but in the contradictions we can locate a new discourse that takes something hitherto despised — romantic love — and turns it into a new hermeneutic mediating between self and self or other, and between self and non-self (society). The first line, “Love is the secret of life. First there is love, then there is life. If we eradicate love, what flavour is there to life?” (Tōkoku, 1955: 1: 254) shook the intellectual establishment to its roots, to quote the novelist Kinoshita Naoe (1869-1937): “It was just as if we had been blown apart by a cannon” (Quoted Ōta, 1989: 29; Morton, 1993: 123).

The opening lines established a new discourse, the nature of which became clearer later when Tōkoku wrote: “Love is a clear mirror that, at the same time as it turns the ‘I’ into a victim, reflects the ‘self’ that is the ‘I’. Men and women love each other and thus for the first time come to know what society is actually like... While a person is living alone, he cannot be the essential unit of society; when two individuals combine then for the first time they make up the essential unit of society, it now becomes possible to have a clear view of the ‘self’ in relation to society” (Tōkoku, 1955: 1: 260). So by establishing a hermeneutic of love, “self” and “society” become meaningful. Unless one defines oneself through a relationship of love, no form of mediating self-consciousness is available to mirror the complexity of self awareness which only emerges when confronted by an “other”.

The second half of the essay undermines or perhaps “deconstructs” the logic of the first half. Through marriage the real world (*jikkai*) and the ideal world (*sōkai*) come into an irreconcilable conflict. The key element of this deconstruction is contained in the following quotation: “Now, the first stage of love is when one falls in love with one’s own ideas (*ishō*), woman who is the ‘other’ is a mere illusion (*karimono*) (Tōkoku, 1955: 1: 264). The critic Moriyama Shigeo interprets this as meaning: “Once the totality of Tōkoku’s denial of the real world — his repudiation of society — had been introduced, this had the effect of deleting ‘sexuality’ (*sei*) from love (*ren’ai*), he could only see the phenomenal form of ‘sexuality’ as lust or carnal desire” (Moriyama, 1986: 211).

In a way, Tōkoku proceeds from a negative logic, or a logic of absence. Tōkoku did not deny passion, although he clearly distinguished it from lust, but because passion or *ren’ai* tended to become trapped by reality so the ideal world is invaded by the real world. By abstracting love to an illusion or expedient (*karimono*), Tōkoku extends the ideal beyond the real, while at the same time suppressing the sexuality qua love behind this flight to illusion. Furthermore, as implied by the use of the words “*mizukara no ishō*” (one’s own ideas), the sexuality is self-directed or narcissistic. This point is crucial, for, as Nakayama Kazuko has recently argued, at this stage woman as other disappears, the “falsity” (*kyogisei*) of *ren’ai* is exposed (Nakayama, 1994: 346). Thus we end with a lament for the impossibility of marriage between sensitive poets and idealized women. In Tōkoku’s words: “Ah, how wretched are women! At the same time as they symbolize grace and supreme beauty for pessimistic poets, they become interpreters of the disgusting, vulgar world. And, as a result, they become objects of scorn” (Tōkoku, 1955: 1: 264).

Ōta Masaki describes this view of marriage as “sadistic”, and Nakayama is equally scathing of the negative idea of women exposed here (Ōta, 1989: 32; Nakayama, 1994: 347). However, for better or worse, Tōkoku’s view of love, marriage and women — caught as is between two conflicting extremes — defined the framework of debate for Meiji Japan from this time on, and virtually all contributions to this debate, including those in *Taiyō*, were influenced by it.

In a number of essays written soon after “*Ensei Shika*”, Tōkoku expanded on the contradictory view of love outlined above. Perhaps the apparent failure of his own marriage led him to emphasize the ideal over the real. In a letter sent to Mina in August 1893, Tōkoku wrote: “You say that I lack respect for you, that I do not truly love you... at some time or other I have become a demon, I only realized this from your letter... How much do you love me, to criticize me like this?” (Tōkoku, 1955: 3: 223-6). Contrasting love and “*iki*” (elegance/sophistication) in a novel of Kōda Rohan (1867-1947), Tōkoku wrote in *Jogaku Zasshi* in March 1892 (a month after the publication of “*Ensei*”): “Because romantic love (*ren’ai*) is blind, it is also suffering, and misery. But, romantic love is also extreme pleasure, hope and imagination... Elegance (*iki*) looks at those lost in love and laughs” (Tōkoku: 1955: 1: 268). Here, as Kuroko Kazuo argues, Tōkoku implies that “*iki*”, the quality most prized in the brothel-culture of the Tokugawa era, is tied to a loss of individual freedom in its rigid class-bound aesthetics of play while love is uncertain, uncontrollable, truly free in its terrifying, individual commitment (Kuroko, 1979: 203-4).

In another essay written at the same time criticizing two leading Ken’yūsha writers who valorized the Edo style — Ozaki Kōyō (1868-1903) and Kōda Rohan — Tōkoku compares “*kōshoku*” or lust, seen here as an amorous trait associated with the erotic poetics of Edo culture, with *ren’ai*: “Lust gives free rein to humankind’s lowest bestial nature. Love manifests the beauty of humankind’s spiritual life. Writers who depict lust force people into the bestial world of

depravity; those who depict true love give people beauty, allow people to have a soul” (Tōkoku, 1955: 1: 277). The contrast between lust and love pushes ren’*ai* in the direction of a sexless or platonic notion of love, a move clearly influenced by Christian ideas of a higher love. Not surprisingly, Noguchi Takehiko invokes the influence of a “modified Protestant version of love which seeks a kind of religious salvation in the ‘pure’ love between man and woman” and also the influence of Ralph Waldo Emerson on Tōkoku’s concept of ren’*ai* (Noguchi, 1979: 170).

