

Sociability in Poetry
An Introduction to the Matching-Rhyme
Kanshi of Mori Ōgai

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

Mori Ōgai wrote 34 matching-rhyme poems out of a corpus of 239. For 20 of these, we have the ‘original’ as well. It is *these sets of paired poems* that are the focus of this study. Since in three instances Ōgai wrote series of two or three poems to match a single ‘original,’ 16 of the latter are extant. Leaving aside the 14 Ōgai compositions for which no ‘original’ exists, this makes for a total of 36 for which we have both ‘original’ (16) and matching-poem response (20).¹

What distinguishes matching-rhyme poetry is its intense, sometimes almost intimate, *sociability*.² Matching-rhyme poems necessarily involved direct in-

1 This article is to be complemented by two others to appear in JH, in which all 36 of the matching-rhyme poems – ‘originals’ and responses – are translated and explicated. Matching-rhyme ‘quatrains’ 絕句 (*zekku*, *juéjù*) will be treated in one, and eight-line ‘regulated verse’ 律詩 (*risshi*, *lǜshī*) and ‘ancient-style verse’ 古詩 (*koshi*, *gǔshī*) in another. The three articles are referred to collectively as ‘this study.’ The poems for which no ‘original’ exists are listed here in the Appendix.

2 The poetic interaction operative in matching-rhyme poetry has also been termed ‘sociality,’ defined as “a set of key practices within poetic composition which depend on interaction with other individuals, most importantly the tendency to practice poetry as a group activity, pedagogical practices such as mutual critique and the master-disciple relationship, and the exchange among individual poets of textually linked forms of verse”; Robert James TUCK: *The Poetry of Dialogue: Kanshi, Haiku and Media in Meiji Japan, 1870–1900*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University 2012: 2. He draws the term ‘sociality’ from

teraction between two parties or two poetic personae. Like much *kanshi* writing, it was often written on social occasions and shared by the participants at the time or when circulated later. Mentors might edit another's work. And teacher-student relations could be intense. There was a *kanshi* community in the Meiji, of an educated elite, that interacted by reading, commenting on, and otherwise responding to each other's compositions, sometimes with matching-rhyme poems. They formed groups, whether informally or in coteries, which fostered such activity, as did an enlarged world of publishing that expanded *kanshi* readership to the national level. With their shared training, educated in a *kanji*-centric world, they were conscious of being part of a wider world encompassing a shared East Asian cultural heritage.

That *kanbun* was important through the Meiji period is indisputable.³ In fact, there was an efflorescence of *kanshi* writing in the late nineteenth century. *Kanbun* — both Chinese and Sino-Japanese — remained integral to Japanese culture:

Through the beginning of the twentieth century, the cultural role of Chinese studies [including writing in Sino-Japanese] remained immense — again, most of the Meiji period, from 1868 until the period following the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895, was intensely Sinicizing, as Confucian concepts were employed to bind citizens to the new nation-state and belletristic genres like Chinese-style poetry gained wider audiences through the expansion of education. It was not until the early twentieth century that modern notions of national language and literature, phonographic ideals for writing, and new nationalist attitudes toward contemporary China came together to firm up the notion that Chinese-style writing was written Chinese.⁴

Michael CARRITHERS: *Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity*, New York: Oxford University Press 1992.

3 MIURA Kanō 三浦叶: *Meiji kanbungaku shi* 『明治漢文學史』 (A History of Meiji-Period Sino-Japanese Writing), Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院 1998.

4 David B. LURIE: *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center 2011: 333.

The following still holds true: “In terms of its size, often its quality, and certainly its importance both at the time it was written and cumulatively in the cultural tradition, *kanbun* 漢文 is arguably the biggest and most important area of Japanese literary study that has been ignored in recent times, and the one least properly represented as part of the canon”; John Timothy WIXTED: “*Kanbun*, Histories of Japanese Literature, and Japanologists,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 10.2 (April 1998): 23; reprinted in *The New Historicism and Japanese Literary Studies*, ed. Eiji SEKINE: *PMAJLS: Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 4 (Summer 1998): 313–26; and published in Spanish as “Kambun,

The Meiji-period flourishing of *kanbun* has been described as follows:

[T]rop souvent passé sous silence, les études chinoises connurent un renouveau extrêmement vif pendant toutes les années centrales de l'ère Meiji, de la fin des années 1870 jusqu'à la guerre sino-japonaise de 1893–1894, en pleine période de prétendue 'occidentalisation.' [...] Le renouveau des études chinoises au Japon entre 1877 et 1894 paraît donc indéniable. Ce phénomène trop souvent méconnu ne doit être analysé ni comme le résultat d'une inertie de la tradition, ni comme la conséquence d'une politique réactionnaire. Le réenracinement volontaire et conscient dans les textes chinois concernait différentes strates de la société et il n'allait absolument pas de pair avec un rejet du savoir occidental. Pour certains, il était simplement nécessaire à l'assimilation en profondeur de ce dernier.⁵

There were many periodicals that thrived during the Meiji that were largely or wholly devoted to *kanbun*. They reflected its popularity, while at the same time stimulating its composition, by giving it a ready venue and broad dissemination. Prominent among these were *Shinbunshi* 新文詩 (New Prose and Poetry) (1875–83), started by Mori Shuntō 森春濤; *Kagetsu shinshi* 花月新誌 (Flowers and Moon: A New Review) (1877–84), founded by Narushima Ryūhoku 成島柳北; and *Keirin isshi* 桂林一枝 (Spray from a Cassia Grove) (1878–82), published by Ishii Nankyō 石井南橋. The fortnightly journal of young-student compositions, *Eisai shinshi* 穎才新誌 (Flowering Talent: A New Review) (1877–1901), was also an important vehicle. And the newspaper, *Nippon* 日本 (Japan) (1889–1914), with its *kanshi* columns “Hyōrin” 評林 (“A Grove of Critiques”) and “Bun'en” 文苑 (“A Literary Garden”) closely associated with Kokubu Seigai 國分青厓, was of special importance. Not to be omitted is *Hyakkaran* 百花欄 (A Hundred Blossoms in Literary Columns) (1903–5), edited by Noguchi Neisai 野口寧齋 (1867–1905).⁶

historias de la literatura japonesa y japonólogos,” tr. Amalia SATO: *Tokonoma: Traducción y literatura* (Buenos Aires) 6 (Fall 1998): 129–40.

- 5 Emmanuel LOZERAND: *Littérature et génie national: Naissance d'une histoire littéraire dans le Japon du XIX^e siècle*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2005: 198 and 202–3, from the section, “Le renouveau des études chinoises,” 197–203.
- 6 *Kagetsu shinshi* and *Keirin isshi* are specifically mentioned by Ōgai in *Gan* 『雁』 (The Wild Goose), OZ 8: 494; and one of Ōgai's matching-rhyme poems (#140*) attacks a *Nippon* column by name. Poem numbers followed by an asterisk indicate matching-rhyme poems that are treated in detail in this study.

The focus of scholarly interest in Ōgai's *kanshi*, with two main exceptions that treat his entire corpus,⁷ has been on his different series of 'travel poems' (or to avoid using such a potentially pejorative term, while employing a still more awkward one, 'poems written while in transit, while away from his home base'). The 28 *kanshi* in *Hokuyū nichijō* 北游日乗 (Journal of an Excursion to the North) — a sort of *kanbun* equivalent to Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 (Narrow Road to the Interior) that serves as a narrative of Ōgai's 1882 excursion in the north of Japan — have even received separate book-length treatment.⁸ That series is often paired with the 29 *kanshi* in *Go Hokuyū nichijō* 後北游日乗 (Journal of a Subsequent Excursion to the North) dating from another trip to the region in 1882–83.⁹ Attracting even more interest on the part of both Japanese and Western scholars have been three separate poem-series that tell of (1) Ōgai's trip to Europe, (2) his stay in Europe, and (3) his trip back to Japan: namely, the 40 *kanshi* (dating from 1884) in *Kōsei nikki* 航西日記 (Diary of the Voyage West); the 18 *kanshi* (of 1884–88) in *Doitsu nikki* 獨逸日記 (Diary in Germany); and the 10 *kanshi* (from 1888) in *Kantō nichijō* 還東日乗 (Journal of the Return East). There are also poems he wrote while posted abroad during both the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War: namely, 8 *kanshi* (from 1894–95) in *Sosei nikki* 徂征日記 (Off on Campaign: A Diary), and another 5 dating from the later conflict (in 1904–5), as well as 5 dating from his 'exile' (of 1899–1902) in Kokura. These make for worthwhile and sometimes fascinating topics of study. But there is much else of interest in Ōgai's corpus of Sino-Japanese poetry.

Matching-rhyme poems illustrate but one type of 'sociability' in the Sino-Japanese poetry of Mori Ōgai. Social intercourse plays a central role in a sur-

7 CHIN Seiho [CHÉN Shēngbǎo] 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.; and KOTAJIMA Yōsuke 古田島洋介: *Kanshi* 『漢詩』 (The Sino-Japanese Poetry), vols. 12 and 13 in ORB.

