

Meiji Asian Studies

Online Journal of the School of Arts and Letters, Meiji University

Modernity Seen in the Drama Translation of Ogai: A Stylistic and Comparative Study

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abstract

Drama translation and writing make up the core of Ogai's literary activity. In this paper, I divide Ogai's activities in the field of drama into three phases—first phase, transition phase, and second phase—and identify the specific features of his linguistic expression during each period. The first phase is 1888 to 1892, the period after Ogai's return from his studies abroad in Germany. His translations from this period were joint collaborations with his younger brother, Takeji Miki, who was well versed in the theatrical expressions of *kabuki*, such as the seven- and five-syllable meter, and these translations were written in a style keenly attuned to theater aficionados of the era, who would have been fondly accustomed to Edo period *kabuki*. The second phase begins in 1907, the year in which standard language was enacted and disseminated, and it represents Ogai's most active period of translating and writing. This paper looks at Ogai's translation of Schnitzler's "*Die Frau mit dem Dolche*" (The Lady with the Dagger), analyzing the linguistic techniques that the original work uses to visualize the sexual urges present in the subconscious of the protagonist, as well as analyzing the modality by which Ogai reproduces the linguistic techniques of the original work while intermixing contemporary language with the expressions of Edo period *kyogen*, which originally emerged during the Muromachi period. Finally, I identify Ogai's strong interest in the fixed-verse literary style, occurring during the transition phase interposed between the two other periods, by analyzing theatrical expression in both Ogai's play "*Tamakushige futari Urashima*" (The Jeweled Comb Box and the Two Urashima Taros) and his partial translation of Ibsen's "Brand." Ogai's drama translations and original writing represent constant experimental attempts made in the course of searching for contemporary language expression.

Keywords: Ogai, theatre, Modernism, translation, drama language

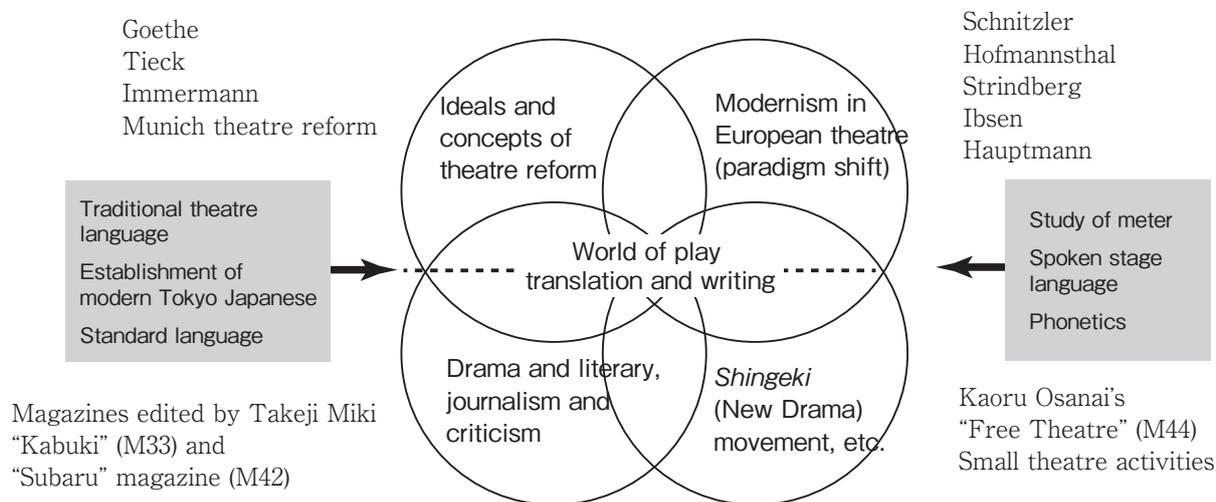
The Complete Works of Ogai, published by Iwanami Shoten, comprises 38 volumes. However, 19 of those volumes, half of the total, are related to literary writing and translation. Of those 19 volumes, drama translation and writing make up a considerable segment. For example, the 9th volume contains a translation of Ibsen's "Ghosts," and 232 out of a total of 576 pages – almost half – are filled with such drama translations. Specifically, 474 out of a total of 633 pages in the fourth volume are occupied by drama writing (including translations of drama, drama criticism, and original drama). Plays are presented in *wakachigaki* (Japanese text written with spacing), which naturally increases the number of pages. Nevertheless, the total amount of work included is considerable. Drama translation and writing played a sizeable role in Ogai's literary activity. There are several valuable studies of this body of work in drama, but multiple discursive spaces need to be presented when considering Ogai's drama translations and writing, the depths of which extend far beyond the framework of individual studies of Ogai. For example, during the

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transition period from the end of the 19th century into the 20th, the landscape of European drama underwent a significant change that may be considered a paradigm shift, and the waves rippling from this change in fact spread to every facet of Ogai’s translations and writings on drama. Furthermore, the rise of discussions on the impact of Japanese language on writing during the Meiji era, when standard Japanese was established, also left a deep impression upon Ogai’s own dramatic language. These discursive spaces or problem areas have each formed their own territory with their respective, and impressive, bodies of research. The links with research trends concerning these discursive spaces are indispensable for deeper research into Ogai’s original writings in drama and his translations of drama in this paper, within which context I intend to show that the internationalization of research into Ogai is genuinely necessary.

Two graphic references have been included below to illustrate this paper’s research objectives. The first, “The World of Ogai’s Translation and Writing of Plays,” proposes four discursive spaces related to Ogai’s efforts at original drama, offering examples of the plots and characters related to each of these areas of discussion. Above the central dotted line in this graphic reference is a region representing the center of Ogai’s theories, while the region below represents his practical experience. However, these two regions cannot in truth be separated, thus the division by a dotted, rather than solid, line. The region of problems related to drama translation floats above this dotted line, wherein theory and practical experience overlap, and this forms the most important region in Ogai’s drama translations and writing. The second reference, “Chronology,” divides Ogai’s drama-related writing activities into a first phase, a transition phase, and a second phase, and it includes his most important articles, translations, and writings from each. To the right are critical points for discussing Ogai’s plays, including some of his related remarks. This paper is an attempt to introduce the respective features of the first phase, the transition phase, and the second phase in the “Chronology” in terms of drama language. Although these four discursive spaces and problem areas, which are interwoven on multiple levels, represent a portion of Ogai’s drama language,

Reference 1 The World of Ogai’s Drama Translations and Writings



Reference 2 “Chronology”

Relevant year/month	Important events regarding drama	Other
M19 (1886)/8 8/1886	Organization of the <i>Engeki Kairyo Kai</i> (Theatre Reform Society), sponsored by Ito Hirobumi’s son-in-law, Suematsu Norizumi and including influential members of the political, business, and journalism worlds, such as Kaoru Inoue, Eichi Shibusawa, and Masakazu Toyama.	
M21 (1888)/7 7/1888	Organization of the <i>Nihon Engei Kyofukai</i> (Japan Entertainment Society).	

First Period	M21 (1888)/9 9/1888	Return to Japan from study in Germany (departed M17/8).	
	M22 (1889)/1	Publication of German literature magazine <i>Von West nach Ost (Tozenshinsbi: From West to East)</i> . “Über die Theaterfrage” is presented in Issue No. 5.	
	M22 (1889)/1-2	Serialization of a 12-part translation of “ <i>Der Richter von Zalamea</i> ” (The Mayor of Zalamea) by Calderón in the <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> (in collaboration with Takeji Miki).	Presentation of “ <i>Hyousooku ni tsukite</i> ” (On Meter in Chinese Poetry) in the letters section of the <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> on March 13. Ogai presents “ <i>Futatabi hyousoku ni tsukite</i> ” (More on Meter in Chinese Poetry) in the magazine <i>Kokumin no tomo</i> (Nation’s Friend), published on April 2, and then runs “ <i>Mitabi hyousoku ni tsukite</i> ” (Third Essay on Meter in Chinese Poetry) in the April 7 <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> . Runs a collection of translated poems, “ <i>Omokage</i> ” (Vestiges), in the No. 58 summer appendix of the August 2 publication of <i>Kokumin no tomo</i> .
	M22 (1889)/8	Organization of the <i>Nihon Engei Kyokai</i> (Japan Performing Arts Society). Becomes a member of the literary committee of the <i>Nihon Engei Kyokai</i> , together with Tenshin Okakura, Sanae Takada, and Shoyo Tsubouchi, among others.	
	M22 (1889)/10	Presentation of “ <i>Engeki kairyo ronsha no henken ni odoroku</i> ” (On Being Shocked at the Distorted Views of the Theatre Reformers) in Issue No. 1 of <i>Shigaramisoshi</i> (Constraint Brochure). Begins serializing a translation of “ <i>Emilia Galotti</i> ” by Lessing (in eight installments, in collaboration with Takeji Miki) in the same magazine.	
	M22 (1889)/11	Opening of a kabuki theatre in Kobikicho. Serializes a partial translation of Körner’s “ <i>Toni</i> ” in six installments in the <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> (in collaboration with Takeji Miki).	
	M22 (1889)/12	Presentation of “ <i>Futatabi geki wo ronjite yo no hyoka ni kotan</i> ” (A Second Essay on the Theatre in Answer to Criticisms of the Age) in Issue No. 3 of <i>Shigaramisoshi</i> .	
	M23 (1890)/2	Presentation of “ <i>Engekijo ri no shijin</i> ” (The Poets Behind the Theatre) in Issue No. 5 of <i>Shigaramisoshi</i> .	
	M24 (1891)/9	Presentation of “ <i>Shoyo-shi no rodoku-setsu</i> ” (Shoyo’s reading theory) in Issue No. 24 of <i>Shigaramisoshi</i> . Criticizes Shoyo’s reading theory relying on Goethe and Hartmann, while discussing Rezitation and Deklamation in the arts.	References made to items relating to “pronunciation” in Goethe’s “Rules for Actors” in “ <i>Shoyo-shi no rodoku-setsu</i> .”
	M25 (1891)/1	Collaboration with Takeji Miki in reorganizing the magazine <i>Kabuki Shinpo</i> (Kabuki News).	
	M25 (1892)/2	Presentation of “ <i>Shiken Koji ga mimi no shibai me no shiba</i> ” (Shiken Koji As the Ears and Eyes of Drama).	
	M25 (1892)/9	Translation of Lessing’s “ <i>Philotas</i> ” as “ <i>Toriko</i> ” for Issue No. 36 of <i>Shigaramisoshi</i> (presents continuations in Issue Nos. 40 and 46 the following year). Mentions “Gyoshi Ogai, Translator and Takeji Miki, Editor).	Start of run of “ <i>Sokkyo Shijin</i> ” (Improviser) in the November <i>Shigaramisoshi</i> .
	M27 (1894)		Start of the Sino-Japanese War. <i>Shigaramisoshi</i> ceases publication. <i>Eiseiryoboshi</i> (Health and Disease Treatment) ceases publication.
	M29 (1896)		“ <i>Seigaku to Konda shi to</i> ” (Western Music and Miss. Koda) runs in the March <i>Mezamashigusa</i> (Remarkable notes).
Transition Phase	M31 (1898)		Theodor Siebs’ “ <i>Deutsche Bühnenaussprache</i> ” is published. Runs “ <i>Shinbi Shinsetsu</i> ” (New theories on Aesthetics) in the February <i>Mezamashigusa</i> (Vol. 26) (total 10 installments until M32/9).

