

The Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai
Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*)

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‘Matching-rhyme’ 次韻 (*jiin*) poetry is poetry in Chinese or Sino-Japanese that uses the exact same rhyme words, in the exact same order, as those of an earlier poem. For the purposes of this study, the term includes reference to the ‘original’ composition that served as the model for the matching poem, whether it was intended to be used as a model or not.¹

This article treats the ‘ancient-style poems’ 古詩 (*koshi*, *gūshī*) and ‘regulated verse’ 律詩 (*risshi*, *lùshī*) written when Mori Ōgai participated in the following:

Matching-Rhyme Exchange: Ōgai Matching Ōgai (as part of a debate with Imai Takeo 今井武夫)	69
Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Hayakawa Kyōjirō 早川恭次郎	87
Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Noguchi Neisai 野口寧齋	109
Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Yu Shufen 俞樹綦	117

The *kanshi* Ōgai wrote in the debate with Imai Takeo (fl. 1889) are ancient-style poems. The rest of the above are in regulated verse. An additional match-

1 This article has been preceded by its pair, “The Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains (*zekku*),” *JH* 16 (2013): 109–68. For background to both, see John Timothy WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry: An Introduction to the Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai,” in *Ōgai – Mori Rintarō: Begegnungen mit dem japanischen homme de lettres*, Klaus KRACHT, ed., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2014: 189–217. The three are referred to collectively as ‘this study.’ In the last-mentioned article, note should have been made of the criticism of matching-rhyme poetry voiced by the important poet-critic, Yuan Haowen 元好問; for extended treatment, see *idem: Poems on Poetry: Literary Criticism by Yuan Haowen (1190–1257)*, Calligraphy by Eugenia Y. Tu, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1982; rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center 1985 (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 33): 168–76, 303–4, and 422–25.

ing-rhyme exchange in regulated verse, with Yokogawa Tokurō 横川徳郎 (1868–1929), has been treated elsewhere.²

Koshi

Ancient-style poetry dates to the *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of Song, comprised of poems from ca. 1000 to ca. 600 B.C.), ninety-five percent of whose lines were four characters in length. But by the second century A.D., poems in five-character lines, and later (by the fifth century) seven-character ones, had been introduced. The four-character line was considered the norm until the fifth century, especially for formal occasions, notwithstanding the increasing predominance of the five-character line.

Ancient-style poems are notable for the flexibility they offer in terms of length, rhyme, parallelism, and tonal rules, especially when compared with four-line *zekku* 絶句 and eight-line *risshi*.³ *Koshi* can be any number of couplets in length, employ more than one set of rhyme words (in sequences at the end of even-numbered lines), and use parallelism optionally, all the while being little subject to prosodic rules.

In Japan, the *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (A Florilegium of Cherished Styles, 751), the first anthology of Sino-Japanese poetry, is comprised almost entirely of *koshi*. And ancient-style poems were to be composed in Japan throughout later centuries. Mori Ōgai wrote twenty-four *koshi* (excluding *Omokage* translations): four in four-character lines, eleven in five-character lines, and nine in seven-character lines.

Four-character-line ancient-style poems were already archaic in China by the fifth century. Although originally used for a variety of ends – from popular song to ancestral hymn – they came generally to be reserved for stately, somber occasions. Two of Ōgai’s four-character *koshi* are of this kind: Poem #165, which was presented to Ōshima Teikyō 大島貞恭 upon the dedication of a statue to his deceased father, Ōshima Teikun 大島貞薫; and #172, an encomium for a now-lost painting associated with Hori Kenpei 堀賢平.

2 WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 206–14.

3 *Zekku* ‘quatrains’ as a verse form are discussed in WIXTED: “Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains”: 109–12. Note also Daniel HSIEH: *The Evolution of Jueju Verse*, New York: Peter Lang 1996.

But the other two four-character-line *koshi* by Ōgai, which are treated in this article, are quite different. They are consciously humorous, with Ōgai's type of humor: ironic, sardonic, and with a personal bite. The humor in the use of the form lies in the contrast between the conventional, serious expectations of the genre and their subversion. As early as the second century, the four-character line had been used in China to express wit and humor, in “Duanren fu” 短人賦 (“Rhyme on Dwarfs”) by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–92). And in Japan, all fifteen rhyme-prose compositions included in the *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (The Literary Essence of Our Court, ca. 1060) include four-character lines, some of which can be humorous.⁴

Four-character lines usually have a light caesura after the second character; hence, their rhythm: *dum dum / dum dum*. As illustrated by the two poems treated here, shifts in topic, point of view, and address – between impersonal third-person reference, direct second-person address, and implied first-person statement – are much more common in *koshi* than in *risshi* or *zekku*.

The four-character poem-line is the soul of compression.⁵

Risshi

Regulated verses (*risshi*) are comprised of eight lines, all having either five or seven characters. The rhymes at the end of each couplet, and optionally at the end of the first line, must be of the same rhyme category. Strict tonal parallelism (contrastive level and oblique tones between lines) is *de rigueur* in

4 As in the following excerpt (which includes four four-character lines) from a composition by Ōe Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886–957), “Danjo kon'in no fu” 男女婚姻賦 (“Rhyme on the Wedding between Man and Woman”): “解單袴之紐、更不知結。...入門有濕、淫水出以污禪。窺戶無人、...精漏流沔、似覺夢於華胥之天。” “Underwear buttons undone, / She can't manage to refasten them.... / He enters the vagina-gate, moist; / Fluids excrete, dirtying underpants. / Peeping out the door, no one is there.... / Semen 'essence' leaks, flows copiously; / The feeling, akin to that of (the Yellow Emperor) dreaming of (the utopia of) Huaxu heaven” (*Honchō monzui* 1; JTW tr.); cf. the translation of the entire piece by Burton WATSON: *Japanese Literature in Chinese*, vol. 1, *Poetry & Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Early Period*, New York: Columbia University Press 1975: 53–56.

5 It is a shame that Mori Ōgai did not use four-character-line *koshi* to render at least certain passages in his *Faust* translation, since, in addition to concentration of expression, the form can serve both serious and humorous ends. The pithiness of the four-character line, with short paired phrases and rhymes that can extend over several couplets, is suggestive of *Knittelvers* in German. See John Timothy WIXTED: “Mori Ōgai: Translation Transforming the Word / World,” *JH* 13 (2009–10): 89ff., especially 92–94, 96, and 99–102.

the middle two couplets, where semantic parallelism is also the expectation.⁶ Seven-character lines usually have a major caesura after the fourth character, and often a minor one after the second; hence, the rhythm: *dum dum / dum dum // dum dum dum*. Because of the strict prosodic rules (and greater length as compared with *zekku*), in Japan *risshi* were thought to be especially difficult to write.

Risshi have their origin in China in the fifth century, when awareness of tones and their role in prosody was first articulated. The genre became codified in the seventh century, in the wake of a range of practice. There have always been differing degrees of compliance by individual authors.

In Japan, preference for *risshi* is reflected in anthologies from the ninth century onward, beginning with the *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集 (Surmounting the Clouds Collection, 814). Early *kanshi* anthologies “show an almost flawless adherence to the Tang rules of prosody,” but “the poetry of Ōe no Masahira [大江匡衡, 952–1012], who was active about a century later, shows a far higher frequency of tonal prosodic errors.”⁷ Not surprisingly, given the difference between Chinese (a tonal language) and Japanese (without tones), tonal rules were harder to learn and usually more loosely adhered to in Japan.

As regards structure, it is important to keep in mind that the four couplets of a regulated verse are generally organized in the following sequence: ‘introduc-

6 “[T]he four tones of Tang-period Chinese were divided into two categories: level tones and deflected tones. The rules stipulated that no line should have more than two, or at most three, syllables in succession in the same tonal category, and that key syllables in one line of a couplet be matched in the other line by syllables of the opposite tonal category in corresponding places (except in the case of rhymes, which must be in the same tonal category).” Burton WATSON: *Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jōzan and Other Edo-Period Poets*, San Francisco: North Point Press 1990: xv–xvi.

Because of shifts in Chinese tones over the centuries, modern dialects (especially Mandarin) do not accurately reflect the ‘level-deflected’ distinction. To assess how closely any regulated verse adheres to tonal rules, one must look up the constituent characters in reference works; for example, the ones cited in WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 203, n. 31. In recent centuries those composing *zekku* or *risshi* had to have special training and, as a rule, access to poetry-writing manuals, such as the one noted in reference to Ōgai; WIXTED: “Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains”: 111–12, n. 9.

7 Judith N. RABINOVITCH and Timothy R. BRADSTOCK: *Dance of the Butterflies: Chinese Poetry from the Japanese Court Tradition*, Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University 2005: 18–19 (and 15), citing KINPARA Tadashi 金原理, *Heianchō kanshibun no kenkyū* 平安朝漢詩文の研究 (Research on Sino-Japanese Poetry and Prose of the Heian Period), Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppan Kai 九州大学出版会 1981: 383 and 380–81. For different views on the degree of compliance with prosodic rules in early anthologies, see the summary in *Dance of the Butterflies*: 17.

tion’ (*ki* 起 *qǐ*), ‘development’ (*shō* 承 *chéng*), ‘turn’ (*ten* 傳 *zhuàn*), and ‘conclusion’ (*ketsu* 結 *jié*). A poet broaches a topic, develops it, introduces a shift (this being the most crucial unit), and brings resolution.⁸ Without awareness of this, *risshi* can seem less coherent and more disjointed than they in fact are.

Let us illustrate the sequence with Ōgai’s Poem #154, which is treated more fully below in “Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Hayakawa Kyōjirō”:

- To sweep Han Mountains (the Korean peninsula) clear of Chinese – that presents no difficulty;
 2 Our imperial troops pursue them in defeat: the war will soon draw to a close.
 The rebels at last are fearful of the dragon’s ire (that of our Emperor), having ruffled its scales;
 4 Ours is a warrior spirit oblivious to the (Korean) cold that can freeze off fingers.
 It is to be expected that my emaciated frame end up buried in foreign lands;
 6 But how admirable that you, with lone sword, bade poetry circles farewell.
 Who knows when our warship, hawsers loosened, will set sail;
 8 For now let us enjoy Ujina Bay, the moon turned full.

The opening couplet introduces the theme: a hoped-for speedy conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War (in which the poet and the addressee are about to participate directly). The second couplet develops the war theme. The third shifts the focus to the poet and the addressee, in parallel contrast. And the final couplet brings resolution, embarking on a future that is temporarily held off by the unfolding panorama of shared bay and moon of plenitude.

CHIN Seiho (1: 8–9) argues that Ōgai’s *risshi* comprise the finest poems among his *kanshi*. There is much to be said for this argument; certainly they include some of his best work, such as Poem #160 (treated below in “Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Noguchi Neisai”) which has justly been accorded special attention. But more than a few of Ōgai’s *zekku* and some of his *koshi* are also quite good.

Ōgai wrote twenty-five *risshi*: six in five-character lines and nineteen in seven-character lines.⁹ The half dozen *risshi* that are matching-rhyme poems,

8 Although noted earlier in reference to *zekku*, this holds especially true for *risshi*.

9 One of the latter, Poem #186, has been translated and discussed elsewhere; John Timothy Japonica Humboldtiana 17 (2014–15)

including the matching-rhyme exchange with Yokogawa Tokurō noted above, all have seven-character lines.

Citation conventions in this article follow those of its pair, “The Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains (*zekku*).”¹⁰ The treatment of poems follows the same format.¹¹ Parallel expressions are noted throughout.¹² Mention should be made of the two book-length studies devoted to the entire corpus of *kanshi* by Mori Ōgai.¹³

WIXTED: “*Kanshi* in Translation: How Its Features Can Be Effectively Communicated,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 21 (2014): 8–11; available online: <http://chinajapan.org/articles/21/1>.

10 But two points bear repeating:

All Chinese romanization, *regardless of what system is used in Western-language quoted material*, is given in *pinyin*. But author names and article or book titles remain unchanged.

Within *quoted translations by others*, *brackets* enclose material that JTW has added, and *parentheses* are used to enclose material by the initial translator that was (A) originally in parentheses, (B) originally in brackets, or (C) originally in the main text (but here is treated as added explication).

11 They follow the format outlined in WIXTED: “*Kanshi* in Translation: How Its Features Can Be Effectively Communicated,” which stresses the importance of supplying the following: (1) the *kanshi* text, (2) *kundoku* 訓讀 renderings of how the poems might be read aloud ‘in Japanese,’ (3) a visual sense of the caesurae and rhymes involved by giving Chinese or *ondoku* readings, (4) naturalized *and* barbarized translations to bring out the ‘literal’ and paraphrasable sense of lines, and (5) notes to clarify the expressions being used, especially allusions, in terms of their diachronicity, referentiality, and contextual implication.

The only exception concerns the translations below of the two thirty-line *koshi* in “Matching-Rhyme Exchange: Ōgai Matching Ōgai.” The renditions there are sufficiently close to the original, while communicating the overall import of lines, that the supplying of separate barbarized and naturalized renderings did not seem warranted. Any necessary clarification is provided in the notes.

12 The question of whether Ōgai is alluding to an earlier work, drawing more generally on his vast storehouse of reading, or fortuitously employing a locution similar to earlier phrasing is a vexing one that has been treated in *idem*: “The *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction,” *JH* 14 (2011): 89–107. Since Ōgai was more likely to have read certain works noted there, including the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Literary Selections), items found in it are indicated here as they appear. The problem remains of considering whether a source, allusion, or echo is conscious or even semi-conscious, and if so, what its function is. Such expressions generally serve a combination of the following: to display familiarity with, find support in, resonate with, endorse, put a new or ironic twist on, and / or make a contrast with earlier usage. Even where there is no allusion, references to parallel usage enrich understanding of the locution and foster fuller appreciation of the text.

13 KOTAJIMA Yōsuke 古田島洋介: *Kanshi* 漢詩 (The Sino-Japanese Poetry), vols. 12 and 13 in *Ōgai rekishi bungaku shū* 鷗外歴史文學集, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 2000–1; and CHIN Seiho [CHEN Shengbao] 陳生保: *Mori Ōgai no kanshi* 森鷗外の漢詩 (The Sino-Japanese Poetry of Mori Ōgai), Meiji Shoin 明治書院 1993, 2 vols. Poem numbers for Ōgai’s *kanshi* follow Kotajima, as do most *kundoku* readings (but not the spacing of caesurae).

Matching-Rhyme Exchange: Ōgai Matching Ōgai
(as part of a debate with Imai Takeo 今井武夫, fl. 1889)

In February of 1889, Mori Ōgai became involved in one of his interminable arguments in print, this time with Imai Takeo concerning what term to use in Japanese for ‘statistics’ (or rather, the German term ‘Statistik’ and earlier Dutch ‘statistiek’). Ōgai argued for using the *kanji* compound *tōkei* 統計, Imai for using the transcribed German *sutachisuchikku* スタチスチック.¹⁴ There were no fewer than thirteen published communications back and forth between the two (the final installment appearing in February of 1890),¹⁵ two of which were *kanshi* by Ōgai. Since the second *kanshi* matches the rhymes of the first, the two are treated here.

Ōgai first wrote two articles about statistics (*tōkei*). Imai wrote a critique of them that, in turn, prompted a response by Ōgai. Imai then wrote a rebuttal, which occasioned both a prose response by Ōgai and the first *kanshi* (Poem #141) of the exchange. Another response by Imai followed, prompting Ōgai’s second *kanshi* (Poem #142, which in the title refers to Imai’s preceding ‘third rebuttal’). Ōgai was to continue with three more articles, followed by two from Imai.

Numerous terms had been used in Japanese for the German ‘Statistik’: 會計學, 國勢學, 國務學, 國務略論, 形勢, 知國學, 表記, 表書, 表記提綱, 紀, 綜紀學, 統計, 統計學, 政表, 政表學, 政表學論, 抄村杓, 抄知知^{スガチクチス}¹⁶, and スタチスチック. In fact, as terms for ‘statistics,’ 政表 had first been used by 1860, スタチスチック by 1867, and 統計 by 1869. A shift in Japanese adoption of the concept is reflected in the name of the official society for statistics: formed in 1876 as

14 Ōgai’s was a *kanji*-centric world. His preference for the logocentric over the phonocentric fits Karatani Kōjin’s 柄谷行人 schema; see WIXTED: “Mori Ōgai: Translation Transforming the Word / World”: 69, n. 16.

15 They are presented in tabular form by KOTAJIMA Yōsuke, 1: 340. A useful timeline of Ōgai’s broader involvement with statistics appears in OKADA Yasuo 岡田靖雄: “Tōkei ronsō o tōshite mita Mori Rintarō: Shinpojiumu e no dōnyū o kanete” 統計論争をとしてみた森林太郎: シンポジウムへの導入をかねて (“Mori Rintarō as Viewed through the Statistics Controversy: An Introduction to the Symposium”), *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 55.1 (March 2009): 97–100; the symposium, “Mori Rintarō and Mori Ōgai” 森林太郎と森鷗外, was held at the Faculty of Medicine of Juntendō University 順天堂大学医学部, November 22, 2008. Note also *idem*: “Mori Rintarō ‘Tōkei ronsō’ no haikai” 森林太郎 “統計論争”の背景 (“Mori Rintarō: Background to the ‘Statistics Controversy’”) *Igakushi kenkyū* 医学史研究 49 (March 1978): 199–211.

16 The latter two rare characters have below them, respectively, the radicals 寸 and 久.

the Hyōkigaku Sha 表記學社, it became Sutachisuchikku Sha スタチスチック社 in 1878, and changed to Tōkeigaku Sha 統計學社 in 1892.¹⁷

Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835–1901) had used the two terms *tōkei* and *sutachisuchikku* nearly interchangeably: “理財ノ事ヲ吟味スルニハ先ツ統計表ノ詳ナルモノナカル可カラズ即チ西洋ニ所謂「スタチスチック」是ナリ。” “When closely examining political economy, detailed tables of statistics (*tōkeihyō*) are indispensable; they are what in the West are called *sutachisuchikku* (‘Statistik’).”¹⁸ Fukuzawa is echoing an earlier view that statistics are necessary for the modern state. In a memorial of February 1872, Sugi Kōji 杉亭二 (1828–1917), ‘the father of statistics’ in Japan,¹⁹ “[had] called statistics ‘the first essential in the management of the state’ [國家輕論之第一要事] and ‘indispensable in the practical economics of government’ [政務の具經濟の要].”²⁰

17 HAYASHI Fumihiko 林文彦: “Nihon tōkeigaku-shi kō: Mori Rintarō hakase no tōkeikan ni tsuite” 日本統計学史考: 森林太郎博士の統計観について (“Research on the History of Statistics in Japan: Mori Ōgai’s View of Statistics”), in *Mori Ōgai* 森鷗外, Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankō Kai 日本文学研究資料刊行会, ed., Yūseidō 有精堂 1970: 75–77. The article – a reprint from *Waseda shōgaku* 早稲田商学 127 (Feb. 1957) – makes no reference to Ōgai’s two *kanshi*. Much background material is found in DATE Kazuo 伊達一男: “Tōkei ronsō” 統計論争 (“The Statistics Controversy”), *Ōgai* 18 (Jan. 1974): 48–70; rpt. as Chap. 2, Pt. 2, of *idem: Ishi to shite no Mori Ōgai* 医師としての森鷗外 (Mori Ōgai as a Physician), Tokyo: Sekibundō Shuppan 續文堂出版 1981): 135–58.

18 *Bunkenron* 分權論 (On Decentralization of Power; where Fukuzawa argues for less centralized government), Urisabaki Shorin 賣捌書林 1877: 119; available online from the Fukuzawa Collection of Keiō University: http://project.lib.keio.ac.jp/dg_kul/fukuzawa_search.php.

19 Sugi was also the fourth most prolific of the *Meirokeisha* 明六社 (*Meiji* 6 [1873] *Society*) authors, although he did not write about statistics in the journal.

