

The Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai Quatrains (*zekku*)

John Timothy WIXTED, Harbert, Michigan

'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 'quatrains' 絕句 (*zekku*, juéjù) that were written when Mori Ōgai participated in the following:

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All 'quatrains' (*zekku*) are composed of four lines, and the lines are normally seven or five characters each. The poems treated below are all seven-character *zekku* (except for one five-character one). Hence they are twenty-eight *kanji* in length. The term *zekku* is used to refer to the poetic genre that came to maturity in China in the second half of the seventh century. There had been four-line poems in earlier centuries that did not follow the genre's prescribed

¹ The article is to be followed by its pair, "The Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Ancient-Style Poems (*koshi*) and Regulated Verse (*risshi*)" [古詩 and 律詩], forthcoming in JH. For background to both, see John Timothy Wixted: "Sociability in Poetry: An Introduction to the Matching-Rhyme *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai," "Ôgai" – Mori Rintarô. Begegnungen mit dem japanischen homme de lettres, Klaus Kracht, ed., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2014: 189–217. The three articles are referred to collectively as 'this study.'

rules. "The *zekku* form requires end rhyme in the second and fourth lines, with an optional rhyme at the end of the first line. [...] In addition to rhyme, [the form] demands that the writer observe the rules of tonal parallelism. For such purposes, the 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)."²

As for the early writing of *zekku* in Japan, "Scholars disagree concerning the extent to which poets adhered to the prosodic requirements of regulated verse [*zekku* and *risshi*] in the Heian *kanshi* anthologies." Examples date from all periods, but were especially promoted by famous Tokugawa practitioners. "In the late-Edo period, the *zekku* emerged as the most popular *kanshi* sub-genre" – in part also because of *zekku*'s affinity to *haiku* (both forms being short and suggestive), because of traditional Japanese predilection for shorter verse forms, and because of the fewer demands *zekku* composition was thought to pose compared with the eight-line *risshi*.

In broad terms, the four lines of a zekku (and even more so, the four couplets of a risshi regulated verse) are organized in the following sequence: 'introduction' (ki 起 qǐ), 'development' (sho 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.

Particularly germane are the following comments. "Conciseness and concentration $[in\ ju\acute{e}j\grave{u}]$ were achieved by reliance on connotation and allusion." "Whenever possible, a $ju\acute{e}j\grave{u}$ should avoid direct assertions and build its effect on the subtle manipulation of tone and imagery. Instead of clarity, it should

² Burton Watson: Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jōzan and Other Edo-Period Poets, San Francisco: North Point Press 1990: xv-xvi.

³ 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: 17. They supply a helpful paragraph summarizing scholarship on the matter.

⁴ Timothy R. Bradstock and Judith N. Rabinovitz: An Anthology of Kanshi (Chinese Verse) by Japanese Poets of the Edo Period (1603–1868), Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press 1997: 18.

⁵ James Robert Hightower: "Chüeh-chü," chap. 10 in idem, Topics in Chinese Literature: Outlines and Bibliographies, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1962: 69.

strive for nuance ($y\acute{u}y\bar{\imath}n$ 餘音), implicit meaning ($y\acute{a}nw\grave{a}izh\bar{\imath}y\grave{\imath}$ 言外之意), and the art of suggestion ($h\acute{a}nx\grave{\imath}$ 含蓄)."6

Translations below are intended to reflect a basic organizing principle of *kanshi*: the couplet, not the individual line, is primary. Moreover, as reflected in the 'barbarized' versions and in the romanized Chinese, the basic rhythm within individual lines is *dah dah / dah dah // dah dah dah*; single slash marks indicate a minor caesura and double ones a major pause. The semantic sense generally follows this rhythm. Lines are composed of building blocks of meaning: often two characters in length, not infrequently a single character, and occasionally three or more. A poetic line is not simply a sequence of seven (or five) discrete, independent *kanji*.

As for the tonal rules of the genre – the sequencing of level and deflected tones, and the 'mirroring' of contrasting tonal sequences between lines in a couplet – these effects are not carried over into modern Mandarin, to say nothing of non-tonal languages like English or Japanese.⁹ No attempt has been made to approximate them.

⁶ Richard Bodman and Shirleen S. Wong: "Shih 詩 (poetry or classical poetry)," in The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1986: 688.

They follow the format outlined in John Timothy 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 訓読 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; Sino-Japanese Studies 21 (2014); available online: http://chinajapan.org/articles/21/1.

⁸ In five-character lines, the basic rhythm is dah dah // dah dah dah.

⁹ When Japanese authors wrote a *kanshi*, "they customarily attempted to the best of their ability to meet all the prosodic requirements of the form. To do so, they had to memorize the rhyme and tonal categories to which the characters belonged as specified by Tang period rules of prosody, the system used in the composition of classical Chinese poetry. To assist those with shaky memories, publishers produced handbooks, small and light enough to carry in a kimono sleeve, that one could consult in cases of doubt"; WATSON, *Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jōzan and Other Edo-Period Poets*: xvii.

The following listing, which consists overwhelmingly of *kanbun* books held by Ōgai (mostly by Japanese *kanshi* authors) includes the title, *Shiritsu chō* 詩律兆 (Poetry Rules: A Beginning), a 1775 work by Nakal Sekizen (Chikuzan) 中井積善 (竹山) (1730–1804) that is a study of tones in regulated verse (both *zekku* and *risshi*); Sakamoto Hideji 坂本秀次: "'Ōgai Bunko' mokuroku shō: Okano-zō hon 'Mokuroku' 'Wa-Kanpon no bu' yori" 「鷗外文庫」目錄抄: 岡野蔵本「目録」「和漢本之部」より ("An Abridged Index to the 'Ōgai

Rhymes, however, are a different matter. They are communicated visually by underlining those characters at the ends of lines that rhyme and by highlighting the corresponding Chinese. Furthermore, at the end of rhymed lines in the original, romanized equivalents for the rhyme words are given both in *ondoku* Japanese and in modern Chinese readings. Either one, read in concert with other romanized rhyme words in the poem, communicates a sense of the poem's rhymes and offers an approximation of the historical sounds.

Two studies of Mori Ōgai's kanshi are of particular relevance to this study: Kotajima Yōsuke 古田島洋介: Kanshi 漢詩 (The Sino-Japanese Poetry), vols. 12 and 13 in Ōgai rekishi bungaku shū 鷗外歷史文學集 (Collected Historical Literature by Ōgai), Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 2000–2001; 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. 'Original' poems and Ōgai matching ones are clearly identified: "#178 Orig." indicates the 'original,' "#178 M.O." indicates the Ōgai poem. Page-number references to Kotajima or Chin are provided only exceptionally, as poem numbers (which are always given) follow the former, and it is generally easy to find the same poem in the latter.

With few exceptions, romanized kundoku renderings follow Kotajima (but not necessarily the caesurae, indicated by extra blank-spaces between romanized units). Furigana for the kundoku reading of many words and phrases are not given by Kotajima, especially for more common characters and compounds (which are precisely those most likely to have problematic multiple readings); readings for all are supplied here. In the romanization, eu, iu, and au are retained (and not rendered $y\bar{o}$, $y\bar{u}$, and \bar{o}).

The following abbreviations and citation conventions are used:

JTW John Timothy Wixted

OZ *Ōgai zenshū* 鷗外全集, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 1971–75, 38 vols.: e.g., "OZ 38: 133–34" refers to vol. 38, pp. 133–34.

QTS Quan Tang shi 全唐詩, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1960 ed., 25 vols.: e.g., "QTS 201 (2097)" refers to 卷 201, p. 2097.

For Chinese dynastic histories, the Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 1962–75 ed. is cited: e.g., "Jinshu 晉書 114 (2917)" refers to 卷114, p. 2917 of the Jinshu.

Library': From the 'Index,' 'Chinese and Japanese Section,' to Books in the Okano Collection''), *Ogai* 鷗外 26 (Jan. 1980): 64–80, 70.

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 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 is treated here as added explication).

Within JTW translations, brackets and parentheses are used discretionally.

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Ishiguro Tadanori (Kyōsai) 石黒忠悳 (况斎), 1845–1941

Two matching-rhyme series between Ishiguro Tadanori and Mori Ōgai will be focused on here: one, consisting of four poems, dates from 1888; the other is of six poems from 1915, only four of which are extant (namely, one pair of matching-rhyme poems and two Ōgai matching poems that lack 'originals').¹⁰

The first series was occasioned by a visit, on the way back from Europe, which Ōgai and Ishiguro paid to a Japanese monk who had gone to Ceylon to study Pali and Sanskrit.¹¹ It provides the earliest examples of matching-rhyme

¹⁰ Additional paired poems are treated in n. 17 and 25–27. Except for one in n. 27, they are not matching-rhyme poems in the more narrow sense adopted at the beginning of this article: namely, using the exact same rhyme words in the exact same order as those of an earlier poem. Strictly speaking, they are *iin* 依韻 poems: i.e., they are of the same rhyme category but do not necessarily have the same rhyme words as the previous poem. For explanation of how the three *wain* 和韻 categories – *iin* 依韻, *jiin* 次韻, and *yōin* 用韻 – are differentiated, see Wixted: "Sociability in Poetry": 204–5.

¹¹ Ceylon and the Indian Ocean have an almost paradisaical quality in Ōgai's writing. Note the following three examples. In $M\bar{o}z\bar{o}$ ($M\bar{o}s\bar{o}$) 妄想 ("Delusions"), Ōgai while in Ceylon is sold "a beautiful bird with blue wings" 美しい、青い翼の鳥 (OZ 8: 207) – one that, significantly enough, dies en route to Japan. Kanda Takao 神田孝夫 detects deep longing on Ōgai's part in the matching-rhyme poems he wrote in Colombo describing an ascetic life transcending the mundane; "Ōgai Mori Rintarō kikoku zengo no ukkutsu to yūmon: 'Yamato Kai' enzetsu, 'Kantō nichijō' o chūshin ni" 鷗外林太郎帰国前後の鬱屈と憂悶:「大和会」演説・「還東日乗」を中心に("The Melancholy and Anguish of Ōgai Mori Rintarō about the Time of His Return to Japan: With Emphasis on the 'Yamato Club' Talks and Journal of the Return East"), Hikaku bungaku ronkō: Ōgai, kanshi, Seiyōka 比較文学論考攷: 鷗外・漢詩・西洋化(Comparative Literature Studies: Ōgai, Kanshi, and Westernization),Meiji Shoin 明治書院,2001 (rpt. of the 1982 article): 187. (The poems, as well as two additional kanshi by Ōgai written in Colombo – #093 and #134 – are treated below.) Furthermore, Asano Yō 浅野洋 points to the memorial Ōgai wrote for Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭 四迷

poems by Ōgai. It is unusual among Ōgai's *jiin* poems, in that it is dedicated to a third party. The normal challenges of writing *kanshi*, especially matching-rhyme ones, were intensified by the pressure of having to display one's intelligence and skills in front of someone else, while drawing the party into the exchange.

The circumstance makes for an interesting triangle. On one side is the dedicatee, the monk Kōnen (興然, 1849–1924), the other two sides consisting of Ishiguro and Ōgai. Whereas Ishiguro directs his poems to Kōnen, most of Ōgai's comments, although nominally dedicated to Kōnen, are witty indirections aimed at Ishiguro. Kōnen provides a pretext: the monk is implicitly assigned the role of 'straight man' for Ōgai and of referee between him and Ishiguro. Ōgai's poems reflect his overall sense of humor, his way of joshing with friends, and his customary irony – but with indirections that perhaps proved too much for Ishiguro. ¹²

Ōgai's poems became comparatively accessible, as they were published in his *Kantō nichijō* in 1890. The rescuing of Ishiguro's originals in recent years from his hitherto unpublished diary (notwithstanding problems in decipher-

^{(1864–1909),} who had passed away at sea in the Indian Ocean: "I understand he died aboard ship in the Indian Ocean. Someone wrote in a newspaper, 'It was a good place to die.' I feel the same way." 亡くなられたのは、印度洋の船の中であつたさうだ。誰やら新聞で好い死どころだと云つた。私にもさういふ感じがする. (OZ 26: 349). "Ōgai to Yōkō nikki: Kōsei no kokorozashi, ryūgaku, soshite Kantō no tabi" 鷗外と洋行日記: 航西の志、留学、そして還東の旅 ("Ōgai and the European Travel Diaries: The Resolve to Travel West, Studying Abroad, and the Return Trip East"), *Mori Ōgai o manabu hito no tame ni* 森鷗外を学ぶ人のために (For Those Studying Mori Ōgai), YAMASAKI Kuninori 山崎国紀, ed., Sekai Shisō Sha 世界思想社 1994: 254–57.

The voyage between Europe and Japan served as a liminal threshold between the two worlds. *Kōsei nikki* 航西日記 (Diary of the Voyage West) and *Kantō nichijō* 還東日乘 (Journal of the Return East) naturally reflect this. Also, it is no coincidence that the ruminative *Maihime* 舞姬 (The Dancing Girl) is related as taking shape in the in-between limbo of Saigon.

¹² Takahashi Yōichi 高橋陽一 argues that while the poetic exchange was occasioned by the visit, it was only completed later and sent to Kōnen from Singapore; "Ishiguro Tadanori Ōshūkō ji no kanshi" 石黒忠悳欧州行時の漢詩 ("Kanshi by Ishiguro Tadanori While on His Trip to Europe"), Ōgai 鷗外 84 (Jan. 2009): 63–64. Even so, the underlying dynamic remains the same. Per his chart in another article, Takahashi understands there to have been five occasions on the return to Japan when a kanshi by Ishiguro or Ōgai prompted a poetic response by the other; the Ceylon exchange is one; "Ishiguro Tadanori, Mori Ōgai no Avagō senjō kanshi no ōshū: Rikyō sanzai kikyō o osoru" 石黒忠悳、森鷗外のアヴァ号船上漢詩の応酬: 離郷三載帰郷ヲ恐ル ("Kanshi Exchange between Ishiguro Tadanori and Mori Ōgai Aboard the Ship 'Ava': 'Away from Home for Three Years, I Fear Returning Home'"), Ōgai 鷗外 78 (Feb. 2006): 58.

ing the writing) has made it possible to restore the dynamic of this and other exchanges. ¹³ The situation provides an illuminating example of *kanshi* socia-

13 The work is referred to both as Ishiguro Tadanori nikki 石黒忠悳日記 (The Diary of Ishiguro Tadanori) and Ishiguro Tadanori nichijō 石黒忠悳日乗 (The Journal of Ishiguro Tadanori). Major scholarship on the manuscript appeared in 1975 with the publication of three kinds of material by TAKEMORI Ten'yū 竹盛天雄. (A) Background information: "Fuen Bunko-zō Ishiguro Tadanori nikki ni tsuite" 不円文庫蔵石黒忠悳日記について ("About the Ishiguro Tadanori Diary in the Fuen Library"), Ōgai zenshū geppō 鷗外全集月報 35 (Jan. 1975): 12-14. [Fuen 不圓, meaning 'deficient, imperfect' (Sanskrit vikalam mandalam; A. Charles MULLER, online Digital Dictionary of Buddhism), was a courtesy name of Ishiguro.] (B) Transcribed passages: "Ishiguro Tadanori nikki shō" 石黒忠悳日記抄 ("Excerpts from the Diary of Ishiguro Tadanori"), Ōgai zenshū geppō 鷗外全集月報, 3 pts.: 36 (March 1975): 5-11; 37 (April 1975): 5-10; 38 (June 1975): 5-13. And (C) a series of articles which have been summarized as follows: "Utilizing a new source, Ishiguro Tadanori's Diary 石黒忠 惠日記, Takemori traces in minute detail the experience of Ishiguro and Ōgai sharing the same experience of having a love affair in Berlin, and the process which ultimately led to their estrangement after their return to Japan"; Koizumi Kōichirō [小泉浩一郎]: "Recent Developments in Research on Mori Ōgai," Acta Asiatica 40 (1981): 87, citing TAKEMORI Ten'yu 竹盛天雄: "'Ishiguro - Mori no Berurin enryū to kaiki o megutte: Midori no me to shiroi bara (jō) (chū) (ge)' 石黒・森のベルリン淹留と懐帰をめぐって: 緑の眼と白い薔 薇 (上) (中) (下) (Ishiguro Tadanori's and Mori Ōgai's Stay in Berlin and their Decision to Return to Japan: Blue Eyes and White Roses I, II, III)"; Bungaku 文学 43.9 (Sept. 1975): 78–85; 43.12 (Dec. 1975): 99–111; and 44.2 (Feb. 1976): 11–24.

The Ishiguro diary is especially difficult to decipher. Hasegawa Izumi長谷川泉, in a short sidebar at the end of a Sakamoto Hideji article, states, "Ishiguro Tadanori's writing is notoriously difficult to read." 石黒忠悳の文字は、有名な読みにくい文字である。"Ishiguro Tadanori to Ōgai" 石黒忠悳と鷗外 ("Ishiguro Tadanori and Ōgai"), Kokubungaku. Kaishaku to kanshō 国文学解釈と鑑賞 49.2 (Jan. 1984): 155.

As if to underscore the last point, Ishiguro's writing can serve as a virtual Rorschach Test. For example, a key compound in the passage quoted in n. 29 has been deciphered as (1) 士官, (2) 真髄, and (3) 直傳 ("[military] official," "essence," and "directness"), respectively by (1) Takemori Ten'yū and Sakamoto Hideji, per n. 29; (2) Nakai Yoshiyuki 中井義幸: *Ōgai ryūgaku shimatsu* 鷗外留学始末 (Details about Ōgai's Study Abroad), Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 1999: 328; and (3) Takahashi Yōichi: "Ishiguro nichijō' no honkoku ni tsuite"「石黒日乘」の翻刻について」"About Transcription of *The Ishiguro Journal*"), *Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 鷗外記念会通信 164 (Oct. 30, 2008): 9. The Takahashi article reproduces an enlarged photo of the passage and lists corrections for several of the transcriptions found in the works by Takemori and Nakai. Elsewhere as well, Takahashi makes corrections of transcriptions by Kotajima Yōsuke: "Ishiguro Tadanori Ōshū kōji no kanshi": 66.