Transition Phase	M33 (1900)/1	Beginning of publication of <i>Kabuki</i> magazine with Takeji Miki.	
	M34 (1901)		Completion of “ <i>Sokkyo Shijin</i> ” in the February <i>Mezomashigusa</i> (Vol. 94). Serializes “ <i>Shinbikyokuchiron</i> ” (Discussion of Aesthetic Poles) in six installments from February to October in the same magazine.
Second Phase	M35 (1902)/12	Presentation of “ <i>Tamakushige Futari Urashima</i> ” (The Jeweled Comb Box and the Two Urashima Taros) in a booklet published by the same publishing house as <i>Kabuki</i> on December 29 th .	
	M36 (1903)/1	Publication of “Notes on the Jeweled Comb Box and the Two Urashima Taros” in issue No. 32 of <i>Kabuki</i> on January 1. Serializes a partial translation of Ibsen’s “Brand” in <i>Mannenkusa</i> (10 Thousand Year Notes) magazine under the title “The Clergyman (A Fragment).”	
	M37 (1904)/3	Running of “ <i>Nichiren Syonin Tsujiseppo</i> ” (The Street Preaching of Sage Nichiren) in Issue No. 47 of <i>Kabuki</i> .	Start of the Russo-Japanese War. Government issues textbook <i>Jinjo Shogaku Tokubon</i> (Primary School Primer)/ <i>I, E, Su, Shi Tokubon</i> (<i>I, E, Su, Shi Primer</i>)→ “ <i>Tokyo nochuryushakai ni okonawarurumono wo tori, kakute kokugo no hyojun wo shirashime</i> ” (Spoken language shall be ... established as standard Japanese by means of middle-class Tokyo dialect). Shoyo Tsubouchi: Publishes “ <i>Shingakugekiron</i> ” (New Musical Drama Theory) and “ <i>Shinkyokuurashima</i> ” (Urashima Taro: A New Script).
	M39 (1906)		Run begins of “ <i>Kageki no kotodomo</i> ” (Operatic Matters) in November in the Vol. 3, No. 10 issue of <i>Ongaku Shimpō</i> (Music News) magazine. States that, “It would be nice to have opera in Japan as well.”
	M40 (1907)/10	Ogai begins one-act translations in <i>Kabuki</i> magazine. He runs a translation of Scholz’s “Mein Fürst” in Issue No. 90, under the title “ <i>Wagakimi</i> ” (My Lord), and a translation of Schnitzler’s “Die Frau mit dem Dolche” (The Lady with the Dagger) in Issues No. 91 and 92. (Translation was done by dictation. Amanuensis: Honjiro Suzuki, pen name Shunpo.)	
	M40 (1907)		Takeji Miki dies in December.
	M41 (1908)/1	Continuation of one-act translations in <i>Kabuki</i> magazine. Runs a translation of Wedekind’s “Der Kammermäder” under the title “Half an Hour Before Departure” in Issue No. 93 of <i>Kabuki</i> published on January 1 (serialized in a total of 3 installments, continued in Issue No. 94 on May 1, and Issue No. 95 on June 1). In M.41 and M.42, he runs one-act translations on a monthly basis.	In May, becomes a member of the Provisional Kana Usage Investigation Committee of the Ministry of Education. Dictates and publishes “ <i>Kana Zukai Iken</i> ” (Opinion on Kana Orthography). Points out that “scholars of orthoepy and phonetics” in Europe are deepening research, and states that, “a complete method of writing and speaking Japanese should be studied.”
	M42 (1909)/1	<i>Subaru</i> magazine released on January 1. It opens with Ogai’s one-act play, “Purumula.”	
	M42 (1909)/3	“ <i>Mukudori Tsushin</i> ” (Correspondence from the Grey Starling) serialized beginning with the Year I, No. 3, issue of <i>Subaru</i> , published on March 1. Continued in serial form until the Year 5, No. 12, issue of <i>Subaru</i> , published on December 1, 1913 (Taisho 2).	
	M42 (1909)/11	Presentation of the one-act play, “ <i>Shizuka</i> ” (Stillness) in Issue No. 11 of <i>Subaru</i> published on November 1.	
	M42 (1909)/4	Run of the one-act play, “ <i>Kamen</i> ” (Mask) in Issue No. 4 of <i>Subaru</i> .	
	M42 (1909)/11	Free Theatre first preview: Ibsen’s “John Gabriel Borkman” (translated by Ogai Mori) “ <i>Shizuka</i> ” published in Issue No. 11 of <i>Subaru</i> .	

Second Phase	M43 (1910)/5	Free Theatre second preview: Wedekind's "Der Kammersänger" (translated by Ogai Mori) Ogai Mori's "Ikutagawa" (Ikutagawa River) Chekhov's "The Lady with the Dog" (translated by Kaoru Osanai)	
	M43 (1910)/12	Free Theatre third preview: Gorky's "A Night's Lodging" (translated by Kaoru Osanai). Isamu Yoshi's "Yumesaku to so to" (Yumesaku and the Monk).	<i>Jinjo Shogaku Tokubon</i> (Primary School Primer)/ <i>Hatatako Tokubon</i> (<i>Hatatako Primer</i>)→ "The spoken language shall take Tokyo speech as its standard". Presents "Hitomakumono no ryuko shita tosh?" (Year of the One-Act Play) in Vol. 13, No. 6 of "Tonzen" (Eastern Advance) magazine published on December 1. States that, "The use of "modern language" in historical theatre has also become a problem. That is, it is strange to speak only about my own works, but it began with my own work, <i>Shizuka</i> ."
	M44 (1911)/6	Free Theatre fourth preview: Hideo Nagata's "Kanraku no on?" (A Fiend for Pleasure) Ujaku Akita's "Daiichi no akebono" (First Dawn) Isamu Yoshi's "Kawachiya Yobei."	
	M44 (1911)/10	Free Theatre fifth preview: Hauptmann's "Lonely Lives" (translated by Ogai Mori).	
	T2 (1913)	First and second parts of Goethe's "Faust" published by Fuzambo. In March, first part performed at the Imperial Theatre by the <i>Kindai-geki Kyokai</i> (the Modern Dramatic Society).	Presentation of "Yakubon fausuto ni tsuite" (On Translating Faust) in Vol. 17, No. 5 of <i>Kokoro no hana</i> (Flower of the Heart) magazine published on May 1. States that, "This is because I think that a noble meaning can be conveyed by a common contemporary language, because I respect contemporary language, and because I do not think that works that use contemporary language end in failure and the fall into provincialism."
	T2 (1913)/7	"Macbeth" is published by Keiseisha in July. Performed at the Imperial Theatre by the <i>Kindai-geki Kyokai</i> .	Shoyo Tsubouchi writes the preface for the publication. In it, he states that, "This work, which took not inconsiderable effort, has been translated into everyday vernacular in a truly simple and fluent manner."
	T3 (1914)	Run of revised play "Soga Kyodai" (Soga Brothers) in <i>Shin Shosetsu</i> (New Novels) magazine (March 1), which was performed at the Imperial Theatre by the <i>Kyogenza</i> (3 days starting February 26). Completely translates Hofmannsthal's "Ödipus und die Sphinx" under the title of "The Riddle" (published in book form by Kindaisha on May 5).	

