

*Kanshi* by Mori Ōgai  
*Hokuyū nichijō* and *Go Hokuyū nichijō* (Part 2)

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*Go Hokuyū nichijō* 後北游日乘  
(Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North)

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #1

September 27, 1882. Day 1.

MO #036. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下一(先)韻.

In Tokyo. The mood of this, the opening poem in the second series, is far less exuberant than that at the beginning of *Hokuyū nichijō*.

都門十丈紅塵暗

*Tomon jūjō kōjin kuraku*

Dūmén shízhàng hóngchén àn

2 局促嫌他世事纏 TEN/ chán

*Kyokusoku to shite kirau kano seji no matou o*

Júcù xián tā shìshì chán

唯有遨遊堪吐氣

*Tada gōyū arite ki o haku ni tauru*

Wéiyǒu áo yóu kān tǔqì

4 一年再向北溟天 TEN / tiān

*Ichinen futatabi mukawan hokumei no ten*

Yīnián zài xiàng běimíng-tiān

Capital gates, ten feet tall, dark the red dust —  
Hurried, harried, sick of entanglement in worldly affairs.  
No alternative but a leisurely jaunt, one to change the air;  
Again in a single year, I set out for north-sea skies.

**Line 1:** ‘Capital gates, ten feet tall’: Metonymy for the imperial capital, Tokyo.

**Line 1:** ‘Red dust’: A well-worn expression that here refers both to the Buddhist ‘red dust’ of the secular, mundane world, and to the hubbub of a metropolis where carriages and horses stir up ‘reddish dust.’

**Line 2:** ‘Entanglement’: *Chán* 纏 is a Buddhist term, *pariyavasthāna*, meaning ‘an actively binding affliction’: namely, “the condition of constraint that is resultant of the manifest activity of the defilements; pollution, stain, etc.”; Charles MULLER: online Digital Dictionary of Buddhism. In the context, it refers to being caught up in the affairs of the

capital. Its usage here is something of a pose, coming from a twenty-year-old. But for young Ōgai, the realities of bureaucratic life may have started to sink in.

**Line 3:** ‘One to change the air,’ barbarized: ‘One that is up to expelling the (bad) air’; in other words, ‘one that can change one’s mood or the atmosphere.’

**Line 4:** ‘North-sea skies’: Namely, those over Tohoku and Hokkaido. The *kanji* for ‘north sea’ 北溟 inevitably suggest the opening passage of *Zhuangzi*: 莊子 1, 逍遙游: “北溟有魚、其名爲鯤、鯤之大不知其幾千里也。” “In north sea dark, there is a fish; its name is *kun*. The *kun* is huge, extending who knows how many thousands of miles” (JTW tr.). The somberness communicated by the character 暗 (‘dark’) in Line One is echoed by the 溟 (‘deep, dark, far-reaching sea’) of Line Four.

**Line 4:** Entire line, paraphrased: “Once again in the same year, I am off to the distant unknown.”

### Go Hokuyū nichijō #2

September 27, 1882. Day 1, relating activity of four days earlier.

MO #037. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十二(文)韻.

In Tokyo. The group’s departure had initially been scheduled for September 24, so a farewell dinner of family and friends was held the preceding evening. Sekizumi Keiko 關澄桂子 (fl. 1882), the poetry and calligraphy teacher of Ōgai’s sister, Mori Kimiko 森喜美子,<sup>83</sup> wrote the following *waka* for the occasion:

旅衣いかに着まさむさらぬだに秋寒くおもぼゆるころ

I worry how you will bear up as, autumn turning cold, you  
clothe yourself alone while traveling.

Saitō Katsutoshi 齋藤勝壽 (b. 1864), the adopted son of Ōgai’s teacher Satō Genchō 佐藤元菘, wrote a poem of farewell. Ōgai responded with the following matching-rhyme *kanshi*.<sup>84</sup>

手展詩箋仰曉雲 UN / yún

*Te ni shisen o nobete gyō’un o ōgi*

Shǒu zhǎn shījiān yǎng xiǎoyún

2 臨風一誦淚紛々 FUN / fēn

*Kaze ni nozomite isshō sureba namida funfun*

Línfēng yī sòng lèi fēnfēn

不須杖履來相送

*Mochiizare jōri kitarite ai-okuru o*

Bùxū zhànglǚ lái xiāng sòng

83 Better known by her married name, Koganei Kimiko 小金井喜美子 (1871–1956).

84 Saitō’s ‘original’ is not extant; about such circumstances, see WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 198–99, 217.

- 4 別恨纏綿誰似君 KUN / jūn  
*Bekkon no tenmen taru tare ka kimi ni nin*  
 Bié hèn chánmián shéi sì jūn

My hands spread open your poem, as I look up at dawn clouds;  
 Facing the wind, I chant it through, tears falling profusely.  
 No need, with walking stick, to come to see me off;  
 At the bitterness of separation, for tender attachment who can equal you?

**Line 1:** ‘Your poem,’ barbarized: ‘The (scroll-like) high-quality paper upon which is (your) poem (written in beautiful calligraphy).’

*Go Hokuyū nichijō #3*

September 27, 1882. Day 1.

MO #038. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

In Tokyo. Upon leaving his home in Senju 千住, Ōgai presents the following poem to his younger brother, Mori Tokujirō 森篤次郎,<sup>85</sup> who was fifteen at the time.

- 一語煩君君記取  
*Ichigo kimi o wazurawasan kimi kishu seyo*  
 Yiyǔ fánjūn jūn jìqǔ
- 2 落楓時節可回轅 EN / yuán  
*Rakufū no jisetsu nagae o megurasubeshi*  
 Luòfēng shíjié kě huí yuán  
 襟邊風露不堪冷  
*Kinben no fūro tsumetaki ni taezu*  
 Jīnbiān fēnglù bù kān lěng
- 4 滿路秋花出里門 MON / mén  
*Manro shūka rimon o izu*  
 Mǎnlù qiūhuā chū lǐmén

A word to trouble you, you might keep in mind:  
 When maples are shedding, I should be turning carriage-shafts around.  
 Wind and dew at my lapels, unbearably cold,  
 With the road covered in autumn blossoms, I'll emerge through village gate.

85 Better known by the name he later adopted, Kimi Takeji 三木竹二 (1867–1908).

**Line 2:** ‘Turning carriage-shafts around’: Namely, reversing direction and starting the return home.

**Line 4:** ‘Emerge through village gate’: In other words, ‘I’ll be back.’

Ōgai proceeds to Yokohama, where he boards the Hyōgo-maru 兵庫丸.<sup>86</sup>

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #4

September 28, 1882. Day 2.

MO #039. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十五(刪)韻.

When leaving Yokohama by ship, Mt. Fuji comes into view.

	芙蓉半現玉孱顏	GAN / yán
	<i>Fuyō nakaba arawasu gyoku sangan</i>	
	Fúróng bàn xiàn yù chányán	
2	一帶秋潮相武間	KAN / jiān
	<i>Ittai no shūchō Sō-Bu no kan</i>	
	Yídài qiūcháo Xiāng-Wǔ jiān	
	數點船燈看已失	
	<i>Sūten no sentō misumisu sude ni shissu</i>	
	Shùdiǎn chuándēng kàn yǐ shī	
4	曉風殘月滿橫灣	WAN / wān
	<i>Gyōfū zangetsu Ōwan ni mitsu</i>	
	Xiǎofēng cányuè mǎn Héngwān	

Hibiscus Peak half emerging, jade its steep face;  
A single swath, the autumn tide from Sagami to Musashi.  
Several specks, boat lanterns, visible then gone;  
In dawn breeze, a remnant moon fills Yokohama bay.

**Line 1:** ‘Hibiscus Peak’ (峰 understood): Namely, Mt. Fuji. Cf. SHIONOYA Tōin 塩谷宕陰 (1809–67): 遊墨水記: “西仰芙蓉、突兀萬仞。” “To the west, I look up at Hibiscus Peak, / Thrusting skyward ten thousand spans.”

**Line 2:** ‘From Sagami to Musashi,’ barbarized: ‘From Sō (相 = Sagami 相模) to Bu (武 = Musashi 武蔵)’; namely, the eastern shore of Kanagawa Prefecture stretching to the outskirts of Tokyo. Cf. the second paragraph of the note to GHN #13, Line 4.

**Line 4:** ‘Yokohama Bay,’ barbarized: ‘Ō (横 = Yokohama 横濱) Bay.’

<sup>86</sup> YASUKAWA Rikako notes that this 1,411-ton steamer owned by the Mitsubishi Steamship Line made the run from Yokohama to Hakodate: GHN [1]: 154; see also MATSUMOTO Akitomo: [G]: 39–42.

## Go Hokuyū nichijō #5

September 29, 1882. Day 3.

MO #040. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下八(庚)韻.

Shipboard, heading north. Late in the afternoon, strong winds and rough seas take over. By evening, although the wind does not subside, skies clear.

- |   |  |             |
|---|--|-------------|
|   | 東天一道冷先生                                      | SHŌ / shēng |
|   | <i>Tōten ichidō rei mazu shōji</i>           |             |
|   | Dōngtiān yídào lěng xiān shēng               |             |
| 2 | 頃刻金波滿眼明                                      | MYŌ / míng  |
|   | <i>Keikoku kinpa mangan ni akiraka nari</i>  |             |
|   | Qǐngkè jīnbō mǎnyǎn míng                     |             |
|   | 不說南人苦船苦                                      |             |
|   | <i>Tokaji nanjin kusen no ku</i>             |             |
|   | Bùshuō nánrén kǔchuán kǔ                     |             |
| 4 | 半宵掬此月華清                                      | SHŌ / qīng  |
|   | <i>Hanshō sukuwan kono gekka no kiyoki o</i> |             |
|   | Bànxiāo jú cǐ yuèhuá qīng                    |             |

Over a stretch of eastern sky, cold rays first take shape;  
 Soon everywhere one looks, golden ripples turn bright.  
 Don't say the southerner is getting sick from seasickness,  
 For late at night he scoops up these moonrays pure.

**Line 1:** ‘Cold rays’ (光 understood): ‘Cold’ has associations with the moon and its light; e.g., Li Shangyin (812–58): QTS 539 (6168–69): 李商隱, 無題: “曉鏡但愁雲鬢改、夜吟應覺月光寒。” “In the morning mirror, the only fear: cloudy locks fading; / At night chanting, what one likely feels: moonlight cold” (JTW tr.). And in another of Li Shangyin’s poems, “Moonlit Night,” appears the line: QTS 539 (6178–79): 月夕: “兔寒蟾冷桂花白。” “The hare is chilly, the toad cold, the cassia flower white” (James J.Y. Liu tr.).<sup>87</sup> The association with moonlight continues in Line Two.

**Line 2:** Entire line, barbarized: “Soon / ‘golden waves’ // filling the eyes, become bright.” Cf. ‘gold ripples’ in HN #24, Line 10.

**Line 3:** Entire line, barbarized: “Don’t say / the southerner (i.e., I, Ōgai) // from ‘suffering-boats’ (i.e., seasickness) is suffering.” Southerners in China were reputed to be good sailors; e.g., *Huainanzi* 11: 淮南子, 齊俗訓: “胡人便於馬、越人便於舟。” “The people of Hu [to the north] are accustomed to horses; / the people of Yue [to the south] are

87 As the translator explains, “The hare and the toad are supposed to be spirits of the moon. [...] There is also supposed to be a cassia tree in the moon, [...]”; *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin: Ninth-Century Baroque Chinese Poet*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1969: 100.

accustomed to boats” (Andrew Meyer tr.). Tongue in cheek, Ōgai is saying that he, as a ‘southerner’ (from Shimane Prefecture), is not betraying his heritage.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #6

September 30, 1882. Day 4.

MO #041. Five- and seven-character *koshi*. 16 lines.

Rhyme categories: Lines 1, 2: 平聲上十五(刪)韻; Lines 3, 4, 6: 仄聲入九(屑)韻; Lines 7, 8, 10: 平聲上一(東)韻; Lines 11, 12, 14, 16: 仄聲上四(紙)韻.

In Hakodate.

The following poem is one of Ōgai’s best *kanshi*. Very much in his style, it is overtly humorous while carrying both deeper implications and a ‘bite.’ With considerable wit he describes Sleeping Ox Mountain, a major geographical feature of Hakodate, treating the slumbering beast with affection.<sup>88</sup> The focus shifts when the Chinese poet Lu You is introduced, at which point the poem’s rhyme category also changes. Only over the course of the final six lines (of sixteen) does it become fully clear that, while still a subject of humor, the mountain represents much more: it embodies both Japan and Japanese military unpreparedness.

The ‘excursion’ north by Ōgai et al., while ostensibly for purposes of recruitment, in all probability included review of military facilities on the northern frontier in the face of the threat referred to in the poem’s final couplet. For nearly a century Russia had been a serious preoccupation of Japan. “[I]n the late 1700s [...] the region of greatest perceived external threat shifted from the East China Sea to the North Pacific”; at the time there was “concern about Russian attacks in Ezo [Hokkaido], over which region of Japan was the highest defensive priority.”<sup>89</sup>

Hayashi Shihei 林子平 (1738–93) in *Kaikoku heidan* 海國兵談 (Military Talks for a Maritime Nation, 1791) had written of the threat posed by Russia and China.<sup>90</sup> He was silenced, but his warnings were listened to.<sup>91</sup>

88 For reproductions of paintings with Hakodate (Sleeping Ox) Mountain in the background, see PLUTSCHOW, *Historical Hakodate*: 1 (and title page), 148, 150, 156. For mention of the stones on the roofs, another geographical feature, see the note to HN #14, Line 4. For material on the inn where they stayed, see MATSUMOTO Akitomo: [B].

89 Noell WILSON: *Defensive Positions: The Politics of Maritime Security in Tokugawa Japan*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center 2015: 93, 124.

90 Friedrich LEDERER, tr.: *Diskurs über die Wehrhaftigkeit einer Seenation (Kaikoku Heidan)*, München: Iudicium 2003. Note also Annick HORIUCHI: “Le *Kaikoku heidan* (De la défense des pays maritimes) de Hayashi Shihei: Présentation et traduction de la préface,” *Ebisu* 38.1 (2007): 83-101.

Also, the *kanshi* poet Nagao Shūsui 長尾秋水 (1779–1863), one of whose pen names was none other than ‘Gagyū Sanshō’ 臥牛山樵 (‘Sleeping Ox Mountain Woodcutter’), had been assertive about Japanese territorial claims and worried concerning Russian encroachment, as evidenced in “At Matsumae Castle”:

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Hayashi is specifically referred to by Ōgai in a poem written just two years later (MO #073; *Kōsei nikki* #3) when leaving Japan for Europe. The final line loosely paraphrases a passage in *Kaikoku heidan*:

何須相見淚成行	No need, seeing me off, for streaks of tears;
不問人間參與商	What matter that, in the human world, we will be Shen and Shang?*

林叟有言君記否	For as dear Hayashi put it — you do remember?
品川水接大西洋	“The waters of Shinagawa are linked with the great Pacific.”

