

# *Kanshi* by Mori Ōgai

## *Hokuyū nichijō* and *Go Hokuyū nichijō* (Part 1)

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The diaries *Hokuyū nichijō* 北游日乗 (Journal of an Excursion to the North) and *Go Hokuyū nichijō* 後北游日乗 (Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North) were written by Mori Ōgai when he was twenty years old.<sup>1</sup> They record his first expeditions as a military officer, treating respectively the forty-six days between February 2 and March 29, 1882, and the fifty-two days between September 27 and November 17, 1882.<sup>2</sup>

Each of the two journals includes twenty-nine *kanshi*,<sup>3</sup> which are the focus of this study. There are twenty-five *zekku* 絶句 quatrains and four *koshi* 古詩 ancient-style poems in *Hokuyū nichijō*, and twenty-eight *zekku* and one *koshi* in *Go Hokuyū nichijō*. No *risshi* 律詩 regulated verses appear in either of the two works.<sup>4</sup>

Both expeditions north were military operations of roughly twenty men that went under the rubric of recruitment missions.<sup>5</sup> Ōgai's position was

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- 1 Ōgai was nineteen over the first four days of the earlier journal; see n. 50.
  - 2 Counting both departure and arrival days (and adding a day to the last entry of the first journal). A short paragraph about a later reunion of the group concludes the second journal, nominally extending it three months to February 17, 1883.
  - 3 Treating HN #15 as two *zekku*, HN #15A–B. The poems (and material that is presented about them) are referred to by number, respectively as “HN #1,” etc. and as “GHN #1,” etc.
  - 4 For background information on the three genres, see John Timothy WIXTED: “The Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains (*zekku*),” JH 16 (2013): 109–11; and *idem*: “The Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*),” JH 17 (2014–15): 64–67. Hereafter the two are cited, respectively, as “Quatrains (*zekku*)” and “Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*).”

Since the vast majority of the poems in this article are *zekku*, the following should be kept in mind: “The result of compressing so many mental happenings into so exiguous a form [as the *juéjù*, i.e., *zekku*] is that the actual wording of the poem becomes a kind of shorthand from which the poet's full meaning has to be reconstructed. Poetry like this, in short, invites us to share some of the process of composition with the poet”; David HAWKES, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1967: 207. The emphasis is on nuance, implicit meaning, and understatement.

assistant army doctor in charge of the examination of conscripts in northern Japan.<sup>6</sup> But the expeditions also likely involved further military objectives: checking installations and scouting potential routes along the way, assessing northern border defences in the face of a perceived threat from Russia, and the initiation into army life of new recruits like Ōgai. Little is said about the military aspects of the expedition in the first journal. And although nothing is overtly stated in the second, GHN #6 is quite revealing about the question of Japanese military preparedness vis-à-vis Russia.

For contemporary accounts, an issue of the *Niigata shinbun* 新潟新聞 (Niigata News) for October 28, 1882, includes a roster of twenty-two participants in the second expedition; Ōgai is listed fifteenth, just before the horse veterinarian.<sup>7</sup> (There is nothing extant in the newspaper about the earlier *Hokuyū nichijō* expedition.) The list includes the names of two who were to figure in later writings by Ōgai: Noda Hiromichi 野田豁通 (1844–1913), who became a high-ranking military official, and Ogata Koreyoshi 緒方惟準 (1842–1909), who was something of a mentor for Ōgai.<sup>8</sup>

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5 YASUKAWA Rikako estimates a party of between fifteen and twenty-seven for the first expedition: HN: 19 (see n. 20). As noted below, MATSUMOTO Akitomo devotes an article to the number of those on the second expedition; and SEITA Fumitake, drawing on a contemporary newspaper source, lists twenty-two for it.

6 There is detailed discussion of recruitment procedures in the YASUKAWA Rikako book (HN: 13–19, 59–61, 186–87) and in the article (1–2) and book (63–67) by KOJIMA Noriyuki; see n. 24. Ōgai refers to recruitment procedures in “Chirizuka” 塵塚 (“Dustbin”), a catch-all of material recorded over the period 1899 to 1907: “[Our army unit] in a day would, in fact, examine 140 recruits. According to the procedural manual (regulations), in a day (five hours), 170 to 190 should be examined: for the lower figure, a minute and forty-five seconds each; and for the higher one, a minute and thirty-four seconds each” (JTW tr.); OZ 37: 50.

Throughout this article, material that has been added to quotations is *in brackets*, whereas material originally in the citation, whether in parentheses or brackets, is reproduced *in parentheses*. Also, except for author names and book titles, Chinese-language romanization has been made uniform as *pinyin*.

7 SEITA Fumitake, as cited in n. 29: 44–45; MATSUMOTO Akitomo: GHN 〇,5, as cited in n. 27.

8 None of those writing on *Go Hokuyū nichijō* point out the tie-in between Ōgai and Ogata Koreyoshi’s younger brother, Ogata Shūjirō 緒方収二郎 (1857–1942). The latter figures a great deal in Ōgai’s life and was the model for Okada, the protagonist of *Gan* (The Wild Goose); Wolfgang SCHAMONI, *Mori Ōgai: Vom Münchener Medizinstudenten zum klassischen Autor der modernen japanischen Literatur*, München: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 1987: 33, 45; and NAKAI Yoshiyuki [中井義幸], *The Young Mori Ōgai (1862–1892)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1974: 36, 39.

## General Remarks about the Poems

Occasionally, critics have one great insight about a work, their other comments being interesting but comparatively secondary. Such is the case with KOJIMA Noriyuki,<sup>9</sup> who finds *Hokuyū nichijō* and *Go Hokuyū nichijō* to be ‘brimming with sexual interest’ (literally, ‘interest in red-light districts’) on the part of their author.<sup>10</sup> Although Ōgai’s later commentators refer to Kojima’s work and point to discrete examples, none emphasizes this dimension of the series.<sup>11</sup> It will be highlighted, as appropriate, in this article.<sup>12</sup>

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Along with Kako Tsurudo 賀古鶴所 (1855–1931), Ogata Shūjirō made the outing that is the subject of MO #001, written when Ōgai was only seventeen (and translated in the treatment below of HN #4, Line 1).

The father of the brothers was Ogata Kōan 緒方洪庵 (1810–63), famous as a doctor of Dutch medicine, translator, teacher of Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉, and *kanshi* author (he was a disciple of Yanagawa Seigan 梁川星巖); see KIMURA Naoji [木村直司], “Hufeland und Ogata Koan,” Section 3 of Chapter 4 of Part 3 of *idem, Jenseits von Weimar: Goethes Weg zum Fernen Osten*, Peter Lang: Bern et al. 1997: 407–24; *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, KIYOOKA Eiichi [清岡暎一], rev. tr., New York: Columbia University Press 2007: 35, 40–41; and Richard J. LYNN: “Huang Zunxian [黄遵憲] (1848–1905) and His Association with Meiji Era Japanese Literati (*Bunjin* [文人]): The Formation of the Early Meiji Canon of *Kanshi*,” *Japan Review: Bulletin of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 15 (2003): 118. There is also much Western-language material on Ogata Kōan’s role in the history of science in Japan.

These three Ogatas are not to be confused with the bacteriologist, Ogata Masanori 緒方正規 (1854–1919), another figure in Ōgai’s life; SCHAMONI: *Mori Ōgai*:22–23; and NAKAI: *Young Mori Ōgai*: 113.

Susanne KLIEN lists Ogata Koreyoshi as Ogata Korenao; “An Index to Mori Ōgai’s *German Diary*,” *Kleine Reihe*, Heft 34, Berlin: Mori-Ōgai-Gedenkstätte der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 2005: 29.

- 9 His book, *Kotoba no omomi*, is idiosyncratic. It has highly knowledgeable, but disorganized, digressions on a very few, oddly chosen expressions culled from Ōgai’s *kanshi*; the choice is that of a pedantic antiquarian. It is written in turgid prose, with personal digressions that might appeal to some. As the reviewer KANDA Takao notes, notwithstanding the author’s impressive learning, the book ultimately does little to help understand Ōgai’s *kanshi*; see n. 24 for citations.
- 10 “この『北游日乗』あるいはこれに続く『後北游日乗』に見える鷗外の花街への関心は、なみなみならぬものがあつたこともまた間違いない”; *Kotoba no omomi*: 70.
- 11 Kojima himself offers little to buttress his valid point. KOTAJIMA Yōsuke (see p. 59) omits some of the items in the journals that might reflect such interest: the girl who sees Ōgai to the gate in Tochigi (HN #8), the brothel sign he happens upon in Kashiwazaki (HN #22), and the teeming prostitutes he sees from the window in Aomori (GHN #9). (Admittedly, Kotajima’s focus is on the *kanshi* proper; but he does include much other prose material from the journals.) And TAKAHASHI Yōichi downplays the sexual dimension (see, for example, the note to GHN #7, Line 4). He makes the observation (in the article cited in n. 29: 21) that, as a medical doctor trained in hygiene (*eisei* 衛生), part of

The *kanshi* in *Hokuyū nichijō* and *Go Hokuyū nichijō* narrate an arc. In the first journal, initial enthusiasm,<sup>13</sup> optimism, and fantasized expectations give way to disillusionment, but the young poet quickly rebounds. The second series begins on a more cautious note and maintains a comparatively measured tone, interspersed with bursts of genuine enthusiasm (and occasional bad humor). Throughout both journals, the poet's lively mind responds to diverse items of interest, many of which get translated into *kanshi* that repay the reading.

Several of Ōgai's poems deal with history. Some allude to long-ago figures and events (HN #5, #17–18; GHN #17–19). Others refer to occurrences of recent decades (GHN #8, #20). In either case, the event seems distant, whether four centuries or fourteen years past. There may be nostalgia of sorts: "Rivers and mountains vividly visible, but where are the men?" (HN #17). But more often 'the present' (to personify it) is indifferent to the past: unconcerned with former matters of great weight (HN #5), unmoved by past victory or defeat (GHN #8), only vaguely aware of earlier achievement (GHN #19), and focused on a here-and-now where the heroic gives way to the bathetic (HN #17; GHN #20). Ōgai's is a fatalistic, stoic, near nihilistic sensibility, concretized vividly.

There are other, virtually painterly depictions in the *kanshi*: a steamship slicing through a rainbow bridge and its shadow (HN #3), lapels wreathed in frost (GHN #14), sunset afterglow fading to nothing (GHN #28), and the red giving way to red of brothel lanterns (GHN #23).

Ever alive is the poet's curiosity about the world around him: whether in the poems themselves, where one finds clay dolls (GHN #7), *gangi* passageways (HN #20), rooftop stone piles (HN #14), fossilized pine cones (GHN #16), steamships (HN #3; GHN #9), wineshop 'signs' (GHN #12), and mile-marker stones (GHN #15); or in the journal proper, where privy waste (GHN #8), fossilized fish (GHN #14), prostitution (HN #22; GHN #7, #9), and other matters catch and hold his attention.

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Ōgai's duties may have been concerned with the entertainment districts that, as the commentator puts it (with uncomfortable echoes of other historical circumstances), "realistically speaking were necessary installations that went hand-in-hand with the stationing of soldiers" (軍隊駐屯に伴う事実上の必須施設であった); so Ōgai's interest may have been in part professional.

12 Indeed, Ōgai's sexual interest in women is an important dimension to other of his *kanshi*, notably in the series relating his trips to and from Europe and his stay there.

13 Eight of the journal's twenty-nine *kanshi* were written in the first three (of forty-six) days.

Some of the images capture a moment in progress, one that communicates an implied narrative or suggests another realm: a hunter returning with a bagged bear (HN #26), children going down the slope on sleds (HN #19), a boy grass-cutter riding home on an ox (GHN #20), etc.

As ever with Ōgai, there is much humor: ‘sleeping-ox’ mountain (GHN #6), the poet pacifying crocodiles (HN #23), southerners’ seasickness (GHN #5), and more. There are also moments of bad humor: about no-good men (HN #11, #25), clip-joint women (HN #25), and the boondocks (GHN #21).

Ōgai indulges in a great deal of wordplay. There is obvious punning: Fūjuoka 楓樹岡 (‘Maple-Tree Hill’) for Fukuoka 福岡 (‘Happiness Hill’) (GHN #14); Otome-mura 乙女村 (‘Maiden Village’) for Otome-mura 御留村 (‘Otome Village’) (HN #7); and Tone-gawa 刀禰河 (as To-sui 刀水, ‘Knife Waters’) for Tone-gawa 利根川 (‘Tone River’) (HN #5).

There is also much more elaborate punning: on ‘Marsh-Mallow Stream’ 薦溪 (HN #5), ‘Mt. Asama’ 朝隈 (HN #9), and ‘Winnowing Bounty Ville’ 箕澤村 (GHN #13).

Ōgai prefers the antiquarian version of place names: 箱館 instead of 函館 for Hakodate (GHN #6–8); 新斥 rather than 新潟 for Niigata (HN #1 and elsewhere), and 刀禰河 instead of 利根川 for Tone River (HN #5).

There are many mistranscriptions of place names in the journals. They are especially numerous toward the end of *Hokuyū nichijō* and seem to suggest Ōgai hurriedly transcribing plausible *kanji* for the names he was hearing. But in some cases, one suspects the ‘mistranscription’ may be intentional – to communicate, together with the sound, something of the sense of place: e.g., Futae-tōge 二重峠 (‘Piled-Double Pass’) for Futai-tōge 二居峠 (‘Futai Pass’) (HN #26); and Kirigakubo 霧窪 (‘Misty Hollow [Mountain]’) for Kirigakubo 切ヶ久保 (‘Kirigakubo [Pass]’) (HN #27).

The wordplay is part and parcel of Ōgai’s role as a ‘*Kanji Show-off*’ while young.<sup>14</sup> There is ample additional evidence of his predilection for *recherché* vocabulary, not just in place names: unusual *kanji* (畚: GHN #25), unusual *kanji*-compounds (唄聲: HN #18; 招提, 黽蝕: GHN #18; 蟹戸: GHN #11; 蟹舎: GHN #28), ordinary *kanji* used in less common senses (殷: HN #12; 軒: HN #15A), and ‘fancy’ *kanji* substituting for more ‘ordinary’ ones (釋 for 稚: GHN #15). But if anything, these features are more in evidence in his next three (more famous) travel diaries, also written when young.

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14 John Timothy WIXTED, “The *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction,” JH 14 (2011): 104–5; hereafter cited as “Allusion and Diction.”

Neither of the two journals was published before appearing in the complete works, *Ōgai zenshū* 鷗外全集, in 1975, where they are reproduced from an unspecified ‘fair copy’ (*jōsha-hon* 浄写本).<sup>15</sup> One can only conjecture as to why they did not appear in print earlier. Ōgai may have felt unsure of his position both in the army and in society; not wished to offend someone powerful like Enomoto Takeaki, likely referred to unflatteringly in GHN #8; felt the journals were too jejune, too naïve, or that they revealed too much sexual interest, and feared potentially embarrassing his family or letting down his *sensei*; and been cautious about disseminating a poem like GHN #24 that alludes to possible soldierly misconduct and GHN #6 which criticizes military unpreparedness.<sup>16</sup> Of course, the journals could have been published with some of the poems suppressed. But that was not the case.

More likely, events simply took over. Ōgai was soon off to Europe. The later diaries – en route to, in, and returning from Germany – probably had more appeal both to author and audience: for Ōgai, they confirmed his status as one of the elect chosen to study abroad; and for his readership, they related the exotic experience of travel and study abroad. Even with those diaries, however, relevant but potentially embarrassing material only came to light decades after his death.<sup>17</sup>

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15 *Hokuyū nichijō* appears in OZ 35: 61–65; *Go Hokuyū nichijō* in OZ 35: 66–71.

16 Even though nearly a century had passed, there was the example of what had happened to Hayashi Shihei when a person’s writings were viewed as being insubordinate or inappropriately public; see GHN #6, including n. 91.

17 WIXTED: “Quatrains (*zekku*)”: 127–29, especially n. 24–25, and 114–15.

One might ask rhetorically: How common was it for twenty-year-olds at the time to share their writing, including *kanshi*, with a wider public? In answer, one could note that *Eisai shinshi* 穎才新誌 (*Flowering Talent: A New Review*), published from 1877 to 1901, was a fortnightly journal consisting of young-student *kanshi* contributions; indeed, the vast majority of *kanshi*-writing in the Meiji was directed to a wider audience: to one’s friends and literary circle, if not directly to publication – and the latter literally boomed in the period; John Timothy WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry: An Introduction to the Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai,” ‘Ōgai’ – *Mori Rintarō: Begegnungen mit dem japanischen homme de lettres*, Klaus KRACHT, ed., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2014: 190–91.

Already as a ‘teenager,’ Ōgai was submitting articles to *Yomiuri shinbun* 讀賣新聞. The mammoth *Hyōden Mori Ōgai* 評伝 森鷗外 (A Critical Biography: Mori Ōgai) by YAMASAKI Kuninori 山崎國紀 summarizes scholarship on the topic by MUNAKATA Kazushige 宗像和重, who found ten newspaper articles by Ōgai published at age nineteen or twenty; Taishūkan Shoten 大修館書店 2007: 43–45.

“Tōkyōkō” 盜俠行 (“Song of the Chivalrous Thief”), Ōgai’s *kanshi* version of “Die Geschichte von der abgehauenen Hand” (“The Story of the Severed Hand”) by Wilhelm Hauff (1802–27), was published in 1885 (and added to the 1892 reprint of his 1889 jointly-authored *Omokage* 於母影 [Vestiges] volume). At 174 lines, the poem is con-

## Scholarship on the Two Journals

All *kanshi* in *Hokuyū nichijō* and *Go Hokuyū nichijō* are treated in two book-length studies: KOTAJIMA Yōsuke 古田島洋介: *Kanshi* 漢詩 (The Sino-Japanese Poetry), vols. 12 and 13 in *Ōgai rekishi bungaku shū* 鷗外歴史文學集, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 2000–01; and CHIN Seiho [CHEN Shengbao] 陳生保: *Mori Ōgai no kanshi* 森鷗外の漢詩 (The Sino-Japanese Poetry of Mori Ōgai), Meiji Shoin 明治書院 1993, 2 vols.<sup>18</sup>

All of the *kanshi* are also treated in two articles by TAKECHI Hideo 武智秀夫: “*Hokuyū nichijō* o yomu” 「北游日乗」を読む (“On Reading *Journal of an Excursion to the North*”), *Ōgai* 鷗外 52 (Jan. 1993): 1–26; and “*Go Hokuyū nichijō* o yomu” 「後北游日乗」を読む (“On Reading *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North*”), *Ōgai* 53 (July 1993): 79–111.<sup>19</sup>

YASUKAWA Rikako 安川里香子 has devoted a book to the first journal and its *kanshi*: *Mori Ōgai ‘Hokuyū nichijō’ no sokuseki to kanshi* 森鷗外「北游日乗」の足跡と漢詩 (*Mori Ōgai’s Journal of an Excursion to the North: Traces That Remain and the Sino-Japanese Poetry*), Shinbi Sha 審美社 1999.<sup>20</sup> And an ongoing series of articles by her on *Go Hokuyū nichijō* has appeared in *Ōgai*. Six have been published so far, the first three being titled

siderably longer than Ōgai’s three other longest *kanshi*: 124, 56, and 34 lines ( #003, #230, #215).

More telling is the fact that Ōgai went ahead and had his diaries to and from Europe (with their numerous *kanshi*) – *Kōsei nikki* 航西日記 (Diary of the Voyage West) and *Kantō nichijō* 還東日乗 (Journal of the Return East) – published, the former appearing in 1889 and the latter in 1890 (a mere five and two years, respectively, after the events they describe). And three of the six *kanshi* by Ōgai that predate *Hokuyū nichijō* and *Go Hokuyū nichijō* (MO #002–004) appeared in print in 1891.

So one wonders why the two journals were not published earlier, especially when so much of Ōgai’s everything else was (including translations of authors he only refers to in passing in *Doitsu nikki* 獨逸日記 [Diary in Germany]). It is surprising the question has not attracted the attention of earlier scholars.

- 18 References to Ōgai’s complete *kanshi* corpus follow the numbering in KOTAJIMAYōsuke and are prefaced by ‘MO’: e.g., ‘MO #017.’ *Kundoku* readings mostly follow Kotajima, but caesurae (indicated by extra spaces in the romanized version) frequently differ from his usage.

One might also note the book by FUJIKAWA Masakazu 藤川正数, *Mori Ōgai to kanshi* 森鷗外と漢詩 (*Mori Ōgai and Sino-Japanese Poetry*), Tokyo: Yūseidō 有精堂 1991, which treats one *kanshi* in each of the two series: HN #26 (130); GHN #18 (131).

- 19 Takechi provides helpful modern-language renderings of many of Ōgai’s unpunctuated journal entries, which are often written in a difficult *bungo*-ish quasi-*kanbun*.
- 20 The work is referred to in this article as “YASUKAWA Rikako: HN.” Note the reviews by ŌNO Ryōji 大野亮司, *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学 48.11 (Nov. 1999): 96–98; and IZAWA Tsuneo 井澤恒夫, *Nihon kindai bungaku* 日本近代文学 64 (May 2001): 204.

“*Go Hokuyū nichijō no kanshi*” 『後北游日乗』の漢詩 (“The Sino-Japanese Poetry in *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North*”) and the latter three “*Go Hokuyū nichijō no sokuseki to kanshi*” 『後北游日乗』の足跡と漢詩 (“*Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North: Traces that Remain and the Sino-Japanese Poetry*”).<sup>21</sup>

And TAKAHASHI Yōichi 高橋陽一 has treated nearly a dozen of the poems.<sup>22</sup> When general statements in this article are made about ‘Ōgai’s commentators,’ it is the above five scholars whose work is being referred to. Three (Kotajima, Chin, and Takechi) treat all of the poems in the two journals. One (Yasukawa) handles three-quarters of them. And the last (Takahashi) addresses nearly a dozen. Since four of the five handle the poems in sequence, it is easy to find their commentary without repeated reference to relevant page numbers, so they have been omitted here.<sup>23</sup> (Such citations have been reserved for matters other than poem interpretation: e.g., when pointing out additional useful information, such as maps or photo reproductions in the works.)