(The months in the dates on the left side are mainly related to drama-related pieces)

the objective of this paper is to shed the light of analysis upon the areas encompassing decisive trends.

I. First Phase

What we first see above in Reference 2, labeled "Chronology," is that, having returned from Germany in 1888 (Meiji 21), Ogai presented his German-language paper "Über die Theaterfrage" (On Problems Facing Theatre) in *Tozenshinshi* (From the West to the East) magazine. Next, the "Chronology" shows that, in the following year, he presented a series of papers that added to his in-depth critique of contemporary discussions regarding the Westernization of Japanese theatre. Criticism such as "Engeki kairyo ronsha no benken ni odoroku" (On Being Shocked at the Distorted Views of the Theatre Reformers) in *Shigaramisoshi* provides a sense of passion of Ogai as *sentoteki keimoka*⁽¹⁾ (militant enlightenment) for theatre reform. Ogai's papers on drama from this period owe a major debt to his studies abroad, as Goethe's conceptualizations of and practical experience in theatre reform, continued in the efforts of Immermann in Düssel-

dorf (1832 to 1837), worked to deepen Ogai's own awareness of such issues. In Reference 1, this represents problems in the discursive space of "Ideals and concepts of theatre reform" in the section on the top left of the graph. "Munich theatre reform," one constituent element of this problem area, was a movement that took place mainly in the Munich National Theatres both before and after Ogai returned to Japan and was the most fully articulated theme in the European theatre world at the time. The Munich theatre reform followed the course from Goethe to Immermann and was an attempt at realizing Ludwig Tieck's Shakespeare (also referenced by Immermann, these were efforts by the German Romantic school to reproduce the original Shakespeare) by improving the stage structure of the Munich National Theatre. Ogai's concept of a *kanboku naru gekijo*⁽²⁾ (simple theatre) translates into "Einfaches Theater" of the Munich theatre reform. The Munich theatre reform rejected the mainstream use of elaborate theatrical devices due to a drive toward increased realism, favoring instead an emphasis on psychologically based portrayals by actors, and thus the movement was inclined toward creating the simplest staging possible in order to direct the audience's attention from theatrical devices to the actor's gestures. Ogai translated the "Einfaches Theater" into his *kanboku naru gekijo* (simple theatre) that emerged amid these trends in German-language theatre, and by finding its structure in the primitive *kabuki* theatre of the period, came to advocate the superiority of *kabuki* theatre. This stood in contrast to government-led theatre reforms, which tended toward Western imitation. In other words, Ogai denounced superficial Western imitation by boldly applying the principles of cutting-edge German theatre to traditional Japanese *kabuki* in both concept and practice, including using the *hanamichi* walkway in *kabuki* and a revolving stage to facilitate scene changes and establish a sense of unity with the audience.

While taking this stand on issues of theory, Ogai simultaneously focused his efforts on translation after returning to Japan. Ogai's first attempt at drama translation was in 1889 (Meiji 22) with a translation of Calderón's "*Der Richter von Zalamea*" (The Mayor of Zalamea) that was serialized in 12 installments in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. In October of that same year, he began translating Lessing's "*Emilia Galotti*" as "*Oribara*" (which ran in the literary magazine *Shiragamisoshi*) while also publishing a partial translation of Körner's "Toni," under the title "The Romance of Toni," in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. What these three translation projects had in common was that Ogai's younger brother, Takeji Miki (real name Tokujiro Mori), collaborated with Ogai. Tokujiro had published dramatic criticism and other works under the pen name Takeji Miki since attending the Tokyo Imperial University College of Medicine, and he contributed greatly to establish a style of modern dramatic criticism in Japan. Takeji had a close relationship with *kabuki* actors, and thus had specialized knowledge in the use of *kabuki* terms and gestures. During the years that Ogai began his translations in the late 1880s (Meiji 20s), Japanese readers did not consider "theatre" as anything other than *kabuki*. In order to encourage readers to acknowledge the concept of modern theatre in the first place, it was necessary to be aware of the perspectives of audiences accustomed to the *kabuki* style. The circumstances surrounding the concept of theatre in Japan when Ogai started his collaborative translation work with Takeji Miki should not be forgotten.

Incidentally, the reason that Ogai began his drama translations with the works of Calderón and Lessing is believed to be that he deeply empathized with Immermann's theatre reform in Düsseldorf. Immermann, while unfortunately having to construct repertoires that changed as frequently as specials on a daily menu, devised the concept of the "model performance." The goal was to improve standards of performance by putting an existing ensemble through special exercises.⁽³⁾ In order to realize this "model performance," Immermann created the "Theaterverein" (Theatre Association). He organized several model performances within a single season, and on February 1, 1833, he staged a performance of Lessing's "*Emilia Galotti*" as a first model performance. On April 9, 1833, he staged Calderón's *El príncipe constante* (The Constant Prince) as a second model performance. In his editorial "*Engekijo ri no shijin*" (The Poets Behind the Theatre), Ogai lauded Immermann, stressing the importance of literary scholars assuming central positions in the artistic and business lives of theatres. In another editorial, "*Futatabi geki wo ronjite yo no hyokani kotan*" (A Second Essay on the Theatre in Answer to Criticisms of the Age), Ogai concludes with a

chapter in which he says “Look, readers/The roof tiles of the *Kabukiza* (the Tokyo kabuki theatre) are visible in the morning light/Do you understand/That sitting in the back may be a Japanese Immermann who shall play the same role that he has/.”⁽⁴⁾ From the prospect of the completion of the *Kabukiza*, which opened on November 21, 1889 (Meiji 22), Ogai is saying that the presence of a “Japanese Immermann” is a definite necessity for the improvement of theatre. In other words, he is alluding to the importance of placing literary scholars at the core of theatre. Ogai had, after returning to Japan, a high opinion of both Immermann’s concepts and practical experience. That is to say, it seems possible that Ogai focused on translations of Calderón and Lessing because he felt he might become a “Japanese Immermann.” Calderón’s *El príncipe constante* (The Constant Prince) is a religious drama, and it is believed to have been selected out of consideration for how easily it would be understood by contemporary Japanese theatregoers. The same is true of Calderón’s “*Der Richter von Zalameda*” (The Mayor of Zalamea). This selection also may reflect Ogai’s personal experiences.⁽⁵⁾ In particular, I should stress here that Ogai felt a strong sympathy toward Immermann’s attempts, which had in turn absorbed Goethe’s dramatic principles. Thus, it appears to be possible to place Ogai’s attempts at drama after his return to Japan in the context of the history of European drama.

Next, I would like to partially introduce Ogai’s first drama translation, focusing on his choice of words. This was a Japanese translation of “*El alcalde de Zalameda*” (1651), which was translated not from the original Spanish but from the German translation, “*Der Richter von Zalameda*” (published 1822). I shall cite Ogai’s translation of the beginning of this work.

Rebolledo

Now we march as our king goes to Lisbon for his coronation ceremony, an auspicious occasion unlike that which is typical for the army. But either way, in the end, we walk hungrily up the mountain road, as if on a pilgrimage, a truly worthless task.

△ As Rebolledo says, several withering months have dulled the color of their flags as well as the sounds of their drums. All of the troops want to get to their lodgings by dark and have a drink.

Rebolledo

Whether lodging will be found or not we do now know. Wealthy farmers will shrewdly deny us lodging as they fear the intrusion of riotous soldiers and the thievery of military officials. Even if we go by dragging our booted feet, we must advance a kilometer or two to where the town is. Yet tonight we must stay in Zalameda at all costs. If not, our bodies will crumple from exhaustion.⁽⁶⁾

The rhythm of the seven- and five-syllable meter is expressed within the passages of the excerpt, for example: but in the end, we walk hungrily up the mountain road (“*hara wo herashite* (7) はらをへらして *aruku no wa* (5) あるくのは”) and, several withering months (“*iku sai getsu no* (7) いくさいげつの *amakaze ni* (5) あまかせに”) (The numbers inside the parentheses are the number of syllables [beats]. In Japanese, as a general rule, one kana character is considered to be one syllable [beat] in Japanese. For instance, *hara* [はら] is made up of two characters and is thus two syllables. The above is an example of a seven/five meter rhythm where the first line is seven syllables and the second line is five syllables). In addition, the last passage follows a definite seven- and five-syllable meter: Whatever we do tonight, we will be staying in Zalamea (“*Shikashi konya wa* (7) しかしこんやは *doushite mo* (5) どうしても *zaramea mura ni* (7) ザラメアむらに *tomara ni ya* (5) とまらにや”). Furthermore, the diphthongs “*cha*” and “*nya*,” formed by using “*ya*” such as in the line, as if on a pilgrimage (*junrei jaa* (7) じゆんれいじや *arumai shi* (5) あるまいし)⁽⁷⁾, were devices that were often deployed and would have been familiar to the ears of theatre aficionados of the time accustomed to the structure. Traces of Ogai’s considerations when translating words expressing distance can be seen, for example, in his adoption of the expression “10 or 20 towns.” Howev-

er, Ogai uses Romanization for “Rebolledo,” “Lisbon,” and “Zalamea,” which are faithful renderings of the original text. This provides a view of the basic approach taken in his translation.