20 D[avid] J[ames] HUIH: *The Nature and Role of the Meirokusha: A Reassessment*, Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University 1970, 2 vols.: 1: 192, citing TSUKATANI Akihiro 塚谷晃弘: “Sugi Kōji no gakumon to shisō: Meiji no wasurerareta shisōka zō” 杉亭二の学問と思想: 明治の忘れられた思想家像 (The Learning and Thought of Sugi Kōji: A Portrait of a Forgotten Meiji Thinker), *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 76.8 (Aug. 1967): 74 and 75. The Huish dissertation is available online: <https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au>. Note the section devoted to Sugi: 1: 187–96.

Sugi Kōji tells of his devotion to the field: “[Around 1874–75] when Akamatsu Noriyoshi [1841–1920] returned from Europe, knowing my passion for statistics, he presented me with a book, namely: Haushofer’s *Statistik*. ... [W]hen I read Oettingen’s *Moralstatistik*, I realised more and more the great benefits of statistics to the world”; Huish: 1: 190 (italics added), citing TSUKATANI: 74: “明治七八年の頃赤松則良氏が歐羅巴から歸られた時予がスタチスチックを好むにより一冊の書物を贈られた、是即ちハウスホーヘル氏著スタチスチックであった。... 又エッチンゲン氏のモーラル・スタチスチック等を讀み益々スタチスチックの世に大効益あるを知った。” Huish discusses briefly the two Western texts referred

‘Statistics’ were part of a more general societal matrix of the time, as well as a tool of the quantifying, controlling Meiji state. They “were a tactic by which the state legitimated itself as an entity that identified, quantified, and addressed society’s weaknesses.”²¹ As argued elsewhere:

L’introduction des statistiques implique une saisie plus totale, mais aussi plus abstraite, de l’unité nationale. ... ‘Documents’ (*zatsuroku* [雑録]), ‘reportages’ (*kiji* [記事]), ‘statistiques’ (*tōkei* [統計]), ‘informations importantes’ (*yōhō* [要報]) témoignent tous les quatre d’un rapport à la réalité objective – qu’il faut ‘enregistrer’ (*roku* [録]), ‘consigner’ (*ki* [記]), ‘mesurer’ *kei* [計], et ‘transmettre’ (*hō* [報]).²²

The dispute between Ōgai and Imai transcended the question of which term to use for translating ‘Statistik,’ as there was an additional philosophical dimension to the exchange. The “three points in dispute” have been summarized as follows: “(1) Whether or not *tōkei* 統計 was a proper translation of ‘Statistik.’ (2) Whether ‘Statistik’ was science or natural philosophy. And (3) whether, if traced to its origins, ‘Statistik’ can bring about cosmological understanding.”²³

to: 2: 341, n. 280. Note the *katakana* rendering of ‘statistics’ by Sugi, whose lead is followed by Imai Takeo.

Also noteworthy are the sections on Fukuzawa Yukichi and Sugi Kōji in ŌKUBO Takeharu [大久保健晴]: “The Rise of Statistical Thinking in Meiji Japan,” Sect. 2 of *idem: The Quest for Civilization: Encounters with Dutch Jurisprudence, Political Economy, and Statistics at the Dawn of Modern Japan*, David NOBLE, tr., Leiden: Global Oriental 2014: 80–126.

21 Online review by Craig COLBECK of Anne Marie Lyn DAVIS: *Bodies, Numbers, and Empires: Representing ‘The Prostitute’ in Modern Japan (1850–1912)*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles 2009; <http://dissertationreviews.org/archives/624>. Further, “[The author draws] attention to a strong literature on the development of statistics as a vehicle of state power and scientific authority in nineteenth-century Europe.”

22 Emmanuel LOZERAND: *Littérature et génie national: Naissance d’une histoire littéraire dans le Japon du XIX^e siècle*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2005: 368, n. 6 and 225.

23 NISHINA Kōichirō 西名紘一郎: “‘Tōkei ronsō’ no gendaiteki igi” 「統計論争」の現代的意義 (“The Modern Significance of the ‘Statistics Controversy’”), *Mori Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 森鷗外記念会通信 175 (July 2011): 6:

三つの論争点:

(1) スタチスチックを統計と訳すことの是非。

(2) スタチスチックは科学か、理法か。

(3) スタチスチックは源因を探り、その天法を知りえるものか。

The author has a later article: “Tōkeigaku būmu no genryū: Wasuresareru Ōgai nado senjin no ashiato” 統計学ブームの源流: 忘れ去れる森鷗等先人の足跡 (“The Origins of the Boom in Statistics Studies: Forgotten Traces of Ōgai and Other Pioneers”), *Mori Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 184 (Nov. 2013): 6–8.

As in the more famous debate of 1891–92 between Ōgai and Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1859–1935), the two parties started from incommensurable premises, so worked at cross-purposes, and the argument soon became pointless.²⁴

At first glance, Ōgai's Poem #142 matching the rhymes of Poem #141 might seem unduly self-indulgent – involving Ōgai, as it were, echoing himself. But it has been pointed out in reference to matching-rhyme poems written by Zekkai Chūshin 絶海中津 (1336–1405) and Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1326–89) that the two would follow the rhyme-schemes of three types of earlier poetry: (1) antecedent Chinese models, (2) models at hand in compositions by monks senior to themselves (*senpai sō* 先輩僧), and (3) models in their own earlier poetry.²⁵

Further, there is the example of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), who famously wrote a poem following the rhymes of an earlier composition of his own. The first, written while he was in prison under investigation for treason, expresses resignation at the thought of death. And the second, written when he was unexpectedly released, expresses joy. “In this case the use of the same rhyme words for poems in two such drastically different moods may also be regarded as an expression of the poet's philosophy that certain aspects of life are destined to fluctuate while others remain unchanged.”²⁶

Much in both of Ōgai's poems is written in good fun and with considerable wit. The second adopts a mock-heroic tone that is more suggestive of Alexander Pope than of 'Ōgai' as he is generally understood. Moreover, it is interesting that, already at this point in the debate – the eighth of thirteen

24 See John W. DOWER: “Mori Ōgai: Meiji Japan's Eminent Bystander,” *Papers on Japan*, vol. 2, Harvard East Asian Research Center, August 1963: 57–101. And Bruno LEWIN: “Mori Ōgai und die deutsche Ästhetik,” *Japanstudien* (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Instituts für Japanstudien der Philipp-Franz-von-Siebold-Stiftung) 1 (1989): 271–96; translation by Michael F. MARRA, “Mori Ōgai and German Aesthetics,” in *idem*, ed.: *A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2001: 68–92. As stated in the latter (78), “Essentially the [Ōgai – Shōyō] controversy centered on the many interpretations of the concept *risō*, which Shōyō, as an English scholar, primarily understood to mean ‘ideas’ whereas Ōgai worked with the German ‘*Idee*.’ ... [His] presentations were comparatively abstract and indeed often incomprehensible for his opponent Shōyō, as well as for other readers.” See also n. 27 below.

25 ASAKURA Hitoshi 朝倉和: “‘Wain’ kara mita Zekkai, Gidō” 「和韻」から見た絶海・義堂」（“Zekkai [Chūshin] and Gidō [Shūshin] Viewed in Terms of ‘Matching Rhymes’”), *Kodai chūsei kokubungaku* 古代中世国文学 20 (Jan. 2004): 50.

26 YOSHIKAWA Kōjirō [吉川幸次郎]: *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*, Burton WATSON tr., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1967: 41. See also WIXTED, “Sociability in Poetry”: 199–200.

exchanges – he unilaterally declares victory,²⁷ yet still manages to write three more responses.

The two published poems are signed, respectively, *Ōgai Gyoshi* 鷗外漁史 (‘Ōgai, the Fisher-Functionary’) and *Kojō Itsumin* 湖上逸民 (‘Lakeside Recluse’). In his appended notes to the two poems, Ōgai refers to himself simply as *Gyoshi* (‘Fisher-Functionary’) in the one and *Itsumin* (‘Recluse’) in the other. In both, his imagined interlocutor is *Kaku* 客 (‘Guest’).

Ōgai Gyoshi is one of Ōgai’s favorite pen names.²⁸ ‘Lakeside Recluse,’ used much less frequently, had been the name attached to his preceding contribution in the Imai exchange, which appeared in the same issue of *Tōkyō iji shinshi* 東京醫事新誌 (Tokyo Medical Journal) as Poem #121.²⁹ Of course, Ōgai

27 Cf. NAKAI Yoshiyuki [中井義幸] about the celebrated Ōgai – Naumann dispute of 1886–87: “The controversy was degenerating into incoherence and pettiness. After attempting to show that Naumann’s counterattack was in error, Ōgai unilaterally declared his victory in the verbal duel”; *The Young Mori Ōgai (1862–1892)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1974: 119.

28 There is a possible sardonic edge to *Gyoshi*. “‘Gyoshi’ en tant que tel ne figure pas dans les dictionnaires, où le mot courant pour désigner le pêcheur est ‘漁夫 *gyofu*.’ Cependant, sur le même modèle, on trouve ‘獵史 *ryōshi* (le chasseur).’ Ajoutons par ailleurs que ‘史 *shi*’ a parfois le sens de ‘fonctionnaire,’ ce qui pourrait s’interpréter comme une contradiction intentionnelle entre le pêcheur et le bureaucrate”; Emmanuel LOZERAND: *Les Tourments du nom: Essai sur les signatures d’Ōgai MORI Rintarō (1862–1922)*, Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise 1994: 44, n. 164.

Ōgai’s own article, “Ōgai Gyoshi to wa tare zo?” 鷗外漁史とは誰ぞ (OZ 25: 122–28), does little to explicate the term; translated by William J. TYLER: “Who Is Ōgai Gyoshi?” in *Not a Song Like Any Other: An Anthology of Writings by Mori Ōgai*, J. Thomas Rimer, ed., Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press 2004: 5–16. The following statement in Rimer’s introductory note to the translation ends with a debatable point: “This word [*Gyoshi*], which suggests seeking for literary knowledge, was used by Ōgai since his years in Germany. William J. Tyler, the translator, has wisely left the term in the original [i.e., romanized].” One might counter: as a result, the term remains totally unclarified. Additionally, Christopher Scott WEINBERGER treats “Ōgai Gyoshi to wa tare zo?” in literary and psycho-biographical terms without explaining its meaning; *An Ethics of Self-Consciousness in Modern Japanese Literary Writing*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 2009: 17–21; available online via ProQuest Dissertations & Theses.

Note, in addition to the self-reference in Poem #142 treated in this section, Ōgai is addressed as ‘Ōgai Gyoshi’ in the title to Poem #161 Orig. in “Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Hayakawa Kyōjirō” below.

29 *Itsumin* has poetic antecedents. Cf. Pan Yue (247–300): 潘岳 閒居賦 (文選 16): “身齊逸民、名綴下士。” “My status now equals that of a recluse, / And my name is now linked with the lesser gentlemen.” (David R. Knechtges tr.) Also Lu Ji (261–301): 陸機 招隱: “尋山求逸民、穹谷幽且遐。” “I search mountains in pursuit of the recluse, / Deep valleys dark and distant” (JTW tr.).

鷗外 (‘Beyond the Seagulls’) itself is a pen name.³⁰ And a ‘fisherman’ and a ‘seagull’ might naturally be found ‘lakeside.’

Poems #141 and #142 are thirty lines each and use the same rhyme word throughout. For the sake of convenience, they are broken into ten-line segments below.

#141

A Poem by Mori Ōgai

答今井武夫君

“In Reply to Mr. Imai Takeo”

“*Imai Takeo-kun ni kotau*” “Dá Jīnjǐng Wǔfū jūn”

30-line, four-character *koshi* 古詩 (*gǔshī*). Rhyme category: 平聲上十二(文)韻

August 10, 1889

	昔有壯士	
2	不屑千軍 唯畏拙射	GUN / jūn
4	東西不分 發矢無的	BUN / fēn
6	迴避徒勤 嗟吾所懼	GON [KIN] / qín
8	獨有井君 縱橫論議	KUN / jūn
10	絲麻其禁	FUN / fén

30 For discussion of three possible interpretations of the *nom de plume*, Ōgai – ‘By [or Beyond] the Seagulls’ (in allusion to Du Fu), ‘Near Gull Ferry’ (i.e., in the vicinity of Senju), and ‘Far from Gull Ferry’ (i.e., well removed from Gion / Yoshiwara) – see “Mais que veut dire ‘Ōgai gyoshi’?” Sect. 6 of LOZERAND: *Les Tourments du nom*: 43–56. David HAWKES says of the use of 鷗, “[I]n ancient Chinese tradition to be a friend of the gulls is to be innocent and simple – a child of nature”; *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1967: 110.

Although Du Fu makes more than two dozen poetic references to seagulls, there is only one instance of 鷗外: QTS 229 (2494): 杜甫, 船下夔州郭宿, 雨濕不得上岸, 別王十二判官: “柔櫓輕鷗外, 含淒覺汝賢。” “(Unable to go ashore in the rain to bid you farewell in person) / On frail skiff, beyond the seagulls buoyant – / I am forlorn, aware of your wisdom (which I will have to forego on this occasion)” (JTW tr.). Note the list of fifteen Meiji *kan-bun* authors who, inspired by Du Fu, adopted ‘seagull’ as part of their pen name; LOZERAND: *Les Tourments du nom*: 47, n. 177.

	<i>Mukashi sōshi ari</i>	Xí yǒu zhuàngshì
2	<i>Sengun o kaerimizu</i>	Bú xiè qiānjūn
	<i>Tada osoru sessha no</i>	Wéi wèi zhuōshè
4	<i>Tōzai wakatazaru o</i>	Dōngxī bù fēn
	<i>Ya o hassuru ni mato nakunba</i>	Fā shǐ wú dì
6	<i>Kaihi itazura ni tsutomu</i>	Huóbì tú qín
	<i>Aa wa ga osoruru tokoro</i>	Jiē wú suǒ jù
8	<i>Hitori Sei-kun ari</i>	Dú yǒu Jǐng-jūn
	<i>Jūō ni rongi shite</i>	Zōnghéng lùnyì
10	<i>Shima sore midaru</i>	Sīmá qí fén

- Once there was a sturdy fellow (Mr. Imai),
 2 Who scarcely heeded a thousand troops (my host of arguments).
 I simply worry about this clumsy shooter,
 4 One who can't tell east from west.
 He unleashes arrows where there's no target;
 6 Dodging them, a tiring waste.
 Ay! As for what I fear,
 8 There is only Mr. Imai –
 Arguing first one way, then another,
 10 What a jumble of silk and hemp.

Line 1: ‘Sturdy fellow’: A witty reference to Imai’s first name, Takeo 武夫, which is incorporated into Line 5 of matching-rhyme Poem #142.

Line 2: ‘Scarcely heeded’: Cf. Liu Xie (ca. 465–ca. 521), *Wenxin diaolong* 50: 劉勰, 文心雕龍, 序志: “同之與異, 不脛古今。” “Whether concurring or disagreeing with them, I pay no heed to whether they are ancients or moderns” (JTW tr.).

Line 3: ‘Clumsy shooter’: Cf. *Mengzi* 7A41: 孟子, 盡心上: “大匠不爲拙工改廢繩墨, 羿不爲拙射變其彀率。” “A great craftsman does not put aside the plumb-line for the benefit of the clumsy carpenter. Yi did not compromise on his standards of drawing the bow for the sake of the clumsy archer” (D.C. Lau tr.).

Line 4: ‘Can’t tell east from west’: Cf. *Mengzi* 6A.2: 孟子, 告子上: “性之無分於善不善也, 猶水之無分於東西也。” “Man’s nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to [lacks any distinction between] the east and west” (James Legge tr.). Also *Huainanzi* 11: 淮南子, 齊俗訓: “古者民童蒙不知東西。” “Anciently, the people were puerile and ignorant and did not know east from west” (Andrew Meyer tr.).

Ōgai is saying that, not only does Mr. Imai shoot arrows that are inaccurately aimed (not differentiating between east and west), he also shoots them indis-

criminally without knowledge of whether they apply to the East (China and/or Japan) or the West.

Line 6: ‘Dodging them’: Cf. Shen Jing (1553–1610): 沈璟, 義俠記, 除凶: “正是路狹難迴避。” “Truly, the road being narrow, it was hard to dodge” (JTW tr.).

Line 10: ‘Silk and hemp’: The compound originally appears in the *Zuozhuan*: 左傳, 成公九年: “詩曰:「雖有絲麻、無棄菅蒯。」” “The ode (now lost) says, ‘Though you have silk and hemp, / Do not throw away your grass and rushes” (James Legge tr.). But later the term could refer to something of value being jumbled together with something ordinary; e.g., Du Fu (712–70), QTS 221 (2343): 杜甫, 園官送菜: “點染不易虞、絲麻雜羅紈。” “Gegen eine Beschmutzung durch den Saft des Portulaks kann man sich nur schwer vorsehen; / es ist wie wenn Hanf-fäden in einem Seidengewebe vermischt wären (dagegen kann auch nichts getan werden)” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

	妄談法則	
12	無奈寡聞 日因日果	BUN / wén
14	茫々浮雲 八面明徹	UN / yún
16	本是吾文 僅窺一側	BUN / wén
18	夫子自云 百家擾々	UN / yún
20	喧噪如蚊	BUN / wén
	<i>Midari ni hōsoku o danji</i>	Wàng tán fāzé
12	<i>Kabun o ikan to mo suru nashi</i>	Wú nài guǎwén
	<i>In to ii ka to iu mo</i>	Yuē yīn yuē guō
14	<i>Bōbō taru fu'un nari</i>	Mángmáng fúyún
	<i>Hachimēn meitetsu naru wa</i>	Bāmiàn míngchè
16	<i>Moto kore wa ga bun</i>	Běn shì wú wén
	<i>Wazuka ni issoku o ukagau to wa</i>	Jīn kuī yícè
18	<i>Fūshi mizukara ieri</i>	Fūzǐ zì yún
	<i>Hyakka jōjō</i>	Bǎijǐa rǎorǎo
20	<i>Kensō ka no gotoshi</i>	Xuānzào rú wén
	He talks haphazardly of ‘laws,’	
12	But there is no cure for little knowledge.	
	When he speaks first of ‘cause,’ then ‘effect,’	
14	It is as far off as floating clouds.	
	On all fronts, intelligently incisive,	

- 16 Such, in fact, is *my* writing.
 Saying, “You barely glimpse a single facet,”
 18 The ‘Master’ (Mr. Imai) is, in fact, speaking of himself.
 Dozens of scholars, all in confusion (over how to translate ‘Statistik’),
 20 Their cacophony like that of mosquitoes.

Line 12: ‘Little knowledge’: Cf. *Zhuangzi* 19: 莊子, 達生: “今[孫]休、款啟寡聞之民也。” “Now Sun Xiu is a man of ignorance and little learning” (Burton Watson tr.). Also Liu Xie, *Wenxin diaolong* 38: 劉勰, 文心雕龍, 事類: “所作不可悉難、難便不知所出、斯則寡聞之病也。” “His works could not stand scrutiny, because such scrutiny would reveal their lack of support from classical sources. This is an example of the problem of shallow learning” (Yang Guobin tr.).

Line 14: ‘Floating clouds’: A witty play on the well-known expression in *Analects* 7/16: 論語, 述而: “不義而富且貴、於我如浮雲。” “Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness, are to me as a floating cloud” (James Legge tr.).

Line 17: ‘Glimpse’: Cf. *Liji* 9: 禮記, 禮運: “皆可俯而窺也。” “(The remaining creatures) could all be looked down at and glimpsed” (JTW tr.). Also Han Yu (768–824): 韓愈, 順宗實錄 4: “人莫能窺其意。” “[N]o one was able to guess [get a glimpse of] what they were up to” (Bernard S. Solomon tr.).

Line 18: ‘The Master is, in fact, speaking of himself’: A slight variation of *Analects* 14/28: 論語, 憲問: “夫子自道也。” “What the Master has just quoted is a description of himself” (D.C. Lau tr.). What makes the allusion humorous is the fact that a reference to a hallowed figure (Confucius) from a pedigreed text (the *Analects*) is wittily being turned *against* the one being referred to (Mr. Imai).

Line 19: ‘In confusion’: Cf. *Liezi* 3: 列子, 周穆王: “今頓識既往、數十年來存亡、得失、哀樂、好惡、擾擾萬緒起矣。” “Now suddenly I remember; and all the disasters and recoveries, gains and losses, joys and sorrows, loves and hates of twenty or thirty years past rise up in a thousand tangled threads” (A.C. Graham tr.). The confusion is over the terms in Japanese for ‘Statistik’ listed above on p. 69.