Important for the study of the two journals has been the work by KOJIMA Noriyuki 小島憲之: an article on them and a book that includes treatment of them.<sup>24</sup>

21 The initial three were given numbers when published. Numerals for the latter three, unnumbered in the original, have been added below. The six are cited here as “YASUKAWA Rikako: GHN [1],” etc. Their *subtitles* are as follows:

GHN [1] “Tabidachi zengo no shi” 旅立ち前後の詩 (“Poems at the Start of the Trip”), *Ōgai* 64 (Jan. 1999): 149–60. [GHN #1–5]

GHN [2] “Hakodate, Gagyūsan de no shi” 函館・臥牛山での詩 (“The Poem on Hakodate and Sleeping Ox Mountain”), *Ōgai* 67 (July 2000): 337–49. [GHN #6]

GHN [3] “Hakodate (ni)” 函館 (二) (“Hakodate, Pt. 2”), *Ōgai* 68 (Jan. 2001): 219–38. [GHN #7–8]

GHN [4] “Aomori” 青森 (“Aomori”), *Ōgai* 80 (Jan. 2007): 10–30. [GHN #9–10]

GHN [5] “Aomori-Iwate” 青森～岩手 (“Aomori to Iwate”), *Ōgai* 84 (Jan. 2009): 18–39. [GHN #11–14]

GHN [6] “Iwate” 岩手 (“Iwate”), *Ōgai* 86 (Jan. 2010): 39–51. [GHN #7 (47–48), #14 (39ff.), #15 (42)]

Note the critiques of Yasukawa’s work on *Go Hokuyū nichijō* by MATSUMOTO Aki-tomo cited in n. 31 ([B], [D]). Another article by her related to the journal is cited in n. 28.

22 See the four Takahashi articles cited in n. 26, n. 29.

23 All Yasukawa “HN” references are to her book; information on her “GHN” articles is found in n. 21. For Takahashi material, see the preceding footnote.

24 “Shutsuyū suru Ōgai: Nichijōrui o chūshin to shite” 出遊する鷗外: 日乗類を中心として (“Ōgai on Military Excursion, with Focus on the Journals about the Northern Ex-



Additional articles should be noted that, respectively, treat the following:

(A) *Hokuyū nichijō*, (B) *Go Hokuyū nichijō*, (C) *Hokuyūki* 北遊記 (Notes on an Excursion North),<sup>25</sup> and (D) two or more of these.

(A) *Hokuyū nichijō* is the subject of six articles.<sup>26</sup>

(B) Material on *Go Hokuyū nichijō* includes two published series. One, entitled “*Ōgai no Go Hokuyū nichijō to Aomori*” 鷗外の「後北游日乗」と青森 (“*Ōgai’s Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North and Aomori*”), is comprised of seven articles by MATSUMOTO Akitomo 松本明知.<sup>27</sup> Four

peditions”), *Kokugo kokubun* 國語國文 50.10 (Oct. 1981):1–26. [HN #1 (2ff.), #11 (24–25), #24 (10ff.), #28 (2); GHN #7 (24), #19 (24)]

*Kotoba no omomi: Ōgai no nazo o toku kango* ことばの重み: 鷗外の謎を解く漢語 (The Weight of Words: ‘Sinitic Expressions’ that Unravel Ōgai-related Puzzles), Shinchō Sha 新潮社 1984. [HN #1 (67ff.), #13 (64), #24 (72–74); GHN #10 (74–80)]

Note the review of the Kojima book by KANDA Takao 神田孝夫, *Hikaku bungaku kenkyū* 比較文学研究 46 (Sept. 1984): 139–47.

25 This is a work by Ōgai about a trip to Hokkaido in 1914 (May 4 to May 19): OZ 26: 474–89, 657.

26 The six are as follows:

TAKAHASHI Yōichi 高橋陽一: “Mori Ōgai no kanshi kaishaku nōto (san): ‘Kōshin saitan no suika’ to *Hokuyū nichijō* no goshu” 森鷗外の漢詩解釈ノート (三): 「庚辰歳旦醉歌」と『北游日乗』の五首 (“Notes on the Interpretation of *Kanshi* by Mori Ōgai (3): ‘New Year’s Day, 1880: A Drunken Song’ and Five Poems in *Journal of an Excursion to the North*”), *Ōgai* 96 (Jan. 2015): 11–37. The article is referred to as “TAKAHASHI Yōichi: HN.” [MO #002 (22–26); HN #1 (27–29), #2 (30–31), #3 (31–32), #11 (32–33), #15A (33–36)]

TAKAHASHI Yōichi 高橋陽一: “*Hokuyū nichijō* Usui-tōge de no kanshi wa hakku no gogon koshi ka?” 『北游日乗』碓氷峠での漢詩は八句五言古詩か? (“Is the Poem on Usui Pass in *Journal of an Excursion to the North* an Eight-line, Five-character *Koshi*?”), *Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 鷗外記念會通信 184 (Nov. 20, 2013): 8–9. [HN #15]

TAKAHASHI Yōichi 高橋陽一: “Kyū Nakasendō Usui-tōge o aruku” 旧中山道碓氷峠をあるく (“Hiking Usui Pass on the Old Nakasendō”), *Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 188 (Oct. 31, 2014): 6–7. [HN #15]

ŌSHIMA Tabito and HOSUMI Makoto, in the second of the two articles by them listed in n. 30.

S.T. (unidentified): “*Hokuyū nichijō* no yado, Ōta-shi” 『北游日乗』の宿・太田市 (“The Lodging in Ōta in *Journal of an Excursion to the North*”), *Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 152 (Nov. 11, 2005): 9. [HN #8]

One study has remained unavailable: TAKEUCHI Takuya 武内卓也: “Mori Ōgai *Hokuyū nichijō* shiyakuchū” 森鷗外『北游日乗』詩訳註 (“Poems in Mori Ōgai, *Journal of an Excursion to the North*: Translation and Commentary”), *Amour et Lumen* (Aikō Joshi Gakuen 愛光女子学園) 6 (1989), cited by YASUKAWA Rikako: HN 108 n. 20. The journal does not appear in the National Diet Library catalog or in other standard bibliographical sources.

27 The *subtitles* of the seven, which are numbered in the original, are as follows. Note that in the printing of 〇, 1, the character 後 was accidentally omitted from the article’s title.

items about a 2000 tour ‘in the footsteps of’ *Go Hokuyū nichijō* form another informal grouping.<sup>28</sup> Also, two additional articles are to be noted.<sup>29</sup>

(C) *Hokuyūki* has been treated variously.<sup>30</sup>

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The seven are referred to individually as “MATSUMOTO Akitomo: GHN ○,1,” etc. Cf. the method of citation of other articles by Matsumoto, as explained in n. 31.

GHN ○,1 “Aomori no taika wa itsu ka” 青森の大火はいつか (“When Was the Great Fire in Aomori?”), *Ōgai* 43 (July 1988): 173–77. [GHN #10]

GHN ○,2 “‘Tsuruya’ ka ‘Takiya’ ka” 「鶴屋」か「滝屋」か (“Was It ‘Tsuruya’ or ‘Takiya’?”), *Ōgai* 44 (Jan. 1989): 109–12. [GHN #9]

GHN ○,3 “Kido Takayoshi no kanshi” 木戸孝允の漢詩 (“The Sino-Japanese Poem by Kido Takayoshi”), *Ōgai* 45 (July 1989): 194–97. [GHN #9]

GHN ○,4 “Shisetsu hi” 死節碑 (“The Memorial Stone for Martyrs”), *Ōgai* 52 (Jan. 1993): 78–81. [GHN #10]

GHN ○,5 “Ikkō no ninsū” 一行の人数 (“The Number of People in the Party”), *Ōgai* 51 (Sept. 1993): 64–65. [On the expedition as a whole]

GHN ○,6 “Ryūgū-shi to Ryūgoichi” 龍宮市と立鼓一 (“Ryūgū-shi and Ryūgoichi”), *Ōgai* 54 (Jan. 1994): 66–69. [GHN #11]

GHN ○,7 “Shichinohe no yado no koto nado” 七戸の宿のことなど (“On the Inn in Shichinohe”), *Ōgai* 55 (July 1994): 101–3. [GHN #11]

28 The following four are about the 2000 tour sponsored by the Mori Ōgai Kinenkai:

YOSHIKURA Kō 吉倉煌: *Go Hokuyū nichijō-beri no tabi o oete: Heisei jūninen, Mori Ōgai Kinenkai shusai ryokō* 『後北游日乗』 縁りの旅を終えて: 平成十二年、森鷗外記念会主催旅行 (“Upon Conclusion of ‘A Trip with *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North to Hand*’: A 2000 Tour Sponsored by the Mori Ōgai Kinenkai”), *Ōgai* 72 (Jan. 2003): 107–11.

MATSUZAKI Yachiyo 松崎八千代: “*Go Hokuyū nichijō-beri no arubamu*” 『後北游日乗』 縁りの旅アルバム (“A Trip with *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North to Hand*: An Album”), *Ōgai* 69 (July 2001): 58–72.

MORI Tomu 森富: “Sendai no Ōgai sokuseki o tazunete: Heisei nijūnen Mori Ōgai Kinenkai ryokō” 仙台の鷗外足跡を訪ねて: 森鷗外記念会主催旅行 (“Paying a Visit to the Traces that Remain of Ōgai in Sendai: The 2000 Mori Ōgai Kinenkai Trip”), *Ōgai* 69 (July 2001): 73–88.

YASUKAWA Rikako 安川里香子: “Hakodate to ishi Takamatsu Ryōun no koto nado: Tsuā fusanka no ben” 函館の医師高松凌雲のことなど: ツア—不参加の弁 (“About Hakodate and Dr. Takamatsu Ryōun: An Explanation for Not Having Participated in the Tour”), *Ōgai* 69 (July 2001): 53–57. [GHN #8]

29 The two are as follows:

SEITA Fumitake 清田文武: “*Go hokuyū nichijō kankei no ichi shiryō: Niigata shinbun no kiji*” 『後北游日乗』 関係の一資料: 『新潟新聞』の記事 (“A Source Relevant to *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North*: Articles in *Niigata shinbun*”), *Ōgai* 32 (Jan 1983): 43–46. [GHN #22–23, and peripherally #21]

TAKAHASHI Yōichi 高橋陽一: “Mori Ōgai no kanshi kaishaku nōto (ni): *Go Hokuyū nichijō kanshi goshu*” 森鷗外の漢詩解釈ノート (二): 『後北游日乗』の漢詩五首 (“Notes on the Interpretation of *Kanshi* by Mori Ōgai (2): Five Poems in *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North*”), *Ōgai* 93 (July 2013): 10–28. The article is referred to as “TAKAHASHI Yōichi: GHN.” [GHN #5 (15–16), #7 (16–21), #19 (22–24), #21 (10–15), #23 (24–27) (and #24 [26–27])] ]

30 There has been treatment of *Hokuyūki* by the following four authors or joint-authors:

(D) And MATSUMOTO Akitomo has written an additional seven articles germane to the study of the three works.<sup>31</sup>

MATSUMOTO Akira 松本明 in a four-installment newspaper article: “Ōgai to Hirosaki: *Hokuyūki ni tsuite*” 鷗外と弘前: 「北遊記」について (“Ōgai and Hirosaki: On *Notes on an Excursion North*”), *Tō-Ō nippō* 東奥日報 (Eastern Tohoku Daily), February 13–17, 1956.

KAWAMURA Kingo 川村欽吾 in two articles: “Mori Ōgai *Hokuyūki kanken*” 森鷗外「北遊記」管見 (“A Personal View of *Notes on an Excursion North* by Mori Ōgai”), *Ōgai* 7 (Dec. 1970): 43–57, and “‘Mori Ōgai no *Hokuyūki* to Hirosaki ni tsuite’ o megutte, Matsumoto Akitomo-kun e” 「森鷗外の『北遊記』と弘前について」を繞って、松本明知君へ (“In Reference to ‘On Mori Ōgai’s *Notes on an Excursion North* and Hirosaki’: Addressed to Mr. Matsumoto Akitomo”), *Ōgai* 45 (July 1989): 76–78; cf. the first MATSUMOTO Akitomo article cited below in this footnote.

ŌSHIMA Tabito 大島田人 and HOSUMI Makoto 八角真 in two articles: They comprise the first two installments of the series “Mori Ōgai: Hito to bungaku no furusato to” 森鷗外: 人と文学のふるさとと (“Mori Ōgai: The Man and Literary Hometowns”), respectively subtitled “*Hokuyūki-yuki*” 「北遊記」行 (“Bound for *Notes on an Excursion North*”) and “*Sanshō dayu*, Ōgai to Shinshū, *Hokuyūki-kō hoi*” 「山椒大夫」の趾・鷗外と信州・「北遊記」考補遺 (“Traces that Remain of *Sanshō dayū*, Ōgai and Shinshū; and A Supplement to Research on *Notes on an Excursion North*”), *Meiji Daigaku kyōyō ronshū* 明治大学教養論集 99 (Feb. 1976): 179–234; 108 (Feb. 1977): 98–173. [The latter treats HN #15–18, in two instances naming other writers who referred to the inns that are named]

MATSUMOTO Akitomo: Three of the six articles are cited (as [A], [C], [D]) in the footnote that follows. The other three are in a series entitled “Mori Ōgai no *Hokuyūki* to Hirosaki ni tsuite” 森鷗外の「北遊記」と弘前について (“On Mori Ōgai’s *Notes on an Excursion North* and Hirosaki”). Their subtitles are as follows:

(1) “Chichi no kenkyū to sono go no hatten” 父の研究とその後の発展 (“My Father’s Research and Later Developments”), *Ōgai* 43 (July 1988): 159–64; the father’s research is cited above in this footnote; and of relevance is the second article by KAWAMURA Kingo cited above.

(2) “*Tō-Ō Nippō* to Hirosaki *shinbun* ni mirareru kankei kiji ni tsuite” 「東奥日報」と「弘前新聞」に見られる関係記事について (“Relevant Articles in *Eastern Tohoku Daily* and *Hirosaki News*”), *Ōgai* 49 (July 1991): 13–18.

(3) “Ōgai no kisai shita jikoku no seikakusa” 鷗外の記載した時刻の正確さ (“The Accuracy of Times Recorded by Ōgai”), *Ōgai* 50 (Jan. 1992): 100–2.

31 The seven are as follows, listed in chronological order; identifying letters have been added in brackets. They are referred to individually as “MATSUMOTO Akitomo: [A],” etc. Cf. the method of citation of other articles by Matsumoto, as explained in n. 27.

[A] “Hokkaidō ni okeru Mori Ōgai no sokuseki: Meiji jūgonen to Taishō sannen no *shinbun* no chōsa kara” 北海道における森鷗外の足跡: 明治十五年と大正三年の新聞の調査から (“Traces that Remain of Mori Ōgai in Hokkaido: An Examination of Newspapers from 1882 and 1914”), *Ōgai* 53 (July 1993): 143–48. Note the section, “Go *Hokuyū nichijō kankei no kiji*” 『後北遊日乗』関係の記事 (“Articles of Relevance to *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North*): 143–45.

[B] “Hakodate no ryokan ‘Kakujō’ ni tsuite: Yasukawa-shi no ‘Go *Hokuyū nichijō* no kanshi (2)’ o yonde” 函館の旅館「角上」について: 安川氏の「後北遊日乗」の漢詩(2)を読んで (“About ‘Hakujō’ Inn in Hakodate: On Reading Ms. Yasukawa’s ‘The Si-

With the exception of one reference by Yasukawa Rikako to the Japanese-language version of a book by Bruno Taut, no Western-language source is cited by Japanese scholars.

### *Method of Presentation*

Each poem follows the format outlined in John Timothy WIXTED: “Kanshi in Translation: How Its Features Can Be Effectively Communicated.”<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, in the presentation of poems, *zekku* are treated visually as single

no-Japanese Poems in *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North* [2]”), *Ōgai* 68 (Jan. 2001): 239–40; cf. n. 21 above. [GHN #6–8]

[C–D] “Mori Ōgai no *Go hokuyū nichijō* to *Hokuyūki* ni kanren shite” 森鷗外の「後北游日乗」と「北游記」に関連して (“On Mori Ōgai’s *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North* and *Notes on an Excursion North*”), in two parts: *Ōgai* 82 (Jan. 2008): 97–109; 83 (July 2008): 1–18. Pt. 2 has the subtitle, “Yasukawa-shi no ronbun o yonde” 安川氏の論文を読んで (“On Reading the Study by Ms. Yasukawa”); for the latter, see n. 21. [Pt. 1 treats GHN #19; Pt. 2 treats GHN #7 (6–14), #9 (1–5, 14)]

[E] “Ōgai no *Hokuyū nichijō* ni arawareta Tekona hokora to Tsugaru hōgen ‘tekona’” 森鷗外の「北游日乗」に表れた手児奈祠と津軽方言「てこな」 (“Tekona Shrine in Ōgai’s *Journal of an Excursion to the North* and ‘Tekona’ in Tsugaru Dialect”), *Ōgai* 84 (Jan. 2009): 1–17. [MO #001; HN #4–5]

[F] “Mori Ōgai to *Hokuyū nichijō*, *Hokuyūki*: Hakodate, Aomori o chūshin to shite” 森鷗外と「北游日乗」、「北遊記」: 函館、青森を中心として (“Mori Ōgai’s *Journal of an Excursion to the North* and *Notes on an Excursion North*, with Focus on Hakodate and Aomori”), *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 55.1 (March 2009): 104–7. [GHN #9–10]

[G] “Mori Ōgai no *Go hokuyū nichijō* to Miyoshi chūjō no ken’etsushi” 森鷗外の「後北游日乗」と三好中將の検閲使 (“Mori Ōgai’s *Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North* and General Miyoshi’s Tour of Inspection”), *Ōgai* 85 (July 2009): 38–57. [GHN #5 (42); #10 (45ff.)]

- 32 *Sino-Japanese Studies* 21 (2014), online at <http://chinajapan.org/articles/21/1>. The importance of supplying the following for each poem is stressed: (1) the *kanshi* text, (2) *kundoku* 訓読 renderings of how the poems might be read aloud ‘in Japanese,’ (3) a visual sense of caesurae and rhymes by giving Chinese or *ondoku* readings, (4) naturalized and barbarized translations where necessary to bring out the ‘literal’ and paraphrasable sense of lines, and (5) notes to clarify the expressions being used.

Renderings in this article are sufficiently close to the original (while communicating the implicit sense of expressions used) that the supplying of separate barbarized and naturalized translations did not seem warranted. Where necessary or particularly helpful, however, clarification of the barbarized (i.e., hyper-literal) sense of a phrase or line is provided in the notes to a poem. In such barbarized versions, caesurae are sometimes indicated: a single slash mark / for a minor pause, a double one // for a major one.

Allusions are indicated only when essential to the understanding of an expression or line. Citation of parallel examples of usage has also been kept to a minimum. ‘QTS’ citations are to *juan* and page number of the 1960 Zhonghua Shuju edition (Beijing) of the *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Complete Poems of the Tang Dynasty).

units: first, the four lines of *kanji* text (together with the readings in *kundoku* and modern Chinese) are given; next come the four lines of translation; these in turn are followed by notes to individual poem lines.

Since four of the five *koshi* being treated (HN #23–25, GHN #6) have changes of rhyme category within the poem, each rhyme category is treated as a single unit – as a single building block, as it were – of the poem. The text and romanization for each grouping (anywhere from two to eight lines) are presented together, followed by translation of the unit; notes for all poem lines come at the end. For reader convenience, the twelve lines of the *koshi* that uses only a single rhyme category (HN #21) have been divided into four-line segments.

The dates given for poems are those at which point in each respective journal they are quoted. In some cases the actual date of composition may have been later. And in all cases there is the possibility that editing took place.

Note is made of most of the place names Ōgai cites in the journals (in the older *kanji* forms that he usually uses) and are identified by their current prefecture, a system in place since the 1870s. The vast majority of geographical names can be found simply by using Google Maps, inputting either the romanization or the *kanji* (more success can be had by using newer versions of the latter: e.g., 渋民 for Shibutami instead of 澁民). Modern roads sometimes follow old highways (e.g., Mikuni Kaidō and Ōshū Kaidō) and are identified as such by Google. Hence, tracing the routes of the two expeditions is comparatively easy. As the group advances, changes in prefecture are noted in parentheses. Distances given in kilometers follow those supplied by TAKECHI Hideo, which are sometimes low.

For many geographical features that are named – mountains, temples, forts, and the like – a simple Google search will turn up modern photos (and sometimes earlier historical representations). For example, the five points of the pentagonal Goryōkaku fort (GHN #8) are especially prominent in aerial photographs available online. Many other items referred to are also well represented online with photos: e.g., *gangi* passageways in the snow (HN #20), the Takashimada hairstyle (HN #24), and historical silk mills in Tomioka (HN #10).

Ōgai in his journals sometimes names the inns where the group ate lunch, and more often gives the names of the inns where they stayed. Much of the focus of the more detailed scholarship on the two journals (e.g., by MATSUMOTO Akitomo and YASUKAWA Rikako) is on these enterprises: exactly where they were, when they were built, what historic references there are to

them, who the owners were, what name changes they underwent over time, and when they were destroyed or disappeared from the historical record, since very few still exist. As interesting as this material may be, it has not been a focus in this article, since it seems of little help in elucidating the poems.