8 YASUKAWA Rikako 安川里香子: *Mori Ōgai 'Hokuyū nichijō' no sokuseki to kanshi* 『森鷗外「北游日乗」の足跡と漢詩』 (Mori Ōgai's "Journal of an Excursion to the North": The Traces that Remain and the Sino-Japanese Poetry), Shinpi Sha 審美社 1999.

9 YASUKAWA Rikako has also done *de facto* book-length treatment of the text with the following series of seven articles in *Ōgai* 『鷗外』, the first three being numbered as such: (1) 64 (Jan. 1999): 149–60; (2) 67 (July 2000): 337–49; (3) 68 (Jan. 2001): 219–38; [4] 69 (July 2001): 53–57; [5] 80 (Jan. 2007): 10–30; [6] 84 (Jan. 2009): 18–39; [7] 86 (Jan. 2010): 39–51.

prisingly large number of his *kanshi*. The following types of social interaction are found in his corpus *in addition to* his matching-rhyme poems.

An especially large number of Sino-Japanese poems by Ōgai involve friends. They illustrate how *kanshi* can serve as a bond that forges, cements, and gives expression to friendship. For example, Ōgai wrote poems to friends in lieu of letters: to Itō Yuzuru 伊藤孫 (i.e., Ariyoshi Yuzuru 有美孫) (#003),¹⁰ to Hagiwara Sankei 萩原三圭 (#112), and to Takahashi Kenji 高橋健自 (#230); all are long: 124, 20, and 56 lines, respectively. And there are *kanshi* Ōgai presented to friends: to Satō Tasuku 佐藤佐 (#110), in Paris after a three-year hiatus; to Ishiguro Tadanori 石黒忠憲, as the two were about to arrive back in Japan (#139); to the painter Yamamoto Hōsui 山本芳翠, when they were on military assignment together on the continent during the Sino-Japanese War (#155); to Ōshima Teikyō 大島貞恭, upon the dedication of a statue to his father (#165); to Yamagata Aritomo 山縣有朋, on his seventy-seventh and eightieth birthdays (#175 and #214); to Noguchi Chikako 野口親子, on her appointment as an artist to the imperial household (#198); and to Fukui Shigeru 福井繁, *kanshi* poet and figure at the Imperial Household Library, a few months before the latter's death (#224).

There are *kanshi* that Ōgai wrote when on outings with friends: with Kako Tsurudo 賀古鶴所 and Ogata Shūjirō 緒方収二郎 to Kōnodai 鴻臺 (國府臺) in Ichikawa-shi 市川市 (#001); with Miura Moriharu 三浦守治 to Starnberger See near Munich (#113–17);¹¹ and with his Shinsei Sha 新聲社 poetry-society confrères — Ichimura Sanjirō 市村瓊次郎, Kako Tsurudo, and Inoue Michiyasu 井上道泰 — to a gravesite in Meguro 目黒 (#145*).

Two of Ōgai's most famous *kanshi* are witty descriptions of fellow ship-board Japanese students (and himself), one on the way to Europe, “The Nippon Ten” 日東十客歌 (“Nittō jukkaku no uta,” #077), the other on the way back to Japan, “The Nippon Seven” 日東七客歌 (“Nittō shichikaku no uta,” #138).

Three series of *kanshi* were written to console friends and to offer apt counsel: Ozaki Yukio 尾崎行雄 (#129–32), on his career having apparently been thwarted; Ishiguro Tadanori (#176–78*), on his frustration at having to wait indefinitely to see if he would be appointed a peer; and Araki Torasaburō 荒木寅三郎 (#181–83*), on wishing to retire to his native province to be free of a contentious academic environment.

10 Poem numbers follow those in the KOTAJIMA Yōsuke two-volume work.

11 There is an additional important reference to Miura in Poem #019.

There are *kanshi* Ōgai wrote to mourn his friends, Kawakami Genjirō 川上元治郎 (#185) and Ueda Bin 上田敏 (#211), and to mourn others: a *de facto* mentor, Hayashi Tsuna 林紀 (#091); a kindred spirit, Yoshida Kōton 吉田篁墩 (#210, treated below); and the father and son, Kitaoka Masahiro 北岡正衡 and Kitaoka Atsuhiro 北岡敦衡 (#222).

Ōgai wrote *kanshi* when being paid a sick-call by a friend (#004), when seeing off a friend (#152), when asked to compose something for the album of a dance instructor in Germany (#119), and when departing from a friend (#118).¹² He also wrote *kanshi* to show or present to others shipboard (#104 and #105), to respond irritably to having been given an unsolicited seal (#203), and to thank those who had given him a retirement gift of books (#209).

Moreover, there are *kanshi* Ōgai wrote when responding to a poem by his *sensei*, Satō Genchō 佐藤元菘 (#007),¹³ when paying a call on someone (Machida Michimoto 町田道本) who had been a fellow-student with the older man (#014), and when visiting Satō nearly a decade later (#147, #148, and #153).

12 The party in each of these poems has not been identified.

13 A sense of the affection that can attend poetry of sociability, especially in teacher-student relations, is found in the disarmingly direct poem written by Satō Genchō when seeing Ōgai off on his *Hokuyū nichijō* first trip as an army officer. Since the date was February 13, 1882, Ōgai was just shy of turning twenty years old. Satō refers to Ōgai as his “son” 子 (*shi*) and to himself, directly or indirectly, as his “father” 親 (*shin*). (OZ 35: 61; the text is reproduced in CHIN Seiho, 1: 47–48, and KOTAJIMA Yōsuke, 1: 52.)

官情清白藻思閑

Kanjō seihaku ni shite sōshi kan naran

Guānqíng qīngbái zǎosī xián

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

憐子辭家向越山

Awaremu shi no ie o ji-shite Etsuzan ni mukau o

Lián zǐ cí jiā xiàng Yuèshān

Sad to see a son leave home, bound for Etsuzan.

公事不妨飽風月

Kōji fūgetsu ni akan koto o samatagezaran

Gōngshì bùfáng bǎo fēngyuè

Public duty is no obstacle to fully enjoying ‘wind and moon’ — the pleasures of nature;

獻親金玉滿囊還

Shin ni ken-zuru no kingyoku nō ni mitashite-kaere

Xiàn qīn jīnyù mǎn náng huán

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

Here and below, rhyme-words are highlighted.

Satō and another of Ōgai's *sensei*, Yoda Gakkai 依田學海, receive considerable attention in Ōgai's longest *kanshi*.¹⁴ And Ōgai sent a Sino-Japanese poem to Matano Taku 股野琢, someone who, like himself, had been a student of Yoda (#220).

There is a wide range of dedicatory *kanshi* by Ōgai. He wrote Sino-Japanese poems to be included in books by Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 on Buddhist sculpture (#174), by Shibue Tamotsu 澁江保 on antiquarian matters (#202), by Hirama Sakitsu 平馬左橋 on emergency medicine (#205), by Imazeki Hisamaro 今關壽麿 on Chinese drama (#206), as well as in books by others (#215–18 and #227). Ōgai also wrote *kanshi* to be included in volumes of translated Western-language works (#146, #187, and #196), as well as on the German-language translation of his own work (#213, at the request of the Japanese who translated it), and upon having read specific books or writings (#193, #197, #230, and #232). Two *kanshi*, as well, were dedicatory pieces for magazines (#189 and #192).¹⁵

Several of Ōgai's *kanshi* deal with art, painting, and sculpture. Mention has already been made of poems dedicated to the art historian Ōmura Seigai (#174), to the painters Yamamoto Hōsui (#155) and Noguchi Chikako (#198), and to the statue of Ōshima Teikun 大島貞薰 (#165). Dedicatory poems were also written for a collection of paintings by Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (#204), as well as for a collection by Shimada Yūkichi 島田勇吉 that included work by the former (#207). For certain of the poems, neither the work in question nor the artist is known (#166, #172, #208, and #223). Moreover, a poem written about a picture album (no longer extant) of Shiragiya Drygoods Store 白木屋呉服店 is one of Ōgai's more interesting pieces because of its grumpy (well-nigh reactionary) ruminativeness (#226).

Ōgai wrote few *kanshi* to family members. Poems were sent to his younger brother, Mori Tokujirō 森篤次郎, (#038); to someone, "As If to a Wife" 擬寄内 ("Nai ni yosuru ni gisu," #157); and to someone presumed to be his father-in-law, Araki Hiroomi 荒木博臣 (#171, discussed in the Appendix). There are also scattered references to family members in other *kanshi*: to his father Mori

14 Lines 69–86 and 51–68, respectively, of the 124-line Poem #003; the two *sensei* are also treated jointly in lines 87–94.

15 At least one of the dedicatory poems was written too late for inclusion in the first edition of the work. Some were written for volumes that were either never completed or never published, and in one case for a periodical that never got off the ground. This is not to detract from the good-will involved and the social interaction illustrated.