The pursuit of purity leads to an ever-increasing idealization of love, seen most vividly in two essays published in *Jogaku Zasshi* in June and August that year. In the first “Uta Nenbutsu wo Yomite” (Reading [Chikamatsu’s] *Uta Nenbutsu*), Tōkoku declares: “Love (ren’*ai*) is the beginning of affection. From the love (*ai*) of parents to the love of friends, all must bear the name of affection: there is nothing which does not derive from romantic love (ren’*ai*). Logically, therefore, even the *agape* which reaches to the heavens, in many cases, is connected to romantic love.” (Tōkoku, 1955: 1: 349) The second is “Shojo no Junketsu wo Ronzu” (Discussing the Chastity of Virgins) where Tōkoku writes “Noble romantic love has its origins in spotless, unstained chastity. To advance to romantic love from chastity requires a proper sequence of events which follows the true path. But from the first, unchaste love is carnal passion, floating aimlessly on the waves, it has no value, no beauty” (Tōkoku, 1955: 2: 26).

In the two essays quoted above, Tōkoku’s debt to the Christian notion of love is plain. The cult of virginity as embodied in the figure of the Virgin Mary is obviously not far from Tōkoku’s idealization of chastity, and the link between the sacred and profane is implied by the connection that he makes between *agape* and ren’*ai*. Kuroko argues that these were ideological tactics used against the conservative Ken’yūsha literary establishment which advanced a semi-feudal paradigm for the relationship between the sexes. In that respect Tōkoku’s view of love went far beyond his time (Kuroko, 1979: 208-210). Kuroko cites Iwamoto Yoshiharu’s paen of praise to ren’*ai* published in *Jogaku Zasshi* in September 1892 as proof that Tōkoku was conceptually in a different league from his contemporaries. Iwamoto wrote: “I believe that romantic love in its nature is exceedingly beautiful; love is the spirit of devotion. Ignoble love is for the sake of oneself; true love is for the sake of others” (Kuroko, 1979: 210). Kuroko holds that the word “devotion” (*kenshin*) connotes a conservative view which does not see men and women as truly equal, unlike the position advocated by Tōkoku. On the other hand, Sekii Mitsuo argues that the cult of virginity in the Meiji discourse on women owed something to Darwinian evolutionary theories; he links heredity and sexuality to the emergence of the dichotomous stereotype of virtuous and wicked women (Sekii, 1995: 92).

In any case, the propositions advanced above about Tōkoku, and about the understanding and reception of the concept of romantic love, invite questions as to how — widespread such notions were. Did the general public of the day entertain ideas about romantic love as sophisticated and as westernized as those advocated by Tōkoku, or, did the older paradigms still hold sway? Questions such as these can only be effectively answered, even if only in preliminary form, by examining mass-circulation journals such as *Taiyō*.

Romantic Love in *Taiyō* 1895-97

As Aihara Kazukuni’s analysis of the first five issues (there were 11 issues in all for 1895) of *Taiyō* demonstrate (Aihara, 1996: 145-53), the first issues of the journal were preoccupied with

the Sino-Japanese War (Japan's victory over China was formalized with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in April 1895). In Aihara's words, at the time *Taiyō* was a "man's magazine" (otoko no zasshi), sharply contrasting with journals like *Bungei Kurabu* (Literature Club) which adopted an approach aimed more specifically at women (Aihara, 1996: 148). Aihara concentrates on the representation of women in the fiction included in the first five issues and concludes that the image of women found there is cast in a traditional mode. The novelist Aeba Kōson's (1855-1922) depiction of the females in his story "Jūgun Ninpu" (Contract Labourers for the Military) as weak and frail is typical. This type of portrait was largely imitated by the novelists who followed in this first year of publication; given the conservative variety of fiction penned by writers such as Miyake Kaho (1868-1943) — described by the acclaimed feminist novelist Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951) as displaying the "temporizing wisdom of 'educated ladies' of the day" (Miyamoto, 1954: 170) — Kawakami Bizan (1869-1908), Kōda Rohan and Sudō Nansui (1857-1920), all of whom wrote fiction for these first few issues, such a conclusion is hardly surprising. The only exception Aihara makes is for the greatest woman writer of the day, Higuchi Ichiyō (1872-96), whose story "Yukugumo" (Wandering Cloud) appeared in the fifth issue. The heroine of this tale, Onui, is another in the long line of Ichiyō's tragic protagonists, oppressed by the circumstances of the time. Romantic love does not yet occur as a theme in Meiji fiction — with the possible exception of Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909)'s *Ukigumo* (Drifting Clouds) in 1889, except that the romance exists entirely in the mind of the protagonist Bunzō and not the object of his affections, Osei (Ryan, 1965: 273; Futabatei, 1889: 117, 38-220) — and one reason why can be seen in Ichiyō's story *Nigorie* (Troubled Waters) published in *Bungei Kurabu* in September that year. This tale deals with the impossible infatuation of the penniless workman Genshichi for the geisha Oriki, impossible because of the material circumstances of both. That it is clearly infatuation *not* romantic love shared equally by both partners, as Tōkoku advocated, is shown by the strong implication that Oriki is murdered by Genshichi in the love suicide that ends both their lives (Ichiyō, 1895: 178-208; Danly, 1981: 218-240).

In Vol. 1, issue No. 5 of *Taiyō*, the famous novelist Izumi Kyōka (1873-1939) wrote a short article entitled "Ai to Kon'in" (Love and Marriage) discussing whether marriage is as wonderful as most assume it to be. Kyōka begins by casting doubt on the institution of marriage, arguing that marriage is as much the result of societal pressure as of individual preference. He then states that perfect love (kanzen naru ai) is but another word for "selfless" (muga). But, he implies, such love is impossible in real-life marriages, thus hinting that his real target is arranged marriages. Indeed, in the article, this appears to be the only kind of marriage Kyōka understands.