Ōgai is sometimes referred to as the speaker or actor in a poem translation when, strictly speaking, it is the ‘persona’ in the poem who is the agent. Given the strong expectations in East Asia that most genres of poetry are ‘nonfiction’ (to use the term anachronistically) and that diaries and journals in particular are autobiographical, it seems a reasonable practice.<sup>33</sup>

As is the case with East Asian languages where the subject is often unspecified, it is sometimes unclear in journal entries who is being referred to: Ōgai alone, Ōgai and a few comrades, or the entire entourage: e.g., when visiting Zenkōji in Matsumoto (HN #18), Goryōkaku in Hakodate (GHN #8), and Chūsonji in Hiraizumi (GHN #18). So reference to ‘Ōgai’ or ‘the group’ is in many cases provisional.

*Hokuyū nichijō* 北游日乗  
(Journal of an Excursion to the North)

*Hokuyū nichijō* #1

February 13, 1882. Day 1.

MO #007. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十一(眞)韻.  
In Tokyo.

The series’ opening poem reflects youthful exuberance on the part of Ōgai. It contrasts with the more sober first poem of the second series, written only a few months later.

On the surface, the poem is innocent enough, referring to Ōgai’s military commission in Line Three and the eagerness with which he contemplates arriving at one of the trip’s destinations, Niigata. But barely beneath, it is full of sexual innuendo, whether conscious or not, beginning with the ‘charming buds’ and ‘beguiling moon’ in Line One, followed by reference to the destination’s night-district women in Line Two, and concluding in Line Four

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33 There is, at the same time, a marked tendency toward hyper-literalness in interpretation (and a positivist faith by some in the value of amassing minutiae) on the part of Ōgai’s commentators.

with allusion to ‘spring’ (a term synonymous with sex) and a Niigata whose name is referenced by the bridges alongside which are arrayed its entertainment establishments, specifically its brothels.

For Ōgai about to set out, Niigata is a fantasy, a state of mind. Indeed, it is a literary construct formed mostly from Edo-period writings including *kan-shi*. KOJIMA Noriyuki cites likely sources in considerable detail.<sup>34</sup> Ōgai starts by looking forward to the sex Niigata has to offer. The actual city comes to have a rather different reality, when treated in no fewer than five additional poems in the two series: HN #24–25 and GHN #22–24. But Kojima puts it succinctly, “As evidenced by the opening poem of the series, it is not hard to see that Niigata, the place, got Ōgai’s young blood all worked up.”<sup>35</sup>

- 嬌花妍月趁時新 SHIN / xīn  
*Kyōka kengetsu toki o otte arata ni*  
 Jiāohuā yányuè chèn shí xīn
- 2 新斥繁華夢寐頻 BIN / pín  
*Niigata no hanka mubi ni shikiri nari*  
 Xīnchì fánhuá mèngmèi pín
- 好帶君王餘澤去  
*Yoshi kun'ō no yotaku o obite-saru*  
 Hǎo dài jūnwáng yúzé qù

34 “Shutsuyū suru Ōgai”: *passim*; and *Kotoba no omomi*: 67–78. E.g., TERAKADO Seiken 寺門静軒 (1796–1868), *Niigata fushi* 新潟富史 (Niigata: A Story of Riches, 1859): “世人遊越、不得不遊新斥。文人遊新斥、不得不作詩。” “Men of the age when enjoying themselves in Etsu (the Niigata region) cannot but enjoy themselves in Niigata (the city). Men of letters when enjoying themselves in Niigata cannot but write poems about it” (JTW tr.); reconstructed from *ibid.*: 68. Additional items cited by Kojima are translated in the notes to HN #24–25.

Indeed, women from the Niigata area were associated with the sex trade nationwide: “[S]truggling post-stations along the shogun’s highways were hiring more and more ‘serving girls’ in a bid to attract paying customers. Most sent their procurers on recruiting missions to Echigo, where labor was relatively cheap. Women from the region were working in brothels all over northern and eastern Japan, [...] in the 1820s, according to a regional encyclopedia, *Echigo yashi* (Echigo Field Journal). Population registers from post-stations along the Nakasendō, the inland highway linking Edo to Kyoto, tell a similar story, indicating that more prostitutes came from Echigo than anywhere else in the realm”; Amy STANLEY: *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2012: 117.

35 “冒頭の詩にみえるように、新潟の地が彼の若い血潮をたぎらせたことは察するに難くない”; *Kotoba no omomi*: 71.

4 優游七十二橋春 SHUN / chūn  
 Yūyū sen shichijūni-kyō no haru  
 Yōuyōu qīshìèr-qiáo chūn

Again, the time right for charming buds and beguiling moon:  
 Niigata's 'blossoms in profusion' – often in my dreams.  
 Fine! donning my sovereign's generous favor, I am off  
 On a splendid excursion to Seventy-Two Bridges spring.

**Line 1:** 'Charming' and 'beguiling': Adjectives commonly used to describe women and female entertainers.

**Line 2:** 'Blossoms in profusion': Namely, the thriving entertainment district of Niigata, specifically its women. KOJIMA Noriyuki finds it telling that, instead of expressions like *hanjō* 繁昌 or *han'ei* 繁榮 ('thriving, bustling, flourishing' in more of an economic or social sense), the term *hanka* 繁華 ('blossoms in profusion' or 'gorgeous efflorescence') is used. Although the latter can also mean 'flourishing' or 'thriving' in terms of commerce, it lends greater latitude for sensual innuendo. He points to its similar use in the *kanshi* Ōgai wrote (MO #098) once his ship reached Port Said on the way to Europe, when he entered a similar sexual realm; *Kotoba no omomi*: 68–69. His argument is suggestive but probably overstated. Ōgai uses the compound *hanka* in the more strictly economic sense in HN #24 (Line 3) and in reference to Aomori in the journal entry for GHN #9.

**Line 2:** 'Niigata' 新斥: A poetic version of 'Niigata' 新潟 commonly used in Edo *kanshi*.

**Line 3:** 'Sovereign's generous favor': Refers to Ōgai's assignment on this mission to the north, one nominally issued by the Emperor; and more generally, to his recent army appointment. About the line's construction, see the note to HN #14, Line 2.

**Line 4:** 'Seventy-Two Bridges': Namely, Niigata, famous at the time for the dozens of bridges over its canals (also referred to as such in HN #24). Describing the city in 1878, Isabella BIRD wrote, "[B]ridges are several times repeated, so as to give the effect of fairyland as you look through from the street."<sup>36</sup>

The echo is of Du Mu (803–52) and Yangzhou. The poet sent the following poem to a friend in Yangzhou: QTS 523 (5982): 杜牧, 寄揚州韓綽判官: “青山隱隱水迢迢、秋盡江南草木凋。二十四橋明月夜、玉人何處教吹簫。” “Over misted blue hills and distant water / In Jiangnan at autumn's end the grass has not yet wilted. / By night on the Four-and-Twenty Bridges, under the full moon, / Where are you teaching a jade girl to blow tunes on your flute?” (A.C. Graham tr.). Most commentators understand the beautiful young woman ('jade girl') in the Southland ('Jiangnan') to be a 'professional woman' teaching him to play the flute. The sexual innuendo is greater if understood as rendered here. The very names Du Mu and Yangzhou bring to mind sexual dissolution. “Although we cannot say with confidence that Du Mu frequented the pleasure quarters of the city more than any other official, he created such a compelling image of its pleasures that the poetic image stuck with the person and with the city.”<sup>37</sup>

36 As cited in Hugh CORTAZZI: *Victorians in Japan: In and Around the Treaty Ports*, London: The Athlone Press 1987: 175.

37 Stephen OWEN: “The Cultural Tang (650–1020),” Chapter 4 of *The Cambridge History*



Ōgai's mentor, Satō Genchō (Ōkyo) 佐藤元菘(應渠) (1818–97), wrote two poems of farewell when Ōgai was about to set off on this, his first expedition.<sup>38</sup> One was a *waka*:

心こそ離れざりけれ旅衣ひたちこしちとたち別るとも  
My heart inseparable from yours, though you set off for  
Koshiji, far from my Hitachi.

Koshiji 越路 is another name for Echigo 越後 (i.e., Niigata Prefecture) and Satō was living in Hitachi 常陸 near Tokyo.

The other poem of farewell Satō wrote was an untitled *kanshi*:

官情清白藻思閑	KAN / xián
<i>Kanjō seihaku ni shite sōshi kan naran</i>	
Guānqíng qīngbái zǎosī xián	
2 憐子辭家向越山	SAN / shān
<i>Awaremu shi no ie o jishite Etsuzan ni mukau o</i>	
Lián zǐ cí jiā xiàng Yuèshān	

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*of Chinese Literature*, Volume I: *To 1375*, Kang-i Sun CHANG [菘康宜] and *idem*, eds, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010: 351. Much of the association is owing to the *Yangzhou mengji* 揚州夢記 (Record of a Yangzhou Dream), “an embellished summation of anecdotes and legends compiled shortly after Du Mu’s death by Yu Ye 于鄴 (fl. 867)”; Michael B. FISH: “Tu Mu,” *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, William H. NIENHAUSER, Jr., ed., Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1986: 824. Cf. Wolfgang KUBIN: *Das lyrische Werk des Tu Mu (803–852)*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1976: 11; Ch’ing-song Gene HSIAO: *Semiotic Interpretation of Chinese Poetry: Tu Mu’s Poetry as Example*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona 1985: 73; and Wen-kai KUNG: *Tu Mu (803–852): His Life and Poetry*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center Publications 1990: 76.

- 38 The relationship with Satō is an example of the closeness that could accompany the writing and exchange of *kanshi*, especially in student-*sensei* relationships; John Timothy WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 194, 198.

Two days after leaving Tokyo, Ōgai pays a visit to a classmate of Satō’s (HN #8) and nine months after that meets with a friend of the *sensei* (GHN #20). Also, Satō’s adopted son wrote a *kanshi* of farewell when Ōgai left on the second expedition north (GHN #2).

Satō Genchō and another of Ōgai’s mentors, Yoda Gakkai 依田学海 (1833–1909), had already received much attention in Ōgai’s longest *kanshi*, written two years earlier (MO #003: Lines 69–86 and 51–68, respectively, of 124 lines; the two are also treated jointly in Lines 87–94). A memorial inscription by Yoda is discussed in reference to Aomori in GHN #10 (including n. 115). Later visits to Satō occasion other *kanshi* by Ōgai: MO #147, #148, #153.

公事不妨飽風月

*Kōji fūgetsu ni akan koto o samatagezaran*

Gōngshì bùfáng bǎo fēngyuè

4 獻親金玉滿囊還

KAN / huán

*Shin ni kenzuru no kingyoku nō ni mitashite-kaere*

Xiàn qīn jīnyù mǎn náng huán

Of great integrity your devotion to office, belles lettres will be for  
leisure;

Sad to see a ‘son’ leave home, bound for Etsuzan – far to the north.

Public duty is no obstacle to full enjoyment of ‘wind and moon’ –  
the pleasures of nature;

Fill a bag with ‘gold and jade’ – the treasure of your writings –  
and give it to ‘father’ on your return.

TAKAHASHI Yōichi solves an important problem when arguing simply but convincingly that the following poem by Ōgai, HN #2, was written in response to the *kanshi* by Satō. Even though Satō’s poem is quoted in the journal before HN #1, the latter’s rhymes are not of the same rhyme category as those in the *sensei*’s poem, whereas the ones in HN #2 are. And Line Four of HN #2 echoes Line Two of the farewell poem.

One might add, if HN #1 with its sexual innuendo is taken to be in response to the sober, avuncular tone of the *sensei*’s verse, it would have been forward and presumptuous on the part of Ōgai, or at the very least, unseemly. Satō would in all likelihood have been taken aback. HN #2 as a response is more fittingly addressed to the ‘family circle’ – family, *sensei*, friends, servants – whoever bade him farewell.

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #2

February 13, 1882. Day 1.

MO #008. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十五(刪)韻.

In Tokyo (Senjū 千住) upon leaving home.

飄蕩寄身天地間

KAN / jiān

*Hyōtō mi o yosu tenchi no kan*

Piāodàng jì shēn tiāndì jiān

- 2 風塵百里豈辭艱 KAN / jiān  
*Fūjin hyakuri a ni kan o jisen ya*  
 Fēngchén bǎilǐ qǐ cíjiān  
 掉頭一笑出門去  
*Kōbe o furutte isshō shi mon o idete-saru*  
 Diàotóu yíxiào chūmén-qù
- 4 何日吟鞋踏越山 SAN / shān  
*Izure no hi ni ka gin'ai Etsuzan o fuman*  
 Hérì yínxié tà Yuèshān

We drift, as it were, between heaven and earth;  
 So why flinch at a windy, dusty hundred leagues?  
 Turning aside with a laugh, I depart the gate;  
 How soon will these ‘poetry sandals’ be treading Etsuzan?

**Line 1:** ‘Windy, dusty hundred leagues’: I.e., difficulties we might encounter on our expedition.

**Line 3:** ‘With a laugh’: For discussion of the term 一笑, see John Timothy WIXTED: *Poems on Poetry: Literary Criticism by Yuan Hao-wen (1190–1257)*, Calligraphy by Eugenia Y. TU, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1982 (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 33): 61, 272-73 n. 24. In many contexts, the phrase means ‘with a laugh’ (at the vast universe, which makes my cares, by comparison, seem small). In others, it can express contempt, resignation, or even satisfaction. TAKAHASHI Yōichi considers Ōgai to be downplaying the difficulties suggested in Line Two. To paraphrase: “I turn aside and, laughing off any worries, go out the gate.” As a cosseted son leaving home for the first time, Ōgai would be allaying the worries of relatives and friends, while at the same time displaying youthful bravado and enthusiasm. For the final phrase in the line, see the note to HN #14, Line 2.

**Line 4:** ‘Poetry sandals,’ barbarized: ‘The sandals (of one who) intones (poems)’; namely, the shoes of this poet (i.e., me, Ōgai). The expression is treated in WIXTED: “Allusion and Diction”: 90–91 n. 5.

**Line 4:** ‘Etsuzan’: Namely, the mountains of Echigo referred to in the poem by Satō Genchō.

### Hokuyū nichijō #3

February 13, 1882. Day 1.

MO #009. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下二(蕭)韻.

In Tokyo. According to the journal entry for the day, Ōgai left from Shin Ōhashi 新大橋 on the Sumida River 隅田川, presumably in a lighter, since his ship, the paddle-wheeler “Tsūun-maru” 通運丸 (SS Transport),

departed Ryōgoku Bridge 兩國橋 (probably at three o'clock in the afternoon).

The steamer, which plied the route to Koga 古河 (Ibaraki Prefecture), would proceed downstream a short distance, cross over to the Edo River 江戸川, and head north, eventually joining the Tone River 利根川 near Koga.<sup>39</sup>

- 鼓角聲中別恨銷 SHŌ / xiāo  
*Kokaku no seichū bekkon kie*  
 Gùjiǎo shēngzhōng biéhèn xiāo
- 2 橋頭不顧柳蕭々 SHŌ / xiāo  
*Kyōtō kaerimizu yanagi no shōshō taru o*  
 Qiáotóu bú gù liǔ xiāoxiāo
- 溯流船勢疾於箭  
*Soryū sensei ya yori mo hayaku*  
 Sùliú chuánshì jí yú jiàn
- 4 衝破長虹影一條 JŌ / tiáo  
*Shōha su Chōkō kage ichijō*  
 Chōngpò Chánghóng yǐng yitíáo

Amid sound of drum and horn, the sorrow of parting melts;  
 Bridgeside no looking back, willows ripple and rustle.  
 Going upstream, the ship's momentum faster than an arrow;  
 It splits apart long rainbow, a single stretch of shadow.

**Line 1:** ‘Sound of drum and horn’: Traditionally, the musical instruments used by the military to sound warnings, make calls to arms, and announce time (cf. ‘drum and bugle’ in the West). Here likely a witty reference to the ship’s whistle signaling departure (and by extension, call to duty). CHIN Seiho thinks the phrase could refer to soldier musicians seeing off the contingent.

**Line 2:** ‘Bridgeside’: Namely, dockside.

**Line 2:** ‘Willows’: Conventionally associated with parting.

**Line 3:** ‘Momentum’: Cf. treatment of 勢 in the note to GHN #6, Line 12, including n. 97.

39 According to YASUKAWA Rikako, paddle steamers had been introduced on the route the previous year. They traveled 6 knots (11 km) per hour and the fare to Koga was 68 *sen* (1 *yen* 2 *sen* for first class), at a time when 1 *shō* 升 of rice (1.78 liters) cost between 4 and 5 *sen*. She reproduces an undated early photo of a paddle-wheeler with “SS Transport” clearly painted on its side: HN 27.

**Line 4:** ‘Long rainbow’: Here refers to an arched bridge that the ship passes beneath while traversing its shadow. Possibly echoes use of the expression by Su Shi (1037-1101): 蘇軾, 次韻周邠寄雁蕩山圖二首, 其二: “東海獨來看出日、石橋先去踏長虹。” “I have come alone to the Eastern Sea, to view the rising sun; / But first must leave Stone Bridge behind, treading the long rainbow” (JTW tr.).

#### Hokuyū nichijō #4

February 13, 1882. Day 1.

MO #010. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下一(先)韻.

When the ship arrives at Ichikawa 市川 (Chiba Prefecture), it looks as if it will rain.

The locale is noteworthy for two sites: the grave mound of Satomi Yoshihiro 里見義弘 (1525–78) and the Kōnodai Shrine 鴻府臺 (= Kōnodai 國府臺) dedicated to Mama no Shujina (Tekona) 眞間の手兒名 (氏胡奈).<sup>40</sup>

As referred to in Line One, Ōgai had visited the area a little more than two years earlier with Kako Tsurudo and Ogata Shūjirō, at which time he wrote a

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40 Also called ‘Tekona ga hokora’ 氏胡奈が祠 (Tekona’s Shrine), it is dedicated to a legendary beauty who, loved by more than one suitor, despairs of choosing between them and drowns herself. The same circumstance, considerably elaborated, is related in the story of Ukifune in *The Tale of Genji*. The name (originally ‘babe in arms’) was ‘eastern dialect’ for ‘maiden’ and was used as her name. Note the article devoted to Tekona and Ōgai: MATUMOTO Akitomo [E] (13–16 being about the name and Tsuraru 津輕 dialect).

Tekona is the subject of several *Man’yōshū* poems (#431–33, #1807–8, #3384–85), the most famous being #1807, excerpted as follows: “[W]hen the flawless beauty stood / fair as a flower, all men came wooing / as summer moths fly into flames, / or boats come crowding into ports. / Now two young men sued for her hand, / setting their lives at naught to win her. / She pitied them and thought: / if I only die, they’ll cease their strife, / and threw herself into the sea”; H.H. HONDA [Honda Heihachirō 本多平八郎]: *The Manyōshū: A New and Complete Translation*, Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1967: 149.

For more detailed Western-language renderings of the poem, see Edwin A. CRANSTON: *A Waka Anthology*, Volume One: *The Gem-Glistening Cup*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1993: 316–17; René SIEFFERT: *Man’yōshū: Livres VII à XI*, Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France, Editions UNESCO 2001: 380–83; and Horst ARNOLD-KANAMORI: *Klassisches Japanisch III: Manyōshū*, 萬葉集要解 (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač 2001) (Ulmer Sprachstudien, Band 7): 109–10. Also worth consulting are the translations by Hiroaki SATO [Satō, 佐藤紘彰] and Burton WATSON: *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*, New York: Columbia University Press 1986: 55–56; and by the NIPPON GAKUJITSU SHINKŌKAI: *The Manyōshū*, 1940, rpt. with a foreword by Donald KEENE, New York: Columbia University Press 1965: 223–24.

Mama no Tekona’s plight is used as a standard of pitifulness in the story, “Asaji gado” 淺茅が宿 (“The Reed-Thatched House”), by Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734–1809) in *Ugetsu monogatari* 雨月物語 (Tales of Moonlight and Rain). Ōgai also refers to it in *Vita sexualis* (when the protagonist is age fourteen).

*kanshi*.<sup>41</sup> Given the weather, the time of day, the likely briefness of the stop, and the fact that Ōgai brings up the earlier outing to clarify this and the following poem, it is doubtful he revisited the sites at this time.

- 松下豪遊憶昔年。 NEN / nián  
*Shōka gōyū sekinen o omoi*  
 Sōngxià háoyóu yì xíníán
- 2 懸崖今夜此停船。 SEN / chuán  
*Kengai kon'ya koko ni teisen su*  
 Xuányái jīnyè cǐ tíngchuán  
 烟雲冥處鱗光動  
*En'un kuraki tokoro rinkō ugoku*  
 Yānyún míngchù línguāng dòng
- 4 疑是鬚龍騰九天。 TEN / tiān  
*Utagauraku wa kore zenryō no kuten ni*  
*noboru ka to*  
 Yí shì ránlóng téng jiǔtiān

Beneath the pines, a wonderful outing recalled from years past;  
 Cliffside tonight, here we halt our boat.  
 In misty clouds and dark places, 'fish-scale rays' stir;  
 One might think 'whiskered dragon' is soaring to ninth heaven.

**Line 1:** Entire line: At the outing in the autumn of 1879, Ōgai composed the following untitled *kanshi* (MO #001), the earliest of his that is extant.<sup>42</sup>

Everywhere one looks, a cold haze – autumn hues sad;  
 Flute strains under maple shade – one would tarry long.  
 Slanted bridge, setting sun – a lone road;  
 Especially heartbreaking – the shrine to Butterfly.

Ōgai's own appended note states: "I have drawn on the theory of Kumasaka Shigen 熊坂子彦 [1739–1803] that *tekona* 氏胡奈 means *kochō* 蝴蝶 'butterfly.'"<sup>43</sup>

41 The circumstance of the group outing makes it an example of *kanshi* of social intercourse; WIXTED: "Sociability in Poetry: 193.