Photographic reproductions of sample pages from the diary are found in the following five works. (Those in the fourth are the most copious; the photocopied page in the fifth is the most indecipherable.) (1) HASEGAWA Izumi: Zoku Ōgai 'Wita Sekusuarisu' kō 續鷗外「ヰタ・セクスアリス」考 (Research on Ōgai's Vita Sexualis: A Continuation), Meiji Shoin 明治書院 1971: 236; (2) TAKEMORI Ten'yū: "Ishiguro Tadanori nikki shō": 3: 12; (3) TAKAHASHI Yōichi: "Ishiguro Tadanori to Mori Ōgai no Berurin no omoide: 'Midori no me to shiroi bara' ni tsuite no jakkan no iron" 石黒忠悳と森鷗外のベルリンの思い出: '緑の眼と白い 薔薇'についての若干の異論("Remembrances of Berlin by Ishiguro Tadanori and Mori

bility: one of polite, pleasant interaction with a monk on the part of Ishiguro while on a shared visit with Ōgai; and of wittily ambiguous 'kidding' of Ishiguro by Ōgai – with less than flattering overtones – on the pretense of dedicating poems to the monk.

Ishiguro was Ōgai's senior by thirteen years. In both Germany and Japan, there were periods when he was Ōgai's boss. The relationship between the two was complex and contradictory, as reflected in the matching-rhyme exchanges.¹⁴

Ōgai: Various Interpretations of 'Blue Eyes and White Roses'"), Kōgakkan ronsō 皇學館論叢 38.2 (April 2005): 94–97; (4) Таканаsні Yōichi: "Ishiguro Tadanori, Mori Ōgai no Ava-gō senjō kanshi no ōshū: Rikyō sanzai kikyō o osoru": 58. (5) Таканаsні Yōichi: "Mō hitotsu no Ōgai kanshi"もう一つの鷗外漢詩 ("Another Ōgai Kanshi"), Ōgai 鷗外83 (July 2008): 52.

14 The previous year Ōgai's study and research with Robert Koch "was interrupted by the rather unwelcome arrival in Berlin of his superior, Ishiguro Tadanori, with whom Ōgai was forced to spend much time in attendance as translator [especially at the International Red Cross Conference in Karlsruhe in 1887], and not until October could he return to his own work. Ishiguro's arrival in Germany forced Ōgai back into the position of subordinate after the freedom he had enjoyed for the last three years. It was a reluctant and uncomfortable return to the fold"; Richard John Bowring: *Mori Ōgai and the Modernization of Japanese Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979: 20.

Stated differently: "To Mori, Ishiguro represented the restrictive cobweb of Japanese society in general and of the army in particular. Although Ishiguro was pleased with having the younger physician's assistance, Mori felt tense and depressed by the constant presence of his superior [including the long journey back to Japan]. [...] Ishiguro symbolized Mori's reintegration into the Japanese social hierarchy and his separation from European culture, medical science, and German friends"; Robert Jay Lifton, Kato Shūichi [加藤周一], and Michael R. Reich: "Mori Ōgai (1862–1922): 'Neither Fearing nor Yearning for Death,'" chap. 3 in *idem, Six Lives, Six Deaths: Portraits from Modern Japan*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press 1979: 90.

By the same token, Ishiguro had ample reason to find his junior officer difficult. Although instrumental in Ōgai's initial appointment to the army, he had felt it necessary to write Ōgai in Leipzig to tell him to concentrate more on his study of hygiene and less on 'military affairs' (and by implication, attendant social engagements). Similarly, he was likely irked to see Ōgai begin giving lessons on Clausewitz after being expressly told to focus only on his research. He had been unhappy with Ōgai's disrespect for authority in not seeking advance permission to go on military exercises with the Dresden Army. And in Berlin he had Ōgai's Elis affair to deal with (as well as his own). Additionally, when Elis showed up in Japan, Ishiguro felt the need for his subordinate to get the problem dealt with as expeditiously as possible; he was the person to whom Ōgai reported when the episode was concluded. For treatment of some of this, see Sakamoto Hideji: "Ishiguro Tadanori kara mita kikoku zengo no Mori Rintarō" 石黑忠惠から見た帰国前後の森林太郎 ("Mori Rintarō about the Time of His Return to Japan, As Viewed by Ishiguro Tadanori"), Kokubungaku. Kaishaku to kanshō 国文学解釈と鑑賞 49.2 (Jan. 1984): 312–23 (note, however, that the shared return voyage to Japan is not treated).

Ishiguro's *kanshi* are remarkable for their indiscriminate use of even and oblique tones, frequent mistakes with rhyme words, and overall ingenuousness – such that Takahashi Yōichi at one point comments, "Good gracious!" (*Iyahaya* いやはや). Is In any case, they remain invaluable as a resource.

The following is the first of Ishiguro's poems in the series written in Ceylon:¹⁶

#135 Orig. A Poem by Ishiguro Tadanori

錫蘭崑崙浦贈僧興然

"In Colombo, Ceylon: Dedicated to the Monk, Kōnen" (No. 1 of 2)
"Seiron no Koronbo nite ō Kōnen ni okuru" "Xílán Kūnlúnpǔ zèng Sēng Xīngrán"

At the same time, Ōgai had reason to feel resentment toward Ishiguro. In addition to being monitored and chastised by him (per the above), temperamentally he was not suited to be anyone's subordinate. And late during the stay in Berlin, "Ogai seriously tried to transfer from the army to the Foreign Ministry. However, one of Ōgai's disciples has stated Ōgai's attempt was 'thwarted by someone.' This 'someone' can have been none other than Ishiguro Tadanori"; NAKAI Yoshiyuki, "The Young Mori Ōgai (1862–1892)," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 1974: 147. (Nakai gives cogent reasons why Ishiguro acted responsibly in the matter, and even in Ōgai's best interest.) Moreover, Ishiguro may have felt envious of Ōgai's proficiency in German and resentful of being so dependent on him - which helps account for his later minimizing of Ōgai's contribution at Karlsruhe (see n. 35). This in turn would likely have generated both contempt on Ōgai's part for Ishiguro's lack of language proficiency and resentment that his own skills and contributions were not better recognized and appreciated. (Disparity in their respective skills at writing kanshi may have generated similar feelings in Ogai - not that his own efforts were always stellar.) Ishiguro, as someone of authority in Berlin when Ōgai was terminating the affair with Elis, may have served as the model for the person Ogai refers to in the final lines of Maihime, his semi-fictional account of the affair: "Friends like Aizawa Kenkichi are rare indeed, and yet to this very day there remains a part of me that curses him" 嗚呼、相澤謙吉が如き良友 は世にまた得がたかるべし。されど我腦裡に一點の彼を憎むこゝろ今日までも殘れりけり. OZ 1: 447; Richard J. Bowring tr.

For more about the difficult relationship, see n. 29.

- 15 "Ishiguro Tadanori to Mori Ōgai no Berurin no omoide": 85.
- 16 Helpful in explicating the poems exchanged between the two men while in Ceylon are the articles by Takahashi Yōichi: "Ishiguro Tadanori Ōshū kōji no kanshi": 63–67 (for the two Ishiguro poems); "Giron no aru Ōgai no kanshi yonshu" 議論のある鷗外の漢詩四首 ("Four Disputed Ōgai *Kanshi*"), *Ōgai* 鷗外 85 (July 2009): 25–29 (for the two matching Ōgai poems).

Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

Rhyme category: 平聲上十四(寒)韻.

August 16, 1888

清世不逢處々難

NAN / nán

A pure generation (> a peaceful age) / not encountered // everywhere, difficulties

Seisei awazu shosho no nan

Qīngshì bùféng chùchù nán

十萬里程經錫安

an / ān

A million-league journey // relying on tin staff, at peace

Jūman ritei shaku o kakete yasunzu

Shíwàn lĭchéng jīng xí ān

A time of peace is not to be found – everywhere there are troubles;

2 But after journeying a million leagues, thanks to your tin staff you are at ease.

他年傳法歸東日

Some year / transmitting the Dharma // the day when you return East *Tanen hō o tsutaeyo ki-Tō no hi*

Tānián chuánfă guī-Dōng rì

與君指月凭闌干

KAN / gān

With you / pointing at the moon // we will lean on the balustrade *Kimi to tsuki o sashi rankan ni yoran*

Yŭ jūn zhĭ yuè píng lán'gān

The day will come when, transmitting the Dharma, you return East, to Japan,

- 4 And together we lean on a balustrade, pointing at the moon.
- Line 1: TAKAHASHI Yōichi interprets the line: "This being an age of peace, you (unlike the pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 [ca. 602–64], who made his famous journey to the West, to India, in search of scriptures) did not encounter countless troubles (when venturing abroad)."
- Line 2: 'A million-league journey': Cf. Li Dong (d. ca. 897): 李洞, 送三藏歸西天國, QTS 723 (8300): <u>十萬里程</u>多少磧. "<u>A million-league journey</u>, so much gravel!" (JTW tr.). The expression, applied to Kōnen, evokes Xuanzang.
- **Lines 1–4**: Takahashi goes into some detail explaining why the poem does not fit the traditional definition of a *zekku*.

The above appears in Ishiguro's diary in an entry dated August 17, 1888. Ōgai presumably refers to the exchange in *Kantō nichijō* in an entry dated the pre-

vious day: 又和石君同題詩. "Again I wrote poems to match Ishi's (i.e., Ishiguro's) on the same theme."

Ōgai's response reads as follows:17

17 In *Kantō nichijō*, immediately preceding the two poems by Ōgai in this exchange, there is another by Ōgai (Poem #134) – a non-matching-rhyme one – that deals with the same visit to Kōnen in Ceylon:

贈憎興然

"Dedicated to the Monk, Konen"

August 16, 1888

飛錫天涯意太雄

You, a traveling monk-'a flying staff'—at heaven's edge with a will courageous (to have come to Ceylon to study Pali and Sanskrit);

苦修何日得神通

When might you, with hard discipline, attain spiritual communion (like that of an arhat)? 疊花樹葉渾無用

'Folded blossoms' and 'tree leaves' – *patra* pieces of cloth and palm leaves used to record scripture – are equally useless (unless like you, someone can read the inscriptions on them in the original);

真法期君傳海東

So it awaits you, for the true Dharma to be transmitted to Sea East (Japan).

In fact, earlier on the trip Ōgai and Ishiguro had exchanged poems upon leaving Aden. Ōgai's Poem #133 is as follows:

"Untitled," in Kantō nichijō

August 9, 1888

頁笈三年歎鈍根

Portable book-box on my back, too bad that for three years – while in Germany – I was so dimwitted (not just being a poor student, but a fool for getting involved in an affair that might compromise my career);

還東何以報天恩

Returning East now, how can I repay my sovereign's favor (and make a contribution to Meiji Japan, especially if I have to resign in the wake of the scandal that is about to break)?

關心不獨秋風恨

My heart's preoccupation is not only with 'the sharp regret that accompanies an autumn breeze' (namely, the sadness that comes from knowing that extremes of happiness necessarily bear the kernel of some future sorrow and vice versa, and the bitter resentment of an unjustly rejected woman);

一夜歸舟過淚門

It takes a full night for our returning boat to pass the (so aptly named) 'Gate of Tears,' Babel Mandeb.

The first element in each of the paired parenthetical explications would have been understood by readers of the poem without knowledge of the author's personal circumstances; the second becomes clear with familiarity about the Elis affair. Note the TAKAHASHI Yōichi article about the key phrase in Line Three: "'Chikukaku' oyobi 'Shūfū no urami' saikō" 「逐客」及び「秋風恨」再考 ("A Reexamination of 'Banished Guest' and 'Autumn-Breeze Bitterness'"), *Ōgai* 鷗外 82 (Jan. 2008): 99–111. ['Banished guest' is a term used in Poem

#135 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Ishiguro Tadanori

錫蘭崑崙浦贈僧興然

"In Colombo, Ceylon: Dedicated to the Monk, Kōnen" (No. 1 of 2)

"Seiron no Koronbo nite Sō Kōnen ni okuru" "Xílán Kūnlúnpŭ zèng Sēng Xīngrán"

Rhyme category: 平聲上十四(寒)韻.

August 16, 1888

音容變盡認知難

NAN / nán

Voice and face / changed completely // to recognize, difficult

On'yō henji-tsukushite ninchi suru koto kataki ni

Yīnróng biàn jìn rènzhī nán

誰攪禪關一榻安

an / ān

Who stirred up / the Zen gate // a (meditation-) couch tranquil?

Tare ka midasu zenkan ittō no yasuki o

Shéi jiǎo chánguān yítà ān

Your voice and visage fully changed, hard to recognize; [about Konen]

#132 by Ōgai to refer to Ozaki Yukio 尾崎行雄 (1859–1954), who was among those who had been banned from Tokyo as part of the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1887.]

The following is Ishiguro's response to Poem #133:

著作等身傳誦喧

Your writings reach as high as you are, and are loudly bruited about; 羨君家學溯淵源

I envy you your family's learning – generations of physicians – delving back to the very sources of tradition.

歸東豈啻酬明主

When you return East, not only will you requite our shining, Meiji sovereign; 又有雙親日倚門

Also your parents will be leaning daily on the gate – awaiting your arrival.

The above text follows the *Kantō nichijō* entry for August 9, 1888. The Ishiguro diary version (August 6, 1888 entry) is somewhat different, with Lines One and Two inverted and one character in the last line missing. The response does not appear in the Chin Seiho and Kotajima Yōsuke studies of Ōgai's *kanshi*. Treatment of the poem is found in: Kanda Takao: "Ōgai Rintarō kikoku zengo no ukkutsu to yūmon": 185–86; Такесні Hideo 武智秀夫: "*Kantō nichijō* o yomu (ni)" 還東日乗を読む (二) ("Reading *Journal of the Return East*," Pt. 2) *Ōgai* 鷗外 71 (July 2002): 18–19; and Таканаsні Yōichi: "Ishiguro Tadanori, Mori Ōgai no Ava-gō senjō kanshi no ōshū": 49–50.

Note the additional poem in response to Poem #133 by Saitō Katsutoshi 齋藤勝壽 (fl. 1890), adopted son of Ōgai's teacher Satō Genchō 佐藤元萇 (1818–97), which, unlike Ishiguro's, is a matching-rhyme poem. It was written shortly after *Kantō nichijō* was published and is reproduced in Takechi Hideo: "*Kantō nichijō* o yomu (ni)": 23–24.

Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

Who disturbed your Zen gate, its meditation couch tranquil? [Ishiguro did]

何者狂奴延客至

Why would / a crazy fellow // bringing a guest, arrive?

Nanimono zo kyōdo no kaku o hiite-itareru wa

Hézhě kuángnú yán kè zhì

知君饒舌惡豐干

KAN / gān

One knows you: / A blabbermouth // bad Feng Gan

Shiru kimi ga zōzetsu no aku Bu Kan naru o

Zhī jūn ráoshé è Fēng Gān

Why would a screwball show up here, guest in tow? [Ishiguro bringing me, Ōgai]

- 4 But we know you, you blabbermouth, pranksterish Feng Gan. [Ishiguro]
- Line 1: 'Voice and visage': Cf. Bo Juyi (772–846), 白居易, 長恨歌, QTS 435 (4819): 一別音容兩渺茫. "Once separated, both your voice and visage have grown faint" (JTW tr.). Cf. also Su Shi (1036–1101): 蘇軾,子由將赴南部...: <u>音容變盡</u>語音存. "Voice and visage completely changed, your accent remains the same" (JTW tr.).
- Line 3: 'Screwball': The term was used affectionately by the emperor (in the expression, "He's the same old <u>screwball</u>!" <u>狂奴</u>故態也) to describe his friend Yan Guang 嚴光 (Later Han) when the latter refused high office, saying he did not want to have anything to do with having to be a sycophant; *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 83 (2763). Yan Guang is referred to explicitly in "Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Araki Torasaburō" below.
- Line 4: 'Blabbermouth... Feng Gan': Feng Gan is associated with the two famous Tang recluses, Hanshan 寒山 and Shide 拾得. When Lüqiu Yin 閭丘胤 was to be transferred to Danqiu 丹丘 as an official, he asked Feng if he knew any local worthies there. Feng recommended the two. When Lüqiu went to see them, they laughed, saying, 豐千饒舌。饒舌. "Feng Gan's a blabbermouth, a blabbermouth" (Robert G. Henricks tr.); 寒山序, QTS 806 (9063).

In his prose piece, "Kanzan, Jittoku" 寒山・拾得 (OZ 16: 250), Mori Ōgai has the official Lüqiu Yin introduce himself by saying: 朝儀大夫・使持節・台州の主簿・上柱國・賜緋魚袋・閭丘胤と申すものでございます. "I am the Lord Steward of the Imperial Council, Imperial Ambassador, Assistant Magistrate of Tai, Supreme Pillar of the Emperor, Recipient of the Scarlet Fish Medal, and I call myself Lüqiu Yin" (Sato Hiroaki tr.). After looking at each other and laughing, Hanshan then says, 豐干がしやべつたな. "So Feng Gan's gone and blabbed, eh?" (JTW tr.). In other words, Hanshan and Shide did not want their peace and quiet interrupted by an officious, humorless official, and goodnaturedly blame Feng Gan for having him come.

The above interpretation of the poem follows that of Kotajima Yōsuke. 18

Chin Seiho understands the poem differently. He argues that all four lines refer to Ōgai, as seen from the imagined point of view of Kōnen. In other words (with Kōnen speaking): "You (Ōgai) look different from the last time we met. / Who would disturb a Zen temple's tranquility? (You would, it seems). / What is this, to have a screwball show up with someone in tow? (You, bringing along Ishiguro). / We know what a Feng Gan-like blabbermouth you are for having suggested the visit in the first place." Coming from Ōgai, the entire poem would be tongue-in-cheek. 19

In support of the latter interpretation, Chin Seiho points to the similarly ironic self-deprecation in Lines 15–18 of Ōgai's Poem #077 (日東十客歌, "The Nippon Ten"): [After describing in Lines 1–14 his nine Japanese-student shipmates, all en route to Europe, Ōgai concludes:] 獨有森生閑無事、鼾息若雷誰敢呵、他年歐洲遊已遍、歸來面目果如何。"That just leaves Master Mori, loafing around doing nothing; / His snoring is like thunder, but none dare complain. / Someday, their European tour complete, / When they head home, what will their faces look like then?²⁰

Either interpretation requires understanding of the circumstances prompting the poem. Overall, the first seems to fit better with the poem that accompanies it (treated below). Rather than put the focus on Ōgai, it makes Ishiguro more directly the butt of Ōgai's humor. He takes advantage of the occasion to vent resentment at Ishiguro, masked – as much resentment is – as humor.