Kyōka draws an explicit comparison between love and marriage: "While people are unmarried, love (ai) is free. As the proverb says 'in love (koi) distinctions between high and low do not exist.'" Kyōka's assumption here is that marriage is inextricably linked to class distinction. Later, he emphasizes his ideal of love: "We [who are not husbands] cannot love (ai) wives, no, it is not that it is impossible to love others' wives but rather that society does not allow it. Society makes love impossible. In short, the social institution of marriage shackles love, oppresses love, is so constructed as to deprive us of our liberty..."

The final stage of Kyōka's argument is that in the absence of marriage, men and women can love freely: "If we assume that without husbands and wives, ordinary men and women are just men and women, then, will transgressors against the morality of love exist? Women will not need to poison their husbands because of adulterous passion. Men will not need to commit adultery for

the sake of love.” At the end of the article Kyōka reminds his readers that from olden times marriage in Japan existed for the sake of society not for the sake of love. People are obliged to marry as a duty to society. This viewpoint again takes aim at a conception of marriage unlike that proposed as an ideal by Tōkoku, instead, Kyōka’s admonitions suggest a reality that is closer to a Tokugawa model and so revive the stock conflict in Tokugawa society between duty and passion (*giri/ninjō*).

Noguchi Takehiko, commenting on this article, links Kyōka’s attacks on marriage with the portrayal of married women in his fiction, who are “almost without exception the unhappy victims of their abusive and highhanded husbands” in contrast to geisha, demonesses and prostitutes who are the invariably the heroines of Kyōka’s tales (Noguchi, 1979: 176). Noguchi argues that Kyōka’s fiction is located outside bourgeois morality, his stories are set in the leisure quarters (Noguchi, 1979: 177), thus confirming that Kyōka’s viewpoint is pre-Tōkoku, centered on the brothel culture of the Tokugawa era and the conception of love arising from this. One possible proof of this contention can be found in the fact that not once does Kyōka use the word “ren’ai”, so closely associated with Tōkoku, in the article.

The only other article on ren’ai that I found notable in the first volume of *Taiyō* was “Ren’ai Shōsetsu” (Novels of Romantic Love) by Mizutani Futō (1858-1943) published in issue No. 8. Mizutani Yumihiko (Futō was his pen-name) was a novelist and a distinguished scholar of Edo literature. His most famous novel was called *Sabigatana* (Rusted Sword) — an unhappy tale of illicit love between a married woman and a clerk — and was published in 1896; in addition to novels he wrote several books on Edo theatre and fiction.

Mizutani begins with the proposition that women are the foundation of love (*aijō no izumi*), and that novels of romantic love are records of their love. Romantic fiction takes the love between men and women as its theme, and, in this respect, is as close to nature as possible. This leads Mizutani to the view that romantic fiction is the most advanced form of novel, since it is the most realistic.

He reminds readers that before Meiji, romantic fiction was believed to be like a narcotic that tempts young men and women into “indolence and dissipation”. It was to be read in secret, not before one’s parents. Moreover, that such fiction was reviled as a poison that would corrupt morals. Mizutani also notes that such attitudes are still prevalent today.

Mizutani’s definition of romantic fiction is fairly broad, including a number of varieties of Tokugawa writing. The chief value of such literature is that it emphasizes traditional Japanese aesthetic virtues like grace (*yūbi*) that are found in *waka* poetry. It foregrounds a tradition of artistic achievement as against the equally influential tradition of martial values. In this way Mizutani constructs an argument for romantic fiction on the familiar grounds of leading ignorant readers into enlightenment. Like Kyōka, Mizutani’s view of romantic fiction seems to be rooted in the older Tokugawa model, despite the explicit use of the word “ren’ai”. The early mention in the text of Kenyūsha writers like Kōda Rohan and Yamada Bimyō (1868-1910) only reinforces the point.

The first major article in 1896 (volume 2) dealing with love is “Saikon to Teisetsu to no Kankei” (The Relationship Between Remarriage and Chastity) by Motoyoshi Yūjirō (1859-1912) in the education section of issue number 3. Motoyoshi was a psychologist who studied experimental psychology at Johns Hopkins University in the U.S. (where he obtained a doctorate) before returning to Japan to become a lecturer in psychology at Tokyo Imperial

University. He was the author of several major texts on psychology and philosophy.

This long article deals primarily with the question of whether widows should remarry. Does marriage depend solely upon the love (*aijō*) between a couple, or does a widow's responsibility extend to the home and family (including the husband's parents) after her husband's death? Morality and thought regulate love because, fundamentally, love is fickle.

The historical prejudice in Japan against widows remarrying is simply a reflection of past customs, and is not appropriate to the present day and age. The old catchcry of 'danson jōhi' (Honour men! Despise women!) derives originally from China and, moreover, is inappropriate to the civilised modern era. Motoyoshi stresses that love between a man and a woman (*danjō sōai*) is an entirely natural emotion but the institution of marriage and family arises out of the necessity of the social order. Therefore, while emotion (*ninjō*) is a product of nature, the social system must regulate or restrain this. In the end, Motoyoshi argues that widows should be able to remarry on both biological and social grounds.

Motoyoshi's position is clear: he sees marriage as based on mutual affection or love but, as an institution, marriage is nonetheless part of the social order and is therefore subject to its demands. His attitude is reformist, and in respect of love, positive. But it certainly does not go beyond Tōkoku who, in the second half of "Ensei Shika", saw women as wretched because, in part, of their inevitable dependency on men. Motoyoshi, unlike Tōkoku, cites many examples of the customs of other countries (especially in the West) in order to support his argument which is couched in the rational language of the Meiji Enlightenment scholar.