Shizuo 森静男 (#062), to his parents Mori Shizuo and Mori Mineko 森峰子 (#045), to his first wife Akamatsu Toshiko 赤松登志子 (#194), and in all likelihood to his two younger brothers Mori Tokujirō and Mori Junzaburō 森潤三郎 (#080).

There is poetic interaction, of a kind, with the Taishō Emperor: poems written on imperial command (#173); on the ‘imperial rice-offering ceremony’ 大嘗祭 (*Daijōsai* or *Ninamesai*, #180 and #195); upon visiting Hayama 葉山, the emperor’s residence in Kanagawa Prefecture (#221); and in response to a request via a third party that he write a matching-rhyme poem (#179*).

Moreover, there is one ‘linked-verse’ (*renku*, *liánjù*) *kanshi* composition written jointly with Jinbo Tōjirō 神保濤次郎 (#159).

Finally, there are *kanshi* occasional poems, in the conventional sense of the term, to celebrate or record specific events: New Year’s Day, 1880 (#002); the handing down of an imperial decree announcing the establishment of a Diet (#005); the poet’s having been appointed Director of the Imperial Museum and Library (#219); and his impressions of Nara on a trip to the Shōsōin 正倉院 (#228–29). But only one of these (#002) involves any significant social interaction. (Many of Ōgai’s ‘travel poems’ would also fit in this category: occasional, but not social in the sense being used here.)

Note that a large number of the above (any of the poems numbered between #173 and #230) date from the period 1915–18, when the vast majority of Ōgai’s *kanshi* were dedicatory.¹⁶

16 From the preceding ten-year period, 1905–15, there is only one Sino-Japanese poem by Ōgai extant (#172). In his study of the Taishō Emperor’s *kanshi*, KOTAJIMA Yōsuke argues that it was the emperor’s request for a composition by Ōgai (resulting in Poem #173) that reactivated the latter’s interest in writing *kanshi*. He even goes so far as to ascribe Ōgai’s entire production over the later period to the poetic interaction he had with the emperor; when it stopped, his *kanshi* writing ceased (only two more being written over the last four years of Ōgai’s life); “Taishō Tennō to Mori Ōgai” 「大正天皇と森鷗外」 (The Taishō Emperor and Mori Ōgai), Section 2 of Chapter 3 of idem, *Taishō Tennō gyoseishi no kisoteki kenkyū* 『大正天皇御製詩の基礎的研究』 (Basic Research on the Imperial Poetry of the Taishō Emperor), Meitoku Shuppan Sha 明德出版社 2005: 229–37 (and 370–74); note also the same-titled article by the author in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei, Meiji-hen (Dai-2 kan)*, Geppō 『新日本古典文学大系, 明治編 (第2卷)』 月報 15 (March 2004): 1–4.

Although the emperor may have sparked Ōgai’s renewed interest in *kanshi* writing, to ascribe the entire 1915–18 efflorescence to his influence seems unwarranted. One might see such activity rather as a counterweight, or complement, to Ōgai’s withdrawal into the writing of *shiden* 史傳 historical biographies. His state of mind at the time is reflected in “Nakajikiri” 「なかじきり」 (Taking Stock) of 1917: “Perhaps the impetus from the natural sciences [...] made my [recent] work take the shape of dreary genealogies. [...] I write

One should also note that *all sixteen* of Ōgai's longer *kanshi* (i.e., those having more than eight lines) appear among the above-mentioned poems (including a pair of matching-rhyme ones in his debate with Imai Takeo 今井武夫, #141–42*).¹⁷

Matching-rhyme poetry, it must be stressed, represents *an added dimension* to the 'sociability' illustrated above, involving as it does direct poetic interaction between two or more persons or poetic personae. In formal terms, there are restrictions as to the poetic conventions followed and the rhyme-words used once an initial selection of a genre and rhyme-category has been made. These restrictions weigh all the more heavily when having to fit one's composition to an earlier selection. The difficulty involved, the need to display competence

factual prose, composing biographies of past figures for newspapers and also stele inscriptions [*hibun* 碑文, or epitaphs] as requested. [...] I write the stele inscriptions in *kanbun* because there is as yet no other accepted style." 其體裁をして荒涼なるジエネアロジツクの方向を取らしめたのは [...] 自然科学の餘勢でもあらうか。[...] わたくしは紋貫の文を作る。新聞紙のために古人の傳記を草するの人も人の請ふがまゝに碑文を作る [...] 碑文に漢文體を用ゐるのも、亦形式未成の故である。OZ 26: 543–45; tr. Richard John BOWRING: *Mori Ōgai and the Modernization of Japanese Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979: 246 (modified).

Dedicatory poems, especially those written in response to a request, were culturally similar to epitaphs: both were customarily written in *kanbun*, and both, like matching-rhyme and other poems of 'sociability,' served as valuable tokens of societal interaction. Stele inscriptions in *kanbun* are found in OZ 38: 257, 294, 305, 309, 310, and 311–12, as are closely-related *kanbun* 'grave-marker inscriptions' 墓表 (*bohyō*) in OZ 38: 301, 302, 310, and 312–13.

The later falling off of Ōgai's *kanshi*-writing activity — even though one of his two poems over the last period was a matching-rhyme one (#231) and the other dedicatory (#232) — can be ascribed mostly to other reasons: specifically, to his being ill (with "prolonged periods off work in December 1918 and January and February 1920"; BOWRING: 249), and the consequent wish to complete other of his own works.

17 Photos (including group photos and in one case a sketch) of many of the people named in this introduction are found in HASEGAWA Izumi 長谷川泉: *Ōgai "Wita sekusuarisu" kō* 『鷗外「キタ・セクスアリス」考』 (Ōgai: An Investigation into "Vita sexualis"), *Hasegawa Izumi chosaku sen* 長谷川泉著作選 (Collected Works of Hasegawa Izumi), vol. 3, Meiji Shoin 明治書院 1991; namely, the following:

Family members: father (Shizuo 134, 136, 138), mother (Mineko 138), younger brother (Tokujirō, 383), first wife (Toshiko 70, 368), second wife (Shige 18).

Sensei: Satō Genchō (277), Yoda Gakkai (35, 336).

Friends: Kako Tsurudo (25), Ishiguro Tadanori (243, 247, 312, 447), Miura Moriharu (19, 306, 378), Nakamura Fusetsu (36).

in affirmation of group and class membership, and the potential for embarrassment on occasions when poems were composed at the same time in a social setting, made matching-rhyme poetry challenging if not daunting. Feelings of competition and pride must have been at play. Yet in fact, there is often considerable wit, intelligence, and good-natured sociability in evidence — and in Ōgai's case, humor as well as irony.

In terms of theme, diction, and allusion, there is implicit play between an 'original' and a matching-rhyme response. Regarding each, the later poem can highlight, amplify, endorse, modify, and / or contrast with the earlier composition.

Much matching-rhyme exchange, especially between friends, is comparatively egalitarian (notwithstanding the frequent use of nominally deferential verbs in poem-titles). But there can be a hierarchical dimension, as well: obviously, between a poet and someone senior (such as a *sensei*); more subtly, between a poet and a *kanshi* mentor-critic who edits the first's writings (even if the latter is younger);¹⁸ and between a writer and dedicatee on more formal occasions (in the level of praise accorded, the directness or indirectness of its expression, and the choice of diction and allusions used).

Like all *kanbun* writing, the implied audience for matching-rhyme poetry was of a particular social stratum, an educated elite trained in the study of classical Chinese and in the writing of Sino-Japanese, a stratum having "a sense of corporate legitimacy based in great part on shared, exclusive knowledge of the past."¹⁹ All involved — writers of *kanshi*, participants in gatherings where they were written, and later readers — formed a community. On a local level, they might read and comment on each other's work and exchange matching-rhyme poems. But with the proliferation of *kanshi* periodicals in the Meiji — and widespread publication of diaries, poetry collections, and other works often containing writings in Sino-Japanese — a national-level readership emerged that could read, write, and exchange such material. Schooled in continental classics, trained in a world of *kanji*, this educational elite was conscious of being part of a world that transcended national borders. Ritually, when participating in *kanshi* production or appreciation, they were 'enacting' a shared East Asian cultural realm.²⁰

18 As is the case with Ōgai's editor-advisers, Yokogawa Tokurō 横川徳郎 and Katsura Koson 桂湖村, who are treated in this study, both of whom were younger than Ōgai.

19 David LATTIMORE: "Allusion and T'ang Poetry," *Perspectives on the T'ang*, ed. Arthur F. WRIGHT and Denis TWITCHETT, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press 1973: 411.

The aim²⁰ of this study is to restore the social context of Ōgai's matching-rhyme poetry, in part by viewing it from a different perspective. Usually the 'originals' that prompted matching-rhyme poems, when published at all, are placed *behind* the matching verse of the responding writer, as a kind of add-on, especially when the matching-rhyme poet is famous. Not only is the order of composition reversed, also much of any sense of "what in the 'original' prompted what in the 'response'" is lost. It is surprising how much of a difference it makes simply to place the 'originals' first, then to treat the response.

