

Mori Ōgai: Translation Transforming the Word / World

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At first glance, two large-scale works by Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862–1922) seem to make an odd contrastive pair. On the one hand, we have the gorgeous prose of *Sokkyō shijin* 卽興詩人, Ōgai’s adaptation of the novel by Hans Christian Andersen, *Improvisatoren* (The Impromptu Poet, 1835), beautifully cast in *gabun*-style Japanese replete with classical phrasing, lush diction, and entire passages in *sōrōbun*. On the other hand, there is Ōgai’s complete translation of *Faust*, the classic work by Goethe, transposed into a much more plain, unadorned, and sometimes highly colloquial Japanese. There would appear to be some sort of disconnect here, especially if one thinks of Ōgai as the stick-in-the-mud conservative he was reputed to be in terms of language policy. *Sokkyō shijin* was first published in its entirety in 1902, after nine years’ work (with one major interruption). *Fausuto* フェウスト was completed in early 1912, after only six months’ work, but with a year of revisions before its publication in 1913.

This article will approach *Sokkyō shijin* and *Fausuto* via a *third* type of work by Ōgai, namely his *kanshi* 漢詩, the 238 poems he wrote in Sino-Japanese.¹ They help highlight characteristics shared by the two works. Although lipservice has been paid to the view that Ōgai’s training in *kanbun* was crucial

1 The following abbreviations are used (see below in this note for further information): KS = *kanshi*; SS = *Sokkyō shijin*; FT = *Fausuto*; OZ = *Ōgai zenshū*; M.H. = Mary Howitt; H.D. = H. Denhardt; J.T.W. = John Timothy Wixted.

Ōgai’s *kanshi* are cited by poem- and line-number, and date of composition (e.g., “KS #65.2, 1883”), per the two-volume annotated edition by Kotajima Yōsuke 古田島洋介, *Kanshi* 漢詩, Vols. 12 and 13 in *Ōgai rekishi bungaku shū* 鷗外歴史文學集 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2000–2001), hereafter “KS.” There is also the annotated edition by Chén Shēngbǎo (= Chin Seiho, as cited below) 陳生保, *Mori Ōgai no kanshi* 森鷗外の漢詩 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1993), 2 vols., which contains most of the 232 poems treated in the former work. Both titles include translations into modern Japanese of all poems treated. Additionally, there are six *kanshi* ascribed (wholly — not jointly) to Ōgai among the translated poems in *Omokage* 於母影 (1889); see n. 69.

to his formation as a writer, there has been little specific treatment of how interrelated his corpus in Sino-Japanese is with his other writing.

Sokkyō shijin citations (e.g., “SS 64:573”) are to the chapter of the Ōgai translation (chapter numbers from 1 to 66 having been added), followed by the page number in Vol. 2 (pp. 209–583) of *Ōgai zenshū* 鷗外全集 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 38 vols. 1971–75; 1971), hereafter “SS,” the *zenshū* being referred to as “OZ.” The text of *Sokkyō shijin*, including *furigana*, is presented exactly as it appears in that volume (which reproduces the famous 13th edition of the work [1914], said to incorporate numerous corrections post-dating publication of the original 1902 edition and containing a special preface by Ōgai (printed in all editions since). But note the adjustments to the text listed on pp. 612–619, as well as the disquietingly incomplete list on p. 597 (concluded by an ‘etc.’, *nado* など) of *kanji* standardizations used in the volume. Romanization of citations follows the Kaizōsha 改造社 edition (pp. 3–183 of *Mori Ōgai shū* 森鷗外集 (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1927 [*Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* 現代日本文學全集, 3]), which supplies *furigana* for all *kanji* in the text (except as they appear in chapter-titles).

Fausuto citations (e.g., “FT #04857”) are to the standard line-numbers for the text (from #00001 to #12111) used by scholars and most translators, including Ōgai, as found in Vol. 12 of *Ōgai zenshū* (1972), hereafter “FT.” *Kanji* forms and *furigana* follow that text (which reproduces the 1913 edition, with the emendations noted on pp. 897–916).

In other words, *furigana* are reproduced here as they appear in early complete single-volume editions of *Sokkyō shijin* and *Fausuto* that had been reviewed by Ōgai. The aim is to reflect (A) the text as presented by the author to his early readership and (B) what directions or aids, if any, he supplied in terms of readings.

For annotated editions of *Sokkyō shijin* and *Fausuto* that supply many more *furigana* readings for both texts (and updated orthography and simplified versions of the *kanji*), the Chikuma Bunko ちくま文庫 volumes published by Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房 are to be recommended: *Sokkyō shijin* 即興詩人 and *Fausuto* フェウスト, Vols. 10 and 11 in *Mori Ōgai zenshū* 森鷗外全集 (14 vols., 1995–96), both with “Kaisetsu” 解説 by Tanaka Miyoko 田中美代子. They are convenient, inexpensive, well annotated (presumably by Tanaka), and nicely printed.

The following direct translations of *Improvisatoren* from the Danish — into English and German, respectively — are cited: “M.H.” = *The Improvisatore*, by Hans Christian Andersen, Translated from the Danish by Mary Howitt (London: R. Bentley, 1845; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, n.d. [1890]); pagination follows the latter edition. And “H.D.” = *Der Improvisator: Roman*, von H.C. Andersen, frei aus dem Dänischen übersetzt von H. Denhardt (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, n.d. [1876]). About the latter, as Olof G. Lidin notes (p. 234 in the article cited in full in n. 33): “In spite of what is said on the title page, this translation is neither *frei* nor free. A comparison with the Danish original shows that Denhardt followed the original as closely or even closer than all the other German translators. Deviations are rare; only a word is sometimes added, and for the better.” Lidin (p. 233) supplies the date for the otherwise unidentified year of publication of the Denhardt translation.

Rather, in reference to *Sokkyō shijin* and other of Ōgai's translations — especially his renderings of plays by Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), August Strindberg (1849–1912), and Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931) — attention has been paid to the relationship between Ōgai's translation activity and his more “creative” writing. As has been pointed out, translation served as one or more of the following vis-à-vis Ōgai's other literary interests: apprenticeship training, substitute undertaking, complementary activity, or even preferred mode of expression.²

Hans Christian Andersen's *Improvisatoren*, the basis for *Sokkyō shijin*, is a fairy-tale, a *Bildungsroman*, a picaresque novel, and a travelogue — all rolled into one. It takes place in Italy and is narrated from the point of view of the boy Antonio, who meets various types of women, comes of age, and succeeds in love and life; we are treated to scenes in Rome, Campagna, Naples, Vesuvius, Sicily, and elsewhere in Italy. Simply stated, Ōgai took a pleasant, enjoyable, readable work and turned it into a *tour de force* of language, written in a style that can only be called enchanting.

When trying to put one's finger on factors that make *Sokkyō shijin* so engaging, comparison with Ōgai's *kanshi* is instructive. In his early years, Ōgai had a predilection for more recondite, *recherché* expression.³ In composing a *kanshi* line, Ōgai would often choose a less common variant of a character, or a less common synonym, as illustrated by the following examples of what, by way of shorthand, one might call “elegant variation”:⁴

Translations of *Improvisatoren* into Japanese by Suzuki Tetsurō, Ōhata Suekichi, and others are cited in n. 33; two into French are also noted.

Concerning romanization in this article, *kanji* and *hiragana* are romanized in *italicized lower-case* script (e.g., 歸りぬ, *kaerinu*). Renderings of *katakana* terms, as well as of *kanji* read as *gairaigo*, are *ITALICIZED IN SMALL CAPS* (e.g., マケロニ, *MAKERONI*, and 伊太利, *ITARIA*). *Kanji* that have attached *hiragana* readings are romanized in *italicized lower-case bold* letters (e.g., 燒境, *yakigote*), whereas *kanji* that have attached *katakana* readings are rendered in *ITALICIZED SMALL-CAP BOLD* form (e.g., 議官, *SENATŌRE*). It is useful to distinguish between these features.

2 See Nagashima Yōichi 長島要一, *Mori Ōgai no hon'yaku bungaku: “Sokkyō shijin” kara “Perikan” made* 森鷗外の翻訳文学: 「即興詩人」から「ペリカン」まで (Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂, 1993); and idem, *Mori Ōgai: Bunka no hon'yakusha* 森鷗外: 文化の翻訳者 (Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2005); for additional references to Nagashima, see n. 33, 78, and 85 below.

3 This point is elaborated more fully in John Timothy Wixted, “The *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction,” *JH* 14 (forthcoming).

4 Many of the *kanji*, *katakana*, or other expressions referred to in this article appear more than

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|-------|---------|----------------|----|---------|------------------|
| 1. a. | 爍 for 秋 | KS #3.53, 1880 | d. | 劔 for 劍 | KS #191.2, 1915 |
| | b. | 亾 for 亡 | | e. | 窮 for 窮 |
| | | KS #65.2, 1883 | | | KS #151.15, 1891 |
| | c. | 醫 for 醫 | | | KS #146.3, 1891 |

Some examples of the same “elegant variation” are to be found *BOTH* in Ōgai’s *kanshi* and in *Sokkyō shijin*:

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|-------|---------|----------------|-----------------|
| 2. a. | 穉 for 稚 | KS #50.4, 1882 | SS 1:217 |
| | b. | 艸 for 草 | KS #84.1, 1884 |
| | | | SS 28:374 |
| | c. | 眦 for 眦 | KS #91.17, 1884 |
| | | | SS 64:573 |

Ōgai also uses what to even his contemporaries must have seemed rare or unusual *individual characters*. This is especially true in his early *kanshi*:

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|-------|----|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 3. a. | 繰 | <i>sō</i> | ‘to draw silk from cocoons’ | KS #47.2, 1882 |
| | b. | 晝 | ‘a splitting sound’ | KS #60.4, 1882 |
| | c. | 哈 | ‘to smile’ | KS #82.2, 1884 |
| | d. | 葦 | ‘brushwood’ | KS #202.2, 1915 |

There are less-common characters in *Sokkyō shijin*, as well:⁵

once in the text or corpus cited; only one specific instance is cited for each.

- 5 Citation in context follows below in this note. English- and German-language translations of the original Andersen text are reproduced for reader convenience, the Denhardt version being the one Ōgai based his translation on. The Howitt translation predates the Denhardt one and is given first, even though there is no evidence Ōgai ever used it. In fact, Shimada Kinji 島田謹二 (p. 1:266上) points to the retranscription in *Sokkyō shijin* (in *katakana*) of two mistakes found in Denhardt’s transcription of Italian phrases as proof that Ōgai consulted neither the Danish original nor the English translation; “Mori Ōgai no *Sokkyō shijin*” 森鷗外の「即興詩人」, Chap. 1 of Div. 2 in idem, *Nihon ni okeru gaikoku bungaku: Hikaku bungaku kenkyū* 日本における外国文学: 比較文学研究 (Tokyo: Asashi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社; 2 vols.: vol. 1, 1975; vol. 2, 1976), 1:257–281.

- a. 獨り我エヌスと美を嬾ぶるは、...

Hitori waga VENUSU to bi o kuraburu wa,...

M.H. 112: [The Apollo of the Vatican] alone seems to me a worthy companion piece [to the Venus].

H.D. 139: [Der vaticanische Apollo, welchen Sie ja kennen,] ist meiner Anschauung nach allein ein würdiges Seitenstück [zu der Venusstatue].

- b. 夜更けたる後嚙に歸りぬ。

Yo fuketaru nochi negura ni kaerinu.

M.H. 117: [F]or as, somewhat late at night, I hastened home [lit. ‘returned to the roost’],...

H.D. 146: ... ich spät in der Nacht leichten Fußes nach Hause ging,...

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|----|----|----|---------------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 4. | a. | 媿ぶ | <i>kurabu</i> | ‘to form a pair with’ | SS 20:340 |
| | b. | 埒 | <i>negura</i> | ‘nest, roost’ | SS 20:345 |
| | c. | 鞘 | <i>saya</i> | ‘sheath’ | SS 27:371 |
| | d. | 殻 | <i>kimi</i> | ‘egg yolk’ | SS 34:397 |
| | e. | 嘔く | <i>haku</i> | ‘to emit, breathe’ ⁶ | SS 54:506 |

But by the time the *Faust* translation was completed, the tendency was much attenuated, reflecting the author-translator’s desire to recreate the German classic in an effective Japanese vernacular. One has to search in *Fausuto* to find less-common individual characters, and even they are not that rare (and are often supplied *furigana* readings):⁷

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|----|----|-----|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 5. | a. | 赫 | <i>kagayaki</i> | ‘radiance’ | [G]lanz | FT #07027 |
| | b. | 囁 | <i>sasayaki</i> | ‘whispering’ | [F]lüstern | FT #07270 |
| | c. | 瘥やす | <i>iyasu</i> | ‘to alleviate’ | <i>Linderung schaff[en]</i> | FT #07347 |

Ōgai’s use of less-common *compound characters* is perhaps more revealing. Examples of recondite, or at least uncommon, diction—uncommon for many

c. 早く鞘に納めよ。

Hayaku saya ni osameyo.

M.H. 142: Stick it again in its sheath,...

H.D. 175: Stecke ihn wieder in die Scheide,...

d. 「ブロデットオ」は卵の殻を入れたる稀き肉羹汁、...

‘*Burodettō*’ wa tamago no *kimi* o iretaru *usuki sōpu*,...

J.T.W.: “*Brodetto*, a thin soup with egg yolk in it,...”

M.H. 164: ‘*Brodetto*’ (alone).

H.D. 205: ‘*Brodetto*’ (alone).

e. 是れ聴衆の口々より嘔きたる毒氣のわが美の影圖をして此の如く變化せしめしにぞありける。

Kore chōshū no kuchiguchi yori hakitaru dokuki no waga bi no eizu o shite kaku no gotoku henka seshimeshi ni zo arikeru.

M.H. 262: [I]t was as if they had breathed poison over my image of beauty.

H.D. 320: Es war, als hätte man Gift über mein Schönheitsbild gehaucht.

Arguably, three of the five are examples of “elegant variation”: *kurabu* 媿ぶ for *kurabu* 比ぶ・較ぶ・競ぶ in ‘a’; *kimi* 殻 for *kimi* 黄身 in ‘d’; and *haku* 嘔く for *haku* 吐く in ‘e.’ Note also that the rare character *kimi* itself forms a visual pun, the ‘yellow’ yolk of the egg being encased in albumen that is like a ‘shell or husk.’

6 But note the same character glossed with a different reading: *tsuku* 嘔く, also meaning ‘to emit, breathe,’ SS 43:439.

7 Note the unusual characters cited in Entry #33 below.

if not most educated Japanese of the time — are obvious enough in the following examples from his *kanshi*; but note that many date from his early years:

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|----|----|----|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 6. | a. | 突屹 | <i>tokkitsu</i> | ‘majestic soaring’ | KS #2.12, 1880 |
| | b. | 癩疽 | <i>yōso</i> | ‘noisome carbuncle’ | KS #2.14, 1880 |
| | c. | 錙銖 | <i>shishu</i> | ‘lightweight; a trifle’ | KS #138.14, 1888 |
| | d. | 盪滌 | <i>tōdeki</i> | ‘to wash away filth’ | KS #168.3, 1905 |
| | e. | 媮媮 | <i>an’a</i> | ‘to futz around’ | KS #209.3, 1917 |
| | f. | 喧豕 | <i>kenkai</i> | ‘cacophonous clamor’ | KS #230.37, 1918 |

In *Sokkyō shijin*, there are uncommon *kanji* compounds:⁸

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|----|----|----|---------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 7. | a. | 蹙丐 | <i>kenkai</i> | ‘crippled beggar’ | SS 5:250 |
| | b. | 陋陋 | <i>kyōrō</i> | ‘narrow-mindedness’ | SS 53:499 |

But more often than not, one element in the compound is familiar; and since *furigana* in the following examples are supplied for both, the compound either makes sense aurally or at least seems more comprehensible thanks to the supplied reading:⁹

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- 8 Quote ‘a’ is a chapter-title (in the Japanese version only; it does not appear in the Danish or German) that refers to the protagonist’s uncle. Citation in context of Quote ‘b’:
 院内の人々は一人としてハツバス・ダアダアの陋陋にして友を排し、褒貶並に過てるを知らざるものなし。
Innai no hitobito wa hitori to shite Habbasu Dādā no kyōrō ni shite tomo o hai shi, hōhen narabi ni ayamateru o shirazaru mono nashi.
 M.H. 256–257: [A]ll his fellow professors said that he [Habbas Daddah] was too one-sided, ill-tempered, and unjust,...
 H.D. 313–314: [A]lle seine Collegen behaupteten, er [Habbas Daddah] wäre zu einseitig, mißgünstig und ungerecht,...
- 9 Citation in context of the terms listed in Entry #8:
 a./b. 同じ鬪溢、同じ喧豕は我等を迎へたり。
Onaji ten’itsu, onaji kengō wa warera o mukaetari.
 M.H. 169: [T]he same noise and the same crowd met us here.
 H.D. 210: [D]ieselbe Lärm, dasselbe Volksgewühl empfing uns.
 c. 一少年の髪に燒墮當てゝ好き衣着たるが、門前に立てり。公子を迎へて云ふやう。...
Isshōnen no kami ni yakigote atete yoki kinu kitaru ga, monzen ni tateri. Kōshi o mukaete iu yō:...
 M.H. 212: “...,” exclaimed a young, handsomely dressed and curled gentleman, who sprang forward to meet us.
 H.D. 261: “...!” rief ein junger geputzter frisierter Herr, der uns entgegen kam,...