In issue 6, a short piece entitled "Ren'ai wa Chinpu Nari" (Romantic Love is Trite) in the Literature column — admonishing romantic novelists to write of great things — testifies to how common the word "ren'ai" was becoming. In issue 15 of that year, an article entitled "Joshi no Kekkō ni kansuru Rimen no Kansatsu" (An Inside View of Women's Marriage), ostensibly printed in an English newspaper (with no author's name appended), was published in the "Domestic Economy" section of the magazine. The interesting feature of this article is that it purports to be a description of marriages in Britain. The stress is on love marriages (*aijō no tame ni naseru kekkō*) with the bride given the freedom to choose her husband. The implied contrast with Japan emphasizes that there the reverse is more likely to be the case. The article mainly acts to dispense advice to Japanese couples in the form of practical marriage guidance, seeing marriage primarily as a contract. The article acknowledges that marriage is first and foremost a product of love (*aijō*) between a man and a woman but argues that the consent of parents is advisable although not essential. The author emphasizes that marriage has an economic base, and that the husband must have sufficient income to support the wife's lifestyle. The examples of English-style marriage cited by the author point to the fact that love marriages do not invariably end in happiness, and also that among the English upper class a form of arranged marriage is the norm. The author adopts a familiar strategy: using examples from abroad in an attempt to reform domestic opinion. There is little reference to romance *per se*, and no attempt is made to idealize romantic love.

As can be seen above, love in *Taiyō* is discussed as primarily in the context of marriage, and, as Tōkoku's "Ensei Shika" also focused upon marriage, this approach can be seen as eminently practical. Tokugawa ideas of romance centered on the brothel culture but Meiji reformists like Tōkoku and Iwamoto, both greatly influenced by Christian morality, sought to switch the emphasis to the home and family, to conjugal love.

Iwamoto Yoshiharu contributed two articles which touch on love to *Taiyō* in 1896; the first entitled “Danshi, Tsuma ni Taisuru no Tsutome” (The Duties of Husbands to Wives) was published in the “Domestic Economy” section of issue 21. Iwamoto’s view of marriage is, in present-day terms, profoundly conservative as by stressing husbands’ duties toward their wives, he affirms the two different but complementary roles of men and women: men work outside the home while women serve in the home. However, one of the aims of such a strategy is to raise the status of women by emphasizing the importance of the home. So, at the time, such a view would certainly have been progressive. Indeed, Iwamoto’s main aim appears to be to castigate husbands for their lack of respect for their wives, to criticize husbands over the double standard whereby wives were expected to be faithful but not husbands. Behind his enjoinders to husbands not to hide their love or passion (*jōai*) from their wives, and the use of vocabulary like “netsuai” (passionate love), is a view of love that is clearly romantic and idealized.

In his second *Taiyō* article of 1896, “Jiyū Kekkō no Shui” (An Opinion on Free Marriage), published in the Domestic Economy section of issue 22, Iwamoto attempts to redress what he perceives as a mistaken view of free (as opposed to arranged) marriage. He begins his argument with: “People think of free marriage as Western-style marriage but to conceive of this as establishing relationships arbitrarily, as one pleases, is a mistake. Free marriage means not to be coerced, not to become the slave of wealth, not to be bound by fate; it means to make promises on the basis of a free choice of the spirit (*waga seishin no jiyūnaru sentaku*). In other words, free marriage is something spiritual, not something arising from the vulgar world of carnal passion.” Here, again, we encounter a dichotomous view of love where it is seen either as vulgar and lustful or as spiritual. The latter is clearly romantic, a view inspired by Christian notions of love. Noguchi Takehiko sees this contrast as a fatal separation of “Love from Eros” since, outside the Japanese Christian world-view, there existed “the semi-feudal real world in which there was absolutely no room for such notions as romantic love” (Noguchi, 1979: 176, 169). In this sense, Iwamoto is engaged upon a polemic, he is fighting an ideological battle for his own view of love. Most of Iwamoto’s writings on *ren’ai* are printed in *Jogaku Zasshi*, the journal he edited. There are significant differences between Tōkoku and Iwamoto’s conceptions of romantic love, which I discussed earlier, one of these is Iwamoto’s attempt to develop a universal, biological paradigm of romantic love, an approach that tries to transcend history, as Konagai Kōko points out (Konagai, 1996: 21). This viewpoint becomes more explicit in later years but the stress on the spiritual in the *Taiyō* article (noted above) provides a hint of what is to come, as the notion of the spiritual derives from a sectarian view of human personality.

A slightly more traditional view of marriage is expressed by Fujii Uhei, a Bachelor of Jurisprudence, in a two-part article entitled “Kon’in Ron” (A Discussion of Marriage) published in the Domestic Economy sections of issues 21 and 22. Marriage is seen as part of the social system, part of the logical ordering of relationships in a society constructed on Confucian lines. But Fujii attacks arranged marriages on the grounds that beauty is an insufficient criterion for choosing a partner: “Beauty possesses a magical power that moves people’s emotions but love (*ai*) arising from beauty is nothing but animal lust.” Fujii stresses spiritual attributes as the key to making a successful marriage and argues for “*shiriai kekkō*”, a marriage based on acquaintance or friendship. In the second article, Fujii states that “to satisfy the noblest purposes of morality, spiritual love (*seishinteki no aijō*) is an absolute necessity”. Fujii welds the new-fangled notion of spiritual love onto old-fashioned morality.

The last significant comment on love in *Taiyō* for 1896 comes in the *Literature* column in issue 22. The unnamed editor wrote a small piece on “Ren’ai Moji [a misprint for ‘Bungaku’] to Shumposhium” (The Literature of Romantic Love and [Plato’s] Symposium). The importance of this article lies in the stress the author puts upon “eros” (written in Greek letters in the text). The article is an appeal for novelists who write romances to return eros to their works. The author is defending the importance of romantic love as a theme for fiction by referring to the example of Plato’s *Symposium* (which, he argues, should be translated into Japanese) while also identifying eros as the major component of romantic love: “The word for love that Plato uses is *eros* which originally meant sexual love. Using this notion of love as a base, he described the love between parents and children and between siblings, he demonstrated love for one’s country and praised the love of God.” The emphasis upon eros clearly marks a different reading of the notion of romantic love from that of Iwamoto, and that generally taken by the various *Taiyō* writers.