The idea is to recover the *dynamic* that was operative, to regain some sense of the stimulus-and-response (*kanyō* 感應, gǎnyìng) aesthetic-cum-mode-of-viewing-the-world so central to East Asian thought that such exchange embodied — where there are thought to be correlations between entities in the universe that respond to, resonate with, and affect one another as part of a cosmic whole.²¹ Instead of approaching a single, fixed poem, one confronts (and must make sense of) the interaction between two poems, two personae. The event is less static, more dynamic. Notwithstanding the fleeting temporality of the authorial interaction, and the 'occasional' nature of most of the exchanges, the poems refract something of the poets' world, which sometimes resonates with our own.

The use of the same rhyme-words in the same order in different poems can underscore a sense of unity in diversity — a sense that in the face of change, great or small, some underlying pattern remains immutable.²² This, of course, is a view central to the *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Change), wherein 'change' is the only constant, but the principle behind it, the *Dao* 道 (or Way), is unchanging.

20 John Timothy WIXTED: "The *Kanshi* of Mori Ōgai: Allusion and Diction," JH 14 (2011): 89–107, especially 106–7.

21 For cosmic harmonies, see Kenneth J. DEWOSKIN: *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China*, Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan 1982; and for correlative thinking, see John B. HENDERSON: *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, New York: Columbia University Press 1984.

22 Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) wrote a famous pair of poems using the same rhyme-words. The first, written while he was in prison under investigation for treason, expresses resignation at the thought of death. And the second, written when he was unexpectedly released, expresses joy. "In this case the use of the same rhyme words for poems in two such drastically different moods may also be regarded as an expression of the poet's philosophy that certain aspects of life are destined to fluctuate while others remain unchanged"; YOSHIKAWA Kōjirō [吉川幸次郎]: *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*, tr. Burton WATSON, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1967: 41.

The permutations of the sixty-four hexagrams in the *Yijing* are taken to account for the world and universe, forming and reforming in diverse configurations to produce all things; and every stage of the process is always implicitly present, the cosmos being an organic whole.²³

Matching-rhyme poetry became prominent in famous exchanges between Tang poets in China. But there are earlier instances of the practice, for example the following exchange of poems that appears in the *Luoyang jialan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang) by YANG Xuanzhi 楊銜之 (d. 555?). The first poem was presented to Wang Su 王肅 (463–501) by his ex-wife, whom he had deserted and who had become a nun; she has learned that he has re-married, this time with a princess:²⁴

本爲箔上蠶
Hitherto a silkworm on a bamboo stand,
今作機上絲
Now silk in the loom.
得絡逐勝去
Attached to the spinning wheel and following the spindle,
頗憶纏綿時
'Don't you recall the days of intimate relationship (between the silk and worm)?'

The princess herself wrote a poem in reply, supposedly on Wang Su's behalf:

針是貫線物
The needle lets the thread pass through,
目中恒任絲
In its eye it always takes in the silk.
得帛縫新去
Now sewing a new piece of fabric,
何能納故時
How can it accept (the thread) of the past?²⁵

23 John Timothy WIXTED: "Perceived Patterns in Premodern China," *Life Configurations*, ed. Gert MELVILLE and Carlos RUTA, Berlin: De Gruyter 2014.

24 All Chinese romanization, regardless of what system was initially used in the material being quoted, is given here in *pinyin*. (Names of authors and book titles remain unchanged.)

25 The poems are as rendered by WANG Yi-t'ung, tr.: 'A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang' by Yang Hsüan-chih, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1984: 140. Cf. W.J.F.

In the second poem, the same two rhyme-words are used in the same order as in the ‘original’ poem.

The practice of matching the rhymes in another poet’s work first became prominent in the Tang, with famous exchanges between Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831) and Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846),²⁶ and between Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (ca. 834–883) and Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (d. 881). “During the Song it became very popular for men, as an expression of friendship, to ‘follow the rhymes’ of each other’s poems [...]. Wang Anshi [王安石, 1021–86], struck with admiration for a poem on snow by his political rival Su Dongpo [i.e., Su Shi], wrote his own poems to the same rhymes, employing the same rhymes again and again until he had written as many as six poems on Su’s original set of rhymes.”²⁷

JENNER, tr.: *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493–534)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1981: 214; Jenner’s translations, first of the poem by the ex-wife: “Once I was a silkworm on a tray, / Now, a thread stretched upon the loom, / I follow the reed, remembering / The time we were entangled”; then of the princess’s reply on Wang Su’s behalf: “The needle must always be threaded with yarn; / In its eye must ever be silk. / When it has thread it sews a new seam: / It can never patch up the past.”

Two additional pre-Tang examples are noted by KONDŌ Haruo 近藤春雄: “Wain” 「和韻」 (Matching Rhymes), *Chūgoku gakugei daijiten* 『中国学芸大事典』 (A Comprehensive Dictionary of Chinese Literary Culture), Taishū Kan Shoten 大修館書店 1978: 867.

26 As explained by Arthur WALEY: “Yuan Zhen sent Bo Juyi a series of [twenty-three] poems, challenging him to ‘answer’ them, that is to say, to write poems in the same vein, using the same rhymes. [Bo] accepted this challenge, in most cases using Yuan Zhen’s rhymes in the same order, but not necessarily sticking to the same subjects [...]. ‘Your intention in sending these poems was clearly to get me into a tight corner and show once and for all which of us is master.’ Bo complains that Yuan Zhen has purposely chosen difficult rhymes and out-of-the-way topics in order to baffle him, but ‘a strong opponent puts the player on his mettle and desperation is often a happy counsellor’”; *The Life and Times of Po Chū-i, 772–846 A.D.*, London: George Allen & Unwin 1949: 172–73. Unfortunately, Yuan Zhen’s ‘original’ poems are not extant.

27 YOSHIKAWA Kōjirō: *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*: 41. Two sets of matching-rhyme poems are translated in the Yoshikawa book: one (40), with an ‘original’ by Su Shi and matching poem by his younger brother Su Che 蘇轍 (1039–1112); the other (121–22), with an ‘original’ by Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–427) and a matching poem, written centuries later, by Su Shi. One might note, in reference to the use of a much earlier poem as a model to follow, the apt comment of Robert TUCK: “[A]ny given poem was never a closed, completed text, but always stood as an invitation to other poets to respond and create a new chain of socio-poetic dialogue, even though a century or a millennium might have passed since the original poem was written”; *The Poetry of Dialogue*: 8 (also 101).

Three sets of poems by different authors, all matching the rhymes of Tao Qian, are also noted in YOSHIKAWA Kōjirō: *Five Hundred Years of Chinese Poetry, 1150–1650: The Chin*,

Also during the Song, the practice of matching poems was severely criticized by YAN Yu 嚴羽 (ca. 1180–ca. 1235), with the following remarks in the *Canglang shihua* (Causeries on Poetry by Canglang [his pen name, meaning ‘Translucent Waters’]):

和韻最害人詩。古人酬唱不次韻、此風始盛於元[稹]白[居易]、皮[日休]陸[龜蒙]、本朝諸賢、乃以此而鬪工、遂至往復有八九和諸。(滄浪詩話, 詩評)

Der ‘Korrespondierende Reim’ [*héyùn*] schadet dem Gedicht des andern aufs äußerste. Die Alten wiederholten in ihren Antwortgedichten den Reim nicht. Dieser Brauch begann erst bei Yuan [Zhen] und Bo [Juyi], bei Pi [Rixiu] und Lu [Guimeng] sich zu entfalten. Unter unserer eigenen Dynastie wetteifern alle, die auf sich halten, mit Hilfe dieses (Stiles) an Kunstfertigkeit. In der Folge kam es so weit, daß es bei dem Hin und Her (des Gedichtaustausches) eine acht- oder neunmalige ‘Korrespondenz’ gab.²⁸

Canglang’s remarks became the touchstone for later criticism of matching-rhyme poetry. For example, the critic WANG Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711) wrote:

予平生爲詩、不喜次韻、不喜集句、不喜數疊前韻。(香祖筆記)

My view has always been: when writing poetry, I do not like matching-rhyme poems, I do not like poems where one uses earlier poets’ lines to fashion poems of one’s own,²⁹ nor do I like several ‘redoublings’ — ripostes back and forth — using the same initial set of rhymes.

Yuan, and Ming Dynasties, tr. John Timothy Wixted, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1989: 25, 47, and 73.

28 Günther DEBON, tr.: *Ts’ang-lang’s Gespräche über die Dichtung: Ein Beitrag zur chinesischen Poetik*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1962: 92. Yan Yu’s contemporary, Wang Ruoxu 王若虛 (1174–1243), also voiced criticism of the practice in *Hunan shihua* 滄南詩話 (Causeries on Poetry by Hunan [the place name he used as his nom de plume] 2). Note the latter’s citation of ZHENG Hou 鄭厚 (1100–61): 近世唱和、皆次其韻、不復有真詩矣。 “Wenn man heutzutage eine Korrespondenz anstimmt, so wiederholt man immer die betreffenden Reime: Daher gibt es keine wahren Gedichte mehr” (tr. DEBON 189).