鳩啼林外雨淋鈴

Doves cry beyond the wood, rain glistening;

爲扣禪扉車暫停

To allow me to knock on the Zen door, my carriage halts a spell.

挂錫有僧引吾去

Leaning on tin staff is a monk, he leads me off

¹⁸ Similarly, Kanda Takao had taken Feng Gan to refer to Ishiguro; "Ōgai Rintarō kikoku zengo no ukkutsu to yūmon": 187. Takahashi Yōichi puts Lines Three and Four in Kōnen's mouth: "Why in the world would some fool come here bringing along someone else (and disturb our tranquility)? / You blabbermouth Feng Gans (i.e., Ōgai and Ishiguro)!"

¹⁹ In reference to the earlier-mentioned figures, Kōnen would be Hanshan; Ōgai, Feng Gan; and Ishiguro, Lüqiu Yin.

²⁰ In Poem #093, written in Colombo nearly four years earlier on the way to Europe, Ōgai relates a visit to a monk who would seem to be Kōnen (and hence bear out Chin's interpretation of Line One); but Kōnen only arrived in Ceylon two years later, in 1886:

[&]quot;Untitled," in Kōsei nikki

September 18, 1884

Notwithstanding its ambiguity and occasional nature, the poem illustrates well Ōgai's customary combination of quick wit, (sometimes barbed) humor, and wide learning.

Ishiguro's second poem in the 1888 exchange reads as follows:

#136 Orig. A Poem by Ishiguro Tadanori

錫蘭崑崙浦贈僧興然

"In Colombo, Ceylon: Dedicated to the Monk, Konen" (No. 2 of 2)

"Seiron no Koronbo nite Sō Kōnen ni okuru" "Xîlán Kūnlúnpŭ zèng Sēng

Xīngrán"

Rhyme category: 仄聲上二十二(養)韻.

August 16, 1888

乞食歸來頒老象

zō / xiàng

From begging food / coming back // apportioning it to old elephant *Kotsujiki kaeri-kitarite rōzō ni wakatsu*

Qĭshí guīlái bān lăoxiàng

日午避署眠方丈

Jō / zhàng

Midday / avoiding heat // he dozes in ten-foot-square [cell]

Nichigo atsuki o sakete hōjō ni nemuru

Rìwŭ bìshŭ mián fangzhàng

Back from begging, sharing the food with dear elephant,

2 Midday, to avoid the heat, he dozes in his ten-foot cell.

高僧三界稱無家

Worthy monk / the three realms // he calls 'being without a home'

Kōsō sangai ie nashi to shōshi

Gāosēng sānjiè chēng wújiā

殿壁□□獨仰像

zō / xiàng

On temple wall / $\square\square$ // alone looks up at the image

Denheki □□ hitori zō o aogu

Diànbì □□ dú yăng xiàng

幾函疊葉認遺經

To boxes of piled parchment-leaves – patra – where remnant scripture can be made out.

Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

- A worthy monk, the 'three realms' he calls 'being without a family' (remaining unmarried);
- 4 On the temple wall ..., alone he gazes up at the Buddha image.
- Line 2: 'Ten-foot-square [cell]': For Japanese readers, the term naturally brings to mind the <u>Hōjō</u>ki 方丈記 by Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155–1216); for more than two dozen Western-language translations of the term as it appears in the famous work's title, see John Timothy Wixted: A Handbook to Classical Japanese / 文語ハンドブック, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell East Asia Series 2006: 294–96.
- Line 3: 'Three Realms': A reference to the three realms of saṃsāra: the desire realm 欲界 (kāma-dhātu), the form realm 色界 (rūpa-dhātu), and the formless realm 無色界 (arūpya-dhatu); A. Charles Muller, online Digital Dictionary of Buddhism. Cf. Hanshan, QTS 806 (9089) 寒山: "可畏三界輪、念念未曾息。" "Frightful! Rotation in the three realms; / It continues from moment to moment (lit. thought after thought) never once has it ceased" (Robert G. Henricks tr.).
- **Line 3**: 'Being without a family': Cf. *Shijing*, #17, 詩經, 召南, 行露: "誰謂女<u>無家</u>?" "Who says that you <u>have no family</u>?" (Bernhard Karlgren tr.; the kanji 女 = 汝 'you'). In the context of both the *Shijing* poem and the Ishiguro one, 'without a family' means to be unmarried.
- Line 4: '□' indicates an illegible character, according to Kotajima Yōsuke. Takahashi Yōichi transcribes the line differently: 破壁出子榴師像. He takes 榴 to refer to 石榴, 'the pomegranate,' which is a "symbol of many children because of its seeds; a symbol held in the hand of 鬼子母神, Hāritī, the deva-mother of demons, converted by the Buddha (Skt. dādima)"; A. Charles Muller, online Digital Dictionary of Buddhism. Hence he paraphrases the line: "Tearing down walls and producing many offspring (i.e., disciples like you) the very image of "pomegranate"-teachers' (i.e., Hāritī-like masters, such as those you have here teaching you)." The interpretation seems forced, since Ishiguro is seldom so abstruse in his kanshi.

Ōgai's matched-rhyme response reads as follows:

#136 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Ishiguro Tadanori

錫蘭崑崙浦贈僧興然

"In Colombo, Ceylon: Dedicated to the Monk, Kōnen" (No. 2 of 2)
"Seiron no Koronbo nite Sō Kōnen ni okuru" "Xílán Kūnlúnpǔ zèng Sēng Xīngrán"

Rhyme category: 平聲上十四(寒)韻.

August 16, 1888

無心逢着知前象

zō / xiàng

'Absence of mind' / successfully attained // one apprehends earlier existence (karma)

Mushin hōchaku sureba zenshō o shiru

Wúxīn féngzháo zhī qiánxiàng

休笑痴頑如石丈

Jō / zhàng

Don't laugh at [his] / being foolishly stubborn / like 'Esteemed Stone'

Warau o yame yo chigan sekijō no gotoki o

Xiū xiào chīwán rú Shízhàng

Having achieved 'absence of mind,' one apprehends karma;

2 Don't laugh at him [Ishiguro] for being thickheaded, like Mi Fu bowing to 'Esteemed STONE.'

不是觥船興盡人

[He] is not / a 'drinking-boat' / -enthusiasm-spent person

Kore kōsen ni kyō tsukuru no hito narazu ya

Bú shì guāngchuán xīng jìn rén

黑頭來拜空王像

zō / xiàng

Black headed / [he] comes bowing to / the Emptiness King's image *Kokutō kitari-haisu kū'ō no z*ō

Hēitóu láibài Kōngwáng xiàng

It's not that his enthusiasm for 'boat flagons' is spent (from being dead drunk);

- 4 It's just that, BLACK-haired and young and with a promising career he has come to bow to the image of the King of Emptiness, Buddha.
- **Line 1**: Chin Seiho understands the line: "Without our planning it, we've managed to meet; you (Kōnen) remember me, I'm sure."
- Lines 2 and 4: The SMALL CAPS for 'Stone' and 'Black' are intended to communicate something of the joking wordplay on Ishiguro's name (石黑, 'STONE+BLACK')
- Line 2: 'Esteemed Stone': The expression comes from an anecdote by Ye Mengde 葉夢德 (1077–1148) in *Shilin yanyu* 石林燕語 10, in which it is said of the famous Song calligrapher Mi Fu 米黻 (1051–1107) that, once when he saw an unusual rock, he bowed to it, addressing it as 'Esteemed Stone.'
- **Line 4**: 'Black-haired': While clearly meaning 'young,' the phrase can have the added implication of 'future young official'; the source is Liu Yiqing (403–44), *Shishuo xinyu* 7, 劉義慶, 世說新語, 識鑒: 明府當爲黑頭公. "Someday Your Excellency

will become a <u>black-haired</u> ducal minister – i.e., you'll reach the top while still young" (Richard B. Mather tr.).

Much of the above interpretation follows Chin Seiho.

Kotajima Yōsuke understands the poem differently. Although the lines are dedicated to Kōnen, he takes them to be addressing Ishiguro: "Absence of mind once achieved is called apprehending earlier existence; / Your bowing to the image of the Buddha, as Mi Fu did to 'Esteemed stone,' should not be laughed at for being doltish; / You seem not to be one whose taste for 'drinking-boats' has been exhausted; / Young and hair still Black, you come bowing to the image of the King of Emptiness, Buddha."

TAKAHASHI Yōichi argues it would be rude for the poem to refer only to a third party and not its dedicatee. He interprets it as referring mostly to Kōnen: "Having achieved 'absence of mind' (thanks to your spiritual exercises), you (Kōnen) apprehend karma; / It is not to be laughed at, your sticking so stubbornly (to your regimen), like 'Esteemed Stone.' / You are not a person whose interests are devoted to the huge 'drinking boat' (of worldly pleasures), / While young officials (like Ishiguro [and me]) come (and disturb your tranquility), bowing to the Buddha."

On the same trip, Ishiguro was to be the first among those described by Ōgai in his well-known poem (of September 3, 1888) about the Japanese students returning from Europe who were aboard ship: "The Nippon Seven," 日東七客歌 (#138.5–8): 石君少懷四方志、踏遍扶桑蒺藜沙、一朝感慨解長劔、臂挂靑囊醫民瘕. "Ishi(guro), while still young, already had a world-encompassing ambition; / He widely trod Fusang's caltrop sands. 21 / One fine morning, deeply moved, he loosened his long sword, / And with blue medicine-bag dangling from his arm, set out to heal the populace of parasites." Later, as if in fulfillment of Ōgai's prediction, Ishiguro became prominent in the International Red Cross in Japan.

Nearly three weeks later, on September 4, the day their ship set sail for Japan from Shanghai, Ōgai wrote a poem dedicated to Ishiguro. It is his only effort at the 'song-poem' (ci 詞) genre,²² and according to Kotajima serves as a kind of supplement to *Kantō nichijō*. It ends with the lines (#139.6–9): 吾命

²¹ That is to say, he traveled extensively in the south (the land of caltrop sands) of Japan (i.e., 'Fusang,' the sacred mulberry tree to the East where the sun rises), having participated in the Saga Rebellion of 1864 and the Seinan War of 1867.

²² For a brief outline of its distinguishing features, see John Timothy Wixted: *The Song-Poetry of Wei Chuang (836–910 A.D.)*, Calligraphy by Eugenia Y. Tu, Tempe: Center for Asian

麼、何須哭、猶有一雙知己目、綠於春水綠. "My fate presses close; / What need to cry? / There is still a pair of eyes that knows me well, / Greener than spring waters' green." The person with green eyes could refer to Ishiguro, the dedicatee of the poem, being paired as it is with the phrase '[someone who] knows me well' – a conventional reference to a true friend, traditionally understood to be male. But Ishiguro takes full advantage of another possible reading of the phrase, and interprets the line to refer to the woman Ōgai had left behind in Germany, Elis Wiegert. In his witty comment on the poem, Ishiguro wrote: 其眼綠於春水綠者、其人何在乎。蓋在後舟中. "As for the one whose eyes are greener than the green of spring waters, where might that person be? Probably on the next boat!"²³ And that is precisely what happened, to the huge embarrassment of Ōgai's family: his German mistress followed him to Japan.²⁴

Kotajima Yōsuke takes the green-eyed one who knows Ōgai well to be Ishiguro. Taka-Hashi Yōichi is emphatic in reading it as referring to Elis, interpreting the entire poem as being about their affair. Surely Ōgai was aware of the potential dual reference and intended it.

One should not make too much of 'green' in 'green eyes' in an attempt to assign the latter either to Elis or to Ishiguro. Kotajima points out that the kanji, lù 綠 ('green'), could be a mistranscription; quite possibly lù 涤 ('clear [like settled water]') is intended; besides, lù 綠 in some compounds means 'glossy black.' If lù 綠 is correct, it is likely being used for reasons of rhyme as a stand-in for $q\bar{\imath}ng$ 青, which, according to Peter A Boodberg "may be rendered cerulean, azure, perse, leek-green, peacock-blue, cyaneous, bice, verdigris, gris, or livid"; "On Chinese ts'ing, 'blue-green,'" from "Cedules from a Berkeley Workshop in Asiatic Philology," Selected Works of Peter A Boodberg, Alvin P. Cohen, ed., Berkeley: University of California Press 1979: 179. Note that 'blue eyes' was used to render the phrase as it appears in the translated title of the series of articles cited at the beginning of n. 13 (and the convention is followed later in the same note and below in this one). Reference is made to 'blue' in the $M\bar{o}z\bar{o}$ quote in n. 11 and the Ishiguro poem in n. 27; cf. Ishiguro's use of cuì ('emerald green'), as cited in n. 26, when referring to Elis.

There is irony, whether conscious or not, in the color designation, because 'Aoyama' 蒼山 ('Dark-green Mountain') was likely a pseudonym used by Ishiguro to refer to his German mistresss; ТАКЕМОВІ Теп'уū: "Ishiguro — Mori no Berurin enryū to kaiki o megutte": 1:84-85; ТАКАНАЗНІ Yōichi: "Ishiguro Tadanori Ōshū kōji no kanshi, hoi" 石黒忠 惠欧州行時の漢詩補遺 ("Kanshi by Ishiguro Tadanori While on His Trip to Europe: A Supplement"), Ōgai 鷗外 87 (July 2010): 25–27 Note the gloss defining cāng 蒼 by Ed-

Studies, Arizona State University 1979, rpt. 1991: 4–6 (and 16–17). [Wei Chuang = Wei Zhuang 韋莊]

²³ Both men were aware that Elis was on her way to Japan. The Ishiguro diary entry for July 27, 1888, the last day the two were in Paris before sailing from Marseilles on July 29, relates: "This evening 'Lots of Trees' informed me there is a report that his lover left Bremen on a German ship bound for Japan." ['Lots of Trees' 多木子 is Ishiguro's pun on Ōgai's names: 'Mori' 森 ('forest') and 'Rin'(tarō) 林(太郎) ('woods'); it also appears in the entry for June 26, 1888.] 今夕多木子報曰其情人ブレメンヨリ 獨乙船ニテ本邦ニ赴キタリト報アリタリト; TAKEMORI Ten'yū: "Ishiguro Tadanori nikki shō": 3:10; and idem: "Ishiguro – Mori no Berurin enryū to kaiki o megutte": 2: 108.

As illustrated by the preceding, Ishiguro was able to get his own back for having been the butt of Ōgai's humor. The diary records additional shipboard poems by him that allude to Ōgai's affair with Elis: one prompted a response from Ōgai;²⁵ two form part of the same sequence;²⁶ and another was a response

win G. Pulleyblank: "dark green (vegetation); blue (sky); grey"; Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin, Vancouver: UBC Press 1991: 45. Takahashi Yōichi conjectures that the surname of Ishiguro's mistress was 'Grünberg,' or something similar like 'Blauberg' or 'Grünewald'; "Ishiguro Tadanori to Mori Ōgai no Berurin no omoide": 84. She is also referred to by Ishiguro as 'Ms. Blue' 青孃, 'Blue Girl' 青孃, 'Blue Young Miss' 青娦, and (among addressees of a letter) 'Miss Aoyama' 蒼山令孃; Такемові Ten'yū: "Ishiguro – Mori no Berurin enryū to kaiki o megutte": 1: 80, 3: 16, 3: 13. The just-cited Takemori series of articles might even more appropriately – referring to the loves the two men left behind in Germany – have been subtitled, "綠眼と蒼山."

HAYASHI Naotaka 林尚孝 has stated that Ms. Aoyama was French: "Ishiguro weekly visited his 'temporary wife among the locals,' a French woman by the name of Aoyama." 石黒は蒼山と呼ぶフランス女性の現地妻のもとに毎週通っていた; "Mori Ōgai no Berurin dai-san no geshuku: Awasete Ogiwara Yūichi ni kotaeru" 森鷗外のベルリン第三の下宿: あわせて荻原雄一氏に答える ("Mori Ōgai's Third Boarding Room in Berlin: Also, Responding to Mr. Ogiwara Yūichi") *Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 鷗外記念会通信 182 (April 25, 2013): 8. TAKAHASHI Yōichi countered that she was Prussian; "Aoyama-shi wa Furansu josei ka?" 蒼山氏はフランス女性か? ("Was Ms. Aoyama French?"), *Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 鷗外記念会通信 183 (Aug. 2, 2013): 14–15.

There would seem to be some difference between the affair of a young unmarried man in his mid-twenties and that of an established figure fifteen years his senior. Ishiguro had a wife and children back in Japan. In his diary, he imagines (or relates) his mistress alluding to them: "You'll have the joy of meeting wife and children, but I'll have inconsolable feelings ..." 君有逢妻孥之喜而妾無可慰情之□也; TAKEMORI Ten'yū: "Ishiguro – Mori no Berurin enryū to kaiki o megutte," 3: 15.

24 Ogai's poem, not surprisingly, was not included in the published version of *Kantō nichijō*. In fact, the poem and Ishiguro's comment, as well as all of Ishiguro's poems alluding to the Elis affair, only found their way into print in 1975.

One can only conjecture as to why Ishiguro's diary was not published during his long lifetime. Various reasons can be imagined: the presence of a wife, the author's careerism, fear of embarrassment and scandal, and the wish not to further complicate relationships with Ogai and others. Ishiguro did draw on its material for the autobiography he published in his nineties (referred to below), which presents a public persona more in keeping with a decorum personally preferable and more socially acceptable.

