

The Reception and Translation of Wordsworth in Japan

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**Abstract:** In her paper, "The Reception and Translation of Wordsworth in Japan," Waka Ishikura explores the cultural dynamics involved in the understanding of Wordsworth in Japan since the late nineteenth century by examining the ways in which the Japanese encountered him in a broader historical context and the ways in which the development of language modernization in Japan affected the processes of reception and translation. Ishikura's investigation of the topic leads not only to an elucidation of the fate of the English poet in Japan but also to new insights into the ways in which literary or semiotic relations have influenced the intelligibility of the "other." Ishikura's paper includes a discussion of the extent to which the political climate affected the reception of Wordsworth, the relation between the translation of Wordsworth and the problems of Japanese poetic language in the age of Japanese language development, and the ways in which the development of modern education and English language studies in Japan influenced the study of English literature.

## Waka ISHIKURA

### The Reception and Translation of Wordsworth in Japan

Few scholars in the English-speaking world considered the reception of Wordsworth by the Japanese reading public -- that is, in a country in the Far East where the native language, Japanese, has been deeply imbued with Chinese literary traditions, and the use of English or of any other European languages has arrived relatively late. From the mid-nineteenth century, Japanese people became eager to import European social systems and modern technology of many kinds and after a while English began to be taught in the public education system. In the late-nineteenth century Wordsworth was discovered by the Japanese reading public, and since then "Wordsworth" has been remembered as one of the names of the great European poets. In the case of the reception of Wordsworth in Japan, we need of course to consider in what form Wordsworth was first accepted. This is, however, not sufficient to delineate the complexity of the process of reception. Thus, I propose that the best approach to study the reception of Wordsworth would be systems-oriented theoretical frameworks and methodologies such as Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory. With the polysystem framework we are able to understand the processes of Wordsworth's reception as an interrelated semiotic system that generates such a complex literary and social phenomenon. The development of Japanese translation and a Japanese readership, the foundation of modern educational systems, and the Japanese language itself -- all involve dynamics by which the name "Wordsworth" has transformed its meanings and values. Considering the social or philosophical values of Wordsworth in the context of modern Japan may lead us to explore the relation between the way in which the Japanese readership encountered him in a broader historical context and the way in which the Japanese language developed with the movement towards colloquialism in the written language. In consequence, the theoretical background of my study rests on Even-Zohar's polysystem framework.

One of the most important factors in fermenting this relation was indeed the act of translating. Generally speaking, translations are made possible when the act of translating a text is believed to be meaningful in the cultural and social context of the target language. The products of the act of translating, on the other hand, reflect cultural, social, and historical conditions in the society of the target language. Following Even-Zohar, I argue that in terms of the literary polysystem the act of translating played a central role in the production of innovative forces. This is also true of Japanese translations of European literature. It was a tool for reducing the huge cultural and industrial gaps between European nations and Japan, which was then a developing country. Works translated into Japanese were vehicles through which new literary expressions were introduced and through these textual dimensions there emerged a new Japanese by means of which every European idea favored by the Japanese might be interpreted. The period when Wordsworth first appeared before the Japanese reading public was thus a less politically-mature age in which conflicting literary dimensions of many sorts were about to enter a period of transformation. In the strong trend towards Europeanization, educated Japanese people, in favor of sustaining the basic principles of the state, proceeded with the language modernization which involved internationalizing everything that was discovered through foreign political or cultural influences. In this kind of literary climate in Japan, semiotic transfers, or various trans-literary phenomena, often involve a process of identity-construction, from which the case of Wordsworth was not excluded. From the 1880s onwards, translations of Wordsworth into Japanese in general highlight the way in which the act of translation occurred as an act of possessing the other, and so that the translated works were gradually absorbed into the literature of the target language, becoming a peripheral part of it. Factors affecting the process of translating Wordsworth included the changes occurring in the Japanese language over several decades and the problem of modern poetic form in Japanese, while the educational systems in Japan including those of English teaching may well have influenced the way in which Japanese translations of Wordsworth were likely to be read and assessed.