42 "滿目寒煙秋色悲、笛聲楓影立多時、斜橋落日一條路、最是傷情蝴蝶祠。"

43 MATSUMOTO Akitomo has identified the source Ōgai is likely drawing on for the Kumasaka Shigen reference (something which had eluded Ōgai's other commentators): [E]: 9–13. He includes photos of pages of the text as well as of the shrine, and reproductions of

**Line 3:** ‘Fish-scale rays’: Namely, flashes of lightning.

**Line 4:** ‘Whiskered dragon’: A witty complement to the ‘fish-scale rays’ of the preceding line. The term, which usually refers to the emperor, here conveys the quasi-euhemerization of nature and the display of its hierophantic force. ‘Fish scales’ in the preceding line would refer to the dragon’s scales.

**Line 4:** ‘Ninth heaven’: The highest level of the heavens. Ōgai incorporates phrasing from the famous poem by Li Bo (701-62) about the waterfall on Incense Burner Peak: QTS 180 (1837) 李白, 望廬山瀑布水二首, 其二: “飛流直下三千尺、疑是銀河落九天。” “The flow in flight, straight down, three thousand feet, / One might think Silver River (i.e., the Milky Way) had tumbled from ninth heaven” (JTW tr.). The novelty, however, is that Ōgai’s subject soars upward instead of plunging downward.

### Hokuyū nichijō #5

February 13, 1882. Day 1.

MO #011. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十一(眞)韻.

In the journal this poem is paired with HN #4, the subject being the two sites already identified: the grave mound of ‘the hero,’ Satomi Yoshihiro,<sup>44</sup> and the shrine to ‘the beauty,’ Tekona.

- |   |  |           |
|---|--|-----------|
|   | 古跡並存刀水瀆                                      | HIN / bīn |
|   | <i>Koseki narande sonsu Tosui no hama</i>    |           |
|   | Gǔjī bìng cún Dāoshuǐ <u>bīn</u>             |           |
| 2 | 悽然灑淚薦溪蘋                                      | HIN / pín |
|   | <i>Seizen to shite namida o sosogi</i>       |           |
|   | <i>senkei no ukikusa</i>                     |           |
|   | Qīrán sǎ lèi jiànxi <u>pín</u>               |           |
|   | 如今誰復問輕重                                      |           |
|   | <i>Jokon tare ka mata keijū o towan</i>      |           |
|   | Rújīn shéi fù wèn qīngzhòng                  |           |
| 4 | 弔罷英雄弔美人                                      | NIN / rén |
|   | <i>Eiyū o tomurai-owatte bijin o tomurau</i> |           |
|   | Diào bà yīngxióng diào měirén                |           |

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two early prints: one depicts Tekona throwing herself into the sea and the other the shrine; *ibid.*: 11, 4–6.

- 44 Satomi Yoshihiro was famous for battles he led against the Hōjō clan (北條氏), suffering a major defeat at Kōnodai in 1564 and winning an important victory three years later at Mt. Mifune 三船山 (at Kimitsu 君津, Chiba Prefecture). In 1577, a year before his death, the two sides reached a peace settlement.

Old ruins, both lined up on ‘Knife Waters’ shore;  
 Ruefully shed, the tears on ‘Marsh-Mallow Stream’ reeds.  
 Who now is concerned about their relative ‘weight’?  
 Having mourned the hero, we can mourn the beauty.

**Line 1:** ‘Both’: I.e., the grave mound and the shrine, the two having associations of loss or defeat: one through battle, the other suicide.

**Line 1:** ‘Knife Waters’: I.e., the Tone River 利根川, one of whose names historically was 刀禰河 (*Tone-gawa*, the first character meaning ‘knife’). The gravesite and shrine are, in fact, along the Edo River, which branches south from the Tone River, but are in the Tone River watershed.

**Line 2:** ‘Marsh-Mallow Stream’: I.e., the Mama River 眞間川, which has the alternative name 薦溪; here understanding 葦 (*sen*, *chún*, ‘marsh-mallow’) to be an alternative for 薦. The Mama River passes through Ichikawa, two kilometers east of the sites in HN #4–5. This is the interpretation of YASUKAWA Rikako, which implicitly assumes Ōgai is invoking names associated with the locale.

Alternatively, according to KOTAJIMA Yōsuke (who makes ‘*keihin o susumu*’ the *kundoku* for the latter phrase), the line means: “Ruefully we shed tears, an offering to stream reeds,” which barbarized reads: “Ruefully / one ‘sprinkles’ tears // which serve as offerings to (i.e., are presented to; hence, nourish) stream reeds.” There is a Su Shi precedent: 蘇軾、次韻滕元發許仲途秦少遊: “自慚黃潦薦溪癭。” “Embarrassed that my yellow ‘puddle’ nourishes stream reeds” (JTW tr.).

The first interpretation has the advantage of maintaining parallelism between Lines One and Two. The second is supported by the Su Shi example (and renders moot any question as to geography). Although preference has been given here to the former, as is often the case with Ōgai, it may be more helpful to think in terms of ‘both / and’ rather than ‘either / or.’

In this and the preceding line, Ōgai makes a display of learning while punning on the meaning (and associations) of alternative names. Cf. ‘Cape Sable’ and ‘Mt. Phoenix’ in MO #160, treated in WIXTED: “Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*)”: 114–16.

**Line 3:** ‘Concerned about their relative “weight,”’ barbarized: ‘Inquire (rhetorically) as to the “lightness-heaviness” (of the two)’; namely, the relative weight or value they have; by extension, their goodness or badness, the esteem or disapproval (praise or blame) that they merit.

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #6

February 14, 1882. Day 2.

MO #012. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

The ship arrives in Koga 古河 (Ibaraki Prefecture) at five in the morning. After breakfast the group sets out by land for Tochigi 栃木, thirty-five kilometers away. They pass through a pine grove in Nogi 野木 (Tochigi Prefecture), where the poet, who has been nodding off, wakes confused as to whether he is on land or over water.



- 松影如龍途上擡    Ō / héng  
Shōei tatsu no gotoku tojō ni yokotawari  
Sōngyǐng rú lóng túshàng hég
- 2 衣巾斜受旭光明    MYŌ / míng  
Ikin naname ni uku kyokukō no mei  
Yījīn xié shòu xùguāng míng
- 風濤忽破輿中夢  
Fūtō tachimachi yaburu yochū no yume  
Fēngtáo hū pò yúzhōng mèng
- 4 猶訝舟中昨夜聲    SHŌ / shēng  
Nao ibukaru shūchū sakuya no koe ka to  
Yóu yà zhōuzhōng zuóyè shēng

Pine shadows like dragons lie across the road;  
Uniforms and caps, slantwise, take in dawn rays bright.  
Billows of wind shatter 'chariot-board' dreams –  
Still not last night's shipboard sounds, or are they?

**Line 3:** 'Chariot-board': A witty way of saying aboard a rickshaw, palanquin, or cart.

**Line 4:** 'Shipboard sounds': Namely, the sounds of the previous night's wind and waves, which, along with the boat's early arrival, contributed to the poet's being tired enough to doze off. Disoriented upon waking, he cannot tell if the sounds are from land or water, since 'billows (or waves) of wind' can also mean 'wind and (billowing) waves' and refer to either of the two worlds.

### Hokuyū nichijō #7

February 14, 1882. Day 2.

MO #013. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

The group continues, Tsukuba Mountain 筑波山 faintly visible to the east. Outside of Nogi they approach Otome-mura 乙女村 (also 御留村), the name occasioning the pun in the last line of the next poem.

- 曉靄新晴天色溫    ON / wēn  
Gyōai arata ni harete tenshoku atatakaku  
Xiǎoǎi xīn qíng tiānsè wēn
- 2 渴來時叩賣漿門    MON / mén  
Katsushi-kitareba toki ni tatau baishō no mon  
Kě-lái shí kòu màijiāng mén

筑波山紫迎如笑

*Tsukuba-san murasaki ni shite mukauru koto  
warauga gotoshi*

Zhúbō-shān zǐ yíng rú xiào

4 路入春風少女村 SON / cūn

*Michi wa iru shunpū no Otome-mura*

Lù rù chūnfēng Shǎonǚ-cūn

Morning haze freshly cleared, the sky's cast warm;  
Thirst coming on, time to knock on brew-selling doors.  
Tsukuba Mountain purple, welcomes as with a smile;  
The road enters spring-breeze Otome-mura – Maiden Village.

**Line 2:** 'Brew': Tea or wine.

**Line 3:** 'Tsukuba Mountain purple': Alternate names for Tsukuba Mountain are Purple Mountain (Murasaki no yama 紫の山) and Purple Peak (Shihō 紫峰).

**Line 4:** 'Spring-breeze...Maiden Village': 'Spring' and 'maiden' both have associations with sexual awakening.

The settlements of Koga, Nogi, Otome-mura, and Oyama 小山 are along the Rikuu Highway 陸羽街道 (also called the Ōshū Highway 奥州街道), which here temporarily overlaps with the Nikkō Highway 日光街道. At Oyama, the group branches off and crosses the Omoi River 思川, heading northwest to Tochigi, where they arrive at two in the afternoon – almost a full day since leaving Ryōgoku Bridge.

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #8

February 15, 1882. Day 3.

MO #014. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下十二(侵)韻.

The following poem was written in Tochigi when visiting Machida Mototari (Michimoto) 町田大備 (道本) (1824–86),<sup>45</sup> a doctor having broad cultural interests. Both Machida and Ōgai's teacher, Satō Genchō, had been students of Taki Motokata (Saitei) 多紀元堅 (菴庭) (1795-1857), son of

45 For reproduction of a rendering of Machida's deathmask, see YASUKAWA Rikako: HN 53; see also *ibid.*: 50, for a ca. 1880 photo of the main street in Tochigi, such as it was.

Taki Motoyasu (Rekisō) 多紀元簡 (櫟窓) (1754–1819),<sup>46</sup> a shared intellectual lineage in Chinese medicine that now extended to Ōgai.<sup>47</sup>

Doubtless it was out of deference to his *sensei* that Ōgai paid the visit to Machida, and out of respect for his compeer that Machida received the young man, since he was retired and no longer accepted visitors. Ōgai describes the latter as being about sixty and ‘hale and hearty’ (*kakushaku tari* 矍鑠たり).

- 一椀清茶帶笑斟 SHIN / zhēn  
*Ichīwan no seicha warai o obite kumeba*  
 Yìwǎn qīngchá dài xiào zhēn
- 2 羈中亦足豁胸襟 KIN / jīn  
*Kichū mata taru kyōkin o hiraku ni*  
 Jīzhōng yì zú huò xiōngjīn  
 白頭主對青年客  
*Hakutō no aruji wa taisu seinen no kaku*  
 Báitóu zhǔ duì qīngnián kè
- 4 細雨燈前千古心 SHIN / xīn  
*Sai’u tōzen senko no kokoro*  
 Xìyǔ dēngqián qiāngǔ xīn

A bowl of green tea, ladled with a smile –  
 While traveling, it too can open wide one’s magnanimous self.  
 White-haired host facing youthful guest –  
 In the drizzle beside the lamp, hearts for the ages

**Line 2:** Entire line, barbarized: “‘Mid-halter’ (i.e., tied up traveling) / it (the tea of Line One) is also (as well as wine) enough to // break open (wide) ‘breast-and-lapel.’” That is to say, tea as well as wine, shared between host and guest while traveling, can unlock one’s feelings and enlarge the soul. Cf. Pan Yue (247–300): 潘岳, 西征賦: “胸中豁其洞開。” “Within his heart he magnanimously opened himself” (David R. Knechtges tr.).

**Line 4:** ‘Hearts for the ages’: That is to say, our two hearts share an intellectual lineage and inherited culture – not to mention individual cultural interests, such as *kanshi* writing – that are immemorial. A similar expression had been used by Kan Sazan (1748–1827): 菅茶山, 冬夜讀書: “一穗青燈萬古之心。” “By mere tassel of green lamp, a heart for ten-thousand ages (i.e., a heart that communes with countless generations of the past and that will live on forever with this poem)” (JTW tr.).

46 Both are also known by the surname Tanba 丹波.

47 KOTAJIMA Yōsuke provides a chart that is helpful in visualizing the lineage: 1: 63.

Ōgai notes that, upon leaving, he was accompanied to the gate by a girl (*shōso* 小姐) carrying a candle – reflecting not just the politeness extended him but also his own consciousness of female accompaniment.<sup>48</sup>

Tochigi was the first stop on the expedition where examination of army recruits took place.<sup>49</sup> Apart from this poem and short references to the weather, there is little else recorded about the stay,<sup>50</sup> which (as elsewhere in the journals when there is a hiatus) is likely accounted for by work responsibilities.

On February 18, the group leaves Tochigi and proceeds to Ōta 太田 (Gunma Prefecture),<sup>51</sup> a distance of forty kilometers, passing through Inubushi 犬臥, Horigome 堀米, and Sano 佐野 (all in Tochigi Prefecture). As the day is the lunar new year, households are festooned with pine decorations and children wear new clothes.

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #9

February 19, 1882. Day 7.

MO #015. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十(灰)韻.

After leaving Ōta in the morning, while en route to Maebashi 前橋, a day's journey of forty kilometers, Mt. Asama 淺間山 (on the border between Gunma and Nagano prefectures) comes into view straight ahead to the west.<sup>52</sup> At 2,568 meters, it has snow in February.

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48 Amusingly enough, CHIN Seiho understands her to be Machida Mototari's daughter, TAKECHI Hideo takes her to be his maid, and YASUKAWA Rikako states she is Machida's young second wife. KOTAJIMA Yōsuke omits the reference.

49 YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces two local recruiting announcements from the preceding year: HN: 60–61.

50 The entry for February 17, when Ōgai turned twenty years old by Western count (which would not have been celebrated in the Japan of the time), states simply: “Weather cleared. Took a stroll.” (Ōgai was born on January 19 by the lunar calendar. The Meiji state had switched to the solar one in 1873.)

51 YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a 1902 drawing of the inn where they stayed, by which time its name had been changed from Kokusabu 穀三 to the homophonous Kokusabu 古久三; *ibid.*: 65. Note the one-page article by “S.T.” on the latter-named inn's namesake in 2005, accompanied by a photo of an ugly-looking, concrete business hotel, where its Western-style restaurant, we are told, is dubbed “Erisu” エリス (“Elis”) and the Japanese-style one “Sara” 沙羅 (“Sala Tree”); cited in n. 26.

52 YASUKAWA Rikako supplies a map of the area, one on which traditional routes have been added: *ibid.*: 67.

- 千畦麩麥半林梅 BAI / méi  
*Senkei no bōbaku banrin no ume*  
 Qiānqí móumài bànlín méi
- 2 初日三竿稠霧開 KAI / kāi  
*Shojitsu sankan chūmu hiraku*  
 Chūri sāngān chóuwù kāi  
 田逕委它行不盡  
*Denkei ida to shite yuke-domo tsukizu*  
 Tiánjìng wěitā xíng bú jìn
- 4 睫邊白雪是朝隈 WAI / wēi  
*Shōhen no hakusetsu wa kore Asama naran*  
 Jiébiān báixuě shì Zhāowēi

Hundreds of plots of barley, half a stand of plum;  
 The sun three poles high, dense fog disperses.  
 Field paths twist and turn – on without end;  
 By eyelashes, white snow – it must be Mt. Asama.

**Line 2:** Entire line: Cf. Liu Yuxi (772–842): QTS 365 (4112) (and 28 [395]): 劉禹錫, 竹枝詞九首, 其四 (and 雜曲歌辭, 竹枝): “日出三竿春霧消。” “The sun up three poles high, spring fog dissipates” (JTW tr.).

**Line 4:** ‘Eyelashes’: Cf. in English, ‘brow’ of a mountain.

**Line 4:** ‘Mt. Asama’: A play on words of the kind so loved by Ōgai. Although Mt. Asama 淺間山 between Gunma and Nagano Prefectures is clearly being referred to, the characters in Line Four would normally be read Asakuma 朝隈, a locale in Kagoshima Prefecture. The first character of the latter also appears in the Mt. Asama 朝熊山 of Mie Prefecture, homophonous with the compound in this line. Ōgai has probably changed the second character of the lattermost to 隈, because 熊 does not fit the rhyme scheme and the word ‘bear’ does not work semantically. ‘Morning’ in the compound ‘Asama’ 朝隈 (‘Morning Hollow [i.e., Nook, Depression, Recess, Corner, Fold, Pleat]’) resumes the reference to time in Line Two.

### Hokuyū nichijō #10

February 19, 1882. Day 7.

MO #016. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上四(支)韻.

As noted in the journal, “Approaching Maebashi, we rested for a while at a tea house.” Maebashi (Gunma Prefecture) was well known for its sericulture.<sup>53</sup>

- 萬梅花擁一茅蒸 SHI / cí  
*Manbai hana mote yōsu ichi bōshi*  
 Wànméi huā yōng yì máocí
- 2 小憩還宜舉酒后 SHI / zhī  
*Shōkei mata yoroshiku shushi o agubeshi*  
 Xiǎoqì hái yí jǔ jiǔzhī  
 料識前橋行漸進  
*Ryōshiki su Zenkyō (Maebashi) yukite yōyaku*  
*chikaki o*  
 Liàoshì Qiánqiáo xíng jiàn jìn
- 4 當爐少女說蠶絲 SHI / sī  
*Tōro no shōjo sanshi o toku*  
 Dānglú shǎonǚ shuō cǎnsī

Countless plum blossoms embrace single thatched roof;  
 A short break also good for raising wine goblet.  
 Our surmise: Maebashi must be getting closer –  
 The young woman tending stove talks about silkworms and thread.

**Line 1:** ‘Single thatched roof’: A modest tea or wine shop.

**Line 3:** ‘Surmise’: Both CHIN Seiho and YASUKAWA Rikako indicate that the compound 料識 does not appear in standard dictionaries of classical Chinese. Noting its absence from *Peiwen yunfu* 佩文韻府 (A Repository of Rhymes from the ‘Honoring Letters Studio’ [of the Kangxi Emperor], 1711, suppl. 1720), she conjectures it may be Ōgai’s own coinage. But the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (Great Dictionary of the Japanese Language, [1972–76] 2001) cites two earlier *kanshi* examples.

53 For background, see David G. WITTNER: “Iron Machines and Brick Building: The Material Culture of Silk Reeling,” Chapter 3 in *idem, Technology and the Culture of Progress in Meiji Japan*, London: Routledge 2008: 43–71. As he points out (150 n. 116), even though “By this time [the early 1870s] Maebashi silk was considered to be high quality and demanded a high price in international markets,” production in Nagano Prefecture was to far outstrip that of Gunma (which included famous mills in Tomioka 富岡 – now a World Heritage Cultural Site). According to his table for 1895, Nagano had 36.4% of the nation’s total production and Gunma only 2.84%; *ibid.*: 133. For more on sericulture, see the note to GHN #12, Line 2.

**Line 4:** ‘Young woman tending stove’: A common trope in Chinese poetry from the time of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179–117 BCE) onward. It even appears in the *kanshi* of Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916): 夏目漱石, 無題: “長命寺中醫餅家、當爐少女美如花。” “At Chōmeiji (Long Life Temple), one selling rice cakes: / A maiden tending stove, beautiful as a flower” (JTW tr.).

**Line 4:** ‘Silkworms,’ barbarized: ‘Cocoons.’

### Hokuyū nichijō #11

February 19, 1882. Day 7.

MO #017. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下八(庚)韻.

Written in Maebashi, where ‘a certain someone’ (*soregashi* それがし) visits Ōgai in his inn and tells him about local mores.<sup>54</sup>

	幾丈繭絲冰樣清	SHŌ / qīng
	<i>Ikujō no kenshi hyōyō ni kiyoku</i>	
	Jǐzhàng jiǎnsī bīngyàng qīng	
2	渾從兒女手中生	SHŌ / shēng
	<i>Subete jijo no shuchū yori shōzu</i>	
	Hún cóng érǚ shǒuzhōng shēng	
	却嫌夫壻甘輕薄	
	<i>Kaette kirau fusei no keihaku ni amanji</i>	
	Què xián fūxù gān qīngbó	
4	不向荒園試力耕	KŌ / gēng
	<i>Kōen ni mukatte rikikō o kokoromizaru o</i>	
	Bú xiàng huāngyuán shì lìgēng	

Yard upon yard of flossy thread, ice-like pure,  
 All from women’s hands takes shape.  
 What is annoying is their menfolk’s shallow flippancy –  
 To weed-choked plots they won’t apply serious plowing.

**Line 2:** ‘From women’s hands takes shape’: The term for ‘women’ (兒女) suggests the likelihood that they are young. There are erotic overtones to the image of women’s hands, a metonym for their femininity, as exemplified in Chinese poetry of the *ci* 詞 (‘song-poem’) genre. Additionally, it is from women’s hands that silk thread ‘takes shape,’ literally, ‘is born’ 生 – a process specific to women.

54 YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a photo from a 1910 advertisement for Shiroiya Inn 白井屋旅館, where the group stayed: HN: 74.

Sericulture was women's work. The advantage accruing to men as a consequence (and referred to in Lines Three and Four of the poem) is unwittingly underscored in the following: "Western demand for Japanese silk was so sudden and strong [in the early Meiji] that in silk-producing regions of eastern Japan, not only local middlemen and Yokohama merchants, but local producers – farmers whose daughters reeled silk at home as well as farmers whose wives and other family members bred silkworms – gained tremendously from the trade. [...] More than three in four married women [in four Yamanashi villages in 1879] [...] were in sericulture, [...]"<sup>55</sup>

According to YASUKAWA Rikako, in Edo times it was said of Maebashi that, because of its strategic location militarily, 'it imported cannon and exported women' (*nyūteppō shutsujo* 入鐵砲出女) – the latter having economic potential in more than one realm of work: HN: 78.