	湏留正義	
22	一炬悉焚 却憐瑣吉	FUN / fén
24	誤蒙俗氣 地下有恨	FUN / fēn
26	墮淚紛々 君欲邀我	FUN / fēn
28	豈云不燬 唯酒未熟	IN / yīn
30	恐叵取醺	KUN / xūn

	<i>Subekaraku seigi o todome</i>	Xū liú zhèngyì
22	<i>Ikkyo ni kotogotoku yaku beshi</i>	Yíjù xī fén
	<i>Kaette awaremu Sakichi no</i>	Què lián Suǒjí
24	<i>Ayamatte zokufun o kōmuru o</i>	Wù méng sùfēn
	<i>Chika ni urami areba</i>	Dìxià yǒu hèn
26	<i>Namida o otosu koto funbun tari</i>	Duò lèi fēnfēn
	<i>Kimi ware o mukaen to hossureba</i>	Jūn yù yāo wǒ
28	<i>Ani iwan ya nengoro narazu to</i>	Qǐ yún bù yīn
	<i>Tada sake imada juku sazu</i>	Wéi jiǔ wèi shóu
30	<i>Osoraku wa ei o tori-gatakarān</i>	Kǒng pǒ qǔxūn

Let's settle on the correct definition (mine, of course) –

- 22 And with a torch burn all the rest.
What a shame, even Sakichi
- 24 Wrongly came under its vulgar cloud.
Thinking of her in the nether region, resentful,
- 26 One's tears fall in profuse disarray.
Since you, Sir, would invite me to be your guest,
- 28 One can scarcely say you are inattentive.
But since the wine has not yet fermented,
- 30 It might be hard to get a bit drunk.

Line 22: 'With a torch': Cf. Du Mu (803–52): 杜牧, 阿房宮賦: “楚人一炬、可憐焦土。” “(In 206 B.C.) the man of Chu (i.e., Xiang Yu 項羽) with a torch (burned down E'pang Palace of the Qin): / How wrenching, the scorched earth!” (JTW tr.).

Lines 23–26: 'Sachiko': KOTAJIMA Yōsuke points to the possibility (per OZ 38: 117) that Sakichi 瑣吉 is a reference to Eiko えい子, namely Okamoto Eiko 岡本榮子, better known as Kimura Akebono 木村曙 (1872–90), author of the novel *Fujo no kagami* 婦女の鑑 (The Mirror of Womanhood), which appeared serially in the *Yomiuri shinbun* the same year Ōgai's poem was written.³¹ She was one of many Meiji women authors to die young (but cannot be the implied subject of

31 Kimura Akebono was “the first woman novelist to be serialized in a major newspaper”; Marianne Mariko HARRISON: *The Rise of the Woman Novelist in Meiji Japan*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago 1991: 149. The novel is summarized in TANAKA Yukiko [田中幸子]: *Women Writers of Meiji and Taishō Japan: Their Lives and Critical Reception, 1868–1926*, Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company 2000: 28–32. Excerpts have been translated by Margaret MITSUTANI as “A Mirror for Womanhood, Part 1” and “A Mirror for Womanhood, Part 2,” *The Magazine* (Esso Oil Co., Japan) 3.5 (May 1988): 50–55, and 3.6 (June 1988): 51–54.

Lines 25–26, since she was alive until the following year).³² Unclear is what connection, if any, there may be between ‘statistics’ and either Kimura Akebono or the main character in her novel (Hideko 秀子).³³ A scan of the work turns up no instance of the use of *tōkei* or *sutachisuchikku*.³⁴

CHIN Seiho conjectures that Sakichi may refer to ‘Österlen’ (in *rōmaji*), a reference he in no way clarifies. The book on statistics by Friedrich Oesterlen (1812–77), *Handbuch der medicinischen Statistik*, appeared in editions of 1865 and 1874. While still in Germany, Ōgai was told of the work by Kure Shūzō 呉秀三 (1865–1932, ‘the father of psychiatry in Japan’) in a letter dated January 7, 1887, the first extant reference linking Ōgai with statistics; OKADA Yasuo, “Tōkei ronsō o tōshite mita Mori Rintarō”: 97.

Line 27: Up to this point, Mr. Imai has been referred to in the third person (which can also serve as a type of direct address in Japanese: e.g., “Would *sensei* like some tea?”). There is a shift here – not uncommon in *koshi* – to overt second-person address.

Line 29: Entire line, paraphrased: “It would be premature for us to meet.”

Line 30: ‘A bit drunk’: As pointed out by A. Charles MULLER, *xūn* 醺 means “to be tipsy from drinking a moderate amount; to have a buzz on; to feel good from drinking without getting drunk”; online CJKV-English Dictionary. Cf. Du Fu, QTS 229 (2488): 杜甫, 撥悶: “聞道雲安麴米春、纔傾一醞即醺人。” “Ich habe Leute

32 “Kimura Akebono died in 1890 at the age of 19, Wakamatsu Shizuko [若松賤子] died in 1896 at the age of 33, Tazawa Inafune [田沢稲舟] died in 1896 at the age of 23, Higuchi Ichiyō [樋口一葉] died in 1896 at the age of 25, Kitada Usurai [北田薄氷] died in 1900 at the age of 25, Nakajima Shōen (Toshiko) [中島湘煙(俊子)] died in 1901 at the age of 38”; SUZUKI Tomi [鈴木登美]: “*The Tale of Genji*, Modernism, and National Literature,” a paper for the symposium, “*The Tale of Genji* in Japan and the World: Social Imaginary, Media, and Cultural Production,” Columbia University, March 25–26, 2005. The passage is not included in the published article that followed: “*The Tale of Genji*, National Literature, Language, and Modernism,” in *Envisioning ‘The Tale of Genji’: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, Haruo SHIRANE, ed., New York: Columbia University Press 2008: 243–87.

33 In reference to *genbun itchi* discussion of written style, in a letter to the editor Ōgai cites a “Mrs. Yoshikawa” who is said by modern scholars to be a pen name for Kimura Akebono; Joseph ESSERTIER: “Elegance, Propriety, and Power in the ‘Modernization’ of Literary Language in Meiji Japan,” in *The Linguistic Turn in Contemporary Japanese Literary Studies: Politics, Language, Textuality*, Michael K. BOURDAGHS, ed., Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan 2010: 263, n. 38.

Note SHIRAI Yukari 白井ユカリ: “Kimura Akebono kenkyū” 木村曙研究 (“Research on Kimura Akebono”), *Seikei jinbun kenkyū* 成蹊人文研究 21 (March 2013): 29–60; available online: http://repository.seikei.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10928/321/1/jinbun-21_29-60.pdf.

34 The novel is reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū* 明治文學全集 81: *Meiji joryū bungaku shū* 明治女流文學集 (An Anthology of Meiji-Period Literature by Women Authors), Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房 1966: 200–45.

sagen gehört, dass der aus Reis bereitete Wein von Yun'an / Den Menschen [ein bißchen] trunken macht, selbst wenn man davon auch nur ein Glas trinkt" (Erwin von Zach tr.). Note also use of the graph by Yang Wanli (1127–1206) in the compound 一醺 (also found in the last line of matching-rhyme Poem #142): 楊萬里, 和羅巨濟山居十詠, 其七: “萬事休多問、三杯且一醺。” “About myriad affairs, best not to overly inquire; / Three cups and we'll get a bit drunk” (JTW tr.).

Ōgai's appended note to the poem:

客云。此詩意晦。漁史云。請客先讀今井氏文。則知意之晦在彼。而弗在此也。客首肯而去。漁史又識。

Guest said: “The meaning of this poem is obscure.”

Fisher-Functionary (Ōgai) replied: “First, please read what Mr. Imai wrote. Then you will know that the obscurity in meaning rests with him and not with what is here.”

Guest nodded in agreement and left.

So Fisher-Functionary retranscribed it (for readerly attention).

#142

A Matching-Rhyme Poem by Mori Ōgai

讀第三駁議 寄今井武夫君 用鷗外魚史韻

“Sent to Imai Takeo Upon Reading His Third Rebuttal, Using the Rhymes of Ōgai Gyoshi”

“*Daisan bakugi o yomi, Imai Takeo-kun ni yosu. Ōgai Gyoshi no in o mochiiru.*”

“Dú dìsān bóyì. Jì Jīnjǐng Wǔfū jūn. Yòng Ōuwài Yúshǐ yùn”

30-line, four-character *koshi* 古詩 (*gǔshī*). Rhyme category: 平聲上十二(文)韻

October 19, 1889

	臥龍既死	
2	能却魏軍 簡冊歷ヶ	GUN / jūn
4	曾傳三分 起ヶ武夫	BUN / fēn
6	拒戰太勤 綸巾羽扇	GON [KIN] / qín

8	何圖走君 兵甲委地	KUN / jūn
10	人馬勞々	FUN / fén
	<i>Garyō sude ni shishite</i>	Wòlóng jì sǐ
2	<i>Yoku Gigun o shirizoku</i> <i>Kansaku rekireki to shite</i>	Néng què Wèijūn Jiǎncè lìlì
4	<i>Katsute sanbun o tsutau</i> <i>Kyūkyū taru Bufu (Takeo)</i>	Céng chuán sānfēn Jiǔjiǔ Wǔfū
6	<i>Ikusa o fusegu koto hanahada tsutomu</i> <i>Kankin usen</i>	Jùzhàn tàiqín Lúnjīn yǔshàn
8	<i>Nan zo hakaran kimi o hashirashimuru o</i> <i>Heikō chi ni yudane</i>	Hé tú zǒu jūn Bīngjiǎ wèidì
10	<i>Jinba funbun tari</i>	Rénmǎ fénfén

- Reclining Dragon, though dead,
 2 Could rout Wei troops;
 ‘Corded bamboo bundles’ (rolls of history), so vivid,
 4 Have handed down the ‘Three Divisions’ – Wei, Wu, and Shu.
 Courageous Mr. Valiant (‘Takeo’)
 6 Works diligently putting up resistance.
 By silk headband and feathered fan,
 8 Who would have thought he’d be sent packing –
 Arms and armor scattered on the ground,
 10 Man and horse in confused disarray.

Lines 1–2: ‘Reclining Dragon’ refers to Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), famed Shu strategist of the Three Kingdoms; e.g., *Sanguozhi* 35 (912): 三國志, 蜀志, 諸葛亮傳: “徐庶...謂先主曰:「諸葛孔明者, 臥龍也, 將軍豈願見之乎?»” “Xu Shu ... said to the first ruler (Liu Bei), ‘Zhuge Kongming (Zhuge Liang) is the Reclining Dragon. Does not your Honor wish to grant him an audience?’” (Lisa Raphaels tr.). Reclining Dragon was such a formidable opponent that, upon the news of his death, the enemy Wei commander Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251), suspecting a ruse to lure him into battle, retreated. As the fictional *Sanguozhi yanyi* 三國志演義 (Romance of the Three Kingdoms) relates (ch. 104): “於是蜀中人諺曰:「死諸葛能走生仲達。」” “After this, a saying gained currency in Shu, ‘A dead Zhuge puts a live Sima to flight!’” (Moss Roberts tr.).

Line 3: ‘Corded bamboo bundles’: As explained by Tsien Tsuen-hsuei [錢存訓 Qian Cunxun], “A single bamboo tablet was called a *jiǎn* 簡 and a wooden one *dú* 牘. Several tablets bound together with cords to form a physical unit were called *cè* 簡”; *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5: *Chemistry and Chemical Tech-*

nology, Part 1: *Paper and Printing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985: 32. The term functions metonymically to mean ‘historical record.’ Cf. Liu Zongyuan (773–819): 柳宗元, 楊評事文集, 後序: “詞正而理備、謂宜藏於簡冊也。” “The phrasing is correct, the principle complete: to wit, it is fit to be stored in the historical record (< corded bamboo bundles)” (JTW tr.).

Line 4: ‘Three Divisions’: The Three Kingdoms: Wei 魏, Wu 吳, and Shu 蜀. The term is used nearly verbatim in the same context both in the official history and in the fictional version: *Sanguozhi* 35 (919) and *Sanguozhi yanyi* (ch. 91): “先帝創業未半、而中道崩殂。今天下三分、益州疲弊。” “The late Emperor, his task of restoration not yet half complete, was taken from us midcourse. The empire is now divided in three parts, and Yizhou is spent” (JTW tr.).

Line 5: ‘Courageous Mr. Valiant’: Cf. *Shijing* #7: 詩經, 周南, 兔置: “赳赳武夫、公侯干城。” “That stalwart, martial man / Might be shield and wall to his prince” (James Legge tr.). ‘Takeo,’ of course, is Imai’s first name. Furthermore, as the reference to the ‘shield and wall of his prince’ suggests, there may be an implied reference to Imai’s championing of his mentor (i.e., his ‘prince’), Sugi Kōji, ‘the founder of Japanese statistics’ referred to in the introduction to this section.

Line 6: ‘Putting up resistance’: Cf. *Sanguozhi* 36 (943): 三國志, 蜀志, 張飛傳: “(張)飛呵(嚴)顏曰:「大軍至、何以不降而敢拒戰?」” “(Zhang) Fei berated (Yan) Yan, saying, ‘Once our grand army arrived, why, rather than surrender, did you dare put up resistance?’” (JTW tr.).

Lines 7–8: ‘Silk headband and feathered fan’: Accoutrements often linked with Zhuge Liang; e.g., Gu Yanwu (1613–82): 顧炎武, 復周制府書: “綸巾羽扇、諸葛公之爲將足見風流。” “Silk headband and feathered fan – the flair Duke Zhuge presented as general” (JTW tr.). But the term has also been associated with another general of the period, Zhou Yu 周瑜 (175–210): e.g., Su Shi: 蘇軾, 赤壁懷古: “遙想公瑾當年... 羽扇綸巾。” “I think of Gongjin (i.e., Zhou Yu) back then ... / With silk headband and feathered fan” (JTW tr.).

CHIN Seiho understands the phrase, ‘silk headband and feathered fan,’ to refer to Imai; KOTAJIMA Yōsuke takes it to describe Ōgai. The latter interpretation fits better, given the context and the couplet that follows, where an imposing Ōgai puts to flight a craven Imai (the verb 走 being the same as the one used to refer to Sima Yi in the note to Lines 1–2 above).

Line 9: ‘Arms and armor’: Cf. *Mengzi* 4A.1: 孟子, 離婁上: “城郭不完、兵甲不多、非國之災也。” “It is not the exterior and interior walls being incomplete, and the supply of weapons offensive and defensive [< arms and armor] not being large, which constitutes the calamity of a kingdom” (James Legge tr.).

Line 9: ‘Scattered on the ground’: Cf. the different meaning of the compound 委地在 #158 Orig. (Line 4) in “Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Hayakawa Kyōjirō” below.

	敗衄如此	
12	古來罕聞 君盍自悟	BUN / wén
14	見日披雲 「方外」之記	UN / yún
16	流言飛文 「誤診」錯視	BUN / wén
18	夫子自云 森子猶在	UN / yún
20	入室避蚊	BUN / wén
	<i>Haijiku suru koto kaku no gotoki wa</i>	Bàinù rú cǐ
12	<i>Korai mare ni kiku nomi</i>	Gǔlái hǎnwén
	<i>Kimi nan zo mizukara satorazaru</i>	Jūn hé zì wù
14	<i>Hi o miru ni kumo o hiraku o</i>	Jiàn rì pīyún
	<i>‘Hōgai’ no ki wa</i>	‘Fāngwài’ zhī jì
16	<i>Ryūgen hibun nari</i>	Liúyán fēiwén
	<i>‘Goshin’ sakushi wa</i>	‘Wùzhēn’ cuòshì
18	<i>Fūshi mizukara ieri</i>	Fūzǐ zì yún
	<i>Shinshi nao ari</i>	Sēnzǐ yóu zài
20	<i>Shitsu ni irite ka o saken to su</i>	Rùshì bìwén

- Bloody nosed defeat like this,
 12 From of old scarcely heard of.
 So why not wake to the fact
 14 You now see the sun, clouds peeled away? (I have enlightened you)
 Your reference to ‘Beyond the Pale’ (punning on my name, *Hōgai* / *Ōgai*) –
 16 Scurrilous scuttlebutt!
 And with the wrong assessment of ‘misdiagnosis,’
 18 The ‘Master’ (Mr. Imai) is, in fact, speaking of himself;
 Mori is still around (he didn’t kill himself),
 20 But will withdraw to quarters to avoid a mosquito (i.e., someone pesky like you).

Line 11: ‘Bloody nosed defeat’: Cf. Bo Juyi (772–846): 白居易, 論行營狀 (全唐文 668): “已敗衄者、不聞得罪。” “As for those who have suffered bloody nosed defeat, one does not hear of their being punished” (JTW tr.).

Line 14: ‘Clouds peeled away’: Cf. Xu Gan (ca. 170–ca. 217), *Zhonglun* 16: 徐幹, 中論, 審大臣: “文王之識也、灼然若披雲而見日、霍然若開霧而觀天。” “Wen Wang’s powers of recognition were brilliant, just like the clouds opening up to

reveal the sun, and swift, just like the mist disappearing to show the sky” (John Makeham tr.).

Line 15: ‘Beyond the pale’: In his third rebuttal, Imai Takeo had related the story of a medical quack who committed suicide after misdiagnosing a mild illness that afterwards became grave. Someone made a witty verse comment about the doctor’s suicide poem (as cited in KOTAJIMA Yōsuke 1: 346): “方外のみたてなる故是非もなし / 守ちがひたる^{まじ}の加減は。” “Inevitable, a diagnosis beyond the pale (*hōgai*), / Given mis-maintaining (*mori*) of R-spoon measures” (JTW tr.). *Mori* and *hōgai* refer to ‘Mori Ōgai.’ *Hōgai* makes for a wonderful pun on the author’s pen name, for more about which see n. 30 above.

The expression *fāngwài* (or *hōgai*) means ‘beyond the bounds (of the physical world),’ as in the following: *Chuci*: 楚辭, 遠游: “覽方外之荒忽兮, 沛罔象而自浮。” “I gazed into the emptiness there, beyond the world’s end; / Then onwards still I floated, over that watery vastness” (David Hawkes tr.). Also *Huainanzi* 2: 淮南子, 俶真訓: “真人...馳於方外、休乎宇內。” “The Genuine ... gallop beyond the bounds (of the world); / and rest beneath the roof (of the cosmos)” (Harold D. Roth and Andrew Meyer tr.). *Fāngwài* hence has the extended meaning of ‘(one who is) beyond the bounds of the physical world (namely, a Buddhist or Daoist monk).’

More negatively, the compound means ‘beyond the bounds of normal or accepted behavior.’ It is in this sense that Ōgai is being characterized by Imai. Note the following pejorative usages: *Zhuangzi* 6: 莊子, 大宗師: “子貢...曰:「彼何人者邪? 修行無有、而外其形骸、臨尸而歌、顏色不變、無以命之。彼何人者邪?」孔子曰:「彼遊方之外者也、而丘游方之內者也。」” “‘What sort of men are they anyway?’ (Zigong) asked. ‘They pay no attention to proper behavior, disregard their personal appearance and, without so much as changing the expression on their faces, sing in the very presence of the corpse: I can think of no name for them! What sort of men are they?’ ‘Such men as they,’ said Confucius, ‘wander beyond the realm, men like me wander within it’” (Burton Watson tr.). And Liu Yiqing (403–44), *Shishuo xinyu* 23: 劉義慶, 世說新語, 任誕: “阮(籍)方外之人、故不崇禮制。” “Ruan [Ji] is a man beyond the realm of ordinary morality (*fāngwài*) and therefore pays no homage to the rules of propriety” (Richard B. Mather tr.).

Ōgai is stung by the characterization and in the following lines temporarily drops his mask of insouciant indifference.

Line 16: ‘Scurrilous scuttlebutt’: Cf. *Hanshu* 36 (1945): 漢書, 劉向傳: “巧言醜詆、流言飛文、譁於民間。” “With clever words and merciless character attacks, with baseless rumors and scurrilous smears, they stirred up the populace” (JTW tr.).