\*The constellations Shen and Shang are never visible at the same time. In other words, we will be at opposite ends of the earth, in Germany and Japan.

The Hayashi saying that Ōgai paraphrases reads: “竊ニ思フニ江戸日本橋ヨリ唐土及ヒ阿蘭陀モ境目ナキ水路ナリ。” “Ich denke (insgeheim) bei mir, daß von der *Nihonbashi* in *Edo* bis nach China (Kathay) und auch nach Holland ein Wasserweg ohne Grenzen existiert”; LEDERER. *Diskurs über die Wehrhaftigkeit einer Seenation*: 123, with photo-reproduction of YAMAGISHI Tokuhei 山岸徳平 and SANO Masami 佐野正巳, eds., *Shinpen Hayashi Shihei zenshū* 新編林子平全集 (The Newly Edited Complete Works of Hayashi Shihei), vol. 2, *Chiri* 地理 (Geography), Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō 第一書房, 1978: 329. HORIUCHI notes that the 1832 French-language version by Julius von Klaproth of Hayashi’s equally famous 1785 work, *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* 三國通覽圖說 (*An Illustrated Description of Three Countries* [namely, Korea, the Ryukus, and the Bonin Islands]), is reproduced in this five-volume *zenshū*; “*Le Kaikoku heidan*”: 85 n. 5.

- 91 “Hayashi’s crime in the eyes of the shogunate did not consist in his having ventured to criticise the government, but in his having published views considered inimical to the internal security of the state. [...] [The chief senior councilor] simply could not tolerate the insubordination Hayashi had shown in appealing publicly to the nation for support of his cause”; DONALD KEENE: *The Japanese Discovery of Europe: Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers, 1720–1798*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1952: 54.

Seven years before Ōgai’s arrival in Hakodate, an important agreement had been reached: “Japanese and Russians contested quietly for control of Sakhalin (Karafuto) and the Kuril (Chishima) islands, until an exchange (Kurils for Japan and Sakhalin for Russia) was worked out by the former bakufu official Enomoto Takeaki in St. Petersburg in 1875”; MARIUS B. JANSEN: *The Making of Modern Japan*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 2000: 361. The treaty “reflected less an assured situation acquired by Japan than the shift of Russian interest to the Asian mainland”; L.M. CULLEN: *A History of Japan, 1582–1941: Internal and External Worlds*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003: 229. For succinct summary of the historical background, as well as a useful map of the territories involved, see *ibid.*: 180–81, 144.

Hakodate was considered a post from which to view Russian intentions — by Europeans as well as Japanese. “[L]ike many other diplomats,” M. von Brandt, the first German envoy to the city, “examined Ezo for its strategic closeness to Sakhalin”; PLUTSCHOW: *Historical Hakodate*: 153. And Sir Harry Parks wrote, “[I]t is [...] the only point from which we may watch Russian proceedings”; *ibid.*: 154.

By seaside castle, to clacking of winter night-watch, the moon  
 rises with the tide;  
 At waves' edge along the shore — a line of masts, shadows  
 swaying.  
 Five thousand three hundred leagues from here,  
 Directly below the (North) Pole Star, we should be planting a  
 bronze (border) marker.<sup>92</sup>

Ōgai's poem reads as follows:

宛委臥牛山 SAN / shān

*En'i taru Gagyūzan*

Wǎnwěi Wòniúshān

2 橫在巴字灣 WAN / wān

*Yokotawatte Hajiwan ni ari*

Héng zài Bāzìwān

How serpentine, Sleeping Ox Mountain,  
 Lying athwart *Ba*-Shaped (巴) Bay.

牛頭臨海波噴雪 SETSU / xuě

*Gyūtō umi ni nozomite nami yuki o fuki*

Niútóu lín hǎi bō pēn xuě

92 松前城下作：“海城寒柝月生潮、波際連櫓影動搖。從此五千三百里、北辰直下建銅標。”  
 Matsumae jōka no saku: *Kaijō no kantaku tsuki ushio ni shōzu / Hasai no renshō kage dōyō / Kore yori gosen sanbyaku ri / Hokushin chokka dōhyō o taten*. ‘A line of masts’ has been understood to refer to Russian vessels. Note the perspective from a Russian ship, the *Amerika*, in Hakodate Bay: “We positively lose our heads when we turn our eyes from the mountain [i.e., Hakodate Mountain] and the town to the bay, which is covered all over with strange-looking ships [i.e., junks]. There are so many of them that it looks like you could use them as a bridge to walk across to the town from our *Amerika* without getting your feet wet”: Sergei MAKSIMOV: “In the East (Hakodate, late 1850s),” *Russian Views of Japan, 1792–1913*, David N. WELLS, ed. and tr., London: RoutledgeCurzon 2004: 126.

MAKSIMOV was far from complimentary about Hakodate, calling it “this poor and most miserable of Japanese towns”: “[...] as we stand on the terrace of the consul’s house, beneath which the town of Hakodate ought to lie, like an ordinary, honest town, again we see nothing of the sort. [...] [O]ur Hakodate, is positively the most miserable of Japanese towns; [...]”; *ibid.*: 131, 145, 135. Similarly, Rutherford ALCOCK in 1859 found Hakodate to be “little better than a fishing village”; CORTAZZI: *Victorians in Japan*: 38.



- 4 牛腹洞然生窟穴 KETSU / xué  
*Gyūfuku dōzen kukketsu o shōzu*  
 Niúfù dòngrán shēng kūxué  
 背上千秋草色青  
*Haijō senshū sōshoku aoku*  
 Bèishàng qiānqiū cǎosè qīng
- 6 堅臥不起何太拙 SETSU / zhuō  
*Kenga shite okizaru wa nan zo hanahada setsu naru*  
 Jiānwò bùqǐ hé tài zhuō

Ox head overlooking the sea, waves spew snow;  
 At ox belly, gaping, holes where caves emerge.  
 On its back a thousand autumns, grass grows green;  
 Sprawled fast, not getting up — how dull-witted!

- 山下別開綺羅叢 SŌ / cóng  
*Sanka betsu ni hiraku kira no sō*  
 Shānxià bié kāi qǐluó cóng
- 8 空翠透徹珠簾中 CHŪ / zhōng  
*Kūsui tōtetsu shuren no uchi*  
 Kōngcuì tòuchè zhūlián zhōng  
 夕陽羈愁瘦牛嶺  
*Sekiyō kishū sōgyū no mine*  
 Xiyáng jīchóu shòuniú líng
- 10 無人想到陸放翁 Ō / wēng  
*Hito no Riku Hōō ni omoi-itaru nashi*  
 Wú rén xiǎng dào Lù Fàngwēng

At mountain base, also unfolding, copses of silk raiment;  
 Jeweled curtains shot through with azure green.  
 Sunset over Thin Ox Peak, the melancholy of a traveler —  
 No one but me, it seems, thinks of Lu Fangweng (Lu You, the famous pa-  
 triot poet).

- 君不見  
 臥牛長臥非徒爾 JI / ěr  
*Kimi mizu ya: Gagyū no nagaku fushitaru wa toji ni*  
*arazaru o*  
 Jūn bú jiàn: Wòniú chángwò fēi túěr

- 12 鷲鳥斂翼勢可恃 兀 / shì  
*Shichō tsubasa o osamuru mo ikioi tanomu beshi*  
 Zhiniǎo liànyì shì kěshì  
 吾上牛背發浩歎  
*Ware gyūhai ni noborite kōtan o hassu*  
 Wú shàng niúbèi fā hàotàn
- 14 咄々不堪肉生髀 HI / bì  
*Totsutotsu taezu niku no hi ni shōzuru ni*  
 Duòduò bùkān ròu shēng bì  
 隔水一帶是強秦  
*Sui ittai o hedatsuru wa kore kyō-Shin*  
 Géshuǐ yídài shì qiáng-Qín
- 16 何日一鞭驅汝起 KI / qǐ  
*Izure no hi ni ka hitomuchi shite nanji o karite-tata-*  
*shimen*  
 Hérì yībīān qū rǔ qǐ

Do you not see —

Sleeping Ox's long slumber is not in vain:  
 Vultures fold their wings in wait, fully confident in their stance.  
 I mount ox-back and let out an immense sigh,  
 Astonished and annoyed at flesh on thighs grown flabby.  
 Across the waters, a lone stretch — there is mighty Qin;  
 When, with a crack of the whip, will you be prodded awake!?

**Line 1:** ‘Sleeping Ox Mountain’: Another name for Hakodate Mountain 函館山, 334 meters high, which overlooks Hakodate and its harbor. Ōgai consistently refers to Hakodate by its older homophonous name, 箱館.

**Line 2:** ‘Ba-Shaped (巴) Bay’: I.e., a bay in the shape of the Chinese character *ba* 巴. Tomoe Bay 巴灣 (‘Ba Bay’) is another name for Hakodate Bay, so called because it is snail-shaped.

**Line 3:** ‘Snow’: I.e., white foam.

**Line 7:** ‘Copses of silk raiment,’ barbarized: ‘Both figured-silk and sheer-silk copses of vegetation.’ The silks, by extension, can refer to beautiful clothing, those in beautiful clothing (the rich and powerful), or exquisite drapery. Cf. Sima Xiangru (179–117 BCE): 司馬相如, 長門賦: “張羅綺之幔帷。” “The windows are hung with curtains made of gauze and silk” (David R. Knechtges tr.).

**Lines 7–8:** Couplet: Ōgai’s commentators have interpreted the lines differently, as reflected in their paraphrased renderings: (A) CHIN Seiho: “In the foothills, beautiful flowers in bloom, like brocade; / The dark verdure of the mountain trees, like pearl curtains dyed through with green.” (B) KOTAJIMA Yōsuke: “In the foothills, Western-style homes of the affluent; / Dark-green vegetation impregnates beautiful curtains hanging from windows.” And (C) YASUKAWA Rikako expands on the latter: “Behold, across a good part of your

midriff (Sleeping Ox), a new district has been set up — beautiful, no? and lively; / Since the pearl curtains hung in gorgeously styled rooms of tasteful modern women are sheer, the green vegetation passes through as if dyed.”

In support of the latter two interpretations, the comment of Arthur H. CROWE in 1883 can be cited: “The bungalows of the missionaries and European merchants lie on the hillside behind the town, and are surrounded with pretty gardens and groves of hills”; PLUTSCHOW, *Historical Hakodate*: 159. Also of prime relevance is the fact that a symbol of wealth like the British consulate was located on the side of Hakodate Mountain — in other words, had a beachhold at the very base of what is here being taken to symbolize Japan.

The British consulate had in fact been built there in the wake of the Russian one: “The Russian consul needed a place for a house, but there was a decree from the shogun that foreigners should not be allowed to settle freely in the town and should not be given allocations of land in centres of population. The Hakodate authorities did not hesitate. They had a magnificent cypress grove on a hill outside the town. This place complied perfectly with the instructions from Yeddo (Edo) and the views of the central government, but presented great inconvenience and difficulty in that the mountain was far too steep to allow a Russian building of the usual large dimensions to be built on it. What was to be done? The governor of Hakodate called up a huge mass of workers and in the short space of a few months these ants tirelessly cut an immense slice out of the mountain (several tens of sazhen in length and breadth), sufficient to create an enormous parade-ground to accommodate the consular house and outbuildings, even including a church and houses for the secretary and doctor. The same demand came from the English consul, and a second massive trapezium was cut out of the mountain”; MAKSIMOV: “In the East”: 131.

A Russian orthodox church was built in 1872 under Monk Nicolai (born Ivan Dmitrievich Kasatkin, later famous for ‘Nicolai Cathedral’ in Tokyo), who lived in Hakodate from 1861 to 1872. Because of its bells, it was referred to by locals as *gan’gan-dera* ガンガン寺 (‘ding-dong temple’). The city’s protestant church had burnt in 1879 and was only rebuilt the year after Ōgai’s visit; PLUTSCHOW, *Historical Hakodate*: 70–79, 81. For an undated photo of Nicolai in Hakodate, a post-1872 one of the British Consulate, and a 1915 one of the Russian Orthodox Church, see *ibid.*: 71, 176, 78.

**Line 8:** Entire line: Describes vegetation and dwellings, lushness and opulence going hand in hand.

**Line 9:** Entire line, paraphrased: “The setting sun, which gives rise to the sadness of this traveler away from home, sinks behind Thin Ox Peak (the actual name of a geographical feature of the mountain).” But the ‘sadness of this traveler’ encapsulates a deeper melancholy about the ox’s (and Japan’s) hibernation.

**Line 10:** ‘Lu Fangweng’: *Fangweng* 放翁, the pen name of Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210), means ‘The Old Man Who Does As He Pleases,’ as rendered in the title of the book about him by Burton WATSON.<sup>93</sup>

**Line 10:** Entire line: When considering why Ōgai thinks of Lu You at this point in the poem, commentators have pointed: (A) to the latter’s famous travel diary, *Ru Shu ji* 入蜀記

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93 Subtitle: *Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Lu Yu*, New York: Columbia University Press 1973. Note additional English-language volumes on the poet by the following (listed in reverse chronological order): Burton WATSON (2007), YANG Xianyi and DAI Naidie (1999), David M. GORDON (1984), Michael S. DUKE (1977), HO Peng Yoke et al. (1972), and Clara M. CANDLIN (1946).

(Record of Entering Shu [i.e., Sichuan]);<sup>94</sup> (B) to Lu's unsuccessful career (analogous to Ōgai's feeling thwarted in his hopes to go to Europe); (C) to specific poems by Lu about mountains (not hard to find in an extant corpus of nearly 10,000 poems); and (D) to Lu's having retired to Shaoxing within sight of Mt. Wanwei (宛委, the same compound used in Line One of this poem).

But surely, the important fact about Lu You is his revanchist spirit — his unyielding desire that north China, then under occupation by an 'alien' Jin dynasty, be reunited with the empire proper;<sup>95</sup> hence, Lu You has been referred to (somewhat anachronistically) as a 'patriot poet.'<sup>96</sup> YASUKAWA Rikako is the only commentator to give this aspect of the poem due attention: GHN [2].

When Ōgai at one level in effect says, "No one but me, it seems, thinks of Lu You at a time like this," he is also saying rhetorically, "While everyone else, like this ox, is asleep, am I the only one concerned with Japanese military preparedness and with the (already partial, and potentially far worse) loss of our northern territories?"