**Line 3:** 'Menfolk's shallow flippancy': An expression clearly indebted to Du Fu (712–70), where 輕薄 refers to sexual unfaithfulness, inconstancy, fickleness: QTS 218 (2287): 杜甫, 佳人: "夫婿輕薄兒" "Her man is a fickle fellow (i.e., he's unfaithful – as confirmed in the poem lines that then follow)" (JTW tr.). But the expression can have broader implication, referring to 'shallowness, frivolousness, flippancy; conceitedness; ungraciousness, coarseness.' As made clear in Line Four, it can also suggest 'laziness.' To paraphrase the entire line, "Menfolk here are no damn good!" Cf. Ōgai's deprecation of males in HN #25. Note also the rendering 'drifter' cited in the note to GHN #24, Line 3.

Germane is the following 1890 stone marker for the local luminary, Katori Motohiko 楫取素彦 (1829–1912): "上野いにしえより難治と稱する。その民は剽悍にして輕佻、事に臨み躁急にして老成持久の實無し。"<sup>56</sup> "From times past (i.e., before Katori), Kōzuke (Jōshū 上州 or Gunma Prefecture) was deemed hard to govern. Its people were rough and careless; faced with a task, they were impetuous, so no long-lasting results were achieved" (JTW tr.).

Ōgai was to use the expression 輕薄 in *Gan* (The Wild Goose): 雁 16 (OZ 8: 555): "色の白い、自鼻立の好い男は、兔角輕薄らしく、利いた風で、懐かしくない。" "Males with light complexions and fair features were not attractive to her, because they were shallow and conceited, their manner brash" (JTW tr.).

**Line 4:** Negative comments about Japanese males include ones made in 1883 by Arthur H. CROWE about workers in Nanae outside Hakodate: "A group of lazy farm-servants occupied a corner of the yard, smoking and gossiping, but made no attempt to resume work as their superior passed. [...] The men do not appear to take the least interest in the animals, or pride in the tidiness of the place, so it must be very uphill work for the managers."<sup>57</sup>

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55 SAITŌ Osamu [斎藤修]: "The Rural Economy: Commercial Agriculture, By-employment, and Wage Work," *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, Marius B. JANSEN and Gilbert ROZMAN, eds., Princeton: Princeton University Press 1986: 416, 413.

56 HIGUCHI Hidejirō 樋口秀次郎: *Gunma-ken: Bungei no ayumi* 群馬県: 文芸のあゆみ (Gunma Prefecture: Cultural Strolls), Gunma, Haruna-machi 榛名町: [Higuchi Hidejirō] 1969, as cited in YASUKAWA Rikako: HN: 77; the original is in *kanbun*, she says.

57 As cited in Herbert E. PLUTSCHOW: *Historical Hakodate: Foreigners' Views of the City in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Hakodate: Hakodate International Foundation 1991: 171.



Nothing is recorded in the journal for the next three days except short comments about the weather, which seems to suggest engagement with official activities.

*Hokuyū nichijō* #12

February 23, 1882. Day 11.

MO #018. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十五(刪)韻.

Leaving Maebashi, the group crosses the Tone River on a ‘floating (i.e., pontoon) bridge’ (*ukihashi* 浮橋), en route to Annaka 安中, passing through Takasaki 高崎 and Itahana 板鼻, a distance of twenty-four kilometers all in Gunma Prefecture. From Takasaki on, they follow the Nakasendō 中山道 (Mid-Mountain Route) also known as the Kiso Road 木曾路.

- |   |  |            |
|---|--|------------|
|   | 回望刀川指顧間  | KAN / jiān |
|   | <i>Kaibō sureba Tosen wa shiko no kan</i>                        |            |
|   | Huíwàng Dāochuān zhǐgù jiān                                      |            |
| 2 | 水青沙白夕陽殷  | IN / yān   |
|   | <i>Mizu aoku shite suna hiraku sekiyō akashi</i>                 |            |
|   | Shuǐ qīng shā bái xīyáng yān                                     |            |
|   | 擔夫忽叫天將雪  |            |
|   | <i>Tanpu tachimachi sakebu “Ten masa ni yuki furan to su” to</i> |            |
|   | Dānfū hū jiào tiān jiāng xuě                                     |            |
| 4 | 漠々寒雲下遠山  | SAN / shān |
|   | <i>Bakubaku taru kan’un enzan o kudaru</i>                       |            |
|   | Mòmò hányún xià yuǎnshān   |            |

We look back at Tone River – scarcely a moment:

Water green, sand white, the sunset magenta.

Our porter suddenly cries, “It looks like snow!”

Overcast over all, cold clouds descend distant mountain.

**Line 1:** ‘Tone River’: I.e., the ‘Knife Waters’ of HN #5.

**Line 1:** ‘Scarcely a moment,’ barbarized: ‘The time or space it takes to point, while glimpsing back,’ i.e., a short time or distance.

**Line 2:** ‘Magenta’: I.e., reddish-purple. When used in this comparatively *recherché* sense, 殷 is always associated with blood. The *locus classicus* is the *Zuozhuan*: 左傳, 成公二年:

“自始合、而矢貫余手及肘、余折以御、左輪朱殷、豈敢言病。” “At the first encounter one arrow pierced my hand, and another my wrist. But I broke them and continued my driving, till the left wheel is of a deep purple, not daring to speak of the pain” (James Legge tr.). In later texts, the character is usually accompanied by the one for ‘blood’ 血 to clarify the meaning, or by ‘left wheel’ 左輪 to alert the reader to the allusion.

**Line 3:** ‘It looks like snow!’ barbarized: ‘As for the sky, it is about to snow.’ It is interesting that this phrase, coming as it does in the poem’s key third line, echoes Japanese usage both as to the phrasing and the speaker. Cf. (Yoshida) KENKŌ (吉田)兼好 (1283–1350), *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness): 徒然草 104: “門よくさしてよ。雨もぞふる。” “Secure the gate well! It looks like rain” (JTW tr.). And KI NO TSURAYUKI 紀貫之 (ca. 868-945), *Tosa nikki* (The Tosa Diary): 土佐日記, 12月27日: “かちとり...はやくいなんとて「しほみちぬ。かぜもふきぬべし。」とさわげば、ふねにのりなんとす。” “The captain of the boat [...] was anxious to leave immediately. ‘The tide has risen! The wind is blowing!’ he shouted, going on board” (V.L. Alberizzi tr.).

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #13

February 23, 1882. Day 11.

MO #019. Seven-character couplet.

In Annaka. The night is sad and lonely, and the moonlight clear as it seeps through the broken window of Ōgai’s room at the inn. Unable to sleep and ‘thinking about a friend who has gone abroad’ (*yōkō seshi tomo no koto nado omoi-idete* 洋行せし友の事などおもひ出でゝ), with dawn approaching, Ōgai intones the lines cited below.

The friend is Miura Moriharu 三浦守治 (1857–1919), who graduated first in Ōgai’s Tokyo University class, and so was automatically sent to Europe for further study. In fact, he had just left Tokyo on February 4, nine days before Ōgai’s departure for the north. Miura embodied Ōgai’s own heartfelt desire. But graduating eighth in the class of twenty-five, Ōgai was left, so it seemed, without any chance of going abroad. Miura is said to have been the model for ‘Agricola’ in *Vita sexualis*.<sup>58</sup> The friendship with him continued.<sup>59</sup> And Ōgai wrote an *in memoriam* piece in *kanbun* for him.<sup>60</sup>

58 HASEGAWA Izumi 長谷川泉: *Ōgai ‘Vita sekusuarisu’ kō* 鷗外「キタ・セクスアリス」考 (Hasegawa Izumi chosakusen 長谷川泉著作選 3), Meiji Shoin 明治書院 1991: *passim*. Note the photos of Miura: 19, 306, 378.

When they were students together, Ōgai “became good friends with Miura Moriharu, a hardworking but dingy looking student. Unlike most of the other students, Miura was of commoner background. [...] Miura was five years older than Ōgai, but he too was overwhelmed psychologically by his classmates. Ōgai felt a certain similarity between Miura’s situation and his own and sympathized with him”; NAKAI: *Young Mori Ōgai*: 39.

59 Five *kanshi* (MO #113–17; *Doitsu nikki* #3–7) were occasioned by their excursion together to Starnberger See – for more about which, see *ibid.*: 123–24.

羈官吾飲寒山馬

*Kan ni tsunagarete ware wa mizukau kanzan no  
uma*

Jīguān wú yǐn hánshān mǎ

2 得意人攀絕海船

*I o ete hito wa yozu zekkai no fune*

Déyì rén pān juéhǎi chuán

An officer ‘tied up,’ away on assignment, I water cold-mountain horses,  
While another, having gotten his heart’s desire, boards a distant-ocean  
ship.

**Lines 1–2:** ‘An officer “tied up,” away on assignment’ and ‘having gotten his heart’s desire’: The first phrase, barbarized: ‘A “bridled” (i.e., “tied up,” traveling) officer.’ In reference to both expressions, cf. Liu Yiqing (403–444), *Shishuo xinyu* (A New Account of Tales of the World): 劉義慶, 世說新語 7, 識鑿: “人生貴得適意爾、何能羈宦數千里以要名爵!” “What a man values in life is getting what he fancies, and nothing more. How can he tie himself down to an official post several hundreds of miles from home in pursuit of fame and rank?” (Richard B. Mather tr., modified).

**Line 1:** ‘Cold mountain’: The image is one of both loneliness and cold. Annaka, in fact, is only ca. 200 meters above sea level, but is a gateway to the mountains. Fourteen kilometers to the west is Mt. Myōgi, 1,103 meters high.

**Lines 1–2:** The couplet is translated as prose by NAKAI Yoshiyuki: “A traveling officer, I water my horse in the cold mountains; the triumphant men have been launched on a voyage over the boundless oceans”; *Young Mori Ōgai*: 68–69. This is the only reference to either of the two journals in any Western-language work. Alone among poems in the pair, the couplet appeared in print prior to 1975, quoted by SAITŌ Katsutoshi 齋藤勝壽 (treated below in the discussion of GHN #2) in his 1922 *in memoriam* piece for Ōgai in the journal *Shin shōsetsu* 新小説 27.9 (Aug. 1922): 3–4, which served as the source for Nakai’s 1974 reference. Entitled “Shōsō jidai” 少壯時代 (“The Early Years”), the Saitō piece is in the section, “Mori Hakase no hen’ei 森博士の片影 (“Glimpses of Dr. Mori”), of the special issue of the journal entitled “Bungō Ōgai Mori Rintarō” 文豪鷗外森林太郎 (“The Great Man of Letters, Mori Rintarō”).

None of Ōgai’s commentators discusses why the apparent two-line fragment should be treated as a separate poem. (It might more appropriately be viewed as a paired-line *kanbun* expression.) Since Ōgai quotes it in the journal and speaks of ‘breaking out intoning it’ (*uchi-ginzuru* うち吟ずる), it has been treated as an independent poetic entity.

As things were to develop, Ōgai was off to Germany in two-and-a-half years and able to look back sardonically on the circumstances of HN #13.<sup>61</sup>

60 OZ 38:291–92; an abbreviated translation into modern Japanese appears in CHIN Seiho: 1: 72–73. Ōgai recalls how Miura once carried him piggyback across a stream.

61 The couplet that treats his looking back appears in MO #071, the first poem in *Kōsei Japonica Humboldtiana* 18 (2016)

*Hokuyū nichijō* #14

February 24, 1882. Day 12.

MO #020. Five-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十(灰)韻.

Leaving Annaka 安中, the group starts uphill. At Sakamoto 阪本 (i.e., 坂本) – the last station on the Nakasendō in Gunma Prefecture – they eat lunch, with Mt. Myōgi 妙義山 clearly visible to the left. Icicles hang from the vegetation along the banks of the stream, which runs through the middle of the road. According to the journal, just the sight of them makes the group feel cold.

荒驛寒侵骨

*Kōeki kan hone o okashi*

Huāngyì hán qīn gǔ

2 風鳴電線來 RAI / lái

*Kaze densen o narashite-kitaru*

Fēng míng diànxiàn lái

防風有奇策

*Bōfū ni kisaku ari*

Fángfēng yǒu qí cè

4 屋上石爲堆 TAI / duī

*Okujō ishi tai o nasu*

Wūshàng shí wéi duī

At deserted post-house, cold penetrates the bones;

Wind brings telegraph wires to a hum.

To ward off the wind, there's a special strategem:

On rooftops, stones forming heaps.

*nikki*, dated August 23, 1884, when Ōgai had just boarded ship to go to Europe. He reflects on the time of his graduation two years earlier:

唯識蘇生愧牛後 I only knew the shame Master Su warned against –  
of being an ‘ox-behind’ –

空教阿迷着鞭先 And for no good reason let Friend Ti apply the whip and  
come in first.

‘Master Su’ refers to the strategist Su Qin 蘇秦 (380-284 BCE) and ‘Friend Ti’ to Miura (the first being an allusion to the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 [Intrigues of the Warring States] and the second a reference to the *Jinshu* 晉書 [History of the Jin Dynasty]).

To paraphrase the couplet: “I was embarrassed about graduating eighth in my class – the ass-end of an ox, as it were (after all, didn’t Master Su say, ‘Better a chicken-mouth than an ox-behind?’); / For no good reason, I let Miura Moriharu best me and graduate first in our class, so he was able to go to Europe right away (but at last I am able to do so now, but only two years later).”

- Line 2:** Entire line, barbarized: “The wind, sounding ‘electric wires,’ comes.” Use of this construction (verb + object [or quasi-object] + 來), which draws from vernacular Chinese, appears elsewhere in the two series by Ōgai: HN #19, #21; GHN #27.<sup>62</sup> Note additionally the same structure, but with 歸, 去, or 行 as the directional complement: HN #26, GHN #20; HN #1, #2, #21; GHN #15. Cf. the related construction (verb + object + non-directional complement [生, 作, 鑄, 看], which makes for an ‘extended’ compound-verb): HN #20, #23 (twice); GHN #29.
- Line 2:** ‘Telegraph wires’: *Denki* 電氣 for ‘telegraph’ appears in dictionaries as early as 1862, and *densen* 電線 for ‘telegraph wire’ as early as 1874.<sup>63</sup> Ōgai’s commentators conjecture that some sort of military telegraph is meant, since public service to the region apparently arrived only in the late Meiji.
- Line 4:** ‘Stones forming heaps’: Namely, to keep the roofs from being blown away. This was a feature remarked upon by Western visitors of the time. M. von Brandt, the first German consul in Hakodate, said of the city ca. 1865: “The low houses, on whose almost flat, bark-thatched roofs lie big stones, remind one of Switzerland”; PLUTSCHOW: *Historical Hakodate*: 158. The town’s Russian visitor in the late 1850s, Sergei MAKSIMOV, commented, “Japanese houses... have numerous huge stones on their roofs against the violent hurricanes”; “In the East”: 145–46, cited in n. 92. Isabella BIRD in 1878 commented similarly about Hakodate: “Stones, however, are [the locale’s] prominent feature. Looking down upon it from above you see miles of grey boulders, and realize that every roof in the windy capital is ‘hoddon doun’ by a weight of paving stones. [...] These paving stones are certainly the cheapest possible mode of keeping the roofs on the houses in such a windy region, but they look odd”; CORTAZZI: *Victorians in Japan*: 51 (cf. 38, for reference by still another visitor).

### Hokuyū nichijō #15A–B

February 24, 1882. Day 12.

MO #021.

Departing Sakamoto, en route to Usui Pass 碓氷峠, the group finds there is still snow along the road. They stop for a break at a teahouse. HN #15A describes the scene.<sup>64</sup>

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- 62 From 1885 on Ōgai does not use the construction. But a similar one (single-character verb + 來) seems to take its place: 讀來, 嘗來, 拓來, 炊來, 按來, 倩來; MO #162, #166, #174, #180, #205, #206, respectively. In his final years after 1918, Ōgai begins to use quite a different construction (來 as the first verbal element + a second verbal element to form a *de facto* compound verb): 來奏, 來維, 來倚; MO #221, #230, #232, respectively.
- 63 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 (A Dictionary of Meiji Words), Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan 東京堂出版 1986: 390, 394.
- 64 In the first of three articles cited in n. 26, TAKAHASHI Yōichi argues that HN #15, instead of being an eight-line *koshi* (as understood by Ōgai’s other commentators), is in fact two separate *zekku*. He notes the different rhyme categories used, the difficulty interpreters have had in reconciling the two parts of the eight-line version, and what likely led to its

## #15A

Five-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上七(虞)韻.

- 半腹一回首  
*Hanpuku hitotabi kōbe o megurashi*  
 Bānfù yì huí shǒu
- 2 始知來路迂 U / yū  
*Hajimete shiru rairo no unaru o*  
 Shǐ zhī lái lù yū
- 兩三軒草屋  
*Ryōsan takaki sōoku*  
 Liǎngsān xuān cǎowū
- 4 雞犬一寰區 KU / qū  
*Keiken itsu no kanku*  
 Jīquǎn yì huánqū

Halfway up the mountain, looking back,  
 One first sees how the approaching road winds.  
 Two or three tall thatched roofs:  
 Chickens and dogs – a realm of its own.

**Line 1:** Entire line, barbarized: “Half-stomach (i.e., halfway up the mountain), with one look back.”

**Line 3:** ‘Tall’: A moderately *recherché* signification for the character 軒. The interpretation assumes that the caesura in the five-character line comes in the normal place (after the second character) and that the line is parallel with its pair, Line Four. The character has also been interpreted (with the *kundoku*, *utena oku*) as meaning ‘having benches under the eaves (to enjoy the view).’

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being incorrectly published as a single unit in the standard Ōgai *zenshū*. His suggestion is followed here.

In a second article, TAKAHASHI treats HN #15A and lists five routes (up to six kilometers apart) that over the centuries have been associated with ‘Usui Pass,’ indicating which is being referred to. For the character discussed in the note to Line Three, he argues for the alternative explanation. Further, he states that in Line Two the perspective is from Haneishi Teahouse 刎石茶屋 (ca. 800 meters), looking back at Sakamoto (ca. 500 meters) and beyond.

In still a third article, TAKAHASHI supplies a photo taken from the overlook just mentioned, and provides others that he argues reflect Lines Two and Four of HN #15B, as well as one of a marker for Tsuruya つるや (Ōgai’s 鶴屋) where the party had lunch. YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a nineteenth-century broadside advertising a Tsuruya 鶴屋 teashop on the road from Sakamoto: HN: 93.

**Line 4:** ‘Chickens and dogs’: A phrase that, in the context, cannot but evoke the utopias described in the *Daodejing* and in Tao Qian’s most famous composition: 道德經 80: “鄰國相望、雞犬之聲相聞、民至老死、不相往來。” “[L]et there be a state so near / people hear its dogs and chickens / and live out their lives / without making a visit” (Red Pine tr.); 陶潛, 桃花源記: “雞犬相聞。” “Chickens and dogs both heard” (JTW tr.).

At the summit of Usui Pass (1,188 meters) is Kumano Kōtai Shrine 熊野皇大神社 (i.e., Kumano Gongen 熊野權現, ‘Manifestation of Kumano’), which dates from 1292. It straddles Gunma and Nagano prefectures.

## #15B

Five-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下十一(尤)韻.

	巨石崩將墮	
	<i>Kyoseki kuzurete masa ni ochin to shi</i>	
	Jùshí bēng jiāng duò	
2	幽泉咽不流	RYŪ / liú
	<i>Yūsen musende nagarezu</i>	
	Yōuquán yè bù liú	
	千年古祠在	
	<i>Sennen koshi ari</i>	
	Qiānnián gǔcí zài	
4	乱磴碧苔稠	CHŪ / chóu
	<i>Rantō hekitai shigeshi</i>	
	Luàndèng bìtái chóu	

Huge rocks totter, about to fall;  
 Hidden springs choked, unable to flow.  
 A thousand years, this ancient shrine in place –  
 On its uneven steps, green moss grows thick.

Having crossed into Nagano Prefecture at the pass, the group proceeds to Karuizawa 輕井澤, eating a lunch of *soba* ‘菽麥’ (i.e., 蕎麥) along the way. They hire transport to continue to the night’s lodgings in Oiwake 追分, passing Katsukake Post-station 沓挂宿 on the way, a distance of forty kilometers for the day.

*Hokuyū nichijō* #16

February 25, 1882. Day 13.

MO #022. Five-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下八(庚)韻.

Oiwake is at the juncture of the Nakasendō and Hokkoku Kaidō 北國街道 (North Country Highway). The group takes the latter (which leads to Niigata Prefecture) and passes through Maseguchi 馬瀬口 while skirting Mt. Asama, a volcano whose last major eruption was in 1783.

山烟掩天暗

*San'en ten o ōtte kuraku*

Shānyān yǎn tiān àn

2 焦土不堪耕

KŌ / gēng

*Shōdo tagayasu ni taezu*

Jiāotǔ bù kān gēng

磊々路傍石

*Rairai robō no ishi*

Lěilěi lùpáng shí

4 曾生自火坑

KŌ / kēng

*Katsute kakō yori shōzu*

Céng shēng zì huǒkēng

Mountain smoke covers sky dark;  
Scorched earth won't abide ploughing.  
All ajumble, the roadside rocks  
Once born of the fiery pit.

**Line 1:** Entire line, barbarized: “Mountain smoke, covering the sky, darkens.”

**Line 2:** ‘Scorched earth’: I.e., land charred by lava. The term echoes Du Mu: 杜牧, 阿房宮賦: “楚人一炬, 可憐焦土。” “(In 206 BCE) the man of Chu (i.e., Xiang Yu 項羽) with a torch (burned down E'pang Palace of the Qin): / How wrenching, the scorched earth!” (JTW tr.).