The first article on love in 1897 (Vol. 3) worthy of attention is an extremely short piece in issue No. 2 (dated January in the English digest) penned by the unnamed editor of the “Jibun Ronpyō” (Current Debates) column. The piece is entitled “Gaku Kai Ō no Ren’ai Ron” (An Old Scholar’s (?) View of Love) and probably refers to a specific historical individual who clearly disputes the whole concept of romantic love. What, in particular, the aged scholar objects to, is the notion of “shisei no ren’ai” (sacred romantic love). How can anyone fall in love with a pockmarked face?, asks the old man, as paraphrased by the writer who is determined to ridicule the old scholar’s ideas. In other words, romance is based upon physical appearance, there is nothing “sacred” about it. The writer retorts, if in doubt, ask Schiller!

This short piece of satirical abuse revolves around the notion of holy or sacred love. Clearly indebted to Christian views of love, the words “sacred” or “holy” used in conjunction with ren’ai become associated with Iwamoto Yoshiharu from about this time. One of the best-known examples of such a usage is in the short article “Ren’ai no Makoto” (The Truth of Love) first published in the “zakkan” (Random Impressions) section in No. 433 (January 1898) issue of *Jogaku Zasshi*. Iwamoto’s article is difficult to follow but some ideas stand out clearly: “Romantic love is both noble and holy (seiki), it must be respected.” Also, “But the desires of the flesh are not evil, they arise from the flesh and are natural desires.” Iwamoto is attempting to reconcile the notion of romantic love being sacred with a scientific, evolutionary view of sexual desire. As the *Taiyō* satire referred to above makes evident, such exercises were widely misunderstood.

In No. 17, 1897 (August), a short satire entitled “Ren’ai no Keisan” (A Calculation of Love) lifted from an article by Kutsumi Kesson (1860-1925) — a well-known journalist and writer on German philosophy — published in the journal *Waseda Bungaku*, appeared in the “Jihyō” (reviews) column. The editor and author of the literary reviews was Takayama Rinjirō (1871-1902), better known by his pen-name of Chogyū. One of the most important critics of the Meiji era, Chogyū wrote several major essays on criticism and aesthetics, his writings on Nietzsche being especially noteworthy. In the short satire, Chogyū following Kesson, constructs a calculus of romantic love:

“Natural bodily desires + base feelings = bestial love

Higher feelings + good intentions = holy romantic love (seishin teki ren’ai)

Altruism + selflessness = platonic romantic love

Bestial love + holy romantic love = real romantic love

Bestial love - holy romantic love + platonic romantic love = the ideal of romantic love”

This play on “ren’ai” is instructive not merely for the intrinsic humour in the juxtaposition of seemingly contradictory formulations but also for demonstrating how new, and even among the intelligentsia, how little understood was the conception of romantic love.

Romantic Love in *Taiyō* 1898-1900

The only important mention of romantic love in 1898 (vol. 4) appears in the fiction section of issue number 8 published in April that year. The issue contains a short, satirical story by Miyake Seiken (1864-1914), a popular novelist who wrote sad, moving stories that brought him considerable fame. The tale concerns a young man called “Shōjō Keppaku” or “Spotlessly Pure” and a young woman called “O Ketsu” or “Purity”. Both Mr. Pure and Miss Purity are paragons of enlightenment education — Mr. Pure is a learned poet who composes poems about “sacred romantic love” (*shinsei naru ren’ai*), while Miss Purity has been taught at the very best schools to add “yo” (my!) to the end of every phrase she utters. Miss Purity is as fervent as Mr. Pure in her devotion to sacred romantic love which is, the narrator informs us, the theme of the story.

Eventually, they fall in love but resolve not to have a traditional “unholy” (*fushinsei*) wedding ceremony. Instead, they “exchange photographs, also new-style poems (*shintaiishi*) pledging their mutual love, unbroken all their lives, and thus conclude a totally holy wedding ceremony”. However, as their purpose in marriage is not “unclean, carnal relations”, they live apart and thus have no opportunity to produce children. When asked about this by their respective parents, they reply that “producing children is not sacred”, an answer that startles not only their parents but society as well. Meanwhile the couple look at moving pictures together, exclaiming happily to each other “The way they stand, how holy! The way they sit, how holy! The way they walk, how holy! Holy! Holy! Truly holy!”. Presently, they drift apart, while still telephoning each other and declaring “Do you love me? I love you!”, although it appears that Mr. Pure is consorting with a geisha. The narrator ends the tale by announcing “Nothing could be as holy as this!” Such is their love, and if readers agree, then they can try it for themselves.

The story is much more humorous than my bald summary, with the word “*shinsei*” occurring in almost every sentence. The point is, even admitting the gross exaggeration for comic effect, how little understood such new-fangled notions of love as “sacred” or “holy” actually were.

An example of a more conventional treatment of a fictional relationship occurs in issue No. 4 of volume 5 published in February 1899. This story is an old fashioned comedy, more in the Tokugawa tradition of *ninjōbon* or *kokkeibon* (witty stories) than the new fiction of the modern era. The story is entitled “*Medetai Shinjū*” (A Suicide Felicitous Indeed!) and is written by Kōdō Tokuchi (1843-1913), who did not take up the pen until the age of 46. Once embarked upon his new career, Kōdō was an unqualified success, basically concentrating on Tokugawa-style comic fiction but also chancing his hand at drama. The story is about the foolish infatuation of an old man with a young geisha who eventually has to fake a suicide to bring him to his senses. However, the comedy is gentle and the portrait of two protagonists is affectionate. No serious attempt is made to discuss the nature of love but that such a tale could still attract a readership at this point in time (and *Taiyō* regularly carried fiction of this kind) reminds us of the reality of the demi-monde and the expectations and interests of the Meiji audience.