**Line 11:** Entire line: Ironic, given the line that follows.

**Line 12:** 'Vultures fold their wings in wait': Vultures are said to feign indifference (folding their wings and waiting), so as to lull their prey into a false sense of security; then they pounce. The line seems to make most sense as a reference to Russia, already 'perched on' Sakhalin, and having further designs on Japanese territory. (YASUKAWA Rikako takes the birds to refer to a Japan that is biding its time for the right moment to assert itself — in which case, 'hawk' would make for a better rendering; and Line Eleven would be understood as not being ironic.)

**Line 12:** 'Fully confident in their stance,' barbarized: 'The situation, position, inherent vector of a place, the lay of the land — i.e., its 勢 — can, with cocky self-assurance, be depended upon 可恃.'<sup>97</sup> Cf. Ōgai's earlier pejorative reference to himself, looking back on how he had acted at school in Tsuwano: MO #002: 庚辰歲旦醉歌: "憶昔鄉校講六經、羞我負才又恃齡。" "I think back on the village school, studying the six classics, / And feel ashamed at how, cockily confident of my talent, I counted on my age (to impress and show up others)" (JTW tr.).

**Line 14:** 'Flesh on thighs grown flabby': The ox (Japan) has grown flabby (unprepared) from having slept so long. The allusion is to the lament by Liu Bei 劉備 (161–223): *Sanguozhi*, Shu 2: 三國志、蜀書: "吾常身不離鞍、髀肉皆消。今不復騎、髀裏肉生。日月若馳、老將至矣、而功業不建、是以悲耳。" "It used to be I never left the saddle, so my thighs were

94 Available in English-language translations by Philip WATSON (2007) and by Chun-shu CHANG and Joan SMYTHE (1981).

95 His most famous lines are the final ones of a poetic last testament addressed to his sons: 示兒: "王師北定中原日、家祭毋忘告乃翁。" "The day the royal armies march north and seize the Central Plain, / At the family sacrifice don't forget to report it to your father" (JTW tr.).

96 E.g., Erhard ROSNER: "Patriotische Dichtung der Song-Zeit," *Zurück zur Freude: Studien zur chinesischen Literatur und Lebenswelt und ihrer Rezeption in Ost und West: Festschrift für Wolfgang Kubin*, Marc HERMANN and Christian SCHWERMANN, with Jari GOSSE-RUYKEN, eds., Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica and Nettetal: Steyler Verlag 2007: 193–216.

97 Cf. Sunzi, *The Art of War* 5, for two of the expressions in Line Twelve: 孫子、兵法、兵勢: "激水之疾、至于漂石者、勢也。鷲鳥之擊、至于毀折者、節也。" "The swiftness of a raging current can sweep away boulders; this is due to its configurative momentum. The swiftness of a diving raptor can tear its prey apart; this is due to its instinctive timing" (Victor H. Mair tr.).

thin. Now that I don't ride anymore, the flesh on my thighs is flabby. Days and months rush past, and old age is upon me; yet I have achieved nothing. That is why I am sad" (JTW tr.).

**Line 15:** 'Mighty Qin': Qin, the peripheral state that swallowed all of China, here refers to Russia. "Gustav Kreitner, Oberleutnant of the Austrian Army, who accompanied Count Bela Szechenyi's Japan expedition in the years 1877–80, [...] [wrote]: 'The Russians, who show off on the island, are not well liked because of the opinion which has spread among the population that they already think they are the masters of the island'"; PLUTSCHOW, *Historical Hakodate*: 185. In fact, they had not tried to take advantage of the Hakodate War. "[T]he Russians were always accused of having an eye on the island. But, for whatever reason, they made no attempt to play the war to their advantage"; *ibid.*: 208.

**Lines 15–16:** The couplet is ambiguous. Presumably, it is the sleeping ox (Japan) that will be awakened from its slumber with the crack of a whip (but administered externally or internally?). It is also possible that the 'you' to be aroused — from its self-satisfied forwardness — is Russia. For other material on Ōgai's negative attitude toward Russia, see WIXTED: "Quatrains (*zekku*)": 150–56, especially 153–54. (Note that the 1887 German-language quotation by him treated there ["Russland als eine unfreundliche, (...)"], which is cited secondarily, appears in OZ 38: 88.)

Ōgai's theme of the need for military preparedness is echoed in the *kanshi* he wrote years later for the translation of a book by Friedrich von Bernhardi (1849–1930), *Unsere Zukunft: Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk* (Our Future: A Word of Warning to the German People).<sup>98</sup> In MO #187, 譯本「獨逸國民之將來」題辭 ("A Dedicatory Piece for the Translation of *The Future of the German People*"), Ōgai finds those who would criticize expenditure on the military to be superficial and presumptuous:

The general (Bernhardi), setting sword aside, ventured into the  
forest of letters;  
His writing, now again transmitted, is an admonition to cure with  
drugs and pestle.  
To open new territory, the only option is to use the white blade  
(force);  
To expand military might, how presume to ask about yellow gold  
(the cost)?  
It has always been with the allied powers, the strong take  
advantage of the weak;  
And ultimately among the run-of-the-mill, the superficial pre-  
sume to judge the profound.

98 Original text: Stuttgart und Berlin: J.G. Cotta 1912; Japanese text: *Doitsu kokumin no shōrai* 獨逸國民の將來, ŌSE Jintarō 大瀬甚太郎 (1865–1944) tr., 2nd expanded ed., Tokyo: Teikoku Gunjin Kōenkai 帝國軍人後援會 and Senryūdō 川流堂 1915.

This translated book would have us awaken from our mundane  
dream;  
In it one can see, dazzling, a mind to save the age.<sup>99</sup>

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #7

September 30, 1882. Day 4.

MO #042. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十(灰)韻.

In the evening, Ōgai goes for a stroll among the thriving bazaars of Hakodate, whose entertainment district is called Hōrai-chō 蓬萊町 after the fairy-isle Penglai of Chinese imagination. According to the journal, the area ‘is teeming with prostitutes’ (*shōka muragareri* 娼家簇れり) who are called ‘fast horses’ (*haya-uma* 早馬) and who wear *haori* and wide *obi*. Mention is also made of an ‘emporium,’ described as being a tall building called a *sora* (from *sorafuku* [*sic*] 上を向く, ‘facing skyward,’ in a local dialect) with goods stored on shelves two stories high; it gives a strange sensation.<sup>100</sup>

Brocade, dolls, and women are all on display in the following poem. Here and elsewhere, a youthful Ōgai shows an abiding interest in young, attractive working women (girls in many cases) whose social status is in limbo: women engaged in occupations neither unimpeachably respectable nor necessarily sordid.<sup>101</sup> Apart from sexual interest (always latent with Ōgai when not manifest), he is alert to and interested in their condition, and is often sympathetic and even empathetic.<sup>102</sup> There is a genial quality, an indulgent humor, to many such compositions, including GHN #7.

99 Dated July 20, 1915: “將軍投劒入詞林、述作還垂藥石箴。拓土祇應憑白刃、增兵何敢問黃金。由來列國強欺弱、至竟庸人淺測深。傳譯欲醒塵俗夢、看他耿々濟時心。”

No Japanese scholar writing about GHN #6 references Nagao Shūsui (‘Sleeping Ox Mountain Woodcutter’) and his warnings about Russia, points to this later poem by Ōgai about military preparedness, or cites any Western-language source about Hakodate.

100 For background to the term ‘fast horses’ and explanation of *sora*, see MATSUMOTO Akitomo: [D]: 6–9. YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a ca. 1922 photo of a Hakodate geisha dressed as described: GHN [3]: 222.

101 In the sumptuary edicts of 1841 and 1843, “Ladies in several trades — musicians, hairdressers, and the proprietresses of archery stalls in such places as the Asakusa Kannon — were held to be a wanton influence [...]”; Edward SEIDENSTICKER: *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1983: 21.

102 Elis エリス of *Maihime* 舞姫 (“The Danseuse”) provides the best example. The in-between social status of several such women is reflected in the German-language titles Ōgai appended to the poems in his 1887 *kanshi* series (MO #122–28), “Seven Quatrains on Women of Berlin” 詠柏林婦人七絶句 (translations into English have here been added in parentheses): “Probirmamselle” (“Model”), “Sodaliske” (“Soda Girl”), “Kellnerin” (“Waitress”), “Soubrette” (“Light-Opera Singer”), “Maedchen fuer alles” (“Maid”), “Die Gefallene” (“Fallen Woman”), and “Hoekerin” (“Street Hawker”). The Japanese-

- 蓬萊街上夕陽催 SAI / cuī  
*Hōrai gaijō sekiyō unagasu mo*  
 Pénglái jiēshàng xiyáng cuī
- 2 勸業場開錦繡堆 TAI / duī  
*Kangyōjō hirakite kinshū uzutakashi*  
 Quànyèzhǎng kāi jǐnxiù duī
- 紅袖誰家嬌姊妹  
*Kōshū taga ie no kyō shimai*  
 Hóngxiù shéijiā jiāo zǐmèi
- 4 雙々誘客買泥孩 GAI / hái  
*Sōsō kaku o sasotte deigai o kawashimen to su*  
 Shuāngshuāng yòukè mǎi níhái

On the streets of Penglai, evening pressing on —  
 Emporium open for business, brocades piled high.  
 Who are those red-sleeved ones, the attractive sisters?  
 In pairs, they egg on customers to buy clay dolls.

**Line 2:** ‘Emporium’: A type of modern department store.<sup>103</sup> MATSUMOTO Akitomo argues that such businesses were not in Hōrai-chō, but in Ebisu-chō, a ten-minute walk away: [B], [D]: 9ff. YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces an early photo of a Hakodate emporium, one in fact named Ebisu Emporium 惠比須勸工場: GHN [3]: 221.

**Line 2:** ‘Brocades’: The merchandise suggests a thriving treaty port. Hakodate had much more foreign trade than Niigata, but was still of decidedly minor importance compared with Kobe or Yokohama; see (Part 1): 110-11, including n. 77-79.

**Line 3:** ‘Red-sleeved ones’: I.e., beautiful women; by extension can refer to women of the demi-monde or prostitutes.

**Line 3:** ‘Attractive’: The character 嬌 ranges in meaning from ‘winsome’ to ‘seductive’; depending on the poem’s overall interpretation, one might choose either. ‘Attractive’ is a middle-ground alternative.

**Line 3:** ‘Sisters’: Perhaps a euphemism.

**Line 4:** ‘To buy clay dolls’: There may, literally, be clay, or even wooden, dolls involved, such as those listed among the items for sale in 1891 at Asakusa: “Here are [...] life-sized figures in clay, vendors of toys and lollipops of every sort, and, circulating amidst all these cheap attractions, a seething crowd of busy holiday-makers”; cited by SEIDENSTICKER: *Low City, High City*: 158. But those doing the inveigling (like the women at the archery galleries described in n. 129) are possibly selling more than dolls. The ‘sisters’ themselves may be sexually available or willing to make such arrangements

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language titles that are attached to the poems (not reproduced here) do not fully coincide with the German ones — a subject for future discussion.

103 For history of the closely related (and more common) term, *kankōba* 勸工場, see SŌGŌ and HIDA: *Meiji no kotoba jiten*: 78-79; the earliest example cited dates from two years later, 1884. For more on the term in the context of Hakodate, see MATSUMOTO Akitomo: [D]: 9-14.

with others. (There is nothing to indicate that the second couplet is necessarily taking place at the emporium.) Note that it is Ōgai who brought up the topic of prostitution when introducing the poem.

YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a fascinating 1865 advertising bill offering “A Detailed Overview of Establishments with Female Prostitutes” in Hakodate: GHN [3]: 223. It lists 25 houses of prostitution, 329 prostitutes, 21 teahouses that arrange assignations, 113 female geisha, 5 male geisha, and 1 brothel for aliens (*ijin ageya* 異人揚屋, i.e., foreigners)<sup>104</sup> — in a city of ca. 29,000 in 1873 and ca. 45,000 in 1886.

TAKAHASHI Yōichi goes into some detail to argue that any inference about sexual activity is not warranted. The action takes place ‘near’ (上) and not ‘on’ the streets of the red-light district, that is to say, in Ebisu-chō and not in Hōrai-chō (better reconciling the location of the emporium). The ‘red-sleeved ones’ are attractive young women, personable shopgirls, who sell the merchandise specified, nothing more.

With Ōgai it is not a question of ‘does he or doesn’t he?’ or whether there is something more serious going on than mere flirtation. The focus of the poem is on the suggestiveness, the innuendo, the *frisson* of the moment – in this case, the pleasantly charged exchange.

### Go Hokuyū nichijō #8

October 2, 1882. Day 6.

MO #043. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十一(眞)韻.

In Hakodate. Ōgai engagingly relates that, when planning to go to the famous battlefield in the area, he is urged to hire a cart to avoid the ox and horse excrement (*gyūfun-bashi* 牛糞馬矢) along the way.<sup>105</sup>

The nearby famous battlefield is Goryōkaku 五稜郭 (Pentagonal Redoubt).<sup>106</sup> The fort, which had been built inland a mile and a half in the 1850s, was obsolete even before construction began. “The Hakodate magistrates constructed it to protect themselves and their immediate administrative subordinates, and not to shell foreign vessels or to shield frontline domain troops on the shore. Dutch [studies] scholar Takeda Ayasaburo [Ayasaburō,

104 About the lattermost, Herbert PLUTSCHOW writes: “Temporary tourists and crew availed themselves of the brothel in Hakodate called Ijin Ageya, also known in English as ‘Red House, or in Russian as ‘Krasniy dom,’ located near the Russian consulate. The first floor was a restaurant and the second and third floors provided privacy for more intimate encounters”; *Historical Hakodate*: 188. He also quotes from the unpublished diary (September 16, 1860 entry) of Carl Johann MAXIMOVICZ (1827–91): “The ‘Red House’ for foreigners was much more expensive than Japanese institutions of a similar nature, he [Maximovicz] remarked. ‘It is apparently seldom used and the government made a bad investment in building it’”; *ibid.*: 190.

105 The latter, he tells us, is not valued as fertilizer in the region, so is not collected. Indeed, householders have to pay ten *sen* (*jissen* 十錢) each time they have their privies (*kawaya* 廁) scooped out.

106 Its five points are clear in the 1856 blueprint of Goryōkaku reproduced (together with a sketch of the fort’s headquarters) in *ibid.*: 195.



武田斐三郎] (1827–80) had designed the pentagonal encirclement to mirror the layout of earlier bastioned cities in Europe, apparently in the hope of impressing Western visitors with Japanese cosmopolitanism. What he did not realize was that these structures had become obsolete as European cities, in the age of urbanism, had expanded beyond their old walls”; WILSON, *Defensive Positions*: 208.