**Line 4:** ‘Fiery pit’: The expression has Buddhist associations with hell.

On the thirty-kilometer trek for the day, the party has lunch in Komoro 小諸, and continues through Shibōda 芝生田 and Tanaka 田中 before reaching Ueda 上田, all in Nagano Prefecture.<sup>65</sup>

65 Ōgai transcribes two of these as 小室 and 芝生. The Komoro area was to be made famous by SHIMAZAKI Tōson 島崎藤村 (1872–1943) in his *Chikumagawa no suketchi*



Nothing is recorded for the next day except the weather.

*Hokuyū nichijō* #17

February 27, 1882. Day 15.

MO #023. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上七(虞)韻.

Leaving Ueda, the group travels north to Kawanakajima 川中島, the spit of land in the southern part of present-day Nagano City 長野市 where the Sai River 犀川 joins the Chikuma River 千曲川. The plain was the site of the five battles of Kawanakajima (1553–64) between Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 of Kai 甲斐 and Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 of Echigo 越後. The journal notes that the sandy banks extend as far as the eye can see.

風捲寒沙欲裂膚

FU / fū

*Kaze kansa o maite hada o sakan to hosshi*

Fēng juǎn hánshā yù lièfū

2 仰天凝立幾嗟吁

U / xū

*Ten o aoide gyōritsu shi iku-tabi ka sau suru*

Yǎngtiān nínglì jǐ jīēxū

河山歷々人安在

*Kazan rekireki taru mo hito izuku ni aran ya*

Héshān lìlì rén ān zài

4 猶有店翁賣戰圖

ZU / tú

*Nao ten 'ō no sento o uru ari*

Yóu yǒu diànwēng mài zhàntú

Wind roils cold sands, nearly cracking the skin;  
Gazing up at the sky, stock still, we repeatedly sigh.  
Rivers and mountains vividly visible, but where are the men?  
All that's left: an old shopkeeper selling battle drawings.

**Line 3:** ‘Where are the men?’: Namely, those from the Kawanakajima battles more than three centuries ago.

**Line 4:** Entire line: Pure bathos.

The group continues to Nagano City, a total of thirty-six kilometers for the day.

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千曲川のスケッチ, 1912; cf. William E. NAFF, tr.: *Chikuma River Sketches*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1991.

*Hokuyū nichijō* #18

February 27, 1882. Day 15.

MO #024. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上四(支)韻.

The following is a poem about Zenkōji 善光寺 ('Kindly Rays Temple') in Nagano City.<sup>66</sup>

After a particularly evocative opening couplet, Ōgai's thoughts turn naturally to O-tora お虎 (Tora Gozen 虎御前, 1175–1245), a woman closely associated with the temple. She had been the favorite concubine of Soga Jūrō Sukenari 曾我十郎祐成 (1172–1193).<sup>67</sup> Widowed at the age of nineteen and in mourning for him, she left her native Ōiso 大磯 and went to Zenkōji, where she took vows, built a nearby retreat, and lived another fifty-two years.

落日紅殘古柳枝  
SHI / zhī  
*Rakujitsu kurenai wa nokoru koryū no eda*  
Luòrì hóngcán gǔ liǔzhī

2 唄聲旛影動幽思  
SHI / sī  
*Baisei han'ei yūshi o ugokasu*  
Bàishēng fānyǐng dòng yōusī

當年阿虎庵何處  
*Tōnen no Ako-an wa izure no tokoro zo*  
Dāngnián Àhǔ ān héchù

4 世上無人憐數奇  
KI / qí  
*Sejō hito no sūki o awaremu nashi*  
Shìshàng wúrén lián shùqí

The setting sun, red lingering on old willow branches –  
*Pattra* sounds and *pataka* shadows stir deep thoughts.

66 Note David F. MCCALLUM: *Zenkōji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press 1994.

67 The two figure in the *Soga monogatari* 曾我物語 and in the *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 or 東鏡 (Mirror of the East). For translation of the former, see Thomas J. COGAN: *The Tale of the Soga Brothers*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press 1987; a good plot summary appears in KOKUSAI BUNKA SHINKOKAI, ed.: *Introduction to Classic Japanese Literature*, Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai 1948: 221–29. For much on the latter, including partial translation, see SHINODA Minoru [篠田實]: *The Founding of the Kamakura Shogunate, 1180–1185*, New York: Columbia University Press 1960.

O-tora back then, where would her retreat be?  
Throughout the world no one pities her bad fortune.

- Line 2:** ‘*Patra* sounds’: Namely, the chanting of Buddhist sutras. *Patra* palm-leaves (*Borassus flabellifor*) were traditionally used to transcribe sacred Buddhist texts.
- Line 2:** ‘*Pataka* shadows’: The shadows of Buddhist streamers (*pataka* is Sanskrit for ‘penants, flags, streamers’). “As an emblem of peace the [*pataka*] flag was extensively flown throughout all Buddhist lands as an ensign of the Buddha’s teachings”; Robert BEER, *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*, Chicago: Serindia Publications 2003: 174–75. Note *ibid.* for discussion of the *pataka* as an emblem of warrior or protective deities.
- Line 3:** ‘O-tora,’ barbarized: ‘Dear Tiger,’ the prefix 阿 expressing familiarity or warmth.
- Line 4:** ‘Bad fortune’: Cf. Liu Yuxi (772–842): QTS 355 (3979): 劉禹錫，和董庶中古散調詞贈尹果毅：“問我何自苦、可憐真數奇。” “You ask, why my grief? / Pitiable, my truly bad luck” (JTW tr.).
- Line 4:** Entire line: The *Azuma kagami* entry for the day O-tora took the tonsure (in 1193, Kenkyū 建久 4.6.18) states: “緇素莫不拭悲淚。” “There was not a priest or layman who did not wipe away tears of sadness” (JTW tr.). Apart from the fact that it was moving to see a woman so young and beautiful renounce the world, much of the sympathy for her was for the pitilessly inescapable nature of the roles assumed by those around her – her lover was killed while taking revenge for the murder of his father, who had been killed as revenge for *his* father’s having wronged others, both the latter murderer and his father – which brought her her fate.
- Line 3–4:** Couplet paraphrased: “As for Dear Tiger’s retreat, no one, it seems, knows where it is now. / And although in her day *everyone* pitied her, now, more than six centuries later, no one does. Everything passes.”

Only the weather is recorded for the following day. On March 1, the group proceeds twenty kilometers to Mure 牟礼.

### Hokuyū nichijō #19

March 2, 1882. Day 18.

MO #025. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十(灰)韻.

Leaving Mure, the group crosses into Niigata Prefecture amid mountains more than 2,000 meters high. They eat lunch in Sekigawa 關川 at the Mineya 峯屋 (‘Peak House’), a play of words on the surname of the owner, Minemura 峯村 (‘Peak Village’). The snow has frozen over and it is slippery for straw sandals.<sup>68</sup>

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68 Progress was slow-going, probably similar to that on a military exercise in snow that Ōgai describes nineteen years later: “At most, the group could make 2,000 meters per hour. Knees were buried in snow. Every forty minutes there was a ten-minute break; and once or twice over the day, a forty-minute one” (JTW tr.); “Chirizuka”: OZ 37: 62.

防寒傾盡三杯酒

*Kan o fusegan to katamuke-tsukusu sanbai no sake*

Fánghán qīngjìn sānbēi jiǔ

2 路入越山雪景開 KAI / kāi

*Michi Etsuzan ni irite sekkei hiraku*

Lù rù Yuèshān xuějǐng kāi

幾個村娃顏似玉

*Ikuko no son'ai kao gyoku ni nitari*

Jǐgè cūnwá yán sì yù

4 紫棉片々護肩來 RAI / lái

*Shimen henpen kata o mamotte-kitaru*

Zǐmián piànpian hùjiān lái

To ward off the cold, we polish off three cups of wine;  
The road enters Etsuzan – snow scenes unfold.  
Several are the village dolls, faces like jade;  
Purple cotton, flaps fluttering, keep shoulders protected.

**Line 1:** ‘We polish off three cups of wine’: Cf. Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909): 伊藤博文, 偶成: “高樓傾盡三杯酒。” “In tall establishment, we polish off three cups of wine” (JTW tr.).

**Line 2:** ‘Etsuzan – snow scenes unfold’: The group has entered Snow Country.

**Line 3:** ‘Village dolls, faces like jade’: A reference to the young women of the area. They have ‘faces like jade’ – a common (indeed, hackneyed) *kanbun* trope for beautiful females; in the context, may simply mean ‘smiling.’

**Line 4:** Entire line, barbarized: “Purple cotton / flaps aflutter // protecting shoulders come.” The reference is to the fluttering flaps of purple-colored cotton headbands that females wear. (See the note to HN #14, Line 2. Ōgai’s commentators treat the 來 as a full verb: i.e., ‘[the villagers] come running [to see Ōgai and company].’)

The group next passes through Ōtagiri 大田切. Along the way they see children on sleds (*sori* 橇) going downhill. They reach Sekiyama 關山, a distance of more than twenty kilometers for the day.

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #20

March 3, 1882. Day 19.

MO #026. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下八(庚)韻.

The entourage advances twenty kilometers to Takada 高田 (now part

of Jōetsu 上越, Niigata Prefecture) near the Sea of Japan and the last station on the Hokkoku Kaidō.

In Snow Country, locals use arcade-like passageways (*gangi* 雁木 ‘geese wood’; namely, walkways beneath rows of wooden rafter-extensions that are said to look like formations of geese), as well as snow tunnels and stairs, to get from place to place.<sup>69</sup>

- |   |   |             |
|---|---|-------------|
|   | 不見草芽侵砌生                                     | SHŌ / shēng |
|   | Mizu ya sōga no migiri o okashite-shōzuru o |             |
|   | Bújiàn cǎoyá qīn qì shēng                   |             |
| 2 | 京城柳色最關情                                     | JŌ / qíng   |
|   | Keijō no ryūshoku mottomo jō ni kakawaru    |             |
|   | Jīngchéng liǔsè zuì guānqíng                |             |
|   | 風雪滿天車馬絕                                     |             |
|   | Fūsetsu manten shaba tae                    |             |
|   | Fēngxuě mǎntiān chēmǎ jué                   |             |
| 4 | 人在家々檐下行                                     | KŌ / xíng   |
|   | Hito ieie no enka ni arite-yuku             |             |
|   | Rén zài jiājiā yánxià xíng                  |             |

Do you not see, grass sprouts invading paving stones and growing,  
While in the capital, willow hues are at their most moving?

69 For photos and woodblock reproductions that communicate well the enchantment of this world, see SUZUKI Bokushi 鈴木牧之 (1770–1842): *Snow Country Tales: Life in the Other Japan* (a translation of *Hokuetsu seppu* 北越雪譜 [Hokuetsu (i.e., Niigata): A Snow Manual]), Jeffrey HUNTER with Rose LESSER tr., New York: Weatherhill 1986. Also translated by Rose LESSER: *Leben unter dem Schnee: Geschichten und Bilder aus dem anderen Japan*, München: Eugen Diederichs Verlag 1989.

YASUKAWA Rikako includes an undated photo that shows shops in Takada lined with *gangi*: HN: 121. She also reproduces an 1889 drawing of the inn where the group stayed, the Mitomo 三友 (again with dual reference: to the surname of its owner and to the meaning, ‘Three Friends’); *ibid.*: 117. Chiang Kai-shek was to stay there in 1910.

Bruno TAUT (1880–1938) describes *gangi* in the early 1930s: “The old arrangement of colonnades that run right along the whole street now proved to be very practical. In the far north of Japan wooden planks are stood between the posts of these colonnades, because the ever falling snow can no longer be removed from the streets, and it even reaches as high as the upper story. These colonnades are still very often to be found although a mistaken modernism is trying to displace them little by little”; *Houses and People of Japan*, Estille BALK, tr. (1937; 2nd ed., tr. rev. by H. Vere REDMAN and S. HIRAI), Tokyo: Sanseido Co. 1958: 95.

Wind and snow fill the sky, carts and horses halt;  
At house after house, under the eaves people get about.

**Line 1:** ‘Invading paving stones and growing’: See the note to HN #14, Line 2.

**Line 4:** Entire line, barbarized: “People (located) in / home after home // beneath the eaves get about.”

Nothing is recorded in the journal for the next four days.

*Hokuyū nichijō* #21

March 8, 1882. Day 24.

MO #027. Five-character *koshi*. Twelve lines. Rhyme category: 平聲上十灰韻.

Leaving Takada, the group joins the Hokurikudō 北陸道 (Northern Land Route) that runs along the Sea of Japan, and heads northeast toward the city of Niigata. The poem ends by referring to Sado Island 佐渡島, across the water in the distance but well out of sight.

吾發高田驛

*Ware Takada no eki o hasshi*

Wú fā Gāotián-yì

2 透漚入山隈 WAI / wēi

*Iri to shite sanwai ni iru*

Wēilǐ rù shānwēi

天寒雪沒踝

*Ten samuku yuki kurubushi o bosshi*

Tiān hán xuě mò huái

4 路險汗滿顚 SAI / sāi

*Michi kewashiku ase ago ni mitsu*

Lù xiǎn hán mǎn sāi

We set out from Takada Post-house –  
Winding and tortuous, entering mountain recesses.  
Sky cold, snow buries ankles;  
Road steep, sweat covers chins.

- 馬馱行客去  
*Uma wa kōkaku o nosete-yuku*  
 Mǎ tuó xíngkè qù
- 6 魚上婦肩來 RAI / lái  
*Uo wa fuken ni notte-kitaru*  
 Yú shàng fùjiān lái
- 乍聽濤聲怒  
*Tachimachi tōsei no okoru o kiki*  
 Zhà tīng tāoshēng nù
- 8 駭眙海天開 KAI / kāi  
*Kaiten no hiraku ni gaichi su*  
 Hàichì hǎitiān kāi

Horses bearing travelers depart;  
 Fish loaded on women's shoulders arrive.  
 Suddenly, we hear great waves raging;  
 Intimidating, as sea and sky unfold!

- 遙島留陳迹  
*Yōtō chinseki o todome*  
 Yáo dǎo liú chénjī
- 10 荒陵存餘哀 AI / āi  
*Kōryō yoi o sonsen*  
 Huānglíng cún yúāi
- 佐州何處是  
*Sashū izure no tokoro ka kore naru*  
 Zuǒzhōu héchù shì
- 12 孤鶻飛不回 KAI / huí  
*Kokotsu tonde-kaerazu*  
 Gūgǔ fēi bù huí

On far-off isle remain vestiges of the past:  
 An overgrown grave preserving remnant grief.  
 And Sadojima, where would it be?  
 A lone falcon takes flight, not to return.

**Line 3:** ‘Snow buries ankles’: Cf. the passage cited in n. 68.

**Line 5–6:** Couplet, barbarized: “Horses, having loaded up traveler-guests, depart; / Fish, set atop women’s shoulders, come.” See the note to HN #14, Line 2.

**Lines 9–10:** Couplet: Probably a reference to the grave of Emperor Juntoku 順德上皇, who was banished to the island by the Kamakura *bakufu* in 1221 after an unsuccessful coup.

The group passes through Naoetsu 直江津 and Katamachi 潟町, arriving at Kakizaki 柿崎 for a day’s journey of twenty-five kilometers.

*Hokuyū nichijō* #22

March 9, 1882. Day 25.

MO #028. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下二(蕭)韻.

Setting out from Kakizaki, the group passes the sacred peak, Yoneyama 米山, and proceeds as far as Kashiwazaki 柏崎,<sup>70</sup> passing through Aomigawa 青海川, a distance of twenty-five kilometers. Sado Island is now visible.

- |   |   |            |
|---|---|------------|
|   | 北望佐州帆影遙   | YŌ / yáo   |
|   | <i>Kita no kata Sashū o nogameba han'ei haruka ni</i> |            |
|   | Bei wàng Zuǒzhōu fányǐng yáo                          |            |
| 2 | 長風吹拂髮蕭々   | SHŌ / xiāo |
|   | <i>Chōfū fuki-haratte kami shōshō tari</i>            |            |
|   | Chángfēng chuīfú fà xiāoxiāo                          |            |
|   | 奇觀最是飛泉水   |            |
|   | <i>Kikan mottomo kore hisen no mizu</i>               |            |
|   | Qíguān zuì shì fēiquán shuǐ                           |            |
| 4 | 直觸危巖入海潮   | CHŌ / cháo |
|   | <i>Tadachi ni kigan ni furete kaichō ni iru</i>       |            |
|   | Zhí chù wéiyán rù hǎicháo                             |            |

Gazing north toward Sado Island, sail shadows in the distance;  
 A far wind blows, dusting us off, hair in disarray.  
 For marvelous sights, none better than this: cataract waters,  
 Butting directly against steep cliffs, enter sea-tide.

70 YASUKAWA Rikako points out that the Iwatoya 岩戸屋, where the group stayed, later became known in the West through the writings of Bruno Taut. She includes an undated artist’s depiction of the three-story inn, as well as a photo of Kashiwazaki in the 1910s with the building barely visible to one side: HN: 129–31.



**Line 1:** ‘Sail shadows in the distance’: Cf. Li Bo: QTS 174 (1785): 李白, 黃鶴樓送孟浩然之廣陵: “孤帆遠影碧山盡, 唯見長江天際流” “The lone sail, a far-off shadow, in blue mountains vanishes; / Only visible, Long River, to the edge of heaven flowing” (JTW tr.).

**Line 3:** ‘Cataract waters,’ barbarized: ‘Flying-spring waters,’ i.e., the flow of a waterfall (now unidentifiable).

Ōgai writes in the journal for the day: “I went for a stroll and was surprised to see a shop sign six-feet-tall. It was on a post at the entrance of a geisha house. Their shamisen artists (*genji* 絃妓) are in fact prostitutes (*asobime* or *shō* 娼). Only one, it is said, is called a maiden (*otome* おとめ) and does not offer her services.” As TAKECHI Hideo comments, “After Ōgai goes into that much detail, one wonders if he went in.”

Ōgai tried in vain to visit his *quondam* Tokyo classmate in medicine, Kobayashi Jundō 小林順道 (b. 1849). Perhaps the latter made himself unavailable out of embarrassment, for he had dropped out of school while the two were students together. For considerable detail about him, see YASUKAWA Rikako: HN: 132–47, 167–68 n. 24.

On March 11, two days later, the group leaves Kashiwazaki, crosses Myōhōji Pass 妙法寺峠, lunches in Miyamoto 宮本 (Ōgai writes Miyazaki 宮崎), and arrives in Nagaoka 長岡, a total of thirty-five kilometers. In Nagaoka, Ōgai meets his classmate and fellow graduate in medicine, Oikawa Ryōgo 及川良吾 (1853–1905). For much about him (including two photos), see *ibid.*: 149–67 (he was father of the World War II admiral, Oikawa Kōshirō 及川古志郎 [1883–1958]).

Four days later, on what we are told was a dangerously rickety steamship, the group proceeds down the Shinano River 信濃川 to Niigata for an initial stay of two nights. The following day Ōgai meets with Nakano Toyoki 中野豊記 (1851–1910), a normal-school teacher whose connection with him is otherwise unclear; see *ibid.*: 169–78 (which includes his photo).

On March 17, the entourage takes a small boat to Shibata 新発田 via Kizaki 木崎 (for a 1908 photo of the Takahashi Inn 高橋屋 where they stayed, see *ibid.*: 178). Eleven days pass before the next recorded *kanshi* in the journal.

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #23

March 20, 1882. Day 36.

MO #029. Seven-character *koshi*. 18 lines.

Rhyme categories: Lines 1 & 2, 平聲上六(魚)韻; Lines 3 & 4, 仄聲入十

(藥)韻; Lines 5, 6 & 8, 平聲下一(先)韻; Lines 9, 10 & 12, 仄聲去十七(霰)韻; Lines 13 & 14, 平聲上七(虞)韻; Lines 15, 16 & 18, 仄聲入十一(陌)韻.

Rowing back (per the journal) from Shibata to Niigata via a complex of inland waterways, Ōgai and his companions encounter severe wind and waves, as related in the following poem that hyperbolically evokes a near life-and-death scene. The situation is saved by the poet himself who, in mock heroic terms, tames the sea.<sup>71</sup> Ōgai's wit and wry humor are well in evidence, including sardonic self-reference. The vision is bifocal.<sup>72</sup> Two measures of scale are understood: the miniature one of the actual event on inland water, and the epic one on open water that it evokes: a contrast, as it were, between one's puny real self and heroic fantasies about oneself; hence, the irony and the humor. Local geography and lore are woven into the lines.

獨木舟小葉不如 NYO / rú

*Dokuboku no fune wa shō ni shite  
ha ni sura shikazu*

Dúmù zhōu xiǎo yè bù rú

2 密篷低掩似蝸廬 RO / lú

*Mippō hikuku ōtte karo ni nitari*

Mìpéng dī yǎn sì guālú

Of single tree, the boat small – not even a leaf;  
Canopy, compact, covers low – like a snail's house.

南繞松崎雲氣惡 AKU / wú

*Minami no kata Matsugasaki o meguru ni  
unki ashiku*

Nán rào Sōngqí yúnpì wù

4 俄爾驚風捲浪作 SAKU / zuó

*Gaji keifū nami o maite-okoru*

Éěr jīngfēng juǎn làng zuò

71 For treatment of other mock-heroic *koshi* by Ōgai (MO #141–42, part of his debate with Imai Takeo 今井武夫 [fl. 1889]), see WIXTED: “Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*)”: 74–86.

72 See treatment below (pp. 112–13, including n. 81) of the closely related terms ‘stereoscopic’ and ‘parallax’ vision.

Circling Matsusaki to the south, cloud emanations sinister;  
Suddenly, a fierce wind startles waves, creating more.