Line 18: ‘The ‘Master’ (Mr. Imai) is, in fact, speaking of himself’: A repetition of Line 18 in antecedent Poem #141.

Lines 19–20: To paraphrase: “Yours truly is still around – no suicide! (as related in the note to Line 15) / I’ll go in now, to avoid pesky you.”

	只恐崑火	
22	玉石俱焚 東臺之下	FUN / fén
24	路出塵氛 花香泛々	FUN / fēn
26	客醉紛々 待君已久	FUN / fēn
28	意豈不慤 黔驢之背	IN / yīn
30	往謀一醺	KUN / xūn
	<i>Tada osoru Konka no</i>	Zhǐ gǒng Kūnhuǒ
22	<i>Gyokuseki tomo ni yaku o</i>	Yùshí jù fén
	<i>Tōdai no moto</i>	Dōngtái zhī xià
24	<i>Michi jibun o izu</i>	Lù chū chénfēn
	<i>Hana kaoru koto hanhan to shite</i>	Huā xiāng fānfān
26	<i>Kaku you koto funbun tari</i>	Kè zuì fēnfēn
	<i>Kimi o matsu koto sude ni hisashikereba</i>	Dài jūn yǐ jiǔ
28	<i>I ani nengoro narazaran ya</i>	Yì qǐ bù yīn
	<i>Kenro no se</i>	Qiánlú zhī bēi
30	<i>Yukite ikkun o hakare</i>	Wǎng móu yì xūn

My only fear: that with your Mt. Kun blaze,
 22 Jades and stones will both get consumed.
 Here next to Ueno, by ‘East Platform,’
 24 The road leads away from worldly dust:
 Flowers’ fragrance wafts and floats,
 26 And a visitor, drunk, becomes disoriented.
 Having long awaited you,
 28 How could I be less than attentive?
 On black donkey’s back
 30 Do come, and we’ll plan to get a bit drunk.

Lines 21–22: ‘With your Mt. Kun blaze, / Jades and stones will both get consumed’: The allusion is to the *Shujing*: 書經, 夏書, 胤征: “火炎昆岡、玉石俱焚。” “When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kun, gems and stones are burned together” (James Legge tr.). Namely, good and bad get indiscriminately destroyed.

- Line 23:** ‘East Platform’: In his explanatory note to Poem #212 (treated in WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 210), Ōgai uses the term to refer to Ueno.
- Line 24:** ‘Worldly dust’: Cf. Du Fu, QTS 226 (2447): 杜甫, 觀李固請司馬弟山水圖三首, 其二: “此生隨萬物、何路出塵氛。” “Mein Leben folgt dem der ganzen Natur; / wo ist doch ein Ausweg aus dem Staub dieser Welt?” (Erwin von Zach tr.).
- Line 26:** ‘Visitor, drunk’: Cf. Meng Haoran (689–740), QTS 160 (1668): 孟浩然, 戲題: “客醉眠未起、主人呼解醒。” “Visitor, drunk, hasn’t slept it off yet, / As Host shouts, ‘Sober up!’” (JTW tr.).
- Line 27:** Note the change of address at the same point as in antecedent Poem #141.
- Line 29:** ‘Black donkey’: By placing Imai on a ‘black donkey,’ Ōgai is caricaturing him as someone, in effect, whose bark is worse than his bite. The reference is made explicit in Ōgai’s appended note to the poem quoted below.
- Line 30:** ‘A bit drunk’: See the note to the last line of the antecedent poem.

Ōgai’s appended note to the poem:

客云。黔驢何義。逸民云。聞之柳州。黔驢一鳴。猛虎大駭。見其怒蹄。則虎不復憚之。今井氏騎之。須記其性耳。客笑以爲然。逸民又識。

Guest inquired, “What does ‘black donkey’ mean here?”

Recluse (Ōgai) replied: “One hears of it in the writings of Liuzhou (i.e., Liu Zongyuan):

When a black donkey (which heretofore had not been seen in the region) brayed, the fierce tiger was much afraid. But seeing how, when angry, the donkey stomped its hoof, the tiger feared it no more.³⁵

Now if Imai-san comes riding on one, we can note his natural temperament.”

Guest laughingly agreed.

So Recluse retranscribed the poem (for readerly attention).

Ōgai opens Poem #142 with witty reference to ‘Takeo,’ ‘Mr. Valiant’ (Lines 1–14). Alluding in Line 15 to his having been called ‘Beyond the Pale,’ Ōgai becomes annoyed and makes barbed comments (Lines 16–20). Ultimately, he regains his composure and sense of decorum (Lines 21–30), but not without further reference to Imai-san as a paper tiger.

35 Ōgai’s is a much abbreviated summary of one of the “Three Admonitions” by Liu Zongyuan: 柳宗元, 三戒, 黔之驢 (*Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 585). For a complete translation, see Chen Yu-shih [陳幼石, Chen Youshi]: *Images and Ideas in Chinese Classical Prose, Studies of Four Masters*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1988: 95–96. For nine additional Western-language translations, see Wilfried SPAAR: *Liu Zongyuan’s Works in Translation: A Bibliography*, Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin 2003 (Neuerwerbungen der Ostasienabteilung, Sonderheft 4): 27–28.

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Hayakawa Kyōjirō 早川恭次郎, fl. 1894

Hayakawa Kyōjirō's pen name was Kyōnan 峽南. He is also referred to as Hayakawa Kyōtarō 早川恭太郎 and as Hayakawa Kyō 早川龔.³⁶

The matching-rhyme poetry exchange between Mori Ōgai and Hayakawa Kyōjirō is important for three reasons. First, it includes one half of Ōgai's matching-rhyme regulated-verse; three of the six that he wrote were exchanged with Hayakawa. Second, appearing as they do in *Sosei nikki* 徂征日記 (Off on Campaign: A Diary), they relate directly or indirectly to the Sino-Japanese War and afford a glimpse into Ōgai's attitude at the time. Two of the exchanges straddle the war, one occasioned by Ōgai's departure for Korea and China, the other by his assignment to Taiwan immediately after the conflict. The in-between exchange was written in continental Asia during the war. Together with Ōgai's poem in "Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Noguchi Neisai" presented below, and another (non-matching, non-*risshi*) *kanshi*,³⁷ they account for five of Ōgai's eight *kanshi* appearing in *Sosei nikki* (Poems #154–61). Third, the poems themselves are of interest, reflecting the world of the time, the personalities of the two men, and a mix of poetic achievement: Hayakawa's *kanshi* are respectable (the second is his best). Ōgai's are uneven, the first being satisfactory, the second mixed, and the third quite good.

Hayakawa Kyōjirō, like Ōgai, was a physician with an interest in *kanshi*. He was detailed to the First Army Corps' Transport Division for the Wounded 第一師團患者輸送部. Ōgai's position was Chief of the Medical Unit of the Supplies Depot for the Second Army 第二軍兵站軍醫部長.

Ōgai was to spend three periods of varying length overseas on wartime military duty, during which he wrote a total of thirteen *kanshi*:

1) Ten months in Korea and on the Liaodong Peninsula during the Sino-Japanese War, from September 1894 to May 1895. (The war had started in August 1894 and was concluded in April of the following year.) The #154 and #158 matching-rhyme exchanges from the time are treated in this section on Hayakawa Kyōjirō. (The #160 exchange, also from the period, is treated in

36 The former in a letter by Ōgai (#64; OZ 36: 29); the latter by NAKAMURA Tadayuki 中村忠行: "Meiji kanshibun-jin gagō ichiran" 明治漢詩文人雅号一覧 ("A Table of *Noms de plume* of Meiji Writers of Sino-Japanese Poetry and Prose"), in *Meiji kanshibun shū* 明治漢詩文集 (A Selection of Meiji-Period Sino-Japanese Poetry and Prose), KANDA Kiichirō 神田喜一郎, ed., Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房 1983 (Meiji bungaku zenshū 62): 443.

37 Poem #156, also from *Sosei nikki*, has been treated earlier; see n. 42 below.

“Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Noguchi Neisai” below.) Seven of the eight *kanshi* in *Sosei nikki* were written during the war.

2) Nearly four months in Taiwan, from June to September 1895, while the island was in the final stages of ‘pacification’ by the Japanese. Since the #161 matching-rhyme exchange (which also appears in *Sosei nikki*) is with Hayakawa, it too is treated in this section.

3) Fifteen months in Manchuria, from April 1904 until January 1906, during the Russo-Japanese War. (The conflict started in February of 1904 and ended in September of 1905.) Five *kanshi* (Poems #167–71) date from the period.³⁸

The first matching-rhyme exchange between Hayakawa Kyōjirō and Mori Ōgai took place immediately prior to their departure for continental Asia from Ujina 宇品, the port adjacent to Hiroshima, on October 16, 1894.³⁹ Already, after the victories of the Japanese army at Pyongyang 平壤 on September 15–16 and of the Japanese navy on the Yellow Sea on September 17, the end of the war was near.

#154 Orig.

A Poem by Hayakawa Kyōjirō

呈森鷗外先生

“Presented to Mori Ōgai Sensei”

“Mori Ōgai sensei ni teisu” “Chéng Sēn Ōuwài xiānshēng”

Rhyme category: 平聲上十四(寒)韻

October 12, 1894, or shortly earlier

千里休歌道路難

NAN / nán

Of hundreds of miles (< a thousand *ri*) / do not sing // ‘The route is hard’

Senri utau o yame yo dōro katashi to

Qiānlǐ xiūgē dàolù nán

先鋒主帥戰將關

RAN / lán

The advance-guard / commander: // ‘The war is about to conclude’

Senpō no shusui tatakai masa ni takenawanaran to su

38 Three of the five (Poems #168–70), in exchange with Su Shoushan 宿壽山 (fl. 1905), are treated in WIXTED: “Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains”: 149–56.

39 Ōgai left Ujina for Korea on September 2, 1894, but had returned to Japan.

- Xiānfēng zhǔshuài zhàn jiāng lán
 About the hundreds of miles before us, do not sing, ‘The way is hard,’
 2 For our advance commander says, ‘The war is winding down.’
 滿清群賊驕膽碎
 The Manchu-Qing / thronged rebels // their arrogant gall shattered
Man-Shin no gunzoku kyōtan kudake
 Mǎn-Qīng qúnzéi jiāodǎn suì
 箕子山川朽骨寒 KAN / hán
 On Jizi’s / mountains and rivers // rotting bones turn cold
Kishi no sanzen kyūkotsu samushi
 Jīzǐ shānchuān xiǔgǔ hán
 The Manchu-Qing rebel throng, their arrogance in tatters,
 4 On mountains and rivers of Jizi – Korea – their rotting bones turn cold.
 臨陣狂夫仍倚劍
 Overlooking the camp / an ‘oddball’ // still leans on his sword
Rinjin no kyōfu wa nao ken ni yori
 Línzhèn kuángfū réng yǐ jiàn
 能文醫正早登壇 DAN / tán
 Accomplished at writing / the ‘principal practitioner’ // early
 mounted the dais
Nōbun no isei wa hayaku dan ni noboreri
 Néngwén yīzhèng zǎo dēng tán
 Here overlooking camp am I, a misfit, still leaning on his sword,
 6 While you, a chief physician accomplished at writing, long ago ascended
 high.
 駐軍不識秋光老
 Stationed troops / are unaware // autumn’s light is aging
Chūgun shiraji shūkō no oitaru o
 Zhùjūn búshì qiūguāng lǎo
 賦到當頭月一團 DAN / tuán
 This composition completed / straight ahead / the moon a single orb
Fushi-itaru tōtō tsuki ichidan
 Fù dào dāngtóu yuè yìtuán
 The troops stationed here take no notice that autumn’s light is fading;
 8 My poem finished, before us the moon a single orb.

Line 2: ‘Advance-guard commander’: Namely, the commander of the Japanese First Army already on the Korean peninsula.

Line 4: ‘On Jizi’s mountains and rivers’: Jizi, or the Viscount of Ji, was putatively the uncle or brother of the last ruler of the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–ca. 1045 B.C.). During the following Zhou dynasty he was enfeoffed with an area whose name 朝鮮 (Ch. ‘Cháoxiǎn,’ Jpn. ‘Chōsen,’ Kor. ‘Chosŏn’) became the traditional term for Korea: *Shiji* 38 (1620): 史記, 宋微子世家: “於是武王乃封箕子於朝鮮而不臣也。” “At this King Wu enfeoffed the Viscount of Ji with Chaoxian, but the latter did not consider himself a vassal of Zhou” (Wm. H. Nienhauser, Jr., et al. tr., modified). Hence, ‘Jizi’s mountains and rivers’ refers to Korea.

Line 6: ‘Principal Practitioner’: An office in China in Sui-Tang and Yuan times, of comparatively low status (like that of all artisans); Charles O. HUCKER: *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1985: 266.

Line 6: ‘Mounted the dais’: I.e., achieved success.

#154 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Hayakawa Kyōjirō

峽南早川君有詩見贈乃次韻却寄

“Having Been Presented a Poem by Mr. Hayakawa Kyōnan, I Send Him One in Return with Matching Rhymes”

“Kyōnan Hayakawa-kun, shi ari okuraru. Sunawachi jūn shite kyakki su”

“Xiánán Zǎochuān-jūn yǒu shī jiàn zèng. Nǎi cìyùn quèjì”

Rhyme category: 平聲上十四(寒)韻

October 12, 1894

一掃韓山不見難

NAN / nán

To do a clean sweep / of Han Mountains // does not evidence difficulty

Kanzan o issō shite kataki o mizu

Yìsǎo Hánshān bújiàn nán

天兵逐北戰將闌

RAN / lán

(Our) Heavenly Troops / pursue them in defeat // the war about to conclude

Tenpei niguru o oi tatakai masa ni takenawanaran to su

Tiānbīng zhúběi zhàn jiāng lán

To sweep Han Mountains (the Korean peninsula) clear of Chinese – that presents no difficulty;

2 Our imperial troops pursue them in defeat: the war will soon draw to a close.

賊情纔恐櫻鱗怒

The rebel situation-*cum*-sentiment / only now fears // ruffled dragon-scale anger

Zokujō wazuka ni osoren eirin no ikari

Zéiqíng cái kǒng yīnglín nù

士氣應忘墮指寒

KAN / hán

(Our) warrior spirit / is up to forgetting // a cold where fingers are broken off

Shiki masa ni wasuru beshi dashi no kan

Shìqì yīng wàng duòzhǐ hán

The rebels at last are fearful of the dragon's ire (that of our Emperor), having ruffled its scales;

- 4 Ours is a warrior spirit oblivious to the (Korean) cold that can freeze off fingers.

期我瘦骸埋異域

It is to be expected that / my emaciated frame // be buried in foreign realms

Wa ga sōgai mote iiki ni uzumen to kishi

Qí wǒ shòuhái mái yìyù

欽君孤劍謝騷壇

DAN / tán

It is admirable that you / with lone sword // bade farewell to poetry circles

Kimi no koken mote sōdan o shaseru o yorokobu

Qīn jūn gūjiàn xiè sāotán

It is to be expected that my emaciated frame end up buried in foreign lands;

- 6 But how admirable that you, with lone sword, bade poetry circles farewell.

艤舫解纜知何日

The warship / untying its hawsers // who knows when (< what day?)

Mōdō kairan izure no hi naru ka o shiran ya

Méngtóng jiělǎn zhī héri

且賞灣頭月正圓

DAN / tuán

Temporarily, let us appreciate / the bay // its moon just now full

Shibaraku shōsen wantō tsuki no masa ni maroki o

Qiě shǎng wāntóu yuè zhèng tuán

Who knows when our warship, hawsers loosened, will set sail;

- 8 For now let us enjoy Ujina Bay, the moon turned full.

Title: ‘Having Been Presented’: The use of 見 as a passive auxiliary, although much more common in vernacular and modern Chinese, does appear in classic texts. Each is illustrated by the following. Kong Shangren (1648–1718): *Taohuashan* 24: 孔尚任, 桃花扇, 罵筵: “非也。這是畫友藍瑛新來見贈的。” “No, this was presented to me by Lan Ying, a painter-friend who recently arrived” (JTW tr.). And *Mengzi* 7B.29: 孟子, 盡心下: “盆成括見殺。” Pencheng Kuo was put to death” (JTW tr.).

Title: ‘Send Him One in Return’: The compound 却寄 – and even more so its variant 卻寄 – appears at the end of numerous titles of Tang poems sent in reply to earlier verse: cf. Li Bo (701–62), QTS 184 (1883): 李白, 秋浦寄內: “我今尋陽去, 辭家千里餘。結荷倦水宿, 卻寄大雷書。” “Jetzt bin ich nach Xunyang (Jiangxi) gegangen / und bin hier von meiner Familie über tausend Meilen entfernt. / Hier habe ich gesehen, wie Leute auf dem Wasser in Booten unter zusammengelegten Lotusblättern (als Schutz gegen Regen) übernachteten (wie dies im Briefe des Dichters Bao Zhao [鮑照, 414–66] an seine Schwester geschildert wird); / und in Erinnerung daran sende ich Dir diese Verse aus Qiupu, wie jener Brief am grossen Donnersee verfasst wurde” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Line 2: ‘Pursue them in defeat’: The term appears in *Zhuangzi* 25: 莊子, 則陽: “逐北旬有五日而後反。” “The victors pursue the vanquished for fifteen days before returning to their base” (Victor H. Mair tr.). Even more germane is *Hanshu* 1B (63), which also includes an expression used in Line 4 below: 漢書, 高帝紀下: “上從晉陽連戰, 乘勝逐北, 至樓煩, 會大寒, 士卒墮指者什二三。” “The Emperor, (starting) from Jinyang, fought a succession of battles and took advantage of his victories to pursue the defeated. He went to Loufan, (where) he met with a severe cold spell, (so that) two or three out of every ten officers and soldiers lost fingers (or toes)” (Homer H. Dubs tr.).

Line 3: ‘The rebel situation-cum-sentiment’: In classical texts, the 情 in 賊情 generally refers to the ‘situation’ of rebel insurgents: e.g., *Hanshu* 99C (4171): 漢書, 王莽傳下: “於是群下愈恐, 莫敢言賊情者。” “Thereupon the numerous subordinates [of the ruler] feared all the more and none presumed to speak of the bandits’ circumstances” (Homer H. Dubs tr.). Ōgai’s usage, however, shades into modern-language usage: ‘sentiment – or feeling – of the rebels (< thieves).’

Line 3: ‘Ruffled dragon-scale anger’: The allusion is to *Hanfeizi* 12: 韓非子, 說難: “人主亦有逆鱗, 說者能無嬰人主之逆鱗則幾矣。” “The ruler of men too [like the dragon] has his bristling scales. Only if a speaker can avoid ruffling them will he have any hope for success” (Burton Watson tr., modified). Cf. Su Shi: 蘇軾, 謝中書舍人啟: “有狂狷嬰鱗之愚。” “There is the foolishness of being impetuous or overcautious and ruffling the dragon’s scales” (JTW tr.). The verb Ōgai uses, 櫻 (‘to ruffle or rub the wrong way’), is nearly synonymous with 嬰.

Line 4: ‘Cold that can freeze off fingers’: See the note to Line 2. The reference in this context is to Korean winters.

Lines 3–4: To paraphrase: “Having ruffled the scales of the dragon, the Chinese have gone too far, provoking our Emperor’s ire. / Our valiant Japanese troops can withstand notorious Korean winters.” Note that just three days prior to writing the poem, Ōgai had an audience with the Meiji Emperor, who had arrived at the Hiroshima garrison the previous month.

Line 6: ‘Poetry circles’: The 騷 in 騷壇, originally a reference to the “Li sao” 離騷 (“On Encountering Sorrow”) of Qu Yuan 屈原 (343-278 B.C.) in *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of the South), and to verse written in its style, came to refer to ‘poetry’ in general in compounds like 詩騷.