8. a. 溢てんいつ *ten'itsu* ‘to overflow, brim over’ SS 34:402
 b. 喧けんごう *kengō* ‘din and bustle’ SS 34:402
 c. 燒やき境ごて *yakigote* ‘hot iron’ SS 45:446
 d. 閃せん電でん *senden* ‘spark, flash’ SS 47:463
 e. 明ちやうめい *chōmei* ‘(mind/head) clears / becomes percipient’ SS 50:481
 f. 蠅はる蚋すずめ *hae-buyo* ‘flies and gnats’ SS 7:264

Fausuto has comparatively few rarer *kanji* compounds; and when they appear, the reading is often glossed. They usually serve as a nice contrastive balance with the more colloquial (and “colloquial-looking”) text that surrounds them:¹⁰

9. a. 麁かもしか鹿 *kamoshika* ‘wild boar’ *Wildschweine* FT #04857
 b. 篝かろうき火 *kagaribi* ‘watch fires’ *Wachfeuer* FT #07025
 c. 瀨せ氣 *kōki* ‘ether’ *Äther* FT #09953
 d. 絢交なまぜになる *naimaze ni naru* ‘intertwining’ *flicht sich* FT #07174
 e. 穹窿きゆうりゆうになつて *kyūryū ni natte* ‘[it] arches’ *wölbt sich* FT #09537

Kanji referred to here as being uncommon or unusual are so only in modern “Japanese” — not in classical Chinese, Sino-Japanese,¹¹ or modern Chinese in

- d. 黒くろき瞳ひとみ子の閃せん電でんの如ごとき少女二人、…
Kuroki hitomi no senden no gotoki otome futari,...
 J.T.W.: Two girls with black, spark-like pupils...
 M.H. 226: Two black-eyed girls...
 H.D. 279: Zwei schwarzäugige Mädchen...
 e. …、我意識は稍々ちやうめい明めいなりき。
 …, *waga ishiki wa yaya chōmei nariki.*
 M.H. 243: I felt that ... my perception was distinct.
 H.D. 298: [M]ein Bewußtsein war klarer.
 f. 蠅はる蚋すずめなんど群むらがり來りて人の肌を刺せり。
Hae-buyo nando muragari-kitarite hito no hada o saseri.
 M.H. 43: [A]ll kind of tormenting insects ... fell upon us in myriads with their poison-stings;...
 H.D. 55: [M]yriadenweise überfielen sie [Fliegen und Insekten] uns mit giftigen Stichen.

10 See also the two compounds cited in Entry #33 (*komekami* 顛顛 and *tekimen* 覲面).

11 Sino-Japanese also being a form of Japanese; for discussion, see John Timothy Wixted, “*Kanbun*, Histories of Japanese Literature, and Japanologists,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 10.2 (April 1998), pp. 23–31 (esp. pp. 23–26); available online at: <http://chinajapan.org/articles/10.2/10.2wixted23-31.pdf>; also reprinted as “*Kambun*, Histories of Japanese Literature, and Japanologists,” in *The New Historicism and Japanese Literary Studies*, ed. Eiji Sekine, *PMAJLS: Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 4 (Summer 1998), pp. 313–326; and published in Spanish as “*Kambun*, historias de la litera-

many cases — which underlines the point being made here: Ōgai’s extraordinary range of vocabulary is, in significant part, owing to his training in *kanbun* including *kanshi*.

One of the pleasures of reading a Meiji author is seeing how the contemporary world gets “translated” into language. In *kanshi*, this is necessarily done in *kanji*.¹² Note the following reference to “smokestacks” in an Ōgai poem referring to Leipzig, written while still in Germany:

10. KS #120.3–4 (1887):

回首北都雲氣暗
石筒林立吐青煤

Kōbe o meguraseba hokuto unki kuraku
Sekitō rinritsu shite seibai o haku

I look back on that northern city, cloudy vapors dank:
Smokestacks, a wooded array, belching black soot.

The following illustrate other references to the contemporary material world in Ōgai’s *kanshi*:

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|--------|-----|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 11. a. | 輿 | <i>yo</i> | ‘rickshaw’ | KS #12.3, 1882 |
| b. | 電線 | <i>densen</i> | ‘telegraph lines’ | KS #20.2, 1882 |
| c. | 汽機 | <i>kiki</i> | ‘steamship’ | KS #44.2, 1882 |
| d. | 骨喜 | <i>kōhī</i> | ‘coffee’ | KS #81.4, 1884 |
| e. | 瓦斯燈 | <i>gasu-tō</i> | ‘gas-lamps’ | KS #108.2, 1884 |

In *Sokkyō shijin*, Ōgai is especially creative when coining expressions for the “new world” of Italy, which he never visited in person. And in so doing, he

tura japonesa y japonólogos,” tr. Amalia Sato, *Tokonoma: Traducción y literatura* (Buenos Aires) 6 [Fall 1998], pp. 129–140.

12 Among references to the contemporary world found in Sino-Japanese writing of the period are the *kanshi* by Kasami Kokō 嵩古香 (= Kasami Shunkai 嵩俊海, 1837–1919). They have been arranged by topic (in contrast with the emphasis in this article on diction) by Fujii Akira 藤井明 and Kasami Hiroo 嵩海雄, *Kanshijin no egaita Meiji: Kasami Kokō no shōzō* 漢詩人の描いた明治: 嵩古香の肖像 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō ゆまに書房, 2002). For example, in the section “Bunmei kaika,” there are poems on the topics, “Beef,” “Slaughter Houses,” “Photos,” etc.; and there are poems on “Matsugata Deflationary Policies” and on “Floods and the Soaring Price of Rice” in the sections headed “Poems on Social Themes” and “Floods.”

follows his usual predilection, that of creating *kanji* equivalents for nearly everything. Ōgai made interesting lists incorporating Western terms into a *kanji*-centric world (using *kanji*- and not *katakana*-equivalents in more than 90% of cases).¹³ For example, there is the short list he made for himself of Berlin-dialect expressions, giving the Japanese for the term only in *kanji*, followed by the standard-German and Berlin-dialect equivalents.¹⁴ (For the following examples, the English in brackets has been added; the headings are Ōgai's.)

| | | | | |
|-----|------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 12. | 日本 | 獨逸 | | 伯林 |
| a. | 麥酒一杯 | ein Glas Bier | [a glass of beer] | ein Pfiff |
| b. | 鹽餅 | ein Salzkuchen | [a salt cracker] | ein Schusterjunge |
| c. | 乾酪 | der Kaese | [cheese] | die Goldleiste |

There are also vocabulary lists he made (dated early, for the most part to 1882–83, when he was only twenty or twenty-one) that are fascinating to look through. They include *dozens* of mostly medical and military expressions, with the corresponding Latin, Greek, or German (and rarely, English or Dutch) term always in romanization, never in *katakana*. The following are examples:¹⁵

| | | | | | |
|--------|------|-----------------------|----|------|------------|
| 13. a. | 味覺脫失 | Ageusis | d. | 星狀骨傷 | Sternbruch |
| b. | 鞭蟲 | Trichocephalus dispar | e. | 擦擦 | Kitzeln |
| c. | 日射病 | Insolatio | f. | 孵化爐 | Brütöfen |

Ōgai's is a supremely *kanji* world.¹⁶ What is striking about these two lists is not that this is so, but two additional points: how few *katakana* are used, and the fact that almost never are *furigana* supplied to help with the Japanese reading of the *kanji*.¹⁷

13 In addition to the two lists cited below, see OZ 32:402–453, 37:24–30, and 37:31–38.

14 OZ 27:336–337 (with a list on the following page of German slang terms for different-value German coins). ‘Cognac’ コニヤツク (KONYAKKU) is the only term given in *katakana*.

15 OZ 37:3–23.

16 In other words, per Karatani Kōjin 柄谷行人, who discerns a shift from *kanji* to *kana* around the turn of the twentieth century, the emphasis was still on “signification” (equated with Chinese characters) rather than on the “phonocentric”; *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, Translation edited by Brett de Bary (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 45–75 (esp. pp. 61 and 57).

17 It is an open question how many of these *kanji* combinations were generally current forms, how many were only in temporary use, and how many were Ōgai's invention or temporary

Kanji are at the heart of *three currents* operative in *Sokkyō shijin*. In large measure (1) they embed a China-centric or China-derived world. But they are employed, even more so, (2) to foster a “native Japanese” ambiance, and (3) to create a real but fantasized Western world as well.

To elaborate. In *Sokkyō shijin*, there are numerous *kanji* compounds that are read as *on-on* combinations, in what will be called the “sinitic” way. For example:

- | | | | | |
|--------|------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 14. a. | 追躡する | <i>tsuishō suru</i> | ‘to pursue’ | SS 34:400 |
| b. | 罅隙 | <i>kageki</i> | ‘crevice’ | SS 47:460 |
| c. | 梟首 | <i>kyōshu</i> | ‘exposure of executed head’ | SS 58:523 |
| d. | 鹹澤 | <i>kantaku</i> | ‘salt marsh’ | SS 60:531 |
| e. | 颶風 | <i>gufū</i> | ‘storm’ | SS 61:534 |

But many *kanji* combinations, if not most, in *Sokkyō shijin* (other than 4-character ones) either have, or are assigned (via *furigana*), *kun* readings that turn them into more “Japanese-sounding or -feeling” terms. That is certainly true of “*kun+kun*-read” compounds. The following all have *furigana* supplied by Ōgai; some are his coinages (in terms of the *kanji* used, if nothing else).¹⁸ For example:

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|--------------------------|--|-----------|
| 15. a. | <i>kusari-onna</i> | 腐女 <small>くさりをんな</small> | ‘rotten woman’ | SS 5:253 |
| b. | <i>tamari-mizu</i> | 瀦水 <small>たまりみづ</small> | ‘stagnant water’ | SS 7:263 |
| c. | <i>hani-be</i> | 埴瓮 <small>はにべ</small> | ‘clay vessel’ (and ‘pottery guild’) | SS 10:278 |
| d. | <i>keori-goromo</i> | 毳衣 <small>けいご</small> | ‘woolen cloak’ | SS 12:297 |
| e. | <i>toko-mise</i> | 浮鋪 <small>とこみせ</small> | ‘a stand’ (< ‘floating stall’) = <i>toko-mise</i> 床店 | SS 16:313 |
| f. | <i>tsuka-ana</i> | 塚穴 <small>つかあな</small> | ‘empty grave’ (< ‘gravemound hole’) | SS 55:517 |

fabrication for mnemonic purposes — in which case the lack of *furigana* as an *aide memoire* is all the more striking.

- 18 One should distinguish between (1) compounds that were conventionally read as directed in Entry #15 (e.g., ‘a’), (2) compounds that have different *kanji* assigned to them than is conventional for the reading (e.g., ‘b,’ 瀦水 instead of 溜水; ‘e,’ 浮鋪 instead of 床店; and ‘f,’ 塚穴 instead of 塚穴), (3) compounds whose readings and *kanji* combinations are both otherwise unattested (e.g., ‘d’), and (4) compounds that, although in use, have an added pun (e.g., ‘c’).

“Unattested” means the term does not appear either in *Kōjien* 広辞苑, ed. Shinmura Izuru 新村出 (5th ed., Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1998) or in *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館, 1976), 10-vol. Shukusatsu-ban 縮刷版.

The same is true of compounds read as a single *kun* morpheme. But these terms, in contrast with those just cited, are conventional in the language — ones for which, nonetheless, in the following cases Ōgai added furigana:

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|------------------------|--|--------------------|
| 16. a. | <i>mīra</i> | 木乃伊 <small>みいら</small> | ‘mummy’ | SS 4:243 |
| | b. | <i>mutsuki</i> | 襁褓 <small>むつき</small> | ‘diaper’ SS 13:299 |
| | c. | <i>kizuta</i> | 常春藤 (= <i>kizuta</i> 木蔦) <small>まきつた</small> | ‘ivy’ SS 58:524 |

The result is that we have a supremely rich *kanji* world that, if not “nativized,” is at least softened or modulated — being more multisyllabic and mellifluous-sounding (in Japanese, at least) than the shorter, or more abrupt-sounding, “sinitic” readings. Thus employed, *kanji* are made to complement the *bungo* constructions that permeate the text, as well as the occasional use of expressions redolent with classical Japanese associations (be they “native Japanese” words expressed in *kana* like *mitachi* みたち, or *kanji*-expressed combinations like *konoe* 禁軍 that are purposely made to resonate with earlier associations).¹⁹

Kanji are used to “nativize” in another way, as well. In *Sokkyō shijin* they serve to domesticate dozens of foreign terms that otherwise would be incomprehensible, because ironically, *kanji* compounds with attached *katakana* readings simultaneously become “foreign” words in Japanese — which, in *Sokkyō shijin*, generally means that they become “Italian” (or “would-be, quasi-, or fantasy-Italian”). For example:

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 17. a. | 議官 <small>セナトオレ</small> | (‘counselor official’) | <i>SENATŌRE</i> | ‘senator’ | SS 9:271 |
| | b. | 僧官 <small>カルチナアレ</small> | (‘monk official’) | <i>KARUJINĀRE</i> | ‘cardinal’ ²⁰ SS 9:271 |
| | c. | 小尼公 <small>アベコツサ</small> | ([dimin.] nuns’ senior) | <i>ABEJISSA</i> | ‘abbess’ SS 12:297 |
| | d. | 對歌 <small>ツエツトオ</small> | (‘facing-each-other song’) | <i>ZUETTŌ</i> | ‘duet’ SS 17:321 |
| | e. | 巽風 <small>シロツク</small> | (‘southeast wind’) | <i>SHIROKKO</i> | ‘sirocco’ SS 28:376 |
| | f. | 窟墓 <small>カタコムバ</small> | (‘cavern grave’) | <i>KATAKOMUBA</i> | ‘catacombs’ SS 33:393 |

19 For earlier use of *mitachi* (SS 9:268), see *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 9:1298c. Re *konoe*, note both the context (namely, reference to the pope) and especially the homophone (近衛): 法皇の禁軍なる士官なりき。SS 11:294

Hōō no konoe naru shikan nariki.

M.H. 70: “It was a papal officer;...”

H.D. 87: “Es war ein päpstlicher Officier;...”

20 For the same *kanji* combination, cf. *EPISUKOPOSU* 僧官 エビスコポス ‘bishop’ (< ‘episcopus’), SS 55: 519.

Note that in each of these cases, *the kanji visually carry the sense of the compound* (as indicated in parentheses), while *the furigana create the reading of a new expression* (or ratify a recently coined one). We get “two-for-one” — sound and sense, East Asian semantics and Italian phonetics. Indeed, without the *kanji*, the temporary use of the majority of these words would not be comprehensible merely as *katakana* expressions.²¹ *Kanji*, and their attached “Italian” readings, are central to the creation of this new world.

21 The temporary factor has been commented upon by Judy Wakabayashi, “Translating in a Forked Tongue: Interlinear Glosses as a Creative Device in Japanese Translations,” *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 1:2 (2006), pp. 3–41 (specifically, p. 5): “Although some glosses are standard renderings and lack expressiveness, others are original coinages of a temporary and often very creative nature, being invented on a one-off, context-dependent basis by an individual writer or translator.”

Note that of the 23 *katakana*-glossed terms in Entries #17–22 (omitting Entry #18), 16 (or 70%) are not now in current use. And five of the seven that are, now appear in less Italianate versions than those found here: namely, *AKADEMI*, *BARUKON* (OF *BARUKONI*), *ERUMIN*, *KATAKŌMU*, and *MYŪZU*. Only two remain unchanged, *OSUTERIA* and *SHIROKKO*. “Current use” means that the term (or one very similar to it) appears in at least one of the following four dictionaries:

1) *Gaikoku kara kita shingo jiten* 外国からきた新語辞典 (Added title: *Dictionary of Fresh Words from Foreign Languages*), Saitō Eisaburō 齋藤栄三郎 (Tokyo: Shūeisha 集英社, 1961; rev. ed., 1965).

2) *Katakana gairaigo, ryakugo jiten* カタカナ外来語・略語辞典, ed. Horiuchi Katsuaki 堀内克明 (Tokyo: Jiyū Kokuminsha 自由国民社, 1996; *Zenteiban* 全訂版, 1999).

3) *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* 新和英大辞典, gen'l. ed. Masuda Koh 増田綱 (4th ed, Tokyo: Kenkyusha 研究社, 1974).

4) *Kōjien* 広辞苑 (5th ed.); cited in n. 18 above.