In my study, I aim to show selected aspects of Wordsworth's reception in modern Japanese society from the late-nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. First, I outline the

literary conditions of the age when Wordsworth was first introduced to Japan, followed by an explanation of the development of modern Japanese during this period. Evaluating and translating Wordsworth involved political concerns and problems of literary form and style in Japanese, while English language teaching made use of English literary works including those of Wordsworth. Through an examination of these points, Wordsworth is delineated in the context of a developing country in Asia whose people once considered him a prophet of nature with a voice reaching beyond civilization. In time, however, Wordsworth's work has become to be confined within a narrow circle of readers, such as those in English-related university departments. After establishing trade relations with European countries in the middle of the nineteenth century, Japanese people came to accept European ideas and cultures. With the opening of commerce and the subsequent *Ousei fukko* (Restoration) in 1868, various modern European works of science and literature began to be introduced. The influential force in propagating European ideas in the Meiji period (1868-1912) were young Japanese scholars educated in European philosophy: in addition to their academic work, many of these scholars became bureaucrats in the new government, helping to sustain the governmental policy of *bunmei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment), and becoming leaders of opinion in many fields. It is noteworthy that the first attempt at translating English poems into Japanese was conducted by three of young scholars who later became professors at the newly established national university in Tokyo: Toyama Masakazu, Yatabe Ryokichi, and Inoue Tetsujiro. *Shintai Shishio* (The Poems of the New Style), published in 1882, was a volume containing their translations and their poems in a similar style. The volume contains translations of some parts of Shakespeare's dramas and short poems by English authors, as follows: Robert Bloomfield's "The Soldier's Home," Thomas Campbell's "Ye Mariners of England: A Naval Ode," Alfred Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade," Thomas Gray's "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard," Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "A Psalm of Life," Alfred Tennyson's "The Captain," Charles Kingsley's "The Three Fishers," Charles d'Orleans's (1391-1465) "Sur le Printemps," which is the only one that was not originally in English, and H. W. Longfellow's "Children" (Yano 364). According to the editors, the aim of this volume was not to give an overview of English poetry or the English poetic tradition, but to show how the Japanese language could produce a new style of poetry mainly through the translation of English poems. It seems that the selection of the works was a secondary concern, while the enterprising experimentation in search of a new form of poetic expression was central. Not all of these translations can be considered successful, but it has been recognized that some were influential among subsequent generations; for example, Yatabe's translation of Thomas Gray's "Elegy," in particular, contributed much to the understanding of English poetry in general.

Those who accepted the change in society and the political system might well have considered European thought and literature showing the essence of the Western cultures and beliefs to be a means by which Japanese people could learn something about either utilitarian or humanistic values. The cultural ascendancy of the governmental leaders was in many respects evident, as shown in the publication of *Shintai Shishio* and the subsequent foundation of the Imperial University in 1886, while the democratic groups and Christian people became active in opposition to this ascendancy. One of the powerful democratic groups was Minyu-sha, a social-democratic group as well as a publishing company, the Nation's Friend Publishing Co., whose central figure was Tokutomi Soho (1863-1957). Soho was educated at Doshisha, a Christian school in Kyoto, the predecessor of the present Doshisha University, and became active in publishing the weekly magazine, *Kokuminn no Tomo* (The Nation's Friend), modeled on E.L. Godkin's *The Nation* (Doshisha University 15-59) and the newspaper *Kokuminn Shinbun* (The Nation). These papers were said to be free from party affiliation, having the broader aim of propagating ideals of liberty, equality, and peace, in order to civilize the people, especially those of the land-owning class and the growing number of manufacturers, as they were considered the kernel of social development, in order to advance the movement of enlightenment. Minyu-sha called their philosophical principle *heimin shyugi* (literally, "common people-ism"), and this principle supported human rights and liberal education in order to push forward Europeanization in the middle class of the society (on this, see, e.g., Nishida 21-23). During the period from the 1880s to the 1890s, the poet, Wordsworth was