25 The following exchange was initiated by Ishiguro. His poem, written from the point of view of Elis, reads as follows:

海天接處烟如絲

Where sky and sea touch, vapors are like thread;

知先汽船載郎行

I know an earlier steamship took you away.

備歸士向任渡船

All set for the return, you were off, to be carried across the sea;

to an Ōgai poem.²⁷ TAKAHASHI Yōichi summarizes them as follows: "Ishiguro,

至情互期水一方

Fervent our mutual hopes, the water a straight line.

斧斤難折相思情

Even an axe, only with difficulty, can sever shared love;

攜手何辞入出荒

Hand in hand, how say goodbye? - the wasteland of coming and going.

人間常多頻[=顰]聘招

In this world, the frowns one brings on are many;

郎歸鄉時儂離鄉

Just as you return home, I am leaving home.

Ōgai's response reads as follows:

"森和"

"Mori Matching [Ishiguro]"

風張謠效風御凰

On winds that grow strong, rumors thrive, and both ride the phoenix (they're unstoppable);

山中家屋萬萱芳

At her home in the mountains (in Munich?), myriad day-lilies smelled sweet.

說[=悅]追傍人誰約解

With such a companion, one who happily comes in pursuit, who could break a promise? (I certainly couldn't);

離鄉三載恐歸鄉

Away from home for three years, I fear returning home.

Line Two is a problem. Hayashi Naotaka has argued that Elis was the dance instructor in Munich for whom Ōgai wrote Poem #119; "Erīze wa Myunhen no 'maishi' datta: 'Doitsu nikki' no 'Tōbu no uta, shoku ni ōzu' o yomi-toku" エリーゼはミュンヘンの「舞師」だった:「獨逸日記」の「踏舞歌應嘱」を読み解く ("Elis Was the Munich 'Dance Instructor': Decoding 'A Song on Dancing: In Response to a Request' in *Diary in Germany*"), *Ōgai Kinenkai tsūshin* 鷗外記念会通信 #161 (Feb. 16, 2008): 2–3; and "Erīze wa Myunhen no 'maishi' de aru: 'Maihime jiken' kō (San)" エリーゼはミュンヘンの「舞師」である:「舞姫事件」考 (三) ("Elis Is the Munich 'Dance Instructor': Studies in the 'Dancing Girl Incident," Pt. 3), *Ōgai* 鷗外 83 (July 2008): 45–46.

Hayashi points out that the scenery described in Line Two is much more in keeping with that of Bavaria than Berlin (so the interpretation is inserted here parenthetically, and with a question mark). The term 家屋 in the line has been compared with 白屋 ('white room' > 'life as a non-official') in Poem #139, which at least dates from the same time. Can Ōgai be thinking of a future removed from the world, at his home in the mountain where he has been forced because of the scandal, and where the day-lilies are fragrant? It seems scarcely plausible. Or could there be some shared association between Elis and Ōgai, one Ishiguro was aware of, that we are not privy to? As Takahashi Yōichi has pointed out, this series of poems between Ishiguro and Ōgai is largely in code (ingo 隱語). Any interpretation is provisional.

Ōgai's poem is unnumbered, as it is not included in the Kotajima Yōsuke study (or the Chin Seiho one). It is treated in Таканаshi Yōichi: "Mō hitotsu no Ōgai kanshi": 55–59; Таканаshi Yōichi: "Ishiguro Tadanori, Mori Ōgai no Ava-gō senjō kanshi no ōshū": 45–47; and in the Hayashi Naotada articles cited immediately above.

26 Two additional Ishiguro poems refer to Elis. One is written from the imagined perspective

Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

... being one who liked to crack jokes and make caustic remarks, given the

of Ōgai thinking of her:

人間不許得翠柳

Among humans, it's not permitted to gain the 'emerald-green willow' (i.e., the girl one would wish);

紅海無情水態事

That the Red Sea is without feeling is the nature of water (unlike humans, who can be unfeeling by choice).

夜半船窓人知進

Midnight by the porthole, one knows you (Elis) are advancing (while thinking): 郎望後舟儂前舟

'You gaze at the boat behind, I at the boat ahead.'

The other poem is apparently written from the perspective of Ishiguro thinking of Elis: 視知輕荷是損古

One can see, light luggage that is old and battered;

無奈悲歎海追悠

Sighing in sorrow, no choice but to come in pursuit, over seas distant.

渡此兩洋天接水

On these two ocean crossings, where sky touches water –

辨志載世後前舟

A resolve discernible for generations, in boats behind and ahead.

The 'light luggage' of Line One, presumably a reference to Elis, is ironic. She has become anything but a light burden for Ōgai. 'Old and battered' is a less than flattering description, perhaps referring to her profession. Line Four is suitably ambiguous; although applicable to both Elis and Ōgai, clearly Elis seems the more unwavering.

Poems in this and the following footnote are treated in Takahashi Yōichi: "Ishiguro Tadanori, Mori Ōgai no Ava-gō senjō kanshi no ōshū": 39–58.

27 Upon setting sail from Hong Kong, Ōgai wrote the following poem (#137) praising the two daughters, Anita and Sissy, of Mrs. van Middledyk, the Dutch proprietress of the Hotel Belle Vue in Nagasaki, who were aboard ship:

"Untitled," in Kantō nichijō

August 30, 1888

束髮埀髫各樣嬌

Bound hair and hanging bangs, the style of each attractive;

果然瓊浦出瓊瑤

Ample proof that Jade Shore - Nagasaki - produces precious jade.

如今九國無豪傑

But supposing Nine Lands – $Ky\bar{u}sh\bar{u}$ – were without gallants;

遺恨春風老二喬

What a shame, should the spring breeze age these two Qiao beauties.

The two beauties were the daughters of Duke Qiao of the Three Kingdoms.

Ishiguro responded with two compositions. The first is a matching-rhyme poem:

姉是並媚妹思嬌

Older sister the one with attractive eyes, younger one winsome –

匹如紅瓊与青瑤

A pair like red jade and blue nephrite.

chance to do so, certainly wasn't going to let it pass by." 石黒は…諧謔と皮肉 の好むところでチャンスがあれば決して逃さない.28

Not surprisingly, after their return to Tokyo the relationship between the two men continued to be difficult.²⁹

Nearly forty years later, Ishiguro and Ōgai were to again exchange matchingrhyme poetry. Ōgai wrote a three-poem series to match verse by Ishiguro, but only one of Ishiguro's 'originals' is extant, for the last poem in the series. As

一円香水還二喬 A yen's worth of perfume, given in return to the two Qiao beauties.

A yen at the time was worth roughly \$100 today. Perhaps his gift was in return for something they gave him after he showed them his poem.

In the second poem, Ishiguro uses the situation to poke fun at Ōgai: "Tell me, if you divided the perfume in two, the yen's worth, / Half would be for the two Qiao beauties, and half who for?" 借問一円半香水/半爲二喬半何人. The implied answer to the rhetorical question: Elis.

28 Ibid.: 47.

29 Asano Yō notes a discrepancy in the formality with which Ōgai refers to Ishiguro in the published and unpublished versions of Kantō nichijō; "Ōgai to Yōkō nikki": 257-58. And shortly after their arrival in Tokyo, both gave lectures to fellow officers about their experience abroad. Whereas the Ogai one is well known, the Ishiguro one is not. A draft appears in the latter's diary, in which he says the following in reference to Ōgai: "The younger generation has been modeling itself on the style of returnees from Europe. In the case of Mori, I do not wish you to do so. Because from what I have seen, properly speaking, his is more the style of a German sophisticate than the style of a German military official." ['Sophisticate' here also has overtones of 'romantic' and 'dandy.'] "少壯輩ハ之[洋行者]ヲ學フヲ常トス。森氏ノ風ニ於ケル、余ハ諸君カ之ヲ學フヲ欲セズ。何トナレバ、余ノ見ル所ニヨレバ、 獨乙士官ノ風ニハアラズ、寧ロ獨乙ノ風流家ノ風多シトモ言フ可キカ. From kan 巻 4 of the Ishiguro diary, as cited both in TAKEMORI Ten'yū: "Ishiguro - Mori no Berurin enryū to kaiki o megutte": 1: 78, and Sakamoto Hideji: "Ishiguro Tadanori kara mita kikoku zengo no Mori Rintarō": 320. (Note the alternative transcriptions and meanings of one of the compounds in the passage, as related in n. 13.) Takemori (3: 20-21) goes into detail trying to identify when Ishiguro would have given the talk; he settles tentatively on September 12, 1888, only days after their return. Neither he nor Sakamoto speaks of any reaction by Ōgai, who may even have been present. In his explication of the piece, Sakamoto first alludes to the Elis affair which was soon to become public, then quotes the passage, and finally gives an explanation (of sorts): "Ishiguro was concerned about Mori's future, and hit the nail on the head." 石黒は森の将来を気掛かりに思い、図星を指したのである.

In later years as well, the relationship had its trials for Ishiguro. He was put out by Ōgai's boycotting of the first Japan Medical Congress in 1890; he likely had mixed feelings about being the person Ogai had to report to during the Sino-Japanese War; and he felt compelled to write Ōgai in Kokura, concerned that the younger man might not be devoting enough time to his duties and too much to other pursuits.

background for the exchange, it is important to know that Ishiguro had been hoping, without success, to be appointed a viscount (*shishaku* 子爵). He had been made a baron (*danshaku* 男爵) in 1895 and a member of the House of Peers in 1902. At the time of the exchange, Ishiguro was seventy years old and Ōgai fifty-seven. But Ishiguro was to live another twenty-six years, and Ōgai only seven.

#178 Orig. A Poem by Ishiguro Tadanori

大正四年春日偶成

"The Fourth Year of Taishō [1915], On a Spring Day: Impromptu" "Taishō yonen shunjitsu gūsei" "Dàzhèng sìnián chūnrì ŏuchéng" Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.
Spring, 1915

壯時意氣壓乾坤

ком / kūn

In my prime / my determination // pressed upon heaven and earth Sōji iki kenkon o asshi

Zhuàngshí yìqì yā qiánkūn

處難常以生死論

RON / lùn

Handling difficulties / always // discussing life and death

Nan ni shosuru ni tsune ni seishi o motte ronzu

Chù nán cháng yĭ shēngsĭ lùn

When in my prime, I imposed my will on heaven and earth,

2 And handling difficulties, was always discussing life and death – matters of great import.

老去掣龍搏虎手

Having grown old / my pulling-dragons- / and-grasping-tigers hand *Oi-satte tatsu o seishi tora o utsu no te*

Lăo qù chè lóng bó hǔ shŏu

南窗頁暖撫兒孫

son / sūn

By south window / warmth to my back // fondles sons and grandsons Nansō ni dan o oi jison o nazu

Nánchuāng fùnuăn fǔ érsūn

Now that I am old, this hand that used to yank dragons and grab tigers,

4 My back warmed by south window, strokes children and grandchildren.

Line 3: 'Yank dragons and grab tigers': The phrase <u>掣龍搏虎</u>特絕の伎 (tatsu o seishi, tora o utsu tokuzetsu no waza, 'the exceptional ability to yank dragons and grab tigers') had been used by Inomata Tameji 猪俣爲治 (1867–1926) in the fifth installment (September 21, of a total of eigthy-one) of his 1898 Asahi Shinbun serial biography of Ōshio Heihachirō 大塩平八郎 (1793–1837), the famous leader of a popular uprising in Osaka. Interestingly, the expression is not used in Ōgai's own "Ōshio Heihachirō."

Ōgai's response:

#178 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Ishiguro Tadanori

次韻况齋先生

"Matching the Rhymes of Kyōsai Sensei" (No. 3 of 3)

"Kyōsai sensei ni jiin su" "Cìyùn Kuàngjāi xiānshēng"

Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

June 10, 1915

當年曾擬整乾坤

ком / kūn

Back then / you tried // to straighten out heaven and earth (i.e., the universe)

Tōnen katsute giseri kenkon o totonoen to

Dāngnián céng nǐ zhěng qiánkūn

北事如今何忍論

RON / lùn

The Northern Affair / now // how does it bear mention?

Hokuji jokon nan zo ronzuru ni shinobin

Běishì rújīn hé rěn <u>lùn</u>

Back then you tried to set the universe in order (being involved as you were in the Saga Rebellion and Seinan War),

But now, 'Northern Affairs' (Japanese involvement in North China) scarcely merit mention.

尚剩稜々風骨在

Still brimming / with cool dignity // your 'wind and bone' intact

Nao nokosu ryōryō to shite fūkotsu ari

Shàng shèng léngléng fēnggǔ zài

眼中簪绂盡兒孫

son /sūn

The 'in-your-eyes' (i.e., close-to-the-heart) / 'cap clasps and tablet cords' // all are sons and grandsons

Ganchū no shinfutsu kotogotoku jison tari

Yǎnzhōng zānfú jìn érsūn

Still brimming with cool dignity, your persuasive air and inner strength remain;

- 4 The high officials 'cap clasps and tablet cords' whose future you have followed so closely 'with an affectionate eye' are all your progeny.
- Line 1: Cf. Du Fu (712–220), QTS 217 (2279): 杜甫, 洗兵馬: 二三豪俊爲時出、整頓乾坤濟時了. "Diese wenigen Helden waren als Helfer in den Nöten der Zeit (des Kaisers Xuanzong) erschienen. / Sie wussten <u>Himmel und Erde wieder in Ordnung to bringen</u> und verstanden es, ihrer Periode von Nutzen zu sein" (Erwin von Zach tr.).
- Line 3: 'Wind and bone' is used by Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 521) in the Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍 (The Literary Mind: Ornate Elaborations) in the sense of 'suasive wind and structuring bone,' namely, transformative force (of feeling) and structuring framework (of language).' By extension, the term meant 'temperament and personality' or 'manner and style,' or sometimes 'urbanity.'
- Line 4: 'In-your-eyes': An expression used in reference to someone who is close; in this context, someone whose fortunes one has followed with affection and expectation. Cf. Su Shi: 蘇軾, 予以事繫御史臺獄遺子由, 詩之二: <u>眼中</u>犀角眞吾子. "From their prominent foreheads (I know) these children <u>before my eyes</u> truly are mine" (Michael A. Fuller tr.)
- Line 4: 'Cap clasps and tablet cords' were used in China by high officials in audiences with the emperor: the former to affix one's ceremonial cap to the hair; the latter attached to the jade tablet that was a sign of authority. By extension, they mean 'high officials' or 'high official office,' as in the following couplet by Wang Wei (699–759): QTS 125 (1249): 王維, 韋侍郎山居: 良游盛<u>簪紱</u>、繼跡多變龍. "Our fine companions are all prestigious and high-ranking officials ['cap clasps and tablet cords']; / Following them, many awesome imperial ministers ['transformed dragons']" (Marsha Wagner tr.). Cf. the Bo Juyi (772–846) example: QTS 433 (4789): 白居易, 別李十一後重寄: 非關慕<u>簪紱</u>. "I do not concern myself with coveting cap clasp and tablet cord" (JTW tr.).
- Line 4: The high officials of the day are said to be Ishiguro's progeny because so many of them had been his protégés. Nearly identical wording is later used by Ōgai when congratulating Yamagata Aritomo 山県有朋 (1838–1922) on his eightieth birthday (Poem #214.21–22): 回看廟廊上、簪紱悉兒孫. "If one looks back at the corridors of power, / High officials those with 'cap clasp and tablet cord' have all been your progeny" (JTW tr.). Cf. the similar expression 簪纓 –

'cap clasps and tassels' – found in Poem #210 (treated in Wixted: "Sociability in Poetry": 208–9).

The focus of this poem, as in the other two of the series,³⁰ is on consoling Ishiguro for his not having been made a viscount. (In 1920, five years after the matching-rhyme exchange, Ishiguro's hopes were to be realized.) The theme of consolation remains constant throughout, as it does in other of Ōgai's *kanshi* series: in Poems #129–32 dedicated to Ozaki Yukio (see n. 17), and in the matching-rhyme series addressed to Araki Torasaburō (treated separately below).

Ōgai may in part be consoling himself for not having been made a peer – an honor he was never to achieve. Evidently Ishiguro, according to a letter by Kako Tsurudo 賀古鶴所 (1855–1931) lobbied Yamagata Aritomo for Ōgai to be given such an appointment.³¹ And "letters exchanged with Ishiguro

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30 The two other matching-rhyme poems by Ōgai for which the 'originals' are not extant are
as follows.
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休道初心白首違

Don't say that, now white-haired, your first ambition has been betrayed;

封侯贏得世間希

To win enfeoffment as you have (a baronet) is rare in this world.

多聞莊裏忘機客

Resident in Tamon Villa (your secondary residence), where self-interest is forgotten,

永占泉甘與土肥 May you ever have springs sweet and land fertile.

#177 M.O.

"次韻况齋先生"

"Matching the Rhymes of Kyōsai Sensei" (No. 2 of 3)

其如心事未全灰

Things being as they may, your heart's desire has yet to turn to ash;

時把朝衫拂舊挨

From time to time you take out court robe and brush away the dust.

病裏長安遲馨信

Sick here in Chang'an (i.e., Tokyo), awaiting the redolent news of your elevation, 江南誰贈一枝梅

Who from Jiangnan will present you a plum blossom spray? (As Lu Kai 陸凱 did in the fifth century to Fan Ye 范曄, with poem attached, as a token of friendship – precisely what your old friend Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 [1849–1912] once literally did for you – and what I am doing now by writing this poem. So have heart!)

31 Bowring: Mori Ōgai and the Modernization of Japanese Culture: 244 and 282 n. 1, citing "Kako shokan,' Ōgai 2 (Mar. 1966)."

¹⁷⁶ M.O.