The Wakabayashi article is useful as well for the secondary literature cited, and for the preliminary taxonomy for *rubi* glosses it provides (pp. 30–31): “A rough initial attempt to classify various *rubi* patterns that I have chanced upon identified around three dozen different configurations, dependent on various factors — e.g., whether the gloss is of a phonetic or semantic nature or combines elements of both; whether it represents a standard reading or a forced reading (including the sub-category of *ateji*); whether the gloss is positioned in the default position (to the right of vertically written headwords or above horizontally written headwords), an atypical position, or on both sides; whether there is a phonetic and/or semantic and/or stylistic match or mismatch between the gloss and the primary text; the origins of the gloss and headword respectively (indigenous Japanese; Chinese; another foreign language); whether the gloss and headword are respectively written in *hiragana*, *katakana*, *kanji* or the Roman script; whether the text makes best grammatical sense if read using the primary text or the gloss; and whether the gloss is a single word or a phrase (likewise with the headword). This preliminary taxonomy by no means exhausts all the possible permuta-

Among other *gairaigo* examples in *Sokkyō shijin*, there are widely understood terms not limited to Italian that have been carried on in the modern language, but usually without *kanji*:

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| 18. a. | <small>マドンナ</small> 聖母 | MADONNA | ‘Madonna’ | SS 1:219 |
| b. | <small>オリブ</small> 橄欖 | ORIVU [> <i>ORIBU</i>] | ‘olive (tree)’ ²² | SS 33:395 |
| c. | <small>カフェ</small> 骨喜店 | KAFFĒ [> <i>KAFĒ</i>] | ‘café’ | SS 60:533 |

More commonly, there are words comprehensible enough in both Italian and English, but generally given an Italianate pronunciation by Ōgai:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 19. a. | <small>バルコニー</small> 出窓 | BARUKŌNE | ‘balcony’ | SS 16:314 |
| e. | <small>ムウザ</small> 詩女 | MŪZA | ‘muse’ | SS 18:330 |
| d. | <small>ディスク</small> 圓鐵板 | JISUKOSU | ‘discus’ | SS 18:330 |
| c. | <small>エルミノー</small> 貂 | ERUMERINO | ‘ermine’ | SS 21:349 |
| b. | <small>ラヴァ</small> 熔巖 | RAVA | ‘lava’ ²³ | SS 35:404 |
| f. | <small>リド</small> 岸區 | RIDO | ‘Lido’ | SS 61:535 |

Yet many terms are comprehensible only as Italian (or in some cases, a Romance-language cognate):

- | | | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 20. a. | <small>プルチネラ</small> 侏儒 | PURUCHINERURA | ‘Pulcinella’ | ‘(dwarf-like) Punch figure’ | SS 12:297 |
| b. | <small>オステリア</small> 酒家 | OSUTERIA | ‘osteria’ | ‘tavern’ | SS 13:300 |
| c. | <small>カスケラ</small> 小瀑 | KASUKATERURA | ‘cascatella’ | ‘small waterfall’ | SS 55:513 |

To supply more of these latter two kinds of example, and at the same time to stress how integral the *katakana*-cued *gairaigo* readings are to the creation of this fantasy world, let us look at the following terms WITHOUT the *furigana* supplied by Ōgai.

- | | | | |
|--------|----|----|-----|
| 21. a. | 學士 | e. | 大學院 |
| b. | 薦巾 | f. | 神 |
| c. | 小鼓 | g. | 巡查 |
| d. | 房奴 | | |

tions — a wide range that offers the translator many additional avenues for presenting both the meaning and original sound and for foregrounding different aspects at will.”

22 Most commonly cited in the text as presented here; but cf. the following two examples: 橄欖樹, *ORIVU*, ‘olive tree’ (SS 4:240), and the dual-form (“sinitic”-*cum-gairaigo*) 橄欖 (オリフ) *kanran* (*ORIVU*), ‘olive (tree)’ (SS 8:264).

23 Cf. n. 45.

They are pedestrian, humdrum; they lose their romance, their charm, without the *gairaigo* reading.²⁴

At least one *kanji* compound gets read all three ways in *Sokkyō shijin*: with “sinitic,” “native Japanese,” and *gairaigo* readings²⁵ — the latter two as explicitly directed via the translator-adapter-author’s *furigana* :

- | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 22. a. | <i>bakufu</i> ²⁶ | 瀑布 | ‘waterfall’ | SS 58:524 |
| | b. | <i>taki</i> | 瀑布 | ‘waterfall’ SS 4:248 |
| | c. | <i>KASUKATA</i> ²⁷ | 瀑布 | ‘waterfall’ (< ‘cascade’) SS 15:311 |

Some terms are given only in *katakana* (followed by explanations in parentheses, usually in *kanji*):

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|---|
| 23. a. | ‘macaroni’ | 「マケロニ」(麩類の名) |
| | SS 18:329 | ‘MAKERONI’ (<i>menrui no na</i>) |
| | b. Beatrice Cenci [1577–1599] | ペアトリチエ・チエンチイ (羅馬に刑死せし女の名) |
| | SS 18:333 | <i>BEATORICHE CHENCHI</i> (<i>Rōma ni keishi seshi omina no na</i>) |

24 Explication of the examples in Entry #21 follows below in this sequence: Japanese expression created by Ōgai, romanized reading of the term (dictated by the author’s *furigana*), Italian expression being recreated in the language, English equivalent, and textual source. Note especially the “Italian” readings being imposed (and the *kanji* compounds offered as equivalents):

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-------------------|---|---------------------|-----------|
| a. | 博士 | <i>DOTTORE</i> | ‘ <i>dottore</i> ’ | ‘Dr.’ | SS 16:316 |
| b. | 鷹巾 | <i>SERUVIETTO</i> | ‘ <i>serviette</i> ’ (cf. ‘ <i>salvietta</i> ’) | ‘napkin, serviette’ | SS 34:396 |
| c. | 小鼓 | <i>TAMBURINO</i> | ‘ <i>tamburino</i> ’ | ‘tambourine’ | SS 47:463 |
| d. | 房奴 | <i>KAMERIERI</i> | ‘ <i>cameriere</i> ’ | ‘waiter’ | SS 34:396 |
| e. | 大学院 | <i>AKADEMIA</i> | ‘ <i>accademia</i> ’ | ‘academy’ | SS 10:278 |
| f. | 神 | <i>JIVINA</i> | ‘ <i>divina</i> ’ | ‘divine’ | SS 11:292 |
| g. | 巡査 | <i>SUBIRURO</i> | ‘ <i>sbirro</i> ’ | ‘cop’ | SS 16:316 |

25 Ōgai seems aware of two of these worlds when writing in reference to the writing style of the translation in his 13th-edition preface:

Using national-language [*kokugo*] and Sino-Japanese [*kanbun*] in harmony, I tried to fuse elegant wording with vulgar expression. (OZ 2:213)

國語と漢文とを調和し、雅言と俚辭とを融合せむと欲せし、...

Kokugo to kanbun to o chōwa shi, gagen to riji to o yūgō semu to hosseshi,...

26 The *furigana* supplied for this example are found in both the Kaizōsha (p. 154a) and Chikuma Bunko (p. 395) editions of the text; see also the compound’s use in Entry #27a.

27 Cf. *KASUKATERUA* above, Entry #20c.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|
| c. | Lais [Greek courtesan] SS 19:335 | ライス (名娼の名) <i>RAISU (meishō no na)</i> |
| d. | Palladio [1508–1580] SS 64:570 | パラヂオ (中興時代の名ある畫師) <i>PARAJIO (chūkō jidai no na aru eshi)</i> |

Not infrequently, cultural explanations are incorporated into the translation, either paraphrased into the text proper or explained in parentheses.²⁸ The following is an example (but Ōgai's comparison with the situation in Japan is exceptional):

24. 猶太街 *GETTŌ*, 'ghetto' (*kanji* meaning 'street of the Jews'; or more commonly in SS:

猶太廓 *GETTŌ*, 'ghetto' [*kanji* meaning 'district of the Jews,' e.g., SS 13:71]):

..., これを猶太街といふ。(我國の穢多まぢの類なるべし。)

..., *kore o GETTŌ to iu. (Waga kuni no eta-machi no tagui narubeshi.)*
(SS 13:301)²⁹

28 As with 'Brodetto' in n. 5 above (Quote 'd').

29 This passage is additionally exceptional. Astonishingly enough, the reference to "eta" was purged from the text as late as 1971, in the standard and supposedly complete *Ōgai zenshū* edition (p. 301). The editors state simply (p. 614) that 13 graphs (which they do not reproduce) were included in earlier editions, but "The text is here abridged." The passage was censored somewhat differently in the 1927 Kaizōsha edition (p. 44b):

(我國のXXまぢの類なるべし。)

The unexpurgated text cited here follows the Chikuma Bunko edition (p. 118).

Fuller citation of the passage is worthwhile, to see how Ōgai modifies the original:

凡そ羅馬の市には、猶太教徒みだりに住むことを許されず。その住むべき廓をば厳しく圍みて、これを猶太街といふ。(我國の穢多まぢの類なるべし。) 夕暮には廓の門を閉ぢ、兵士を置いて人の出入することを許さず。(SS 13:301, expurgated sentence added)

Oyoso RŌMA no machi ni wa, YUDAYA kyōto midari ni sumu koto o yurusarezu. Sono sumubeki kuruwa oba kibishiku kokomite, kore o GETTŌ to iu. (Wagakuni no eta-machi no tagui narubeshi.) Yūgure ni wa kuruwa no kado o toji, tsuwamono o okite hito no de-iri suru koto o yurusazu.

M.H. 75: It is well known that in Rome, the first city of Christendom, the Jews are only permitted to live in their allotted quarter, the narrow and dirty Ghetto, the gate of which is closed every evening, and soldiers keep watch that none may come in or go out.

H.D. 94: Bekanntlich dürfen die Juden in Rom, der größten Stadt der Christenheit, nur in dem ihnen angewiesenen Stadtviertel, dem engen, schmutzigen Ghetto wohnen. Jeden Abend wird das zu derselben führende Thor geschlossen, und Soldaten halten Wache, daß sich Niemand heimlich hinaus oder hinein schleicht.

Kanji (with added *furigana*) make the world of *Sokkyō shijin* both familiar and foreign; fresh and new, yet known.³⁰ It would be a disservice simply to characterize it as “exotic.” The *kanji* world of *Sokkyō shijin* is romantic, and it certainly has its charm. But it is more than that: it is interesting and instructive (teaching much about Renaissance art and history, Italian geography, and Christianity, especially Catholicism — Andersen’s wry humor about the latter sometimes getting translated, sometimes not).³¹ Given the breadth of the vocabulary used, *Sokkyō shijin* is challenging to read, stimulatingly so, but not “threatening” for contemporary readers. It fits Horace’s ideal well, being both entertaining and instructive.

Ōgai’s *kanshi* are an important correlate to and influence on expressions of the sort outlined above, notably in terms of *kanji* usage, whether individual *kanji*, *kanji* compounds, 4-character *kanji* phrases,³² or *gairaigo* with *kanji*

Ōgai removes the reference to Christendom, takes out the adjective ‘dirty’ (*‘schmutzig’*) in reference to the ghetto, and adds the Japanese comparison: “It [the ghetto] is like our *eta*-outcaste districts.”

- 30 As Judy Wakabayashi points out (“Translating in a Forked Tongue,” p. 9), the simultaneously familiarizing and defamiliarizing nature of headword-*cum*-gloss presentations was noted by Leon Zolbrod (on p. 65 of the “Introduction” to the 1977 edition of his *Ugetsu monogatari* translation): “In their visual form Chinese characters and phrases might preserve their original meaning. By adding a phonetic gloss, Akinari could suggest a Japanese interpretation and denote specific literary associations. The possibilities were virtually endless, as if one were to mix French and English poetry with quotations from Latin and Greek classics. Owing to Akinari’s ingenuity, a reader could enjoy the visual and semantic associations of the Chinese character with the security and immediacy of the Japanese phonetic script, keeping the best of both worlds.” (The situation is simply reversed in Ōgai’s case, where it is the glosses that defamiliarize.) Also analogous to Ōgai’s practice is the use of *rubi* in texts cited by Wakabayashi (pp. 16–17) that date from much later: namely, *furigana* are used “to convey a pseudo-foreign air in Inoue Hisashi’s [1981] novel *Kirikirijin* 吉里吉里人, a description of a fictitious country,” and in various translations of science fiction “to retain the flavor of the original”; for the former quote, the wording from the 2002 unpublished version of her article is cited.
- 31 Not all foreign terms are given *kanji* equivalents, far from it. Some names are given in *kanji* (if they are famous enough), and some only in *katakana*. There is a 13-page list of *katakana* names and terms (many of which are Italian) at the back of the OZ edition of *Sokkyō shijin* (pp. 584–596).
- 32 Clearly there is a correlation between Ōgai’s *kanshi* and the dozens, if not hundreds, of 4-character phrases in *Sokkyō shijin* (well worthy of separate study) — a natural enough relation in terms of reading rhythms, since 4-character phrases comprise the first part (before the main caesura) of any regular 7-character poem-line in Chinese or in Sino-Japanese. (But

equivalents. Ōgai's *kanshi* influence his writing in other ways, as well. One is best illustrated by looking at the following passage from *Sokkyō shijin*. It is here supplied in three direct translations from the Danish: the 1845 one into English by Mary Howitt, the 1876 one into German by H. Denhardt (the basis for Ōgai's translation), and the 1987 one into Japanese by Suzuki Tetsurō.³³

interestingly enough, set 4-character phrases, though present, are not as marked a feature either in Ōgai's *kanshi* or in his *Faust* translation as they are in *Sokkyō shijin*.)

- 33 The Mary Howitt version remains the only one in English. About her translation activity, see (via the index) the references to her in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, Vol. 4: 1790–1900, ed. Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), including the biographical sketch by Margaret Lesser (pp. 529–530); see also Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen, “Mary Howitt,” Sect. 1 of Chap. 2, in idem, *Ugly Ducklings? Studies in the English Translations of Hans Christian Andersen's Tales and Stories* (Odense: University of Southern Denmark Press, 2004), pp. 79–89, as well as mention of her elsewhere in the volume. In *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography*, edited by her daughter Margaret Howitt (London: Wm. Isbister Limited, 1889, 2 vols.; available online via the Hathi Trust Digital Library), she says the following about her work:

I had also turned my attention to Danish literature, which my knowledge of Swedish and German languages made me easily understand. H.C. Andersen's “Improvisatore” I first translated from the German version, but after mastering Danish I made my work, as far as possible, identical with the original. (2:29; also cited by Pedersen, p. 84)

If this was the case, Howitt was at least partly indebted to the first of the translations referred to in the following paragraph.

By 1892 when Ōgai began his work on *Sokkyō shijin*, eight translations of the work into German had appeared; they are listed by Olof G. Lidin (p. 237) and summarized as follows (p. 234): “All the translations into German are quite meticulous, and an examination has shown that the words and phrases missing in *Sokkyō shijin* are all found in the German translations which Mori Ōgai could have used”; “H.C. Andersen's *Improvisatoren* and Mori Ōgai's *Sokkyō Shijin*,” in *Bruno Lewin zu Ehren: Festschrift aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages, Japan*, ed. Bruno Lewin, Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnerreit, and Jürgen Stalph (Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1989), pp. 231–237. The German translations are also listed by Nagashima Yōichi 長島要一 (p. 283) in his “*Sokkyō shijin* to Andersen no gensaku” 「即興詩人」とアンデルセンの原作, *Ōgai* 鷗外 49 (July 1991), pp. 233–284. The list, however, was omitted from the article when it was reprinted as Chap. 4 of idem, *Mori Ōgai to hon'yaku bungaku*, pp. 203–272.

In addition to the modern-Japanese translation cited here — Suzuki Tetsurō 鈴木徹郎, tr., *Sokkyō shijin* 即興詩人 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki 東京書籍, 1987) (*Anderusen shōsetsu, kikō bungaku zenshū* アンデルセン小説・紀行文学全集, 2) — there are four additional direct translations of the Andersen novel from Danish into Japanese (listed as follows in reverse chronological order):

- 1) Ōhata Suekichi 大畑末吉, tr., *Sokkyō shijin* 即興詩人 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1960), 2 vols.; the passage cited below is found at 2:84–85.

25. a. Mary Howitt (p. 202):
 Floating in the ascending beams of the sun, not far from Capri,
 lay a new, wondrously beautiful island formed of rainbow colors,
 with glittering towers, stars, and clear, purple-tinted clouds. “Fata
 Morgana!” exclaimed they all;...
- b. H.D. (pp. 250–251):
 [I]n den Strahlen der aufgehenden Sonne schwamm dicht bei
 Capri eine neue wunderbar herrliche Insel, aus den Farben des
 Regenbogens erbaut und mit leuchtenden Thürmen, Sternen und
 hellen purpurfarbigen Wolken geschmückt. “Fata Morgana!” riefen
 Alle...
- c. Suzuki Tetsurō 鈴木徹郎 (p. 300):
 ある朝、漁師たちは浜の波打ち際に群がっていた。さし昇る朝日の光を浴び
 て、虹色に染まった見慣れぬ不思議な島がカプリ島のわきに浮かんでいた。
 日に照り輝く塔が立ち並び、星がきらめき、深紅の雲がたなびいている。「フ
 ータ・モルガーナだ!」
Aru asa, ryōshi-tachi wa hama no nami-uchi kiwa ni muragatteita.
*Sashi-noboru asahi no hikari o abite, **niji**-shoku ni somatta mi-*
narenu fushigi na shima ga KAPURI-tō no waki ni ukandeita. Hi ni
teri-kagayaku tō ga tachi-narabi, hoshi ga kirameki, shinku no kumo
ga tanabiiteiru. “FATA MORUGANA da!”