first introduced to the Japanese reading public. Many of the most influential works that advocated Wordsworth and his moral values derived from Minyu-sha's publications. The short essay written by Soho, titled "Shin Nihon no shijin" ("The Poet of the New Japan") was published in 1888. This essay contains some of the earliest references to Wordsworth in Japanese literature. Soho proclaims: "There has not yet been a poet in Japan ... who is a true poet that is a poet in the most sublime sense, singing out of the truth and the grandeur ... and the joy overflowing among the people ... such as Wordsworth clearly remarked" (Tokutomi 179-80; unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine). He evokes the advent of the true poet -- according to him, one who ranks with Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Goethe, Dante, and Wordsworth -- singing of the new age of Japan. He expresses a negative attitude towards *Shintai Shishou*, published by the governmental elite, saying that Japanese people have not yet had any poetic style appropriate to the new age due to their lack of a philosophy of poetry corresponding to the beauty of the universe. Soho's idea of the poet was however not an original one and it has been pointed out that Soho draws heavily on R.W. Emerson and Matthew Arnold when he talks about the ideals of the poet (on this, see Doshisha University 267-86). When Soho says that the poet should be one who absorbs the beauty of the universe and then distributes it to his brethren, we can detect a vein of thought resembling that in Emerson's "The Poet": "The poet is the sayer, the namer and represents beauty," Emerson writes, and "He [the poet] stands among partial men for the complete man, and apprises us not of his wealth but of the commonwealth" (Emerson 263, 264). Soho also refers to Arnold's famous dictum that "poetry is at bottom a criticism of life" (105), which suggests that he may have read Arnold's preface to Wordsworth and have been influenced by Arnold's view of Wordsworth. Yet Soho does not quote a single line of the poets he mentions and his main purpose in the essay was, it seems, only to encourage a poetic spirit suitable to the new age. Although the readers were not informed in Soho's text about any of Wordsworth's works, his name may have left a strong impression that the poet was of importance for the age.

Minyu-sha published a critical biography of Wordsworth written by Miyazaki Yasokichi in 1893, which was one of the series, "The Twelve Great Men of Letters," including Carlyle, Macaulay, Hugo, Goethe, and Tolstoy, along with Japanese and Chinese philosophers. While the main source of this book was F.W.H. Myers's *Wordsworth* published in 1878, this book is of importance in that it introduced the first time fully Wordsworth's life and thought to the Japanese readership. Studies of Wordsworth were also published by Christian missionaries as some ministers made use of English literature in order to promote the understanding of Christian thought. Masahisa Uemura, a Presbyterian minister, published the essay, "Shizenkai no yogensha Wordsworth" ("The Prophet of Nature, Wordsworth") in 1893 (135-57). Uemura put Wordsworth in the same context as Soho had done, considering him as representing a true poet of the age who could communicate with nature so as to appreciate its beauties and whose poetry exhibits deep moral concern. Distinctive characteristics of this essay are, first, its several quotations of original lines by Wordsworth, and secondly its consideration of studies about Wordsworth's work, including those of Arnold, of J.S. Mill in his *Autobiography*, and of John Morley. Uemura's approach to Wordsworth is rather meditative, treating him as a great philosopher whose medium of expression was poetry. Thus the Japanese reading public first encountered Wordsworth as a philosopher, although those who read his works in English were probably very few, and most readers enjoyed just having a secondary knowledge of his life and thought. In addition to introducing Wordsworth's life and philosophy, the first generation of readers of Wordsworth also began translating his works, especially his short lyrics (see Harada, especially 1-20). The most important characteristics of these translations are a mixture of word-by-word translations with paraphrases and rather arbitrary choices of the works; the preference of the use of old-modern Japanese weighted with Sino-Japanese (Chinese) vocabulary; and old ways of using Japanese postpositional articles. Although these translations were not always precisely faithful to the originals, these were the products of the most enthusiastic age of reading Wordsworth, and the translated works as Japanese texts often have strong poetic qualities.

One of the outstanding translations of Wordsworth in the first generation appeared in Doppo Kunikida's short novel entitled *Koharu* (literally, Little Spring, or Indian Summer), published in 1900. Like other young Japanese intellectuals of the period, Kunikida (1871-1908), famous as an