Goryōkaku was the site of the final Battle of Hakodate of the Boshin War 戊辰戦争, when imperial forces were defeated by the Meiji government. Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836–1908) was naval commander on the losing side. He “signaled the event by sending the notes on navigation he had made as a student in Holland to the commander of the force that had defeated him. They would, he said, ‘be of use to the country,’ whatever happened to him.”<sup>107</sup> After the surrender,<sup>108</sup> Enomoto spent nearly three years in jail. Pardoned in 1872, he became vice-admiral in 1874 and the Meiji government’s representative to Russia in 1875.<sup>109</sup> Exactly one week prior to Ōgai’s departure for the north, Enomoto had left from Yokohama to represent Japan at the Qing court. Among his many later positions, he was Minister of Education and Foreign Minister.

Enomoto is the implied subject of the poem’s second couplet.

成敗當年歸一夢

*Seibai tōnen ichimu ni kishi*

Chéngbài dāngnián guī yímèng

2 寒烟漠々鎖荆榛

SHIN / zhēn

*Kan'en bakubaku to shite keishin o tozasu*

Hányān mò mò suǒ jīngzhēn

誰圖邊海龍驤客

*Tare ka hakaran henkai ryōjō no kaku*

Shéi tú biānhǎi lóngxiāng kè

107 W.G. BEASLEY: *The Meiji Restoration*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1972: 298. Note the chapter, “The Hakodate War,” in PLUTSCHOW: *Historical Hakodate*: 193–208. It includes information about (and a photo of) the French soldiers who fought under Enomoto’s command, including the artillery officer and amateur artist Jules Bruner, as well as a photo of Enomoto himself taken while he was in the city: 198; the latter also appears in YASUKAWA Rikako: [3]: 225.

108 Takamatsu Ryōun 高松凌雲 (1837–1916), the famed medical doctor in Hakodate on the loyalist side who capitulated, was said to have convinced Enomoto to surrender. For treatment, see *ibid.*: 230, as well as her article cited in n. 28.

109 See n. 91.

4 又作廟堂豹變人 JIN / rén  
 Mata byōdō hyōhen no hito to naru o  
 Yòu zuò miàotáng bàobiàn rén

Victory and defeat back then, reduced to a mere dream;  
 Cold mist in sweeping spread, shrouds thorny thicket.  
 Who'd have thought, the seaside dragon-steed one (Admiral Enomoto)  
 Would once again, at the heart of power, be one who leopard-like changes?

**Line 1:** 'Back then'; i.e., thirteen years earlier.

**Line 3:** 'Dragon-steed one': The Jin dynasty admiral, Wang Jun 王濬 (206–85); by extension, a superb military leader.

**Lines 3–4:** Couplet, barbarized. "Who'd have thought: / seaboard (not only literally 'beside the sea,' but also 'in the boondocks [here in Hokkaido]') // 'the dragon-steed (i.e., superb admiral) one' (namely, Enomoto Takeaki) | Would again / at 'the ancestral shrine' (where decisions of state were said to have been made in early China and reported to ancestors; by extension, at the imperial capital; in this context, at the heart of the Meiji regime) // [be] 'one who leopard-like changes' (i.e., someone who, being all too adaptable to change, is most nimble politically)?"

The expression used to describe Enomoto, 'one who leopard-like changes,' initially was positive, as in the *Yijing*: 易經, 革卦, 上六: "君子豹變, 小人革面。" "The superior man changes like the leopard (i.e., is quick to adapt to circumstances), / While the small man molts (i.e., modifies) his face" (JTW tr.). But it came to be negative, as in Li Bo: QTS 171 (1762): 李白, 陳情贈友人: "英豪未豹變, 自古多艱辛。" "A hero never changes, leopard-like; / From of old, great is his adversity" (JTW tr.). Ōgai's characterization could be interpreted as implicit criticism of Enomoto. At the very least, it places a rhetorical question-mark over his conduct, which may be a reason why *Go Hokuyū nichijō* was not published during the lifetime of either.<sup>110</sup>

110 See (Part 1): 58. Personal relations were also a complicating factor. NAKAI Yoshiyuki explains the bewildering web that was soon to envelop Ōgai, which included Enomoto: "Both Nishi Amane [the influential relative who in 1889 brokered his first marriage] and Akamatsu Noriyoshi [who became Ōgai's father-in-law] had been among the nine students sent to Holland in 1862 by the Tokugawa shogunate as the first Japanese students to study in the West. Among these nine had been also two other eminent figures of the early Meiji, the late Surgeon General Hayashi Tsuna, and the current cabinet member, Enomoto Takeaki (1836–1908). After returning to Japan, the four friends had formed a close clique by marriage and adoption. Nishi adopted Hayashi's younger brother as his heir; Akamatsu and Enomoto both married sisters of Hayashi. Thus Hayashi, Akamatsu, Enomoto, and Nishi's heir (the later Vice-Admiral Nishi Shinrokurō) were all brothers-in-law. The admiral's daughter, Toshiko [who became Ōgai's wife], was the niece [A] of the cabinet member, Enomoto; [B] of Nishi Shinrokurō, the heir of the sub-secretary (*taijō*) of the army; and [C] of the late Surgeon General Hayashi Tsuna. Furthermore, Toshiko's maternal grandmother was the sister of the top leaders of early Meiji medical society: Matsumoto Ryōjun, the founder of the medical division of the Japanese army, and his adoptive brother, Satō Shōchū, the founder of what later became the Tokyo University Medical School. Ōgai was invited to become a member of this illustrious clique"; *Young Mori Ōgai*: 162–63; bracketed capital letters have been added. Ōgai's relation-

When returning from the fort, Ōgai “drops by Hakodate Park and enters a museum from the garden” — namely, the Temporary Museum of the Hokkaido Development Agency, Hakodate Branch (*Kaitakushi Hakodate-shichō Kari-Hakubutsukan* 開拓使函館支庁仮博物館), which had been established three years earlier.<sup>111</sup> Although not confirmed in the journal, the interest Ōgai later shows in fossils (n. 120 and GHN #16) might have been piqued by seeing items on display that had been collected by Edward S. Morse: “At Hakodate he [Morse] established a marine biological station and museum, commandeering space in the customhouse. He went dredging in the Straits of Tsugaru and [...] went hunting for land shells near Sapporo, [...]” “Morse’s collection, made in 1878 in the north, was still on display at the Imperial University of Hokkaido in Hakodate [in 1939].”<sup>112</sup>

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #9

October 3, 1882. Day 7.

MO #044. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上一(東)韻.

Leaving Hakodate by ship at nine in the morning, the group crosses Tsugaru Strait 津輕海峡 en route to Aomori 青森.

旅況如今忙亦甚

*Ryokyō jokon bō naru koto mata hanahadashiku*

Lǚkuàng rújīn máng yì shèn

2 漚機輾轉不因風 FŪ / fēng

*Kiki tenten shi kaze ni yorazu*

Qìjī zhǎnzhuǎn bù yīn fēng

函灣一幅好圖畫

*Kanwan ippuku kōzuga*

Hánwān yìfú hǎotúhuà

4 乍落遠烟空翠中 JŪ / zhōng

*Tachimachi otsu en'en kūsui no uchi*

Zhà luò yuǎnyān kōngcuì zhōng

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ships with many of those named were to become still more complicated when, a year later, he divorced Akamatsu Toshiko.

111 YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a photo that appeared in a 1991 retrospective of the museum: GHN [3]: 236.

112 Dorothy G. WAYMAN: *Edwin Sylvester Morse: A Biography*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1942: 463, 439.

Travel too, nowadays, is hurried in the extreme;  
 A steamship, wheels turning, is not dependent on wind.  
 Han Bay — a scroll — one fine scene,  
 Soon we plunge into distant mist, mid sky azure-green.

**Line 3:** ‘Han Bay’: Namely, Hakodate Bay 函館灣, per the shared first *kanji*.

The entourage arrives in Aomori at four in the afternoon, a city which, we are told, is not as thriving (*hanka* 繁華) as Hakodate. Once installed in their inn, Ōgai spots a hanging scroll and quotes from it a *kanshi* by Kido Shōkiku (Takayoshi) 木戸松菊 (孝允) (1833–77).<sup>113</sup>

The journal entry continues: “Looking out the window, on the streets one can see [...] prostitutes in groups passing back and forth (娼婦群をなして往來す). Locals call them *ga no ji* かの字 (a dialect expression for *gannabe* 雁鍋, ‘wild-goose stew [that one dips into communally]’ made from birds [females] that flock to the area for the seasonal guests).<sup>114</sup> A step below them, we are told, are prostitutes called *komokake* 薦掛 (‘[buds] covered in straw mats [to keep out the cold]’).”

The group is served a dinner of mullet (*bora* 鰯), which occasions discussion of local fish and fish terminology.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #10

October 3, 1882. Day 7.

MO #045. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下二(蕭)韻.

In Aomori.

	火後寒鄉轉寂寥		RYŌ / liáo
	<i>Kago kankyō utata sekiryō</i>		
	Huǒhòu hánxiāng zhuǎn jìliáo		
2	今宵始覺故園遙		YŌ / yáo
	<i>Konshō hajimete oboyu koen no haruka naru o</i>		
	Jīnxiāo shǐ jué gùyuán yáo		

113 An uninspired piece in praise of the emperor on the occasion of his visit to the north in 1876, it was likely presented to the inn in recompense for Kido’s stay at the time. An article by MATSUMOTO Akitomo is devoted to the subject: GHN 〇,3. The poem is transcribed, with annotation and modern-Japanese translation, by YASUKAWA Rikako: GHN [4]: 20–21. On the inn they stayed at in Aomori, see MATSUMOTO Akitomo: GHN 〇,2.

114 YASUKAWA Rikako: GHN [4]: 21.

雙親此際眠安否

*Sōshin kono sai nemuru koto yasuki ya ina ya*

Shuāngqīn cǐjì mián ān fǒu

4 兒也天涯臥聽潮

CHŌ / cháo

*Ji ya tengai ni fushite ushio o kiku*

Ér yě tiānyá wò tīng cháo

After fire, the lowly place ever more desolate;  
This evening, for the first time I think of home far away:  
My two parents at the moment, are they sleeping well?  
Their son, at sky's edge, lies listening to the tide.

**Line 1:** 'After fire': KOJIMA Noriyuki discusses the expression: *Kotoba no omomi*: 78–80. There had been two recent serious fires in Aomori, on September 29 and October 1. An article by MATSUMOTO Akitomo treats the subject: GHN 〇,1.

**Line 1:** 'Home,' barbarized: '(My) old (familiar) garden.'

On October 5, Ōgai pays a visit to Utou Shrine 善知鳥祠, where a year earlier a memorial inscription by his teacher Yoda Gakkai had been engraved in stone. The composition, in *kanbun*, commemorates the 1,500 men from the Aomori area who had died for the Meiji cause in the Seinan War of 1877.<sup>115</sup>

#### Go Hokuyū nichijō #11

October 7, 1882. Day 11.

MO #046. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上四(支)韻.

Setting out from Aomori, the group follows the Rikuu Highway 陸羽街道 (i.e., Ōshū Highway 奥州街道) eastward.<sup>116</sup> Per the journal, the following poem was written en route to Kominato 小湊 (now Hiranai 平内).

The first part of the trajectory, as far as Nonai 野内 (now Asamushi 浅虫), skirts the south shore of Aomori Bay. The second part crosses the base of the Nakatsudomari Peninsula 夏泊半島, heading inland to Kominato (near Noheji Bay 野邊地灣). The poem's couplets describe the two stages of the day's journey.

<sup>115</sup> Yoda Gakkai was referred to in the final paragraph of n. 38. The text of his composition, which is not included in *Go Hokuyū nichijō*, can be found in a MATSUMOTO Akitomo article that is devoted to the topic: GHN 〇,4. It has been transcribed and translated into modern Japanese by YASUKAWA Rikako: GHN [4]: 26–27.

<sup>116</sup> YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces an undated map of Ōshū Road 奥州路: GHN [5]: 19.

- 蠶戶寥寥臨海水  
*Tanko ryōryō to shite kaisui ni nozomi*  
 Dànhù liáoliáo lín hǎishuǐ  
 2 玫瑰花下戲村兒 ㄐㄩ / ㄉㄨㄛˊ  
*Baikaika no moto sonji tawamuru*  
 Méiguī huāxià xì cūnér  
 尋常赭石蒼松路  
*Jinjō taru shaseki sōshō no michi*  
 Xúncáng zhěshí cāngsōng lù  
 4 僅著烟波景即奇 ㄍㄨ / ㄑㄧˊ  
*Wazuka ni enpa o tsukureba kei sunawachi ki nari*  
 Jǐn zhuó yānbō jǐng jí qí

Fisher shacks, sparse and forlorn, look out to sea;  
 By roses in bloom, play village children.  
 Ordinary red-brown earth — the road through verdant pines;  
 Add a touch of hazy sea spray, and the scene turns marvelous.

**Line 1:** ‘Fisher hovels,’ barbarized: ‘Dan homes’; namely, houseboats of the Dan minority people of Guangdong and Fujian in China. The term appears in the poetry of Su Shi and in the *Song shi* 宋史 (Official History of the Song Dynasty). Here it refers to the seaside huts of fishers. Cf. 蠶舍 in GHN #28, Line 1.

**Line 2:** ‘Roses’: The sweet briar, *rosa rugosa*.

**Line 3:** ‘Red-brown earth’: Namely, hematite, which is reddish brown from oxidized iron; also, burnt ochre used as a pigment. YOSHIDA Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830–59) in his *Tōhokuyū nikki* 東北遊日記 (Diary of an Excursion to the Northeast, 1852) notes: “津輕之地、率膏腴而此間則多不毛赤地。” “The Tsugaru region is generally fertile, but this area [around Kominato] has a great deal of barren red earth” (JTW tr.), as cited by YASUKAWA Rikako: GHN [5]: 21.

**Line 4:** ‘Add a touch of hazy sea spray’: Alternatively (with the *kundoku*, *Wazuka ni enpa arawawareba*), ‘When a touch of hazy sea spray emerges.’

The same day, the group proceeds from Kominato to Noheji, where they eat lunch,<sup>117</sup> arriving at Shichinohe 七の戸 by mid-afternoon.<sup>118</sup> The day’s trip covered sixty-plus kilometers, all in Aomori Prefecture.

### *Go Hokuyū nichijō* #12

October 8, 1882. Day 12.

MO #047. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下六(麻)韻.