Compare the bare-bones “original” above with Ōgai’s rhapsodic version below. (As a prose work, the text is normally printed as one continuous horizontal or vertical line. The lineation here has been changed to illustrate a further point below):

26. a. Ōgai, SS 42:436:
 一箇の奇しく珍らしき島國のカプリに近き處に湧き出でたればなり。

2) Jinzai Kiyoshi 神西清, tr., *Sokkyō shijin* 即興詩人 (Tokyo: Koyama Shoten 小山書店, 1956).

3) Mitsuhashi Kazuo 三橋一夫, tr., *Sokkyō shijin* 即興詩人 (Tokyo: Kaiseisha 偕成社, 1951).

4) Miyahara Kōichirō 宮原晃一郎, tr., *Sokkyō shijin* 即興詩人 (Tanbaichi-chō 丹波市町, Nara-ken 奈良県: Yōtokusha 養徳社, 1949).

There are also two translations into French, by Camille Lebrun (1847) and Fanny Petibon (1944).

A downloadable copy of the original 1835 Danish-language edition of *Improvisatoren* is available online at: <http://www.andersen.sdu.dk/forskning/bib/bfn/vis.html?p=264&show=1>.

飛簷傑閣隙間なく立ち並びて、
 その翳なきこと珠玉の如く、
 その光あること金銀の如く、
 紫雲棚引き星月麗れり。
 現にこの一幅の畫圖の美しさは、
 譬へば長虹を截ちてこれを彩りたる如し。
 蜃氣樓よと漁父等は叫びて、…

Ikko no kushiku mezurashiki shimaguni no KAPURI ni chikaki tokoro ni waki-idetareba nari.

*Hien kekkaku sukima naku tachi-narabite,
 Sono kumori naki koto shugyoku no gotoku,
 Sono hikari aru koto kingin no gotoku,
 Shiun tanabiki seigetsu kakareri.
 Ge ni kono ippuku no ezu no utsukushisa wa,
 Tatoeba chōkō o tachite kore o irodoritaru gotoshi.
 Shinkirō yo to gyofu-ra wa sakebite,...*

Note that with a minimum of editing, it is easy to turn Ōgai's passage into a series of standard 5- and 7-character *kanshi* lines:

- b. 飛簷傑閣一
 並立無隙間
 無翳如珠玉
 有光如金銀
 紫雲棚引星月麗
 一幅畫圖真此美
 譬截長虹此如彩
 漁父等叫蜃氣樓

There are numerous passages in *Sokkyō shijin* where one could do this, reflecting a by-no-means casual relationship between Ōgai's *kanshi* and his other writing.

Of course, the Japanese language expanded greatly during the Meiji. That there was an explosion of vocabulary is obvious. But grammar and written style also evolved, and much of this was owing to translation. Arguably, one's world is changed, is modified, by such linguistic change: in this case, not only the obvious extension of consciousness via the "new" vocabulary that is introduced, but also in new ways (or at least new emphases in how) to apprehend and present the world.

Germane is the fascinating series of studies by Morioka Kenji. In one work Morioka examines Meiji-period readers of English in use in Japan that contain material presented *both* in English *and* in translated Japanese.³⁴ He takes three steps. First, from the English readers he extracts grammatical forms, language patterns, and specific locutions that, if not new to Japanese, had been little emphasized (like the explicit marking of plurals, the use of the passive voice, and the supplying of the connective ‘and’ between the second and third items in a series of three) or which had been expressed in ways mostly to be superseded by the ones he illustrates (expressions, for example, influenced by English and Dutch [or in Ōgai’s case, German] modals, ‘would, could, should, might’). There is a shock of recognition at seeing so many turns of phrase in Japanese, now so seemingly natural, being presented as innovative, recent, new.³⁵ As a second step, Morioka cites several examples of the use of these locutions in “original” Japanese-language writings of the Meiji and early Taishō. And as his third and final step, for most expressions he supplies numerous examples of their use in Meiji- and Taishō-period translations.³⁶

Morioka’s thesis, posited too mechanically (p. 146), is that the language-readers influenced Japanese-language writers, whose work in turn influenced

34 Morioka Kenji 盛岡健二, *Ōbun kundoku no kenkyū: Ōbunmyaku no keisei* 欧文訓読の研究: 欧文脈の形成 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1999). Other relevant books by Morioka include *Kindaigo no seiritsu: Meijiki goi hen* 近代語の成立: 明治期語彙編 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1969), *Kindaigo no seiritsu: Buntai hen* 近代語の成立: 文体編 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1991), and *Kindaigo no seiritsu: Goi hen* 近代語の成立: 語彙編 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1991).

35 In this regard, note the following most useful treatment of a similar situation in modern Chinese: Edward Gunn, “Appendix: Innovative Constructions of the Twentieth Century, Catalogued by Type, Date, and Source,” in *idem, Rewriting Chinese: Style and Innovation in Twentieth-Century Chinese Prose* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 183–294. The appendix includes real-language modern-Chinese examples of constructions influenced by Japanese- and Western-language models. Of its five divisions (per the detailed outline on pp. 185–187), the following two are of particular relevance: “3. Euro-Japanese Features in Grammar and Rhetoric Prior to 1918” (pp. 217–225) and “4. Euro-Japanese Features in Grammar and Rhetoric Since 1918” (pp. 225–270). Although translation examples are not included, there is citation elsewhere in the volume of commentary about the influence of translation on change in the language (see the pages cited under “Translation” in the index).

36 Morioka cites examples from “original” writings by Ōgai — namely, “Maihime” 舞姫, “Hannichi” 半日, “Seinen” 青年, and “Mōzō” (often cited as “Mōsō”) 妄想 — but none from Ōgai’s numerous translations. (And depending on how items are counted, Ōgai’s translation work comprises at least a third, and more nearly one-half, of his *belles lettres* œuvre.)

the translation of Western-language texts into Japanese. This sequence should be changed: in many cases, translations more influenced “original” writing than the other way around. But in fact, it would be more accurate to say there was *symbiosis* between translation and “original” writing: they reinforced each other. In any case, the whole question of “original” and translation is murky at best, since many translations were in fact adaptations (like Ōgai’s *Sokkyō shijin*), and many supposedly “original” writings (like Ōgai’s “Utakata no ki”) have elements of adaptation as well. Moreover, some translations (like *Sokkyō shijin*) are more creative than “original” writings. And others (like Ōgai’s *Fausuto*) are arguably better than (or at least as good as) many of the author’s “original” writings.

Only three of the constructions found in Ōgai’s translations — ones that fit with Morioka’s patterns of modern-language usage affected by interaction with Western languages — will be cited here;³⁷ they all illustrate changes in Meiji writing: (1) use of *mottomo* 最も with an adjective (to mean ‘the most’), (2) use of *kare no* 彼の as a possessive (meaning ‘his’), and (3) use of the passive voice.³⁸

37 Sample constructions are here limited to *Sokkyō shijin* and *Fausuto*, or really just to *Sokkyō shijin*, since work on it predates the *Faust* translation by between ten and twenty years. What would be most interesting would be to do a separate study of Ōgai’s corpus of earliest translations (dating from 1889–90), and to look to them for examples, since eight of the first eleven were done in *kōgo*, three in *bungo*. They are conveniently listed (p. 70) by Yamada Yūsaku 山田有策, “Ōgai to kōgo sanbun,” 鷗外と口語散文 *Gendaishi techō* 現代詩手帖 19.2 (Feb. 1976), pp. 67–75; see also Yamamoto Masahide 山本正秀, “Mori Ōgai no genbun’itchi katsudō” 森鷗外の言文一致活動, Sect. 2 of Chap. 12 in idem, *Kindai buntai hassei no shiteki kenkyū* 近代文体発生の史的研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1965), pp. 580–587.

For three helpful lists of all of Ōgai’s translations, see (1) Asai Tomoko [浅井朋子], “L’attività di Mori Ōgai (1862–1922) come traduttore di opere letterarie occidentali,” *Atti del XIV Convegno di Studi sul Giappone* (Aistugia [Associazione Italiana di Studi Giapponesi], Firenze, 26–29 ottobre 1990) (Firenze: M.C.S., 1991), pp. 59–83 (specifically, pp. 71–83); (2) Richard John Bowring, “Appendix of Ōgai’s Translations,” in idem, *Mori Ōgai and the Modernization of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 259–269; and (3) Kobori Keiichirō 小堀桂一郎, *Mori Ōgai, Bungyō kaidai: Hon’yaku hen* 森鷗外、文業解題：翻訳篇 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1982), pp. 507–545.

38 See Morioka Kenji, *Ōbun kundoku no kenkyū*, pp. 202–204, 161–167, and 211–213.

For more about the relationship between translation and the use of the passive voice, see Kinsui Satoshi [金水敏], “The Influence of Translation on the Historical Development of the Japanese Passive Construction,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 28 (1997), pp. 759–779; and Shimazaki Satoru 嶋崎啓, “Roesureru [Roesler] kisō Nihon teikoku kenpō sōan ni okeru Doitsu-go judōtai no Nihongo-yaku” ロエスレル起草日本帝国憲法草案におけるドイツ語受

First, *mottomo*. Although *mottomo* does appear in the *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語,³⁹ its use in the sense of ‘most’ only becomes common in the Meiji period. The following illustrate the term in *Sokkyō shijin*: the first three examples are with adjectives, the fourth with an adjective used adverbially:

27. a. こは伊太利^{きやうない}疆内にて最も美しく最も大なる瀑布ある處なり。SS 58:525
Ko wa ITARIA kyōnai nite mottomo utsukushiku mottomo ōi naru bakufu aru tokoro nari.
 M.H. 281: [... Terni,] where is the largest and most beautiful waterfall in Italy.
 H.D. 343: [... Terni,] welches Italiens größten und schönsten Wasserfall besitzt.
- b. わが龕は...、戸口よりは最も遠きところにあり。SS 7:262
Waga gan wa..., toguchi yori wa mottomo tōki tokoro ni ari.
 M.H. 41: In the furthest [niche] was the bed which was prepared for me, ...
 H.D. 51: Mein Schlafraum lag dem Eingange gegenüber und war am entferntesten von demselben; ...
- c. 身のまはりにて、最も怪しげなりしは履^{はき}ものなり。SS 9:268
Mi no mawari nite, mottomo ayashige narishi wa hakimono nari.
 M.H. 48: My shoes were the worst part of my habilments, ...
 H.D. 60: Die Schuhe waren der schwächste Theil meiner Bekleidung, ...
- d. されど最も美しく我前に咲き出でたるは、わが本國なる伊太利なりき。SS 10:277
Saredo mottomo utsukushiku wagamae ni saki-idetaru wa, waga hongoku naru ITARIA nariki.
 M.H. 56: [B]ut most beautiful to me appeared my father-land, the glorious Italia!
 H.D. 70: [A]ber am schönsten blühte mein Vaterland, das herrliche Italien, vor mir.

動態の日本語訳, *Yōroppa kenkyū* [Added title: *European Studies*] (Tōhoku Daigaku) ヨーロッパ研究 (東北大学) 6 (March 2007), pp. 23–63. The latter focuses on the translation into Japanese of passives appearing in the 1887 German-language draft-constitution for Japan by Karl Friedrich Hermann Roesler (1834–1894). (The article has an added German-language title — “Über die japanische Übersetzung von Passiv-Konstruktionen im Verfassungsentwurf Roeslers” — and a 1-pg. abstract in German, p. 63.)

39 *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 10:312b.

Kare no as a possessive meaning ‘his’ (as opposed to its frequent use as the deictic ‘that’) only appears once in *Sokkyō shijin*.⁴⁰ And there is a textual variation for the passage that reflects the shift occurring in the language: ‘a’ illustrates the newer way of (apprehending and) expressing the world, ‘b’ the traditional manner of expression that continues in the language as well.⁴¹

28. a. 彼の目には 福^{さいわい}の星ありといふ。 SS 4:613(243)
Kare no me ni wa saiwai no hoshi ari to iu.
 J.T.W.: He was told his eyes had a lucky star.
 M.H. 23: [T]hou hast a lucky star in thy eyes.
 H.D. 30: Du hast einen Glückstern im Auge!
- b. そちが目には 福^{さいわい}の星ありといふ。 SS 4:243
Sochi ga me ni wa saiwai no hoshi ari to iu.

Increased use of the passive voice becomes a hallmark of Meiji writing, whether in translations and adaptations or in “original writing.” The following are straightforward examples, among the dozens that might be cited, of the use of the passive in *Sokkyō shijin*:⁴²

40 *Kanojo no* 彼女の meaning ‘hers’ does not appear at all. For more on the two terms, *kare* and *kanojo*, see the chapter devoted to them in Yanabu Akira 柳父章, *Hon’yaku seiritsu jijō* 翻訳語成立事情 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1982), pp. 193–212. The book has been translated into German by Florian Coulmas as *Modernisierung der Sprache: Eine kulturhistorische Studie über westliche Begriffe im japanischen Wortschatz* (München: Iudicium, 1991) (this section appearing on pp. 137–146). Two chapters of the work have appeared in English, both translated by Andre Haag: “*Kare* and *Kanojo*: The Shifting Referents of Two Translation Pronouns,” *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 20 (Dec. 2008), pp. 61–70; and “*Shakai*: The Translation of a People Who Had No Society,” *ibid.*, pp. 48–61.

Note that, although Yanabu correctly points to differences between these respective English and Japanese pronouns and their possessives, he insists on generalizing that “Western languages” use identifying pronouns far more than does Japanese. Even a cursory knowledge of a language like Spanish would have spared him such an error (stated in simplistic binary terms contrasting Japan with the West).

41 Entry #28a reproduces the 13th-edition text (1914) that corrected errors, incorporated authorial changes, and became the standard text. Entry #28b reproduces the text of the original (1902) single-volume edition.

42 Note that in the following examples, Ōgai uses the passive as simply another tool in the language, *unprompted by his German source*. (The German of ‘a,’ it might be argued, contains a weak “statal passive”; but there is no passive in ‘b’ and ‘c,’ either ‘actional’ or ‘statal.’)

29. a. ...草木に遮られ、... SS 4:242
 ... *kusaki ni saegirare*, ...
 M.H. 22: ..., were hidden by the thick green and the vine leaves;
 H.D. 28: ... war ... durch die dichten Zweige und das Weinlaub
 verhüllt;...
- b. 一人の子のさし上げられて... SS 1:218
Hitori no ko no sashiagerarete...
 J.T.W.: One child having been lifted by another,...
 M.H. 2: ... one who lifted the other...
 H.D. 4: Wir ... hoben deshalb einander in die Höhe,...
- c. かく問ひ掛けられて、我はたゞ知らずとのみ答へ、... SS 5:252–253
Kaku toi-kakerarete, ware wa tada shirazu to nomi kotae,...
 M.H. 32–33: He then asked me... I would give him no explanation.
 H.D. 40: Nun fragte er mich aus,... Aber ich wusste keinen Bescheid
 zu ertheilen ...

But Ōgai used the passive even more frequently either in conjunction with other *bungo* endings or with a causative (and increased use of causative verbs is another Meiji development illustrated by Morioka):⁴³

30. a. ...,われ等は猶母に教へられし如く耶蘇に接吻せむとおもひき。⁴⁴ SS 1:218
 ..., *warera wa nao haha ni oshierareshi gotoku Yaso ni seppun semu to omoiki*.
 M.H. 2: [W]e wished, as our mothers had taught us, to kiss him [the child Jesus],...
 H.D. 4: ..., wollten wir doch, wie es uns die Mutter gelehrt hatte, Jesus küssen.
- b. ...,この壁中に葬られたる法皇十四人、... SS 2:227
 ..., *kono hekichū ni hōmuraretaru hōō jūyonin*,...
 M.H. 9: [... told me of] the fourteen popes ... who here lie buried:...
 H.D. 13: [... erzählte mir von] den vierzehn Päpsten..., die hier unten begraben lägen.

43 Morioka Kenji, *Ōbun kundoku no kenkyū*, pp. 213–217.

44 Here and in example ‘c.’ that follows, ‘kiss’ is expressed by *seppun su* 接吻す. For material on the evolving expression of ‘kiss’ in Japanese, see the entry, “*Seppun*” 接吻, in Sōgō Masaaki 惣郷正明 and Hida Yoshifumi 飛田良文, *Meiji no kotoba jiten* 明治のことば辞典 (Tokyo: Tōkyō-dō Shuppan 東京堂出版, 1986), p. 312.