[&]quot;次韻况齋先生"

[&]quot;Matching the Rhymes of Kyōsai Sensei" (No. 1 of 3)

Tadanori clearly express [Ōgai's] great expectations for becoming an imperial nominee to the House of Peers. In the June 28, 1936 entry to Kinoshita Mokutarō's diary, there is additional evidence for this view: 'I wonder if Mr. Mori did not enter the Imperial Household Agency in the hope of becoming its Minister. That may have been Yamagata Aritomo's intention as well."³²

Judging by their 1915 matching-rhyme exchange and the Kako Tsurudo letter just noted, any rift between Ōgai and Ishiguro appears to have been at least temporarily healed.³³ But the most telling evidence that things did not end well between them, or at least that Ishiguro felt lingering resentment, is the fact that in his long autobiography, *Kaikyū kyūjū nen* 懷舊九十年 (Fondly Recalling Ninety Years)³⁴ — which includes extensive treatment of developments in medicine in Germany and Japan, much material about Ishiguro's stay in Europe, and a full narrative of his Red Cross involvement, not to mention numerous photos in which he appears with many famous figures of the era — Ishiguro barely mentions Ōgai, and he is not included in any of the photographs.³⁵ It seems Ishiguro did not even want reflected glory from the association with Ōgai.

³² HASEGAWA Izumi: "The Significance of the Meiji Period in Mori Ōgai's Literature," *Acta Asiatica* 40 (1981): 21, citing "*Kinoshita Mokutarō nikki* 木下杢太郎日記, Volume 4, Iwanami Shoten, May 30, 1980." Hasegawa argues that Ōgai was desirous of imperial preferment and that this was "contrary to the attitude he expressed in an essay 'Munaguruma' 空車 (The Empty Car[t]) just after his retirement from the Army in 1916." The argument had been made in *Munaguruma* that an empty cart stands out among more elaborate models, precisely because it is plain.

³³ However, in 1909 Ishiguro had written an article about Ōgai for the "Bungei ran" 文藝欄 ("Arts Column") of *Chūō kōron*. Given the venue, it is an odd piece. It briefly outlines Ōgai's military career and speaks highly, in vague terms, of Ōgai's talents, noting in passing that he is skilled at painting, skilled at writing, and skilled at *go*. His research on the Japanese diet is summarized in a paragraph, but no literary work by him is mentioned by name. Upon his retirement, Ishiguro states, Ōgai will continue to write superlative works; "Mori Rintarō-kun ni tsuite" 森林太郎君に付て ("About Mori Rintarō"), *Chūō kōron* 中央公論, Sept. 1909; abridged rpt. 111.15 (Dec. 1996): 564–66.

³⁴ Hakubunkan 博文館 1936; reprinted, with a new introduction, by Ōzora Sha 大空社 1994.

³⁵ One rare reference to Ōgai (210) identifies him as having served as Ishiguro's translator at the 1887 International Red Cross Conference in Karlsruhe. Even there, Ōgai's contribution is minimized, as has been noted by Klaus Kracht und Katsumi Tateno-Kracht: Ōgais "Noël": Mittwinterliches aus dem Leben des Hauses Mori und des Burgstädtchens Tsuwano – jenseits der idyllischen Stille, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2011: 184, n. 714. Furthermore, although Ishiguro's poem in the 1915 matching-rhyme exchange is included in the autobiography (460), there is no reference to the fact that Ōgai wrote matching-poetry in response.

Matching-Rhyme Exchange over an Unsigned Newspaper Critique

The following exchange was sparked by the negative critique of *Shintaishi shō* 新體詩抄 (A Selection of New-Style Poetry), which appeared on March 17, 1889, in the "Hyōrin" 評林 ("Forest of Critiques") section of *Nippon* 日本, an organ published by *Nikkan Shinbun* 日刊新聞. The unsigned review was written in a combination of *kanbun* prose and poetry.³⁶

The *Shintaishi shō*, which had been published seven years earlier, developed under the influence of Western poetry and marked an attempt to create a new mode of poetic expression. *Shintaishi shō* poems "defied the restrictions of waka, haiku or kanshi, and challenged the necessity of rhetorical conventions that had been accepted as inherent to those genres." Fourteen of its nineteen poems were translations from French and English. The translators were Toyama Masakazu 外山正一 (1848–1900), Yatabe Ryōkichi 谷田部良吉 (1851–1899), and Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1856–1944).38

³⁶ Robert James Tuck refers to the editorial space as "Kokubu Seigai's [国分青厓] kanshi column Hyōrin ('Forest of Criticism')"; "The Poetry of Dialogue: Kanshi, Haiku and Media in Meiji Japan, 1870–1900," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University 2012: 16 (and 145); cf. Emmanuel Lozerand: "[Q]uand Kuga Katsunan [陸羯南, 1857–1907] fonde le journal Nihon en 1889, il crée une rubrique 'La Forêt critique,' qui sera très vite célèbre pour les poèmes sino-japonais satiriques d'actualité de Kokubu Seigai (1854–1944)"; Littérature et génie national: Naissance d'une histoire littéraire dans le Japon du XIX^e siècle, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2005: 202. Seigai would likely have been understood to be the author of the unsigned critique.

³⁷ Massimiliano Tomasi: "The Rise of a New Poetic Form: The Role of Shimamura Hōgetsu in the Creation of Modern Japanese Poetry," *Japan Review* 19 (2007): 109.

³⁸ One modern scholar's estimation of Shintaishi shō is as follows. "The translations in the Selection are slightly more successful poetically [than the anthologists' five 'original' poems], the [translation-]originals being works of proven merit. But here too the compilers' phrasing tended to carom between the outright clumsy and the simply pedestrian. [...] Predictably, the innovations of the Shintaishisho were rewarded with derision beyond the compilers' wildest fears. A good deal of the criticism was directed, justifiably, at the quality of their translations and their poems. But some also addressed the very foundation of the new style, criticizing it for not being what it set out not to be; that is, attuned to the standards of the waka tradition. However, the popularity attained by certain poems - the translation of Grey's 'Elegy,' for instance, or Toyama's 'Drawn Swords Regiment' - increasingly drew the more imaginative (as well as some of the more outraged) poets toward experimentation themselves. Long pent-up responses to the momentous cultural changes of the new era, not quite suited to expression under the old rules and suddenly finding an outlet, positively poured forth. Within the next seven years eight more major collections of mostly original 'new-style' poems were published by poets, with the movement reaching its peak achievement in the translations of Omokage (Vestiges) under the editorship of Mori Ōgai and others in 1889 and in Shimazaki Tōson's romantic Wakana shū (Seedlings) in 1897"; Lucy Lower,

Ōgai's response to the critique appeared two weeks later. Doubtless he was especially sensitive to the work's negative reception because his own jointlyedited volume of poem translations, Omokage 於母影 (Vestiges), was to appear a few months later. His matching-rhyme response bears comparison with his Poems #199-200, written in 1916 on the occasion of the reprinting of Minawa shū 美奈和集 (as Minawa shū 水沫集), twenty-four years after its initial publication. In those kanshi, as well, Ōgai expresses frustration (but with an added element of resignation) at the negative reception given innovatory translations by him and others anthologized in that work, which included reprints of the *Omokage* renderings.³⁹

The following matching-rhyme poem-pair reflects the vigorous kanbun world of the mid-Meiji, when the social interchange of kanshi could at times be less than friendly. 40 Ōgai's poem, moreover, confirms that he stayed abreast of kanshi-world periodicals.41

#140 Orig. An Anonymous Poem Criticizing Shintaishi shō

譯文泥

"Translations Are Mud" "Yakubun wa doro nari" "Yìwén ní"

Rhyme category: 平生上八(齊)韻.

March 17, 1889

[&]quot;Poetorii and New-Style Poetry in the Shintaishishō," Comparative Literature East and West: Traditions and Trends, Selected Conference Papers, ed. Cornelia N. Moore and Raymond A. Moody, College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature, University of Hawaii and the East-West Center 1989: 174-75.

³⁹ Poem #199 is translated in John Timothy WIXTED: "Mori Ōgai: Translation Transforming the World," JH 13 (2009-10): 101-2, n. 70.

⁴⁰ Cf. the interchange with Imai Takeo 今井武夫 (fl. 1889) in the section, "Matching-Rhyme Exchange: Ōgai Matching Ōgai," in the next installment of this study. And note the negative overtones in more than one Ōgai poem cited above in the section, "Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Ishiguro Tadanori."

⁴¹ A point confirmed by citations in WIXTED: "Sociability in Poetry": 191, including n. 6, where major kanbun organs of the period are also listed.

修辭本自異東西

SEI / XĪ

Elegant lines (i.e., belles lettres) / fundamentally // differ East and West

Shūji moto yori onozukara Tō-Zai ni kotonari

Xiūcí běn zì yì Dōngxī

碩學當年亦噬臍

sei / qí

The learned / at the time // only 'gnawed their navels'

Sekigaku tōnen mata hozo o kamu

Shuòxué dāngnián yì shìqí

Fine writing, of course, differs East and West;

Those scholars of the time (i.e., those who came up with the *Shintaishi* $sh\bar{o}$ translations) can only gnaw their navels in regret.

到底詩歌飜不易

Definitely / poetry and song // are not easy to translate *Tōtei shika honsuru koto yasukarazu*

Dàodī shīgē fān bú yì

原文如玉譯文泥

DEI / ní

Original texts / are like jade // translated texts mud Genbun wa gyoku no gotoku yakubun wa doro nari Yuánwén rú yù yìwén ní

It is not even remotely easy to translate song and poetry;

4 Originals are like jade, translations mud.

Line 2: 'Gnaw their navels': Cf. Zuozhuan, 左傳, 莊公六年: 若不早圖、後君<u>噬齊</u>. "If we do not take this early measure, hereafter you will have to gnaw your navel" (James Legge tr.). Cf. also Yang Xiong (53 B.C.—A.D. 18) 揚雄, 太玄賦: 豈恃寵以冒災兮、將<u>噬臍</u>之不及. "How could I seek favor and thereby court disaster? / If I were to try to 'bite my navel,' I could not reach it" (David R. Knechtges tr.)

The newspaper column continues with its negative commentary:

評云: 西詩飜譯、日盛一日、而益出益拙。其可誦者、辰星何啻。「原文玉、譯文泥」、 評得的確。譯西詩者、宜有所自猛省。

Our critique is this: Translations of Western poetry are increasing by the day. The more they appear, the more inept they are. Ones that one might recite are no different from the *Shin* Star (i.e., the 'Water Star,' Mercury – with its negative associations). ⁴² The line, 'Originals are jade, translations mud,' is apposite

42 About Mercury 辰 (*shin*, chén) as viewed in East Asia, Edward H. Schafer notes: "Tra-Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

as criticism. Those who translate Western poetry should engage in some serious self-reflection.

#140 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of an Anonymous Poem Criticizing Shintaishi shō

序に「日本」の評林譯文泥の詩に就て

"As a Follow-up to the Poem, 'Translations Are Mud,' in the 'Forest of Critiques' Section of *Nippon*"

"Tsuide ni, Nippon no 'Hyōrin' 'Yakubun wa doro nari' no shi ni tsuite" Rhyme category: 平生上八(齊)韻.

April 2, 1889

詩派何殊東與西

SEI / Xī

Bands of poets / how do they differ // East and West?

Shiha nan zo koto naran higashi to nishi to

Shīpài héshū Dōng yǔ Xī

他年豎子噬其臍

sei / qí

Some year / the little bastard // will gnaw on his navel

Tanen jushi sono hozo o kaman

Tānián shùzǐ shì qí qí

Are poetic factions any different, East or West?

2 Some day the s.o.b. who wrote that poem will gnaw *his* navel.

唯憐昨夜渭城雨

The only thing to be regretted: / [with] yesterday evening's // Weicity rain

Tada awaremu sakuya Ijō no ame

Wéilián zuóyè Wèichéng yǔ

細草新花踏作泥

DEI / ní

'Delicate grasses / and fresh flowers // were trampled and turned to mud'

Saisō shinka funde doro to nasu o

ditionally a star of judges, convictions, and dire penalties, its appearance in the judicial asterism signified legal miscarriages, excessive punishments – hanging judges, we may imagine"; *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1977: 213.

Xìcăo xīnhuā dào zuò ní

The only shame is, with last night's Wei-city rain,

- 4 'Delicate grasses and fresh blossoms, trampled, were turned to mud.'
- Line 2: 'The s.o.b.': It is hard to communicate the right degree of deprecation here towards someone young and inexperienced: 'greenhorn' is too tame, 'little bastard' likely too strong; 's.o.b.' seems a reasonable alternative. Cf. Shiji 7 (315) 史記, 項羽本紀: 唉豎子不足與謀 "Ah! These whelps are not worth planning for!" (Wm. H. Nienhauser, Jr., et al. tr.); also translated as 'idiot' or 'fool,' respectively, by Burton Watson, and by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang. Ōgai is not averse to using strong language; note, for example, the use of chikushō-me 畜生奴 in Line #11693 of his Faust translation; see Wixted: "Mori Ōgai: Translation Transforming the Word / World": 90.
- **Line 2**: 'Gnaw his navel': See the annotation to the preceding poem.
- Line 3: 'Wei-city rain': A famous Wang Wei poem has been cited as a source for Ōgai's use of the phrase: QTS 27 (394):王維, 雜曲歌辭, 渭城曲: <u>渭城</u>朝雨浥輕塵, 客舍青青柳色春 "<u>At Wei City</u> the morning <u>rain</u> has sprinkled the light dust; / By the posting-house the willow branches spread their new green" (Arthur Waley tr.). The line cited below, however, fits better as a source.
- Line 4: The entire line is a quotation from Cen Shen (715–ca. 770) a fact that no one has pointed out before; the phrasing also ties it in with Line 3: QTS 201 (2097): 岑參, 首春渭西郊行星藍田張二主簿: 回風度雨渭城西、細草新花踏作泥. "Whirling winds, passing rains, west of Wei City; / Delicate grasses and fresh blossoms, trampled, are turned to mud" (JTW tr.). Ōgai is saying that the anonymous critic with his poem about Shintaishi shō has sullied something that is beautiful.

Elsewhere in his *kanshi*, Ōgai cites entire lines from poems by others. In the following two instances they are identified as such. One is a line by Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 (1045–1105) quoted in Ōgai's Poem #201: "自知力小畏滄波" "Knowing full well my strength is modest, I fear the ocean waves" (treated more fully in John Timothy Wixted: "The *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction," JH 14 [2011]: 93–94). The other is a line by Schiller from his *Wilhelm Tell* – "Die Schlange sticht nicht ungereizt" – translated by Ōgai in Poem #132 as "莫觸何逢腹蛇怒" "Unprodded, you won't suffer the viper's ire" (JTW tr.).

But in other instances, partial or near-complete borrowings are not identified as such: for example, this line from Cen Shen; and the line of an Ōgai poem that nearly overlaps with phrasing by Wei Zhuang (see the final line of the concluding poem in "Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Araki Torasaburō," treated below). (There is the possibility as well that such overlappings are fortuitous; see ibid.: 91 and 94–98, incl. n. 21. Note also Ōgai's copious apparent rephrasing of two Ming dynasty poems on moxibustion in Poem #227, discussed in ibid.: 97, n. 19.)

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Ichimura Sanjirō (Kidō) 市村瓚次郎 (器堂), 1864–1947

In the spring of 1890, the year following publication of their joint poetic effort, Omokage 於母影, Ōgai and three fellow Shinsei Sha 新聲社 (New [Poetic] Strains Society) members – Ichimura Sanjirō, Kako Tsurudo, and Inoue Michiyasu 井上道泰 (1866–1941) – went on an excursion to the Meguro district of Tokyo, where they visited the grave that is the subject of the following exchange between Ichimura and Ōgai. Ōgai's record of the outing, "Senda Sanbō ni kaisuru ki" 千克山房に曾する記 (OZ 38: 133–34), underscores the shared nature of the experience, in which the exchange of kanshi was central, and illustrates one kind of Meiji-period sociability. Ōgai's poem makes specific mention of the group as the 'four valiants' in a tongue-in-cheek way. Similarly in the prose piece, he refers to the yotari no kyōjin 四 の狂人, 'four crazies.'

The title of Ōgai's poem, "Meguro, Hiyoku Zuka" 目黑比翼塚, means "The Gravemound of 'Paired Wings' in Meguro." 'Paired wings' refers to a harmonious couple, even in death, as in *Jinshu* 31 (960): 晉書, 后妃傅上, 左貴嬪: "惟帝與后、契闊在昔。<u>比翼</u>白屋、雙飛紫閣。" "The emperor and empress, formerly sundered, became inseparable, 'wing to wing,' in white chambers (i.e., entombed), and flew as a pair in purple palaces."

Buried in the Meguro grave is the couple, Hirai Gonpachi 平井權八 (1655?—1679) and Ko-Murasaki 小紫. Gonpachi studied Confucianism and was an accomplished swordsman. In an altercation with a colleague of his father, he injured the man, cutting him. Gonpachi fled, taking refuge as a mendicant priest in a temple near what was to become his gravesite. He took up with Ko-Murasaki ('Little Murasaki' or 'Little Purple'), a prostitute in the Shin Yoshiwara entertainment district. Strapped for money, he became a street assassin and was captured and executed, crucified at Suzugamori 鈴ヶ森 execution grounds. Ko-Murasaki escaped from the entertainment district, made her way to Meguro, and stabbed herself in front of his grave. The couple came to epitomize romantic harmony, Gonpachi becoming the model for Shirai Gonpachi 白井権八 of later kabuki and jōruri.

The poems on the outing were inscribed on a wooden grave tablet.