This tendency to be faithful to the original text is more pronounced in the next excerpt.

Notary

I have important news. At the court yesterday after consultation in the village, we elected this gentleman to be mayor. There are two important things happening in the village. One is that King Philip today or tomorrow will pass through this village. The other thing is that, yesterday morning, our beloved captain was injured in a fight (*tekizu wo ukete gozaru*), and was brought to this village by soldiers and is now under treatment. However, I do not know where or by whom he has been injured, though it was just after taking up his painstaking duties (*obone mo orete koto de gozarimasu*).⁽⁸⁾

The use of the expressions “*gozaru*” (to be) and “*gozarimasu*” (the polite form of to be), phrases traditionally used between samurai, in lines spoken by an official notary of the court shows a strong awareness of the audience. However, not only such Romanized expressions as “King Philip,” but also contemporary expressions that are newer to social custom, such as “secretary,” “court,” “captain,” and “elected,” are used. Here we can see the contest between a desire to render a text that is faithful to the original and a desire to provide audiences with something that is not unfamiliar to their ears.

Thus, what was the actual contemporary reaction of audiences to such translations? In 1889, “The Mayor of Zalamea” was serialized in the *Yomiuri Shimbum* in nine installments on January 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 15, 17, 20 and 24, followed by a short break, and then concluded in three installments on February 2, 7 and 14. After being interrupted, Koson Aeba contributed the following text that appeared on the front of the February 2 issue in which installments resumed:

For the carefree Ogai and Takeji, these Japanese who seem to take no interest and who do not understand music cannot hear the fine sounds of their guitar. They therefore become disgusted, throw a tantrum, and in their temper cut the strings of the guitar with an axe. As Koson (a theatre critic), I am troubled by this and ask for the intercession of Bimyo (an author), saying that to stop something so nice halfway through is no good. Finally, the strings of the guitar are restrung, the two (Ogai and Takeji) are soothed, and the fine sounds once again resound. I have a request to make of the listener. This is an instrument you are not used to, so do not leave your seat without hearing it out. Having listened intently, please acknowledge that it is a fine sound. If you cannot do this, you will not be allowed to hear such interesting music in the future.⁽⁹⁾

The text by Koson here may serve as a valuable reference indicating how Ogai’s and Takeji’s translated drama was received at the time. In the unconventional language of the title, Koson refers to a musical instrument unfamiliar to the ears of theatregoers of the time. Regarding the “audience,” he says that although they are unfamiliar with the language, they ought to be “respectful” and “not get up from their chairs” and attempt to realize the “noble sound.” Ogai and Takeji’s words did not develop on the horizon of general expectations for audiences of the time and were received as both “noble” and at the same time as “strange and interesting sounds.” This kind of reaction may have reminded the two of them, Ogai and Takeji, of the feeling of having their publication interrupted.

What should be given the most attention from Ogai’s initial period of translation is his work on “Philotas,” by Lessing, which appeared in *Shigaramisoshi* in September 1892 (Meiji 25). This work, translated as *Toriko* (The Captive), was written during a period when Lessing was researching classical Greek theatre, especially the creative process of Sophocles, and was an experimental attempt to transplant the “brief power” of classical Greek words and sounds into the German language. “Philotas” is a short work in one act, and *Toriko* may be said to be a work of translation worthy of attention, as it is Ogai’s pioneering ef-

fort at translating a one-act play. We introduce a portion of this work below. In the passage, when he writes “*taishi*” (crown prince), Ogai refers to Philotas. He is a prince who is captured on the battlefield, while “*sotsu*” (a low-ranking soldier) refers to Philotas’ servant, Parmenio. As the son of King Aridaus (the enemy king) has also been taken captive by Philotas’ father, the king orders Parmenio make a report and advance the topic of an exchange of captives. In this scene, the prince asks Parmenio what sort of report he intends to make to the father (the prince is concealing that he is already prepared to commit suicide)—

Sotsu (Parmenio)

Ha! I do not any more count the limbs on which I am wounded; to save time and breath I count those which still are whole. Trifles after all! For what else has one bones, but that the enemy’s iron should notch itself upon them?

Soregashi wa kizu wo uketa basho wo, ichiichi kazoberu koto wa, mohaya yame ni itashimashita [...].

Taishi (Philotas)

That is bold! But now--what will you say to my father?

Appare na kotoba ja. Shikashinagara, sochi wa chichine ni nan to moushite kuri yaruki ka?⁽¹⁰⁾

“Soregashi” is a term used by warriors to refer to themselves. The final “kuri yaru” is the term “kureru” (do for me), transformed into a lightly respectful expression, similar to “please do for me,” but it was used in an everyday manner between warriors (samurai) of high status during the Muromachi period. Once the Edo period began, the use of such phrases by warriors became a form of *daimyo kyogen* (comic theatre involving a feudal lord) and was used during performances. Ogai may have focused on terms from *daimyo kyogen* as Japanese terms with the potential to express the ancient and military situation featured in “Philotas,” which recalls the world of ancient Greece. Similarly, as a result, there are several cases in which translations of the dialogue between Philotas and the servant Parmenio closely resemble the exchanges between the *daimyo* (lord) and *tarokaja* (servant) in *kyogen*. This translation is the first translation that Ogai completed by himself with Takeji Miki serving as editor. However, little attention was paid to this translation and the remarks of theatre scholar Taro Akiba are relevant here. “Despite introducing plays of this sort which depicted a sophisticated and modern mentality, the reason that such plays did not receive much attention at the time may have been that the times had not turned to such material as of yet.”⁽¹¹⁾

In fact, after that, Ogai did not involve himself with drama translation for some years. Ogai would only begin to be truly involved in drama translation once again in the year 1907 (Meiji 40). The “Chronology” in Reference 2 shows this involvement as beginning with the publication of Scholz’s “My Lord” and Schnitzler’s “The Lady with the Dagger” in the magazine *Kabuki*, edited by Takeji Miki. I would like to refer to this period as Ogai’s second phase and the time between the first and second periods as his transition phase. Next, I will introduce a portion of the characteristics of the writing in drama and translation from the transition phase.

II. Transition phase

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars occurred during Ogai’s transition phase. Ogai served as a medical officer during both wars, and he was very busy due to these external events, making it impossible for him to work actively as a writer. As noted in the second reference, “Chronology,” in 1894 (Meiji 27), at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the previous bases of his educational activities, the *Shigaramisoshi* and *Eiseiryobyoshi*, both ceased publication. After his tour of duty, Ogai worked as the principal of the Army Medical School, and, from January 1895, published *Mesamashikusa* in place of

Shigaramisosbi, and published *Koshuiji* (Public Medical Affairs) the following year. Mokutaro Kinoshita observed the following about the differences between *Shigaramisosbi* and *Mesamashikusa*: “In contrast to *Shigaramisosbi*’s grim seriousness, in keeping with its [*Mesamashikusa*’s] name, it was splendid and intimate.”⁽¹²⁾ *Mesamashikusa* carried short reviews of literature, paintings, and music, as well as such essays on aesthetics as “*Shinbishinsetsu*” (New Theory of Aesthetics) and “*Shinbikyokuchiron*” (Special Theories on Aesthetics). There were still educational elements, but, as Kinoshita noted, its militant “grim seriousness” had disappeared. The literary world had also changed, and in 1893 (Meiji 26), young Tokoku Kitamura, Tenchi Hoshino, Toson Shimazaki and others published *Bungakukai* (Literary World). Furthermore, in 1895, magazines, such as *Tekikokubungaku* (Imperial Literature) and *Taiyo* (The Sun), were published that seized the initiative in the literary and intellectual world of the third decade of the Meiji era. It seemed as if the end of the eras of Koyo Ozaki, Rohan Koda, Shoyo Tsubouchi, and Ogai had come.

Ogai reflects these changes in the following text from “*Ogai gyoshi to wa darezo*” (Who is Ogai Gyoshi), which appeared in the Fukuoka Nichinichi Shimbun the year after his reassignment to Kokura (1899): “I dare say it. The Greek language has a thing called ‘*epigono*.’ It is what we might call a descendant. The new literati, and also the various thinkers of literary circles who are tied to them, such as (Goto) Chugai, cannot help but be ‘*epigono*.’ If we compare the present literary world to the era of Rohan or the like, then it is an era of descendants. Explaining what I mean, while I do not know if the various new writers read provincial newspapers, I bring words to them from far away. The writers in the present literary world, unlike myself, are all young. Hereafter, may they be energized and produce works and reviews that will greatly move outsiders like myself. Therefore, I hope that they produce enough to make me apologize for rudely referring to them as followers or descendants.”⁽¹³⁾ This is an important statement that Ogai himself made note of regarding his position in the so-called Kokura demotion. The Kokura demotion distanced Ogai from the core of literary activity, and resulted in him presenting a philosophy of isolation: “I stand outside the thinking of the present literary world, and the present literary world stands outside of my thinking.” While in these isolated circumstances, Ogai further stated, “I am reading the new works and criticism coming out of Europe/I have recently read “The Sunken Bell” by Gerhart Hauptmann of Germany,” and, “Even if Ogai (I) were to be killed, I would certainly not die.” Regarding the course of the European literary world at the turn of the century, Ogai proclaimed himself someone who had the ability to draw close to its true essence. Ogai’s readings in relation to European literary trends during his Kokura period form the basis of his drama translations and writing during the second phase outlined in Reference 2 (the “Chronology”), and their interrelationships, including empirical literary research, are ripe for further study.