- c. 主客三人の女房、互に接吻したり。我も否とも諸とも云ふ暇なくして、接吻せられき。 SS 4:241
Shukaku mitari no nyōbō, tagai ni seppun shitari. Ware mo ina to mo u to mo iu itoma naku shite, seppun serareki.
 M.H. 22: Angeline kissed us all three; I also received a kiss, whether I would or not.
 H.D. 28: Alle drei küßten einander, auch ich bekam meinen Kuß, ich mochte wollen oder nicht.
- d. われ等の踐める所の脚下は、早く是れ熔巖熱灰のために埋没せられしエルコ
 ラノの古市なり。⁴⁵ SS 39:419
Warera no fumeru tokoro no kyakka wa, hayaku kore yōgan nekkai no tame ni maibotsu serareshi ERUKORANO no koshi nari.
 M.H. 184: Under the street here, under the whole city, lies Herculaneum buried. Lava and ashes covered the whole city in a few hours;...
 H.D. 228: Unter der Straße, in welcher wir hielten, ja unter der ganzen Stadt liegt Herculaneum (*sic*) verborgen. Lava und Asche bedeckten in wenigen Stunden den ganzen Ort,...

There are more modern-elements in *Sokkyō shijin* than at first meet the eye: *Bildungsroman* themes (like self-development through love), written expression influenced by Western-language usage, and a richly otherworld New World vocabulary. These are harmonized with the obviously atavistic features of the work: intense use of *bungo* constructions, *recherché* diction, and an old-fashioned tone. The result makes for a remarkable balance. Arguably, *Sokkyō shijin* is Mori Ōgai's most creative work.

A noteworthy feature in nearly all of Ōgai's writing is a strong element of linguistic play. It is related to his sense of humor: witty, sardonic, above all ironic, sometimes sarcastic, usually cerebral.

Linguistic play appears in Ōgai's *kanshi*. For example, when exiled in Kyūshū, he wrote a poem in response to word received about a recent meeting in Tokyo of his literary group:

31. KS #162.15 (1899):
 風評入耳浦山敷 *Fūhyō mimi ni irite* ...
 When word reached me here,...

45 The compound 熔巖 (meaning 'lava') is repeatedly glossed as *RAVA* 熔巖 by the author, but here, as part of a 4-character phrase, is read "sinitically" (*yōgan*).

Note that the last three characters in the line, 浦山敷, do not make sense semantically as *kanji* (read as ‘*pǔ-shān-fū*’ in Chinese). They only take on meaning when given *kun* readings in Japanese: *ura-yama-shiku* > *urayamashiku*, “to be envious.” The expression is playful: “When word reached me [about the recent gathering of our literary group there in Tokyo], I *felt envious* [because I was here in Kyushu, in *de facto* exile, and unable to attend].”⁴⁶

46 This underscores the argument that Sino-Japanese (i.e., *kanshi* and *kanbun* written by Japanese) is another kind of Japanese, an alternative modality of expression, in the language broadly defined — as argued in the Wixted article cited in n. 11; see also Kurozumi Makoto [黒住真], “Kangaku: Writing and Institutional Authority,” Translated by David Lurie, Chap. 8 of *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), pp. 201–219 and 290–294, esp. pp. 215–219.

In addition to the *fūhyō* 風評 in this line (‘word, rumor, scuttlebutt, lowdown, scoop’), the same poem (#162) includes 15 other locutions that make fuller sense when given *kun-doku* 訓読 readings in Japanese (instead of being read as Chinese) or when treated as “Japanese-style Chinese expression” (*Wafū Kango* 和風漢語). All except one are pointed out by Chin Seiho (*Mori Ōgai no kanshi*, 2:391–393); they are here listed, together with a sample “more Chinese” equivalent supplied by him in those instances where he offers one or more:

| Line # | Term | Japanese [& Chinese] | Readings | = | More Chinese Term | [& Reading] |
|--------|------|---------------------------|--------------|---|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 汁粉 | <i>shiruko</i> | [zhǐfēn] | = | 赤豆年糕 | [chìdòu niángāo] |
| 4 | 肝積球 | <i>kanshuku-dama</i> | [gānjīqiú] | | | |
| 5 | 兩刀 | <i>ryōtō</i> | [liǎngdāo] | = | 兩面三刀 | [liǎngmiàn-sāndāo] |
| 6 | 附鼻謳 | <i>hana-uta ni fusuru</i> | [fù bíōu] | = | 嗤之以鼻 | [chī zhī yǐ bí] |
| 9 | 如件 | <i>kudan no gotoki</i> | [rújiàn] | = | 如述 | [rúshù] |
| 10 | 友達 | <i>tomodachi</i> | [yǒudá] | = | 友人 | [yǒurén] |
| 12 | 近頃 | <i>chikagoro</i> | [jìnrì] | = | 近日 | [jìnrì] |
| 13 | 第一會 | <i>dai-ikkai</i> | [dìyīhuì] | = | 成立大會 | [chénglì dàhuì] |
| 15 | 風評 | <i>fūhyō</i> | [fēngpíng] | = | 傳聞 | [chuánwén] |
| 15 | 浦山敷 | <i>urayamashiku</i> | [pǔ-shān-fū] | | | |
| 20 | 不精 | <i>bushō</i> | [bùjīng] | | | |
| 20 | 豈不浮 | <i>a ni ukarezaran ya</i> | [qǐ bù fú] | | | |
| 26 | 來八日 | <i>kitaru yōka</i> | [lái bāri] | | | |
| 29 | 消印 | <i>keshi-in</i> | [xiāoyìn] | = | 郵戳 | [yóuchuō] |
| 31 | 不都合 | <i>futsugō</i> | [bù dūhé] | | | |
| 32 | 返郵 | <i>hen'yū</i> | [fǎnyóu] | = | 復函 | [fùhán] |

For treatment of the different meanings and emphases in many of the same *kanji* combinations used in Chinese and Japanese, see especially Lù Miǎo 路邁, Xióng Rénfāng 熊仁芳, and Wáng Guānhuá 王冠华, *Rì-Hàn tóngxíng-yìyì-cí cǐjiě* 日汉同形异义词词解, gen. 1, ed. Qín Míngwú 秦明吾 (Beijing: Zhōngguó Jiàncái Gōngyè Chūbǎnshè 中国建材工业出版社, 2005). Note also Endō Shōtoku 遠藤紹徳, “Nīt-Chū dōkei-igi-go ni tsuite 日中同形異義語について,” in Vol. 4, *Hon'yaku hen* 翻訳篇, ed. Endō Shōtoku and Takeyoshi Jirō 武吉次朗, in

In the same vein, in the list cited above (Entry #13) compiled when Ōgai was twenty or twenty-one years old, to stave off boredom or just for the fun of it he included:

32. OZ 37:9:
依ト昆控兒 Hypochondrie

Again, the phrase makes no sense as *kanji*, unless read as a series of ‘*on*’ rather than ‘*kun*’ syllables: ‘I-BOK(U)-KON-CHI-JI’ — or ‘*Hypochondrie*.’

There is *visual* linguistic play, as well, in the following example from *Fausuto*. Note the dense-looking characters (here underlined>) in the same and nearby line, and the rare compounds (*komekami* and *tekimen*) chosen both to complement each other and to contrast with more mundane wording in the immediate environs:⁴⁷

33. FT #01574 // #01577 (Faust):
... 月桂樹の枝を顛顛に纏ふ人 // ... あの高い精靈を覲面に見たとき
... *katsura no e o komekami ni matou hito* // ... *ano takai seirei o tekimen ni mita toki*
Die ... Lorbeern um die Schläfe windet // ... vor des hohen Geistes Kraft
The ... laurels on the brow he bindeth // ... before the lofty spirit’s power (Bayard Taylor tr., 1:54 // Walter Kaufmann tr.)

Anyone as steeped in a culture of *kanji* as Ōgai was could not but be aware of the possibilities offered. His use of *kanji* to create *gairaigo* combinations and to impose *kun-kun* readings on normally *on-on* combinations has already been noted. Furthermore, Ōgai takes advantage of the fact that any *kanji* combination whose meaning has become conventional in Chinese or Japanese (or which simply makes sense as a combination of Chinese characters) can arbitrarily be given a “native Japanese” reading, whether the resultant combination is (1) rare (like ‘*tsunami*’ in ‘a’ below, with *kanji* meaning ‘ocean roar’), (2) unexceptional (like ‘*arashi*,’ also in ‘a,’ with *kanji* meaning ‘fierce winds’), or (3) recondite (like ‘*basha*’ in ‘b’):

the series *Shinpen Tōhō Chūgokugo kōza* 新編・東方中国語講座, gen’l ed. Ōhara Nobukazu 大原信一 (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten 東方書店, 1990), pp. 76–92.

47 Visual play was also pointed out (re *kimi* 穀) at the end of n. 5 above. Note also the play between 藁 (*taku*) and 囊 (*nō*), both meaning ‘bag,’ in KS #182.2/4 (1915).

34. a. FT #01367–01368 (Mephistopheles):
 海嘯、暴風、地震、火事、どれを持って行っても
Tsunami, arashi, jishin, kaji, dore o motte-itte mo
 跡には陸と海とが依然としているですな。
Ato ni wa riku to umi to ga izen to shite iru desu na.

Mit Wellen, Stürmen, Schütteln, Brand – / Geruhig bleibt am Ende Meer
 und Land!

Storms, earthquakes, fire and flood assail the land / And sea, yet firmly
 as before they stand!” (David Luke tr.)

- b. SS 2:231:

赤きほしや衰しや甸けんに乗りて、...

Akaki basha ni norite,...

M.H. 12: “I then would drive ... in red carriages,...”

H.D. 17: “wie ich dann ... in rothem Wagen ... einherfahren würde;...”

The compound (normally read ‘zhōngdiàn’ in Chinese and ‘chūden’ in Japanese) comes from the *Zuōzhuàn* 左傳 (Duke Āi 哀公, 17th yr.), where it refers to a two-horse carriage or cart; the *furigana*-imposed reading, ‘*basha*,’ makes the term comprehensible as *basha* 馬車, ‘horse-drawn cart or carriage.’⁴⁸

There is also play — elegant variation — in the use of more general compounds in Ōgai’s later *kanshi*, but not the show-off kind of display of his younger years. Instead, there is a judicious effort at artful wordplay.

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 35. a. 天潢 for 天河 | KS #199.3, 1916 ⁴⁹ |
| b. 繇來 for 由來 | KS #200.2, 1916 |
| c. 塵堞 for 塵埃 | KS #226.10, 1918 |

48 Apart from passages in his *kanshi* that are incomprehensible without understanding an underlying allusion to the *Zuōzhuàn* (e.g., KS #173.1), Ōgai also drew on the same classic when naming his son Oto 於菟, the compound for his name being a Chǔ 楚 dialect term for *hǔ* 虎, ‘tiger.’ Ōgai gave all of his children names that were homophones or near-homophones either with German names — Oto 於菟 (Otto) and Furitsu 不律 (Fritz) — or with French ones — Mari 茉莉 (Marie), Annu 杏奴 (Anne), and Rui 類 (Louis). But none was as recondite as the first, given in 1890 (the rest date from 1903 or later), which confirms Ōgai’s earlier-noted tendency of employing more abstruse expressions while still young.

49 The poem in which this compound appears is cited in full in n. 70.

The same characteristic is operative in *Fausuto* as well, which dates from roughly the same period, where the focus is more on the use of the occasional *bon mot* embedded in an intelligent flow, than on the frequent use of artful turns-of-phrase one encounters in *Sokkyō shijin*.

Initially, three points are striking about Ōgai's *Fausuto*: (1) how colloquial it frequently is, (2) how quickly the work was completed, and (3) how good the result is both as a translation and as a work of literature.⁵⁰

50 Passages from Goethe's *Faust* are accompanied by translation into English, from whichever version best illustrates the point being made. One might characterize *Faust* translations into English as follows.

There are renderings that reproduce the rhyme-schemes of all 12,111 lines of the original: namely, by Bayard Taylor in the nineteenth century (Part 1, 1871; Part 2, 1876) and by Walter Arndt in the twentieth (1976), as well as the partial translation by Walter Kaufmann (of *Faust* Part 1 and sections of Part 2, 1961). All are amazing feats. But they come at a cost. At times they are forced; all tend to pall upon extended reading. They *are* helpful in reproducing a sense of rhythm of the original. (See the comments by two of these scholars, cited below in n. 68.) But notwithstanding the impassioned insistence by both Kaufmann and Arndt that the metrical schemes of the original *must* be maintained in any translation, the cadences of English and German simply are not the same. The four-beat rhythms of *Madrigal*- and *Knittelvers*, the most important poetic forms in *Faust*, *can* be reproduced in English. But if maintained for long in a language like English that is more conducive to five-beat lines, serious passages can sound jocular, and witty lines ponderous or formal (or at least belabored) — especially given the inevitable concessions made to maintain rhyme-patterns; this is not to mention the often dulling effect when the same pattern is maintained for dozens of lines.

There have been attempts to approach *Faust* differently. The poets, Louis MacNeice and Randall Jarrell (in 1951 and 1965, respectively), rendered Part 1 (and more, in MacNeice's case) of *Faust* into a free verse that, of course, does not reproduce the original's rhyme-schemes. Their work was not universally well received, in part because neither was a Germanist. Still, Harry Levin does speak well of MacNeice's work (in *Memories of the Moderns* [New York: New Directions, 1980], pp. 169–173). Personally, the author of this article admires Randall Jarrell's rendering. Although open to question in parts (what work is not, especially if cited only selectively?), Jarrell's passionate attempt to try to understand what Goethe was really getting at, and to try to communicate it in modern, readable English, shines through.

Additionally, the efforts of three Germanists should be mentioned. Peter Salm translated Part 1 of *Faust* into very plain, unadorned poetic lines that make for a most useful aid (again, one that was never fully appreciated, perhaps because it is good precisely as a companion to reading the original) that appeared in a convenient, bilingual paperback edition (1962; rev. ed. 1985). Barker Fairley, one of the great names in English-language Goethe studies of the past century, shocked his colleagues when he produced a complete *prose* translation of the work (1970); it was recently reprinted (2000) in a newly issued

A few short passages will be cited to illustrate the colloquialness of the work (In ‘d,’ note especially the last two lines.)⁵¹

36. a. FT #00812 (An Apprentice):

あつちは途中が丸で詰まらないぜ。
Atchi wa tochū ga marude tsumaranai ze.
 Der Weg dahin ist gar nicht schön.
 The road there’s so dull. (Barker Fairley tr., 770)⁵²

b. FT #00513 // #00517 (Spirit // Faust):

己には似てをらん。//それがお前にさへ似ないと言ふのか。
Onore ni wa nite oran. // Sore ga omae ni sae ninai to iu no ka.
 [Du gleichst ...] Nicht mir! // Und nicht einmal dir!
 You’re not like me. // And not even so much as like you?
 (Peter Salm // Randall Jarrell tr.)

c. FT #11693 (Mephistopheles):

畜生奴。陰険に遣って来やがる。
Chikushō yatsu. Inken ni yatte kiyagaru.
 Sie kommen gleisnerisch, die Laffen!
 The fops, they come as hypocrites, to fool us! (Bayard Taylor tr., 2:245)

Everyman edition of Goethe’s works, edited by another renowned Goethe scholar, Nicholas Boyle. And David Luke completed for Penguin Books (Part 1, 1987; Part 2, 1994) a full version to replace the earlier one by Philip Wayne (Part 1, 1949; Part 2, 1959) that can at best be termed ponderous. Luke tries to strike a balance between linguistic accuracy, formal faithfulness, and poeticity — and as a consequence, to this writer’s mind, seems to fall short at all three; but the translation has won prizes.

Other *Faust* translations have not been consulted for this article: complete versions by Theodore Martin and Stuart Atkins, and separate renderings of Part 1 by John Anster, Nicholas Boyle, David Constantine, Martin Greenberg, John Prudhoe, and Alice Raphael (Part 2 pending in some cases), the version of Part 1 by C.F. MacIntyre being the exception.

Citations of the German-language original are from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe, Faust: Der Tragödie erster und zweiter Teil; Urfaust*, Herausgegeben und kommentiert von Erich Trunz (München: C.H. Beck, 1999), which follows the Hamburger Ausgabe.

51 Note additionally, *inter alia*, the use of *baka shōjiki* 馬鹿正直 (FT #00128) and *tonma* とんま (FT #00961).

52 Page numbers are cited only for those translations that do not include line-numbers for the text. (Citations of the Bayard Taylor translation follow the 1950 Modern Library edition, which has separate pagination for Parts 1 and 2 of *Faust* within the single volume; hence, “1:29,” etc.)

d. FT #00354–00359 (Faust):⁵³

はてさて、己は哲學も *Hate sate, onore wa tetsugaku mo*

法學も醫學も *Hōgaku mo igaku mo*

あらずもがな神學も *Arazu mo gana shingaku mo*

熱心に勉強して、底の底まで研究した。

Nesshin ni benkyō shite, soko no soko made kenkyū shita.

さうしてこゝにかうしてゐる。氣の毒な、馬鹿な己だな。

Sō shite koko ni kō shite iru. Kinodoku na, baka na onore da na.

その癖なんにもしなかつた昔より、ちつともえらくはなつてゐない。

Sono kuse nan ni mo shinakatta mukashi yori, chitto mo eraku wa natte inai.