Sassa Namiko wrote a long study in two halves in 1899 which dealt, in part, with love. The

first article, entitled “Danjo Kōsai no Koto” (Social Intercourse Between Men and Women) was published in issue number 5 (March), and the second in issue number 6. Sassa begins by stating that relations between men and women must be built upon a “noble love” (*kōshōna aijō*), a superficial relationship of mutual affection (*horeatteiru*) is not sufficient as the male-female relationship is the foundation of the state. She challenges the feudal notion of “Honouring men and despising women”, although, she notes, she has no intention of championing the reverse. Indeed, if these feudal attitudes persist, then it would be a matter of national shame. Sassa’s points are implied rather than stated but it is clear she is arguing the case for equal rights, and a relationship between men and women based on mutual respect. Overall, her emphasis is on opening the problem for general discussion.

Sassa’s article prompted a strongly negative reply titled “Danjo Kōsai no koto wo Yomu” (Reading ‘Social Intercourse Between Men and Women’) from Tachibana Nagase, published in issue number 9 in April that year. The prime objects of Tachibana’s attack were Sassa’s recommendations for schools to increase activities involving both sexes, for single-sex schools to encourage co-educational programs (if only between girls’ schools and boys’ schools) and for the community to encourage joint activities between the sexes. Tachibana writes: “In the present climate these recommendations cannot be carried out. Actually they could easily be carried out but, if they were, then vice will multiply, and our society will descend into pandemonium.” This is only the beginning. Tachibana declares, if Sassa’s ideas are accepted, then Japan will turn into a brothel, the Japanese will become barbarians. Sassa’s ideas derive from Christian sources but Jehovah’s morality is not for Japan. Social intercourse between the sexes can never be pure; emphasizing platonic love is evil. To shamelessly acclaim holy love (*rabu shinsei*) is laughable.

Tachibana’s gross overreaction emphasizes once more how outlandish some of the Meiji reformers’ ideas concerning love, marriage and social intercourse appeared to many Japanese. Sassa is hardly a sexual revolutionary; indeed, her suggestions for reform are gentle in the extreme. A mass-market journal such as *Taiyō* was required to cater for a wide variety of readers, so Tachibana may well represent a conservative extreme. But as Sassa’s next article demonstrates, the social reality of 1899 was still fundamentally conservative.

Sassa wrote a third article, like the first two, published in the domestic affairs (*katei dansō*) section of the magazine, which was included in issue number 21 (September). The article is titled “Fūfu no koto” (Husband and Wife) and is a discussion of five types of relationships found among contemporary married couples, thus it can be seen as a continuation of the first two articles. The five types are: oriental-style arranged marriages (*miai*) where love is not a prerequisite although the participants choose each other; free marriages imported from the West based on mutual love and respect (*o tagai ni aishi uyamai*); another type of oriental arranged marriage but with everything decided by the parents; living together without a formal marriage ceremony (usually on the basis of mutual infatuation); and finally, keeping a mistress, usually a geisha or servant. From Sassa’s description of the reality prevailing at the time, the gap between the ideal of romantic love championed by Meiji reformers like Tōkoku and Iwamoto, and the actual situation, is starkly apparent.

None of the few brief articles or stories that deal with the theme of love in 1900 focus on romantic love. Clearly this was a barren year for the purposes of our inquiry.

Romantic Love in *Taiyō* 1901-1905

The first mention of love in *Taiyō* for the year 1901 (volume 7) occurs in issue number 4. Takeshima Hagoromo (1872-1967) was a distinguished *tanka* and free verse (*shi*) poet, as well as a renowned educator and literary scholar. His poem “Koi no Otome” (The Maiden Called “Love”) gives us a fascinating insight into the Meiji notion of romance, here presented in allegorical form in the verse-tale of the maiden called “Love”. Takeshima’s poem, which I translate in full, is written in the ‘new-style’ (*shintai*) but with a regular 7/5 metre.

Spring breezes blow, grasses bud,
 In the forest glade, beside a bubbling spring,
 Tossing her black locks,
 The maiden called “Love” was standing.

By the by, there passed beside her,
 A comely knight on horseback,
 In a gallant voice he called,
 “Come hither oh maiden to me.”

The maiden silently shook her head,
 Displeased, the knight took his leave.
 Ah unstained love,
 No brave warrior would she have.

Next to come by was,
 A minstrel delicate of frame.
 His cool, black eyes,
 Shining like lacquer.

The birds blushed in their nests,
 At his sweet-throated,
 Singing, his voice eloquently calling,
 “Come hither oh maiden to me.”

The maiden silently shook her head,
 Displeased, he took his leave.
 Ah sacred love,
 No rare music would she have.

Next to be seen with flowing sidelocks was,
 A Confucian scholar, hair whiter than snow.
 His brow so lofty,
 Countless talents must he possess.

With bright, piercing eye,
 No soft words had he.
 Solemn of mien, stern of voice.
 "Come hither oh maiden to me."

The maiden silently shook her head,
 Displeased, he took his leave.
 Ah piteous love,
 No deep learning would she have.

The next to be seen was,
 A courtier exalted in the world,
 A crown bedecked with jewel,
 So his nobility did glitter.

His horse-drawn carriage,
 Guarded by brave samurai.
 Beckoning to her, he called,
 "Come hither oh maiden to me."

The maiden silently shook her head,
 Displeased, he took his leave.
 Oh noble love,
 No great rank would she have.

Now then, after, there came on foot,
 A merchant as rich as Croesus,
 On his chest laden with gold
 A large purse could be seen.

Silver and gold all jumbled
 Offering a handful of treasure,
 Calling in his gilded voice,
 "Come hither oh maiden to me."

The maiden silently shook her head,
 Displeased, he took his leave.
 Alas, lofty love,
 No vast wealth would she have.

Spring breezes so fragrant, flowers blossoming
 Accompanied by the lute of the bubbling spring.
 Unawares in the wooded glade,
 There came a man called "Love".

His eyes overflowing with emotion,
 Sincerity o'erspilling his heart,
 He gently whispered,
 "Come hither oh maiden to me."