author of short novels, was educated in the atmosphere of the revolutionary days following the Meiji Restoration, and then witnessed a growing nationalism in Japan's attitude towards Asian and European countries. He was educated at Tokyo Senmon Gakko, the predecessor of the present Waseda University, where he was mentored by Uemura. After teaching English and Mathematics in the Kyushu region, he began working for Minyu-sha, first as a war correspondent in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. Kunikida was a self-appointed Wordsworthian, owned two copies of Wordsworth's poems: the volume *Collected Poems of Wordsworth* edited by John Morley in 1888 and Matthew Arnold's edition of 1879. In his works we can see Wordsworth's influence: Kunikida's choice of characters and motif in portraying the destitute and his adaptation of the narrative style of the frame story, as in "Michael" or in "Lucy Gray." As for English editions, *River Mist and Other Stories*, translated by David G. Chibbett, is perhaps the only collected edition. This volume, however, fails to include many of his important works, and to my knowledge, there is no English translation of *Koharu*. In the case of *Koharu*, Kunikida uses Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey," translating more than half of its lines into a Japanese prose form similar to that of transliterated classical Chinese, and using it as a frame for the story to introduce the narrator's contemplation on himself. In this short novel, Kunikida also adopts a time structure similar to that of "Tintern Abbey," and the relation between what the narrator describes and the themes of "Tintern Abbey" makes an interesting focus. In the case of "Tintern Abbey," the past is the occasion when the speaker visited the place five years earlier and the present is the occasion when the speaker proclaims, "the day is come when I again repose / here, under this dark sycamore" (*Poetical Works* 163). In *Koharu*, the past is the period when the narrator read Wordsworth's poems every day, while the present is a time when the power of each of Wordsworth's lines to move his heart no longer existed. The narrator explains: "I, who once shed tears for the ill fortune of Luke when reading 'Michael,' was, before I realized it, solicited by the same charm of worldly society as in Luke's case" (Kunikida, *Musashino* 179). The narrator, as if wishing to regain Wordsworth's vision, then quotes the lines translated into Japanese. To this narrator the Wordsworthian joy of having a spiritual unity with nature replaces the happiness brought by reading Wordsworth, which taught him how to see the essential beauty of nature through the perception of natural scenery. Although Kunikida's translation of "Tintern Abbey" did not create any new poetic form for Japanese poetry, his method of including the poem in the short story was unique in that the narrative time structure of the poem itself functions as the meta-narrative structure of the story. It seems safe to say that Kunikida commanded an excellent comprehension of Wordsworth's lines and that his prose translation of Wordsworth was successful in its expression of sublimity. The narrator in "Koharu" laments, "It was not I who abandoned Wordsworth: it was Wordsworth who abandoned me" (Kunikida, *Musashino* 180). It sounds as if Wordsworthian ideals are unshakeable and have the power to expel those who are no longer absorbed in them. What the narrator thus confesses somehow reflects the social change of the period and his involvement in it: the democratic enlightenment movement, for which the name of Wordsworth could act as a spiritual token, was transformed into a nationalistic movement which was becoming dominant through the approaching period of war against Russia. *Kokumi-no tomo* (The Nation's Friend) ceased to be published in 1898 and its editor Soho became a nationalist who supported the war. In the early Meiji period, while the movement of civilization and enlightenment developed, Wordsworth's "leveling muse" (Hazlitt 139) was probably pertinent to democratic ideals; however, the gradually increasing prevalence of a nationalistic mood somehow halted the deepening understanding of Wordsworth together with its cultural and social contexts. Instead, Wordsworth's poems, especially his short lyrics, while being continually translated one by one, had become alienated from any actual political context of the age.

Generally speaking, especially when Japan opened its doors to foreign cultures/countries, Japanese was a mixed or a kind of hybrid language whose modes of discourse were varied and unstable (see Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity* 2-3). The Japanese could use several of these modes of discourse according to given situations and/or contexts. This composite use of language varied in the mood of its discourse according to the degree to which Sino-Japanese (Chinese) vocabulary and wording were adapted to Japanese grammatical structures. Given the interest in Europeanization, the Japanese language needed to be more effective in expressing European ideas and more

efficient as the medium through which the new systems of expressions of society could function. Many Japanese idioms made up of Sino-Japanese characters had strong implications of traditional values and ethics, while new Japanese idioms made up of pairs of Sino-Japanese characters standing for new concepts were coined one after another, for example such as *shakai* (society), *kojin* (individual), *yubin* (postal system), *kenpou* (constitution), *jiyu* (freedom), *shinbun* (newspaper), and many other idioms essential to describe the modern system of a nation. Partly in search of a new standard system of writing and partly discouraged by the complex and rather confusing state of the written language, some of the educated people in the Meiji period suggested completely abolishing Sino-Japanese characters or advocated the use of *Roma-ji* (literally, Roman letters), which is a system of writing Japanese sounds entirely in Roman script, and two of the authors of *Shintai Shishiou*, Toyama Masakazu and Yatabe Ryokichi, also supported the use of *Roma-ji*. Thus, changes in written Japanese occurred gradually.