29 With this practice, “invented in Song times and called *jiju* [集句], or ‘line collecting,’ isolated lines were taken from poems of the past, particularly those of the Tang, and were put together to form a new poem. The statesman Wang Anshi is said to have been the inventor of the practice [...]”; YOSHIKAWA Kōjirō, *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*: 41. Reference is also made to the custom in the author’s *Five Hundred Years of Chinese Poetry*: 56–57.

This was a sentiment that YUAN Mei 袁枚 (1716–98) echoed:

余作詩、雅不喜疊韻、和韻及用古人韻。以爲詩寫性情、惟吾所適。(袁枚，隨園詩話 8)

When I compose poetry, I never like to ‘double’ others’ rhymes, to follow their rhyme patterns, or to follow the rhymes of ancient poets, since I believe that poetry describes one’s nature and feelings, and should only contain what fits oneself.³⁰

Notwithstanding these strictures, the matching of earlier rhymes in Chinese poetry — and in particular, Sino-Japanese verse — has been popular until the present day.

The earliest example of *jiin* poetry in Japan is found in the *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (A Florilegium of Cherished Styles), where Poem #83 (“和藤原大政遊吉野川之作”) is identified as “in fact using earlier rhymes” “仍用前韻,” namely, those of Poem #32 (“遊吉野”) in the same collection. But since the rhyme-words in the extant versions of the two poems do not match, the assumption has been that the earlier model is missing. But if one thinks (anachronistically) in terms of rhyme-categories, seven of the eight rhyme-words in the two poems (仁, 鱗, 煙, and 塵 in #83; 新, 賓, 逡, and 仁 in #32) are of the same category: 平聲上十一(真)韻.³¹ This fits with the *iin* 依韻 type of matching poem in the framework provided much later in the *Wenti mingbian* (cited below). What has drawn the attention of scholars is the fact that this pair in the *Kaifūsō* predates the famous matching-poem exchanges in the Tang between Yuan Zhen and Bo Juyi.

Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) wrote matching-rhyme poems. Many matching-rhyme poems were included in premodern anthologies of *kanshi*.³² *Jiin* poetry was popular among Gozan poets of the fourteenth and

30 Tr. by J.D. SCHMIDT: *Harmony Garden: The Life, Literary Criticism, and Poetry of Yuan Mei (1716–1798)*, London: RoutledgeCurzon 2003: 221 (modified).

31 Helpful lists of rhyme-categories, together with the Chinese characters included in each grouping, can be found, *inter alia*, in the following: (1) KONDO Haruo 近藤春雄: *Nihon kanbungaku daijiten* 『日本漢文学大事典』 (A Comprehensive Dictionary for the Study of Chinese and Sino-Japanese in Japan), Meiji Shoin 明治書院 1985: 827–34; (2) DANG Xue-qian 党学谦, *Shici tongyun* 『诗词同韵』 (Rhyming in *Shi* and *Ci* Poetry), Beijing: Zhongguo Shuji Chubanshe 中国书籍出版社 2008; and (3) online at: <http://home.educities.edu.tw/bise/big5/tools/voice.htm>.

32 Several are included in Judith N. RABINOVITCH and Timothy R. BRADSTOCK: *Dance of the*

fifteenth centuries.³³ And there are many compositions dating from Edo times. In the modern period, KOJIMA Kazuo, the editor-in-chief of *Nippon*, the major *kanshi* organ referred to earlier, is quoted as saying in his recollections of Japan at the turn of the twentieth century: “[O]ne who claimed to be a poet but who could not respond in harmony to other poets’ work was not truly a poet (苟しくも詩人にしてこれに和せざれば詩人にあらず).”³⁴

Notwithstanding the preceding, three things are surprising about the way that *jiin* poetry has been treated in Japan, certainly over the last century. First, how little represented *jiin* poetry is in modern anthologies of *kanshi*. Second, that information about *jiin* ‘originals’ is given little importance, as it is seldom supplied, and ‘originals’ are but rarely reproduced. Third, that many *jiin* ‘originals’ have not been preserved, those for several Ōgai matching-rhyme poems offering a case in point, as noted in the Appendix below.³⁵

Jiin 次韻 poems are just one category of poetry classified under the rubric *wain* 和韻 (“harmonizing with the rhymes [of another composition]”). The

Butterflies: Chinese Poetry from the Japanese Court Tradition, Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University 2005.

- 33 ASAKURA Hitoshi 朝倉和: “‘Wain’ kara mita Zekkai, Gidō” 「和韻」から見た絶海・義堂」 (Zekkai [Chūshin] and Gidō [Shūshin] Viewed in Terms of ‘Matching Rhymes’), *Kodai chūsei kokubungaku* 『古代中世国文学』 20 (Jan. 2004): 50–55.
- 34 Tr. and transcription by Robert TUCK: *The Poetry of Dialogue* (103), citing KOJIMA Kazuo 古島一雄: “Kokubu Seigai no koto” 「國分青厓のこと」 (In Reference to Kokubu Seigai), *Gayū* 『雅友』 (A Refined Friend) 1 (May 1950): 13. Note also the Japanese views critical of *jiin* by Ōmachi Keigetsu 大町桂月 and Narushima Ryūhoku that he also cites (106 and 109). In successive chapters of his dissertation, Tuck focuses on the transnationality of *kanshi*, including matching-rhyme exchange, between Chinese and Japanese; on matching-rhyme sequences between Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 and his friends, as well as between Kokubu Seigai and Mori Kainan 森槐南; on the rise of ‘new haiku’ from 1892 on; and on the ‘new haiku’ by Masaoka Shiki and others.
- 35 A review of more than half a dozen modern *kanshi* anthologies — taking into account the total number of poem titles in each anthology, the number of matching-rhyme poems included, the number of matching-rhyme poems for which information about the ‘original’ is given, and the number of ‘originals’ that are reproduced — reveals the following: Very few matching-rhyme poems are included in anthologies of the past century. Even less information is given about the ‘originals,’ to say nothing of reproducing them. Together with the fact that many ‘originals’ are not extant, this would suggest that there has been little awareness of or emphasis on preserving or highlighting the organic relationship between ‘original’ and matching poem. It is no surprise, then, that there appears to be little scholarship on the practice.

sixteenth century scholar, XU Shizeng 徐師曾 (1517–80), defines *wain* practice as follows (terms are given their Japanese readings):

和韻詩: 按和韻詩有三體。

一曰依韻、謂同在一韻中而不必用其字也。

二曰次韻、謂和其原韻而先後次第皆因之也。

三曰用韻、謂用其韻而先後不必次也。³⁶

There are three types of poetry termed *wain* 和韻 (“harmonizing with the rhymes [of another composition]”).

First, there is poetry that is called *iin* 依韻 (“relying on the [same] rhyme[-category]”). Poems of this type are of the same rhyme-category as an earlier poem, but do not necessarily use the same rhymed characters.

Second, there is poetry that is called *jiin* 次韻 (“following the [same] rhyme[-words and their order]”). Poems of this type use the original rhyme-words in the same order as in an earlier poem.

Third, there is poetry that is called *yōin* 用韻 (“employing the [same] rhyme[-words, but in no particular order]”). Poems of this type use the same rhyme-words, but not necessarily in the same order, as an earlier poem.”

There is some flexibility in the application of these terms. Ōgai, for example, appears to use *jiin* and *wain* interchangeably. Also, since the rhyme-words that he uses in Poem #182* differ from those in the ‘originals’ but are of the same rhyme-category, according to the above classification they would be *iin* 依韻 poems; yet he uses *jiin* 次韻 in the title. And for #142*, he uses *yōin* 用...韻 in the title for what, in strict terms, would be *jiin*.

‘Original’ poems, together with poetic responses by Mori Ōgai, are extant for the following:³⁷

Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Ishiguro Tadanori (Kyōsai) 石黒忠憲
(況齋), 1845–1941: #135, #136, #178

36 “Heyunshi” 「和韻詩」 (Matching-Rhyme Poetry), *Wenti mingbian* 『文體明辯』 (Literary Forms Clearly Differentiated) (rpt. of the *Wakokubon Buntai meiben* ed. [with *kaeriten*]; Seoul: Osōngsa 許晟社 1984), 4 vols., 2: 50–51 (卷16, 40-b-41a). [Korean title: *Munch'e myōngbyōn*].

37 See n. 1 above. (And in accord with the final sentence of n. 6, all poem numbers in this section are taken to have an implied asterisk.)