#145 Orig. A Poem by Ichimura Sanjirō

Untitled

Rhyme category: 平聲下十一(尤)韻. Spring 1890

落花流水暗催愁

SHŪ / qiú

Fallen flowers / in flowing streams // obscurely prompt care *Rakka ryūsui an ni uree o moyōshi*

Luòhuā liúshuĭ àn cuī chóu

春老荒村土一抔

ви [нō] / póu

By spring-spent / barren village // earth, a single cupped hand Shunrō no kōson tsuchi ippō

Chūnlăo huāngcún tǔ yìpóu

Fallen buds in flowing streams in an obscure way prompt care;

2 By spring-spent barren village, a lone handful of earth.

身後毀譽何用問

Post-life / praise and blame // what need to be concerned about? Shingo no kiyo nan zo tou o mochiin

Shēnhòu huĭyù héyòng wèn

劍光釵影兩千秋

shū/qiū

'Sword Shine'/ and 'Hairpin Shadow' // two for a thousand autumns Kenkō Saiei futatsu nagara senshū

Jiàn'guāng Chāiyĭng liăng qiānqiū

Praise and blame after their deaths are now of no concern;

- 4 'Sword Shine' and 'Hairpin Shadow,' two for the ages, a thousand autumns.
- Line 2: 'A lone handful of earth': Refers to the gravemound. The expression 長陵一 <u>坏土</u> appears in *Shiji* 102 (2755), 史記, 張釋之傳: "at [the funeral hill of] Changling [where Han Emperor Gaozu Liu Bang 劉邦 is buried], <u>a lone handful</u> of earth" (JTW tr.).
- Line 3: 'Praise and blame': Cf. Analects 15/25, 論語, 衞靈公: "子曰: 吾之於人也、 誰<u>毀</u>誰譽?" "The Master said, In my dealings with others, who have I <u>censured</u>, who have I praised?" (Burton Watson tr.).
- **Line 4**: Note the *yin-yang* imagery: the male, 'Sword Shine,' is bright; the female, 'Hairpin Shadow,' dark.

#145 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Ichimura Sanjirō

目黑比翼塚

"The Gravemound of 'Paired Wings' in Meguro"

"Meguro no Hiyokuzuka" "Mùhēi Bǐyì zhǒng"

Rhyme category: 平聲下十一(尤)韻.

Spring 1890

夕陽無影墓烟愁

shū / qiú

Setting sun / without shadows // grave-mist dismal

Sekiyō kage naku boen uree

Xìyáng wúyǐng mùyān chóu

草掩空山土一抔

ви [нō] / póu

Grasses cover / empty hill // earth, a single cupped hand

Kusa wa ōu kūzan tsuchi ippō

Cǎo yǎn kōngshān tǔ yìpóu

Shadowless the setting sun, grave-mist dispiriting;

2 A vacant hill covered with grass, earth a lone handful.

四個英雄齊灑淚

Four / valiants // in concert, shed tears

Shiko no eiyū hitoshiku namida o sosogu

Sìgè yīngxióng qí lìlèi

這般佳話足千秋

shū / qiū

This sort of / fine story // is enough for a thousand autumns

Shahan no kawa senshū ni taran

Zhèibān jiāhuà zú qiānqiū

We 'four valiants,' as one, shed tears;

A legend like this is for the ages, a thousand autumns.

Lines 3 and 4: The informal nature of the occasion – an excursion by young friends – is underscored by the use of 四個 and 這般, colloquial locutions generally avoided in *kanshi* and ones doubtless stemming at least in part from Ōgai's wide reading in Chinese vernacular fiction.

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Jinbo Tōjirō 神保濤次郎, 1861–1904

Like Ōgai, Jinbo Tōjirō was a physician attached to the military. At the end of July 1899 he was sent by the army to serve the mayor of Hankou as an attendant physician. The following exchange was written shortly after his departure.

Jinbo was to return to Japan briefly the following year, and visited Ōgai before returning to China, where he was an early advisor in the establishment of the Dōjin Kai Hankou Hospital (同仁會漢口醫院). Sick, he came back to Japan where he died in 1904 at the age of forty-three. He was the joint author of a book on physical education.

Note that among Ōgai's *kanshi*, Poem #159 (not treated here), written jointly with Jinbo, is the only example of a linked-verse composition (聯句, *renku* liánjù), which suggests the respect Ōgai had for Jinbo.

#163–164 Orig. A Poem by Jinbo Tōjirō

舟中口號

"Shipboard Intonings"

"Shūchū no kōgō" "Zhōuzhōng kŏuhào"

Rhyme category: 平生下十一(尤)韻.

Written aboard ship shortly after Jinbo's July 23, 1899, departure for China; Ōgai received the poem on August 15

風打舟窓暮色收

sнū / shōu

Wind beating at / boat window // twilight hues gather

Kaze shūsō o uchi boshoku osamari

Fēng dă zhōuchuāng mùsè shōu

長江萬里碧空秋

SHŪ / qiū

'Long River' / for a thousand ri // the azure sky turning autumnal

Chōkō banri hekikū aki nari

Chángjiāng wànlĭ bìkōng qiū

Wind beating against the porthole, twilight hues coalesce;

Along the Yangtze for hundreds of miles, the azure sky turns autumnal.

老來猶有烟霞志

Getting old / I still have // a 'clouds-and-mist disposition'

Rōrai nao ari enka no kokorozashi Lăolái yóuyŏu yānxiá zhì

欲繼坡翁赤壁遊

yū / yóu

And would like to carry on / dear-old Po's // Red Cliff excursions Tsugan to hossu $Ha-\bar{o}$ Sekiheki no $y\bar{u}$

Yù jì Pō-wēng Chìbì yóu

Though growing old, I still have a 'clouds and mist disposition' – one inclined to natural scenery,

- 4 And would like to carry on the Red Cliff excursions of 'Dear Old Po' Su Dongpo.
- Line 1: 'Twilight hues': Cf. Du Fu, QTS 223 (2376): 杜甫, 宿鑿石浦: "迴塘澹<u>暮</u>鱼、日沒眾星嘒。" "On the side pool, <u>twilight hues</u> turn pale; / Sun setting, a host of stars shine faint" (JTW tr.).
- Line 2: August would be the ninth month, early autumn by the lunar calendar.
- **Line 3**: 'Growing old' is clearly a poetic pose. Jinbo was thirty-eight at the time; but he did die five years later.
- Line 3: 'A clouds-and-mist disposition' is one that loves beautiful scenery. Cf. Jiang Yan (444–505), 江淹, 雜三言五首序: 待罪三載、宪識<u>煙霞</u>之狀. "I awaited [capital] punishment for three years, finally becoming acquainted with the shapes of <u>clouds and mist</u> (i.e., natural scenery)." Cf. also Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), 錦帶書十二月啟·夾鍾二月: 敬想足下、優游泉石、放曠<u>煙霞</u>. "Respectfully I think of you, free and at ease in springs and rocks, in pleasant abandonment to clouds and mist" (JTW tr.).
- Line 4: The phrase, 'Dear Old Po's Red Cliff excursions,' refers to two prose-poems by Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1036–1101) on excursions to Red Cliff. They have been translated, *inter alia*, by Burton Watson: Su Tung-p'o: Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet, New York: Columbia University Press, 1965: 87–93.

According to a letter by Ōgai written to his mother in October of the same year (no. 107; Oct. 14, 1899), 神保軍醫支那にて大のんきになり居ると見え、しきりに詩を作りておくり來り申候 (OZ 36: 55) "Army Physician Jinbo is having a leisurely time of it in China, and frequently sends me poems."

#163 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Jinbo Tōjirō

戍小倉寄神保生在漢口次韻二首

"Outposted in Kokura, I Send This to Mr. Jinbo Who Is in Hankou: Two Matching-Rhyme Poems" (No. 1 of 2)

"Kokura o mamori, Jinbo-sei no Kankō ni aru ni yosu: Jiin nishu"

"Shù Xiǎocāng jì Shénbǎo shēng zài Hànkǒu cìyùn: Èr shǒu"

Rhyme category: 平生下十一(尤)韻.

August 16, 1899

錐潁不堪囊裡收

sнū / shōu

An awl's point / cannot withstand // being stored in a sack

Suiei nōri ni osamuru ni taezu

Zhuīyǐng bùkān nánglǐ shōu

男兒得意是今秋

SHŪ /qiū

[You, my good] fellow / have gotten your wish // and that this fall Danji i o etaru wa kore konshū

Nánér déyì shì jīnqiū

A sharp awl cannot be stored away in a sack (talent will out)!

You, my good fellow, have gotten your wish this fall (and have been sent to China).

別來頻入戍樓夢

Since parting / there often enters into // my outpost-tower dreams Wakareshi yori konokata shikiri ni iru jurō no yume

Biélái pín rù shùlóu mèng

巨艦長風萬里遊

yū / yóu

[Your] huge ship / in a long wind // on a ten-thousand-ri tour $Kyokan\ ch\bar{o}f\bar{u}\ banri\ no\ y\bar{u}$

Tyokan choju bant no yu

Jùjiàn chángfēng wànlǐ yóu

Since we parted, there often enters my outpost-tower dreams (as I look out from my perch here in Kokura):

- 4 Your warship in a distant wind, on a myriad-mile tour.
- Line 1: 'An awl in a sack' refers to talent that will necessarily be recognized. Cf. Shiji 史記 76 (2366): 平原君虞卿列傳: 夫賢士之處世也、譬若雖之處囊中、其末立 見. "An able man in this world, like <u>an awl</u> kept <u>in a bag</u>, quickly shows himself." (Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang tr.)
- Line 4: 'A myriad miles in a distant wind': Cf. Wang Wei (699–759), QTS 24 (318): 王維, 雜曲歌辭:苦熱行: 思出宇宙外、曠然在寥廓。長風萬里來、江海蕩煩濁.

Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

"I long to go out beyond the universe, / Unbounded in a vast expanse. / <u>A distant wind</u> comes from <u>a myriad miles</u>, / Rivers and seas cleanse impurities and cares" (Pauline Yu tr.).

#164 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Jinbo Tōjirō

戍小倉寄神保生在漢口次韻二首

"Outposted in Kokura, I Send This to Mr. Jinbo Who Is in Hankou: Two Matching-Rhyme Poems" (No. 2 of 2)

"Kokura o mamori, Jinbo-sei no Kankō ni aru ni yosu: Jiin nishu"

"Shù Xiǎocāng jì Shénbǎo shēng zài Hànkǒu cìyùn: Èr shǒu"

Rhyme category: 平生下十一(尤)韻.

August 16, 1899

別前相見淚難收

shū / shōu

Before parting / seeing you // tears were hard to control

Wakaruru mae wa ai-mite namida osame-gataku

Biéqián xiāngjiàn lèi nán shōu

別後淹留况值秋

sнū / qiū

Since parting / tarrying here // all the more fittingly autumnal *Wakareshi nochi wa enryū su iwan ya aki ni ataru o ya*

Biéhòu yānliú kuàng zhí qiū

Before parting, seeing you, it was hard to master tears;

- Since parting, as I tarry here (demoted in Kyushu), all the more fittingly does the season turn to autumn (given my feelings of sadness at your departure and at the eclipse of my career).
 - 一事猶堪爲慰藉

One thing / is still up to the task of // serving as consolation

Ichiji nao isha to nasu ni tau

Yíshì yóu kān wéi wèijiè

大江明月待君遊

yū / yóu

The Yangtze / bright moon // that attends on your excursions

Daikō meigetsu kimi no yū o matsu

Dàjiāng míngyuè dài jūn yóu

But there is one thing that can serve as consolation:

4 The bright moon on the Yangtze attending your excursions.

Line 3: 'Consolation': Cf. *Hou Hanshu* 13 (522): 後漢書, 隗囂傳: 用敵國之儀、所以<u>慰藉</u>之良厚. "The ceremonies he employed were respectful of other states; as a consequence, the effectiveness of the <u>consolation</u> was considerable" (JTW tr.).

Line 4: 'Bright moon': The first Red Cliff prose poem by Su Shi 蘇軾, 前赤壁賦, states: 惟江上之淸風、與山間之<u>明月</u>、耳得之而爲聲、目遇之而成色。取之無禁、用之不竭. "Only the clear breeze over the river, or the <u>bright moon</u> between the hills, which our ears hear as music, our eyes see beauty in – these we may take without prohibition, these we may make free with and they will never be used up" (Burton Watson tr.). 'Bright moon' appears four times in the two Su Shi prose-poems.

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Su Shoushan 宿壽山, fl. 1905

The following series was written while Ōgai was posted in China during the Russo-Japanese War. We know the name of his interlocutor, Su Shoushan, from a letter Ōgai wrote in March 1905 (no. 452), in which he describes his situation: 今の家はきたなけれど、布にて天井をはりてより、塵挨少なく、よろしく候。主人は當村にて只四人の秀才の一人にて、立派なる男に候。名は宿壽山と申候. (OZ 36: 21) "The house here is dirty. But since cloth is pasted to the ceiling, we don't have much dust and it's fine. The owner, one of four 'Flourishing Talent' (xiùcái) examination-graduates in the town, is a fine fellow named Su Shoushan."

Apparently Ōgai was quartered in Su's home. Whether it was paid for or simply requisitioned by the Japanese military we do not know. The author's note appended to the last poem in the series states: 宿生爲烟台軍政署主稿。 "Master Su drafts documents for the Yantai command." Yantai (in modern Liaoning Province), known as Chefoo in Western-language references of the time, was the location of the headquarters of the Japanese Manchurian army from October 11, 1904, to March 14, 1905. It is referred to by name in the final poem.

Su Shoushan is unabashedly flattering in the lines he dedicates to Ōgai. He may even be genuinely impressed, and not simply kowtowing to someone who can affect his livelihood and well-being.

⁴³ The Japanese reading for the name is Shuku Juzan; the Chinese reading with tonemarks, Sù Shòushān.

Ōgai is diplomatic in his three-poem reponse. He refers to the shared enemy, the Russians, and makes repeated reference to the sufferings of the common people (the Chinese) in the war zone. 44 Not surprisingly, when expressing sympathy for their plight, Ōgai draws on expressions by Du Fu that lament the depredations of war. Two of Ōgai's three poems end with tactfully polite, flattering reference to Su Shoushan. 45

The series was published as "Jinchū shukan" 陣中手柬 ("Letters from the Front") in the 9.4 issue (March 31, 1905) of *Kokoro no hana* 心の花.

#168–170 Orig. A Poem by Su Shoushan

呈森大人

"Dedicated to Great Man Mori"

"Mori taijin ni teisu" "Chéng Sēn dàrén" Rhyme category: 平聲下七(陽)韻.

March 12-14, 1905

44 The series might be compared with Ogai's Poem #156, which describes the misery wrought by the Sino-Japanese War, where images of absence are used to communicate the devastation:

途上所見

"What I Saw on the Road"

November 5, 1894

黍圃連千里

Millet fields stretch for a thousand leagues;

望林知有村

From the wood in the distance, one knows there is a village.

人逃雞犬逸

But the people have fled, dogs and chickens taken flight;

空屋逗斜曛

Empty hovels hold in abeyance the slanting twilight

45 Note the other matched-rhyme exchange with a Chinese, Yu Shufen 俞樹菜, treated in the next installment of this study. Additionally in regard to poetic interaction with Chinese, Ko-TAJIMA Yōsuke (1: 327–28) conjectures that Ōgai studied writing ci 詞 song-poetry with Pan Feisheng 潘飛聲 (1857–1934), who (along with another Chinese) is mentioned in Ōgai's Taimu nikki 隊務日記 (Army Duty: A Diary) (OZ 35: 206; June 7–8, 1888); but Ōgai was to write only one poem in that poetic genre (partially quoted above on pp. 126–27). Note the article: Takahashi Yōichi: "Han Hisei no 'Berurin chikushishi'" 潘飛聲の「伯林竹枝詞」 ("Pan Feisheng's 'Berlin Bamboo-Branch Song-Poems'"), Ōgai 88 (Jan. 2011): 1–17. ['Bamboo-Branch' poems are love songs or folk poems.]

奇才鍾毓潮東洋

yō / yáng

A rare talent / splendidly nurtured // that traces back to the Eastern Sea $\,$

Kisai shōiku suru koto Tōyō ni sakanobori

Qícái zhōngyù cháo Dōngyáng

着手成春技最長

снō / cháng

Where his hand touches / spring comes to the full // his skill most extensive

Te o tsukureba haru o nashi waza mottomo chōzu

Zháo shŏu chéngchūn jì zuì cháng

A rare talent splendidly nurtured, one that can be traced back to Japan – the Eastern Sea;

2 Wherever his hand touches, spring forms – life is resuscitated – his skill being most extensive.

艸木皆兵無與敵

Shrubs and trees / all [seem to be] soldiers [when the Japanese army is arrayed] // it is without rival

Sōmoku mina hei ni shite tomo ni teki suru naken

Căomù jiē bīng wú yǔ dí

醫功不亞將功良

RYŌ / liáng

[Great Man Mori's] medical feats / are not inferior to // a general's feats in their fineness

Ikō atarazu shōkō no ryō ni

Yīgōng búyà jiànggōng liáng

Even shrubs and trees all seem to be soldiers when his army is arrayed – it is unrivaled:

- 4 The medical feats of Great Man Mori are not inferior to the feats of a general in their excellence.
- Line 1: 'Splendidly nurtured': In the *Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典, all examples date from the Qing and Republican eras: e.g., a document from the 1911 Revolution (postdating this poem) states: 東魯開化最早、文明獨先、山河<u>鍾毓</u>、代生聖哲. "The transformation of Eastern Lu (i.e., Shandong) came especially early; its civilization stands alone at the forefront, and since its mountains and streams its natural environment are <u>splendidly nurturing</u>, for generations it has produced sage thinkers" (JTW tr.). Ōgai is said to be an outstanding figure owing to his having been raised in the nurturing environment of Japan.

FUJIKAWA Masakazu 藤川正数 takes 鍾毓 to refer to the Three Kingdoms general, Zhong Yu (cited in Sanguozhi 三國志 [Weishu 魏書] 13 [399–400]),

who was famous as a tactician; *Mori Ōgai to kanshi* 森鷗外と漢詩 (Mori Ōgai and Sino-Japanese Poetry), Yūsei Dō 有精堂 1991: 152. Fujikawa's *kundoku* for Line 2 (*Te o seishun ni tsukete waza mottomo chōzu*) is also doubtful.

Line 2: The four-character phrase, 'Where his hand touches, spring comes to the full,' is a line in Sikong Tu's (837-908) "Twenty-Four Categories of Poetry": QTS 634 (7285): 司空圖, 詩品二十四, 自然: 著手成春. "And with a touch of the hand, springtime forms" (Stephen Owen, tr.).