117 For a 1930 photo of Iida Inn 飯田旅館 where the group ate, see *ibid.*: 25; also reproduced in MATSUMOTO Akitomo: GHN 〇,6: 68.

118 For treatment of the inn in Shichinohe, see MATSUMOTO Akitomo: GHN 〇,7.

Setting out from Shichinohe, the group sees a predawn comet on the way to Sannohe 三の戸. They continue through villages identified as Asamizu 淺水 and Minosawa 箕澤 (likely a mistranscription of Minogasaka 蓑ヶ坂); the latter, we are told, is on the border between Aomori and Iwate prefectures.<sup>119</sup>

Two poems follow in the journal. (The day's description continues with GHN #14.)

- |   |   |           |
|---|---|-----------|
|   | 風露秋深籬菊花                                     | KA / huā  |
|   | <i>Fūro aki fukashi rigiku no hana</i>      |           |
|   | Fēnglù qiūshēn líjú huā                     |           |
| 2 | 隔花伊軋聽織車                                     | SHA / chē |
|   | <i>Hana o hedatete iatsu sōsha o kiku</i>   |           |
|   | Géhuā yīyà tīng sāochē                      |           |
|   | 古風存在山村路                                     |           |
|   | <i>Kofū sonshite sanzōn no michi ni ari</i> |           |
|   | Gǔfēng cúnzài shāncūn lù                    |           |
| 4 | 簷下杉毬認酒家                                     | KA / jiā  |
|   | <i>Enka no sankyū shuka o mitomu</i>        |           |
|   | Yánxià shānqiú rèn jiǔjiā                   |           |

Wind and dew, autumn advanced, hedgeside chrysanthemums in bloom;  
Beyond the blossoms, the screech-screech heard of silk-reeling spindles.  
Old customs are maintained along mountain-village roads:  
Cedar balls beneath eaves signal wineshops.

**Line 1:** The entire line is a pastiche of Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427) expressions: ‘Wind and dew’ are markers of autumn: 己酉歲九月九日: “靡靡秋已夕、淒淒風露交。” “Little by little autumn has come to an end / Chill, chill the wind and dew combine. ‘Autumn’ goes with ‘chrysanthemums’: 飲酒, 二十首, 其七: “秋菊有佳色。” “The fall chrysanthemums have lovely colors.” And in the poet’s most famous couplet, ‘chrysanthemums’ are inextricably linked with ‘hedge’: 其五: “採菊東籬下、悠然見南山。” “Picking chrysanthemums by the eastern hedge / I catch sight of the distant southern hills” (translations by James Robert Hightower).

After citing several examples of Chinese poems that praise chrysanthemums, CHIN Seiho states that the flowers are seldom a topic in Sino-Japanese verse, perhaps because of their use in the Japanese imperial crest. He has leafed through several volumes of *kanshi* and noted only one example, a couplet by TOKUGAWA Mitsukuni 德川光圀 (1628–1701). It alludes to chrysanthemums and Tao Qian by simply referring to ‘eastern

119 YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a 1986 map tracing the Sannohe–Minogasaka trajectory, upon which she has marked (A) the Ōshū Highway, (B) the Mabechi River 馬淵川, (C) Minogasaka, and (D) Kago Station 駕籠立場: GHN [5]: 30.

hedge,' not by naming the flower: 聽初冬夜雨述懷: “傍徑細流寒水清、東籬秋暮布金英。” “Along the byway a thin stream, cold water clear; / By eastern hedge in autumn sunset, a display of golden blooms” (JTW tr.).

**Line 2:** ‘Silk-reeling spindles’: Illustrations dating from 1803 and 1815 of silk-reeling in Japan, where the rollers are clearly visible, are reproduced in Dieter KUHN: “Textile Technology: Spinning and Reeling,” Part IX of Volume 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, Joseph NEEDHAM, ed.: *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988: 350–51 (in the section, “Silk-reeling”: 345–404).

Note the Su Shi couplet: 蘇軾: 次韻正輔同游白水山: “此身如線自縈繞、左回右轉隨纜車。” “My life is like thread that winds upon itself, / Turning left and shifting right, following the reeling-spindle” (JTW tr.).

**Line 4:** ‘Cedar balls’: Namely, balls of bundled cryptomeria leaves that serve the dual purpose of identifying a wineshop and being an offering to the god of wine (‘cryptomeria’ or ‘Japanese cedar,’ *sugi*, being a sacred wood). (See the note to HN #25, Line 1, for alternative translated renderings of 杉.) YASUKAWA Rikako supplies a photo she took of such a shop marker: GHN [5]: 32.

### Go Hokuyū nichijō #13

October 8, 1882. Day 12.

MO #048. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

The following poem is paired in the journal with GHN #12, sharing its introductory material.

There is wordplay on the two place names cited. The transition seems abrupt from the drab first couplet to the very different second; the latter displays a warmth and optimism uncharacteristic of Ōgai. Yet Line Two ‘opens out’ from Line One, as do Lines Three and Four from Line Two.

	南去青森瘴霧昏。	KON / hūn
	<i>Minami no kata Aomori o saru ni shōmu kuraku</i>	
	Nán qù Qīngsēn zhàngwù hūn	
2	野禽飛亂古荒原。	GEN / yuán
	<i>Yakin tobi-midaru ko kōgen</i>	
	Yěqín fēiluàn gǔ huāngyuán	
	今朝喜色溢眉宇。	
	<i>Konchō kishoku biu ni afuru</i>	
	Jīnzhāo xǐsè yì méiyǔ	
4	十里禾雲箕澤村。	SON / cūn
	<i>Jūri no ka'un Minosawa-mura</i>	
	Shílǐ héyún Jīzécūn	

Heading south from Aomori (‘Blue-Green Forest’), miasmal fog dark;  
Wild birds fly in disorder, on ancient barren plain.



This morning, brow and forehead flush with happy expression:  
Clouds of grain for ten leagues — Minosawa-mura (‘Winnowing Bounty  
Ville’).

**Line 1:** ‘Aomori’: The literal meaning, ‘Blue-Green Forest,’ suggested by the ‘dark’ 昏 that follows, is made even more likely by the implicit pairing with the place name in Line Four.

**Line 1:** ‘Miasmal’: Use of the expression here is odd, given its associations with the Chinese pestilential south, as in MO #079 treated in WIXTED: “Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*)”: 98 n. 46. YASUKAWA Rikako understands the compound to be referring to the dense, wet quality of the fog.

**Line 4:** ‘Grain’: Namely, 禾, grain still on the stalk.

**Line 4:** ‘Minosawa-mura,’ barbarized: ‘(The way to) Winnowing-Basket Dew-Blessing Town.’ It is possible that Kamazawa-mura 釜澤村 (‘Kettle Bounty Town’) is the locale being referred to, but ‘kettle’ does not go together with 禾 ‘grain’ (earlier in the line) as well as ‘winnowing basket’ does. Further, the group just crossed Minogasaka 蓑ヶ坂 (‘Straw-Cape Slope’), whose 蓑 ‘Mino’ probably suggested the homophonous 箕 ‘Mino’ (‘Winnowing Basket’).

Alternatively, if the phrase is understood as *Mino-Sawa mura*, the expression can mean ‘the stretch between Mino(-gasaka Slope) and (Kama-)sawa Village,’ a distance of roughly ten leagues, and so might be rendered ‘from Winnowing (Slope) to Bounty Ville.’ (Cf. the pairing of abbreviated place names in GHN #4 — 相武 ‘from Sagami to Musashi’ — albeit in a compound having more general currency.)

#### Go Hokuyū nichijō #14

October 8, 1882. Day 12.

MO #049. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下七(陽)韻.

Setting out from Shichinohe and entering Iwate Prefecture at Minogasaki, the group proceeds to Ichinohe 一の戸 to the south of Fukuoka 福岡 (now Ninohe 二の戸),<sup>120</sup> a distance of eighty kilometers.

秋風凄然易斷腸

CHŌ / cháng

*Shūfū seizen to shite harawata o tachi-yasuku*

Qiūfēng qīrán yì duàncháng

2 衣襟帶得滿天霜

SŌ / shuāng

*Ikin obi-etari manten no shimo*

Yījīn dài dé mǎntiān shuāng

<sup>120</sup> The journal mentions there are many fossils of tree leaves and fish scales in the Fukuoka area. It also refers to the region’s lily-root production and its fame for iron jugs. YASUKAWA Rikako reproduces a wonderful photo of a fossilized ‘*hedakaiwashi*’ fish discovered nearby: *ibid.*: 35.

慙無詩句酬風景

*Hazu shiku no fūkei ni mukuyuru naki o*

Cán wú shījù chóu fēngjǐng

4 馬背斜陽楓樹岡 KŌ / gāng

*Bahai shayō fūju-oka*

Mǎbèi xiéyáng fēngshù-gāng

An autumn wind this biting easily wrenches one's insides;  
Lapels end up wreathed in a frost filling the sky.  
Embarrassing, not having a poetic line in response to the scene:  
Horseback, setting sun, Maple Tree Hill.

**Line 2:** 'End up wreathed in,' barbarized: 'Turn out to be, get to be, manage to be donned in, wrapped in.'

**Line 4:** 'Setting sun': Cf. treatment of the phrase in WIXTED: "Allusion and Diction": 92 n. 8.

**Line 4:** 'Maple-Tree Hill': *Fūju-oka* is a pun, mostly on the pronunciation, but also the meaning of Fukuoka 福岡 ('Happiness Hill').

The following day, setting out from Ichinohe the party passes through Kotsunagi 小繫 and Numakunai 沼宮内. They lunch in Shibusami 澁民, later famous as the place where the poet Ishikawa Takuboku 石川啄木 (1886–1912) grew up. With Mt. Iwate 岩手山 visible to the west, late in the afternoon they reach Morioka 盛岡, a total of seventy kilometers for the day.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #15

October 10, 1882. Day 14.

MO #050. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下八(庚)韻.

Leaving Morioka, the group follows the Kitakami River 北上川 to Mizusawa 水澤. They watch salmon-fishing along the way, passing through Kooriyama 郡山, Kōchi 好地, and Hanamaki 花巻, all in Iwate Prefecture.

遠樹蒼茫暮色生

SHŌ / shēng

*Enju sōbō to shite boshoku shōji*

Yuǎnshù cāngmáng mùsè shēng

2 長流一帶見難明 MYŌ / míng

*Chōryū ittai miredomo akiraka nari-gatashi*

Chángliú yídài jiàn nán míng

可憐記里堆邊路

*Awaremu beshi kiritai-hen no michi*

Kělián jìlǐduī-biān lù

4 穉馬垂頭尾母行。 GYŌ / xíng  
*Chiba kōbe o tarete haha ni bishite-yuku*  
 Zhimǎ chuí tóu wěi mǔ xíng

Far-off trees, a vast expanse, twilight hues emerging;  
 The long river, a single stretch, hard to make out clearly.  
 Lovely, the road edged with mile-marker stone piles;  
 A pony, head bowed, tags behind its mother.

**Line 2:** ‘The long river’: Namely, Kitakami River.

**Line 2:** ‘Hard to make out clearly,’ barbarized: ‘One can see (it), but it is hard to (discern) clearly.’

**Line 3:** ‘The road edged with mile-marker stone piles,’ barbarized: ‘The mile-marker-pile bordered road.’ Alternatively (with different caesurae in the romanization and with altered *kundoku*), ‘The country road with mile-marker piles’ or ‘The mile markers, piled along the country road.’

The reference is to piles of stones marking the distance, presumably at one-*ri* 里 intervals (every four kilometers). YASUKAWA Rikako notes (GHN [6]: 42) that color photos of remaining mile-markers are included in *Iwate-ken Ōshū kaidō kikō* 岩手県奥州街道記行 (An Account of the Ōshū Highway in Iwate Prefecture), Morioka: Hōjin Ōshū Kaidō Kaigi 法人奥州街道会議 2009.

**Line 4:** Entire line, barbarized: “A pony / head bowed // tailing its mother, goes along.” See the note to HN #14, Line 2.

### Go Hokuyū nichijō #16

October 10, 1882. Day 14.

MO #051. Five-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下一 (先)韻.

In Mizusawa 水澤, Iwate Prefecture. The poem, which is paired in the journal with GHN #15, reflects the interest in fossils first noted two days earlier.

奇境生奇物  
*Kikyō no kibutsu o shōzuru wa*  
 Qíjìng shēng qíwù  
 2 由來地氣然 NEN / rán  
*Yurai chiki no shikarashimuru nari*  
 Yóulái dìqì rán  
 石中魚介出  
*Sekichū yori gyokai ide*  
 Shízhōng yújiè chū

4 松子大於羶 KEN / quán  
*Shōshi kobushi yori mo dai nari*  
 Sōngzǐ dà yú quán

Districts singular produce items singular;  
 The energy of the land makes it so.  
 From stones, fish and shells emerge,  
 As well as pine cones larger than fists.

**Line 1:** ‘Singular’: In the sense of ‘unusual’ or ‘marvelous,’ as well as ‘strange.’

**Line 2:** ‘Energy of the land,’ barbarized: ‘The *ki* (氣 *qì*) vital-force of the earth.’

**Line 3:** ‘Fish and shells’: Namely, fish and crustaceans; hence, any kind of marine life (here, fossilized); see n. 120.

Interest in fossils had been fostered at Tokyo Imperial University by its first Professor of Zoology, Edward S. Morse (1838–1925), famous for his studies of the Ōmori 大森 shell-mounds near Tokyo. Although he is not mentioned in Ōgai’s diaries, Morse was well known at the university while Ōgai was a student, attracting six to eight hundred to his public lectures in 1877–79, and two shifts of forty-five students each to his classes; WAYMAN: *Edward Sylvester Morse*: 252.

**Line 4:** ‘Pine cones’: Also fossilized.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #17

October 10, 1882. Day 14.

MO #052. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十五(刪)韻.

While having lunch in Mizusawa, Ōgai wrote the following lines “to match a poem by a certain someone (*bōsei* 某生) about crossing White River Pass.” The ‘certain someone’ remains unidentified, and the original text is not extant, circumstances which make the poem’s interpretation problematic.<sup>121</sup>

漫游今日水雲際

*Man'yū su konnichi sui'un no sai*

Mànyóu jīnrì shuǐyún jì

2 奇想當年痴點聞 KAN / jiān

*Kisō su tōnen chikatsu no kan*

Qíxiǎng dāngnián chīxiá jiān

121 For discussion of how common it was for ‘original’ poems in matching-rhyme exchanges not to be preserved, thus making the dynamic between the two irrecoverable, see WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 204, including n. 35. GHN #17 may simply have been written ‘in response to’ the earlier composition (and hence was not a matching-rhyme poem); but the general point holds.