For prior use of ‘poetry circles,’ cf. Kong Shangren, *Taohuashan* 4: 孔尚任, 桃花扇, 偵戲: “論文采、天仙吏、謫人間。好教執牛耳、主騷壇。” “Speaking of literary excellence, he is a heavenly immortal banished to be among men (i.e., another Li Bo); he could be made the acknowledged leader (< the one who in antiquity, as the head of the alliance, ‘held the ox’s ear’ for blood sacrifice at conferences of states) in command of poetic circles” (JTW tr.).

‘Poetry circles’ inevitably suggests the Japanese *bundan* 文壇 (‘literary establishment’) – in this case, that of the *kanbun* elite – and may allude to some recent specific circumstance in Hayakawa’s life.

Lines 5–6: To paraphrase: “It is to be expected that I, as a military man, might die abroad, / But how admirable that you, ‘with lone sword’ (i.e., valiant, but melancholy), gave up one of your favorite pastimes (meeting with friends to exchange *kanshi*) to be here.”

Line 7: ‘Hawsers loosened’: Cf. Du Fu, QTS 232 (2555): 杜甫, 大曆三年春白帝城放船出瞿塘峽久居夔府將適江陵漂泊有詩凡四十韻: “老向巴人裏、今辭楚塞隅。入舟翻不樂、解纜獨長籲。” “Lange Zeit habe ich unter den Leuten Sichuans verbracht; / jetzt verlasse ich endlich das Grenzland von Chu. / Ich besteige das Schiff und bin trotzdem nicht freudig gestimmt; / als das Tau losgebunden wird, bin ich es allein, der tief aufseufzt” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Two war poems comprise the matching-rhyme exchange that follows.⁴⁰ Hayakawa’s is a heartfelt piece that describes the scene of battle after the fall of Ryojun (Port Arthur) on October 21, 1894.⁴¹ Ōgai’s effort is more distant emotionally while more specific in geographical reference.⁴² Notwithstanding the real humanity of Hayakawa’s response to the devastation, almost in spite of

40 For more concerning *kanshi* about war, see n. 53 below.

41 Note the entry in Ōgai’s diary for the day: “此日は第二軍旅順に逼るの時なり。…夜半報あり云う旅順我有となると。” “Today the Second Army pressed the attack on Ryojun.... At midnight came the report, ‘Ryojun is ours!’”; *Sosei nikki*, OZ 35: 242.

42 A more uniformly successful effort (if uncommonly plain in expression for Ōgai) is Poem #156 dated a few days earlier on October 5, 1894, treated in WIXTED: “Matching-Rhyme

himself he ends on a note of astonished contempt and triumph. The final three lines of Ōgai's poem also express a conventional and unreflective nationalism that, by comparison, is contrived; yet the opening two couplets, especially the second, are excellent.⁴³ Not surprisingly, neither in this exchange nor in Ōgai's diary is there any reference to the atrocities committed by Japanese troops against the Chinese populace over a period of several days after Port Arthur capitulated.⁴⁴

#158 Orig.

A Poem by Hayakawa Kyōjirō

旅順口進撃所見 大和劍禪

“As Witnessed at the Attack on Lüshunkou” By ‘Yamato Sword-Zen’

“*Ryōjunkō shingeki no shoken*” *Yamato Kenzen* “Lǚshùnkǒu jìnjī suǒjiàn Dàhé Jiànchán”

Rhyme category: 平聲下七(陽)韻

Composed between late October 1894 and early January 1895

三軍咄喊逼嚴疆 KYŌ / jiāng

‘Three armies’ / in battle cry // press the key border fortress

Sangun tokkan shite genkyō ni semari

Sānjūn duōhǎn bī yánjiāng

光景蕭疎是戰場 YŌ / chǎng

The sight / forlorn // this battlefield

Kōkei shōso taru wa kore senjō

Guāngjǐng xiāoshū shì zhànchǎng

Our ‘three armies’ in battle cry assault the border fortress –

2 What a forlorn sight, this battlefield!

Kanshi of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains”: 150, n. 44. The depredations of war are also decried in poems Ōgai exchanged with Su Shoushan; *ibid.*: 149–56.

43 Ichimura Sanjirō 市村瓊次郎 (1864–1947), with whom Ōgai earlier had a matching-rhyme poetry exchange (*ibid.*: 142–44), was instrumental in the revision of the poem; for details, see KOTAJIMA Yōsuke, 2: 21.

44 SUENOBU Yoshiharu 末延芳晴: “*Sosei nikki ni kakarenakatta koto*” 「徂征日記」に書かれなかったこと (“What Could Not Be Written in *Off on Campaign: A Diary*”), Chap. 2 in *idem: Ōgai to Nis-Shin, Nichi-Ro sensō* 鷗外と日清・日露戦争 (Ōgai and the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars), Heibonsha 平凡社 2008: 35–49.

鮮血滿谿流水赤

Fresh blood / fills gullies // the flowing water red

Senketsu wa tani ni michite ryūsui akaku

Xiānxiě mǎnxī liúshuǐ chì

攔槍委地陣雲黃

kō / huáng

(The baleful comets) ‘Gouge’ and ‘Lance’ / die out // clouds in phalanx turn yellow

Sansō wa chi ni yudanete chin’un ki nari

Chānqiāng wěidì zhènyún huáng

Fresh blood fills gullies, flowing water turns red;

- 4 Baleful comets wizen, the cloud phalanx turns yellow.

江山凜冽輿圖壯

Rivers and mountains / biting cold // the territory strong

Kōzan rinretsu yoto sō ni shite

Jiāngshān lǐnlìè yútú zhuàng

壁壘荒殘雨雪涼

RYŌ / liáng

Ramparts / turned to wasteland // rain and snow chilling

Hekirui kōzan usetsu ryō nari

Bǐlěi huāngcán yǔxuě liáng

Rivers and mountains biting cold, the territory tough;

- 6 Ramparts turned to wasteland, rain and snow chilling.

失嶮清兵眞可笑

Surrendering mountain crags / the Qing troops // are truly laughable

Ken o ushinae Shinpei makoto ni warau beshi

Shīxiǎn Qīngbīng zhēn kěxiào

北洋此地固金湯

TŌ / tāng

Along the North Pacific / this land // is indeed ‘a metal (wall) and scalding (moat)’

Hokuyō kono chi moto yori kintō

Běiyáng cǐdì gù jīntāng

Qing troops surrender high ground – downright ludicrous!

- 8 Along the North Pacific, this land – nailed down tight.

Title: ‘Lüshunkou’: Formerly known as Port Arthur or Ryojun, Lüshun City (or Lüshun Port) is now a district in the Chinese municipality of Dalian.

Title: ‘Yamato Sword-Zen’: A pen name of Hayakawa.

Line 1: ‘Three armies’: Cf. *Analects* 9/26: 論語, 子罕: “三軍可奪帥也、匹夫不可奪志也。” “The Three Armies (i.e., the armies of a large state) may be stripped of

their commander, but even a simple commoner cannot be deprived of his will” (Burton Watson tr.).

Line 1: ‘In battle cry’: The expression 吽喊 is virtually synonymous with 呐喊 (nàhǎn, *tokkan*), later made famous as the title of the 1922 collection of stories by Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881–1936).

Line 2: ‘The sight’: Cf. Han Yu, QTS 339 (3805): 韓愈, 酬裴十六功曹巡府西驛塗中見寄: “是時山水秋, 光景何鮮新。” “This is the time when mountains and streams turn autumnal; / The sight, how fresh!” (JTW tr.).

Line 4: ‘Baleful comets’: Traditionally in East Asia, comets were considered ‘ominous, uncanny, weird’ (*yāo* 妖). Comets, especially tailed ones, were omens of “armed conflict, royal claimants and pretenders, avenging swords, spears, the execution of great men, widespread slaughter, insurrections in the marches (pointed to by the comet’s tail), treason, female usurpers, conflict between suzerain and vassal. ... The message was always the same – disaster”; Edward H. SCHAFER: *Pacing the Void: T’ang Approaches to the Stars*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1977: 109.⁴⁵

Line 4: ‘Die out’: Cf. the example of this use of 委地 by Fang Xiaoru (1357-1402): 方孝孺, 讀「戰國策」: “文武之道、至於春秋之世委地矣。” “The Way of Kings

45 The terms 攙槍, 攙槍, and 攙槍 are virtually interchangeable. Reference to 攙槍 comes from *Huainanzi* 2: 淮南子, 椒真訓: “萬物恬漠以愉靜, 攙槍衡杓之氣, 莫不彌靡, 而不能為害。” “(Among the people of antiquity ...) [t]he myriad things were peaceful and dispassionate and so became contented and tranquil. The *qi* of (baleful comets such as) ‘magno-lias,’ ‘lances,’ ‘colliders,’ and ‘handles’ (sobriquets derived from the perceived shapes of ill-augured comets) was in every case blocked and dissipated so that they were unable to cause harm” (Harold D. Roth and Andrew Meyer tr.). There is precedent for interpreting 攙槍 as ‘magnolias’ and ‘lances’: Ho Peng Yoke (何丙郁 Ho Bingyu) in his translation of the “Treatise on Astronomy” of the *Jinshu* (晉書, 天文志, 11–13 [277–403]), where twenty-one ominous asterisms are described (12 [323–26]), renders *tiānqiāng* 天槍 and *tiānchān* 天欖, respectively, as ‘Celestial Lance’ and ‘Celestial Magnolia Tree’ (although ‘Celestial Sandalwood’ would be more accurate for the latter); *The Astronomical Chapters of ‘The Chin shu,’ with Amendments, Full Translation and Annotations*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966: 130–34, especially 130.

Edward H. SCHAFER, however, interprets *tiānchān* (天欖) to be the ‘gouge of heaven,’ explaining that it “is a ‘Broom star’ (*huìxīng* 慧星) [perihelical comet] with a hook shape, like a latheman’s gouge – but the overall effect suits a crescent-headed comet with a curved biting edge”; *Pacing the Void*: 108. His lead is followed by David R. KNECHTGES in renderings of two of the five examples in the *Wenxuan* where one of the three compounds is used. But he takes the first character to be modifying the second: hence, ‘gouging lance’; *Wenxuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1982–96, 3 vols.: 1: 255 (Line 157) and 2: 27 (Line 88). In two other instances, he simply renders the compound as ‘comets’: 1: 417 (Line 632) and 2: 121 (Line 70). The fifth occurrence, by Xie Zhan (387–421), while not translated by Knechtges, is treated by Erwin von ZACH: 謝瞻, 張子房詩: “垓下殞攙槍。” “[I]n Gaixia gelang es ihm den unheilvollen (kometengleichen Xiang Yu) zu vernichten”; full citation on p. 105: 2: 318.

Wen and Wu, coming to the Spring and Autumn period, died out” (JTW tr.). The term is more commonly used in the sense ‘scattered on the ground,’ as in Poem #142 (Line 9) of “Matching-Rhyme Exchange: Ōgai Matching Ōgai,” treated above. Cf. Bo Juyi, QTS 435 (4819): 白居易, 長恨歌: “花鈿委地無人收。” “Her hairpins scattered over the earth, no one picking them up” (Ching Ti tr.).

Line 4: ‘Clouds in phalanx’: Cf. *Shiji* 27: 史記, 天官書: “陣雲如立垣。” “Clouds in phalanx were like erect walls” (JTW tr.). Also Gao Shi (ca. 706–65), QTS 19 (225): 高適, 燕歌行: “殺氣三時作陣雲, 寒聲一夜傳刁斗。” “For three seasons long, winds of destruction form into phalanx of cloud; / Sounds in the cold: the whole night through, the ringing of watch kettles” (Stephen Owen tr.).

Line 4: Entire line: Inasmuch as 攙 has the related meanings of ‘to prick, stab; sharp, pointed,’ the two phrases, ‘baleful comets’ and ‘die out,’ might also be construed as follows: “Pointed spears scattered on the ground, clouds in battle-array turn yellow.”

Line 6: ‘Ramparts’: The term appears four times in the *Wenxuan*, twice as the name of a constellation; the other two as follows: Yang Xiong (53 B.C.–A.D. 18): 揚雄, 甘泉賦 (文選 7): “屬堪與以壁壘兮。” “[He] assigns Geomancer (the spirit of geomancy) to the ramparts” (David R. Knechtges tr.). And Mei Cheng (d. ca. 140 B.C.): 枚乘, 七發 (文選 34): “壁壘重堅。” “Row after row of stout bulwarks and ramparts” (Victor H. Mair tr.).

Line 7: ‘Downright ludicrous!’: Japanese deprecation of Chinese was becoming increasingly common at the time. Cf. the comment by S.C.M. PAINE: “Worse still was the effect [of the war] on Sino-Japanese relations, which, prior to the war, had been very cordial. Educated Japanese had felt a deep admiration for Chinese high culture and had been gracious hosts to visiting Chinese scholars. During the war, Japanese respect rapidly degenerated into contempt while the Chinese learned to loathe the Japanese”; *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003: 7. By the end of the conflict, “prints, songs and war plays had convinced the Japanese that the Chinese were backward, cowardly, and even contemptible, unworthy heirs of a once-great tradition”; Donald KEENE: “The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and Japanese Culture,” in *idem: Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kodansha International Ltd. 1971: 273.

Ōgai was not above making similar deprecatory comments: e.g., Poem #159 (Lines 9–10), dated March 29, 1895: “猾相勞樽俎、雄軍收鼓旂。” “The prime minister – Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901) – is crafty in the way he maneuvers as a diplomat (< The crafty minister is assiduous at ‘wine goblets and meat bowls’ [i.e., ceremonial banquets, hence diplomacy – a phrase found in *Hanfeizi* 10]); / Our valiant army will soon pack up pennants and drums.” Keene notes, “The anti-Chinese feeling was levelled specifically at Li Hongzhang”: *ibid.*: 272. Similarly, years earlier in 1884, Ōgai had made distinctly unfavorable comment

about those in Taiwan who had offered resistance to the 1874 Japanese military expedition on the island.⁴⁶

It is not that the following conclusion by Richard John BOWRING about Ōgai and *Sosei nikki* is wrong; rather, it might be qualified: “The diary is in fact notable for the distinct lack of patriotic sentiment and the total absence of enthusiasm, which is in great contrast to the reactions of the majority of Japanese literary figures of the time”; *Mori Ōgai and the Modernization of Japanese Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979: 92. Note the sentiments found in the matching-rhyme poem by Ōgai that follows. It reflects both pride in Japanese army accomplishments and a patronizing attitude toward Chinese, both expressed in largely formulaic terms.

Cf. the following appraisal of *Uta nikki* (Diary in Song) of ten years later, which recorded Ōgai’s sentiments about the Russo-Japanese War: “The poems are distinctly patriotic, but quietly so”; Eric Wesley JOHNSON, *Mori Ōgai: The Fiction from 1909 to 1914*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago 1973: 27.

Line 8: ‘Metal and scalding’: The compound derives from *Hanshu* 45 (2159–60): 漢書, 蒯通傳: “必將嬰城固守、皆爲金城湯池、不可攻也。” “They are to surround the city-walls in sturdy defense, all having metal walls and scalding moats, so as to be impregnable” (JTW tr.). Cf. Bo Juyi, QTS 436 (4827): 白居易, 和渭北劉大夫借便秋遮虜寄朝中親友: “豹虎關西卒、金湯渭北城。” “Leopards

46 Ōgai’s untitled Poem #079 (of August 30, 1884), which appeared in *Kōsei nikki* 航西日記 (Diary of the Voyage West), was written shipboard while passing Taiwan en route to Europe:

絕海艨艟奏凱還

Battleships that plied the seas sang victory and returned;

果然一舉破冥頑

As expected, with a single blow they smashed the benighted blockheads (i.e., the uncivilized local natives).

卻憐多少天兵骨

Yet much to be regretted: bones of our Imperial troops

埋在蠻烟瘴霧間

Remain buried in southern-barbarian mists ’mid miasmal vapors.

The four-character phrase in the last line, 蠻烟瘴霧, had been used by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72).

Note a contemporary Japanese account of the 1874 expedition: “... Japanese soldiers came to this island to punish the violence of the Taiwan raw savages. But the untutored barbarians do not know ethics ... The savages lost heart and they surrendered and apologized, and at dawn on May 22 [1874] Japan’s imperial prestige (*ten’i*) shone before the world (*bankoku*) ...”; as cited in Robert ESKILDSEN: “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,” *The American Historical Review* 107.2 (April 2002): 406. Cf. the use of ‘raw aborigines’ by Ōgai, quoted in the note to Poem #160 Orig. (Line 5) in “Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Noguchi Neisai” below. Note also Nadin HEE: *Imperiales Wissen und koloniale Gewalt: Japans Herrschaft in Taiwan, 1895–1945*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus 2012.

and tigers, the soldiers west of the passes; / metal and scalding, the cities north of the Wei” (Howard S. LEVY tr. – with translator’s appended note that ‘metal and scalding’ is “a reference to metal walls and moats of scalding liquids, meaning a city of impregnable strength”; *Translations from Po Chü-i’s Collected Works*, vol. 2: *The Regulated Poems*, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp. 1971: 51).

Line 8: ‘This land – nailed down tight’: There are two complementary senses here: ‘this land that is traditionally nailed down tight (i.e., difficult to conquer)’ and ‘this land that is now nailed down tight (for us).’

#158 *M.O.*

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Hayakawa Kyōjirō

旅順戰後書感次韻

“Recording What I Felt After the Battle of Port Arthur: In Matching Rhymes”

“*Ryojun sengo, kan o shoshite, jūin su*” “Lǚshùn zhàn hòu shū gǎn, cì yùn”

Rhyme category: 平聲下七(陽)韻

Drafted January 2, 1895, completed January 14 or later, and dated to January 2

朝拋鴨綠失邊疆 KYŌ / jiāng

Morning, tossing away / the Yalu // losing the border

Ashita ni Ōryoku o nageutte henkyō o ushinai

Zhāo pāo Yālù shī biānjiāng

暮棄遼東作戰場 YŌ / chǎng

Evening, discarding / Liaodong // turning it into a battlefield

Kure ni Ryōtō o sutete senjō to nasu

Mù qì Liáodōng zuò zhànchǎng

Morning, Yalu discarded, the border lost;

2 Evening, Liaodong abandoned, turned into a battlefield.

陰火照林光慘澹

‘Shadowy fire’ / shines on the woods // rays dark and dreary

Inka hayashi o terashi hikari santan

Yīnhuǒ zhàolín guāng cǎndàn

伏屍掩野血玄黃 KŌ / huáng

Fallen corpses / cover the plain // blood mysteriously-dark yellow

Fukushi no o ōi chi genkō

Fúshī yǎnyě xiě xuánhuáng

‘Shadowy fire’ casts light in the wood, rays dark and dreary;

4 Strewn corpses cover the plain, blood a blackish yellow.

雄軍破敵如摧朽

Our heroic army's / smashing the enemy // is like splitting rotten wood

Yūgun no teki o yaburu koto kyū o kudaku ga gotoku

Xióngjūn pò dí rú cuīxiǔ

新政施恩似送涼

RYŌ / liáng

The new government's / bestowing of grace // is akin to the conveying of a cool breeze

Shinsei no on o hodokosu koto ryō o okuru ni nitari

Xīnzhèng shī'ēn sì sòngliáng

Our heroic army has smashed the enemy, like splitting rotten wood;

- 6 And our new government's bestowal of grace, the conveying of a cool breeze.

天子當陽徧威德

The Son of Heaven / facing the sun // universal his prestige and benevolence

Tenshi yō ni atatte itoku amaneshi

Tiānzǐ dāng yáng biàn wēidé

何須徒頌古成湯

TŌ / tāng

What need / pointlessly to sing the praises // of old Chengtang

Nan zo mochiin itazura ni inishie no Seitō o tatauru o

Héxū tú sòng gǔ Chéngtāng

The Son of Heaven, our Emperor, faces the sun, his prestige and benevolence universal;

- 8 No need to sing the praises of Chengtang – 'Compleat Tang' – of old.

Line 1: 'Yalu': The river demarcating the border between Korea and China.

Line 1: 'The border': The term appears as early as in the *Zuo zhuan*. Cf. Du Fu, QTS 217 (2285): 杜甫, 夏夜嘆: “念彼荷戈士、窮年守邊疆。” “I am thinking of our men who bear arms / To defend the frontier for the whole year” (William Hung tr.).