- 聞說比年釣魚船 SEN / chuán  
Kikunaraku hinen chōgyo no fune  
Wénshuō bǐnián diàoyú chuán
- 6 覆沒滅跡孤嶼邊 HEN / biān  
Fukubotsu shi ato o koshō no hen ni kesu  
Fùmò mièjì gūyǔ biān  
漁老欲慰魚腹鬼  
Gyorō gyofuku ki o nagusamen to hosshi  
Yúlǎo yù wèi yúfù-guǐ
- 8 一軀彌陀選石鑿 SEN / juán  
Ikku no Mida ishi o erande-eru to  
Yìqū Mítuó xuǎn shí juán

They say, in recent years fishing boats  
Founder without a trace near Lone Isle.  
Old sailors, wanting to console ‘fish-belly ghosts,’  
Select stones to carve Amitābha.

- 孤嶼何處暗不見 KEN / jián  
Koshō izure no tokoro zo kuraku shite miezu  
Gūyǔ héchù àn bú jiàn
- 10 應想亂沫撲佛面 MEN / mián  
Masa ni omoubeshi ranmatsu no Butsumen o  
utsu o  
Yīng xiǎng luànmò pū Fómian  
水氣吹腥聽啾々  
Suiki sei o fuite kikeba shōshō  
Shuǐqì chuī xīng tīng jiūjiū
- 12 楫師膽落肉亦顛 SEN / chán  
Shūshi kimo ochite niku mo mata furuu  
Jíshī dǎn luò ròu yì chàn

Lone isle, where is it? Too dark to see;  
Probably where splattering foam pounds Buddha Face.

Sea mists blow foul, voices wail;  
The oarsman, courage failing, his flesh too trembles.

- 賈人徒說有靈符 FU / fū  
*Kojin wa itazura ni toku reifu ari to*  
 Jiǎrén tú shuō yǒu língfū  
 14 使臣欲投無明珠 SHU / zhū  
*Shishin wa tōzen to hōssuru mo meishu nashi*  
 Shǐchén yù tóu wú míngzhū

A huckster makes his hollow pitch: “Got magic charms!”  
I would toss something in, but have no moonlight pearl.

- 截鯨不須劍三尺 SAKU / chǐ  
*Kujira o tatsu ni ken sanjaku o mochiizu*  
 Jié jīng bù xū jiàn sānchǐ  
 16 文章聊傲潮州客 KAKU / kè  
*Bunshō isasaka narawan Chōshū no kaku*  
 Wénzhāng liáo xiào Cháo zhōu kè  
 詩成高吟蛟鱗奔  
*Shi narite kōgin sureba kōgaku hashiri*  
 Shī chéng gāoyín jiāo'è bēn  
 18 雲散風歇海月白 HAKU / bó  
*Kumo sanjite kaze yami kaigetsu shiroshi*  
 Yún sàn fēng xiē hǎiyuè bái

To sunder a whale, what need for three-foot sword?  
With a composition, I might emulate the Chaozhou exile.  
My poem written and chanted aloud, water dragons and crocodiles  
scatter;  
Clouds clear, wind abates, the sea-moon is white.

**Line 1:** ‘Of single tree, the boat small’: A dugout or canoe; in poetry, any small boat.

**Line 2:** ‘Canopy, compact’: The canopy is made of packed reeds.

**Line 3:** ‘Matsusaki’: A district in Niigata alongside which the boat passes on the inland waterway; cf. Line 6 below.

**Line 4:** Entire line, barbarized: “Suddenly / a startling wind // rolling up waves, makes (more).” See the note to HN #14, Line 2.

**Line 6:** ‘Lone isle’: Although an ‘islet’ may literally be meant – one in Agano River 阿賀野川 or along another stage of the inland network between Niigata and Shibata – given the sea imagery and ocean lore in the rest of the poem, reference is likely also being made to Sado Island.

By the same token, Matsusaki 松崎 in Line Three can be understood to evoke Matsugasaki 松ヶ崎 on Sado Island, which is across the strait from Niigata and, like the former, has a south side that faces water.

**Line 7:** ‘Fish-belly ghosts’: I.e., the ghosts of the drowned.

**Line 8:** Entire line, barbarized: “(For) the frame (i.e., figure) of / Amitābha // selecting stones, they carve.” Amida is Amitābha 阿彌陀, Sanskrit for the Buddha of boundless light or eternal life. For the final phrase, see the note to HN #14, Line 2.

**Line 10:** ‘Buddha Face’: In all likelihood, a geographical feature.

**Line 12:** Entire line, barbarized: ‘The oarsman / gall (i.e., courage) sinking // (his) flesh too trembles.’

**Line 13:** Entire line, barbarized: “A merchant / pointlessly says // ‘(I) have numinous tallies!’”

**Line 14:** ‘I,’ barbarized: ‘The official who has been dispatched (i.e., me, Ōgai).’

**Line 14:** ‘Moonlight pearl’: Cf. Li Bo: QTS 161 (1679): 李白, 古風 56: “越客采明珠, 提携出南隅。清輝照海月、美價傾皇都。” “An adventurer from Viet gathers bright pearls, / Taking them with him, he leaves that distant southern corner; / Their pure luster reflects the moon over the sea, / Such is their high value that they ravish the capital” (Victor Mair tr.).

**Line 14:** Entire line, paraphrased: “I would toss something in to assuage the spirits, but lack a magically effective talisman.”

**Line 16:** ‘The Chaozhou exile’: Namely, Han Yu, famous for the edict he issued ordering crocodiles in the south to depart waters in his jurisdiction: 全唐文 557: 韓愈, 鱷魚文.<sup>73</sup>

**Line 17:** ‘Crocodiles’: For discussion (and citation of an additional Han Yu citation), see WIXTED: “Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*):” 105 (note to Line 6).

It is night before the party arrives in Niigata.

### Hokuyū nichijō #24

### 新斥歌 “Song of Niigata”

March 23, 1882. Day 39.

“*Niigata no uta*,” “*Xīnchì gē*”

MO #030. Seven-character *kakō* (歌行, *gēxíng*). 12 lines.

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73 Translated, *inter alia*, by J.K. RIDEOUT: *Anthology of Chinese Literature: From Earliest Times to the Fourteenth Century*, Cyril Birch, ed., Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1965: 270–72; and Georges MARGOULIÉS: *Le Kou-wen [古文] chinois*, Paris: Paul Geuthner 1926: 217–19.

Rhyme categories: Lines 1, 2 & 4, 平聲下十一(尤)韻; Lines 5, 6 & 8: 仄聲入六(月)韻; 9, 10 & 12, 平聲下五(歌)韻.

This is the only titled poem in the two journals. The ‘song’ genre it is in (*kakō* 歌行, *gēxíng*) historically is closely related to Music Bureau poetry 樂府 (*gafu*, *yuèfǔ*) in China. Whereas the latter “tend[s] to adopt the personae of various *yuefu* ‘types,’” the ‘song’ genre “tend[s] to be the poet speaking in his own voice.”<sup>74</sup> A song style is here reflected in the three rhyme categories employed, which delimit sections (or strophes) of the poem for one (or three) fictive singer(s).

There are sexual associations throughout the poem, beginning with the opening section (Lines One to Four): willows traditionally suggest both women and entertainment districts, as do the ‘ten thousand (i.e., countless) establishments’ referred to in Line One. In Line Four, Niigata is paired with Yangzhou, known for its demimonde. The middle section (Lines Five to Eight) centers on women of pleasure and their world. And the final two couplets (Lines Nine to Twelve) employ icons celebrative of Niigata, while advocating the *carpe diem* theme, “Take pleasure while you can!”<sup>75</sup>

All of the numbers Ōgai cites in the poem have (or can have) positive associations: ‘ten thousand,’ to fecundity and abundance; ‘eight’ and its multiples, to the numinous and auspicious; ‘thirteen,’ to the coming of age of young women; ‘seventy-two,’ to the number of Confucius’s disciples; and ‘five,’ to the ‘five phases,’ etc. Their use reflects a youthful exuberance on Ōgai’s part that forms an interesting (and striking) contrast with the poem in the series that follows.

74 Stephen OWEN: “Li Po,” in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*: 824. Joseph R. ALLEN speaks of the ‘biographical voice’ of the genre; *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan 1992: 228.

75 Although KOJIMA Noriyuki when discussing this poem (*Kotoba no omomi*: 71ff.) reiterates his general point that Ōgai shows considerable interest in red-light districts in the two series of poems, he seems to undermine his case by emphasizing that the reference to the thirteen-year-old girl in Lines Seven and Eight is in the lineage of Chinese ‘bamboo-branch [folk] songs’ (*zhúzhīgē* 竹枝歌 *chikushika*), and is conventional to the genre. (Cf. the note below to Line 7.) Kojima’s point is relevant, but overstated. He is on even weaker ground when he detects a ‘whiff of Confucian morality’ (‘やや儒教的道義な匂いがして’) in the statement of Line Eleven (“While young and strong – and how long is that? – take pleasure!”), which he takes to be reflecting Ōgai’s need to justify his interest in the young girl. It would be more appropriate to view the latter as echoing a conventional *carpe diem* theme common to Chinese poetry, especially of the Six Dynasties, a viewpoint the poet endorses. (It is in HN #25, the poem’s twin, that the ‘moral’ point of view is presented.)

(The two are recorded together in the journal three days after this, his second arrival in Niigata.)

- 楊柳影鎖萬家樓 RŌ / lóu  
*Yōryū no kage wa tozasu banka no rō*  
 Yángliǔ yǐng suǒ wànjiā lóu
- 2 絃歌到曉尚未休 KYŪ / xiū  
*Genka akatsuki ni itaru mo nao imada yamazu*  
 Xiángē dào xiǎo shàng wèi xiū
- 繁華五港是其一  
*Hanka no gokō kore sono ichi*  
 Fánhuá wǔgǎng shì qí yī
- 4 不怪人說小楊州 SHŪ / zhōu  
*Ayashimazu hito no shō-Yōshū to toku o*  
 Búguài rénsuō xiǎo-Yángzhōu

Poplar and willow shadows envelop ten thousand ‘establishments’;  
 Stringed music and song until dawn, no end in sight.  
 Of the prosperous five ports, this is one;  
 No wonder people call it ‘Little Yangzhou.’

- 倚門妓女玉爲骨 KOTSU / gǔ  
*Mon ni yoru gijo gyoku o hone to nashi*  
 Yǐ mén jì nǚ yù wéi gǔ
- 6 京樣粧成高結髮 HATSU / fǎ  
*Kyōyō ni yosōi-nashite takaku kami o yuu*  
 Jīngyàng zhuāng chéng gāo jié fǎ
- 別有十三可憐生  
*Betsu ni ari jūsan no karensei*  
 Bié yǒu shísān kěliánshēng
- 8 羞顏當筵紅暈發 HATSU / fǎ  
*Shūgan en ni ataran to shite kōun hassu*  
 Xiūyán dāng yán hóngyùn fǎ

Leaning against the door, women of pleasure, facial features of jade:  
 Make-up done in capital style, hair tied high.

There's another, age thirteen, a fetching creature:  
On her bashful face when serving, a red halo appears.

- 君不見  
七十二橋月明多 TA / duō  
*Kimi mizu ya: Shichijūni-kyō getsumei ōku*  
Jūn bú jiàn: Qīshìèr-qiáo yuè míng duō
- 10 八千八水湧金波 HA / pō  
*Hassen hassui kinpa waku o*  
Bāqiān bāshuǐ yǒng jīnpō  
少壯幾時須行樂  
*Shōsō ikutoki zo subekaraku kōraku subeshi*  
Shàozhuàng jǐshí xū xínglè
- 12 今夜倚樓又聽歌 KA / gē  
*Kon'ya rō ni yori mata uta o kiku*  
Jīnyè yǐ lóu yòu tīng gē

Do you not see –  
Seventy-two bridges, in moonlight ample,  
And eight thousand eight streams, gold ripples welling?  
While young and strong – and how long is that? – take pleasure!  
Tonight from establishment window, singing again heard.

**Line 1:** ‘Ten thousand “establishments”’: Namely, countless storied buildings that, in the context, refer to brothels, tea houses, and such that feature women. Dr. William WILLIS wrote in 1868: “The number of prostitutes is out of all proportion to the population, a circumstance due it is said to the crowds of native sailors who visit the place in summer in junks”; CORTAZZI: *Victorians in Japan*: 172.

Sailors were the economic lifeblood of the city. In the early nineteenth century it was argued that “brothels are a necessary amenity for visiting sailors and merchants, who might otherwise bypass Niigata and head to more welcoming harbors, devastating the port’s economy and ruining its inhabitants.[...] If the sex trade faltered [...], the effect on the entire city’s economy would be catastrophic: the business was too firmly entrenched in too many neighborhoods (over 70 percent, according to [authorities’ own] estimate). Such a calamity, they added, would surely result in lost tax revenue for the domain”; STANLEY: *Selling Women*: 121–22.

The master swordsman, MUTA Takaatsu (Kōjun) 牟田高惇 (1831–90), in an entry for 1854 (Kaei 7.8.1) names three areas of Niigata, and adds: “遊女斗りの處に而、凡そ新潟中には三千四百もこれ有...旅籠や多く有り候へども、内に遊女これ無き處は新潟中に三四間(軒)より外にこれ無き由也。” “In these zones there are only prostitutes, of which there are roughly thirty-four or thirty-five hundred in Niigata. [...] Although there are many taverns, no more than three or four of those in Niigata do not have prostitutes”; *Shokoku kaireki nichiroku* 諸國廻歴日録 (A Journal of Travels through



the Provinces), as cited by KOJIMA Noriyuki, *Kotoba no omomi*: 70–71. Population estimates for Niigata include 29,000 in 1873, 50,000 in 1878, and 45,000 in 1886. Cf. the figures for the demimonde in Hakodate in the note to GHN #7, Line 4.<sup>76</sup>

“[D]emand for women to work in prostitution increased dramatically over the course of the late eighteenth century, [...]” “stimulated by a number of social and economic developments in the mid-eighteenth century. These included the rise of commercial agriculture, which supplied a broad population of commoners with the discretionary income necessary to purchase sex; the improvement of sailing technology and sea transportation routes, which contributed to an increase in sailors eager to visit prostitutes in port cities; and the emergence of a culture of travel among ordinary peasants and townspeople, which fueled tourism-related business, including prostitution”; STANLEY: *Selling Women*: 117, 113.

**Line 1:** Entire line: As noted in reference to HN #1, Niigata was famous for its canals with many bridges. Isabella BIRD wrote in 1878: Niigata “is correctly laid out in square divisions, formed by five streets over a mile long, crossed by very numerous short ones, and is intersected by canals, which are its real roadways. [...] The canals are usually in the middle of the streets, and have fairly broad roadways on both sides. [...] They are bordered by trees, among which are many weeping willows; and, as the river water runs through them, keeping them quite sweet, and they are crossed at short intervals by light bridges, they form a very attractive feature of Niigata”; CORTAZZI, *Victorians in Japan*: 174. The canals all disappeared by 1964.

YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a nineteenth-century photograph of a willow-lined canal in Niigata that communicates well how establishments alongside it could be screened from view, to the convenience of all: HN: 192. Willows suggest women and the places of entertainment where they might be found. (They are also commonly cited in reference to parting, as in HN #3.)

**Line 3:** ‘Five ports’: In an 1858 treaty with the United States, Japan agreed to open several ports to international trade, as occurred in Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate in 1859, Kobe in 1867, and Niigata in 1868.

**Line 4:** ‘Little Yangzhou’: Cf. GHN #24 and the note to GHN #19, Line 4.

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76 It is an open question how different the situation in Niigata was, in fact, from that on the Amakusa Islands in the 1920s, where “[...] it seems sex work was perceived as just another form of labour, without the attachment of stigma. [...] [T]he stigma of a moral or religious nature that the women wanted to avoid was [not] related to premarital or commercial sex, but rather, with the failure to secure the prosperity and longevity of the household, the ultimate disgrace to one’s parents and ancestors”; Bill MIHALOPOULOS, *Sex in Japan’s Globalization, 1870–1930: Prostitutes, Emigration and Nation Building*, London: Pickering & Chatto 2011: 32, 34. According to a contemporary account (as translated in *ibid.*: 32, cited from KITANO Norio 北野典夫, *Amakusa kaigai hattenshi* 天草海外発展史 [A History of Amakusa and Development Overseas], Fukuoka: Ashi Shobō 葦書房 1985: 146): “[T]hey do not see prostitution as shameful. In the surrounding villages too, prostitution is regarded as a vocation. Moreover, what is extraordinary is that people with a good living follow this practice. If anything, these people treat those who do not engage in prostitution with scorn and ridicule.” Many factors were at work: poverty, the need to earn half of their own dowry, family dependence on remittances for survival, and the prestige of prosperity – apart from likely or possible exploitation and greed. For discussion of the contradictory attitudes in nineteenth-century Niigata, see STANLEY, *Selling Women*: 114–33, 212–14.

- Line 5:** ‘Facial features of jade,’ barbarized: ‘Jade turned into bone’; namely, ‘(facial) bone-structure made of jade.’
- Line 6:** ‘Hair tied high’: Specifically, in the Takashimada 高島田 hair style, still popular for brides in Japan.
- Line 7:** ‘Age thirteen’: KOTAJIMA Yōsuke takes her to be an apprentice geisha. In terms of antecedents, Du Mu is probably more relevant than the source referred to in n. 75. The *Yangzhou mengji* (see n. 37) includes the poem-pair by the poet, “Offered at Parting,” which features a thirteen-year-old girl: QTS 523 (5988): 杜牧, 贈別二首, 其一: “娉娉裊裊十三餘, 豆蔻梢頭二月初。春風十裏揚州路, 卷上珠簾總不如。” “Just a little over thirteen, she is sweet and graceful. / Beautiful as the tips of the cardomon buds in spring. / Under the zephyrs of spring, along the ten *li* of Yangzhou streets, / All the pearl-screens are rolled up, there is none to compare with her” (Wen-kai Kung tr.).
- Line 8:** ‘When serving,’ barbarized: ‘When by the mat (i.e., serving).’
- Line 8:** ‘Red halo,’ barbarized: ‘Red halo (of daubed rouge)’ or ‘cloudy red blur.’
- Lines 9–10:** ‘Seventy-four bridges’ and ‘eight thousand eight streams’: Set phrases about Niigata, both of which appear repeatedly in TERAKADO Seiken: *Niigata fushi* (cited in n. 34). Cf. KASHIWAGI Jotei 柏木如亭 (1763–1819): 新斥: “八千八水歸新斥, 七十四橋成六街。” “Eight thousand eight streams wend home to Niigata, / Where seventy-four bridges comprise six districts” (JTW tr.). (YASUKAWA Rikako cites an additional Kashiwagi poem that employs the same two numbers in reference to Niigata.)  
Also cf. TAKAHASHI Katsuan 高橋克庵: *Hokuyū kikō* 北游紀行 (Account of an Excursion North, 1857): 24b–25a: “蓋新斥之爲地。八千八水之所湊會。而北海第一之巨澳也。……閭閻, 則七十四橋所通。” “Niigata is where eight thousand eight streams flow together and form the premier North Sea large backbay. [...] The town is connected by seventy-four bridges” (JTW tr.). (See also 26b for the same two expressions in a poem.)
- Line 10:** ‘Gold ripples’: I.e., the moon when reflected on the ripples of a stream or canal; cf. its use in reference to ocean waves in GHN #5.
- Line 11:** ‘Take pleasure’: Cf. Pan Yue: 潘岳, 笙賦: 人生不能行樂, 死何以虛諡爲。” “If one cannot make merry while alive, / What good is the empty honorific given after death?” (David R. Knechtges tr.).
- Line 12:** ‘From establishment window,’ barbarized: ‘While leaning against (the upstairs windowsill of) a storied building.’ Cf. Du Fu: QTS 230 (2523): 杜甫, 江上: “動業頻看鏡, 行藏獨倚樓。” “I recall my official record, keep looking in the mirror, / recall my comings and goings, leaning alone in an upper room” (Burton Watson tr.).

Niigata was scarcely the cosmopolitan center Ōgai seemed to expect. Although it was the only treaty port on the Sea of Japan, the city had several disadvantages: it was prone to heavy silting, it was removed from the main routes for steamship and other traffic; and strong winds, heavy seas, and long winters made it inhospitable. Indeed, for continental trade, Shimonoseki and Hakata were closer to Korea. Only toward the end of the Meiji period did Niigata begin to generate any foreign exchange of consequence.<sup>77</sup>

77 Catherine L. PHIPPS: *Empires on the Waterfront: Japan's Ports and Power, 1858–1899*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Asia Center 2015: 36.

As a trading port, Niigata was insignificant. Its total foreign trade in 1894 was one-seventeenth that of Hakodate. And Hakodate's was minor. In the same year, Nagasaki had 12 times more foreign trade than Hakodate, Kobe 120 times more, and Yokohama 170 times more.<sup>78</sup> Isabella Bird wrote in 1878, "Niigata is a Treaty port without foreign trade, and almost without foreign residents."<sup>79</sup>

Ōgai's romantic view of Niigata was largely betrayed by reality, as related in the following poem that treats the city in quite different terms.

### Hokuyū nichijō #25

March 23, 1882. Day 39.

MO #031. Five- and seven-character *koshi*. 12 lines.

Rhyme categories: Lines 2, 4, 6, 8: 平聲上七(虞)韻; Lines 9, 10, 12: 仄聲入十一(陌)韻.

Immediately before transcribing HN #25 into *Hokuyū nichijō*, Ōgai makes the one-sentence remark that the poem is his reflection on a local saying he had heard – presumably the one quoted by KOTAJIMA Yōsuke: “新潟では杉

78 See the table, “Japan’s Foreign Trade, 1894,” in *ibid.*: 237, adapted from *Moji Shinpō* 門司新報 (Moji [Kyushu] News), October 10, 1895.