Line 3: 'Shrubs and trees all seem to be soldiers': The "Chronicle of Fu Jian" in Jinshu 晉書 114 (2917), 符堅載記下, is the source for this expression describing the Eastern Jin army in A.D. 383: 又北望八公山上草木、皆類人形、顧謂融曰:「此亦勍敵也、何謂少乎!」、憮然有懼色. "Further, when they gazed northward, the shrubs and trees on Eight Duke Mountain all seemed to them like human forms. [Fu Jian] turned and said to [Fu] Rong, 'This is a powerful foe after all; why did you say they were few?' And disconcerted, he had a look of fear" (Michael C. Rogers tr.). Here, Su Shoushan is saying that the Japanese army is impressive and fear-inspiring.

Ōgai responds with a series of three matching-rhyme poems.

#168 M.O. Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Su Shoushan

次韻書感三首

"Expressing My Feelings: Three Matching-Rhyme Poems" (No. 1 of 3)

"Jiin-shite kan o sho su. Sanshu" "Cìyùn shūgǎn sānshǒu"

Rhyme category: 平聲下七(陽)韻.

March 12–14, 1905

群胡遠至自西洋

yō / yáng

Massed Hu-barbarians / from afar have arrived // from the West (< Western Ocean)

Gun-Ko tōku Seiyō yori itari

Qún Hú yuăn zhì zì Xīyáng

雪壓關山糧道長

снō / cháng

Snow pressing upon / passes and mountains // the supply route is long

Yuki kanzan o asshite ryōdō nagashi

Xuě yā guānshān liángdào cháng

Massed Hu barbarians have arrived from afar, out of the West – from Russia;

2 Snow pressing down on mountains and passes, their supply route is long – all the way to Siberia.

盪滌何憂無祕策

As for cleansing away [that which has sullied things] / why worry? // there is no secret plan

Tōdeki suru ni nan zo ureen hisaku naki o

Dāngdí hé yōu wú mìcè

唯悲塗炭害民良

RYŌ / liáng

One only laments / the utter misery (< mire and charcoal) // doing injury to the populace fine

Tada kanashimu totan minryō o gai-suru o

Wéi bēi tútàn hài mínliáng

As for washing things clean of them, don't worry, they have no secret plan – which in any case would be ineffective, since they are trapped and overextended;

- 4 One only laments the utter misery afflicting a populace that is good.
- Line 1: 'Massed Hu barbarians': Cf. Du Fu, QTS 216 (2268), 杜甫, 悲陳陶: "<u>羣胡</u>歸來血洗箭、仍唱胡歌飲都市。" "Als die Scharen des [Hu Barbarens] An Lushan (vom Schlachtfeld) zurückkehrten, wuschen sie ihre blutigen Waffen im Schnee, / Sangen Kriegslieder und feierten Trinkgelage in der Hauptstadt" (Erwin von Zach tr.).
- Line 3: 'Washing things clean': Cf. Hanshu 24 (1185) 漢書, 食貨志下: "後二年、世祖受命、盪滌煩苛、復五銖錢、與天下更始。" "The second year afterwards [i.e., after the execution of the tyrant Wang Mang in A.D. 23], the Epochal Founder, (Emperor Guangwu), received (Heaven's) mandate, washed away these vexatious (ordinances) and tyrannous (punishments), restored the five-shu cash, and gave a new beginning to the empire" (Homer H. Dubs tr.). Cf. also Du Fu: QTS 216 (2268), 杜甫, 八哀詩: 故著作郞貶台州司戶榮陽鄭公虔: "點染無滌蕩。" "[D]ie Befleckung (durch Annahme eines Beamtenpostens unter der Rebellenregierung) konnte durch nichts mehr reingewaschen werden" (Erwin von Zach tr.).

Note Ōgai's additional unflattering comments about Russia in his Germanlanguage "Eindrücke" of 1887 in an entry headed, "Erhaltung der Nationalität. Zu Widerlegen: 讀賣新聞、英語爲邦語之論": "Russland als eine unfreundlich, barbarisch aussehende, finster drohende Macht, aber immerhin 'eine Macht', beruhend auf die [sic] Nationalität: unzweckmässige Buchstaben, eigene Zeitrechnung. Letztere als solches nicht nachahmenswert, aber die Grundidee!"; cited

(and translated into Japanese) by Kobori Keiichirō 小堀桂一郎: *Wakaki hi no Mori Ōgai* 若き日の森鷗外 (Young Mori Ōgai), Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppan Kai 東京大學出版会 1969: 321–22.

- **Line 3**: The war was concluded less than six months later, with a peace treaty signed on September 5, 1905.
- **Line 4**: 'Misery (< mire and charcoal)': The *locus classicus* for the expression is the *Shujing*, 書經, 仲虺之誥: "民墜塗炭。" "[T]he people were as if they were fallen amid mire and charcoal (i.e., in misery)" (James Legge tr.)

#169 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Su Shoushan

次韻書感三首

"Expressing My Feelings: Three Matching-Rhyme Poems" (No. 2 of 3)

"Jiin shite kan o shosu. Sanshu" "Cìyùn shūgăn. Sānshǒu"

Rhyme category: 平聲下七(陽)韻.

March 12–14, 1905

夫藏婦泣憶梁洋

yō / yáng

Men hiding / women crying // brings to mind Liang and Yang Fu no kakure fu no naku wa Ryō-Yō o omowashime

Fū cáng fù qì yì Liáng-Yáng

滿目蕭條愁緒長

CHŌ / cháng

Filling the eyes / empty desolation // the skein of sorrow long *Manmoku shōjō to shite shūsho nagashi*

Mănmù xiāotiáo chóuxù cháng

Men hiding, women crying, bring to mind Liang and Yang in Du Fu's noem:

Wherever one looks, desertion and desolation, the skein of sorrow unending.

帷幄頻徵柔撫計

From field-tents / repeated recruiting for // a 'soften and soothe' policy

I-aku shikiri ni chōsu jūbu no kei

Wéiwò pín zhēng róufǔ jì

象胥隨處急求良

RYŌ / liáng

Interpreters / whatever the locale // good ones [like you] urgently sought

Shōsho zuisho ni isoide ryō o motomeri

Xiàngxū suíchù jí qiú liáng

From command tents, repeated recruitment-calls for a plan to 'soften and soothe' the populace;

- 4 Interpreters from all over urgently sought, good ones (like you).
- **Line 2**: 'Skein of sorrow': Du Fu uses the term in nostalgic reference to the imperial capital; QTS 227 (2461).
- Line 3: 'Command tents': Cf. Du Fu, QTS 229 (2504): 杜甫, 謁先主廟: 遲暮堪帷幄、飄零且釣緡. "Jetzt in meinen alten Tagen könnte ich noch in Kriegszelt Dienste leisten; / statt dessen wander ich ruhelos umher und angle einstweilen nach Fischen" (Erwin von Zach tr.). Note that this is one of the phrases Ōgai uses repeatedly in his kanshi; see Wixted: "The Kanshi of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction": 104, n. 27.
- **Lines 3 and 4**: Plans to 'soften and soothe' the local population call for native 'interpreters' a policy familiar to modern readers from events in Algeria, Malaysia, Vietnam, Iraq, etc.
- **Line 4**: 'Interpreters': Those being referred to here include Su Shoushan himself, one of the semi-officials employed by the Japanese, as noted in the next poem.

In his glossary to terms in the *Zhouli*, Édouard Biot explains the term 象胥 as follows: "[I]nterprètes [...]. Ils transmettent les paroles de l'empereur aux délégués des peuples extérieurs, ils transmettent les discours de ces délégués [...]. Ils comparent les idiomes"; *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou*, Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale 1851, 3 vols.: 3: 75–76. And elsewhere (1: 303) he explains: "Ce sont des hommes de mérite et de savoir." The term, which appears three times in the work – all in 周禮, 秋官司寇 – is translated by Biot on 1: 303, 1: 406–8, and 1: 435–36.

Biot (1:303) explains the etymology of the term: "On lit dans le chapitre du règlement impérial ("Wang zhi" du *Liji* [禮記, 王制]): 'En désignant les divers idiomes, […] on dit *xiang* pour le pays du Midi [南方曰象] […].' Maintenant, le nom collectif des interprètes est *xiang xu* [象晉]. Car la vertu de la dynastie Zhou s'étendit d'abord vers le Midi. Alors il faudrait traduire littéralement 'aides des méridionaux,' en donnant à 晉 *xu* le sens de 'attendants, aides,' comme les aides *xu*, officiers subalternes de chaque service."

#170 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Su Shoushan

次韻書感三首

"Expressing My Feelings: Three Matching-Rhyme Poems" (No. 3 of 3)

"Jiin-shite kan o sho-su. Sanshu" "Cìyùn shūgăn. Sānshǒu"

Rhyme category: 平聲下七(陽)韻.

March 12-14, 1905

息戈何日樂洋洋

yō / yáng

Spears put to rest / when (< what day) // will joy be overflowing?

Hoko o yame izure no hi ni ka tanoshimi yōyō taran

Xí gē hérì lè yángyáng

嗟歎廢園荊妃長

снō / cháng

One sighs at / neglected fields // brambles and thorns grown long

Satan-su haien keiki no chō-zuru o

Jiētàn fèiyuán jīngfēi cháng

When will the day come when, hostilities ended – 'spears put to rest' – joy is overflowing?

2 One sighs at abandoned fields, brambles and thorns grown long.

定識烟台將軍喜

It is well known: / [The fact that] in Yantai ('Signal Towers') // the general staff is pleased

Sadamete shiru Entai shōgun no yorokobu o

Dìng shì Yāntái jiàngjūn xǐ

此鄉求得更才良

RYŌ / liáng

[Is owing to] in this region / [our] having successfully obtained // administrator-talent that is good [like yours]

Kono kyō motome-etari risai no ryō

Cǐ xiāng qiú dé lìcái liáng

We well know: That our generals in Yantai – in 'Signal Towers' – are pleased

- 4 Is thanks to having local administrator-talent that is good like yours.
- Line 2: 'Brambles and thorns': Cf. Du Fu, QTS 216 (2254), 杜甫, 兵車行: "君不聞 漢家山東二百州、千村萬落生<u>荊杞</u>。" "Hast du nicht gehört, wie zu jener Zeit in den 200 Distrikten östlich des Hua-Berges / Tausend und abertausend Dörfer (und ihre Felder) verfielen und vom <u>Dornengestrüpp</u> überzogen wurden (weil die Männer alle ins Feld ziehen mussten)" (Erwin von Zach tr.).

The Taishō Emperor 大正天皇, 1879-1926, reg. 1912-26

Social intercourse between Ōgai and the Taishō emperor was prompted by the latter's interest in *kanshi*.⁴⁶ Ōgai's Poem #173 was written at imperial command in 1915, one month before the matched-rhyme exchange below. And Poem #221 was occasioned by a 1918 visit he paid to Hayama 葉山, the emperor's residence in Kanagawa Prefecture. Both are banally respectful: e.g., #173.3–4: 陽熙加卉木、風化及禽魚. "His warm rays augment plants and trees, / His transformative force extends to birds and fish"; and #221.3–4: 羽書來 奏無人識、唯有聖明心未閑. "A feathered missive – an official communiqué – comes submitted, no one knows what it concerns / Other than the one of sage clarity (the Emperor), whose heart remains troubled." There are two additional *kanshi* by Ōgai on the 'imperial rice-offering ceremony' 大嘗祭 (*daijō sai* or *niiname sai*, #180 and #195), at which the emperor presided.

Of course, there is no hint in Ōgai's poems of the problems, physical or mental, the Taishō Emperor was reputed to have.

Red Cross nurses are the theme of the following exchange. The Red Cross had been promoted by Ishiguro Tadanori, whose proposal to use its nurses in the Sino-Japanese War had been approved and carried out. Twenty years later, in 1914, Japanese Red Cross nurses were dispatched to support allies in Europe: twenty-two going to England, twenty-two to France, and seven to Russia; they were to return two and a half years later. The emperor's poem was written sometime during 1914.

#179 Orig. A Poem by the Taishō Emperor

Untitled (on Red Cross Nurses) Rhyme category: 平聲上一(東)韻. 1914

⁴⁶ The Taishō emperor's kanshi have been the subject of two book-length studies: Kinoshita Hyō 木下彪: Taishō Tennō gyosei shishū 大正天皇御製詩集 (A Collection of Poetry Written by the Taishō Emperor), Meitoku Shuppan Sha 明徳出版社 1960; and Kotajima Yōsuke 古田島洋介: Taishō Tennō gyoseishi no kisoteki kenkyū 大正天皇御製詩の基礎的研究 (Basic Research on Poetry Written by the Taishō Emperor), Meitoku Shuppan Sha 明徳出版社 2005). Note especially sect. 2 of chap. 3 of the latter, "Taishō tennō to Mori Ōgai" 大正天皇と森鷗外 ("The Taishō Emperor and Mori Ōgai"): 229–37 and 370–74; and the same-titled article by Kotajima in Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei, Meiji-hen (Dai-2 kan), Geppō 日本古典文学大系, 明治編 (第2巻), 月報 15 (March 2004): 1–4.

白衣婦女氣方雄

yū / xióng

White-clothed / women // their élan well heroic

Hakui no fujo ki masa ni yū ni shite

Báiyī fùnử qì fāng xióng

佩得徽章十字紅

кō / hóng

Donned, / the badges // their crosses red

Obi-etari kishō jūji no kurenai

Pèi dé huīzhāng shízì hóng

Women dressed in white, heroic their spirit;

2 The crosses red on the badges they don.

一意療創盡心力

Fully concentrated on / healing wounds // they expend their mental strength

Ichi-i kizu o iyashi shinryoku o tsukuse

Yíyì liáo chuāng jìn xīnlì

囘生不讓戰場功

KŌ / gōng

Bringing (soldiers) back to life / not yielding // (is) a battlefield meritorious deed

Kaisei yuzuraji senjō no kō ni

Huíshēng búràng zhànchăng gōng

Fully focused on tending wounds, they expend every mental strength;

- 4 Uncompromising in bringing soldiers back to life, this is their great battle-field deed.
- Line 2: 'Crosses red': The adoption of the cross as part of the symbol of the Red Cross Organization had proven problematic in Japan. A solution was found in 1887 when the empress surrounded it with elements having Japanese associations: paulownia, bamboo, and phoenix; Kracht and Tateno-Kracht: Ōgai's "Noël": 180. For comprehensive discussion, see the section, "Rotes Kreuz," in ibid.: 176–85. As they point out, a photo of the empress wearing a diadem with the modified image appears in Masul Takashi 桝居孝: Sekai to Nihon no sekijāji 世界と日本の赤十字, Ōsaka: Taimusu タイムス 1999: 48; and her sketch is reproduced in Olive Checkland: Humanitarianism and the Emperor's Japan, 1877–1977, New York, NY: St. Martin's Press 1994: 30.

The following year Ōgai was asked by Ishiguro Tadanori to write a poem in response to the emperor's. He complied with the following, which he had Yokogawa Tokurō review before submitting. (A slightly different, earlier version appears in Yokogawa's diary, cited in full by Kotajima [2: 112].) Per the

title, \bar{O} gai's poem 'harmonizes with' ($\bar{\Pi}$) that of the emperor, matching its rhyme words in the same order.

#179 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by the Taishō Emperor

奉和聖製詠看護婦

"Submitted to Harmonize with an Imperially Composed Poem on [Red Cross] Nurses"

"Seisei no kangofu o ei-zuru ni washi-tatematsuru" "Fènghé shèngzhì yŏng kànhùfù"

Rhyme category: 平聲上一(東)韻.

June 22, 1915

裙釵還有丈夫雄

yū / xióng

'Skirts and hairpins' (i.e., women) / also have // grown-men's courage $Kunsai\ mo\ mata\ ari\ jar{o}fu\ no\ yar{u}$

Qúnchāi hái yǒu zhàngfū xióng

好躡沙場戰血紅

кō / hóng

Willingly trodden, / the sandy arena (i.e., battlefield) // battle-blood red

Kononde fumeri sajō senketsu no kurenai naru o

Hào niè shāchăng zhànxiě hóng

Women – 'skirts and hairpins' – they too have the courage of men;

Willingly they tread sandy battlefields red with war blood.

應向汗青增故事

There should be, in / 'sweated green' (bamboo slips of recorded history), // their stories added

Masa ni kansei ni mukatte koji o masu beshi

Yīng xiàng hánqīng zēng gùshì

玉纖爭奏裹創功

KŌ / gōng

'Jadelike and slender' (fingers) / compete in performing // the meritorious deed of wrapping wounds

Gyokusen arasotte sō-su kasō no kō

Yùxiān zhēng zòu guǒchuāng gōng

To the bamboo slips of history – 'sweated green' – surely should be added their exploits:

- 4 Pale and slender fingers outdo one other in performing the great deed of binding wounds.
- **Line 1**: Examples of 'skirts and hairpins,' metonymy for 'women,' appear to date from the Ming dynasty onward.
- Line 1: 'Grown-men's courage': Cf. Du Fu, QTS 223 (2374): 杜甫, 送重表侄王砅 評事使南海: "願展<u>丈夫雄</u>、得辭兒女醜. "Dann möchte ich wie ein Mann tapfer auftreten / und die kindische Schwäche von mir werfen" (Erwin von Zach tr.).
- Line 3: 'Sweated green' refers to bamboo from which the moisture has been removed (i.e., 'sweated') so as to be used for writing; hence, 'books' or 'history'; e.g., Wen Tianxiang (1236-1283), 文天祥, 過零丁洋: 人生自古誰無死、留取丹心照汗青. "From of old, who among humans has not died? / But a heart of pure loyalty may linger, to shine in the annals of history ('sweated green' [bamboo annals])" (JTW tr.).
- Line 4: 'Pale and slender fingers': Cf. Ouyang Jiong (896–971), *Huajianji* #260: 陽炯, 花間集, 獻衷心: 故將<u>纖纖玉</u>指. "And quite deliberately with my <u>slender</u>, jadelike fingers (I began to pick away)" (Lois Fusek tr., punctuation modified).