- Matching-Rhyme Exchange over an Unsigned Newspaper Critique in *Nippon of Shintaishi shō* 新體詩抄 (Collection of New-Style Poetry): #140
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange: Ōgai Matching Ōgai (as part of a debate with Imai Takeo 今井武夫, fl. 1889): #142
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Ichimura Sanjirō (Kidō) 市村瓊次郎 (器堂), 1864–1947: #145
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Hayakawa Kyōjirō (Kyōnan) 早川恭次郎 (峽南), fl. 1894: #154, #158, #161
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Noguchi Neisai 野口寧齋, 1867–1905: #160
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Jinbo Tōjirō 神保濤次郎, 1861–1904: #163–64
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Su Shoushan 宿壽山, fl. 1905: #168–70
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with the Taishō Emperor 大正天皇, 1879–1926, reg. 1912–26: #179
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Araki Torasaburō (Hōkō) 荒木寅三郎 (鳳岡), 1866–1942: #181–82
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Yokogawa Tokurō (Tōyō) 横川憲郎 (唐陽), 1868–1929: #210 (treated below)
- Matching-Rhyme Exchange with Yu Shufen (Yusun) 俞樹蓁 (榆蓁), fl. 1917: #212

To illustrate the dynamic that is operative in matching-rhyme poetry, the exchange between Mori Ōgai and Yokogawa Tokurō will be presented below.³⁸

38 Poem translations follow the format outlined in John Timothy WIXTED: “Kanshi in Translation: How Its Features Can Be Effectively Communicated,” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 21 (2014); available online: <http://china-japan.org/articles/index.php/sjs>. The article stresses the importance of supplying the following: (1) the text in *kanji*, (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.

Two poems by Yokogawa dedicated to Ōgai are included in KANDA Kiichirō 神田喜一郎, ed.: *Meiji kanshibun shū* 『明治漢詩文集』 (An Anthology of Meiji Sino-Japanese Poetry and Prose), Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房 1983: 200. Note the treatment of them (including two versions of the first poem) in “Yokogawa Tōyō 横川唐陽,” Sect. 5 of Ch. 4, FUJIKAWA Masakazu 藤川正数: *Mori Ōgai to kanshi* 『森鷗外と漢詩』 (Mori Ōgai and Sino-Japanese

Yokogawa Tokurō is best known for being Ōgai's *kanshi* editor / adviser. In his diaries, Ōgai often refers to having asked Yokogawa to look over drafts of his poems, most of those from #171 (of 1895) through #198 (of 1916). Like Ōgai, Yokogawa was an army physician and *kanshi* writer. In spite of Yokogawa being six years his junior and posted under him over part of the period, Ōgai seems to have treated him with deference, at least regarding *kanshi* writing. For whatever reason, the latter was not asked to comment on the thirty or so *kanshi* Ōgai wrote over the last years of his life.

In the following exchange, Yokogawa congratulates Ōgai on his prolific record of publication, including the ongoing *Izawa Ranken*; on the awards he has recently received, notably the Order of the Rising Sun; and most of all, for his having brought to light great Confucian worthies of the past who would otherwise have remained in obscurity.

#210 Orig.
A Poem by Yokogawa Tokurō

贈鷗外總監

“Dedicated to Director General Ōgai”

“Ōgai sōkan ni okuru” “Zèng Ōuwài zǒngjiān”

7-character regulated verse 律詩 (*ritsushi*, *lǜshī*) (8 lines).

Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

Written between July 22, 1916, and January 9, 1917

Yokogawa Tokurō's appended note to the poem reads as follows (reference to Ōgai being in the third person): 總監前傳澀江抽齋、今及伊澤蘭軒。“The Director General earlier transmitted to the world Shibue Chūsai; he has now extended his treatment to Izawa Ranken.”

往哲顏應破九原

GEN / yuán

Past philosophers' / faces should be // breaking through the nine springs

Ōtetsu kao masa ni kyūgen ni yaburubeku

Wǎngzhé yán yīng pò jiǔyuán

Poetry), Yūsei Dō 有精堂 1991: 218–37. Additionally, there are *kundoku* renderings of the two in CHIN Seiho (2: 411).

簪纓卸後筆逾尊

SON / zūn

Cap clasp and tassels / once stripped off // your pen ever more worthy
of respect

Shin'ei oroshite nochi fude iyoiyo tattoshi

Zānyīng xiè hòu bǐ yú zūn

Past worthies' faces must be 'breaking through the Nine Springs' — smiling
from the grave — because of the books you have written about them;

- 2 Now that you have retired from office — 'cap clasp and tassels shed' —
your pen ever more commands respect.

便看鐵硯磨成海

One sees: / your iron inkstone // has ground [ink] forming an ocean
Sunawachi tekken no ma-shite umi to naru o mi

Biàn kàn tiěyàn mó chéng hǎi

還有恩波流到門

MON / mén

Also present: / the wave of [imperial] favor / has come flowing to
your door

Mata onpa no nagarete mon ni itaru ari

Hái yǒu ēnbō liú dào mén

One sees how productive you have been, your iron inkstone grinding an
ocean of ink;

- 4 And also, a wave of imperial favor has come flowing to your door.

大綬一章舉旭日

The great sash / and single medal // hoisting the Rising Sun

Taiju isshō kyokujitsu o kakage

Dàshòu yìzhāng jǔ xùrì

遺芳滿幅寫蘭軒

KEN / xuān

A lingering fragrance / filling the scrolls // you are penning *Ranken*

Ihō manpuku 'Ranken' o sha-su

Yífāng mǎnfú xiě Lánxuān

With medal and great sash, you hoist aloft the (Order of the) Rising Sun
— not unlike hoisting the flag;

- 6 And you are writing *Izawa Ranken*, the lingering fragrance of whose
name fills the scrolls.

闡幽深感儒林傳

Bringing obscurities to light / is deeply moving // biographies from
the forest of Confucians

Senyū fukaku kan-zu jurin no den

Chǎnyōu shēn gǎn rúlín zhuàn

此道寸心千古存

SON / cún

 This Way / with ‘an inch of heart’ // for a thousand pasts will survive
Kono michi sunshin senko ni son-su

Cǐ dào cùn xīn chīān’gǔ cún

What you have brought to light from obscurity is deeply moving, biographies from a forest of Confucians;

- 8 With a modest but sincere heart, ‘This Way’ will last forever — as the subjects of your studies exemplify, thanks to you, and you as well.

Line 2: ‘Cap clasp and tassels’ is very similar, in concrete specification and metonymic signification, to ‘cap clasp and tablet cord’ 簪紱 (*shinfutsu*, *zānfú*) in Poems #178 and #214. The latter pair were used by high officials in China in audiences with the emperor: the one affixed the ceremonial cap to the hair; the other was 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; QTS (*Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩) 125 (1249): 王維, 韋侍郎山居: “良游盛簪紱, 繼跡多夔龍。” “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.). Note also the Bo Juyi example: QTS 433 (4789): 白居易, 別李十一後重寄: “非關慕簪紱。” “I do not concern myself with coveting cap clasp and tablet cord” (JTW tr.).

Line 3: ‘Iron inkstone’ has the association of single-minded devotion to scholarly study; cf. *Xin Wudai shi* 29 (319): 新五代史, 晉臣傳, 桑維翰: “維翰慨然, 乃著「日出扶桑賦」以見志。又鑄鐵硯以示人曰: ‘硯弊則改而佗仕。’卒以進士及第。” “A pugnacious Sang [Weihan] demonstrated his determination [to pass the examinations] by composing an ‘Ode to the Rising Sun Buttressed by the Mulberry.’ He also had a cast-iron ink slab that he showed to a friend, commenting, ‘Only when this ink slab corrodes will I change my ways.’ Such resolve ultimately yielded success at the doctoral examination” (Richard L. Davis tr.).

Line 5: ‘The Order of the Rising Sun’ was bestowed on Ōgai on July 22, 1916.

Line 6: *Izawa Ranken* appeared serially between June 1916 and September 1917, so it was in progress at the time of this poem.

Line 7: ‘Bringing obscurities to light’: cf. *Yijing* 易經, 繫辭下: “夫易彰往而察來, 而微顯闡幽。” “The *Yi[jing]* exhibits the past, and (teaches us to) discriminate (the issues of) the future; it makes manifest what is minute, and brings to light what is obscure” (James Legge tr.).

Line 8: A modest but sincere ‘inch of heart’ can encompass the universe: cf. Lu Ji (261–303), 陸機, 文賦: “函綿邈於尺素, 吐滂沛乎寸心。” “We enclose boundless space in a square foot of paper; / we pour out a deluge from the inch-space of a heart” (Achilles Fang tr.). Note also Du Fu (712–770), QTS 230 (2509): 杜甫, 偶題: “文章千古事, 得失守心知。” “True literature lasts a thousand ages: / An inch of

consciousness [‘unser kleines Herz,’ per Erwin von Zach] can measure its truth” (William Hung tr.).

Line 8: ‘This Way’: see the discussion below, following Ōgai’s matched-rhyme response.