79 CORTAZZI, *Victorians in Japan*: 173. BIRD also speaks of Niigata as “a handsome, prosperous city [...]. [...] [It] is the neatest, cleanest, and most comfortable-looking town I have ever seen, and altogether free from the jostlement of a foreign settlement. [...] With its canals with their avenues of trees, its fine public gardens, and clean, picturesque streets, it is a really attractive town”; and she praises the city’s educational institutions; *ibid.*: 173–75.

But for international trade, “Niigata was a complete failure from the beginning. Indeed, even before it was opened, there were plans to have another port substituted for it, but these were never put into operation. The main reason for the failure of Niigata was the fact that large ships could not enter the port because of a sandbank across the mouth of the river on which the town stood. Vessels had to unload and load in the open roadstead which was a hazardous business in bad weather. The trying climate of the region, with long hot summers and very cold winters, was an additional disincentive to residence. By October 1871, the foreign community consisted of four people, [...]. [...] Niigata’s failure was obvious by 1872, and after that date there was no permanent [British] consul there. [...] Niigata was not apparently regarded with any optimism by the [U.S.] State Department, for no provision was ever made for even a vice-consulate. [...] The foreign traders abandoned Niigata to the missionaries; in 1884 there were seven foreign residents at the port, six missionaries and an hotel keeper. Whether the latter had an hotel, and if he did, whether he ever had any customers, is not clear”; J.E. HOARE, *Japan’s Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests, 1858–1899*, Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library 1994: 19, 72, 77, 19. Both Hakodate and Niigata are treated in the book as ‘failed [foreign] settlements’: *ibid.*: 18ff.

と男は立たぬ。” “In Niigata, neither fir trees nor males stand” (‘stand’ here having the combined sense of ‘take root, grow to maturity, and endure’). The saying gets converted into the first three lines of the poem.

Line Four, in turn, cites what is said to be another local saying: “Giving birth to males – that’s silly and stupid.” There had been earlier similar literary formulations. But there is an added dimension here. In a port city famous for its entertainment district (brothels, teahouses, and the like), women are more valuable (more profitable and marketable) than men.<sup>80</sup> And many of the latter live off of the women. Hence the contempt for males expressed in the poem. The theme of lazy local men also appeared in HN #11.

The night life of Niigata that Ōgai dreamed of when setting out on the trip (HN #1) has turned out differently from what he expected. A fantasized future has given way to lived experience. Rather than a fairyland, the city of seventy-two bridges with its countless ‘establishments’ has turned out to be full of clip-joints peopled by predatory women who support no-good men.

In the journal the poem is placed alongside HN #24, with which it forms a distinct contrast: the first poem focuses on concrete appearances, ones that have their own reality, whereas HN #25, with its more abstract implications, communicates a starker world. The pair provide the earliest example of what has been called Ōgai’s ‘stereoscopic vision’: the two poems are meant to be viewed simultaneously, each complementing and lending depth to the other.<sup>81</sup> In sum, Ōgai was attracted to and repulsed by Niigata.<sup>82</sup>

80 Among Ōgai’s commentators, only TAKECHI Hideo brings out this dimension.

81 Cf. the ‘bifocal’ vision noted above (p. 102) in reference to HN #23.

Stereoscopic vision has been favored as a heuristic device in Western-language scholarship on Ōgai. Christopher Scott WEINBERGER speaks of the oscillation in Ōgai’s late texts between “mimetic representation and reflexive commentary by authorial personae, aiming at a version of authenticity produced by the stereoscopic effect of these points of view”; *An Ethics of Self-Consciousness in Modern Japanese Literary Writing*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 2009: xiii; note also the chapters, “Mori Ōgai’s Stereoscopic Vision” (I) and (II): 1–28, 29–53. But as evidenced by HN #24–25, the practice began much earlier.

As early as 1885 (in the entry for September 9), Ōgai himself made reference to the stereoscope (*Stereoscop*); *Doitsu nikki*: OZ 35: 110. Moreover, literary use of it is brought up at the end of *Gan* 24 (OZ 8: 603): “譬ば實體鏡の下にある左右二枚の圖を、一の影像として視るやうに、前に見た事と後に聞いた事とを、照らし合せて作ったのが此物語である。” “Just as two images combine in a stereoscope to form a single picture, so the events I observed earlier and those that were described to me later have been fitted together to make this story of mine” (Burton WATSON tr.).

Other Western-language scholarship utilizes the term: Ródica FRENȚIU: “Mecanisme stereoscopice ale narațiunii: Mori Ōgai, *Gan* (Gâsca sălbatică)” (“The Stereoscopic Mechanisms of Narratives: Mori Ōgai, *Gan* [The Wild Goose]”) *Steaua* 59.2–3

- 新斥無杉樹  
*Niigata ni sanju nashi*  
 Xīnchì wú shānshù
- 2 植杉又槁枯 KO / kū  
*Sugi o uuru mo mata kōko su*  
 Zhí shān yòu gǎokū
- 新斥無男子  
*Niigata ni danshi nashi*  
 Xīnchì wú nánzǐ
- 4 生男蠢且愚 GU / yú  
*Otoko o umu wa shun katsu gu*  
 Shēng nán chǔn qiě yú
- 昨夜聞此語  
*Sakuya kono go o kiki*  
 Zuóyè wén cǐ yǔ
- 6 此語果知非欺誣 FU / wū  
*Kono go hatashite shiru gi'u ni arazaru o*  
 Cǐ yǔ guǒ zhī fēi qīwū

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(Feb.-March 2008): 77–81; J. Keith VINCENT: “The Uncut Gem: Stereoscopic Homosexuality in *The Wild Goose*,” Chapter 3 of *idem: Two-Timing Modernity: Homosocial Narrative in Modern Japanese Fiction*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center 2012: 63–85.

Closely related is the concept of ‘parallax’: “the apparent displacement of an object’s position when viewed along two different lines of sight, [...]”; Seiji M. LIPPIT: “Editor’s Introduction: On Repetition, Singularity and Historicity,” in KARATANI Kojin [Kōjin, 柄谷行人]: *History and Repetition*, New York: Columbia University Press 2004: xvii. Most cogent in this regard are the remarks by KONO [KŌNO] Shion 河野至恩: “Ōgai constantly moves his critical vantage point. As a result, each concept (literary or philosophical, Japanese or German) is displaced from the original contexts and situated in another. An apt visual metaphor for this move would be a parallax vision – recognizing plural, coexisting positions and shifting among them to differentiate itself from a monocular view. [...] Furthermore, I would suggest that the parallax movement can be a model for understanding the twists and turns of Ōgai’s literary career, in which he straddled literature and science, the West and Japan, and modernity and its other; and critiquing each position alternately and simultaneously”; “Two irreconcilable, but also inseparable, nevertheless incomparable greatnesses”: Mori Ōgai’s Parallax Reading (and Writing) of Literary Theory,” *PAJLS: Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 9 (2008), *Literature and Literary Theory*, Atsuko UEDA [上田貴子] and Richard OKADA, eds.: 188.

82 But when he is in Niigata seven months later, the attraction has returned: GHN #22–23.

紅粉翠黛嫵媚巧

*Kōfun suitai bubi takumi ni*

Hóngfěn cuìdài wǔmèi qiǎo

8 翻雲覆雨人情汚

O / wū

*Hon'un fuku'u ninjō kitanashi*

Fānyún fùyǔ rénqíng wū

In Niigata, there are no fir trees;  
 Firs, once planted, keep withering away.  
 In Niigata, there are no males:  
 ‘Giving birth to males – that’s silly and stupid.’  
 Last night I heard this saying,  
 A saying which, as is well known, is not far off.  
 And as for red-rouged, black-eyebrowed ones, they’re good  
 at inveigling;  
 Inconstant as clouds, fickle as rain, their human nature sullied.

君不見

杉不充材猶有柏

HAKU (HYAKU) / bó

*Kimi mizu ya: Sugi zai ni atarazaru mo*

*nao haku aru o*

Jūn bú jiàn: Shān bù chōng cái yóu yǒu bó

10 男不成名洵可措

SHAKU / xí

*Otoko na o nasazaru wa makoto ni*

*oshimu beshi*

Nán bù chéngmíng xún kěxī

寄語港頭服官人

*Go o yosen kōtō fukukan no hito ni*

Jìyǔ gǎngtóu fúguān rén

12 濟美育英有何策

SAKU / cè

*Seibi ikuei nan no saku ka aran ya*

Jìměi yùyīng yǒu hécè

Do you not see –  
 If firs are not up to the task, there are still cypresses;  
 But how unfortunate, the men make no name for themselves!  
 I’ll pass on word to the port authorities:

“‘To preserve what is fine and nurture men of calibre,’ what can be done?”

**Line 1:** ‘Niigata’: Not surprisingly, Ōgai prefers the antiquarian version of the place name.

**Line 1:** ‘Fir’: An evergreen also rendered as ‘cryptomeria, China fir, Japanese cedar, *cunninghamia lanceolata*, or *cryptomeria japonica*.’ Fir trees are straight and upright, ideal for timber.

**Line 4:** Entire line: If females are valued more than males, the world is truly out-of-kilter, upside-down, topsy-turvy. YASUKAWA Rikako (HN 200–1) cites two passages (originally in *kanbun*) transposed from the *Hokuyū kikō* 北游紀行 of 1857 by TAKAHASHI Katsuan 高橋克庵 (originals not found in the edition checked for this article): “新潟町の旅籠に泊った折、隣室の男が言うには、最近荊妻が金壺をもらった、と。新斥浦口の人家では男の生まれるのを貴ばない。女の生まれるのを貴んで、女が生まれれば祝いに金壺をもらえぬ。” “When I was in a *ryokan* in Niigata, a fellow in the next room said, ‘Recently my wife “got a metal jar.”’ In the port city of Niigata, since giving birth to boys is not valued and giving birth to girls is, when a female is born, in celebration she gets a metal jar.” (The metal jar, presumably, is a ‘cash pot.’) And “ある妓閣に十八九の女主がいた。間夫との間に男の子が生まれたので、その子を惣太郎と名付けた。” “There was an eighteen- or nineteen-year-old mistress of a brothel. Together with her patron she gave birth to a male, so they called the child ‘good for nothing’” (JTW tr.).

Three antecedent passages in Chinese are of interest; Ōgai was likely familiar with the latter two. The first is noteworthy, however, because it is by a woman. In the second, males get drafted and killed in war, so having daughters is preferable. And the third broaches sexual politics in a way analogous to the Ōgai line.

(A) Ban Zhao (ca. 49–ca. 120): 班昭，女戒：“故鄙諺有云：‘生男如狼，猶恐其尪。生女如鼠，有恐其虎。’” “Hence there arose the vulgar saying: ‘Giving birth to a boy is like giving birth to a wolf: there is yet the fear he will become weak. Giving birth to a girl is like giving birth to a mouse: there is the fear she will become a tiger’” (JTW tr.).

(B) Du Fu: QTS 216 (2255): 杜甫，兵車行：“信知生男惡、反是生女好。生女猶得嫁比鄰、生男埋沒隨百草。” “I have learned well: bearing males is bad, but bearing girls is good. If you bear a girl, you can still manage to marry her to a neighbor; if you bear a male, he’ll end up buried along with the grasses” (Stephen Owen tr., modified).

(C) Bo Juyi (772–846): QTS 435 (4818), referring to the benefits the family of Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (Chief Consort Yang, d. 756) received as a result of her being the emperor’s favorite concubine: 白居易，長恨歌：“遂令天下父母心、不重生男重生女。” “As a result, (the situation) caused parental hearts throughout the empire / Not to favor bearing males but to favor bearing females” (JTW tr.).

**Line 7:** ‘Red-rouged, black-eyebrowed ones’: I.e., ‘professional women,’ prostitutes.

**Line 8:** ‘Inconstant as clouds, fickle as rain,’ barbarized: ‘(One’s hand) turned over, (there are) clouds; (one’s hand) flipped over, (there is) rain’; in other words, ‘one minute you get clouds, the next rain’; hence, extremely changeable, fickle, inconstant. The expression comes from Du Fu: QTS 216 (2254): 杜甫，貧交行：“翻手作雲覆手雨、紛紛輕薄何須數。” “One turn of the hand, it might be either rain or storm. / Such fickleness in countless instances everywhere!” (William Hung tr.). Ōgai uses the expression three other times in his *kanshi*: #003 (Line 106), #139, #230 (Line 49).

**Line 8:** ‘Sullied’: A reference to the women being prostitutes.

**Line 9:** ‘Cypresses’: Often planted around gravesites (and hence having funereal associations), cypresses can be symbolic of long life or endurance in adversity, as in Du Fu, “Ballad of

the Old Cypress”: QTS 221 (2334): 杜甫, 古柏行: “扶持自是神明力、正直原因造化功。” “Nothing but the power of Divine Providence could have kept it standing so long; / its straightness must be the work of the Creator himself” (David Hawkes tr.). In HN #25 the reference is to a tree that, although a grade below the fir, is passably good. Du Fu also wrote a series of four poems on unhealthy or barren trees, including 病柏 “The Sick Cypress”: QTS 219 (2306). None of Ōgai’s commentators engages with this line.

**Line 10:** Entire line: Cf. Du Fu: QTS 220 (2330): 杜甫, 莫相疑行: “男兒生無所成頭皓白、牙齒欲落真可惜。” “A man accomplishes nothing while his hair grows white. / And his teeth are almost all out. The pity of it!” (William Hung tr.).

**Line 12:** ‘To preserve what is fine and nurture men of calibre’: The first part of the formulation (濟美) comes from the *Zuozhuan*: 左傳, 文公十八年: “世濟其美、不隕其名。” “For generations they carried on the excellence (of earlier worthies) and did not let their names fall to the ground” (JTW & James Legge tr.). The second part (育英) is drawn from Mencius: 孟子, 盡心上: “得天下英才而教育之。” “To obtain outstanding talents from throughout the kingdom and to teach and nourish them” (JTW tr.) – this is one of three things the superior man is said to delight in.

**Line 12:** Entire line paraphrased: “What can be done ‘To retrieve and maintain fine traditions and customs and thereby foster the raising of true, outstanding men?’”

There are no journal entries for the next three days, March 21–23.

On March 24, the group takes a boat, the “Anzen-maru” 安全丸 (‘SS Safety’) up the Shinano River to Nagaoka, passing through Kohama 小濱, Sanjō 三條, and Yoda 依田, for a distance of forty-five kilometers.

The following day they travel another forty-five kilometers to Itsukamachi 五日町, passing through Myōken 妙見, Kawaguchi 川口, and Horinouchi 堀之内 (transcribed 堀の内). Between Horinouchi and Urasa 浦佐, where they join the Mikuni (‘Three-Province’) Highway 三國街道, they cross Tojihara Pass 柝原峠 (transcribed 椽原峠).

On March 26, the group spends the night in Mitsumata 三俣, a day’s journey of thirty-plus kilometers in Niigata Prefecture, having traversed Shibahara Pass 芝原峠 (transcribed 柴原峠).

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #26

March 27, 1882. Day 43.

MO #032. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上五(微)韻.

Setting out from Mitsumata in the snow, the party crosses Futai Pass 二居峠. The journal entry for the day says (‘Futae’ transcribed for ‘Futai’): “Crossing Futae Pass 二重峠 en route to Futae Post-house 二重驛, we ran into a hunter returning from having caught a bear.” Two poems follow.



- 雙重曉發雪霏々。 HI / fēi  
*Futae akatsuki ni hassuru ni yuki hihi to shite*  
 Shuāngchóng xiǎo fā xuě fēifēi  
 2 不耐狂風吹捲衣。 I / yī  
*Taezu kyōfū no fuite koromo o maku ni*  
 Búnài kuángfēng chuī juǎn yī  
 寂寞飛鸞原上路  
*Sekibaku tari hiran genjō no michi*  
 Jimò fēiluán yuánshàng lù  
 4 乍逢獵戶獲熊歸。 KI / guī  
*Tachimachi au ryōko no kumo o ete-kaeru ni*  
 Zhà féng lièhù huò xióng guī

For Futae setting out at dawn, snow falling fast;  
 Unbearable, the fierce winds that blow and ruffle our clothing.  
 Silent the ‘flying simurghs’ on plain-top road;  
 Suddenly we meet a hunter, bear bagged, heading home.

**Line 1:** ‘Futae,’ barbarized: ‘Piled Double (Pass).’

**Line 2:** ‘Unbearable’: The reading for the expression *taezu* 不耐 is homophonous with (and surely also meant to mean) *taezu* 絶えず ‘incessant(ly).’

**Line 3:** Entire line, paraphrased: “(As a consequence of the ‘fierce winds’ in Line Two,) in silence the skirts and flaps of our coats sail about in the wind like flying simurghs, as we take the road across the plain.” The expression ‘flying simurghs (i.e., great fabulous birds)’ comes from Zhang Heng (78–139), where the fluttering clothing of dancers is associated with snow: 張衡，觀舞賦：“裾似飛鸞、袖如迴雪。” “Now flutter their skirts like a great bird in flight, / Now toss their long sleeves like whirling snow” (Arthur Waley tr.). (Ōgai’s commentators have missed the Zhang Heng reference. They take the line to refer to Sanchōgahara 山鳥が原 [‘Mountain-Bird Plain’] near Futai Pass.)

**Line 4:** ‘Bear bagged, heading home’: See the note to HN #14, Line 2.

### Hokuyū nichijō #27

March 27, 1882. Day 43.

MO #033. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下一(先)韻.

In the journal, note is made of the crab-like steps of the porters as they cross Mikuni Pass 三國峠 (on the border between Niigata and Gunma prefectures) and descend the mountain.

- 三尺山童筋骨堅 KEN / jiān  
*Sanshaku no sandō kinniku kataku*  
 Sānchǐ shāntóng jīngǔ jiān
- 2 負擔博得碧銅錢 SEN / qián  
*Futan shite hakushien to su hekidō no zeni*  
 Fùdàn bóde bìtóng qián  
 慣看峻阪冰如鏡  
*Kankan su shunban kōtte kagami no gotoki o*  
 Guànkàn léngbǎn bīng rú jìng
- 4 蟹步須與降自天 TEN / tiān  
*Kaiho suru koto shuyu ni shite ten yori kudarū*  
 Xièbù xūyú jiàng zì tiān

Three-foot mountain lads, sinew and bone strong,  
 Shoulder poles to earn a few coppers.  
 Used to seeing steep slopes, ice like a mirror,  
 With crab-like steps, in no time they descend the sky.

**Line 2:** ‘Earn,’ barbarized: ‘Manage to win (i.e., gain, whether honestly or by artifice).’ YASUKAWA Rikako takes 博得 to be Ōgai’s Japanese-language invention (*Waseigo* 和製語). But examples are found in *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Great Dictionary of Chinese Phrases, [1986–94] 2007).

**Line 4:** ‘Descend the sky’: Namely, from the summit of the 1,244-meter pass.

Although no destination is recorded for March 27, it likely was Aimata 相俣 or Fuse 布施. The following day, with snow falling, the group crosses Kirigakubo Pass 切ヶ久保峠 (transcribed 霧窪山) and Nakayama Pass 中山峠, proceeds through Shibukawa 澁川, and continues to Takasaki 高崎 – a two-day total of nearly eighty kilometers.

### *Hokuyū nichijō* #28

March 29, 1882. Day 45.

MO #034. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

Leaving Takasaki in the morning, the group likely proceeded to Kuragano 蒼賀野 (still in Gunma Prefecture) and took a ship down the Karasu River 烏川 and Tone River 利根川, completing the eighty-kilometer stretch to Tokyo the following day.

The journal entry reads in full, “Setting out from Takasaki, we returned to the capital.” The last poem of *Hokuyū nichijō* then follows, which ends the journal.

The two couplets of the poem might be paraphrased as follows: “In the north, it is cold and snowy, a region where travelers (like us) suffer the hardships of nature and the backwardness of rural locales. But to the south in the capital, it is already springtime at the emperor’s residence, where cherry blossoms, quietude, and imperial benevolence reign.”

- 客衣雪重北陲村 SON / cūn  
*Kakui yuki wa omoshi hokusui no mura*  
 Kèyī xuě zhòng běichuí cūn
- 2 孤館不眠聞叫猿 EN / yuán  
*Kokan nemurazu kyōen o kiku*  
 Gūguǎn bùmián wén jiàoyuán
- 今日春風宮闕靜  
*Konnichi shunpū kyūketsu shizuka nari*  
 Jīnrì chūnfēng gōngquè jìng
- 4 櫻雲深處沐天恩 ON / ēn  
*Ō'un fukaki tokoro ten'on ni mokusu*  
 Yīngyún shēnchù mù tiān'ēn

Snow heavy on travelers’ clothing, along north-border villages;  
 In lonely lodges unable to sleep, one hears crying apes.  
 Today amid spring breezes, the imperial palace still –  
 Clouds of cherry blossoms in the deep precinct, bathed in imperial  
 munificence.

**Line 2:** ‘Crying apes’: A hackneyed expression often found in Chinese poetry composed while away from home. It is meant to communicate loneliness, isolation, and privation.

**Line 3:** ‘The imperial palace,’ barbarized: ‘The two palace towers (at the main gate of the imperial palace grounds)’; by extension, the emperor’s palace or the capital city; namely, Tokyo.

**Line 4:** ‘Deep precinct’: Here refers to the imperial grounds. Since the phrase can be understood to be echoing one or more of three sources, or to be without any literary reference, it is cited as an example of the problem of determining what constitutes an allusion: WIXTED, “Allusion and Diction”: 91.

**Line 4:** ‘Imperial munificence,’ barbarized: ‘Heavenly benevolence’; namely, that of the Meiji emperor.

In HN #1, it is the emperor who dispatches Ōgai on the mission north; and in HN #28, it is the emperor's beneficent aura that awaits him and the group upon their return.