In 1902 (Meiji 35), Ogai was dismissed from his post in Kokura, and he returned to Tokyo as the Chief Medical Officer of the First Division of the Imperial Army. In June of that year, he published the magazine *Geibun* (Arts and Literature) and in October renamed it *Mannenkusa* (Ten Thousand Year Notes). However, *Mannenkusa* closed after two years because Ogai was once again pressed into service for the Russo-Japanese War. In January 1906 (Meiji 37), Ogai made his triumphant return to Tokyo, and the next year he was appointed Surgeon General of the Army, the highest post within the Japanese Army Medical Corps. Now that he had achieved some stability in his status, Ogai began writing again vigorously, entering his so-called *bundan saikatsudo jidai* (literary revitalization period) (Junzaburo Mori) or *hojuku no jidai* (bountiful period) (Mokutaro Kinoshita),⁽¹⁴⁾ which overlap with the second phase of the “Chronology” (see Reference 2). Next, prior to explaining the second phase, I will identify several characteristics of Ogai’s literary activities during this transition phase, when a variety of external developments occurred, limiting myself to those points related to writing and translating drama.

One important point related to theatre is that, in 1902 (Meiji 35), there was a literary script, *Tamakushige Futari Urashima* (The Jeweled Comb Box and the Two Urashima Taros), presented in the form of a pamphlet from the publishers of *Kabuki* magazine. Since it was published on December 29, some time had passed since Ogai returned to Tokyo in March of that year. According to Ogai, during this period Yoho Ii

(a playwright) of the *Shinpa* (New School) of drama apparently made a request, asking, “Having heard the story of Faust, I’d like to have a writer who is a specialist in the theatre arrange its middle act.” Ogai responded that, “*Faust* needs about two days to perform, it is almost impossible to overcome the obstacles to the middle act.” Ogai wrote, “I have written “Urashima” instead.”⁽¹⁵⁾ Incidentally, *Kabuki* magazine, which published the aforementioned pamphlet, was established by Ogai’s brother Takeji Miki beginning in January of 1900 (Meiji 33), and it often published dramas that Ogai had written or translated. Thus, let us take a look at an excerpt from *Tamakushige Futari Urashima*.

This is the scene in which Nochinotaro (later Taro), suspicious of the embroidered package held by Maenotaro (earlier Taro), touches it and opens it. When the clouds of smoke clear, Maenotaro has been transformed into an old man—

Taro

...

As I had forgotten, I have now remembered. Do not block the road I walk on to my village.

Nochinotaro

What do you mean, my village? You who are unknown to the villagers of the Tsutsukawa should leave this place.

Taro

Iza.

Nochinotaro

Iza. (He draws close and the rod held between the two breaks in half)

How strange. The embroidered box. Is it significant?

(He touches it. The two pull on either end of the wrapping. The embroidery loosens. The comb and the mirror fall apart. An endless number of pearls fall away from the jewelry box spreading all around. White clouds appear. Taro totters and falls over. Now the sound of waves can be heard. Nochinotaro falls back and looks up at the white clouds. He uses his pole as a cane to stand. His hair has become white.)

Everyone

Yayayayaya

Nochinotaro

(Looking on the old man with respect.)

In an instant, you have declined.

(Giving a cane to Taro on the left and holding a mirror up on his right)

To begin with, who are you?

I am a veteran fisherman who has fished in this Suminoe for many years. My forefathers have been named Urashima Taro since ancient times.

Taro

Hmm. Urashima Taro, you say? If that is so, then have you not heard of an ancient ancestor who rowed his boat out to the distant ocean and never returned?

Nochinotaro

Exactly. Three hundred years ago before this year, the second year of the Tencho period. That was the 22nd year of the reign of *Ohatsusewakatake no sumeramikoto* (Emperor Yuryaku).

...⁽¹⁶⁾

The month after the publication of the booklet, which is to say in January of 1903, “*Tamakushige Futari Urashima Jichū*” (Notes on Tamakushige Futari Urashima) ran in *Kabuki-za Theatre*, which was followed in February by “*Urashima no shodo no kogyo ni tsuite*” (Regarding the First Performance of Urashima). From the former, in particular, it is clear that Ogai referenced the *Nihon Shoki*, *Fudoki*, and *Manyoshu* in writing *Tamakushige Futari Urashima*. For example, passages regarding the “young princess,” such as “in the *Manyoshu* there is a figure known as *Watatsuminokami no wotome*,”⁽¹⁷⁾ are recorded. It is known that in the *Manyoshu*, a long poem (*chōka*) that tells of *Mizunoe no urashima no ko* exists as a type of legend or folk tale, but here I would like to focus on the structure of the *chōka* in examining Ogai’s literary style. A *chōka* is a form of *waka* that is commonly known to have a structure in which five- and seven- (or seven- and five-) syllable lines repeat three or more times until they are finished with a seven-syllable line. Lines with this type of structure can also be identified in passages quoted from Ogai. Beginning with everyone’s expression of surprise when Taro opens the “embroidered box,” Nochinotaro’s line is partially non-standard, but from “*kawarishi sama no* (7) *かわりしさまの*,” the lines proceed in seven- and five-syllable pairs with the final line, “*nanori safurafu* (7) *なのりさふらふ*,” being of the seven-syllable structure. Furthermore, at the end of Taro’s lines, which continue from these lines by Nochinotaro, that is “*kaberanu hito no* (7) *かえらぬひとの* *arito kikasazu ya* (7) *ありときかすや*,” are composed in a seven-seven-syllable fashion. Certainly, not all lines have the characteristics of *chōka*. For example, through the use of the line “*iza*,” elements of *kabuki* can also be seen in the dialogue between Taro and Nochinotaro. However, devices that make the text closely resemble those from antiquity can be seen in the style of ancient language used, for example, in expressions such as “*isari*,” “*tobotsu*,” “*yoyo*,” and “*shiroshimesu*,” and in the use of phonetic characters (*furigana*) that give “*sumeramikoto*” as the reading of the name of the emperor. The style as a whole can be placed in the discursive space of the fixed literary verse of the time (*shintaiishi*), but the mark of Ogai’s experimental efforts can be seen in the fact that *chōka* from the *Manyoshu* and expressions from ancient language have been transposed into this style of verse.

What should also be noticed is the fact that a strong awareness of European theatre is already operating for Ogai within the context of efforts for a “return to Japan” that emphasize the sounds of antiquity.

In “Regarding the First Performance of Urashima,” in the form of comparing the lengths of lines in *Urashima* to those of “the soliloquies of Western theatre,” Ogai explains that, regarding the latter, “it is not at all rare for them to be of the same length as all of the lines of all of the characters in *Urashima*.” As a specific example, Ogai raises “the lines spoken by an elderly Faust, who has drawn close to the desk.” In the first performance of *Tamakushige Futari Urashima*, Ii Yoho played the role of Maenotaro. Ogai said of these lines that “the unabridged lines that Ii spoke on the first day that *Urashima* was performed were not particularly long if measured by the standards of Western theatre.” Ogai also emphasized that “scripts like *Urashima*,” in which “the lines were fully spoken to the audience,” have “almost never been performed in Japan.” That is, *Tamakushige Futari Urashima* was an experiment meant to embody the structure of the sort of European theatre in which “two or three characters” on stage “each spoke only their own lines” and the “audience heard those lines, understood them, and were moved by their meaning.”⁽¹⁸⁾ Furthermore, it seems that traces of Ogai’s experimentalism can be seen in the fact that those lines rhyme and are composed using ancient language. In fact, Taro’s lines sometimes continue for as long as 34 lines of speech, something which was undoubtedly unusual for both the actors and the audience of the time.

Within “Regarding the First Performance of *Urashima*,” there are even more instances of notable speech. As Ogai also notes, because “a script is a body of lyric verses,” speculation that “*Urashima* was written as an opera” was seen occasionally throughout the criticism of the time. In response to this, Ogai left behind fascinating remarks to the effect that “if an authentic composer were to exist,” or “if a singer trained from their childhood were to exist,” and also “if a theatre with a deep *Illusionsbühne* were to exist,” enumerating conditions that did not exist in Japan at the time and seeming to imply that if such condi-

tions were met, then *Urashima* might be the script of an opera.⁽¹⁹⁾ In fact, it can be seen from a detailed reading of “*Seigaku to Kodashi to*” (Western Music and Miss. Koda), an editorial published in *Mesamashikusa* in 1896 (Meiji 29) (in the “Chronology” of Reference 2), that Ogai was deeply interested in opera. Also, ten years later, in “*Kageki no kotodomo*” (Operatic Matters), published in *Ongaku shinpo*, Ogai remarks that “it would be a happy thing if opera were to occur in Japan,”⁽²⁰⁾ although this may have been Ogai’s reaction both to Tsubouchi Shoyo’s “*Shin gakugekiron*” (1904) and to an increase in the popular interest in opera. In any event, we should not forget that traces of Ogai’s interest in the European performing arts exist within the play he wrote based on the tale of Urashima.