Habe nun, ach! Philosophie, / Juristerei und Medizin, / Und leider auch
Theologie / Durchaus studiert, mit heißem Bemühn. / Da steh' ich
nun, ich armer Tor! / Und bin so klug als wie zuvor!

Law, medicine, philosophy / And even—worse luck—theology: / Have
studied 'em all, and assiduously. / And here, poor fool, I stand once
more, / No wiser than I was before.” (Composite tr.: Randall Jarrell,
J.T.W., Walter Arndt)

The relative speed with which Ōgai completed the work, surprisingly, does not result in a slapdash translation.⁵⁴ Rather, it seems a correlate to the *flow*

53 This passage appears — the original German, in old-German script, together with the figure of Ōgai — on a 1990 Japanese postage stamp “In Commemoration of the 8th International Congress on German Language and Literature” held in Tokyo that year: 第8回ドイツ語学・文学国際学会記念, *IVG Kongress Tokyo* (Dai-hakkai Doitsu gogaku, bungaku kokusai gakkai kinen; IVG = Internationale Vereinigung für Germanistik). It is ironic that it is the German and not Ōgai’s translation that gets reprinted. The stamp is reproduced (p. 25) in Takanashi Atsushi 高梨惇, “Mori Ōgai to Gēte” 森鷗外とゲーテ, *Shitai* シティアイ [Added title: *Cityeye*] 51 (Feb. 1991), pp. 24–25.

54 The scholarship it reflects is sound. The following points are made by Kimura Naoji 木村直司. Ōgai had carefully studied F.M. Gredy’s *Deutsche Poetik* while in Germany. He wrote countless marginal notes in his Reclam edition of *Faust* (now in the Tōdai library). He utilized the Düntzer and (now wholly forgotten) Krupp commentaries to the work. Ōgai parades the names of Engel, Trautmann, and Schade; he argues that the 4-volume Kuno Fischer work is the best; and he notes that Bielschowsky knew the *Urfaust* but not the *Urmeister*, which appeared after his death (Ōgai got the information from other sources, but which ones?). He based his translation on the Otto Harnack edition, but in places where there were questions he consulted the Sophienausgabe. He even found a printing error (in reference to ‘sulphuric acid’). Kimura Naoji, “Mori Ōgai als ‘Faust’-Übersetzer,” in *Praxis interkultureller Germanistik: Forschung, Bildung, Politik. Beiträge zum II. Internationalen*

with which the work reads. While *Fausuto* is often highly colloquial, and not infrequently prolix, overall the translation issues in a smooth, marvelously intelligent vernacular, one with much more *bungo* interspersed than might at first seem the case, graced by the occasional artful expression drawn from the author's vast wordhoard.

The Japanese is a pleasure to read — and surprisingly modern. Moreover, it succeeds in one most important respect: communicating the devilishly insidious wit of Mephistopheles in his interaction with Faust.

The mixing in of passages in *bungo* can lend gravity to the phrasing (as in 'a') or create an analogue to the condensed rhyme-scheme of the German original (as in 'b'):

37. a. #FT 01224 (Faust):

こう書いてある。「初にロゴスありき。語^{ことば}ありき。」
Kō kaitearu. 'Hajime ni ROGOSU ariki. Kotoba ariki.'
 Geschrieben steht: 'Im Anfang war das Wort!
 It is written: 'In the beginning was the Word!' (Peter Salm tr.)

b. FT, 5 lines between #01607 and #01626 (Chorus of Spirits):

美しき世界を / 汝^{なむじ} 毀ちぬ。 // 汝^なが胸のうちにそを建立せよ。 // さらば新しき歌
 / 聞えむ。
*Utsukushiki sekai o / Namuji kobochinu. // Na ga mune no uchi ni so o
 konryū seyo. // Saraba atarashiki uta / Kikoemu.*
 Du hast sie zerstört / Die schöne Welt, // In deinem Busen baue sie auf!
 // Und neue Lieder / Tönen darauf!"
 Thou hast it destroyed, / The beautiful world, // In thine own bosom build
 it anew! // And the new songs of cheer / Be sung thereto! (Bayard
 Taylor tr., 1:55)

Additional gravitas is made possible by the use of *kanbun* to render passages cited in Latin in *Faust*: first the sounds of the text are imitated in *katakana*, then the original Latin is presented as 'rubi' *furigana*, and finally the passage is translated (in parentheses) in *kanbun*. This makes a good counterpart to the witty and/or deadly irony with which classical-language passages are cited by

Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Interkulturelle Germanistik, Straßburg 1991 (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Interkulturelle Germanistik, 4), ed. Bernd Thum and Gonthier-Louis Fink (München: Iudicium Verlag, 1993), pp. 945–958 (esp. pp. 947–951); rpt. as Chap. 6, in Kimura Naoji, *Jenseits von Weimar: Goethes Weg zum Fernen Osten* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997) (Euro-Sinica, Bd. 8), pp. 320–335.

Goethe (for example, the student reading aloud in ‘a,’ or the cathedral choir chanting in ‘b’ prior to Gretchen’s demise):

38. a. FT #02048:⁵⁵

エリチス・シイクト・デウス・スチエンテス・ボヌム・エツト・マルム
Eritis sicut Deus scientes bonum et malum
 (爾等知善與惡。則應如神。)

Latin: You will be like God, knowing good and evil. (J.T.W. tr.)

Kanbun: If you know good and evil, you will be like god. (J.T.W. tr.)

b. FT #03813–03815 (from the series #03798–03799, 03813–03815, and 03825–03827)

ユウデツクス・エルゴ・クム・セデビツト、
Judex ergo cum sedebit
 (判官既坐。則)
 クキツトクキツト・ラデツト・アドバアレビツト、
Quidquid latet apparebit
 (一切隱匿。悉皆審明。)
 ニル・イヌルツム・レマネビツト。
Nil inultum remanebit
 (無一事不報復。而遺存者。)

Latin: When our Lord shall mount His throne, / Vengeance shall o’ertake its own / All that’s hidden shall be known. (Howard Mumford Jones tr.)

Kanbun: The judge having been seated, then / Everything that has been hidden shall, without exception, be brought into the clear; / *Nothing* will remain that has not been fully requited. (J.T.W. tr.)

Kanbun offers a good correlate to the Latin — the humorous pedantry-*cum*-irony of the first passage and the deadly earnestness of the second.⁵⁶

55 Here and below, *kaeriten* are not reproduced. Note that in the *kanbun* Ōgai keeps the plural ‘you’ of the Latin verb form of ‘to be’ (i.e., 爾等 for *eritis*). Note also that the Vulgate (*Genesis* 3.5) has *dii* (*sic*) (‘gods’) rather than *Deus* (‘God’).

56 In Entry #38a, a student who has naively come seeking instruction from Faust, with mindless credulousness recites before a pedantic Mephistopheles (dressed up as the doctor) a passage that, at one level is sacred (coming from the Bible), and at another profane, being the words the devil used to tempt Adam and Eve; the passage is additionally ironic, in view of the events that are to unfold.

Incantatory lines from the “*Dies Irae*,” partially cited in #38b, are interspersed in the German text as an Evil Spirit assails a guilt-ridden Gretchen. This medieval hymn (meaning “Day of Wrath”), ascribed to the thirteenth-century Thomas of Celano, was universally familiar in the West of Goethe’s time; with its exceptionally powerful rhythmical beat, it pounds home the message that an avenging God will exact retribution for any wrongdoing.

Compare the handling of Latin citations in *Sokkyō shijin*, where commentary on and translations of such passages were not available to Ōgai (since the German versions then

In *Fausuto*, Ōgai does manage to communicate some passages with economy.⁵⁷ The following are two examples: the first even creates an apparent rhyme (in fact, by repeating the same word),⁵⁸ and the second illustrates the handling of a passage extraordinarily difficult to translate because of its compactness and theological density.

39. a. FT #00508–00509 (Spirit):

かくて「時」のさわ立つ機を己は織る。 *Kakute 'Toki' no sawatatsu ki o onore wa oru,*

神の生ける衣きぬを織る。 *Kami no ikeru kinu o oru.*

So schaff ich am laufenden Webstuhl der Zeit / Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid.

At time's whirring loom I work and play / God's living garment I weave and display. (David Luke tr.)

b. FT #00737–00741 (Choir of Angels):

クリストはよみがへりたまひぬ。 *KURISUTO wa yomigaeri-tamainu.*

身をも心をも損こたふべき、 *Mi o mo kokoro o mo sokonaubeki,*

緩やかに利く、親譲おやゆずりの *Yuruyaka ni kiku, oya-yuzuri no*

害毒がいどくのまっはれたる、 *Gaidoku no matsuwaretaru,*

死ぬべきもの等に喜よろこびあれ。 *Shinubeki mono-ra ni yorokobi are.*

available, as well as the English one, all leave the Latin intact). Olof G. Lidin treats four individual longish and two short Latin phrases as they appear in one Andersen chapter (chaps. 36–38 of the Japanese), and summarizes: “Mori Ōgai took the easy way out, ignoring them or rewriting the passages where they occur, without doing much harm to the narrative”; “H.C. Andersen’s *Improvisatoren* and Mori Ōgai’s *Sokkyō Shijin*,” pp. 235–236.

57 The famously compact lines in much of Goethe’s *Faust* would seem to lend themselves especially well to the compressed statement of *kanshi*. One might expect to find several examples of *kanshi*-influenced compactness in Ōgai’s *Fausuto* or of *kanshi* parallels of the sort noted in Entry #26. After all, training and education in *kanbun* were at work in terms of the author-translator’s rhythm as well as diction. But close examination reveals a less obvious correspondence between *kanshi* and *Fausuto*, as compared with *Sokkyō shijin*. The rhythms of Ōgai’s colloquial version of *Fausuto* are much lengthier, for the most part, than the usual compact lines of *kanshi* (notwithstanding the examples offered in Entries #37b and #39). At the same time, Ōgai does not rely on standard Japanese prosody; lines only occasionally parse into 5- and 7-syllable rhythms.

58 Rare enough in *Fausuto*, and one of the tools that had been used by Ōgai in the *Omokage* experimental translations referred to in n. 69 — for example, the rhyming of *omoi so* 思ひそ with *omoite zo* 思ひてぞ in Stanza 6 of the translation of Lord Byron’s “Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage” (as *Ineyokashi* いねよかし).

Christ ist erstanden! / Freude dem Sterblichen, / Den die verderblichen, /
 Schleichenden, erblichen / Mängel umwandlen.
 Christ is arisen! / Joy to the mortal, / Whom his malign / Inborn, insidious /
 Sins had imprisoned! (Randall Jarrell tr., 37)

As the latter passage suggests, in his translations Ōgai succeeds in getting Christian theology across with understanding and sympathy, carefully translating or paraphrasing a large majority of expressions related to religion.⁵⁹ Most surprisingly, he manages to create in Japanese (cumulatively in *Sokkyō shijin* and in *Fausuto*) an enormously sympathetic Virgin Mary, as does Goethe in *Faust*, notwithstanding the latter's supposed hostility to Catholicism and the former's presumed indifference to Christianity.⁶⁰ In Ōgai's case, the treatment harmonizes with his sympathetic portrayal of a wide range of wo-

59 Notwithstanding the fact that, as noted earlier, in *Sokkyō shijin* there are numerous slyly ironic references to religion, specifically Catholicism, on the part of Andersen, several of which are missed or ignored by Ōgai. On his part, there are mistakes in treating Christianity (e.g., making 'bishops' synonymous with 'cardinals'; see n. 20 and Entry #17b above), elisions (e.g., omission of 'the first city of Christendom,' as cited in n. 29), and — especially toward the end of the translation, when Ōgai's interest seems to have flagged — slapdash annotation (the most egregious, and unintentionally humorous, example being the gloss he put in parentheses to explain 'Tobias' トビアス [SS 65:580]: *Kyūyaku zensho o miyo*. 舊約全書を見よ: "See all of the Old Testament" — which might more charitably be rendered, "See the Old Testament, *passim*").

60 Ōgai's coolness toward Christianity is illustrated in KS #190.3–4 (1915):

至竟效響非我事 *Shikyō hisomi ni narau wa waga koto ni arazu*
 不憑基督不參禪 *KIRISUTO ni yorazu zen ni sanzezu.*

Ultimately, "imitating another's frown" (i.e., mindlessly imitating others) has not been my way;

I neither rely on Christ nor practice Zen.

But such a statement should be understood in conjunction with the following passage from "Mōzō" ("Mōsō") 妄想 (1911), a work taken to be highly autobiographical: "Men who were hailed in an ancient world, those being praised in modern times — whatever they said, I looked at them as if I were standing in (*sic*) a corner, indifferently viewing the types of people who passed by. I looked at them without emotion, but frequently, standing on the corner, I tipped my cap. Whether ancients or contemporaries there are many to whom I would pay my respects. I raised my cap, but there was no thought of leaving the corner to follow any one of them. I met many teachers, but not a single master" (John W. Dower, tr., "'Delusion,' *Mōsō*, by Mori Ōgai," *Monumenta Nipponica* 25.3–4 [1970], pp. 415–430; the passage appears on p. 427).

men, whether the Nora of Ibsen's "A Doll's House" (in another of his famous translations) or Otama in *Gan* 雁 (in his "original" writing).⁶¹

This is not to say that *Fausuto* cannot be viewed critically. Certain (indeed, many) phrasings seem wordy, especially if compared with the German.⁶² Cer-

61 See the Kaneko Sachiyo 金子幸代 study, which treats a wide range of such women, including those in Ōgai's translations of works by Ibsen, Strindberg, and Maeterlinck, but not in *Fausuto*: *Ōgai to 'josei': Mori Ōgai ronkyū* 鷗外とく女性>: 森鷗外論究 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1992).

62 The following example might be termed "borderline wordy." In other words, it may not be prolix when compared with several passages in *Fausuto* of similar length where the emphasis appears to be on expressing the meaning of the German in a fluid vernacular; but unlike the original, the Japanese is not pithy:

#00632–00633 (Faust):

我等の生の道のゆくてを遮り塞ぐものは、

Warera no sei no michi no yukute o saegiri-fusagu mono wa,

あゝ、我等の受ける苦丈ではない。我等のする事業も邪魔だ。

Ā, warera no ukeru ku dake de wa nai. Warera no suru jigyō mo jama da.

Ach! unsre Taten selbst, so gut als unsre Leiden, / Sie hemmen unsres Lebens Gang.

Not our sufferings only, the deeds that we have done / Inhibit our life's progression. (Walter Kaufmann tr.)

It is only by comparing the above with other versions in Japanese that some relative basis of comparison, re "wordiness," becomes possible. The first of the following represents a kind of excessive vernacular, particularly as apprehended visually. The second offers a sharp contrast: it illustrates that brevity is possible, coupled with scholarly accuracy and attractive wording.

Tezuka Tomio 手塚富雄 (1964 [1974]):

ああ、われわれにまつわる悩みと同様、ひたむきに行為をめざすわれわれの意欲も、

Ā, wareware ni matsuwaru nayami to dōyō, hitamuki ni kōi o mezasu wareware no iyoku mo,

われわれの生の歩みをさまたげるのだ。

Wareware no sei no ayumi o samatageru no da.

Konishi Satoru 小西悟 (1998):

ああ! 苦悩ばかりか、行動そのものが *Ā! kunō bakari ka, kōdō sono mono ga*

われわれの生の歩みをはばむとは。 *Wareware no sei no ayumi o habamu to wa.*

The Tezuka Tomio version illustrates the tendency in postwar Japanese literary translation toward using a vernacular in which the denotative and connotative dimensions of a text are both made explicit. The results usually make for helpful language aids, but poor literary analogues. The tendency has been noted in reference to modern-Japanese sinological translation: John Timothy Wixted, "Translator's Preface," Yoshikawa Kōjirō [吉川幸次郎], *Five Hundred Years of Chinese Poetry, 1150–1650: The Chin, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. xi–xix (specifically, p. xiii); the Wixted passage appears in Japanese translation in idem, "Chūgoku bungaku oyobi Nihon bungaku:

tain word choices are questionable.⁶³ And there is the occasional error.⁶⁴ The

Ichi Seiyōjin no kenkyū hōhō ni tsuite” 中国文学及び日本文学: 一西洋人の研究方法について, *Chūgokugo Chūgoku Bungaku Kenkyūshitsu kiyō* (University of Tokyo) 中国語中国文学研究室紀要 (東京大学) 4 (Apr. 2001), pp. 47–65 (specifically, p. 58), available online at: <http://repository.dl.itc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2261/28128/1/cc012009.pdf>.

- 63 The problem is often one of less- or more-desirable renderings, or renderings with different sets of trade-offs. The following is a case in point. First, the original German is given, followed by renderings in English, then in Japanese:

FT #00797–00798 (Chorus of Disciples):

Christ ist erstanden, / Aus der Verwesung Schoß.

The problem revolves around ‘*Schoß*’ in German, meaning ‘womb; lap, bosom; bowels.’ If one believes as most translators now do, that in rendering a literary text one should stick to the semantic core of the original as much as possible, it is ironic that English translations generally do so here, and Japanese ones do not. Arguably, the situation should be reversed; in English, to speak negatively of the ‘womb’ from which Christ came is both unexpected and jarring, and clashes with long-held associations of the Virgin Mary — namely, the phrase in the “Hail Mary,” ‘Blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus’ — yet in Japanese there is no such association.