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Araki Torasaburō (Hōkō) 荒木寅三郎 (鳳岡), 1866–1942

Araki Torasaburō's life parallels that of Ōgai in important ways. Both were sons of physicians who came to the capital from the provinces at an early age, Araki at age thirteen (or eleven, according to one source) from what is now Gunma Prefecture. Both studied medicine at Tokyo Imperial University and were to continue studies in Germany, Araki first graduating in 1887 and then specializing in biochemistry in Strasburg from 1889 to 1895.

The life of Araki suggests what Ōgai's would have become, had the latter pursued an academic career. He was appointed professor at Kyoto Imperial University in 1899, at the age of thirty-three, and four years later became dean of its medical school. In 1914 he took over administration of the university, in the wake of internal disturbances, and a year later was appointed university chancellor (at the recommendation of the professors' association, not via the Monbushō as was customary). The appointment came on June 5, 1915, and Ōgai's series of poems dates from June 27 and are nominally intended by way of congratulation. Araki's tenure as university chancellor was not with-

out its difficulties. He left his post in 1929, only to head up the Peers' School (Gakushūin) until 1937.⁴⁷

In 1887, after graduating from Tōdai, Araki had returned to his native province to inaugurate a medical practice. It may be this period that is referred to in the following poem. After a short stay Araki returned to the capital and began teaching physiology. The poem is said to have been written in 1895 while in Germany, and probably only sent to Ōgai – perhaps along with other compositions – in 1915. In the context, the reference to the 'old fishing rock' in the poem is taken by Ōgai as the expression by Araki of the desire to withdraw from the world.

Ōgai's series conveys three messages. One is nominally that of congratulation on Araki's recent elevation to the Tōdai chancellorship. Another, in response to the theme in Araki's 'original,' urges Araki *not* to pursue his dream of retiring to his native Gunma. Ōgai's point is stated so insistently that one suspects it was a wish often voiced and seriously considered by Araki, notwithstanding his recent elevation; he knew what a trying academic situation he was confronting. Third, Ōgai is praising Araki as a person: for his upright character, his steadfastness in the face of poverty and adversity, and his unworldliness.

Ōgai's first poem is a true matching-rhyme (jiin 次韻) one. His second is an iin 依韻 poem (if, indeed, it goes with the extant 'original'), inasmuch as the two are of the same rhyme category but do not have the same rhyme words. Deai's third poem matches an Araki one that is not extant (which could possibly be the case with Ōgai's second one as well).

#181–182 Orig. A Poem by Araki Torasaburō

歸家

Returning Home"

"Ie ni kaeru" "Guī jiā"

Rhyme category: 平聲上五(微)韻.

1895

Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

⁴⁷ Note the study by KOTAKE Yashirō 古武弥四郎: Araki Torasaburō 荒木寅三郎, n.pl.: Denki Kankō Ōtori Kai 伝記刊行鳳会 1957.

⁴⁸ See n. 10.

老大歸來相識稀

KI / XĪ

Older and grown / returning home // acquaintances are few *Rōdai ni shite kaeri-kitareba sōshiki mare ni*

Lăodà guīlái xiāngshì xī

守門黃犬吠征衣

 $I/y\bar{1}$

Guarding-the-gate / Yellow Dog // barks at my travel garb *Shumon no kōken sei-i ni hoyu*

Shoumén huángquan fèi zhēngyī

Older and grown, coming back home, the people I know are few;

2 Guarding the gate, Yellow Dog barks at my travel garb.

竹寒沙碧溪南路

Bamboo cold / sands blue // on stream-south road Take samuku suna midori nari keinan no michi Zhú hán shā bì xīnán lù

認得當年舊鈞磯

кі / јī

I manage to recognize / past years' // familiar fishing rock *Mitome-etari tōnen no kyū chōki*

Rèndé dāngnián jiù diàojī

Bamboo cold and sands blue on stream-south road,

- 4 I can still make out my old fishing rock.
- Line 1: 'Older and grown': Cf. Ho Zhizhang (659–744), 賀知章, 回鄉偶書二首 #1, QTS 112 (1147): 少小離鄉<u>老大</u>回、鄉音難改鬢毛衰. "Young and small, I left my native place, and <u>older and grown</u> have returned; / My native accent has scarcely changed, but locks of my hair have thinned" (JTW tr.).
- Line 2: 'Yellow Dog': 'Yellow Dog' is likely a reference to Lu Ji's (261–303) famous dog 'Yellow Ears,' who was to act as Lu's messenger; 晉書 54 (1473), 陸機傳: 初機有駿犬、名曰黃耳、甚爱之。旣而羈寓京師、久無家問、笑語犬曰「我家絕無書信、汝能齎書取消息不?」犬搖尾作聲。機乃爲書以竹筩盛之而繫其頸、犬尋路南走、遂至其家、得報還洛。其後因以爲常. "Lu once had a clever dog named 'Yellow Ears,' which he greatly loved. When assigned to the capital, Lu had not heard from his family for a long time. He jokingly said to the dog, 'Not a single letter has come from home. How would it be if *you* delivered one and brought back word?' The dog wagged his tail and barked. So Lu wrote a letter, put it in a bamboo tube, and tied it to the dog's neck. Searching out the route, the dog headed south, eventually reaching the family home [in Jiangsu], and brought news back to Luoyang. So Lu made a regular habit of it [i.e., using the dog as a messenger]" (JTW tr.). The name 'Yellow Ears' became common for a dog, not unlike 'Fido' in the West.

Or 'yellow dog' here might be a more generic name for a hunting dog, as in *Shiji* 87 (2562) 史記, 李斯列傳. When Li Si (280–208 B.C.) was about to be executed, the final wistful words he spoke to his son were: 吾欲與若復牽<u>黃犬</u>俱出上蔡東門逐狡兔、豈可得乎! "Even if I wished once more to go out the eastern gate of Shangcai with you, leading our <u>yellow dog</u> to chase a wily rabbit, how could I do it?" (Wm. H. Nienhauser, Jr. et al. tr.).

- Line 3: 'Travel garb' can also refer to clothing worn when on military campaign: E.g., Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86), 出塞詩: 霜重征衣薄、風高戰鼓鳴. "Frost in layers. campaign garb thin, / Wind intense, battle drums sound" (JTW tr.).
- **Line 4**: 'Old fishing rock': there is the suggestion here of a reference to Yan Guang 嚴光 (Later Han), which is made explicit in Ōgai's first matching-poem. The Kotake Yashirō biography of Araki describes the locale ca. 1950.

#181 M.O. Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Araki Torasaburō

贈荒木鳳岡次其韵

"Presented to Araki Hōkō, Following His Rhymes" (No. 1 of 3)

"Araki Hōkō ni okutte, sono in o jisu" "Zèng Huāngmú Fènggāng, cì qí yùn"

Rhyme category: 平聲上五(微)韻.

June 27, 1915

澄清志氣認依稀

KI / XĪ

As for your settled-and-purified / will-and-spirit // the recognizing of it is faint

Chōsei no shiki mitomuru ni iki tari

Chéngqīng zhìqì rèn yīxī

聞說家貧嘗易衣

 $I/y\bar{I}$

One hears say / your family being poor // you exchanged clothes *Kikunaraku ie mazushiku shite katsute koromo o kaetari to* Wénshuō jiā pín cháng yì yī

Your purified will-*cum*-spirit is recognized, but faintly;

2 One hears that your family was poor – you had to change clothes to appear in public.

從古人生知己少

From of old / regarding human beings // ones-who-really-know-one are few

Inishie yori jinsei chiki sukunashi Cóng gǔ rénshēng zhījǐ shǎo

子陵何必守魚磯

кі / **j**ī

Ziling / what need had he // to stick to his fishing rock? Shiryō nan zo kanarazu shi mo gyoki o mamoran Zilíng hébì shǒu yújī

From of old, among humans, those who really know one are few;

- 4 For Yan Guang there was no need to hunker down on his old fishing rock still less for you.
- Line 1: 'Purified': Cf. Liu Yiqing. *Shishuo xinyu* 1, 劉義慶, 世說新語, 德行: 行為世範、登車攬轡、有<u>澄清</u>天下之志. "[H]is acts [became] a model for the world. Whenever he mounted his carriage and grasped the reins it was with a determination to <u>purify</u> the whole realm" (Richard B. Mather tr.).
- Line 1: 'Will and spirit': Cf. Zhuangzi 29, 莊子, 盜跖: 今吾告子以人之情、目欲視色、耳欲聽聲、口欲察味、志氣欲盈. "And now I'm going to tell you something about man's true form. His eyes yearn to see colors, his ears to hear sound, his mouth to taste flavors, his will and spirit to achieve fulfillment" (Burton Watson tr.).
- **Lines 1** and **2**: This is one of Ōgai's more disjointed *kanshi* couplets. Line 1 goes with Line 3, in effect saying, few people truly appreciate you (but such is the world). And Line 2 is saying, that you surmounted poverty, rising to your present position, is a measure of you as a man.
- Line 2: 'Exchange clothes': Cf. *Liji* 禮記, 儒行: <u>易衣</u>而出. "[Scholars] may have to <u>exchange garments</u> when they go out" (James Legge tr.)
- Line 3: 'Ones who really know one': Cf. Shiji 86 (2519) 史記, 刺客列傳: 士爲<u>知</u> 己者死. "[A] true man dies for <u>one who appreciates him</u>" (Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang tr.).
- Line 4: 'Ziling' and 'fishing': 'Ziling' 子陵 is the style name of Yen Guang 嚴光 of the Later Han. He refused office and retired to his native place to farm and fish; *Hou Hanshu* 83 (2764): 後漢書, 嚴光傳: 後人明其<u>釣</u>處爲嚴<u>陵</u>瀨焉. "Later people called the place he fished 'Yan Ling Shoals'" (JTW tr.).

#182 M.O.

Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Araki Torasaburō

贈荒木鳳岡次其韵

"Presented to Araki Hōkō, Following His Rhymes" (No. 2 of 3)

"Araki Hōkō ni okutte, sono in o ji-su" "Zèng Huāngmú Fènggāng, cì qí yùn"

Rhyme category: 平聲上五(微)韻.

June 27, 1915

遷喬有慶願無違

кı / wéi

Shifting up high / is worthy of celebration // from your true desire no deviation

Senkyō yorokobi arite negai tagau koto nashi

Qiānqiáo yǒu qìng yuàn wú wéi

幽谷何人驚橐衣

 $_{I}$ / $_{y\overline{1}}$

In the secluded valley (of your hometown) / what person // was startled at your sack clothing?

Yūkoku nanbito ka taku'i ni odorokan

Yōugǔ hérén jīng tuóyī

Your having ascended high (as university chancellor) is cause for celebration – and you did so without deviating from your true natural desire;

In the out-of-the way place (where you grew up), no one was startled to see you in sack clothing – whereas they might be now.

久矣丘園栽遠志

How long ago! / In your hillside garden // you planted 'far-reaching determination' [an herb]

Hisashi kana kyūen enshi o uetaru ya

Jiǔ yǐ qiūyuán zāi yǔanzhì

藥囊那敢貯當歸

KI / guī

In your medicine bag / how might you dare to / pack [the] 'ought-to-return' [plant]?

Yakunō nanzo aete tōki o takuwaen

Yàonáng nă găn zhǔ dāngguī

Long has it been since, back in your hillside garden, you planted 'farreaching determination';

4 So now, how could you possibly pack 'time-to-go-home' in your medicine bag?

Lines 1 and 2: 'Shifting up high' and 'secluded valley': Cf. Shijing, #165: 詩經, 小雅, 伐木: 出自幽谷、遷於喬木. "[The bird] emerges from the <u>secluded valley</u>, / And <u>shifts</u> to the <u>lofty</u> tree" (JTW tr.). Even more relevant is the <u>Mengzi</u> passage: 孟子, 滕文公上: 吾聞出於幽谷遷于喬木者、末聞下喬木而入於幽谷者. "I have heard of their (birds) leaving <u>secluded valleys</u>, <u>shifting</u> to <u>lofty</u> trees; but I have not heard of them descending from <u>lofty</u> trees to enter <u>secluded valleys</u>"

- (JTW tr.). The reference, in concert with the rest of Ōgai's poem, underscores the point that it would make little sense for Araki to leave his exalted position as university chancellor at Kyoto University to return to the obscurity of his native place.
- Line 1: 'Without deviating' is a famous stricture by Confucius (*Analects* 2/5) stated in reference to norms of filial piety. Cf. Tao Qian (365-427): 陶潛, 歸園田居, 其三: 衣沾不足惜、但使<u>願無違</u>. "That clothes get wet doesn't matter, / As long as I do not go against my true natural desire" (JTW tr.).
- Line 2: 'Sack clothing': A single layer of cheap clothing, as in *Hanshu* 72 (3068): 漢書, 王吉傳: 及遷徙去處、所載不過<u>秦衣</u>、不畜積餘財. "When, relocating, he departed, the only thing to be hauled away was his <u>sack clothing</u>; he had not accumulated any excess goods" (JTW tr.). In other words, Araki was poor when he last lived in his native place; even now, to his credit, his tastes are simple.
- Line 3: 'Far-reaching determination': *Polygala japonica*, a medicinal herb. Cf. *Shishuo xinyu* 25: 世說新語, 排調: 于時人有餉桓公藥草、中有遠志. "At the time someone made Huan [Wen] a present of some medicinal herbs, among which was some *yuanzhi* ('far-reaching determination')" (Richard B. Mather tr.). When annotating the passage, Mather translates a substantial portion of the herb's description in the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 the comprehensive Ming-dynasty materia medica including the following: "It can increase wisdom and keenness of sight and hearing, helps one not to forget, fortifies one's determination and doubles one's strength"; tr. of Liu I-ch'ing [Liu Yiqing 劉義慶]: '*Shishuo xinyu': A New Account of the World*, 2nd ed., Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan 2002: 447.
- Line 4: 'Medicine bag': An expression used twice by Du Fu. Note that in the second example he ties it to Taoist adepts. QTS 226 (2433): 杜甫, 西郊: 傍架齊書帙、看題檢藥囊. "Ich stehe neben den Büchergestellen (in meiner Halle) und ordne die Bücher, / ich lese die Titel auf den Arzneisäckehen und prüfe wie viel sie enthalten" (Erwin von Zach tr.). QTS 230 (2516): 劉峽州伯華使君四十韻: 藥囊親 道士、灰劫問胡僧. "Der Sack mit Arzneien (d.h. die Sorge um meine Gesundheit) bringt mich dem taoistischen Priester nahe, / wegen einer (bevorstehenden) Weltkatastrophe befrage ich den tibetischen Lama" (Erwin von Zach tr.).
- **Line 4**: 'Ought to return': The aromatic herb *Ligusticum acutilobum*, the root of which is used as medicine. The *Liexian zhuan* lists 'ought to return' among the herbs that mountain ascetics recommend be ingested; 列仙傳, 山圖.
- Lines 3 and 4: The references to plant and herb names are not only ingeniously apt in their play on words; together with the medicine bag of Line 4, they also cleverly tie Araki, as doctor and gatherer of plant specimens, to his roles as physician and scientist. He had been dean of the Kyōdai medical school; and as a scientist, he was known for his research on the shigella bacillus (赤痢菌 sekirikin) and ratbite fever (鼠咬症 sokō shō).

The rhyme category of the last poem in the series differs from that of the others. Moreover, Araki's 'original' poem is not extant. The response is included here to complete Ōgai's three-poem series. Note that, alone among Ōgai's matching-rhyme poems, it is a five-character quatrain.

#183 M.O. Matching the Rhymes of a Poem by Araki Torasaburō

贈荒木鳳岡次其韵

"Presented to Araki Hōkō, Following His Rhymes" (No. 3 of 3)

"Araki Hōkō ni okutte, sono in o ji-su" "Zèng Huāngmú Fènggāng, cì qí yùn"

Rhyme category: 平聲上十一(真)韻.

June 27, 1915

詩仙々去後

The poetic immortal // his departure as an immortal past

Shisen senkyo no nochi

Shīxiān xiānqù hòu

來占洛東春

shun / chūn

[You] came to occupy // the Rakutō spring

Kitarite shimu Rakutō no haru

Lái zhàn Luòdōng chūn

After the 'departure as an immortal' (death) of the 'Poetic Immortal' – Ishikawa Jōzan.

2 You came and made the Rakutō spring of Kyoto your own.

迹異人相似

Footprints differ // persons are alike

Ato wa kotonaru mo hito wa ainitari

Jī yì rén xiāngsì

風標各出塵

JIN / chén

Re character // each departs from worldly-dust

Fūhyō ono'ono jin o izu

Fēngbiāo gè chū chén

Japonica Humboldtiana 16 (2013)

Although the footprints you leave behind are different, as men you are similar:

- 4 'In character,' each 'transcends the mundane.'
- Line 1: 'Poetic Immortal': A reference to the pen name of the *kanshi* poet, Ishikawa Jōzan 石川丈山 (1583–1672), which was adopted from the name of the pavilion he built in 1641, Shisen Dō 詩仙堂 ('Hall of Poet Immortals'), dedicated to the memory of thirty-six classic Chinese poets. For more on Ishikawa Jōzan and the Shisen Dō, see (1) Burton Watson: *Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jōzan and Other Edo-Period Poets*: 3–33; (2) J. Thomas RIMER: Jonathan CHAVES, Stephen Addiss, and Hiroyuki Suzuki: *Shisendo: Hall of the Poetry Immortals*, New York: Weatherhill 1991; and (3) Marguerite-Marie Parvulesco: *Ecriture, lecture et poésie: Lettrés japonais du 17e au 19e siècle*, [Paris:] Publications Orientalistes de France 1991: 55–73.
- **Line 2**: 'Rakutō': The eastern area of Kyoto, where Ishikawa built Shisendō and where Araki had his residence and place of work (Kyoto University).
- Line 4: Note that four of the line's five *kanji* are the same as those in a poetic line by Wei Zhuang (836–910) and the fifth that joins them functions similarly: QTS 696 (8012), 韋莊, 題安定張使君: 器度<u>風標</u>合<u>出塵</u>. "His personality and <u>character</u> both <u>transcend the mundane</u>" (JTW tr.). For discussion of the citation of poemlines by Ōgai, see "Matching-Rhyme Exchange over an Unsigned Newspaper Review" above.