Line 2: 'Liaodong': The peninsula that was the site of final battles of the Sino-Japanese War (and later of major conflicts in the Russo-Japanese War).

Lines 1–2: Note that throughout the couplet the level and oblique tones in complementary positions between lines carry over into modern Mandarin.

Line 3: 'Shadowy fire': 'Yin fire' is similar to the *ignis fatuus*, or will-o-the-wisp, of the West.⁴⁷ Cf. Mu Hua (fl. ca. 300): 木華, 海賦 (文選 12): “陽水不治、陰火潛

47 “[Y]in fire is fire from hidden places beneath the surface of the earth or sea. The expression

然。” “Sunlit ice that does not melt, / Shadowy fires burning underwater” (David R. Knechtges tr.). Also Du Fu, QTS 216 (2262): 杜甫, 奉同郭給事湯東靈湫作: “陰火煮玉泉, 噴薄漲巖幽。” “Das Feuer im Innern der Erde bringt das glänzende Wasser der hiesigen Quellen zum Kochen; / sprudelnd benetzt es die einsame Felsenwildnis” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Line 3: ‘Dark and dreary’: Cf. Liu Yiqing, *Shishuo xinyu* 2: 劉義慶, 世說新語, 言語: “風霜固所不論、乃先集其慘澹。” “The wind and frost, of course, need not be spoken of; / But snow ‘first gathering’ – how dark and dreary!” (Richard B. Mather tr., modified).

Line 4: ‘Strewn corpses’: Cf. *Zhuangzi* 25: 莊子, 則陽: “(觸·蠻) 相與爭地而戰、伏尸[屍]數萬。” “The two kingdoms (‘Butt’ and ‘Barbarossa’ – both on the horn of a snail) often compete with each other and go to war, strewing the ground with tens of thousands of corpses” (Victor H. Mair tr.).

Line 4: ‘Blood a blackish yellow’: The *Yijing* uses the same locution, where it refers to the colors of Heaven and Earth and to the principles of *yang* and *yin*: 易經, 坤: “龍戰於野、其血玄黃。” “Dragons fight in the fields, their blood black and yellow” (Richard John Lynn tr.). It portrays an order that is out of balance. But 玄 can be understood as modifying 黃: e.g. *Shijing* #3: 詩經, 周南, 卷耳: “陟彼高崗、我馬玄黃。” “I was ascending that lofty ridge, / But my horses turned of a dark yellow” (James Legge tr.). And since 玄 commonly has the meaning of ‘mysterious, dark, obscure,’ the compound could be rendered ‘eerily yellow.’ While denoting the latter, Ōgai’s phrasing necessarily evokes the *Yijing* passage when used in the context of war.

Lines 3–4: SUENOBU Yoshiharu specifically cites this couplet when saying that Ōgai was not writing of his own direct experience of war, but rather about what he had heard about from others (such as the photographer Kamei Koreaki 亀井茲明 [1861–96]). Ōgai was simply employing what Suenobu terms “conventional *kanshi* exaggeration”; “*Sosei nikki ni kakarenakatta koto*”: 49. On Ōgai’s depiction of the depredations of war, see also n. 42 above.

Line 5: ‘Like splitting rotten wood’: Cf. *Sanguozhi* 1 (5, commentary): 三國志, 魏志, 武帝紀: “故計行如轉圜、事成如摧朽。” “Hence, his plans were carried out easily, like revolving something that is round; and his affairs were easily brought to conclusion, like splitting rotten wood” (JTW tr.).

Line 6: ‘Bestowal of grace’: Cf. Cao Zhi (192–232): 曹植, 求通親親表 (文選 37): “誠可謂怨已治人、推惠施恩者矣。” “Von Dir kann wirklich gesagt werden, dass Du ein Herrscher bist, der dem Volke alles gestattet, was er sich selbst ge-

is used of the subterranean sources of sulphurous springs and fumaroles, and of other concealed fires, real or metaphysical; but, above all, it refers to marine bioluminescence”; Edward H. SCHAFER: *The Vermilion Bird: T’ang Images of the South*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1967: 139.

stattet, und dessen Huld und Gnade sich überallhin verbreitet” (Erwin von Zach tr., alluding to *Analects* 15/24).

Line 6: To paraphrase: “The local populace has benefited from Japanese rule, which is akin to the bestowal of generosity by our Emperor.”

Line 7: ‘Prestige and benevolence’: Cf. *Guanzi* 17: 管子, 兵法: “定宗廟、遂男女、官四分、則可以定威德、制法儀、出號令。” “Secure the ancestral temples. Provide for the men and women. Control the four classes (gentry, peasants, artisans, and merchants). Then you may make your majestic position and benevolent power secure, regulate laws and rules of conduct, and issue orders” (W. Allyn Rickett tr.).

Line 8: ‘Chengtang’: Commentary to the following *Shujing* passage clarifies that the appellation means ‘Compleat Tang’ (or per James Legge, ‘Successful Tang’): 書經, 仲虺之誥: “成湯放桀于南巢。” “Compleat Tang (reg. ca. 1783–54 B.C.) banished (the bad last emperor) Jie to Nanchao” (JTW tr.).

Line 8: To paraphrase: “There is no need to sing the praises of famous Chinese rulers of antiquity, inasmuch as we have our esteemed Emperor.”

Ōgai returned to Japan from China on May 22, 1895, only to be dispatched to Taiwan a few days later. In the following exchange, Hayakawa Kyōjirō sees Ōgai off en route to his new assignment. Ōgai departed on May 25 and received Hayakawa’s finished poem on June 15, apparently setting it aside. But on receiving orders on September 15 for his immediate return to Japan, he wrote a matching response the following day to avoid the embarrassment of not having replied before leaving Taiwan on September 22.

Hayakawa’s poem alludes to Su Wu and Li Ling, in conventional reference to friendship and separation. Ōgai’s poem takes up the allusion in the first and last lines of his response. Lines 2 and 7 closer to the center of the poem mirror each other and refer to Hayakawa. They serve to bracket the more somber internal couplets, the first of which skillfully blends reference both to the immediate situation and to the wider world, while the second, with its concrete images, effectively communicates self-deprecation and ineffectualness (if not failure).

Contributing to the muted sadness of the poem are the several *Chuci* 楚辭 expressions that echo, if not directly allude to, the anthology: Line 2 to the “Li sao” 離騷 (“On Encountering Sorrow”), Line 5 to “Ai shiming” 哀時命 (“Alas That My Lot Was Not Cast”) and to “Xi song” 惜誦 (“Grieving I Make My Complaint”), and Line 7 to “Jiu bian” 九辯 (“Nine Changes”).

#161 *Orig.*
A Poem by Hayakawa Kyōjirō

送鷗外漁史之臺灣 龔

“Seeing Off Ōgai Gyoshi En Route to Taiwan” By Kyō

“Ōgai Gyoshi no Taiwan ni yuku o okuru” Kyō

“Sòng Ōuwài Yúshǐ zhī Táiwān” Gōng

Rhyme category: 平聲下 十一 (尤)韻

Before June 15, 1895

欲往隨之水路悠

YŪ / yōu

Would that, heading out / I might accompany you and go // but the
sea route is distant

Yukite-yuku ni shitagawan to hossuru mo suiro haruka nari

Yù wǎng suí zhī shuǐlù yōu

知君今日駕難留

RYŪ / liú

One knows that you / today // boarding (ship) would be hard to detain
Shiru kimi no konnichi ga wa todome-gataki o

Zhī jūn jīnrì jià nán liú

If only I could go with you, but the sea route is far;

2 And we know, today you set sail and can only with difficulty be detained.

異鄉分手山川恨

To foreign lands / when parting // mountains and streams feel regret

Ikyō te o wakatsu sansen urami

Yìxiāng fēnshǒu shānchuān hèn

絕島從軍將士愁

SHŪ / chóu

To a far-off island / accompanying the army // generals and men are
sorrowful

Zettō ikusa ni shitagau shōshi ureu

Juédǎo cóngjūn jiàngshì chóu

When those close part for foreign lands, even mountains and streams feel
regret;

4 Posted on a far-off island, officers and men grow melancholy.

飛絮落花吟短袖

(Amid) flying catkins / and falling petals // I intone (my poem) short-
sleeved

Hijo rakka tanshū ni ginji

Fēixù luòhuā yín duǎn xiù

鯨波鱔浪盪輕舟

SHŪ / zhōu

- Whale billows / and crocodile waves // jounce (your) light boat
Geiha gakurō keishū o ugokasu
 Jīngbō èlàng dàng qīngzhōu
 Amid flying catkins and fallen petals, I intone these lines, short-sleeved,
 6 While whale billows and crocodile waves bounce about your slight craft.
 河梁一別雙垂淚
 ‘On the river bridge’ / once parted // paired hanging (streams of)
 tears
Karyō hitotabi wakarete sōsui no namida
 Héliáng yìbié shuāngchuí lèi
 蘇李當年如是否 FU / fǒu
 Su and Li / back then // were like this or no?
So-Ri tōnen kaku no gotoshi ya ina ya
 Sū-Lǐ dāngnián rú shì fǒu
 Having said goodbye ‘on the river bridge,’ paired streams of tears falling
 down –
 8 For Su Wu and Li Ling, was it like this back then?

Title: ‘Ōgai Gyoshi’: see p. 73 above, including n. 28.

Title-line: ‘Kyō’: A pen name for Hayakawa Kyōjirō, meaning ‘respectful.’ Also the name of a figure in Tao Qian’s poetry who understood and recognized true worth in others: 陶潛, 詠貧士七首, 其六: “舉世無知音、止有一劉龔。” “In all the world none knew his worth [i.e., that of Zhang Zhongwei 張仲尉], / Save one man only, [his friend] Liu Gong [fl. A.D. 10]” (James Robert Hightower tr.).

Line 3: ‘Foreign lands’: Cf. Cao Zhi: 曹植, 洛神賦 (文選 19): “悼良會之永絕兮、哀一逝而異鄉。” “She grieves that this good tryst must cease forever, / And sorrows that, once departed, we shall go to different realms” (David R. Knechtges tr.). Also Wei Zhuang (836–910): 韋莊, 上行杯: “惆悵異鄉雲水、滿酌一盃勸和淚。” “Melancholy are the clouds and streams of a strange land; / I pour full the cup for you, my urging mixed with tears” (JTW tr.).

Line 4: ‘Far-off island’: Cf. Du Fu, QTS 232 (2555): 杜甫, 白帝城放船四十韻: “絕島容煙霧、環洲納曉晡。” “Vereinzelte hohe Klippen sind von Nebeln eingehüllt, / auf den runden Inseln liegen morgens und abends die Strahlen der Sonne” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Line 5: ‘Flying catkins’ (or ‘flying willow-floss’): Cf. Li Shimin (598–649), QTS 1 (10): 李世民, 喜雪: “泛柳飛飛絮、妝梅片片花。” “Drifting in willows, floss flying and flying, / adorning plums, petal after petal of blossoms” (Stephen Owen tr.). Also Han Yu, QTS 343 (3849): 韓愈, 奉和虢州劉給事使君三堂新題二十一詠, 其十四, 柳巷: “柳巷還飛絮、春餘幾許時。” “Auf dem Weidenweg fliegen noch die Samenkronen der Weiden herum. / Wie wenige Tage des Frühlings bleiben noch übrig?” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Line 6: ‘Whale billows’: Cf. Du Fu, QTS 232 (2561): 杜甫, 舟出江陵南浦奉寄鄭少尹: “溟漲鯨波動、衡陽雁影徂。” “Das Meer ist durch die Bewegungen der Wal-fische in Aufruhr (d.h. China ist durch Rebellionen erschüttert); / die fliegende Wildgans begibt sich nach Hengyang (d.h. Du Fu flüchtet nach Hunan)” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Line 6: ‘Crocodile’: As noted by Edward H. SCHAFER, “The man-eating saw-toothed crocodile (鱷) which infested the coastal shallows and estuaries of Nam-Viet in Tang times was free of old cultural associations. Its fame was chiefly due to the writing of a single man” – namely, Han Yu; *The Vermilion Bird*: 217; e.g., QTS 341 (3825): 韓愈, 瀧吏: “鱷魚大於船、牙眼怖殺儂。” “The crocodile fish is larger than a ship – / Its fangs and eyes bring terror and death to us” (Edward H. Schafer tr.).

Lines 7–8: ‘River bridge’ and ‘Su Wu and Li Ling’: In East Asia, these two Han dynasty figures were to become the epitome of friendship because of the poetic exchange ascribed to them in the *Wenxuan* (ch. 29), as well as a famous letter to Su Wu by Li Ling (*ibid.*: ch. 41). Their biographies, which appear in the *Hanshu* (ch. 54), can be summarized as follows: “While in the land of the Xiongnu, Li Ling [李陵 (d. 74 B.C.)] became good friends with another prisoner, Su Wu 蘇武 (d. 60 B.C.), a Han envoy who had headed a diplomatic mission in 100 B.C. When Su Wu was allowed to return to Han in 80 B.C., the two friends bid each other a sad farewell”; David R. KNECHTGES, in *idem* and Taiping CHANG [張太平 Zhang Taiping], ed.: *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide, Part One*: Leiden: Brill 2010: 491.

The seven poems ascribed to the two in the *Wenxuan* were in all likelihood written in the Late Han or Six Dynasties. Among Western-language translations are the following: of the Li Ling pieces, Yves HERVOUET: *Anthologie de la poésie chinoise classique*, Paul DEMIÉVILLE, ed., [Paris:] Gallimard 1962: 70–72; of the Su Wu poems, J. D. FRODSHAM with CH’ENG Hsi [程義 Cheng Xi]: *An Anthology of Chinese Verse: Han Wei Chin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1967: 18–20; and of all seven poems, Erwin von ZACH: *Die Chinesische Anthologie: Übersetzungen aus dem Wen hsüan*, Ilse Martin FANG, ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1958 (Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, XVIII), 2 vols.: 1: 520–23.

The prose “Letter in Reply to Su Wu” 答蘇武書 has been translated by George MARGOULIÈS, *Le Kou-wen [古文] chinois: Recueil de textes avec introduction et notes*, Paris: Paul Geuthner 1926: 93–100; and by WONG Siu-kit [黃兆杰 Huang Zhaojie]: *An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Prose* [a translation of the compendium, *Guwen guan zhi* 古文觀止 (The Acme of Ancient Prose, 1694)], Hong Kong: Asia Education Times Limited 2007: 308–14.

The ‘river bridge’ where the two parted appears in a verse attributed to Li Ling: 李陵, 與蘇武三首, 其三 (文選 29): “攜手上河梁、遊子暮何之。”

“Nous montons vers le pont, nos deux mains enlacées: / Voyageur en partance,
où seras-tu ce soir?” (Yves Hervouet tr.).

#161 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Hayakawa Kyōjirō

寄懷早川峽南次其送別韻

“Sending My Thoughts to Hayakawa Kyōnan, Matching the Rhymes of His
Poem of Farewell”

“*Omoi o Hayakawa Kyōnan ni yose, sono sōbetsu no in o jisu*”

“Jihuái Zāochuān Xiánán cì qí sòngbié yùn”

Rhyme category: 平聲下 十一 (尤)韻

September 16, 1895

携手河梁往事悠

YŪ / yōu

‘Hand in hand / on the river bridge’ // a past event remote

Te o karyō ni tazusae ōji haruka ni

Xīshǒu héliáng wǎngshì yōu

南荒歎我久淹留

RYŪ / liú

In southern wastes / sighing that I // long might linger

Nankō ware no hisashiku en’ryū suru o nageku

Nánhuāng tàn wǒ jiǔ yānlíu

‘Hand in hand on the river bridge’ – saying farewell – now seems remote;

2 You lamented I might linger long in southern barrens – Taiwan.

接天波浪風雲急

Touching-the-sky / great breakers // wind and clouds pressing in

Setten no harō fūun kyū ni

Jiētiān bōlàng fēngyún jí

滿地干戈艸木愁

SHŪ / chóu

‘Filling the land / shields and spears’ // plants and trees sorrowful

Manchi no kanka sōmoku ureu

Mǎndì gāngē cǎomù chóu

Great waves touching the sky, winds and clouds threatening;

4 ‘The land full of arms,’ plants and trees sorrowful.

方技與期三折臂

Professional skill / may be expected // (setting) three fractured arms

Hōgi tomo ni kisan sansetsubi

Fāngjì yǔ qí sānzhé bì

世間誰怒一虛舟 SHŪ / zhōu

In the world / who gets angry at // ‘a lone empty boat’?

Seken tare ka ikaran ichi kyoshū

Shìjiān shéi nù yì xūzhōu

There may be prospects for my medical skill, ‘setting three fractured arms’;

6 Yet in the world at large, none gets upset at ‘an empty boat.’

峽中烟樹秋搖落

In Kyō(nan)-gorge / hazy trees // in autumn wave and shed

Kyōchū enju aki ni yōraku sen

Xiázhōng yānshù qiū yáoluò

此際相思似舊丕

FU / fǒu

At this juncture / thinking of you // is it as of old or no?

Kono sai ai-omou wa kyū ni nitaru ya ina ya

Cǐjì xiāngsī sì jiù fǒu

Amid mountain gorges that evoke your name, hazy trees in autumn wave and shed their leaves:

8 At times like this I think of you – was it like this back then or not (for those longstanding friends, Su Wu and Li Ling)?

Line 1: ‘Hand in hand on the river bridge’: An allusion to the Li Ling line – 攜手上河梁 – cited in the note to Lines 7–8 of the preceding poem.

Line 2: ‘Linger’: Cf. *Chuci*: 楚辭, 離騷: “時續紛其變易兮、又何可以淹留?” “The age is disordered in a tumult of changing: / How can I tarry much longer among them?” (David Hawkes tr.). Also Hanshan (9th cent.), QTS 806 (9069): 寒山, 無題: “一向寒山坐、淹留三十年。” “Once I came to Cold Mountain ‘to sit’ (i.e., to meditate), / I stayed on for thirty years” (JTW tr.).

Although Hayakawa did not know it at the time of Ōgai’s departure, the latter was to be in Taiwan for fewer than four months. Hence, since this poem was written by Ōgai just before his return, the line becomes ironic.

Line 4: ‘The land full of arms’: A direct allusion (with the two constituent compounds reversed) to Du Fu, QTS 229 (2508): 杜甫, 夔州歌十絕句, 其九: “干戈滿地客愁破、雲日如火炎天涼。” “Überall auf der Welt sind jetzt kriegerische Unruhen (von denen ich hierher fliehen musste); hier im Gedächtnistempel verlor ich meinen Kummer über das Leben in der Fremde. / Wenn die hohe Sonne wie Feuer brennt, wird hier unter dem Nadelholz des Tempels das heisse Wetter zur Kühle” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Lines 3 and 4: The couplet is open to differing (but not mutually exclusive) interpretations. It could refer to past events, to Ōgai’s trip by ship a few months earlier, when “Great waves touched the sky, and winds and clouds threatened,” and to a

Taiwan that upon his arrival was “‘A land full of arms,’ plants and trees sorrowful.” At the same time, the lines could refer to the more general world situation: Western powers’ insistence that Japan give up the Liaodong Peninsula, increasing tension with Russia over territorial claims, and other pressures.

Line 5: ‘Professional skill’: Skill in healing, necromancy, divination, astrology, etc.; extended from its early use, as in the following cognate compound: *Shiji* 105 (2796): 史記, 扁鵲倉公列傳: “方伎所長、及所能治病者、有其書無有?” “Among the formulae and skills you are good at and the kinds of illnesses you can treat, are there any books about them, do you have them or not?” (Elizabeth Hsu tr.).

Line 5: ‘May be expected’: Cf. *Chuci*: 楚辭, 哀時命: “往者不可扳援兮、徠者不可與期。” “For those that are gone, I cannot reach back to; / And those yet to come, I cannot wait to see [i.e., do not have the prospect of meeting with]” (David Hawkes tr.).