The maiden smiling, nodded.
 Breast embraced breast,
 Ah true love
 Only true love would she have.

Takeshima's poem allegorizes love in the manner of a medieval lay but with distinctively Japanese features. The romantic idealization of love seen here echoes the romantic poet Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943)'s rhetorical strategies in his first book of poetry *Wakana Shū* (Young Greens, 1897) but with the difference that Takeshima deliberately chooses a European narrative structure. Thus, Takeshima's poem of love is more exotic than Tōson's as it clearly evokes a European model of romantic love.

In issue number 9, published in August that year, another romantic poem made an appearance. The poem is entitled "Koigusa" (Love Grasses) and is by Shioi Ukō (1869-1913), a well-known free verse poet and educator who collaborated with Takeshima on a joint volume of verse in 1896. Both writers were active in a poetry movement that espoused an archaic, elegant style. I will translate one or two verses from the poem which is written (similar to Takeshima's) in a 7/5 metre.

What I love about you
 Is not your figure, not your face.
 Though your face the face of one so fragrant
 Is so lovely in colour,
 Though your figure the figure of one so noble
 Looks like a heavenly princess

What I love about you,
 Is your heart! Your heart!
 Your heart the heart of one so pure,
 I know to be the truth of heaven.
 Your heart the heart of one so gentle,
 I know to be true in feeling.

The Western romantic trope of true love, the love of the heart, permeates this poem. In a way, that two poems so resembling each other in their attachment to romance could be published in the same journal so close together in time, testifies to how deeply-rooted the poetic conceit of true love had become by this juncture.

The next series of short comments on ren'ai all come from the pen of Takayama Chogyū in the literary reviews column he edited for *Taiyō*. But before considering these comments, I will take a brief look at the major philosophical work produced by Chogyū in *Taiyō* in 1901. The eminent

intellectual historian H. D. Harootunian argues that Chogyū's most important work by far was his "Biteki Seikatsu wo Ronzu" (On the Aesthetic Life), published in *Taiyō* in August 1901 (issue number 9), more or less contemporaneously with the columns I will later discuss. In this essay, Chogyū declared his belief that the aesthetic life was superior to other forms of human activity. The essay exalts individualism, the private space over the public space, and so, asserts Harootunian, had a major effect on the future course of Japanese intellectual history (Harootunian, 1974: 144-54).

The only part of "Biteki Seikatsu wo Ronzu" that treats ren'ai is chapter (or part) 6: "Biteki Seikatsu no Jirei" (Examples of the Aesthetic Life). Chogyū declares: "Romantic love is the most beautiful aspect of the aesthetic life. In this life filled with sorrow, how happy are young men and women who are in love with one another (sōaishi), holding hands, whispering sweet nothings in each other's ears, in the shade of the hedge fragrant with roses, on the beach in the bright moonlight!... People will die out of envy for this foolishness! [of love]... People will sacrifice one hundred years of life for one day of passion (jō)... From the perspective of Confucian doctors, romantic love is but a delusion of youth. Yet will not someone who wakes from this delusion regret it forever?" Here Chogyū extolls the heady excitement of romantic love in quite poetic terms. In other parts of the essay, Chogyū takes pains to stress the primacy of the instincts so, we can surmise, the sexual instinct (which grants the freedom of love to the individual) is not far from his thoughts. However, as we shall see with some other comments in the column he edited, Chogyū is nothing if not iconoclastic.

In "Iwayuru Ren'ai Bungaku" (So-called Romantic Literature), published in issue number 12 in October 1901, Chogyū castigates literature on love. "It is nothing short of deplorable", he thunders, "that this kind of writing exercises such influence over the youth of today." It may well be that what Chogyū is protesting so vigorously about is literature that *purports* to be written on the theme of romantic love rather than actually being so.

Chogyū's meaning may be grasped more easily if we examine the very next item in his column titled "Ware ni Koiseru Onna Ari to se yo" (A Girl in Love with Me). This is the title of a story in a popular magazine about a love-sick girl infatuated with the narrator. So infatuated that her mother comes to beg the boy to marry her. Chogyū notes that his readers will probably have burst into laughter by now. He asks: "Can this be called literature?" If so, the country has gone to rack and ruin. Presumably what offends him most about the story is the total lack of realism. And, if this is the case, then we have more proof that practice in respect to romance did not match literary rhetoric.

In the next issue of *Taiyō* (Vol. 7, No. 14), published in November 1901, Chogyū lets fly about love once again. After some critical comments about makeup and it is noteworthy that much of the imagery employed by Chogyū in this item is lifted straight from the Bible — Chogyū feels that women are better off without much makeup — Chogyū has an item provocatively titled "Seiyoku" (sexual desire). In fact, this is the first of three such pieces on sexual desire in this column. Chogyū states firstly that nothing is as beautiful as the expression "sexual desire". He goes on to argue that it is entirely natural and vital for humanity: "Without sexual desire, what value does life have?" Within sexual desire is contained "poetry", "love" (ai) and "beauty".

Chogyū's view of love is plain to see. The explicit linking of love or romantic love and sex is not something that we find in Tōkoku or Iwamoto. In this respect, Chogyū is definitely more

radical in his views. He, more than the other major writers on ren'ai in *Taiyō*, is throwing out a clear challenge to orthodox Confucian morality.

After Chogyū's outpourings on the topic, not until volume 10, that is until 1904, do we find any significant mention of love. In issue number 5 of volume 10 published in April 1904, Anesaki Masaharu (1873-1940), the famous scholar of religion who had succeeded Chogyū as literary reviews editor in *Taiyō*, wrote a long, scholarly article entitled "Eikyū no Josei — Josei ni Taisuru Jukyō to Kirisutokyō" (The Eternal Feminine — Confucianism and Christianity on Women). The chief purpose of Anesaki is not to investigate love but morality. However, he makes some interesting points in passing on love. Christianity teaches that marital love is sacred therefore a wife's love (ai) is reserved for her husband. But even if, as in Christian tradition, Mary (the mother of Jesus) had a husband, her love manifests itself for all humankind in the idealized notion of the "eternal feminine". Moreover, this love is a pure (seijō) love, quite separate from selfish or carnal desires. One consequence of this is that women conceived of as lovers (koibito) or as objects of love (aisubeki fujin) do not possess an exalted status in either Buddhism or Christianity.