面目眞成因旅黒

*Menmoku shinsei ni tabi ni yorite kuroshi*

Miànmù zhēnchéng yīn lǚ hēi

4 秋風吹度白河關

KAN / guān

*Shūfū fuki-wataru Shirakawa no seki o*

Qiūfēng chuīdù Báihéguān

Casually out strolling today, where water meets clouds,  
Oddly there comes to mind from back then, the line between folly and  
genius.

No question, our faces have turned black from actual travel —  
“The autumn wind blowing, crosses White River Pass.”

**Line 1:** ‘Where water meets clouds,’ barbarized: ‘At the juncture between water and clouds.’  
The painterly scene subtly complements the allusion to a famous painter in Line Two.  
‘Water’ here refers to the Kitakami River.

**Line 2:** ‘The line between folly and genius’: The reference is to Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (349?–  
410?), the most famous painter in the Chinese tradition. One of his contemporaries said  
of him: “顧長康體中。癡黠各半。合而論之、正平平耳。” “In Gu Kaizhi’s body folly and  
genius each occupies one half. Taken together, they make him just so-so, that’s all”  
(Richard B. Mather, tr.); the text is cited in the commentary to Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu*  
4.98.

In Ōgai’s poem, the phrase has been taken by commentators to refer to the eleventh-  
century priest, Nōin, who is alluded to in Line Four. They take the cleverness (or genius)  
in the compound to refer to a kind of craftiness. In other words: Was Nōin sly or a fool  
for what he did (as related in the explication of Lines 3–4 below)?

Ōgai, however, by referencing Gu Kaizhi may be implicitly (and sardonically) asking  
himself: “To what extent am I like him: a gifted fool — an inept genius (one who,  
perhaps worst of all, is taken by others to be quite ordinary)?” This would be in keeping  
with self-doubt he expresses elsewhere: e.g., in HN #13; also in MO #002 (Lines 9–12)  
of January 1, 1880, about his recent medical training not having been put into practice:  
“蕭齋青燈思密勿、泰西醫方窺髣髴。却笑技術無所施、精神廿年空突屹。” “In solitary  
study by oil lamp, I applied myself assiduously, / And of Western medicine managed a  
glimpse. / Ludicrous that such skill has not been put to practice; / Twenty years’ intense  
application — such ‘majestic soaring’ for nought” (JTW tr.).

**Lines 3–4:** The couplet alludes to Priest Nōin 能因法師 (988–1058?), who wrote poems about  
locales he never visited, including White River Pass (Ibaragi Prefecture); aware of the  
challenge (此歌は其所にさし向はではよみがたき事と思ひて), he turned his face to  
the sun to blacken it (顔を日にあぶり黒めて), so as to give the appearance of having  
made the journey; *Gubishō* 愚秘抄 (A Fool’s Secret Store Transcribed, ca. 1314): 鶴末。

Ōgai has taken Nōin’s original *waka* — “都をば霞とともに立ちしかど、秋風ぞ吹  
く白河の關。” “Although at the capital I rose together with the fog, / The autumn wind,  
ah! blows at White River Pass” (JTW tr.) — and transformed its tag line into the *kanbun*  
of Line Four: “秋風吹度白河關。” “The autumn wind blowing, crosses White River  
Pass.”

Ōgai appears to be saying, “At least our compositions, whether yours (by the ‘certain someone’) or mine, are the result of honest experience,<sup>122</sup> as witnessed by our faces black from actual travel. Anything we might write along the lines of ‘The autumn wind, blowing, crosses White River Pass’ is genuine.”

The ‘I’ of the opening couplet shifts to the ‘we’ or ‘you’ of Line Three. Line Two’s resonance with the poet-priest emerges only retrospectively in the final line, in terms that include both Ōgai and his addressee. And the poet’s earlier self-questioning receives a resolution of sorts: as if in answer to the self-doubt posed by the reference to Gu Kaizhi in Line Two, Ōgai seems to be saying, “In terms of authenticity, perhaps we’re not so bad, after all.”

The journal does not specify where the group spent the night on October 10. In view of the following day’s visit to Chūsonji, the presumption is that they stayed in Hiraizumi 平泉. Having started the day in Morioka, they would have traveled eighty-three kilometers.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #18

October 11, 1882. Day 15.

MO #053. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上八(齊)韻.

At the confluence of the Kitakami and Koromo rivers in Hiraizumi, the party visits the Buddhist temple-complex of Chūsonji 中尊寺, said to have been founded by Ennin 圓仁 in the ninth century.

- |   |   |          |
|---|---|----------|
|   | 衣川幾曲擁招提   | TEI / tí |
|   | <i>Koromo-gawa iku tabi ka magatte shōdai o yōshi</i> |          |
|   | Yīchuān jǐqū yōng zhāotí                              |          |
| 2 | 仰見蒼松老鶴栖   | SEI / qī |
|   | <i>Aogi-miru sōshō ni rōkaku no sumu o</i>            |          |
|   | Yǎngjiàn cāngsōng lǎohè qī                            |          |
|   | 三百禪房今剩一   |          |
|   | <i>Sanbyaku no zenbō ima itsu o amasu nomi</i>        |          |
|   | Sānbǎi chánfáng jīn shèng yī                          |          |
| 4 | 蠹魚數蝕古金泥   | DEI / ní |
|   | <i>Togyo hakushoku su inishie no kindei</i>           |          |
|   | Dùyú báoshí gǔjīn ní                                  |          |

122 There was rich discussion in the Song dynasty about the need for personal experience in poetry-writing (as opposed to simply composing poems imitative of earlier poets); see WIXTED: *Poems on Poetry*: 94–99 (283, 395–96), 162–67 (301–3 [especially n. 15], 419–22); and Jonathan CHAVES: “‘Not the Way of Poetry’: The Poetics of Experience in the Sung Dynasty”: *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (CLEAR) 4.2 (July 1982): 199–212.

With several bends, Koromo River hugs *caturdiśa* compound;  
 Looking up, one sees aged cranes perching on verdant pine.  
 Of three hundred meditation lodges, only one remains;  
 Silverworms eat to tatters ancient gold gilt.

**Line 1:** ‘Koromo River’: The name inevitably brings to mind the 1189 contest of arms between Minamoto Yoshitsune 源義經 and Fujiwara Yasuhira 藤原泰衡 that took place northeast of the temple. “In the Battle of Koromo River, as it is somewhat euphemistically described, Yoshitsune and his small band were confronted by an attacking force of some thirty thousand men.”<sup>123</sup> Fujiwara Yasuhira’s mummified head is preserved in the temple.

**Line 1:** ‘*Caturdiśa* compound’: The two *kanji* Ōgai uses are an abbreviation of 招闢提奢, Sanskrit meaning ‘the four points (of the horizon)’; used to refer to the residence of Buddhist monks; hence, a Buddhist compound or monastery. In the context, refers to Chūsonji.

**Line 3:** ‘Only one remains’: Namely, the Konjikidō (treated below); the others would have been monks’ cells.

**Line 4:** ‘Silverworms’: Silver-colored worms that eat clothes and books.

**Line 4:** ‘Ancient gold gilt’: Decorative gilt found, for example, on Buddhist statues. The reference here is to the temple’s Konjikidō 金色堂 (Golden Hall), “a small Amida hall (only 18 meters square) dating from 1124. Its entire surface is gilded with gold, [...]. [...] [It] is considered to be one of the finest examples of the craftsmanship from the Heian Period.”<sup>124</sup> The reference could also be to gilt on Buddhist scripture or paintings. A mid-twentieth century description of the temple includes the following: “The 2,739 scrolls of a complete collection of Buddhist Sutras housed in the [Kyōdō 經堂, Sutra Hall] were presented by the Fujiwara family. They are kept in 273 black-lacquered caskets beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl.”<sup>125</sup>

The same day the group departs for Sanbongi 三本木, fifty-five kilometers away. They pass through several villages named in the journal: Ichinoseki 一の関, Arikabe 有壁, Kannari 金成, Sawabe 澤邊, Miyano 宮野, Tsukidate 築館, Takashimizu 高清水, Araya 荒谷, and Furukawa 古川. Ichinoseki, like

123 Ivan MORRIS: *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan*, New York: New American Library 1975: 98. For the source, see Helen Craig McCULLOUGH: “The Battle of Koromogawa,” *Yoshitsune: A Fifteenth-Century Japanese Chronicle*, Stanford: Stanford University Press (1966) 1971: 285–89 (323).

124 David E. and Michiko YOUNG: *The Art of Japanese Architecture*, with illustrations by TAN Yew Hong, Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing 2007: 74.

125 JAPAN NATIONAL TOURIST ORGANIZATION: *The New Official Guide to Japan*, Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, Inc. 1966: 963. For extensive treatment of Chūsonji, see Mimi Hall YIENGPRUKSAWAN: *Hiraizumi: Buddhist Art and Regional Politics in Twelfth-Century Japan*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center 1998, especially Chapter 5, “A Realm of Gold”: 121–58 (224–28). In reference to the Sutra Repository, she speaks of 2,734 fascicules and provides photos of the building and of a Song sacred text of ca. 1151, the covers of which reveal repair work likely caused by silverworm damage: 112, 122, 112.

Hiraizumi, is in Iwate Prefecture; Arikabe and the others are in Miyagi Prefecture.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #19

October 12, 1882. Day 16.

MO #054. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上九 (佳)韻.

The group travels thirty-eight kilometers from Sanbongi to Sendai 仙臺.

The following poem offers a wonderfully suggestive mix of desire and decay, sexual attraction and repression, constancy and inconstancy: for a passing moment, perennial impulses of the natural and human worlds are at play on the cusp of decline. Ōgai is deciding whether or not to enter this sexual realm.

What he communicates well is the *frisson* of the moment. Regardless of what he in fact did (the *carpe diem* theme is latent in the opening of Line Three and he may not be as immune to the charms of ‘skirt and hairpin’ as he asserts), Ōgai seems to have learned something from his recent experience, the better to navigate his encounters with women.

- |   |   |            |
|---|---|------------|
|   | 如今風月屬裙釵                                     | SAI / chāi |
|   | <i>Jokon fūgetsu kunsai ni zokushi</i>      |            |
|   | Rújīn fēngyuè shǔ qúnchāi                   |            |
| 2 | 青葉城荒烟霧埋                                     | MAI / mái  |
|   | <i>Aobajō wa arete enmu ni uzumoru</i>      |            |
|   | Qīngyèchéng huāng yānwù mái                 |            |
|   | 秋色襲人々不識                                     |            |
|   | <i>Shūshoku hito o osou mo hito shirazu</i> |            |
|   | Qiūsè xírén rén bú shì                      |            |
| 4 | 蘭情水意小秦淮                                     | WAI / huái |
|   | <i>Ranjō sui'i Shō Shinwai</i>              |            |
|   | Lánqíng shuǐyì Xiǎo Qínhuái                 |            |

Moon and breeze like tonight's are made for 'skirt and hairpin';  
Aoba Castle in ruins, shrouded in mist and fog.  
Autumn and its colors steal over one, one who scarcely notices —  
'Orchid sentiments' and 'water thoughts' along Little Qinhuai.



**Entire poem**, paraphrased:

Romantic moon and breeze, like tonight's, are made for  
 'skirt and hairpin' (pliant female companionship);  
 Aoba Castle (which evokes its cultivated first ruler) is in  
 ruins, shrouded in mist and fog.  
 Autumn and its colors (like the ruined castle, suggestive of  
 evanescent beauty, kaleidoscopic change, and inevitable  
 decline) steal over one, but one pays little heed:  
 Either to sweet-smelling, orchid-like female attentions or to  
 feminine wiles inconstant as water here along Little  
 Qinhuai (Sendai's version, as it were, of the canal pass-  
 ing through Yangzhou's sex-districts).

**Line 1:** 'Moon and breeze': The phrase can suggest a sexual encounter.

**Line 1:** 'Skirt and hairpin': In the context, geisha or prostitutes.

**Line 2:** 'Aoba Castle': The castle of Date Masamune 伊達政宗 (1567–1636), the association in this context, according to KOTAJIMA Yōsuke, being with the latter's *waka*, *kanshi*, and tea ceremony pursuits.

**Line 4:** 'Orchid': The *eupatorium japonicum*, sometimes translated as 'thoroughwort.'

**Line 4:** "'Orchid sentiments" and "water thoughts": Much of the paraphrased interpretation of these expressions as given above draws on the commentary of TAKAHASHI Yōichi.

**Line 4:** 'Little Qinhuai': In the context, refers to the Hirose River 廣瀬川 in Sendai. The expression 'Little Qinhuai' is ambiguous. The Qinhuai River traverses Nanjing, flowing north into the Yangzi. The *locus classicus* is the poem by Du Mu, "Mooring on the Qinhuai": QTS 523 (5980): 杜牧, 泊秦淮: "煙籠寒水月籠沙、夜泊秦淮近酒家。" "Smoke shrouds cold water, moonlight shrouds sand. / Night-mooring at Qinhuai, close to wineshops" (Yip Wai-lim tr.). Hence, it could be that the Hirose River is being called a little Nanjing-like Qinhuai, lined with drinking establishments replete with prostitutes.

Not far from Nanjing, in Yangzhou, is the Xiao Qinhuai Canal, which was part of a much larger water network. In the Qing-period city, "The area with brothels ran along the Xiao Qinhuai 小秦淮 Canal; it was from its northern end that the pleasure boats embarked."<sup>126</sup> Du Mu is even more famous for the time he spent in Yangzhou, a period synonymous with dissipation (see the explication of HN #1, Line Four, including n. 37). So the point here could be that Sendai has its own Yangzhou-like brothel district.

It is doubtful that Ōgai distinguished between the two locales. The Du Mu poem about Nanjing and his association with Yangzhou are likely being conflated here. But Yangzhou *per se* is invoked elsewhere: HN #24 and GHN #24. There is a long tradition of literature (that Ōgai was probably partly familiar with) that focuses on these themes.<sup>127</sup>

126 Lucie B. OLIVORA: "Building History and the Preservation of Yangzhou," *Lifestyle and Entertainment in Yangzhou*, *idem* and Vibeke Børdahl, eds., Copenhagen: NIAS Press 2009: 10.

127 Note the four chapters that comprise "Part II: Books and Literature"; *ibid.*: 109–204. Cf. the articles in Roland Altenburger, Margaret B Wan, and Vibeke Børdahl, eds.: *Yangzhou, A Place in Literature: The Local in Chinese Cultural History*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2015.

The group stays in Sendai seven nights, over which time there are no other entries in Ōgai's journal. Because of the long stay and the non-description of further activity, the assumption is that the group was occupied with military duties.