The method of using the forms of literary verse as dialogue was employed in *Tamakushige Futari Urashima*, an original work by Ogai, but it can also be seen in Ogai’s translations of drama from this period. In 1903, Ogai published a translation of Ibsen’s “Brand” (Read as “Brand” in German) under the title *Bokushi* (The Clergyman) in the sixth and eighth volumes of *Mannenkusa*, published in June and September, respectively. For this translation, Ogai chose to use the form of literary poetry throughout. The title was written as *Bokushi* with *Danpen* (A Fragment) in brackets beside it, and it seems that Ogai had no intention of translating the entire work. The original is made up of five acts, of which Ogai chose to translate only Act Two. The text used as the basis for translation was “Brand. Ein dramatisches Gedicht von Henrik Ibsen” from the publisher Reclam, a translation from Finnish to German by Ludwig Passarge, a translator who worked as a traveling writer at the time and who was familiar with Northern European literature. In Passarge’s translation, the second act is made up of Scene One and Scene Two, and Ogai’s translation follows this structure. In order to examine Ogai’s seven-five syllable structures, I shall present the original along with my own translations of the relevant passages for the purposes of comparison.

Ogai’s Translation:

The Clergyman.

You must reveal the details of the incident. What has happened?

Fourth Woman.

In our home on the other shore I lived with my husband and three children. We’ve had no food, My
breast was dry, my babe was dying in agony;
My husband went mad and stabbed a knife in the child’s heart!

The Throng.

He slew his own child?

Fourth Woman.

Having run the knife through and seeing
The horror of his deed, he was assailed by grief
Stabbed his own heart and collapsed.
Save him from his suffering!⁽²¹⁾

German Source:

The Woman.

Across the fjord—my husband—

Brand.

Well?

The Woman.
Three starving babes, and ne'er a crumb,—
Say no,—his is not sent to hell!

Brand.
Your story first.

The Woman.
Our spirits were finished;
Man sent no help and God was dumb;
My babe was dying in agony;
Cut to the heart, —his child he slew! —

Brand.
He slew—!

The Throng.
[*Shuddering.*]
His child.

The Woman.
At once he knew
The horror of his deed of blood!
His grief ran brimming like a flood;
He struck himself the death-wound too.
Come, save him, save him from perdition,
...
There lies he, clasping the dead frame,
And shrieking on the Devil's name!⁽²²⁾

The original follows the normal form of a play with the character's name and corresponding information placed before each line. In the case of this text, these are "Brand," "The Woman," and "The Throng," but in Ogai's translation, "The Clergyman," using the title of Brand's occupation, is used in place of the katakana phoneticization *Buranto*. This kind of technique is also seen in the first period in "Emilia Galotti."

For example, Emilia is named "Young Woman," Gonzaga, coveting Emilia, is "The Lord," his close associate, Marinelli, is "An Associate," and so on. This may have been a way to get through to theatre admirers of the time, who would be used to adaptations of Western plays, thus he did not start with the translation of *Bokushi* in particular. Also, in contrast, in the case of "The Mayor of Zalamea," Ogai uses a different method that makes the reader aware that they are reading a translation by applying the style of *kabuki* as a device to the rhythm of the lines and by using katakana names for characters throughout. An important element of context for Ogai's drama translations is the existence of a reader base that had inherited the customs and traditions of Edo-period dramatic works and which could not be ignored when publishing translated plays. We cannot forget the existence of such circumstances. The "Fourth Woman," in Ogai's translation, is equivalent to "The Woman" in the source text, but as three women each have short lines in the beginning of the second act, Ogai names each of these in order, as "First Woman" and so on, therefore specifying that the woman here is the fourth woman to speak. This structure was not arbitrarily applied by Ogai, but came from the German source text, in which these names are "Eine Frau,"

“Eine andere,” and so on (A Woman” and “Another Woman). “The Throng” is expressed by the German “Volk,” a term referring to a large number of people.

Incidentally, regarding the naming of characters with lines, it has been explained previously that “the names of Norwegian couples (...) are also eliminated and replaced simply by ‘Second Man’ and ‘Wife.’ At first glance, this might be seen merely as a small adjustment in an attempt to follow Japanese custom, but, actually, as we shall see going forward, it was a part of Ogai’s attempt to wipe away the distinctly Norwegian color of the play in order to make it suitable for a general audience.”⁽²³⁾ However, as “Second Man” in the source text is used when a second “Eine andere” appears, Ogai’s use of “Second Man” is nothing more than a translation that follows the source text. Focusing on this single point as “a part” of Ogai’s “attempt” to “wipe away the Norwegian color” is clearly going too far. Moreover, regarding the term “Wife,” this character is not referred to by name in the lines of German spoken by “Second Man,” but is instead called “Mein Weib,” which is to say “my wife,” so this translation cannot be admitted as a contrivance of Ogai. Furthermore, in the cited passage, the notion of “generalizing” the play is referred to, but what this means is unclear. Rather than viewing this as a “generalization,” we ought to turn our attention to the fact that Ogai, who during this period of the Russo-Japanese War was executing many experiments using literary verse, made an attempt to continue the use of this style in the form of drama translation.

While small changes exist in Ogai’s translation, it fundamentally holds the form of a seven-five literary verse. In comparing Ogai’s translation against the source text and my translation of it, it is possible to follow the traces of the devices that Ogai used to fit the words into the form of literary verse. There are also discontinuities between the nuances of the source text and the translation produced by these devices. Next, I will enumerate a few of these points—

1. In the source text, the dialogue between the clergyman and the woman spans four instances (with the interruption of “The Throng” in its midst), but in Ogai’s translation, this number is considerably decreased. Excluding the insertion of “The Throng’s” line, the conversation between the clergyman and the woman is essentially pared down to one line each. That is, in the source text, the responses of the woman to the clergyman’s questions are introduced using halting words due to her shock over the death of her child at her husband’s hand (the interrupting punctuation — is used effectively here). These lines gradually become longer, and the woman describes the conditions of her husband’s murder of their child and subsequent suicide in a state of emotional agitation. In Ogai’s translation, the repeated questioning of the clergyman does not exist, so the dynamic development of the dialogue is not seen, and, in its place, the woman speaks in five/seven-syllable speech that is filled with emotion, clearly expressing the course of the calamity in poetic form.

2. The differences between the composition of these conversations gives rise to slight differences in nuance. “My babe was dying in agony;/Cut to the heart, —his child he slew!—” in the source text sets a scene in which the man went mad in a single second and slew his child, but the equivalent passage in Ogai’s translation is described as “My breast was dry, my babe was dying in agony; My husband went mad and stabbed a knife in the child’s heart!” This description of the event makes the causal relationship clear: the husband not wanting to see the agony of the child and losing his mind and committing the murder.

3. This kind of difference of nuance can also be identified in the next scene. In the source text, this is described as “At once he knew/The horror of his deed of blood!/His grief ran brimming like a flood;/ He struck himself the death-wound too. —” in which the husband, having lost his senses after killing the child is struck by grief after “regaining his senses,” so that something like a pause in consciousness exists as a result. The equivalent passage in Ogai expresses this as “Having run the knife through and seeing/The horror of his deed, he was assailed by grief,” placing the emphasis on the causal relation-

ship between the husband seeing his child's blood and feeling remorse, so that the pause in consciousness included in the source text is not depicted.

I have no intention of pointing out mistakes in Ogai's translation by means of highlighting such differences. For a translator as familiar with German as Ogai, it is impossible for these to be mistakes. Instead, I would like to emphasize Ogai's strong determination to realize a literary verse taking the seven-five form, while being fully aware of the possibility that it would create such differences in nuance. There is no doubt that expressions such as "My breast was dry," which did not occur in the source text, not only served to complete the phrasing necessary to achieve the seven-five syllable form, but were also surely inserted to express the depths of poverty within the speech of a single woman. Ancient expressions can be heard within Ogai's translation, such as *ware* (of one's own will), from "The Throng," and *tsuma* (for "husband"), from the woman. Furthermore, words that use Chinese readings (*onyomi*), such as *shisai*, *kiga*, *danmatsuma*, and *kokai* are also freely used, producing a rhythm with a feeling of hardness within the seven/five-syllable meter. In addition, regarding the need for words expressed using katakana, such as "fjord" used in the source text, Ogai could have drawn on such terms considering his translations during his first period, but Ogai instead uses the "*hama no anata*," drawing this expression into the world of Japanese terminology. It may be said that the translated language of *Bokushi* is formed within the delicate balance between the softness and hardness of the language.

In further examining the details of Ogai's manner of producing dramatic devices, it is necessary to advance our analysis while examining other areas of the translation with the source text. As the goal of this paper is to exemplify the fundamental characteristics of the three phases, the first phase, transition phase, and second phase, of the linguistic experiments in Ogai's drama translations, I will conclude the discussion of *Bokushi* here. In any event, in my estimation, Ogai expresses extraordinary interest in literary verse during this period, which is divided by the Russo-Japanese War (this is clear from a reading of *Utaniikki*),⁽²⁴⁾ and Ogai appears to be investigating the possibility of connections between bodies of literary verse and drama, both in the areas of writing, such as *Tamakushige Futari Urashima*, and translation, as in *Bokushi*. Ogai at this time was not so much intent on translating Ibsen as he was searching through his readings for passages of text that would be effective in this style.⁽²⁵⁾ Incidentally, the title *Bokushi* does not exist within the volume of collected translations that Ogai planned to publish.⁽²⁶⁾ This seems to speak to the idea that *Bokushi* was more of a stylistic experiment than it was a translation.