#210 M.O.
Matching the Rhymes of a Poem
by Yokogawa Tokurō

次唐陽見貽韻

“Written to Match the Rhymes of What I Was Presented by Tōyō [i.e., Yokogawa Tokurō]”

“*Tōyō no okurareshi in o ji-su*” “Cì Tángyáng jiànyí yùn”

7-character regulated verse 律詩 (*ritsushi*, *lùshī*) (8 lines).

Rhyme category: 平聲上十三(元)韻.

From ca. January 9, 1917 on

In an explanatory note, Ōgai contextualizes his response:

予近隱居糕阪、耽讀古書。間及素問靈樞、皆假託于黃帝者。阪與東台相對。寬政中、吉田篁墩葬台腹大雄寺。今失墓石。

Recently I retired, hermit-like, to Dango Zaka – ‘Cake Hill’ [糕阪 *Dango Zaka*, a pun on the place name 團子坂, ‘Dumpling Hill’] – and immersed myself in books. My reading has extended at times to the *Suwen* (Unadorned Questions) and *Lingshu* (Numinous Pivot) [sections of the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, *The Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Medicine*], both of which are attributed to the Yellow Emperor. The hill I am on faces East Terrace (i.e., Ueno). In the Kansei reign-period (1789–1801), Yoshida Kōton was buried in Daiōji on the hillside. The gravestone is now missing.

Yoshida Kōton 吉田篁墩 (1745–98) was a medical doctor who devoted himself to the study of Confucian texts. An early advocate of *kaozheng* studies 考証學 in Japan (*kōshōgaku*, the Qing-period empirical school of evidential scholarship), he authored three works of the type.³⁹

³⁹ In Chapter 13 of *Shibue Chūsai* 澀江抽齋, Ōgai describes the *kōshōgaku* school of scholarship as follows, tying it to Yoshida Kōton:

九流聞説本同原 GEN / yuán

Nine streams / one hears tell // are basically the same spring

Kyūryū kikunaraku moto dōgen to

Jiǔliú wénshuō běn tóngyuán

推古應知此道尊 SON / zūn

Examining the past / one ought to know // ‘This Way’ is to be given respect

Inishie o hakareba masa ni shiru beshi kono michi no tattoki o

Quègǔ yīng jr cǐ dào zūn

The nine streams, I understand, are at root the same spring;

- 2 Scrutinizing the past, one should know, ‘This Way’ – our traditional culture – is worthy of respect.

攤卷平宵頻剪燭

Spreading out bookrolls / half the night // frequently trimming the candle

Kan o hiraite hanshō shikiri ni shoku o kiri

Tānjuàn bànxiāo pín jiǎnzhú

罷官三月不開門 MON / mén

Having quit office / for three months // not opening the gate

Kan o yamete sangetsu mon o hirakazu

Bàguān sānyuè bù kāimén

Volumes spread out for half the night, frequently trimming the candle,

- 4 In the several months since leaving office, I have not opened my gate to the outside world.

文章誰與窮洙泗

Belles lettres / with whom // might I plumb [those of the] Zhu-Si [area]?

Bunshō tare to tomo ni ka Shu-Shi o kiwamen

Wénzhāng shéi yǔ qióng Zhū-Sì

考證學 [...] 即ち經籍の古版本、古抄本を搜り討めて、そのテキストを閲し、比較考勘する學派、クリチツクをする學派である。此學は源を水戸の吉田篁墩に發し、板齋が其後を承けて發展させた。篁墩は抽齋の生れる七年前に歿してゐる。OZ 16: 285.

Kōshōgaku [...] “[c]’était une école qui recherchait les éditions et les copies anciennes des classiques chinois et qui étudiait attentivement ces textes selon une méthode comparative: c’était une école de critique philologique [*kurichikku*]. Elle avait été fondée par Yoshida Kōton de Mito, auquel avait succédé Ekisai [1775–1835] qui avait poursuivi son développement. Kōton était mort sept ans avant la naissance de Chūsai”; tr. Emmanuel LOZERAND: “De l’individu: Le prisme de la biographie,” *Cipango: Cahiers d’études japonaises* 3 (Nov. 1994): 76.

典籍唯傳託帝軒

KEN / xuān

Classic writings / simply transmitted // ascribed to the [Yellow] Emperor

Tenseki tada tsutauru ni teiken ni taku-su

Diǎnjiè wéi chuán tuō dìxuān

As for belles lettres, with whom can I plumb Zhu-Si texts? – those associated with Confucius (referred to by the names of two rivers in the region he taught);

- 6 Some classic writings have simply been handed down, attributed to the Yellow Emperor.

悵望東台山腹寺

Mournfully I gaze afar at / East Terrace // hillside shrine

Chōbō su Tōdai sanpuku no tera

Chàngwàng Dōngtái shānfù sì

前賢無復斷碑存

SON / cún

Of [that] earlier worthy / not at all // does a fragmented gravestone survive

Zenken mata danbi no son-suru nashi

Qiánxián wú fù duàn**bēi** cún

Mournfully, I gaze afar at ‘East Terrace’ hillside shrine in Ueno – Daiō Ji 大雄寺 –

- 8 Where not even a fragment of the gravestone of that former worthy – Yoshida Kōton 吉田篁墩 – remains.

Line 1: ‘Nine streams’ refers to the nine schools of early Chinese thought (九家) identified in *Hanshu* 30 (1746): 漢書, 藝文志. The passage goes on to point out how mutually implicated they are: “其言雖殊、辟猶水火、相滅相生也。” “Their words may differ, but they are like fire and water; they not only extinguish each other, they also generate each other” (JTW tr.).

Line 2: ‘This Way’: see below.

Line 3: ‘Volumes spread out’: cf. Du Fu, QTS 231 (2535): 杜甫, 又示宗武: “覓句新知律、攤書解滿床。” “I see you are composing the lines to fit the prosody you have just learned; / You have opened the books and spread them over the bed” (William Hung, tr.)

Line 3: ‘Trimming the candle’: cf. Li Shangyin (812–58), QTS 539 (6151): 李商隱, 夜雨寄北: “何當共翦西窗燭。” “O when shall we together trim the candle by the west window?” (James J.Y. Liu tr.).

Line 4: ‘Three months’: Ōgai had retired on April 13, 1916, more than eight months earlier; hence, ‘three’ (used here for tonal purposes) in the context means ‘several.’

Line 5: ‘Zhu and Si’: cf. Tao Qian, 陶潛, 飲酒詩 20: “洙泗輟微響。” “At the Zhu and Si, there halted the faint echo (of Confucius’ teachings)” (JTW tr.).

Line 7: ‘Regretfully gaze’: cf. Wang Wei, QTS 126 (1266): 王維, 寄荊州張丞相: “所思竟何在、悵望深荊門。” “What, ultimately, does one think about, / Gazing mournfully at the gate deep in brambles?” (JTW tr.).

Line 8: ‘Gravestone fragment’: cf. Huang Tingjian (1045–1105), 黃庭堅, 病起荊江亭即事 5: “楊綰當朝天下喜、斷碑零落臥秋風。” “When Yang Wan [d. 777] was at court, the Empire was happy; / But [centuries later] his gravestone fragments, scattered, lie in the autumn wind” (JTW tr.). *Sic transit gloria*.

After a short series of ruminations, Ōgai in the final couplet projects his vision back to what he had pointed to in the explanatory note, the Ueno hillside across the way where Yoshida Kōton’s grave should be.⁴⁰ Ōgai is saying that Yoshida embodied the ‘This Way’ that Yokogawa had spoken of. But whereas Yokogawa said that it would “survive a thousand pasts,” Ōgai is far less sanguine. He points to the absent gravestone of a man who, in his passionate interests, so much reflects himself.

Use of the phrase ‘This Way,’ echoing Yokogawa’s ‘original,’ might seem problematic, since it has been taken by Ōgai’s commentators to refer either to the writing of belles lettres, presumably *kanbun* (Chinese and Sino-Japanese), or to Confucianism.⁴¹ But it is preferable to take ‘This Way’ as a generalized reference to traditional culture,⁴² one that encompasses letters and especial-

40 Note MURAOKA Isao 村岡功: *Mori Ōgai: Shiden to tanbo* 『森鷗外 史伝と探墓』 (Mori Ōgai: Figures in the Historical Biographies and Visits to Their Graves), Chūō Shuppan Insatsu 中央出版印刷 2002.