On October 19, the group leaves Sendai, lunches in Shiroishi 白石 (Fukushima Prefecture), and proceeds to Fukushima 福島, a distance of eighty-five kilometers. The following evening finds them in Motomiya 本宮, an additional thirty kilometers away.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō #20*

October 21, 1882. Day 25.

MO #055. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上五(微)韻

In the morning, leaving the Rikuu Highway, the group departs Motomiya along the Nihonmatsu Highway 二本松街道. Crossing Inawashiro Lake 猪苗代湖 by steamer, they arrive at their inn in Aizu-Wakamatsu 會津若松 by mid-afternoon, having traveled thirty kilometers.

Itō Gentai 伊藤玄岱, a friend of Ōgai's teacher Satō Genchō, accompanies Ōgai to the ruins of Aizu Castle 會津城. Constructed in 1384, the stronghold (also known as Tsuruga Castle 鶴ヶ城) was held by Matsuhira Katamori 松平容保 (1835–1893) during the 1868 Battle of Aizu in the Boshin War. The castle had been demolished in 1874.

In Ōgai's poem, events of only fourteen years earlier have become ancient history. And the expectation he has of learning more about the battle is undermined by bathetic reality — a wry joke on himself.

The site of fierce fighting has been transformed into an idyllic scene, but one of ruin. All is evanescence. The poet turns to the natural world for Du Fu-like acceptance and resolution.

欲就殘墟問戰機

KI / jī

*Zankyo ni tsuki senki o towan to hossuru mo*

Yù jiù cánxū wèn zhànjī

2 唯看蕘豎跨牛歸

KI / guī

*Tada miru shōjū no ushi ni matagatte-kaeru o*

Wéikàn ráoshù kuà niú guī

回頭昔日城濠跡

*Kōbe o meguraseba sekijitsu jōgō no ato*

Huítóu xírì chéngáo jī

4 滿目枯蘆一鷺飛 HI / fēi  
*Manmoku no koro ichiro tobu*  
 Mǎnmù kūlú yìlù fēi

Coming to remnant mounds to inquire about key battle moments,  
 All I find is a boy grass-cutter astride an ox, going home.  
 I look back at yesteryear's castle-moat remains:  
 Withered reeds fill the sight — a lone egret in flight.

**Line 1:** 'Key battle moments': Namely, decisive moments of military strategy. The interest is not surprising on the part of a military man who was to translate Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831), *Vom Kriege* (On War) as *Daisen gakuri* 大戦學理 (OZ 34: 11–164).

**Line 2:** 'Astride an ox, going home': See the note to HN #14, Line 2.

**Line 4:** 'A lone egret in flight': Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812–70) used the same expression: QTS 578 (6717): 溫庭筠, 利州南渡: “數叢沙草群鷗散, 萬頃江田一鷺飛。” “From thick clumps of sand grass, seagulls flock, disperse, / While above endless fields along the river, a solitary egret rises” (William R. Schultz tr.). But the passage is more reminiscent of Du Fu: QTS 229 (2489): 杜甫, 旅夜書懷: “飄飄何所似, 天地一沙鷗。” “What do I most resemble in my aimless wanderings? / A seagull drifting between earth and sky” (David Hawkes tr.). Cf. HN #21, Line 12.

#### Go Hokuyū nichijō #21

October 21, 1882. Day 25.

MO #056. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下十一(尤)韻.

The group takes an excursion to Higashiyama Hot Springs 東山温泉 (east of Aizu-Wakamatsu), where “a ‘voice artiste’ sings an *ōwakebushi*.” (A *seigi* 聲妓 ‘voice artiste’ is a singer-geisha; an *ōwakebushi* 追分節 is a type of folk-song derived from pack-horse drivers’ songs.)

Ōgai describes the singer as being well past her prime, the singing unbearable, and the establishment’s service atrocious. The area is countrified, the boondocks. Ultimately, Ōgai claims to find a certain equilibrium between the warmth of the hot springs and the cold of the nearby river. But it is a chilly one, given how irked he sounds in the rest of the poem.

The poem’s tone of erotic decadence suggests that Ōgai, temporarily at least, finds entertainment women tedious.<sup>128</sup>

128 TAKAHASHI Yōichi interprets the poem quite differently. Finding allusion to “Song of the Lute” 琵琶行 by Bo Juyi 白居易 (QTS 435 [4821–22]) both in Line Two (plausible) and in Line Four (much less so), he understands the description of the geisha to be positive: her fine song cannot but provoke a certain sad disquiet in the listener. He further argues, instead of ‘sitting alone’ in Line Three, the poet is ‘staying on (for the entertainment that is to follow).’

- 芙蓉香老不勝秋 SHŪ / qiū  
*Fuyō kaori oite aki ni taezu*  
 Fúróng xiānglǎo bù shēng qiū
- 2 忍聽紅裙一曲謳 O / oū  
*Kiku ni shinobin ya kōkun ikkyoku no uta*  
 Rěntīng hóngqún yìqǔ ōū  
 獨坐呼杯々未到  
*Hitori zashite sakazuki o yobu mo sakazuki imada*  
*itarazu*  
 Dúzuò hūbēi bēi wèi dào
- 4 浴衣帶熱對寒流 RYŪ / liú  
*Yokui netsu o obite kanryū ni taisu*  
 Yùyī dàirè duì hánliú

A lotus flower, fragrance on the wane, no match for autumn;  
 Scarcely bearable, listening to the red-skirted one — a single song.  
 Sitting alone, I call for winecup, the cup yet to come;  
 In *yukata* wrapped in warmth, I face the cold stream.

**Line 1:** ‘Lotus flower’: An image commonly used to describe the female face: e.g., Bo Juyi: QTS 426 (4692): 白居易, 上陽白髮人一潛怨曠也: “臉似芙蓉胸似玉。” “Face like lotus, breast like jade” (JTW tr.).

**Line 1:** ‘No match for autumn’: I.e., autumn inexorably wins the battle of aging and decline.

**Line 2:** ‘Red-skirted one’: Namely, a woman, frequently a geisha.

**Line 2:** ‘A single song’: Changing 歌 to 謳 (or 歐) for the rhyme.

**Line 4:** ‘*Yukata*’: A bathrobe.

**Line 4:** ‘Wrapped in warmth,’ barbarized: ‘Donning warmth.’

**Line 4:** ‘Cold stream’: The Yu River 湯川 which runs alongside Higashiyama Hot Spring.

Leaving Aizu-Wakamatsu the following day, the group hires rickshas to go as far as Katakado 片門, then proceeds on horseback to Tsugawa 津川 (Niigata Prefecture), for a total of sixty kilometers.

On October 23, they board a boat in Tsugawa and go down the Agano River, landing at Komatsu 小松 (mistranscribed as Senmatsu 千松), whence they continue through Yasuda 安田 and Suibara 水原, ending the day in Shibata (see HN #22–23) — fifty kilometers from Tsugawa. There they spend four nights; nothing is recorded over the three days.

## Go Hokuyū nichijō #22

October 27, 1882. Day 31.

MO #057. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上五(微)韻.

The party sets out by boat from Shibata for nearby Niigata. The next two poems are recorded as a pair at the end of the entry for the day.

The initial poem's surface text communicates an evening scene in the rain. But the images in the second couplet have definite sexual associations. The women are beautiful and their clothing is moist. The breaking off of willow twigs, a hackneyed trope for separation, is suggestive of entertainment districts. And the plucking of flowers implies pliant female companionship and sexual activity. The poet ends with the fanciful wish that he might continue his dalliances indefinitely and not have to return to official duties.

The cheek-by-jowl placement of shrine (or temple) and pleasure district may seem incongruous to many Westerners, but there is ample evidence of their being found together in Japan.<sup>129</sup>

東望信江牆影微

BI / wéi

*Higashi no kata Shinkō o nozomeba shōei honoka ni*

Dōng wàng Xìnjiāng qiángyǐng wéi

129 Parks and shrine grounds are public spaces often teeming with people. Edward SEIDENSTICKER points out that Asakusa in Tokyo “was a Japanese sort of religious center, one which welcomed pleasure to the sacred precincts”; *Low City, High City*: 207. He quotes W.E. GRIFFIS: “At the north end [of Asakusa Kannon] are ranged the archery galleries, also presided over by pretty black-eyed Dianas, in paint, powder, and shining coiffure. They bring you tea, smile, talk nonsense, and giggle; [...] [they] wipe the brass mouth-piece [of the long pipe they have been smoking], and offer it to you; and then ask you leading and very personal questions without blushing. [...] Full grown, able-bodied men are the chief patrons of these places of pleasure, and many can find amusement for hours at such play”; *ibid.*: 207; original text: *The Mikado's Empire; A History of Japan from the Age of the Gods to the Meiji Era (660 BC–AD 1872)*, New York: Harper & Brothers 1883: 388.

SEIDENSTICKER adds: “The description suggests ‘places of pleasure’ in a more specific sense, and indeed that is what they were. The back rooms were for prostitution — right there in the yard (the back yard, but still the yard) of the great temple”; *Low City, High City*: 207. Paul WALEY echoes the point: “Behind and on either side of the main hall of Asakusa’s great temple to Kannon was Okuyama. [...] There was an archery range which turned out to be a brothel, as well as over seventy teahouses, some of whose waitresses served more than tea”; *Tokyo: City of Stories*, New York: Weatherhill 1991: 138–39. W.E. GRIFFIS, in a passage about Asakusa not cited by Seidensticker, opines: “Religion and innocent pleasure join hands in Japan. Are the Japanese wrong in this?”; *Mikado's Empire*: 378. It is unclear if he was aware of the activities involved.

- 2 白山祠畔暮鴉飛 HI / fēi  
*Hakusanshi-han boa tobu*  
 Báishāncí-pàn mùyā fēi  
 美人衣濕公園雨  
*Bijin koromo wa uruou kōen no ame*  
 Měirén yīshī gōngyuán yǔ
- 4 折柳摘花遊不歸 KI / guī  
*Yanagi o otte hana o tsumi asonde kaerazareba nari*  
 Zhéliǔ zhāihuā yóu bù guī

Gazing east toward Shin Stream, boatmast shadows faint;  
 By Shirayama Shrine, evening crows in flight.  
 Beautiful women, clothing damp, in public-garden rain;  
 Breaking off willows, plucking flowers, I would sport on and not return.

**Lines 1–2:** ‘Gazing east toward Shin Stream’ from ‘Shirayama Shrine’: The reference is to Shinano River 信濃川, which lies to the east of Shirayama Shrine 白山神社. For a schematic map of Niigata in the nineteenth century, see STANLEY, *Selling Women*: 112.

**Line 3:** ‘Clothing damp’: Wet clothes cling to the female body, accentuating its contours and the smell of any perfume. Cf. MO #119: 踏舞歌應囑 (“A Song on Treading the Dance-floor: In Response to a Request”), where five years later Ōgai describes dancing with a woman in Germany: “金髮掩亂不遑整、汗透羅衣軟玉香。” “Her blond hair suddenly askew, no time to arrange it; / Sweat seeping through fine dress, soft jade (i.e., her skin) turns fragrant” (JTW tr.). Dampness also suggests the *yin* (female) principle, fecundity, and the tactile.

**Line 3:** ‘Public garden’: Namely, Hakusan Park 白山公園, originally Niigata Promenade 新潟遊園, founded in 1873.

**Line 4:** ‘Breaking off willows, plucking flowers’: Activities that, by extension, can refer to female companionship, including that of geisha, and dalliance with same.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō #23*

October 27, 1882. Day 31.

MO #058. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上一(東)韻.

In Niigata. Paired in the journal with GHN #22.

The perspective is from a small boat late at night on one of the city’s many canals as it glides by red lantern after red lantern. Each is on a lamp-stand and, bearing the establishment’s insignia, advertises a brothel. Willows, suggestive of the physical shape of women, further connote the entertainment district. The poem draws to a close as Ōgai advances into a female (*yin*) world of murky shadows and damp sounds.

- 峭寒莫是佐州風 FŪ / fēng  
*Shōkan wa kore Sashū no kaze naru nakaran ya*  
 Qiàohán mòshì Zuǒzhōu fēng
- 2 夜半燈臺紅褪紅 KŌ / hóng  
*Yahan no tōdai kurenai shirizokite wa kurenai nari*  
 Yèbàn dēngtái hóng tuì hóng
- 垂柳垂楊迎又送  
*Suiryū suiyō mukaete mata okuru*  
 Chuliǔ chuíyáng yíng yòu sòng
- 4 人行烟影水聲中 CHŪ / zhōng  
*Hito wa yuku en'ei suisei no uchi*  
 Rénxíng yānyǐng shuǐshēng zhōng

Piercing cold, perhaps the wind from Sa district?  
 Midnight lampstands, red giving way to red.  
 Weeping willow, weeping poplar, greet then send us off;  
 We advance through hazy shadows, mid sounds of water.

**Line 1:** ‘Perhaps...?’ barbarized: ‘Might it not be...?’

**Line 1:** ‘Sa district’: I.e., Sado Island 佐渡島.

**Line 2:** ‘Red giving way to red’: Per the interpretation of TAKAHASHI Yōichi.

**Line 3:** ‘Weeping willow, weeping poplar,’ barbarized: ‘Hanging *liú* (a variety of *salix*) and hanging *yáng* (another variety of *salix*); 楊柳 as a compound means ‘willow,’ the *salix babylonica*. Willows also refer to women of the demimonde.

#### Go Hokuyū nichijō #24

October 29, 1882. Day 33.

MO #059. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下一(先)韻.

The group leaves Niigata and goes up the Shinano River on the “Anzenmaru” (the same boat referred to at the end of discussion of HN #25), going as far as Sanjō, forty kilometers away.

The two couplets of the poem that follows seem disjointed. They may be a not-too-successful attempt to harmonize military honor with Daoist escape-cum-transcendence. Ōgai’s dream in Line Three, involving as it does Yangzhou, suggests sex, and reveals him (unwittingly but revealingly) to be yoking the military life with sexual adventure. The two parts of the poem are more unified, if, as is likely, the ‘rumor’ at the beginning involves sexual misconduct on the part of members of the group — although it could refer to brawling, stealing, or the like.

One suspects that what gives offense is the rumor, not the misconduct. ‘Good soldier’ Ōgai rushes to defend military honor, just as years later he would remain silent about atrocities carried out by fellow troops after the fall of Port Arthur in 1894; see WIXTED: “Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*)”: 94, including n. 44.