III. Second Phase

Next, we will return to Reference 2, the "Chronology," in order to advance the topic of Ogai's second phase of writing and translation of drama. In this section, we will consider "The Lady with the Dagger," which is located at the beginning of the second phase and is Ogai's experiment in translating Schnitzler's "Die Frau mit dem Dolche". Before entering into a specific introduction, an important matter concerning a problem of words must first be identified. First, as the "Chronology" in Reference 2 specifies, in 1904 (Meiji 37) the first "primary school primers" were established, which is to say that the spread of standard Japanese began. A contemporary prospectus from the time explained that the Japanese "of the middle class will be adopted, and in this way a standard national language will be spread,"⁽²⁷⁾ showing that standard Japanese is formed on the basis of the Tokyo dialect. Hida Yoshifumi has conducted a great deal of notable research on the relationship between the formation of the Tokyo dialect and standard Japanese, a topic that will not be treated in depth here. However, within the second period prospectus for a "primary school primer" from 1910 (Meiji 43) is the statement that "spoken language shall be ... established as standard Japanese by means of Tokyo dialect."⁽²⁸⁾ Thus I feel it is possible to identify the first time the concept of standard Japanese was used. The concept of "modern Japanese"⁽²⁹⁾ used by Ogai in the same year, 1910, in "The Year of the One-Act," published in *Shincho* and the concept of "contemporary

language”⁽³⁰⁾ used by Ogai in “On Translating Faust” both refer to the standard Japanese, which was based on the Tokyo dialect.

What must also be pointed out in connection to Ogai’s second phase of writing and translating drama is that “Deutsche Bühnenaussprache” (German Spoken Stage Language) by Theodor Siebs was published in 1898 (Meiji 31). In the introduction to this work, Siebs remarks that “a pronunciation that overcomes dialect has been cultivated in the theatre” and he quotes Goethe’s “Rules for Actors.” In other words, he recalls Goethe’s strong determination to open up a new German language in the field of theatrical arts that would overcome the conditions of the time which were crowded by “Provinzialismus” (dialects, local color, and colloquial language). Regarding the relationship between theatrical language and standard language, Siebs stated the following. “There have already been departure points in the theatre for a variety of experiments for a consolidation in the direction of the standardization of language, and even today the strictest keepers of a standard language continue to be in the theatre. It is preferable that audience members who visit the theatre in the future make even greater requests of the language used on stage and that the language that resounds from the theatre maintains an educational power. The normative language of the theatre will continue to be the standard for the language culture of a single people. To rigorously train actors such that there is nothing to be criticized in their utterances is the mission of theatre schools and directors.”⁽³¹⁾ This book of Siebs’ caused a considerable reaction, and a new title, meaning standard language (Hochsprache), was appended to the previous title of “German Spoken Stage Language” in 1922. It does not seem that Ogai knew of this new title, “Deutsche Bühnenaussprache. Hochsprache,” but it is true that the introduction contained a powerful demand regarding the language of theatre, namely that the spoken stage language would become the standard language of the nation.

In the entry for 1908 (Meiji 41) of the “Chronology” of Reference 2 is the item “Opinion on Kana Orthography,” which refers to the printing of a statement of opinion that Ogai conducted as a member of the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture’s Committee for a Temporary Survey of Kana Orthography. Within this statement, Ogai remarked that “the government should anyhow conduct deeper research on a method of writing Japanese based purely on pronunciation, and, like the various studies that phonetic researchers are doing in the West, should study a method of writing by which our native tongue might be written as much as possible on the basis of pronunciation.”⁽³²⁾ Ogai does not mention the name of any specific “Western” “scholars of orthoepy” or “phonetik researchers,” but it is entirely possible that this was supposed to refer to Siebs, as the most important researcher at the time. Also, considering that Ogai always read the appropriate literature pertaining to the specific themes of his work, and as Siebs’ books were the most important work on this topic at the time, it is undoubtedly true that Ogai’s remarks were based on the existence of Siebs’ work. Siebs placed the greatest emphasis on the accurate written representation of a given pronunciation in order to advance the standardization of pronunciations and to facilitate their spread. Ogai, in order to advance the standardization of pronunciation, which had only just begun, advocates strongly for the necessity of research regarding “a method of writing Japanese purely according to pronunciation.” Passages in which he references a flexible response to “pronunciation-based methods of writing” are also deeply interesting.⁽³³⁾ Regarding Goethe’s “Rules for Actors” as well, Ogai, who was familiar with the details of that work,⁽³⁴⁾ seeing the birth and promulgation of a new Japanese before and after Meiji 40, once again set to the task of drama translation. Moreover, it is important to note that this time Ogai far exceeded the scope of the development of his first phase, in terms of the diversity of genres and the amount of translation. Ogai was strongly encouraged by the assertion, which can be traced back to Goethe, that spoken stage language should be equivalent to a standard language and seems to have held especially strong opinions on the role that the theatre should play in forming and promulgating a standard language. It also certainly cannot be denied that, facing the death of his younger brother, Takeji Miki, Ogai desired to continue the publication of *Kabuki*, the magazine that Takeji had started and that this had a strong effect on Ogai’s drama writing and translation. However, taking into consideration that Ogai’s writing and translation of dramas from this period were deeply related to actual

performance, as well as other concerns, it seems that changes in the standardization of language in Japan had a considerable effect on Ogai's method of engaging with theatre.

Let us examine some of Ogai's own remarks regarding the introduction of new language into theatre. This is a passage that I have already touched on, but I will quote it in somewhat more detail here. First, the following statement appears in "The Year of the One-Act," published in 1910 (Meiji 43): "The use of "modern language" in historical drama has also become a problem. That is, it is strange to speak only about my own works, but it began with my own work, *Shizuka* (Stillness). Here I also think there is nothing mysterious and nothing to discuss. Therefore, I do not think saying that I am the original is putting on airs or anything of the kind."⁽³⁵⁾ Similarly, in the 1913 (Taisho 2) article "On Translating Faust," Ogai severely criticizes the tendency to view modern language translations as "vulgar," remarking, "I do not feel that older language is surely elegant and that contemporary language is surely provincial. Though I write during the current period, I do not take exception to common language, although I am not satisfied with provincialism. This is because I think that a noble meaning can be conveyed by the common contemporary language, because I respect contemporary language, and because I do not think that works that use contemporary language end in failure and fall into provincialism."⁽³⁶⁾ As an example of one of Ogai's experiments in the modernization of language that had a strong effect on the younger generation at this time, I shall next reference a report by Nagata Hideo in *Shingeki no Reimei* (Dawning of New Drama). "The second work produced (Note: The second public performance at the Free Theatre) was the one-act "Ikutagawa" by Mr. Mori. I was first surprised by the beauty of the stage setting. The script is not a considerable work in terms of content, but at the time we were all interested anyway by the fact that it was written in modern language. Perhaps only because the actors were originally involved in classical drama the performance did not collapse even in such conditions. We were also interested in the manner of speaking the lines of modern language, which certainly did not seem unnatural as we had feared they might. Certainly, the scrupulous attention of Mr. Mori and the devices of the actors brought about this result, which in any case seemed to us to have nearly succeeded. When the curtain came down, we went out to the hallway to smoke tobacco and said things like, 'Well, that's it, from now on historical drama should also be written in modern language,' 'Exactly. There's no way we can use something like the old language now. It's the poet's job to produce a feeling of antiquity through the use of modern words.'⁽³⁷⁾ Nagata's record demonstrates not only the size of the sizable effect of Ogai's experiments, but also the decisive influence they had on the development of the language of drama thereafter. Hence, it is a resource of unquestionable value.

Next, we will examine Schnitzler's "The Lady with a Dagger" as a specific example of Ogai's drama writing and translation in the second phase, positioned as the first translation in Ogai's second phase. This translation was published in the magazine *Kabuki* in 1907 (Meiji 40). "The Lady with the Dagger" is the first case of Ogai using "modern language" in either the writing or translation of drama.⁽³⁸⁾ Ogai published "A Summary of the Most Recent Scripts in Germany" in the September 1909 (Meiji 42) issue of the magazine *Subaru*, selecting the works of four German-language playwrights of the period and introducing an outline of each. The four authors were Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Max Halbe, Frank Wedekind, and Arthur Schnitzler, with Schnitzler's introduction coming first and involving twelve works, thus surpassing the presence of the other writers. Ogai's translations of Schnitzler, including "The Lady with the Dagger," amount to seven works.⁽³⁹⁾ Ogai translated more of Schnitzler's work than those of any other author. Upon beginning the translations of his second phase, Ogai may indeed have searched for the play that would make the most effective use of modern language. In "The Lady with the Dagger," to facilitate the appearance of the female protagonist's sexual desires on stage, the scene changes to an event that the same woman experienced several hundred years ago. The play, therefore, involves the dramatic expression of the most authentic theme in psychology at the time, namely, the visualization of a sexual desire that exists in the subconscious and transcends time before the audience's eyes. In order to stage this kind of temporal transition, Schnitzler makes free use of changes in meter. In reproducing this effect, Ogai (cog-

nizant that changes in the meter of the German could not be reflected in the Japanese) emphasizes the difference between the times by using the modern language in the scenes set in the present day. I will introduce specific passages from the text below, but first I will provide a summary of this work.