Both in the process of translation and in the reception of translated works, changes occurring in the target language are of great importance. For our understanding of Wordsworth's reception in Japan, considering what had happened to Japanese in terms of textuality will help to clarify the literary circumstances. Here it may be useful to give a historical outline of the gradual change in written Japanese by tracing the shift from an older mode of the written language to a new one. In the early Meiji period, written Japanese was somewhat dominated by the frequent use of Sino-Japanese vocabulary; in this style of writing, the writing style of transliterated classical Chinese, which was read as Japanese, was often mixed with the old Japanese narrative style. The usage of postpositional particles which characterizes the texture of Japanese was usually of a traditional kind. This mode of writing could be called "old-modern" Japanese. The old style of written Japanese is generally called *bungo* (literary language) and was based on old Japanese (established in about the tenth century). What I call "the old-modern" Japanese is a mixed use of the writing styles of the old Japanese and transliterated classical Chinese. The other form of written Japanese is a Japanese developed mainly after the late Meiji period, around 1900, a modern form, whose establishment owed much to Japanese prose works including novels, historical documents, and journalism. In this modern form of Japanese, colloquialism had in many ways prevailed, and the use of Chinese vocabulary had been regulated and reduced, while the usage of postpositional particles had been assimilated to colloquial uses of the language. The colloquialism in this case involved the use of language alleged to be similar in sound to Japanese spoken language-use and vocabulary, but actually it involved creating a new written language demanding its own textual autonomy. As Naoki Sakai points out, it is possible that the shift in Japanese writing was brought about by the wish to build a nation state where people would have a national language by which an imaginary unity of the nation could be authenticated (see *Shizansareru Nihonngo* 166-210). The different styles of written Japanese, however, were actually used simultaneously for years. And in many cases the old-modern use of Japanese and the more modern one were not so clearly distinguished and the difference seems to have been a matter of degree, not of kind.

The later Meiji period, which, as mentioned previously, included the first generation of scholars and authors who introduced Wordsworth and translated his works, seems to have been a transitory one in terms of language development. Kunikida's prose translation of "Tintern Abbey" might be categorized into the old modern and other translations of short lyrics were in the same form of Japanese, often using the traditional sound pattern of poetry in Japanese. It is true, however, that especially after the turn of the century, the literary trend was obviously towards colloquialism. With the development of colloquialism, the act of translating European prose works could involve an enterprise of promoting new textual values and new literary contents, thus impacting to various degrees on Japanese. Yet, the poetic translations by these authors fell slightly behind the trend (see Suga 210-47). When the prominent prose authors began to write their works in the most polished modern Japanese at the turn of the century, the translations of European poems including those of Wordsworth were still made in rather old Japanese, that is, in the old-modern style. Meanwhile, the so-called unification of spoken and written language gradually became dominant and finally caused the textual quality of Japanese to change dramatically so as to produce the modern Japanese written language in currency today. Japanese translations of European poems

involved two contrary aspects: one was the creation of a new style of poetry and the other was the remolding of the old poetic terms. In terms of creating a new style of poetry, the most innovative aspect of these translations was their structural form, not specific language use per se: a new Japanese poetic form which expresses "lines" in Japanese. Poems translated into Japanese, which is traditionally written vertically, were seen/read in lines, although in many cases following the traditional Japanese sound pattern of poetry, 5, 7, 5 (the number of vowel sounds) or other conventional patterns. As many poetic concepts and terms derived from old Japanese were available to these translators, the early Japanese translations of Wordsworth were almost always made using these old poetic expressions. Descriptions of nature in his poems, if once translated, were likely to become familiar to Japanese readers: the translators often made use of the stock of poetic expressions from Japan's long tradition of poetry while being inventive in creating a new style of poetry.