Line 5: ‘(Setting) three fractured arms’: The *locus classicus* for the expression is the *Zuozhuan*: 左傳, 定公十三年: “三折肱知爲良醫。” “From (his setting) three fractured arms, one knows he is a good physician” (JTW tr.). In *Chuci* there is a closely related proverb: 楚辭, 九章, 惜誦: “九折臂而成醫兮、...” “(Setting) nine fractured arms, one can set oneself up as a doctor; ...” (JTW tr.).

Line 6: ‘None gets upset at “an empty boat”’: The source is *Zhuangzi*, with an additional likely allusion to Du Fu. *Zhuangzi* 20: 莊子, 山木: “方舟而濟於河、有虛船來觸舟、雖有偏心之人不怒。” “If a man, having lashed two hulls together, is crossing a river, and an empty boat happens along and bumps into him, no matter how hot-tempered the man may be, he will not get angry” (Burton Watson tr.). Also Du Fu, QTS 224 (2391): 杜甫, 題張氏隱居二首, 其一: “乘興杳然迷出處、對君疑是泛虛舟。” “My mind was clear at coming; but now I’ve lost my guide, / And rudderless my little bark is drifting with the tide” (Herbert Giles tr. – a rendering that, although old-fashioned in expression, captures the spirit of the lines).

Lines 5–6: To paraphrase the couplet’s self-deprecatory lines: “With more experience, I may well get better as a doctor; / But like an empty boat that unwittingly bumps into things (and only for that reason does not prompt anger), I am lonely and adrift (and the effort I expend adds up to little or nothing).” KOTAJIMA Yōsuke conjectures that Line 6 may refer to the large number of patients Ōgai had to send back to Japan. If so, the line would also imply, “At least I’m not being criticized by others for my ineffectualness.”

Cf. Ōgai’s Poem #002, 庚辰歲旦醉歌 (Lines 9–12), 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.).

Line 7: ‘Amid mountain gorges that evoke your name’: The phrase ‘amid mountain gorges’ 峽中 incorporates the first half of Hayakawa’s pen name Kyōnan 峽南, hence evoking it; the phrase is also used in Poem #188 (Line 4) without the added association.

Line 7: ‘In autumn wave and shed’: Cf. *Chuci*: 楚辭, 九辯, 其一: “悲哉! 秋之爲氣也。蕭瑟兮、草木搖落而變衰。” “Alas for the breath of autumn! / Wan and drear: flower and leaf fluttering fall and turn to decay” (David Hawkes tr.). Also Du Fu, QTS 229 (2504): 杜甫, 謁先主廟: “如何對搖落、況乃久風塵。” “Wie kann ich diese traurige Landschaft jetzt im Herbst zur Zeit des Laubfalles ertragen? / Und dies umsoweniger, da schon lange hier Unruhen wüten” (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Line 8: ‘I think of you’: This echoes the phrasing and sentiment expressed in the Li Ling poem cited above: 李陵, 與蘇武三首, 其三 (文選 29): “行人難久留、各言常相思。” “The traveler cannot linger long, / we say to each other that we will always think of each other” (Stephen Owen tr.).

Line 8: ‘Is it as of old or no?’: Ōgai here responds to the allusion in Line 8 of Hayakawa’s original poem. ‘Old’ refers both to the past, i.e., the time of Su Wu and Li Ling, and to their ‘longstanding’ friendship. He and Hayakawa are being likened to the pair; while parted, they exchange poetry affirming their friendship.

The rhyme word 不 (in Mandarin, normally *bù*, but occasionally *fǒu*, as here) functions the same as the homophonous 否 *fǒu* of the Hayakawa original (but 不 is a 上聲 rather than a 平聲 rhyme).

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Noguchi Neisai 野口寧齋 (1867–1905)

Noguchi Neisai is easily the most famous *kanshi* writer with whom Ōgai exchanged poetry.⁴⁸ Born in Hizen, Noguchi studied *kanbun* with the father-and-son poets, Mori Shuntō 森春濤 (1819–89) and Mori Kainan 森槐南 (1863–1911), and has been paired with another of their disciples, Okubo Shōnan 大久保湘南 (1865–1908). Beginning in 1903, he published the *kanshi* organ *Hyak-karan* 百花欄 (“A Hundred Blossoms in Literary Columns”).⁴⁹ He died comparatively young, at the age of thirty-eight, in all likelihood murdered by his wife’s younger brother. Commenting on the homicide in a letter, Ōgai states

48 Originally having the names Noguchi Ichi 野口一 and Noguchi Ichitarō 野口一太郎, Neisai was the author’s best-known pen name; others were Shōrō 嘯樓 and Takuten Jōsen 謫天情仙, the latter as a *shōsetsu* critic (notably of *Maihime*, deemed by Ōgai the best on the work).

49 One of many *kanshi* periodicals during the Meiji period that are listed in WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 191.

he was a friend (友達の一人) of Noguchi.⁵⁰ The latter is said to have been the model for Haraguchi Ansai 原口安齋 in *Vita Sexualis*.

Two superlative *kanshi* form the matching-rhyme exchange between Noguchi and Ōgai. Both are included in the Kanda Kiichirō anthology, *Meiji kanshibun shū*, suggesting the importance accorded them by one knowledgeable critic.⁵¹ Indeed, Ōgai's poem is his only *kanshi* included in the work, whereas Noguchi is represented by eight – reflecting conventional appraisal of the two as *kanshi* writers.⁵²

As “war poems,” the exchange represents a particular interest of the younger author.⁵³

50 Supposedly, the brother-in-law feared that the leprosy Noguchi suffered from was hereditary. Believing the rumor that eating human flesh was an effective treatment for the disease, he was said to have killed an eleven-year-old boy and fed him to the unsuspecting sister and brother-in-law. Acquiring Noguchi's inheritance may also have been a motive for the latter's murder – a view echoed by Ōgai in a letter of July 16, 1905 (#503; OZ 36: 239; the source for the reference to Noguchi as a friend). Imprisoned for the two murders, the brother-in-law was found not guilty for lack of evidence, but was later executed for the murder of someone else.

Contemporary newspaper articles about the case appearing in *Yorozu chōhō* 萬朝報, #4202 and #4253, May 13, 1905 and July 3, 1905, are available online: <http://www.t3.rim.or.jp/~s-muraka/dokusho/denniku3.html>. In another letter of July, Ōgai speaks of having read about the case in *Yorozu chōhō* (#506; OZ 36: 240–41).

51 Full citation in n. 36 above. Interestingly enough, there is no indication at the appearance of either poem (155 and 197) that its matching pair is included in the anthology. This would confirm comments about comparative non-interest in Japan in matching-rhyme poetry; WIXTED: “Sociability in Poetry”: 204, including n. 35.

52 By the same token, in the widely-circulated, influential Kaizōsha compendium of modern Japanese literature, *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* 現代日本文學全集 (Complete Works of Contemporary Japanese Literature), vol. 37, which is devoted to poetry, includes eight *kanshi* by Noguchi and none by Ōgai; *Gendai Nihon shishū*, *Gendai Nihon kanshi shū* 現代日本詩集, 現代日本漢詩集 (Anthology of Contemporary Japanese Poetry and Anthology of Contemporary Sino-Japanese Poetry), Kaizōsha 改造社 1929: 494.

53 Judith N. RABINOVITCH and Timothy R. BRADSTOCK make reference to MIURA Kanō 三浦叶, *Meiji kanbungaku shi* 明治漢文學史 (A History of Kanbun Study in the Meiji), Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院 1998: 146–56, “for an overview of war-related *kanshi* and important compilations thereof, including works by Noguchi Neisai 野口寧齋 (1867–1905), one of Mori Kainan's leading disciples. Miura identifies some 187 poets whose war poetry is included in a nine-volume anthology compiled by Neisai, comprising 467 *kanshi* and titled *Taitō yokō* 大纛餘光 (Lingering Virtue of the Great Imperial Banner); see *ibid.*: 149–50, where selections of poems by Kokubu Seigai 國分青崖 [1857–1944] and others are also included”; “Paulownia Leaves Falling: The Kanshi Poetry of Inaga Nanpo (1865–1901),” *Japan Review* 21 (2009): 105, n. 88.

#160 Orig.
A Poem by Noguchi Neisai

寄懷森鷗外在臺灣總督府

“Expressing My Feelings to Mori Ōgai Who Is at Headquarters-Command in Taiwan”

“*Omoi o Mori Ōgai no Taiwan sōtokufu ni aru ni yosu*”

“*Ji huái Sēn Ōuwài zài Táiwān zōngdūfǔ*”

Rhyme category: 平聲上十五(刪)韻

September 7, 1895 or earlier

炎風朔雪去來閑

KAN / xián

‘Blazing winds / northern snows’ // between going and coming

Enpū sakusetsu kyorai kan nari

Yánfēng shuòxuě qùlái xián

奏凱鳳城何日還

KAN / huán

Victorious (< ‘Performing the song of victory’) / to Phoenix City // when (< what day) will you return?

Gai o sōshite Hōjō izure no hi ni ka kaeran

Zòukǎi Fèngchéng hérì huán

Between your coming and going, ‘from northern snows to blazing winds’
– North China to Taiwan –

- 2 When, victorious, will you return to Phoenix City – Tokyo?

流鬼潮通天水外

To Flowing Ghosts / tides reach // beyond the sea horizon

Ryūki ushio wa tsūzu tensui no soto

Liúguǐ cháo tōng tiānshuǐ wài

大宛暑入鼓笳間

KAN / jiān

Into Great Grudge / summer enters // ‘mid (battle) drums and reeds (i.e., war-flutes)

Taiwan sho wa iru koka no kan

Dàyuān shǔ rù gǔjiǎ jiān

Tides reach Flowing Ghosts – Liaodong – beyond the sea horizon;

- 4 Summer enters Great Grudge – Taiwan – ‘mid battle drums and reed war-flutes.

從軍兒女文身地

Off to battle / boys and girls // (from) the land of tattooed bodies

Gun ni shitagau jijo bunshin no chi

Cóng jūn érnǚ wénshēn dì

- 立馬英雄埋骨山 SAN / shān
 Halting their horses / valiant ones // (on) hills of buried bones
Uma o tatsu eiyū maikotsu no yama
 Lì mǎ yīngxióng máigǔ shān
 Joining the troops, boys and girls, from the land of tattooed bodies;
- 6 Valiant ones halt their horses, on hills of buried bones.
 颯爽英姿酣戰後
 ‘Grim and bold / (your) heroic bearing’ // after ‘drunken (i.e., fierce) battle’
Sassō taru eishi kansen no nochi
 Sàshuǎng yīngzī hānzhàn hòu
 復揮健筆記平蠻 MAN / mán
 Again, flourishing / your mighty pen // do record the pacification of the southern barbarians
Mata kenbitsu o furutte hei-Ban o kise
 Fù huī jiàn bǐ jì píng-Mán
 ‘Heroic and forbidding your expression’ after ‘fierce battle,’
- 8 Again flourishing your mighty pen, do put into words the pacification of the southern barbarians – Taiwan.

Title: ‘Expressing My Feelings’: Cf. Tao Qian (365–427): 陶潛, 九日閑居詩序: “空服九華、寄懷於言。” “So I have to be content with drinking the blossoms of the Ninth and expressing my feelings in words” (James Robert Hightower tr.).

Line 1: ‘Blazing winds and northern snows’: The four-character expression appears in Du Fu, QTS 230 (2512): 杜甫, 諸將五首, 其四: “炎風朔雪天王地、只在忠臣翊聖朝。” “Die Länder, wo heisse Winde wehen (Annam) und wo Schnee fällt (Hobei)[,] gehören beide unter die Botmässigkeit Chinas (während sie jetzt in den Händen der Barbaren sind). / Man kann nur von würdigen Patrioten (nicht von Eunuchen) erhoffen, dass sie in dieser kritischen Zeit dem Kaiserhofe helfen werden” (Erwin von Zach tr.). The references here are to Ōgai’s recent posting to the south (Taiwan) from the one in the north (the Liaodong Peninsula).

Cf. an additional example of each of the two phrases. Han Yu, QTS 337 (3776): 韓愈, 縣齋有懷: “毒霧恆熏晝、炎風每燒夏。” “Giftige Nebel pflegen hier selbst zur Mittagszeit aufzusteigen, / heisse Winde wehen versengend während des Sommers” (Erwin von Zach tr.). And Li Bo, QTS 161 (1674): 李白, 古風 (#22 of 59): “胡馬顧朔雪、躑躅長嘶鳴。” “The barbarian horse looks back at the northern snows, / It sidles by with short, quick steps and whinnies long” (Victor H. Mair tr.).

Line 1: ‘Coming and going’: Cf. Huan Tan (d. A.D. 56), *Xinlun* 3: 桓譚, 新論, 求輔: “騎以入市、去來人不見也。” “The old man rode into market on the horse,

but no one noticed him coming or going” (Timoteus Pokora tr.). Also *Liezi* 2: 列子, 黃帝: “列子曰:「汝何去來之頻?」” “Why do you keep coming and going?” Liezi asked him” (A.C. Graham tr.). Additionally, Wang Ji (585–644), QTS 37 (478): 王績, 古意六首, 其五: “去來雙鴻鵠, 棲息兩鴛鴦。” “A pair of swans comes and goes, / and it provides a roost for a mandarin duck couple” (Stephen Owen tr.).

Line 2: ‘Performing the song of victory’: The expression, meaning ‘to be victorious,’ comes from *Zhouli* 22: 周禮, 春官, 大司樂: “王師大獻, 則令奏愷 [= 凱] 樂。” “Lorsque l’armée commandée par l’empereur fait la grande offrande dans la salle des Ancêtres, alors il ordonne de jouer l’air du triomphe” (Édouard Biot tr.). Note its use in Ōgai’s Poem #079, quoted in n. 46.

Line 2: ‘Phoenix City’: The city of the emperor, i.e., Tokyo.

Line 3: ‘Floating Ghosts’: A Tang-dynasty name for Kamchatka (or as some argue, Sakhalin): *Xin Tangshu* 221A (6209–11): 新唐書, 東夷傳, 流鬼國. Used here to refer to the Liaodong Peninsula, where Ōgai had been stationed a few months earlier.

Line 4: ‘Great Grudge’: One of several Ming-dynasty names for Taiwan, including 臺員, 大員, and 大圓. It is a variation of 大冤, here also used for its semantic sense, in parallel with ‘Flowing Ghosts’ (Liaodong) in Line 3.

Line 4: ‘Battle drums and reed war-flutes’: The early military treatise, *Wuzi* 吳子, states (ch. 5) that at night ‘metal drums and reed flutes’ 金鼓箛笛 should keep proper intervals. The character *jiā* 箛 can be used alone in the sense of ‘reed (flute),’ as in 胡箛十八拍, the title to a poem attributed to Cai Yan 蔡琰 (fl. ca. 195), translated in the eponymous study by Robert A. Rorex and Wen Fong [方聞 Fang Wen]: *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute, The Story of Lady Wen-chi* [文姬 Wenji]: *A Fourteenth-Century Handscroll in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1974.

The compound *gǔjiǎ* 箛鼓 has prompted the following highly ‘naturalized’ translations: Yan Yanzhi (384–456): 顏延之, 車駕幸京口三月三日侍遊曲阿後湖作 (文選 22): “金練照海浦, 箛鼓震溟洲。” “Die vergoldeten Panzer und herrlichen Waffenröcke (seines Gefolges) erglänzen bis zum Gestade des Meeres; / die Trompeten und Trommeln (seiner Truppen) machen die Inseln des Ozeans erzittern” (Erwin von Zach tr.). And Du Fu, QTS 222 (2351): 杜甫, 八哀詩, 贈左僕射鄭國公嚴公武: “江山少使者, 箛鼓凝皇情。” “Few messengers traveled between the two Courts separated by a vast distance; / Only the sound of bugles and drums manifested the Imperial determination to restore the Empire” (William Hung tr.).

Line 5: ‘Tattooed bodies’: A term commonly used in reference to non-Chinese native peoples: e.g., *Liji* 5: 禮記, 王制: “東方曰夷, 被髮文身, 有不火食者矣。” “The tribes on the east were called Yi. They had their hair unbound, and tattooed their bodies. Some of them ate their food without its being cooked” (James Legge tr.).

Tattooing was not uncommon in Taiwan, especially among the aboriginal Atayal people. Cf. Ōgai's diary entry for September 9, 1895 (OZ 35: 256): “大姑隘の守兵生蕃人を拉し來たる三男二女皆文身なり。” “Several male and female ‘raw aborigines’ were pressed into service by the Daguxian (Takoham) guard detail. They all had tattooed bodies” (JTW tr.). ‘Raw aborigines’ (or ‘raw savages’) was a common expression in Japanese for native peoples of Taiwan; cf. the example cited in n. 46.

Line 6: ‘Hills of buried bones’: No specific locale seems indicated. Likely a reference to burial sites of Japanese troops who died in Taiwan in this 1895 expedition or during the earlier one of 1874; cf. Poem #079 by Ōgai, quoted in n. 46.

Line 7: Entire line: Comes nearly verbatim from Du Fu (with two two-character phrases inverted), QTS 220 (2322): 杜甫, 丹青引贈曹將軍霸: “褒公鄂公毛髮動、英姿颯爽猶酣戰。” “The Duke of Bao and the Duke of Ê, their beards and hair bristling, / from their heroic and forbidding expressions, thoughts of fierce battle” (David Hawkes and William Hung composite tr.). Cf. *Hanfeizi* 10: 韓非子, 十過: “酣戰之時、司馬子反渴而求飲、...” “During the fierce battle, Marshal Sima Zifan was thirsty and looked for something to drink; ...” (JTW tr.).

Line 8: ‘Mighty pen’: A well-known expression from Du Fu, QTS 227 (2452): 杜甫, 戲爲六絕句, 其一: “庾信文章老更成、凌雲健筆意縱橫。” “Yu Xin (513–81) wrote more masterly as he aged – / A mighty pen moving among the clouds in unexpected ways” (JTW tr.).

Line 8: ‘Pacification of the southern barbarians’: Here refers to the current campaign in Taiwan; cf. n. 46.

#160 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Noguchi Neisai

臺灣軍中野口寧齋有詩見寄次韻

“Noguchi Neisai Wrote a Poem That He Had Sent to Me Posted in the Army in Taiwan: Matching Its Rhymes”

“*Taiwan gunchū nite, Noguchi Neisai shi ari, yoseraru. Jiin su*”

“Táiwān jūnzhōng Yěkǒu Níngzhāi yǒushī jiànjì cìyùn”

Rhyme category: 平聲上十五(刪)韻

September 7, 1895

征程不礙一身閑

KAN / xián

Being on campaign / does not impede // a person's being at leisure

Seitei samatagezu isshin no kan naru o

Zhēngchéng búài yìshēn xián

- 幕府名流日往還 KAN / huán
 With camp headquarters' / name crowd // one daily has goings back
 and forth
Bakufu no meiryū hi ni ōkan su
 Mùfǔ míngliú rì wǎnghuán
- 2 Being on campaign is no bar to having leisure pursuits;
 Yet daily one has dealings with headquarters brass.
 戰跡收來詩卷裏
 The marks left by war / might be gathered up // into poetry volumes
Senseki osame-kitareri shikan no uchi
 Zhànjī shōu lái shījuàn lǐ
- 羈愁消得酒杯間 KAN / jiān
 Homesickness while traveling (< the melancholy of being 'hitched'
 [i.e., away from home]) / can be successfully dissipated // amid wine
 cups
Kishū keshi-etari shuhai no kan
 Jīchóu xiāo dé jiǔbēi jiān
- 4 Traces left by war may be gathered into poetry volumes,
 And homesickness can be dissipated in wine-cups.
 昨聞鼙鼓鳴貂角
 Yesterday, one hears that / alligator-skin drums // were sounding in
 Diaojiao ('Cape Sable,' i.e., 'San Diego' or 'Santiago')
Saku wa kiku dako no Chōkaku ni naru o
 Zuó wén tuógǔ míng Diāojiǎo
- 今見龍旌指鳳山 SAN / shān
 Today, one sees / dragon pennants // off toward Fengshan ('Phoenix
 Mount')
Ima wa miru ryōsei no Hōzan o sasu o
 Jīn jiàn lóngjīng zhǐ Fèngshān
- 6 Yesterday, I hear 'alligator drums' were sounding in Diaojiao – Cape Sa-
 ble – far to the north;
 Today, one sees 'dragon pennants' heading toward Fengshan – Mt. Phoe-
 nix – well to the south.
 好是天南涼氣到
 It is timely that here / at sky-south // coolness is arriving
Yoshi kore tennan ryōki itareba
 Hǎo shì tiānnán liángqì dào
- 桂香飄處賦平蠻 MAN / mán

At cinnamon-fragrance / -wafting locale // one might versify the
pacifying of barbarians

Keikō no tadayou tokoro hei-Ban o fusan

Guìxiāng piāochù fù píng-Mán

As cool temperatures finally arrive at this southern edge of sky –

- 8 Where the scent of cinnamon wafts – one can put into verse the pacification of the southern barbarians.