Several English-language translators create a problem by using ‘womb’ here, which the reader only belatedly comes to realize, in context, does not refer to Mary:

Christ is arisen, / Out of Corruption’s womb. (Bayard Taylor tr., 1:29, 1871)

Christ is arisen / From the womb of corruption. (C.F. MacIntyre tr., 21, 1949)

Christ is arisen / Out of corruption’s womb. (Walter Kaufmann tr., 1961)

Christ is arisen / From the womb of decay. (Peter Salm tr., 1962)

Two translators seem aware of the problem and do what many do: in trying to avoid one problem, create a worse one — in the following cases, unfortunate wording:

Christ is arisen / From the foulness of death’s decree. (Philip Wayne tr., 57, 1949)

Risen is Christ / Out of corruption’s trough. (Walter Arndt tr., 1976)

Barker Fairley in his prose version avoids ‘womb.’ Randall Jarrell in his free-verse rendering (as often, more sensitive to such things) finesses the problem by using ‘lap,’ an extension of the ‘womb’ metaphor. And David Luke strikes a clever balance (by not having Christ directly ‘arising’ from a ‘womb,’ but rather from the tomb, thus keeps the concreteness of ‘womb’ and creates a rhyme as well to match others in the immediate environs, but loses the concision of ‘Christ is arisen’ and has to add ‘snatched from’):

Christ is risen out of corruption. (Barker Fairley tr., 769, 1970)

From the lap of corruption / Christ is arisen! (Randall Jarrell tr., 40, 1965)

Christ is raised from the tomb, / Snatched from corruption’s womb! (David Luke tr., 1987)

Ōgai handled the passage as follows:

物を朽ち壊れしむる土の膝を *Mono o kuchi-kuzureshimuru tsuchi no hiza o*
立ち離れつゝ、主はよみがへりましぬ。 *Tachi-hanare tsutsu, shu wa yomigaerimashinu.*

His successors seem to have been influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by his example, also employing abstract paraphrasing for ‘*Aus der Verwesung Schoß*.’ Pioneer translators often

Germanist, Tezuka Tomio, refers to the latter.⁶⁵ Fairly common in Japanese-

exert such pull:

Sagara Morio 相良守峯 (1958):

キリストはよみがえりましぬ、
朽ち果てぬべき大地の胸より。

KIRISUTO wa yomigaerimashinu,
Kuchi-hatenu beki ōchi no mune yori.

Tezuka Tomio 手塚富雄 (1964 [1974]):

キリストはよみがえりたまいぬ。
滅びの土を離れたまいぬ。

KIRISUTO wa yomigaeri-tamainu.
Horobi no tsuchi o hanare-tamainu.

Shibata Shō 柴田翔 (1999):

キリストは甦りぬ
滅びの淵を離れ。

KIRISUTO wa yomigaerinu
Horobi no fuchi o hanare.

Ikeuchi Osamu 池内紀 (42, 1999):

ただれた膝元より
キリストは甦った

Tadareta hizamoto yori
KIRISUTO wa yomigaetta.

Only Konishi Satoru 小西悟 (1998) seems to have broken the spell, rendering ‘womb’ directly (*tainai*):

キリストはよみがえられた、
腐った人の世の胎内から。

KIRISUTO wa yomigaerareta,
Kusatta hito no yo no tainai kara.

Kowada Hiroshi 小和田博, after commenting on the Ōgai translation of the passage cited in Entry #36d (and supplying his own translation), also notes the strong influence exerted by Ōgai’s text on later versions, specifically those by Sagara Morio 相良守峯 (1958), Takahashi Kenji 高橋健二 (1951), and Tezuka Tomio 手塚富雄 (1964) — all of which he quotes by way of comparison; “Yakushi wa shi de aru ka (5)” 訳詩は詩であるか (五), *Inritsu* 韻律 7 (1968), pp. 5–6.

64 If not an “error,” the following at least paraphrases out of existence the verb ‘*durchschmarutzen*’ — there being limits to what even ‘*omoshiroi*,’ that most elastic of Japanese expressions, can accomplish. Mephistopheles is telling Faust what he will be teaching him:

FT #02053–02054 (Mephistopheles):

まあ、一通の修行を遣って御覽なさい。 *Mā, hito-tōri no shūgyō o yatte goran nasai.*
なか / \ 面白くて有益ですよ。 *Nakanaka omoshiroくて yūeki desu yo.*

Mit welcher Freude, welchem Nutzen / Wirst du den Cursum durchschmarutzen!

What fun, and useful too! / A curriculum you’ll freeload through. (J.T.W. tr.)

Nor is Ōgai beyond ‘filling in’ passages with phrasing not in the original:

FT #01882 (Student):

この高い石垣や廣い建物を見ますと *Kono takai sekitan ya hiroi tatemono o mimasu to*
In diesen Mauern, diesen Hallen / ...

These walls and halls ... (David Luke tr.)

Cf. similar ‘amplification’ of the passage in the following: “These gloomy rooms and somber halls” (Walter Kaufmann tr.).

65 “An excellent translation of *Faust* was made by Mori Ōgai, the greatest translator of post-Meiji Japan, and occupies a more or less unshakable position in modern Japanese literature. Although it is, indeed, a magnificent literary achievement, it contains a considerable number of difficulties and obscurities, and it remains doubtful just how widely and thoroughly

language treatment of Ōgai's *Fausuto* is the vague kind of comment that later translations may be philologically more "correct," but not of the literary quality of Ōgai's.⁶⁶ Less than a decade ago, the respected Goethe scholar Shibata Shō stated that Ōgai seldom made mistakes with his German;⁶⁷ Shibata, the senior Germanist of the most recent generation, had the previous year published his own complete translation of *Faust*.

Central to *Faust* translation is the question of rhyme-schemes, how to communicate the wide range of patterns found in the original: *Knittelvers*, *Madrigalvers*, *terza rima*, Alexandrines, free verse, etc. If English is problematic for recreating such rhyme-schemes, Japanese is even more so, for English is (like German) a syllable-stress language, rather than a syllable-count language (like Japanese or classical Latin).⁶⁸

it has been read in practice"; Tezuka Tomio [手塚富雄], "Goethe and the Japanese," *Japan Quarterly* 11.4 (Oct.–Dec. 1964), pp. 481–485 (specifically, p. 484). Tezuka may have let his own *Faust*-translation project at the time color his view; cf. Shibata Shō's opinion (and the attitude it reflects), referred to just below. The sample translations by Tezuka and Shibata cited in this article (by both in n. 63 and by Tezuka in n. 62) suggest the greater trustworthiness of Shibata's judgment than of Tezuka's.

Kimura Naoji is if anything harsher, but at the same time accepting. In the study referred to in n. 54 above, he cites an article by Ōgai in which the latter pointed out some of his own mistakes in *Fausuto* — to which Kimura adds (p. 954; here and below, English-language translations are by the author of this article, followed by Kimura's German-language original): "In fact, there would be countless such mistakes, should one carefully go over his translation line by line; it would be duck soup for a skilled philologist." "Eigentlich dürfte es bei ihm unzählige solcher Fehler geben, wenn man seine 'Faust'-Übersetzung Zeile für Zeile genau überprüfen würde; für einen Fachphilologen wäre das ein Leichtes." But as Kimura earlier noted in the same article (p. 950), Ōgai was not that kind of translator (the italics that follow are in the original): "Certainly Ōgai was *not a philologist*, one unable to write a phrase without footnotes and literary references." "Freilich war Mori Ōgai *kein Philologe*, der keinen Aufsatz ohne Anmerkungen und Literaturverzeichnis schreiben könnte."

66 Among the numerous articles by Japanese Goethe scholars that refer to Ōgai's *Fausuto*, there appears to be none that lists the work's translation errors.

67 In conversation with the author of this article in Tokyo in 2000.

68 Walter Kaufmann explains his own decision to translate only about 1,200 of the roughly 7,500 lines of *Faust* Part 2, and to offer a summary of the rest: "For the translator, who must dwell carefully on every line, Part Two contains enormous lengths, and what lies between the first scene and the last act is not altogether tempting. To let Goethe speak English is one thing; to transpose into English his attempt to imitate Greek poetry in German is another"; *Goethe's Faust* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1961), p. 31. Walter Arndt puts it differently: "The Classical and Classicist meters employed are all archaic to the modern

As a young man, Ōgai and his collaborators had been especially bold at tackling the problem of rhyme and meter in poetry translation; the earlier reference to apparent rhyme (in n. 58) brings to mind the experimental nature of Ōgai's translation of the Goethe poem, "Mignon."⁶⁹ But Ōgai's days as an ex-

German reader. They are difficult to get used to and to read naturally, in ascending degree from the eight-foot trochaics of Phorcycas to the clubfoot chaotics (as they must appear) of the Chorus. ... Most of the Chorus text and much else *ought* to sound 'translated' in the English version, because it does in the German. ... It will be apparent also that an effort has been made, not uniformly successful to preserve Goethe's prosody, down to the number of feet in every line, in all the seven or more classes of meters he uses, from two to eight feet in length"; "Translating *Faust*," in *Faust: A Tragedy*, Translated by Walter Arndt, Edited by Cyrus Hamlin (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), pp. 356–367 (citations from pp. 360–361 and 366).

- 69 *Omokage* 於母影 (1889) contained poems that attempted to render in Japanese either the thought (*i* 意), foot-count (*ku* 句), rhyme (*in* 韻), or overall metrical scheme (*chō* 調), of the original. In his "Mignon" version, Ōgai imitated the 10-syllable lines of the German (albeit by doubling the length of most lines [slash marks being added below between syllable-decades], and by ignoring the caesura in the German after the 4th syllable);* the first of three stanzas here follows (each foot having one underline-mark):**

Goethe text:

Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühen,
Im dunkeln Laub die Goldorangen glühen,
Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht,
Die Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht,
Kennst du es wohl?

Dahin! Dahin!

Möcht ich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, ziehn.

English translation (from *Goethe: Selected Verse*, With an Introduction and Plain Prose Translations of Each Poem by David Luke [Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1964], p. 85):

Do you know the land where the lemon-trees blossom, where the golden oranges glow in the dark foliage, a soft wind blows from the blue sky, and the myrtle stands and the bay-tree is tall? Do you know it perhaps? It is there, there that I would like to go with you, my beloved.

The Ōgai version (with syllable-count indicated):

レモンの木は花さき / くらき林の中に
REMON no ki wa hana saki / kuraki hayashi no naka ni,
こがね色したる柑子は / 枝もたわわにみのり
Kogane-iro shitaru koji wa, / eda mo tawawa ni minori
青く晴れし空より / しづかに風吹き
Aoku hareshi sora yori, / shizuka ni kaze fuki.
ミルテの木はしづかに / ラウレルの木は高く

perimeter were over.⁷⁰ Except for using *bungo* for some *terza rima* passages

MIRUTE no ki wa shizuka ni / ROORERU no ki wa takaku

くもにそびえて立てる / 国をしるやかなたへ

Kumo ni sobiete tateru / kuni o shiruyaka na tae

君と共にゆかまし

Kimi to tomo ni yukamashi

*One line of both texts is 8 syllables long: visually split in the German, and made into a hemistich in the Japanese.

**The text here is reproduced (p. 45) from Matsumura Tomomi 松村友視, “‘Mi’nyon no uta” ミニヨンの歌, in *Mori Ōgai, Omokage kenkyū* 森鷗外・於母影研究, ed. Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Kokubungaku Kenkyūkai 慶応義塾大学国文学研究会編 (Tokyo: Ōfūsha 桜楓社, 1985), pp. 45–66. Note that the “Mignon” translation has also been attributed to Ōgai’s sister, Koganei Kimiko 小金井喜美子; but Matsumura (p. 52) assigns it to Ōgai, in large part because of diction in it similar to that later used in *Sokkyō shijin*.

Much of the material in this note is found in Kobori Keiichirō [小堀桂一郎], “Goethe im Lichte der Mori Ogwaischen (sic) Übersetzungskunst,” *Gēte nenkan* ゲーテ年鑑 / *Goethe-Jahrbuch* (Tokyo) 20 (1978), pp. 53–68.

- 70 In 1916, just four years after completion of the *Faust* translation, Ōgai’s 1892 *Minawashū* 美奈和集 was republished (as *Minawashū* 水沫集). The work had included not only the author’s famous “original” works — the three short stories that take place in Germany: “Maihime” 舞姫, “Utakata no ki” うたかたの記, and “Fumizukai” 文づかひ — but also his translations of prose pieces by Alphonse Daudet (1840–1897), Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811), and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), as well as the *Omokage* poem-translations — material which Ōgai considered ground-breaking. On the occasion of the reprinting, Ōgai wrote two *kanshi*, one of which reads as follows.*

KS #199, Entire poem (1916), No. 1 of 2:

丙辰夏日校水沫集感觸有作

Hinoetatsu kajitsu, ‘Minawashū’ o kōsu, kanshoku shite saku ari

Bǐngchén xiàrì, xiào ‘Shuǐmòjí,’ gǎnchù yǒu zuò

空拳尚擬拓新阡

Kūken nao shinsen o hirakan to gisuru mo

Kōngquán shàng nǐ tuò xīnqiān

2 意氣當年却可憐

Iki tōnen kaette awaremu beshi

Yìqì dāngnián què kělián

將此天潢霑涸沫

Kono tenkō o motte komatsu o uruosan to shi

Jiāng cǐ tiānhuáng zhān hé mò

4 無端灑向不毛田

Hashi naku mo fumō no den ni mukatte sosogu

Wúduān sǎ xiàng bù máo tián

In the translation that follows, the first two lines are rendered sparingly; the latter two include paraphrasing to bring out both the allusion in Line 3 and the “affect” of the couplet:

“*Hinoetatsu* Year [1916], Spring Day: Editing *Minawashū*, I Feel Moved and Write”

With but bare fists, intent on opening new fields;

My determination then — how pathetic it seems now.

With freshets of water as from the Milky Way’s stream (namely, with my new and experi-

in *Faust*, he seems indifferent to the problem of dealing with the multiple rhyme-schemes involved; or he simply decided there was no alternative but to try to translate the “sense” of the work in appropriately attractive cadences.

It may also be that, as with his *Sokkyō shijin* translation, where Ōgai appears to have wanted to send a counter-message to the realists and Tsubouchi Shōyō — namely, that here is the sort of “ideal, idealizing, idealistic” work, one written in *gabun* 雅文 style, that shows what true literature is about — similarly in *Fausuto*, he seems to have wanted to demonstrate that “high-classical” works can be rendered in true vernacular Japanese. In both cases Ōgai, in his characteristically ambivalent, dual-minded, non-exclusionary way — quite similar to Goethe in striving to be all-encompassing — was simultaneously attracted to and repulsed by current trends — or at least repulsed by (what seemed to him) their more simpleminded, singleminded advocates. Both texts, while endorsements of a position, seem also to be a superficially pleasant but barely concealed “Take this and lump it!” to its advocates as well as its opponents: “If you want a *gabun* text (fused with ordinary speech), ‘Take this!’ [i.e., *Sokkyō shijin*].” “If it’s colloquial you want (written with *bungo* and *kanbun* overtones), ‘Take that!’ [i.e., *Fausuto*].”

Fausuto is perhaps as great an accomplishment as *Sokkyō shijin*, because it is a translation and not an adaptation. The author-translator had to *recreate* the original work, not just be inspired by it; being subject to more constraints, it was an even greater challenge.⁷¹

mental writings of twenty-five years ago that are being reprinted here — both original works and translations), I wanted to resuscitate a literature that was gasping for life, like the frothing fish in *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子;

But it is pointless to try to water totally barren land (— a public and a literary world both unreceptive).

*In addition to the *kundoku* rendering in romanization, the text is given in romanized modern-Chinese readings so as (A) to highlight the rhymes that are maintained by Ōgai in nearly all of his *kanshi* (here underlined: *qiān, lián, tián*); (B) to give an alternative sense of poem-line rhythms, one visually and aurally closer to *on-yomi* readings of the *kanji*, and one that better communicates poetic pauses (since the main caesura comes after the 4th syllable in 7-character *kanshi* lines, and a secondary one often after the 2nd syllable — here communicated by extra space in the romanization); and (C) to help those who would like also to read the text “in Chinese.”

71 It would be useful to contrast Futabatei Shimei’s “literal” translations of Turgenev, Gogol, and others with Ōgai’s comparatively “faithful” rendering of *Faust*, especially now that a study is available in which Futabatei’s handling of the original Russian is illustrated by specific examples from both the source and target languages: Hiroko Cockerill, *Style and*

Just out of sight, but present in both of these linguistic feats, are the *kanshi* that served as disciplined training and parallel creative track for Ōgai — not only for his unmatched diction but also for a sense of rhythm that could create the embarrassment of riches that is *Sokkyō shijin* and the flow, elegance, and directness that are interwoven in *Fausuto*.