The literary status of the old-Japanese mode of writing was sustained up until the end of World War II, when *Kyouiku chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education) was abolished. This educational rescript, which was issued in 1890, and the text of which all Japanese in education used to memorize until its abolition, was therefore influential in establishing the literary taste of formality. Many Japanese, before the end of World War II, treated *Kyouiku chokugo* with devotion; the rescript was written in the style in which the Emperor speaks to his subjects; the textual and content qualities promoted by the Educational rescript was a traditional one which could be traced back to the eighth century when *Nihon-Shoki* (The Chronicle of Japan), the first authorized record of the Japanese emperors, was written in classical Chinese. The Japanese thus first adopted the Chinese language as an official written language, and secondly, by making use of Chinese characters, developed two sets of characters, namely, *Kata-kana* and *Hira-gana* to form a national system of written language. The Chinese language was thus partly transplanted into the Japanese writing system; to put it another way, Japanese was developed from the internationalization of a foreign language. While the method of reading Chinese sentences with Japanese sounds was invented, the textuality of the transliterated classical Chinese had been retained its educational, or culturally elite status. The rescript was formally written in the style of transliterated classical Chinese, starting with the following: "Know ye, Our subjects: Our imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue" (trans. Department of Education in 1909; *Kyouiku chokugo* 41). When people were reciting it, it was pronounced as Japanese. The middle part of the rescript expresses a universal, or at least traditional, view of moral education: "Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true" (*Kyouiku chokugo* 41). When people were reciting it, it was pronounced as Japanese. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, for the general reading public in Japan, there has been a tendency not to discriminate/differentiate among European literatures, but, rather, to regard them as constituting a univocal *gaikoku bungaku* (outside countries' literature). This tendency to see a dichotomy in literature might be explained when we think of the history of the Japanese language: Japanese, which was developed partly through the internationalizing of Chinese characters and vocabulary, and which was therefore influenced by Chinese literary traditions, inevitably made the people keenly aware of the existence of the other; the sense of difference between "ours" and "the other" tended always to remain well defined. This idea of a dichotomy in literature seems to have been fundamental to the process of accepting European literatures. These literatures were likely to establish a unified code, the "other" of Japanese literature. Yet for most readers they were presented in Japanese, regardless of whether they were translated or adapted texts. It follows that possible conflicts with European ideas were likely to be neutralized, partly obscured by the huge gap between Western cultures and the culture of the Japanese and partly dismissed through Japanese translations in which the otherness expressed in the original languages was likely to be blurred or dissipated.

Next, I turn to educational aspects, as Wordsworth's poems were written in English, which led to their being studied in English classes. After the first generation of literary people who introduced Wordsworth, the second generation of readers might have had opportunities to read Wordsworth in some English-language courses or seminars on English literature. From the 1880s onwards, the old Japanese educational system, which was actually a modern one, but quite different from the

present one, had been established, and the number of Japanese who studied English, if not so large, had increased. Japanese universities founded departments of English, and the middle schools in the old system of education began teaching English for students, although in those days, the number of those who could receive higher education was less than 1 percent of the number of the young people of the same age. In the English textbooks of those days, quotations from English-language authors, including Wordsworth and other Romantics, were often used as example sentences for learning English grammar and syntax. The following are examples: an example of an adverbial clause: "If winter comes, can Spring be far behind," by Shelley: a declarative sentence, "The child is father of the man," by Wordsworth: and an example of the use of "none": "There is society, where none intrudes," by Byron (Kuno 3-4; Ichikawa 7). Literary texts thus had not only artistic but also educational value and the practice was established to use canonical literary texts as tools for nurturing younger minds searching for higher purposes. The Japanese in those days seem to have had a remarkable belief that English sentences written by prominent authors should always have some important content: emptiness of meaning was strongly denied. Literacy in European languages remained a sign of elite status for the Japanese probably until the age after World War II when the popularization of higher education became fully prevalent. As mentioned previously, in the early twentieth century Japanese scholars of English literature began to produce Japanese translations of Wordsworth. With the development of Japanese scholarship in the field of English studies, the translations had become sophisticated in terms of their fidelity to the meanings of the original texts and in terms of the quality of Japanese textuality. A notable feature of published translations was their accompanying textual notes on the poems: most of the translations were designed to be educational materials for English studies. Moreover, some of the volumes of Wordsworth did not have any translations, consisting of Wordsworth's original texts and notes on the content and specific words or phrases. From the early period of Wordsworth's reception, presenting original English sentences without translation was not uncommon. This way of presenting works in English or other European languages was sometimes extended to the whole of a short poem. In terms of textuality, this was partly due to the conscious foregrounding of the original text, implying its superiority to the traditional Japanese language. From the 1880s onwards, translations and criticism of Wordsworth had come out one after another, while especially after the Russo-Japanese war, with growing nationalism, controversies surrounding the exclusion of English teaching from Japanese education arose repeatedly. Especially after the Immigration Act of 1924, which excluded Japanese immigrants from the US, English was a likely target of attacks. The gradual maturing of scholarship in English literature was effectively harassed so as to limit its influence within a relatively small number of educated people.