Line 5: ‘Alligator-skin drums’: Cf. Sima Xiangru (179–17 B.C.): 司馬相如, 上林賦 (文選 8): “建翠華之旗、樹靈鼉之鼓。”“(They) [r]aise banners adorned with kingfisher tufts, / And plant in place the drum of sacred alligator hide” (David R. Knechtges tr.). Also Li He (790–816), QTS 393 (4434): 李賀, 將進酒: “吹龍笛、擊鼉鼓。”“Blow dragon flute! / Strike alligator drum!” (Edward H. Schafer tr.). For more about *tuó* 鼉, see SCHAFFER, *The Vermilion Bird*: 217. And for discussion of Ōgai’s use of *recherché* vocabulary, see WIXTED: “*Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction”: 104–7.

Line 5: ‘Diaojiao’: The full name of the locale in the northeast corner of Taiwan is Sandiaojiao 三貂角, which reproduces phonetically the name ‘San Diego’ or ‘Santiago’ conferred by Spanish sailors from the Philippines in the seventeenth century. As part of the parallelism with Line 6, Noguchi is also employing the phrase in its ‘literal’ sense: ‘Cape Sable,’ *diāo* 貂 being a ‘sable, ermine, or marten-like animal’; Edward H. SCHAFFER, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of Tang Exotics*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1963: 88–89 and 107–8. In the context, 角 *jiǎo* means 岬角 *jiǎjiǎo* (‘cape or promontory’).

Line 6: ‘Dragon pennants’: Namely, those of the imperial Japanese troops.

Line 6: ‘Mt. Phoenix’: Fengshan 鳳山 was a term referring to the area of modern Kaohsiung 高雄 (Gaoxiong) in southern Taiwan.

Line 8: ‘Scent of cinnamon’: “[C]innamon’ is *guì* [桂], a name which was given to other trees besides the *Cinnamomum cassia*, whose bark is the ‘cassia’ of commerce”; SCHAFFER: *The Vermilion Bird*: 195. (Note his taxonomy of *guì* terms: 304, n. 309. The Latin name helps explain why the character is often translated as ‘cassia.’) Cf. Yu Xin: 庾信, 山中: “潤暗泉偏冷、巖深桂絕香。”“The mountain stream dark, its spring quite cold, / Cliffs deep-hidden, cinnamon especially fragrant” (JTW tr.). Also Li He, QTS 21 (275): 李賀, 相和歌辭, 大堤曲: “妾家住橫塘、紅紗滿桂香。”“I am a woman of Hengtang, / My crimson silks are full of the scent of cassia” (A.C. Graham tr.). See also p. 123.

Line 8: ‘Pacification of the southern barbarians’: Cf. Line 8 of the preceding poem.

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Yu Shufen (Yusun) 俞樹蓀 (榆蓀), fl. 1917

Very little is known about Yu Shufen.⁵⁴ In a letter to Katsura Koson 桂湖村 (1868–1938), Ōgai even had trouble remembering his name. In the same letter (#1051; OZ 36: 456), Ōgai states: “俞は中左相當官にて留學生に候。” “Yu is studying here from abroad in a capacity equivalent to that of a Lieutenant Colonel.” In another source, Yu is identified as being from Zhejiang.

In the following exchange, Yu Shufen is polite, deferential, and flattering – not quite obsequious. Ōgai in his response is avuncularly cordial, and at the same time somber. Past, current, and future generations are referred to. Yu is aware of not having had the opportunity to study under Ōgai. And Ōgai is conscious of how temporary it is that he can fool himself into thinking he is young again by having this exchange with Yu. Yet the two do bridge the gap in generations, for the moment at least. Appropriately enough, this is the last of Ōgai’s matching-rhyme poems.⁵⁵

#212 *Orig.*
A Poem by Yu Shufen

贈鷗外總監

“Presented to Director General Ōgai”

“Ōgai sōkan ni okuru” “Zèng Ōuwài zǒngjiān”

Rhyme category: 平聲上十一(真)韻

February 20, 1917 or earlier

雄才自古難相逅

Heroic (i.e., great) talents / from of old // are hard to encounter

Yūsai inishie yori ai-ai-gatashi

54 The Japanese reading for 俞樹蓀 (榆蓀) is Yu Jufun (Yuson); the Chinese reading with tonemarks, Yú Shùfēn (Yúsūn).

55 In the same letter, Ōgai asks Koson (the pen name of Katsura Gojūrō 桂五十郎) to look over his poem in the exchange – an indication of how the latter had replaced Yokogawa Tokurō in Ōgai’s graces as *kanshi* editor and adviser. Between 1917 and 1920, Ōgai wrote Koson thirteen letters, in each asking for his assistance with a *kanshi*. For more about him, see MURAYAMA Yoshihiro 村山吉廣: “Katsura Koson: Waseda kangaku no sakae” 桂湖村: 早稲田漢学の栄え (“Katsura Koson: The Glory of *Kanbun* Studies at Waseda University”), in *idem: Kangakusha wa ika ni ikita ka: Kindai Nihon to Kangaku* 漢学者はいかに生きたか: 近代日本と漢学 (How Did *Kanbun* Scholars Live?: Modern Japan and Study of *Kanbun*), Taishūkan Shoten 大修館書店 1999: 121–47.

- Xióngcái zìgǔ nán xiāng-hòu
幸遂瞻韓也夙因 IN / yīn
Fortunately at last / being able to ‘glimpse Han’ // this too is prior karma
Saiwai tsui ni Kan o miru mo mata shukuin naran
Xìng suì zhān Hán yě sù yīn
From of old, only with difficulty does one encounter a great talent;
2 That I have finally been able to ‘glimpse Han’ – meet someone of such stature after wishing to do so for so long – is owing to prior karma.
苦我測交常落落
It has cost (< pained) me / planning our encounter // (as I am) usually well removed
Ware no kō o hakaru ni kurushimi tsune ni rakuraku taru mo
Kǔ wǒ cè jiāo cháng luòluò
聽公談藝最津津 SHIN / jīn
Hearing you / speak of the arts // has greatly whetted my interest (< been quite salivating)
Kō no gei o danzuru o kiite mottomo shinshin tari
Tīng gōng tányì zuì jīnjīn
Planning our encounter cost me no little, for I am usually disengaged;
4 But to hear you discourse on the arts has greatly whetted my interest.
功名百世垂青史
Your merit and fame / for a hundred generations // will be suspended (as an exemplar for all to see) in the historical record (< ‘green [bamboo-inscribed] histories’)
Kōmyō hyakusei seishi ni tare
Gōngmíng bǎishì chuī chīngshǐ
著述無涯啓後人 JIN / rén
Your writings / without bound // will inspire later persons
Chojutsu mugai kōjin o hirakan
Zhùshù wúyá qǐ hòurén
Your fame and accomplishments will embellish the historical record for a hundred generations,
6 And your copious writings endlessly inspire later writers.
慙愧望塵追莫及
Ashamedly / I gaze afar at the dust (of your carriage) // unable to catch up
Zanki su jin o nozomu ni ou mo oyobu koto naki o
Cánkuì wàng chén zhuī mò jí

一回私淑幾馳神

SHIN / shén

(With this) one time (visiting you) / ‘I have cultivated myself’ (at one remove, not having had the fortune to be a disciple of yours) // (and now can) frequently ‘gallop my spirit’ (towards you afar)

Ikkai shishuku shite ikutabi ka kami o haseri

Yìhuí sīshú jǐ chí shén

Embarrassed, I gaze afar at the dust of your carriage, no way to catch up with a talent so exceptional;

- 8 In spite of not having had the fortune to be your disciple, with this one visit I have managed to ‘cultivate myself,’ so in future can frequently ‘gallop my spirit’ towards you far away.

Line 2: ‘To glimpse Han’: In a famous letter unsuccessfully seeking employment, Li Bo sycophantically cites what he claims to be a current saying: 李白，與韓荊州書，全唐文 348: “生不用封萬戶侯、但願一識韓荊州。” “Instead of life as a marquis of ten thousand households, much better to know Magistrate Han (i.e., you, Magistrate Han of Jingzhou, Han Chaozong 韓朝宗, 686–750)” (JTW tr.). The translation by Wong Siu-kit gives a succinct version that approximates the rhyme: “Of life the end / ’Tis not to be made lord of the realm, / But of Governor Han a friend”; *An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Prose*: 370.

Line 3: ‘Well removed’: Cf. Hanshan, QTS 806 (9067) 寒山, Untitled: “杳杳寒山道、落落冷澗濱。” “Dark and obscure – the way to Hanshan; / Well removed – the shores of the cold mountain stream” (Robert G. Henricks tr., modified). Also Sikong Tu, QTS 634 (7288): 司空圖, 詩品二十四則, 飄逸: “落落欲往、矯矯不群。” “Well removed, longing to be there / Alone, away from the common herd” (Stephen Owen tr., modified).

Line 4: ‘Whetted’: Cf. the modern-Chinese expression, 津津有味, ‘appetizing, palatable; of great interest.’

Line 5: ‘Merit and fame ... suspended (for all to see)’: The expression can also be used in a negative context: *Zhuangzi* 31: 莊子, 漁父: “好經大事、變更易常、以挂功名、謂之叨。” “To be fond of plunging into great undertakings, altering and departing from the old accepted ways, hoping thereby to draw attention to [suspend for all to see] your merit and fame – this is called avidity” (Burton Watson tr., modified).

Line 5: ‘Green histories’: Cf. Jiang Yan (444–505), 江淹, 詣建平王上書: “俱啟丹冊、並圖青史。” “All [those of high reputation] are translated in the Cinnabar Folios, and are depicted in the Green Histories” (John MARNEY tr. – there is the added note by the translator: “Cinnabar Folios were documents relating to meritorious ministers and records of enfeoffments. Historical documents were anciently inscribed on bamboo, which was cut green and fire-dried”; *Chiang Yen*, Boston: Twayne Publishers 1981: 156; see also ‘corded bamboo bundles’ (p. 81 above),

and ‘sweated green’ (汗青) in WIXTED: “Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains”: 160.

- Line 7:** ‘Gaze afar at the dust (of your carriage)’: The source is *Jinshu* 55 (1504): 晉書, 潘岳傳: “[潘]岳性輕躁、趨世利、與石崇等諂事賈謐、每候其出、與崇輒望塵而拜。” “Pan Yue (247–300), who by nature was flighty and frivolous, strove for worldly gain. Together with Shi Chong (249–300) and others, he curried favor with (the powerful) Jia Mi. Whenever Jia went out on the street, Pan and Shi would gaze towards the dust (from Jia’s carriage and horses) and bow” (JTW tr.). Cf. Wang Changling (698–756), QTS 20 (243), 王昌齡, 相和歌辭, 放歌行: “望塵非吾事、入賦且遲留。” “It is not like me to gaze obsequiously at carriage dust; / Rather, I have come to compose poetry and stay a while” (JTW tr.). Yu Shufen’s use of the expression is self-deprecatingly polite.
- Line 8:** ‘Cultivate myself’: The term comes from *Mengzi* 4B/21, 孟子, 離婁下: “予未得為孔子徒也、予私淑諸人也。” “Although I did not have the fortune to be a disciple of Confucius himself, I have cultivated myself secondhand via others” (JTW tr.). Yu Shufen is comparing Ōgai to Confucius, and himself to Mencius. Like Mencius, he regrets not having been able to study directly under the Master, but is content with having learned from him (at one remove from having been his disciple) through this visit.
- Line 8:** ‘Gallop my spirit’: Cf. Sun Chuo (314–71): 孫綽, 游天臺山賦: “余所以馳神運思、晝詠宵興、俛仰之間、若已再升者也。” “The reason I gallop my spirit and turn my thoughts over and over, sing by day and rise at night, is that in the space of a nod, it seems I have already ascended them [the Celestial Terrace Mountains] twice” (David R. Knechtges tr.). Also Su Shi, 蘇軾, 與南華明老三首, 其二: “南望山門、馳神杳靄。” “Gazing south toward the mountain gate, I gallop my spirit toward the hazy obscurity in the distance” (JTW tr.).

#212 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Yu Shufen

次俞榆蓀見寄詩韻

“Matching the Rhymes of a Poem Sent by Yu Yusun”

“*Yu Yusun no kiserareishi shi no in o jisu*” “*Cì Yú Yúsūn jiànjì shī yùn*”

Rhyme category: 平聲上十一(真)韻

February 20, 1917

休言老少難相得

Don’t say / for old and young // it is hard to get on well together

Iu o yame yo rōshō ai-e-gatashi to

Xiū yán lǎoshǎo nán xiāngdé
 傾蓋爲歡宿昔因 IN / yīn
 ‘Carriage canopies inclined’ / in enjoyment // is former karma
 Ōi o katamukete kan o nasu wa shukuseki no in naran
 Qīnggài wéi huān sùxí yīn

- Don’t say it’s difficult for old and young to get on well together;
 2 That we can hit it off on first meeting – ‘carriage canopies lowered’ – and enjoy ourselves, is owing to past karma.

官海浮沈吾遯跡
 The sea of officialdom / rising and sinking // I have escaped
Kankai fuchin shite ware wa ato o nogare
 Guānhǎi fúchén wú dùnjī

儒源沿討爾知津 SHIN / jīn
 Confucian founts / tracing back to them // you ‘know the ford’
Jugen entō shite nanji wa shin o shiru
 Rúyuán yántǎo ěr zhī jīn

- The sea of officialdom, it floats up and sinks down – I have escaped;
 4 The founts of Confucianism – tracing their sources, you ‘know where the ford is.’

數杯同醉芳醇酒
 Several cups / getting drunk together // on fragrant wine
Sūhai tomo ni eu hōjun no sake
 Shùbēi tóng zuì fāngchún jiǔ

一代希逢磊落人 JIN / rén
 In a generation / one scarcely meets // an open, artless person
Ichidai mare ni au rairaku no hito
 Yídài xī féng lěiluò rén

- After several cups, we get drunk together on fragrant wine;
 6 In a generation, one seldom meets a person open and unaffected.

偷嫩自欺終底事
 ‘Stealing (a) fresh-and-tender (appearance)’ / and fooling myself //
 after all, how is that?
Wakaki o nusumi mizukara azamuku wa tsui ni nanigoto zo
 Tōunèn zìqī zhōng dǐshì

忘年有友足精神 SHIN / shén
 To forget the years / I have a friend // one full of spirit
Bōnen tomo no seishin ni taru areba nari
 Wàngnián yǒu yǒu zú jīngshén

That I can fool myself and masquerade at being young – ‘stealing a fresh

and tender look’ – how is that possible?

8 It is because, to forget the years, I have a friend full of spirit – you.

Line 1: ‘Get on well together’: Cf. *Hanfeizi* 26: 韓非子, 守道: “故民勸極力而樂盡情、此之謂相得。” “Wenn das Volk zur Verausgabung all seiner Kräfte ermuntert werden kann und sich über völlige Aufrichtigkeit freut, kann man davon sprechen, daß die Oberen und Niederen in Einklang miteinander sind” (Wilmar Mögling tr.). Also Wang Chong (A.D. 27–ca. 97), *Lunheng* 10: 王充, 論衡, 偶會: “作與日相應、息與夜相得也。” “[L]a lumière et l’action, l’obscurité et le repos s’accordent et se répondent mutuellement.” (Marc Kalinowski tr.).

The *Yijing* provides an example of what happens when two people do *not* ‘get on well together’: 易經, 革, 彖傳: “革、水火相息、二女同居、其志不相得。” “Radical Change is such that Water and Fire try to extinguish each other, so is it when two women live together and find their wills at odds” (Richard J. Lynn tr.).

Line 2: ‘Carriage canopies inclined’: This is one of the phrases Ōgai uses repeatedly; WIXTED: “*Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction”: 104, n. 27. The expression is found in several sources; e.g., *Kongzi jiaoyu* 8: 孔子家語, 至思: “孔子之鄉、遭程子於塗、傾蓋而語終日、甚相親。” “When Confucius went to Tan, he met Master Cheng on the way. Under the inclined canopies (of their carriage) they conversed the whole day very affectionately” (R.P. Kramers tr.). It has been construed somewhat differently (but with the same ultimate import, given the context): *Shiji* 83 (2471): 史記, 魯仲連鄒陽列傳: “諺曰:「有白頭如新、傾蓋如故。」” “The adage goes, ‘There are those whose heads have turned white together, yet are like strangers, and those whose carriage canopies have bumped on the road yet are like old acquaintances’” (Wm. H. Nienhauser, Jr., et al. tr.).

Line 2: ‘Former(ly) ...’: Cf. *Shiji* 112 (2952), 史記, 平津侯主父列傳: “朕宿昔庶幾獲承尊位、懼不能寧。” “We formerly were obliged by luck to take over the most honorable position (in the whole empire), fearing always that we would be unable to bring peace” (Christiane Haupt tr.).

Line 3: ‘Escaped’: Cf. Bao Zhao (414–66), 鮑照, 秋夜詩二首, 其二: “遁跡避紛喧、貨農棲寂寞。” “I have escaped (the world), dodging the noisy hubbub; / Making a living farming, I have ‘perched on’ solitude” (JTW tr.). Ōgai had retired on April 13, 1916, and was yet to receive, on December 25, 1917, joint appointment as head of the Imperial Museum and of the National Library.

Line 4: ‘Founts, tracing back to them’: Cf. Lu Ji (261–303), 陸機, 文賦 (文選 17): “或沿波而討源。” “[N]ow he [the writer] follows back along the waves [and traces back] to the fountainhead of the stream” (Achilles Fang tr.).

Line 4: ‘Know the ford’: The allusion is to *Analecets* 18/6, 論語, 微子: “是知津矣!” “Oh, he knows the ford!” (E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks tr.). Ōgai is saying that Yu Shufen knows the Confucian sources quite well.

- Line 4:** ‘Open and unaffected’: Cf. Liu Xie, *Wenxin diaolong* 6, 劉勰, 文心雕龍, 明詩: “慷慨以任氣、磊落以使才。” “Heroic in giving free play to their vitality, open and artless in the expression of their feelings” (Vincent Yu-chung Shih tr.).
- Line 7:** ‘Stealing a fresh-and-tender appearance’: The source for the expression is Shi Jianwu (780–861), QTS 494 (5600): 施肩吾, 金吾詞: “染鬚偷嫩無人覺、唯有平康小婦知。” “He dyes his beard and steals a fresh-and-tender look (by putting makeup on), with no one the wiser; / Only his ‘little wife’ from Pingkang (the brothel district) knows” (JTW tr.).
- Line 7:** ‘How is that possible?’: Note the colloquialness of the expression 底事; cf. WIXTED: “Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Quatrains”: 144.

To the discussion of Line 8 on p. 116 should be added the following:

For more about the cinnamon tree in Chinese literature, see Martin KERN: *Zum Topos “Zimbaum” in der chinesischen Literatur: Rhetorische Funktion und poetischer Eigenwert des Naturbildes kuei*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1994 (Sinologica Coloniensis, Ostasiatische Beiträge der Universität zu Köln, Band 18). Cf. the review article by Jean-Pierre DIÉNY: “Le fabuleux destin de l’arbre *gui*,” *T’oung Pao* 87.4–5 (1996): 385–91; rpt. in *idem: Images et représentations du monde dans la Chine ancienne: Choix d’études (1962–2006)*, 2 vols., Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises (Bibliothèque de l’Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Volume XXXVI) 2012, vol. 2: 513–20.