All of this leads to larger issues. If one believes (as the author of this article does) that the relationship between modern Japanese literature and its antecedents in East Asia (both in China and Japan), and especially its interactions with and inspiration from and use of models found in the West, have not been adequately examined, then the *derivative nature* of much writing in Japanese has not been adequately addressed. Much of modern Japanese literature is more borrowed and more imitative than most people want to admit.

At the same time, if one believes (as this writer does) that the *creativity* in modern Japanese literature is to be found primarily *in the language used* by authors — the style and vocabulary employed — then the distinction between (A) creative work, (B) work inspired by or derived from others, and (C) translations, largely evaporates.⁷² Like other works, all translations are fashioned out of language, out of words. Even if one insists that writing communicate ideas, transmit or inspire emotion, or create characters, moods, or states of mind, still, all is done *through, via, and in language*. The view of translation as being secondary, derivative, or imitative is basically fallacious, as has been pointed out well in the writings of Lawrence Venuti.⁷³

Narrative in Translations: The Contribution of Futabatei Shimei (Manchester, UK, and Kinderhook, USA: St. Jerome Publishing, 2006). Unfortunately (apart from confused treatment of aspect in classical Japanese), Cockerill, like other scholars who have written on Futabatei in English, ignores the monograph by Bruno Lewin, *Futabatei Shimei in seinen Beziehungen zur russischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955).

72 Another complementary distinction — that between ‘interlingual translation’ (between different languages) exemplified by Ōgai (from German to Japanese), and ‘intralingual translation’ (between two versions of the ‘same’ language) exemplified by Tanizaki (from classical Japanese to modern Japanese in his three complete translations of *Genji monogatari*) — is treated in John Timothy Wixted, “Dos Autores-Traductores Japoneses del Período Moderno: Mori Ōgai y Tanizaki Jun’ichiro,” tr. Ana Clelia Vincenti, in *Traducción como cultura*, comp. Lisa Bradford (Rosario, Argentina: Beatriz Viterbo, 1997), pp. 99–110 — no long-marks in the original.

73 The following titles are by, or edited by, Lawrence Venuti: *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1992); *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995); *The Scandals of Translation: Towards*

Of course, between translations and so-called creative writing stands a vast middle ground, one especially important in modern Japanese literature: namely, *hon'an* 翻案, the adaptations that are so ubiquitous in the Meiji that they deserve special attention.⁷⁴ What we really need is a taxonomy of adaptation.

If it is true that *Robinson Crusoe* and *Aesop's Fables*, through translation, both became part of the “imaginary” of Japanese, transforming the mental landscape, the same is true of other writings introduced into the culture. Some works appear to have done so for only a few decades, Ōgai's translation of *Sokkyō shijin* being a case in point. But even if a work proper has only a few decades' popularity, it still lives on in the influence it has exerted on the writings of others.

Several scholars point to a direct link between *Sokkyō shijin* and Izumi Kyōka's writing, in particular the latter's *Teriha kyōgen* 照葉狂言. *Sokkyō shijin*'s influence has been detected in later poetry, in that of Shimazaki Tōson as well as the Yosanos, both Tekkan and Akiko, and in verse by Ishikawa Takuboku, Yoshii Isamu, and Kitahara Hakushū.⁷⁵ The work is even said to have influenced Ōgai's own writing, his *Uta nikki* (Poetry Diary, 1907); as one scholar puts it, “[T]he diary is richly lyrical,” being “[r]eminiscent of Hans

an Ethics of Difference (London: Routledge, 1998); and *The Translation Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2000; 2nd ed., 2004).

74 There is the study by J. Scott Miller, *Adaptations of Western Literature in Meiji Japan* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

Note that Kawana Sari argues for a shared interest, a “community” of common concerns (à la Benedict Anderson), in which detective writers — Japanese and Western — treat themes in sometimes parallel, sometimes overlapping or divergent fashion; “Introduction,” *Murder Most Modern: Detective Fiction and Japanese Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 1–28, especially pp. 24–25. Perhaps the same could be said of much Japanese “Naturalist” writing — or writing initially inspired by Western “Romanticism.” In other words, the situation is more nuanced than simply one of “Western influence.”

75 See Shimada Kinji, “Mori Ōgai no *Sokkyō shijin*,” p. 1:279 (and environs) for Ōgai's influence on other writers. Seita Fumitake 清田文武, *Ōgai bungei to sono eikyō* 鷗外文芸とその影響 (Tokyo: Kanrin Shobō 翰林書房, 2007) is devoted entirely to discussion of Ōgai's influence on later fiction, poetry, and drama. Note also Fujisawa Matoshi [藤沢全], “The Role of Ōgai Mori's Translation of Hans Christian Andersen's *Improvisatoren* in the Poetical Works of Takuboku Ishikawa,” in *Crosscurrents in the Literatures of Asia and the West: Essays in Honor of A. Owen Aldridge*, ed. Akiyama Masayuki [秋山正幸] and Leung Yiu-nam [梁耀南] (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1997), pp. 180–189.

Christian Anderson's [*sic*] *Improvisatoren* (*Sokkyō shijin*)."⁷⁶ *Sokkyō shijin* is also said to have influenced the prose writing of Oguri Fūyō, Tayama Katai, Nagai Kafū, and several less-known authors.

Many, like Masamune Hakuchō 正宗白鳥 (1879–1962), read and were moved by *Sokkyō shijin*. But he commented that the work was already becoming difficult for young people to read. This becomes a standard refrain. It is worth noting that in 1941, Yamamoto Shigeru 山本茂 speaks of having first read the work as a middle-school student twenty-seven or -eight years earlier, in a school-text anthology edited by Ochiai Naobumi 落合直文 — which would place the time of his first exposure to the text in 1913 or 1914 — and he says he found the work quite difficult then.⁷⁷ Now it is hard to find anyone middle-aged or younger who has read the work.⁷⁸

All along, *Sokkyō shijin* has been treated as a travel companion by some of its fans, in the way one might take along a Jan Morris book on Oxford or Hong Kong, or an H.V. Morton one on Spain, to enjoy the author's interesting descriptions of the locale. The volcanologist Ishimoto Mishio 石本己四雄, active in the 1930s, is said to have packed *Sokkyō shijin* along on his trips to Italy.⁷⁹ The Japanese historian of constitutional law, Hayashi Shūzō, wrote in 1966

76 Hasegawa Izumi [長谷川泉], "The Significance of the Meiji Period in Mori Ōgai's Literature," *Acta Asiatica* 40 (1981), pp. 1–21 (specifically, pp. 16–17).

77 Yamamoto Shigeru 山本茂, "*Sokkyō shijin*" [即興詩人], a chap. (dated 1941.3.17) in idem, *Mokuran* 木蘭 (Tokyo: Kokusai Nihon Kyōkai 國際日本協會, 1942), pp. 204–207. (This volume is an exceptionally rare book.) The Ochiai-edited anthology, *Chūto kokugo tokuhon* 中等國語読本 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1911 and later editions), contained the *Sokkyō shijin* passage on Mt. Vesuvius (in ch. 40).

78 In Tokyo in 2000, the author of this article attended an evening lecture on Mori Ōgai by Komori Yoichi 小森陽一. In a disappointed tone, he spoke of having surveyed a lecture-hall of roughly one hundred incoming Tokyo University students that morning, and not one had read *Sokkyō shijin*. He was further disappointed to find that the only person in the evening audience to have read the work was a *gaijin*.

As Nagashima Yoichi (p. 401) notes, "The young Japanese today cannot read *Sokkyō Shijin* without the help of detailed annotations to Ōgai's quasi-classic Japanese, even if they want to"; "Hans Christian Andersen Remade in Japan: Mori Ōgai's Translation of *Improvisatoren*," in *Hans Christian Andersen: Between Children's Literature and Adult Literature*, ed. Johan de Mylius, Aage Jørgensen, and Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen (Odense: The Hans Christian Andersen Center, University of Southern Denmark, 2005) (Papers from the Fourth International Hans Christian Andersen Conference, 1 to 5 August 2005), pp. 397–406 — no long-marks for author or title in the original.

79 Yamamoto Shigeru, "*Sokkyō shijin*," p. 206.

that he visited the sites in Rome through the eyes of the book's Antonio.⁸⁰ And Mori Mayumi has recently written an "In the Footsteps of *Sokkyō shijin*"-kind of travelogue.⁸¹

The influence of Ōgai's Goethe translations, though probably greater than that of *Sokkyō shijin*, is more diffuse. Indeed, it is salutary to think that Goethe may have had more influence on modern Japanese literature than he has had in English, where he has never been that popular. The 16-volume *zenshū* of Goethe's translated writings that appeared between 1979 and 1992 was already the seventh Goethe *zenshū*. The Kaizōsha edition of 1935–40 alone contained 36 volumes. By contrast, although there have been many translations of *Faust* into English, there have been only two Goethe *zenshū* in the language: the 12-volume *Works* that appeared in the Bohn Classical Library between 1846 and 1864, and the 11-volume *Collected Works* published by Suhrkamp / Insel from 1983 on (and reprinted by Princeton University Press in the 1990s). Between 1998 and 2000, on the occasion of the 250th birthday of Goethe, there appeared three complete new translations of *Faust* into Japanese;⁸² no new edition appeared in English at the time.

Hoshino Shin'ichi has argued that Goethe was an important influence on Takayama Chogyū, Ozaki Kōyō, Natsume Sōseki, Shimazaki Tōson, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, and devotes a chapter to each.⁸³ For at least two of these figures, Goethe's influence would predate Ōgai's *Faust*

80 Hayashi Shūzō 林修三, "Rōma to *Sokkyō shijin*" ローマと即興詩人, *Toki no hōrei* 時の法令 556–557 (Jan. 3, 1966), pp. 94–96. Cf. Abe Yoshishige 安倍能成, "*Sokkyō shijin* to Rōma: Piattsu Barberini [Piazza Barberini] fukin" 「即興詩人」とローマ: ピアッツァ・バルベリニ付近, *Chūō kōron* 中央公論 49.7 (1934), pp. 212–222.

81 Mori Mayumi 森まゆみ, '*Sokkyō shijin*' no Itaria 「即興詩人」のイタリア (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2003). Cf. Hidaka Kōji 日高孝次, "*Sokkyō shijin* no ashiato o tadorite" 即興詩人の足跡を辿りて, *Tosho* 圖書 70 (July 1955), pp. 18–20.

When this author suggested for the 2008 European Association for Japanese Studies conference in Lecce, Italy, that the organizers use the occasion to organize a post-conference tour of some of the sites in Ōgai's work, he was met with incomprehension.

82 All are cited in n. 63.

83 Hoshino Shin'ichi 星野慎一, *Gēte to Ōgai* ゲーテと鷗外 (Tokyo: Ushio Shuppansha 潮出版社, 1975). Most of the first division of the book (pp. 5–168) is devoted to Goethe and Ōgai; the second (pp. 191–263) consists of chapters on Goethe and each of the writers indicated. The following serves as a *de facto* German-language summary of the volume: Hoshino Shin'ichi (*sic*), "Goethe und das japanische Publikum," *Gēte nenkan* ゲーテ年鑑 / *Goethe-Jahrbuch* (Tokyo) 20 (1978), pp. 29–51.

translation; later writers, although they probably read his translation, did not necessarily do so. But that only reflects part of its relevance; what is most important has been the cultural cachet — the endorsement, the stamp of approval, the equation between Goethe and culture — branded on Japanese consciousness through the prestige of Ōgai's association with Goethe and with the *Faust* translation. The closest parallel in the West probably is Longfellow's role, via his rendering of the *Divine Comedy*, in making Dante a cultural figure of importance in the English-speaking world. But Longfellow, although greatly admired and immensely popular in the nineteenth century, has not continued to have the enduringly iconic status of Ōgai.

Most Japanese who study Japanese literature do not know European languages and their literatures in the original, except in some cases English. The scholarship on Ōgai's *Fausuto*, not surprisingly, comes mostly from Japanese Germanists, not from Japanese-literature scholars. Similarly, scholarship on Futabatei Shimei's translations that takes into account the Russian originals does not come from Japanese-literature scholars, but from Japanese Slavists.⁸⁴ And regarding the Andersen translation, several years ago when this author counted, of the 43 articles or chapters on Ōgai's *Sokkyū shijin* that he had by 37 different Japanese scholars, only five referred to the German-language “original” for Ōgai's translation, and three of them repeated what the other two had to say.⁸⁵

There is little or no mention of Goethe in Western-language monographs on modern Japanese writers. Western scholars have tended to focus on the “Japaneseness” of things. And most Japanologists, certainly most American ones, seem to have woefully inadequate competence when it comes to having a decent reading knowledge of European languages other than English, to say nothing of having read anything literary in these languages. The same, or worse, can and should be said about their competence in *kanbun* — of both

84 “Compared with the extensive critical literature devoted to Futabatei's three original novels, the number of books and articles about his translations is undeservedly small: a single monograph by Satō Seirō (1995) and several articles, almost all written by Japanese Slavists and translators from Russian”; Cockerill, *Style and Narrative in Translations*, p. 9 (capitalization slightly modified). The work she refers to is Satō Seirō 佐藤清郎, *Futabatei Shimei kenkyū* 二葉亭四迷研究 (Tokyo: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1995).

85 Those who have commented on the work in terms of the “original-original” — the Danish text — are the Swede, Olof G. Lidin, and the Japanese, Nagashima Yōichi, both of whom have lived for decades in Denmark.

kinds, literary Chinese and Sino-Japanese. And *kanbun* is of central importance to the study of most Japanese literature, and certainly that of Ōgai.

Added to this is the chilling effect of politically correct, post-colonial cant, such as found in this recent formulation by a Japanese-literature scholar in the United States: "... the tendency to cite European sources for Japan's modernity follows from a Eurocentric bias that has long provided definition (and, therefore, justification) for studies of the late-modern."⁸⁶ More properly speaking, in Japanese literary study these sources (or to state things better, influences) have been studied too little, not too much.

There are works in English that make serious reference to Japan's interaction with the West (and China). Donald Keene's *Dawn to the West* is a case in point, as is the Yampolsky translation of the Kimura Ki book.⁸⁷ But Japanese scholarship on Western interaction with and influence on modern Japanese literature has not received the attention it deserves. Among the works one might cite are those by Shimada Kinji and Yoshitake Yoshinori. Shimada has written on Western influences on modern Japanese literature; and Yoshitake has written fruitfully on the history of *hon'an* (adaptation) in literature of the period.⁸⁸ Additionally, there are the multiple volumes on literary influence, written or edited by Fukuda Mitsuharu, Kenmochi Takehiko, and Kodama Kōichi.⁸⁹ Even English-language articles by Japanese scholars of comparative literature seem to get ignored, such as those by Satō Saburō.⁹⁰

86 Charles Shirō Inouye, *The Similitude of Blossoms: A Critical Biography of Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939), Japanese Novelist and Playwright* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998), p. 261.

87 Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1984), 2 vols. Kimura Ki [木村毅], comp. and ed., *Japanese Literature: Manners and Customs in the Meiji-Taisho Era*, Translated and adapted by Philip Yampolsky (Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1957).

88 Shimada Kinji, *Nihon ni okeru gaikoku bungaku: Hikaku bungaku kenkyū* (cited in n. 5). Yoshitake Yoshinori 吉武好孝, *Kindai bungaku no naka no Seiō: Kindai Nihon hon'anshi* 近代文学の中の西歐: 近代日本翻案史 (Tokyo, Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā 教育出版センター, 1974).

89 Note especially the 5-volume series by Fukuda Mitsuharu 福田光治, Kenmochi Takehiko 剣持武一, and Kodama Kōichi 小玉晃一, eds., *Ō-Bei sakka to Nihon kindai bungaku* 欧米作家と日本近代文学 (Tokyo: Kyōiku Shuppan Sentā 教育出版センター, 1974–1976). Volumes are dedicated to individual writers from the following regions: 1. Ei-Bei 英米 I; 2. Furansu フランス; 3. Roshia, Hoku-Ō, Nan-Ō ロシア・北欧・南欧; 4. Doitsu ドイツ; 5. Ei-Bei 英米 II.

90 E.g., Sato Saburo [Satō Saburō 佐藤三武朗], "Hamlet, Polonius, and Ophelia in Meiji

In sum, the whole question of influence, though complicated, bears closer scrutiny. The traces — the marks, vestiges, remains — of Ōgai's contributions, via his translation work, to modern Japanese poetry, drama, and fiction have largely been erased: erased in the writing of the very works he influenced — only the last of the three stages involved seems to get proper attention. The other two have disappeared from consciousness out of neglect — in the non-reading of his and others' translations, and in lack of interest in most of the Western-language texts that were read and transposed into the Japanese imaginary. These texts prompted creative analogues (like *Fausuto*), creative adaptations (like *Sokkyō shijin*), and other creative writing (like *Vita sexualis*), which in turn helped occasion much of the best in modern Japanese literature. Recovering these lost traces by examining the other two stages in the process of literary influence — the original sources of inspiration and the works into which they were recast — enriches understanding of all three stages and of all of the works concerned.

Translation, as illustrated by Ōgai, can transform readers' linguistic, literary, and lived worlds.

Japan," *Comparative Literature Studies* 22.1 (Spring 1985), pp. 23–33.