The only other significant item dealing with love in 1904 is the novelette "Fūfu" (A Married Couple) by the distinguished novelist, (often considered as one of the leading lights of the Romantic movement,) Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), which was included in issue number 10 published in July that year. "Fūfu" is the story of how romantic passion fades and changes to something else, less passionate perhaps, but more lasting. As the husband says to himself: "Even if you marry immediately after falling in love, it is normal for love (koi) not to last. How can we who married, falling in love with love, seven years ago, continue to maintain our past love in the present?... It is only natural that we awaken from our youthful dreams with the passing of the years; just like the time when the burning flame of love (koi) fades and is extinguished. No doubt this is sad but life is like this. Nothing can be done about it." Readers may be tempted to see something of Doppo's own experience in these remarks. Doppo remarried in 1898 after a painful divorce some two years earlier. Although, by this time, he had achieved worldly fame as a writer and war correspondent, it may be that he was not as lucky in love.

In 1905 Japan was engaged in the Russo-Japanese War and, as may be expected, love did not loom large as a theme in the pages of *Taiyō* that year. The only fugitive mention of ren'ai that I could find was a riposte to a complaint that female college students were being corrupted by novels of romantic love. The brief riposte occurred in the literary reviews section of issue number 10 published in July that year. The sarcastic response of the reviews editor is, well then, let's ban married couples from taking a stroll or let's ban marriage altogether. This will presumably put an end to all immorality. This may be an indication of the pressure to censor frivolous or light writing as the fighting grew more intense.

Conclusion

It comes as no surprise to see that in the pages of *Taiyō* the issue of romantic love attracted most attention in the years from 1895 to 1897. These were the years immediately following the publication of Tōkoku's "Ensei Shika to Josei" and the launching of *Jogaku Zasshi* which was virtually devoted to the problem of romantic love. However, after that period there is a clear falling-away of interest in the topic. In fact, relatively little space was given to the topic

throughout the whole period under investigation, if the total number of pages in each issue, and the large number of issues published each year, is taken into consideration. The reason for this was undoubtedly the nature of a general interest, mass-market journal such as *Taiyō*. No real space could be given to problems which only engaged the interest of the intelligentsia, and perhaps only a small portion of the intelligentsia at that. The chief purpose of the publisher Hakubunkan was in selling as many issues as possible, and articles on topics of interest to small minorities would not bring about this result.

Nevertheless it is worth noticing that several of the creative writers whose essays on love were printed, like Takayama Chogyū for instance, had connections with the publisher. So it may well have been commercial pressures that were behind the decision to allow writers from the Hakubunkan stable to pursue their interest in *ren'ai* in print.

The views expressed in *Taiyō* were many and various and I can discern no particular editorial policy on the issue. Again, given the magazine's mass readership, that it should try to represent opinions from all over the political spectrum comes as no surprise. If there is a bias, then it comes from the fact that creative writers were relatively liberal in their views, and that the young educated intelligentsia who commented on social issues in *Taiyō* were also somewhat in the vanguard. Similarly, the various literary editors were not averse to taking the stick to any views that smacked of censorship or old-fashioned, fuddy-duddy notions of romance being immoral. But in the broad spectrum of opinion represented in the journal we can easily find evidence that the general public was still fairly conservative, at least in respect of the actual practice of marriage and courtship.

The stress on *eros* that Takayama Chogyū introduced may be viewed as his unique contribution to the debate. And a contribution that begged to be made given the conspicuous absence of *eros* from the writings of Tōkoku and Iwamoto on love. Nevertheless, it is notable that no major theoretical contribution to the issue of romantic love was published in *Taiyō* over the period under investigation (with the possible exceptions of the articles by Kyōka and Iwamoto), and again, the reason for this would appear to lie in the demands inevitably imposed upon a mass-market publication not to rock the boat by publicizing opinions that were far in advance of its readers.

However, one conclusion can be drawn. The ideas on romantic love expounded by leading theoreticians like Tōkoku, Iwamoto and later, Chogyū, were given a substantial airing in the pages of *Taiyō*. Indeed, on the whole, we may conclude, a fairly sympathetic airing. In that respect, a mass-market journal like *Taiyō* can be said to have played a major role in disseminating widely what were in some cases quite radical notions which otherwise would have been confined to the pages of small magazines whose readership was restricted to a tiny portion of the intelligentsia. Thus, *Taiyō* performed a major service to society as an opinion maker and not merely as just a journal of record. There is absolutely no doubt that the new conception of romantic love developed in the 1890's by intellectuals like Tōkoku would certainly not have infiltrated the consciousness of the general public to the extent that it did without the existence of journals such as *Taiyō*.

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1895年から1905年までの雑誌『太陽』にみる恋愛観

リース・モートン

要旨：世紀末の日本における近代的感受性の発達上に大切な要素として、恋愛という概念を認める動きがさかんになってきている。本論は、1895年から1905年までの間の総合雑誌『太陽』にみられる恋愛観の発達、理解を調査したものである。本論は、日文研の鈴木貞美助教授の指揮のもとに雑誌『太陽』を多分野にわたって検討する共同研究の一環である。ここでは、文化、とくに歴史上「愛」などという概念が形となって現れる現象様式としての文芸に焦点を当てている。『太陽』のような総合雑誌を実証的に調査することによって、文化・文芸史を書き換えるための基礎を固め、ヨーロッパと日本の思想様式の文化比較のための地盤づくりをする。