- 狂名到處任人傳 DEN / chuán  
*Kyōmei itaru tokoro hito no tsutauru ni makasen*  
 Kuángmíng dào chù rèn rén chuán
- 2 常住之心推不遷 SEN / qiān  
*Jōjū no kokoro ose-domo utsurazu*  
 Chángzhù zhī xīn tuī bù qiān  
 一覺揚州乘鶴夢  
*Hitotabi samu Yōshū jōkaku no yume*  
 Yìjué Yángzhōu chéng hè mèng
- 4 孤帆細雨信濃川 SEN / chuān  
*Kohan sai'ū Shinano-gawa*  
 Gūfān xìyǔ Xìnnóng-chuān

The ridiculous rumor, everywhere, spread it whoever will;  
 But our hearts, steadfast, remain unshakeable.  
 Awakened from my dream of Yangzhou, mounted on a crane:  
 A lone sail in the fine rain — Shinano River.

**Line 1:** ‘Ridiculous rumor’: One can only conjecture as to what specifically this refers to.

**Line 2:** Entire line, barbarized: “Our steadfast / (type of) hearts // though pushed, won’t budge.” ‘Steadfast’ 常住 is a Buddhist term for ‘permanence’ (Sanskrit *nitya*, etc.): “the quiescently abiding permanence that is not subject to [...] change [...], and the permanence that is possible based on continuous cyclical change [...]”; Charles MULLER: online Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.

**Line 3:** The line yokes disparate associations. A ‘dream of Yangzhou’ brings to mind past dissolution. Du Mu wrote in “Easing My Heart”: QTS 524 (5998): 杜牧, 遣懷: “落魄江南載酒行、楚腰腸斷掌中輕。十年一覺揚州夢、贏得青樓薄幸名。” “By rivers and lakes at odds with life I journeyed, wine my freight: / Slim waists of Chu broke my heart, light bodies danced into my palm. / Ten years late I wake at last out of my Yangzhou dream / With nothing but the name of a drifter in the blue houses” (A.C. Graham, tr.). ‘Blue houses’ (or ‘green lofts’) are brothels.<sup>130</sup> Re ‘drifter,’ see the note to HN #11, Line 3.

‘Mounted on a crane’ evokes the conventional flight of a Daoist adept: e.g., Bo Juyi: QTS 439 (4894): 白居易, 酬贈李煉師見招: “欲騎鶴背覓長生。” “I would ride a crane’s back, seeking long life” (JTW tr.).

130 Cf. Stefan Kuzay: “Life in the Green Lofts of the Lower Yangzi Region,” *Lifestyle and Entertainment in Yangzhou*: 286–314.



The following day, on October 30, the party passes through Nagaoka, eats lunch in Myōken (also called Muikamachi 六日町), crosses Tochihara Pass, and proceeds as far as Urasa, for a total of sixty-five kilometers. The next day the group proceeds via Shiosawa 鹽澤 and switches from two-man to one-man transport vehicles. In Yuzawa 湯澤 they hire horses before making several crossings, including Shibahara Pass, Mitsumata Pass, and Futai Pass. They arrive in Asakai 淺貝 in the evening, having traveled fifty kilometers all in Niigata Prefecture. Several of the place names appear in the paragraphs ending treatment of HN #25.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #25

November 1, 1882. Day 36.

MO #060. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下八(庚)韻.

Leaving Asakai, the group crosses Mikuni Pass (between Gunma and Niigata prefectures, as related in HN #27). The presence of porters is communicated audibly, not visibly.

- |   |  |             |
|---|--|-------------|
|   | 稠霧濛々曉未晴  | SEI / qíng  |
|   | <i>Chūmu mōmō to shite akatsuki imada harezu</i>     |             |
|   | Chóuwù méngméng xiǎo wèi qíng                        |             |
| 2 | 山寒不聽一禽鳴  | MEI / míng  |
|   | <i>Yama samuku shite ikkin no naku o kikazu</i>      |             |
|   | Shānhán bùtīng yìqín míng                            |             |
|   | 油衣深掩轎窓暗  |             |
|   | <i>Yū'i fukaku ōi kyōsō kurashi</i>                  |             |
|   | Yóuyī shēnyǎn jiàochuāng àn                          |             |
| 4 | 杖觸巖頭砉有聲  | SEI / shēng |
|   | <i>Tsue gantō ni fure kaku to shite koe aru nomi</i> |             |
|   | Zhàng chù yántóu huò yǒu shēng                       |             |

Dense fog — misty, drizzly — dawn yet to clear;  
 Mountain cold, not a bird heard crying.  
 Covered tight in oilcloth, sedan-chair windows dark;  
 Staffs strike the escarpment — loud cracking sounds.

**Line 4:** Entire line, barbarized: “Staffs strike / the escarpment // bang! there are sounds.”

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #26

November 2, 1882. Day 37.

MO #061. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲下六(麻)韻.

When leaving Kioroshi 木下 (in Inzai 印西, Chiba Prefecture), having hired vehicles, the group passes along Lake Inbanuma 印旛沼 and in the afternoon reaches Sakura 佐倉.

The following is about tea, for which the region is famous.

- |   |  |           |
|---|--|-----------|
|   | 荒園幾畝接寒沙  | SHA / shā |
|   | <i>Kōen ikuho kansa ni sesshi</i>              |           |
|   | Huāngyuán jǐmǔ jiē hánshā                      |           |
| 2 | 處々村人養綠芽  | GA / yá   |
|   | <i>Shosho no murabito ryokuga o yashinau</i>   |           |
|   | Chùchù cūnrén yǎng lǜyá                        |           |
|   | 芳烈其香淡其色  |           |
|   | <i>Hōretsu nari sono kaori awashi sono iro</i> |           |
|   | Fāngliè qí xiāng dàn qí sè                     |           |
| 4 | 菊花凋後見茶花  | KA / huā  |
|   | <i>Kikuka no shibomeru nochi saka o miru</i>   |           |
|   | Júhuā diāo hòu jiàn cháhuā                     |           |

Overgrown patches, an acre or so, adjoin cold sands;

Here and there, villagers tend 'green buds.'

Fragrant the aroma, faint the color;

Chrysanthemum blooms having wilted, we can enjoy the tea blossoms.

**Line 2:** 'Green buds': Namely, 'green-bud' kind of tea; cf 'blue-rain green-bud tea' 青雨綠芽茶 (*qīngyǔ lǜyá chá*) and 'green snow-bud tea' 綠雪芽茶 (*lǜ xuěyá chá*) in China. Here used metonymically for the tea of the region.

**Lines 3–4:** Tea blossoms in Sakura are said to be white and to maintain their fragrance from autumn to winter. Hence, when the beauty of chrysanthemums fades, that of tea blossoms can be viewed.

*Go Hokuyū nichijō* #27

November 2, 1882. Day 37.

MO #062. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十(灰)韻.

Paired in the journal with GHN #26.

While in Sakura, Ōgai thinks with melancholy of his father, Mori Shizuo 森靜男 (1836–1896), who had pursued Dutch studies locally at the Juntendō

順天堂 (Following-Heaven Hall).<sup>131</sup> Except for brief mention of his parents in GHN #10, this is the only reference to his father in Ōgai's *kanshi*.

雨氣壓車人語濕  
*Uki kuruma o asshite jingo shimeri*  
 Yǔqì yā chē rényǔ shī  
 2 車中有客暗愁催 SAI / cuī  
*Shachū kaku ari anshū moyōsu*  
 Chēzhōng yǒu kè ànchóu cuī  
 阿爺昔日嘗辛苦  
*Aya sekijitsu shinku o nametari*  
 Àyé xírì cháng xīnkǔ  
 4 此地單身負笈來 RAI / lái  
*Kono chi ni tanshin kyū o otte-kitaru*  
 Cǐdì dānshēn fù jí lái

Aura of rain pressing down on wagons, even speech is damp;  
 Wagon-board there is a traveler, harried by dark care.  
 Years ago his father tasted bitter adversity:  
 To this land alone he came, booksatchel on his back.

**Line 1:** ‘Wagon’: In fact, any wheeled vehicle. KOTAJIMA Yōsuke takes the term to refer to rickshas. So too does TAKECHI Hideo when paraphrasing journal entries.

**Line 2:** ‘Traveler’: Namely, Ōgai.

**Line 4:** Entire line, barbarized: “To this land / (all) alone (i.e., unaccompanied by family members) // carrying (on his back) a booksatchel, he came.” See the note to HN #14, Line 2.

The phrase 負笈 appears elsewhere in Ōgai's *kanshi*: MO #002 (Line 104): 負笈如蟻簇, “Carrying booksatchels on their backs, (students converge on the capital) like ants congregating.” MO #133: 負笈三年歎鈍根, “I carried a booksatchel on my back for three years, and regret having been so dullwitted.”

### Go Hokuyū nichijō #28

November 17, 1882. Day 52.

MO #063. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上七(虞)韻.

131 Note the section on his father's training in Dutch studies: TAKECHI Hideo: GHN 104–7. Over a three-year period, Mori Shizuo studied under Matsumoto Ryōjun 松本良順 (1832–1907) in Edo and under the latter's brother-in-law, Satō Shunkai 左藤舜海 (1848–1911), in Sakura (in 1865); the former is referred to in n. 110.

Near Futtsu 富津 (on the Bōsō Peninsula 房総半島, Chiba Prefecture), at the foot of Nokogiri-yama 鋸山, i.e., ‘Saw Mountain,’ so called because its ridge appears saw-toothed. The mountain is a landmark for boats entering and leaving Tokyo Bay.

Ōgai concludes this, the last poem of the series proper, with the image of nothingness.

蜚舍遙々細烟起

*Tansha yōyō to shite saien tachi*

Dànshě yáoyáo xìyān qǐ

2 鋸山當面半模糊 KO / hú

*Nokogiri-yama men ni ataru mo nakaba moko tari*

Jùshān dāngmiàn bàn móhú

捨舟停立落楓岸

*Fune o sutete teiritsu su rakufū no kishi*

Shě zhōu tíng lì luòfēng àn

4 夕照微茫色欲無 MU / wú

*Sekishō bibō to shite iro nakaran to hossu*

Xìzhào wéimáng sè yù wú

Fisher shacks far in the distance, faint smoke rising;  
Saw Mountain before our eyes, half obscured.  
Leaving ship behind, we halt on shore of fallen maple leaves;  
Sunset afterglow faintly fading, colors turn to nothing.

**Line 1:** ‘Fisher shacks’: Cf. GHN #11, Line 1.

**Line 1:** ‘Faint smoke’: Namely, from cooking fires.

**Line 4:** ‘Colors’: Likely the red of sunset and the red of maple leaves. Ōgai’s commentators have taken the expression to refer to one or the other.

### *Go Hokuyū nichijō* #29

February 17, 1883. Three months after the group’s return to Tokyo.

MO #064. Seven-character *zekku*. Rhyme category: 平聲上十四(寒)韻.

The final entry in *Go Hokuyū nichijō* relates that some thirty men under General Miyoshi Shigeomi 三好重臣 (1840–1900) — who had led the sec-

ond expedition — gathered at the Kōrakuen 後樂園 in the capital and that it snowed that day.<sup>132</sup>

The following, which ends the journal, is best thought of as a *postscript* to the poem series and not as an integral part of it.

- |   |  |           |
|---|--|-----------|
|   | 酒奏奇勳消雪寒  | KAN / hán |
|   | <i>Sake kikun o sōshite yuki no samuki o keshi</i> |           |
|   | Jiǔ zòu qíxūn xiāo xuěhán                          |           |
| 2 | 將軍斜倚玉雕欄  | RAN / lán |
|   | <i>Shōgun naname ni yoru gyokuchō ran</i>          |           |
|   | Jiàngjūn xiéyǐ yùdiāo lán                          |           |
|   | 如今四海方無事  |           |
|   | <i>Jokon shikai masa ni buji</i>                   |           |
|   | Rújīn sìhǎi fāng wúshì                             |           |
| 4 | 天半爭龍帶笑看  | KAN / kàn |
|   | <i>Tenpan no sōryō warai o obite-min</i>           |           |
|   | Tiān bàn zhēng lóng dài xiào kàn                   |           |

Wine performs its marvelous deed, dissipating snow's cold,  
While our general leans against jade-carved balustrade.  
“Just now the four seas are without incident”:  
Contending dragons mid-sky, wreathed in smiles, look on.

**Line 2:** Entire line: CHIN Seiho understands the activity to be occurring outside (in spite of the snow), whereas KOTAJIMA Yōsuke interprets it as happening inside. In either case, the general appears to be on a balcony overlooking the group.

**Line 3:** Entire line, barbarized (and presumably spoken by the general): “At present / in the four seas // it is only just now that we are without (a major complicating) incident.”

In terms of the political landscape of the time, the Imo Mutiny (Jingo jihen 壬午事變) in Korea of July the previous year, which, Ōgai tells us at the beginning of the journal, delayed the expedition, had been settled at the end of August (even before the group set out) by the Treaty of Chemulpo (Korea) 齊物浦條約. And the so-called Fukushima Incident 福島事件 of the preceding November had been resolved by year's end.

**Line 4:** Entire line: Dragon scales are said to have a snow-like glitter. A Liu Yuxi poem (QTS 357 [4019]) describes a scene after snowfall, where “The (snow's) underlying hue sets dragon scales in motion” (原色動龍鱗) (JTW tr.). For the concluding phrase (which barbarized reads, ‘bearing smiles, look on’), see the note to HN #14, Line 2.

132 The Kōrakuen, according to KOTAJIMA Yōsuke, was under the jurisdiction of the army. MATSUMOTO Akitomo includes treatment of General Miyoshi: [G]. The number cited in the party does not conflict with the twenty-two noted earlier in (Part 1): 54, for others under the general's command were likely in attendance.

Two of Ōgai's commentators draw on the association of dragons with snow. CHIN Seiho explicates the line as follows: "Perhaps thanks to the situation in Line Three, the general, wreathed in smiles, calmly looks upon the scene; it is as if white, jade-like dragons (i.e., snowflakes suggested by glittering dragon scales) were contending (i.e., dancing) in the sky." (Combined with his understanding of Line Two, Chin's interpretation has the virtue of integrating the snow and cold into three of the poem's four lines.)

KOTAJIMA Yōsuke paraphrases the line differently: "Even dragons in the sky that, contending, brought on the snow (i.e., the glitter of their scales), are wreathed in smiles looking upon a Japan at peace." (His interpretation appears to fit the grammar better.)

Alternatively, might not the contending dragons of Line Four be understood to be competing factions in Japan? Or rivals in East Asia? Or hostile alliances in the world?

None of the interpretations is satisfying. One can take comfort in the fact that TAKECHI Hideo, the first to comment on the poem, states point-blank that he does not understand the line well. He wonders if it refers to the kite-flying one might see at New Year's, an interpretation that (were it not for the snowy day and the fact that the lunar New Year fell on February 8 in 1883) is not as far-fetched as it might seem.