A volume of Japanese translations of Wordsworth's poems, which was first published in Japan in 1938, is worthy of consideration. This volume is still not out of print, although most translations of Wordsworth's poems from before World War II have already become rare books. The translator, Tanabe Jyuji, was born in 1884, received his education at Tokyo Imperial University and became a scholar of English literature (he was also a mountaineer). The said volume contains 54 poems by Wordsworth, with more than half translated in the old-modern style of Japanese. All the "Lucy" poems except "Lucy Gray" were translated in the old-modern style, loosely adopting the traditional sound pattern of Japanese, and "Tintern Abbey" was in the same style, following the previous translations almost all of which made extensive use of Chinese vocabulary. Sonnets, such as "It is a Beautiful Evening, Calm and Free" and "The World is Too Much with Us," were in the old-modern style, probably because this poetic form usually requires stylistic formality. But as I noted earlier, the period up until the 1930s was one in which the Japanese language changed and developed into a colloquial one and the volume clearly reflects this fact, as it also contains poems translated into the modern Japanese, such as "Michael" and "Resolution and Independence." To me, the problem here is how far Japanese translations of European poems could be adapted to assist the development of poetic expression in modern Japanese. The history of modern Japanese poetry has two periods of development: one in the 1920s and the 1930s and the other in the 1950s and the 1960s. The former movement produced modern colloquial Japanese language of poetry and the latter, together with the student power and popular culture movements, brought about an increas-

ing popularization of modern Japanese poetry. The 1938 translation of Wordsworth was obviously influenced in certain ways by the first movement. From this point of view, "Michael" can be seen as an experiment in how far the newly developed colloquial written language is "adapted to the purposes of poetic pleasure" (Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads* 7). And, I think, as Robert Southey spoke of the *Lyrical Ballads*, "The 'experiment'," has failed (*Critical Review* 1798; qtd. in Jackson 54). Visually, this translation is made following the pattern of lines in the original, yet the individual translated lines do not seem to have any necessity in terms of expressing poetic qualities except that each line roughly follows the original one in terms of its meaning. This seems, therefore, like a prose translation arbitrarily divided into lines, showing that it was difficult to create a poetic form in modern Japanese without using traditional sound patterns. However, from an educational point of view, these translations into modern Japanese might have been used as a good textbook for learning English when students struggled to read Wordsworth's original texts. Published after various translations of Wordsworth, this volume gathered expressive techniques and understanding of Wordsworth's poems so as to be a reliable reference book.

The second poetic movement, which came after World War II, developed along with the process of the disappearance of the old-modern Japanese. Many translations of Wordsworth have been made, yet it is safe to say that the fruits of the new poetic movement were scarcely integrated into the linguistic stock of poetic expressions for translating European poems. The number of readers of translations of Wordsworth after World War II probably increased, yet this was mainly because of the increase in the number of students in English or related departments. While the age when people absorbed eagerly European cultures and literature into the Japanese literary tradition had gradually passed, the translations of European literatures had kept their literary status and the popularization of European literatures had until recently been widespread. But the fact remains that the poet who was once considered one of the most prominent European poets became a memory and he had become isolated from contemporary literary trends. At the same time, his works have often been used as educational materials, preventing them from affecting Japanese culture through any contagion of contemporary political or social controversies. The reception of Wordsworth in modern Japan may on the one hand exemplify the process of dissolving the European cultural pressures that were imposed on Japanese people when opening the country to the West. On the other hand, however, the voice of the poet somehow remains intact; the Japanese modes of language used for the translations of his works fell short of establishing a durable poetic style in Japanese and academic approaches to him seem to have left room for presenting him to the public as an independent author rather than as educational material only. This voice may not be the one that was heard a long time ago by the first generation of readers in Japan who became so enthusiastic about him. However, it perhaps contains congenial elements, teaching some "green" knowledge or insight into spiritual values. Buried in cultural layers of the development of the Japanese language, dissected into educational materials separated from actual political or social contexts, the poet is still to be discovered in Japan. The overall process of the reception of Wordsworth seems to have been one of the characteristic results of the cultural dynamics in modern Japan, especially of those involving an act of translation. In sum, we can see devoted enthusiasm and industrious study of foreign literature and thought among Japanese people, yet there also was a tendency to ignore their essence. The reason for this paradoxical situation may not be a tendency to exclude, but a concern with various semiotic problems peculiar to Japanese literary culture. Yet we can at least see the distinctive nature of the process of the reception of European literatures in Japanese culture: all seem to have been absorbed while few seem to have been deeply internalized.

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