41 The respective views of CHIN Seiho (2: 496–97) and КОТАИМА Yōsuke (2: 216).

42 The phrase ‘This Way’ is not unlike ‘This Culture of Ours’ 斯文, invoked in reference to the preservation of traditional culture. In the *Analects* (論語 9/5), Confucius is related to have said: 文王既沒、文不在茲乎。天之將喪斯文也、後死者不得與於斯文也。天之未喪斯文也、匡人其如予何。 “With King Wen dead, is Culture (*wen*) not here with me? Had Heaven intended that This Culture of Ours (*siwen*) should perish, those who died later would not have been able to participate in This Culture of Ours. Heaven is not yet about to let This Culture of Ours perish [...].” (Peter K. BOL tr.). For treatment of the term in Tang and Song intellectual history, see BOL’s “*This Culture of Ours*”: *Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1992. Confucius’ expression is implicitly alluded to by Yuan Hao-wen 元好問, a major figure who attempted to preserve culture in the face of the Mongol threat; see John Timothy WIXTED: *Poems on Poetry: Literary Criticism by Yuan Hao-wen (1190–1257)*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1982; rpt. Taipei: Southern Materials Center 1985 (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 33): 174–75, including n. 21.

ly Confucianism, but also embraces both traditional medicine and empirical scholarship (考証學) — a scholarship that doubtless appealed to Ōgai because it was both ‘scientific’ *and* traditional,⁴³ and because it mirrored his own positivism as an historian. Note that belles lettres and Confucianism are yoked in Line 5; classic medical texts are cited in Ōgai’s explanatory note; and the person being praised, Yoshida Kōton, is representative of *medicine, Confucianism, empirical scholarship, and authorship* — the perfect alter ego for Ōgai.

Appendix

There are eleven matching-rhyme poetry-exchanges in which the response by Mori Ōgai — a single *kanshi*, in each case — is extant, but not the ‘original’ by the other party. Because the dynamic in the interchange cannot be further examined, they are not treated in this study.

In another three cases, the ‘originals’ for discrete individual poems in poetry-series of matching responses by Ōgai are not extant: #176–77 and #183 (in exchanges with Ishiguro Tadanori and Araki Torasaburō). But since ‘originals’ for other poems in the series are extant, the three are treated in this study as part of the entire poem-series.

The eleven ‘orphan’ matching-rhyme poems by Ōgai, ones for which no ‘original’ or related poem is extant, are as follows:

#037 Untitled, *Go Hokuyū nichijō* 後北游日乘, #2
Harmonized to a farewell poem by Saitō Katsutoshi 齋藤勝壽 (fl. 1882), adopted son of Ōgai’s teacher, Satō Genchō.
1882/09/27; 7-character, 4-line *zekku* 絶句.

#052 Untitled, *Go Hokuyū nichijō* 後北游日乘, #17
Harmonized to a poem by ‘a certain someone,’ *bōsei* 某生.
1882/10/10; 7-character, 4-line *zekku*.

#162 “讀檄寄一橋同窓會幹事次韻”
“Having Read the Summons, I Send This to the Hitotsubashi Dōsōkai Secretary:
A Matching-Rhyme Poem”
The ‘Hitotsubashi Dōsōkai Secretary’ has not been identified
1900(1899)/04/07; 7-character, 32-line *koshi* 古詩.

43 Germane is the formulation: “[...] Japanese historians in the nineteenth century learned to apply the methods of German Rankean history by relying on their earlier experience with evidential research [*kōshōgaku*]”; Benjamin A. ELMAN: *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University 1984: 75.

The absence of an ‘original’ for this poem is especially unfortunate. Ōgai’s response to a ‘summons’ to attend a literary-society meeting in Tokyo while he was exiled in Kyushu is full of wit and humor. It uses far more expressions influenced by colloquial Japanese than any of his other Sino-Japanese poems.⁴⁴ It would be especially instructive to see if Ōgai was good-humoredly being invited to the meeting and is replying in kind, or if the ‘original’ was earnestly serious and served as a foil for his remarks. The society included Ozaki Kōyō 尾崎紅葉 and Ii Yōhō 伊井蓉峰.

#167 “即事次岡部譯官韻”

“About Matters at Hand: Matching the Rhymes of Translation-Bureau Official Okabe”

Okabe Jirō 岡部次郎 (1864–1925)

1904/10/16; 7-character, 4-line *zekku*.

Whereas Okabe’s life was particularly interesting, Ōgai’s poem is less than memorable, perhaps because the ‘original’ is missing.

#171 “次慶雲堡岳翁有詩見贈次韻却寄”

“Bivouaced at Qingyun Fortress; As for ‘Venerable Elder,’ I Have a Poem He Dedicated to Me, And Am Sending One in Return that Matches Its Rhymes”

Presumably, Araki Hiroomi 荒木博臣 (1837–1914)

1905/06/08; 7-character, 8-line *risshi* 律詩.

The term ‘Venerable Elder’ (*gakuō* 岳翁) is used in reference to one’s father-in-law; hence the likelihood that Ōgai is referring to Araki Hiroomi, the father of his second wife Shige 志げ. Assuming this to be the case, it is hard to understand why Araki’s ‘original’ poem has not been preserved. Presumably, like the lost ‘original’ to the Okabe Jirō exchange, it is because the poem was received while Ōgai was in China during the Russo-Japanese War and was simply lost. But that circumstance did not prevent another matching-poem ‘original’ from being kept: namely, the one prompting the exchange with Su Shoushan (#168–70*).⁴⁵

44 For discussion and listing of these expressions, see John Timothy WIXTED: “Mori Ōgai: Translation Transforming the Word / World,” JH 13 (2009–10): 85–86, including n. 46.

The poem is dated by the author ‘April 7,’ but it is not clear what year it was composed. If 1899, it was written while Ōgai was still in Tokyo, two months before his exile. But the poem’s irony and humor have more ‘bite’ if taken to have been sent from Kyushu a year later.

45 Note the article by SAKAMOTO Hideji 坂本秀次: “Mori Ōgai to Gakufu Araki Hiroomi: Kanshi bunshū *Yūzon shishō* o chūshin ni” 「森鷗外と岳父荒木博臣 漢詩文集「猶存詩鈔」を中心に」 (Mori Ōgai and His Father-in-Law, Araki Hiroomi, With focus on the Sino-

#180 “次韵長町耕平詠讚岐齋田”

“Written to Match the Rhymes of Nagamachi Kōhei’s ‘Song in Praise of the Sanuki Imperial Rice-Offering Ceremony’”

Nagamachi Kōhei (Shōtō) 長町耕平 (象東) (1853–1919)

1915/06/26; 7-character, 4-line *zekku*.

‘Sanuki’ is an ancient name for Kagawa Prefecture, and ‘Saiden’ 齋田 another name for the ‘Daijōsai’ 大嘗祭 imperial rice-offering ceremony.

#184 “大正四年六月二十七日。岩代國阿武隈河上。有二童遊嬉。曰遠藤藤市五歲。曰馬場貞次郎六歲。既而遠藤溺將死。馬場赴援得免。香川香南有詩並小序紀之。予亦次韻傲顰。”

“On June 27, 1915 (Taishō 4), along the Abukuma River in Iwashiro two boys were playing: Endō Tōichi, five years old, and Baba Teijirō, six years old. Endō was drowning and about to die when Baba went to the rescue and successfully prevented it. Kagawa Kōnan wrote a poem with a short preface to record the event. I wrote this to match his rhymes, ‘imitating another’s frown’ [an expression used here by way of self-deprecation, the allusion referring to the mindless imitation of another]”

Kagawa Kojirō (Kōnan) 香川小次郎 (香南) (1858–1936)

1915/06/30; 7-character, 4-line *zekku*.

The incident is recounted in two periodicals of the time (one of which is quoted by KOTAJIMA Yōsuke [2: 127], but not in three major newspapers of the period that he checked).

#188 “贈香川香南次其縱筆韻”

“Presented to Kagawa Kōnan, Matching the Rhymes of His ‘Uninhibited Brush’”

Kagawa Kojirō, same as the preceding

1915/7/23; 7-character, 8-line *risshi*.

It is unclear what ‘Uninhibited Brush’ refers to, perhaps the title of a poem by Kagawa.

#190 “次白水孤峰運韻”

“Matching Shirōzu Kohō’s Rhymes”

Shirōzu Awashi (Kohō) 白水淡 (孤峰) (1863–1932)

1915/08/02; 7-character, 4-line *zekku*.

This short quatrain is noteworthy for its second couplet: “至竟效顰非我事、不憑基督不參禪。” “Ultimately, ‘imitating another’s frown’ (i.e.,

mindlessly imitating others) has not been my way; / I neither rely on Christ nor practice Zen.”

#225 “次韻矢島膽山罷官詩”

“Written to Match the Rhymes of Yajima Tanzan’s Poem upon Resigning Office”

Yajima Ryūsaburō (Tanzan) 矢島柳三郎 (膽山) (1864–1932).

1918/08/10; 7-character, 4-line *zekku*.

#231 “次韻川嶋氏慶治”

“Written to Match the Rhymes of Mr. Kawashima Keiji”

Kawashima Keiji 川島慶治, 1869–1951

1920/01/30; 7-character, 8-line *risshi*.

Most of the above poems are interesting in the ways that any individual poem can be interesting. But inasmuch as the ‘originals’ are not extant, the social dynamic and literary interaction cannot be further determined, so they are not treated in this study.

“Ōgai” – Mori Rintarō

Begegnungen mit dem japanischen *homme de lettres*

Herausgegeben von
Klaus Kracht

2014
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

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