Pauline (= Paola), the wife of the poet Gottfried, and Leonhard (= Lionardo), who loves Pauline fervently, are standing in a small hall hanging a painting from the Italian Renaissance by a nameless 16th century artist. They see that the woman with the dagger in the painting starkly resembles Pauline, and they engage in conversation. Pauline says that she will leave Italy the next day due to her husband's circumstances, but Leonhard, stirring up Pauline's secret thoughts about him and his own love for her, invites her to have sex with him that night. Pauline, who appears to refuse the invitation, but who is inwardly attracted by it, is looking at the painting of the woman with the dagger when the scene suddenly changes to 300 years prior. The scene is the morning after Pauline's predecessor, Paola, who is the wife of the artist Remigio, has allowed herself to have a loveless, but nevertheless passionate night with the young painter, Lionardo. Paola waits for her husband to return and then confesses her crime, at which point, Remigio, knowing the facts, attempts to turn out Lionardo, his apprentice. In turn, Lionardo, who holds a grudge against the couple because of his unrequited love, decides to stab Remigio to death. Paola hears this and, taking up a dagger, stabs and kills Lionardo. Remigio then completes the unfinished picture he is painting of his wife by painting in the dagger. The scene suddenly returns to the present day, Pauline abruptly awakens from her dream and promises to visit Leonhard that evening, at which point the curtain goes down.

This work is a short one-act play, but it is full of devices that skillfully give rise to theatrical effects, such as the single painting hung upon the wall that plays an important role in symbolizing the development of the plot, and it may be considered one of Schnitzler's most important works. In examining Ogai's translation, I focus on the decisive scene in which the setting changes from the present to the past (the sixteenth century). Below are Ogai's translation and Schnitzler's original text—

Leo. Pauline, what is it?

Pau. It is I. —don't you know me?

Leo. I told you the likeness was remarkable.

Pau. But it is I, I myself. Do you now know me? And here in the shadow, —the youth, lying dead—you—

Leo. I Pauline? Are you dreaming?

Pau. You do not remember, then, Leonhard? [She seizes his hand; they seat themselves slowly upon the divan, their eyes fixed on the picture.]

Leo. Remember him—?

Pau. Lionardo, dost thou not remember?

[The stage grows suddenly dark. The furniture is quickly changed. Until it becomes light again, the bells ring out, then abruptly cease.]

The atelier of the master REMIGIO. Early dawn. At the left is a little door, at the right, a dark-red portiere, heavily embroidered. A large bay window is at the back of the stage. About the room are several copies from antique marbles. The paintings on the wall belong to the school of the period. On an easel at the right, near the front of the stage, a curtained picture. Near the portiere, in the shadow, lies LIONARDO (Leonhard). Perfect silence. PAOLA (Pauline) enters, in a white night-robe, exactly like the painting in the foregoing scene. She passes by LIONARDO without seeing him, goes slowly to the easel and draws away the curtain from the painting. It is the same as in the former scene, except that it is not finished to the outstretched arm and hand clasping the dagger. The picture becomes more distinctly visible in the course of the scene, as it grows lighter. Paola looks fixedly and long at the picture. Lionardo draws himself nearer to her, on the floor, and kisses the hem of her robe.

Pao. [starts slightly] What does thou here, and hast not thou left the house?

Lio. My lady, no! I lay before thy door until the dawn.

Pao. Now shalt thou go.

Lio. The fragrance of thy kiss

Clings in my hair. I would not squander it

Upon the wanton breezes of the night.

Pao. Thy wits are dulled. The morning grays apace,
And all the house will wake to see thee go.⁽⁴⁰⁾

LEONHARD. Pauline, was haben Sie denn?

PAULINE. Ich bin es – kennen Sie mich nicht?

LEONHARD. Ich sagt' es ja, die Ähnlichkeit ist außerordentlich.

PAULINE. Ich bin es, ich bin es selbst. Erkennen Sie mich nicht? Und hier im Schatten – der tote Jüngling – Sie –

LEONHARD. Ich, Pauline? Was ist Ihnen?

PAULINE. Erinnern Sie sich nicht, Leonhard?

Sie hält ihn bei der Hand; beide setzen sich langsam auf den Divan, den Blick dem Bilde zugewendet.

LEONHARD. Erinnern ...?

PAULINE. Lionardo, erinnerst du dich nicht?

Plötzliche Verdunkelung der Bühne. Sehr rasche Verwandlung. Bis es wieder Licht wird, tönen die Glocken weiter, dann verstummen sie plötzlich.

Das Atelier des Meisters Remigio. Morgengrauen. Links eine kleine Türe, rechts eine schwer geraffte dunkelrote Portiere. Großes Bogenfenster im Hintergrund. Im Saale einige Kopien nach antiken Plastiken. Bilder an der Wand, der Zeit entsprechend. Auf einer Staffelei rechts ziemlich vorn ein verhängtes Bild. – Nah der Portiere auf dem Boden liegt Lionardo (Leonhard) im Dunkel, nicht schlafend. Vollkommene Stille. Nach einigen Sekunden tritt Paola (Pauline) auf, in weißem Nachtgewand, ganz dem Bilde gleichend, das man in der vorigen Szene sah. Sie geht an Lionardo vorbei, ohne ihn zu sehen, langsam bis zur Staffelei, entfernt leicht den Schleier von dem Bild. Es ist das gleiche, wie in der vorigen Szene, nur noch nicht vollendet, insbesondere fehlt der ausgestreckte Arm und die Hand, die den Dolch hält. Natürlich wird das Bild erst deutlicher sichtbar im Verlauf der Szene, wenn es lichter wird.

PAOLA. *betrachtet das Bild lang.*

LIONARDO. *ist ihr ziemlich nabe, auf dem Boden zu ihr, küßt den Saum ihres Kleides.*

PAOLA. *zuckt leicht.*

Was fällt Euch ein? Verliebt Ihr nicht das Haus?

LIONARDO.

Paola, nein! ich blieb vor Eurer Tür.

PAOLA.

Jetzt aber eilt.

LIONARDO.

Der Duft von Euren Küssen
Ist noch in meinem Haar. Ich gönn' ihn nicht
Dem Wind der Nacht, der ihn ins Weite trägt.

PAOLA.

Wie wenig klug. Der Morgen graut heran,
Ein Diener wacht vielleicht und sieht Euch gehn.⁽⁴¹⁾

Regarding the passage where the lines begin again after the scene has changed, in the original instructions for the behavior of Paola and Lionardo, the instructions are linked to their respective names. In contrast, in Ogai's translation, the same passages are treated as stage directions with a “ ” symbol placed before them: “Paola looks fixedly and long at the picture. Lionardo draws himself nearer to her, on the floor, and kisses the hem of her robe.” Excluding this passage, the structure of the translation largely corresponds to that of the original. Next, I would like to enumerate a few important points concerning both the linguistic characteristics of the original and Ogai's methods of dealing with them.

1. Pauline and Leonhard refer to each other with the German honorific “Sie,” which Ogai translates as “*anata*,” given phonetically next to the Japanese characters “貴方.” At the moment when the scene moves into the past (in the line directly before the stage directions begin), Pauline uses the personal pronoun “du,” to refer to Leonhard to express their relationship in terms of social status 300 years ago. Ogai translates this as “*omae*.” Furthermore, when the scene changes and reverts to the past, Paola and Lionardo refer to each other using the ancient personal pronoun “*thr*.” In the translation, Paola uses the term “*sochi*” while Lionardo maintains the use of “*anata*” (written in hiragana now instead of kanji), or sometimes the expression “*anata-sama*.” “*Sochi*” is an ancient personal pronoun used to speak to someone of lower status. In response to “*sochi*,” Lionardo uses personal pronouns from ancient times to refer to higher status individuals, “*anata*” and “*anata-sama*.” To express the transition to the use of the historical expression “*thr*” in the source text, Ogai must add changes to the personal pronouns of the translation.

2. The style of writing used in the scenes set in the present is prose, which changes to verse when the scene transitions to the past. Schnitzler placed five accented syllables per line and used blank verse to beat out the rhythm (iambus). In the conversation between Paola and Lionardo (split into two lines because the words are spaced out), some passages are composed of a single line of blank verse. In such passages, Schnitzler's approach of composing lines in blank verse throughout after the scene change can be seen. Blank verse is a type of meter established in the second half of the 16th century. That is, Schnitzler is using a form of poetry from 300 years before the work was written to correspond to the contents of the work. That Ogai was familiar with this kind of German meter is clear from materials in the “Chronology” of Reference 1, such as the collection of translated poetry *Omokage*, or *Mitabi hyosoku ni tsukite*, (Third Essay on Meter in Chinese Poetry.) In the Ogai archives at the University of Tokyo is literature on poetic meter, such as F. M. Grady's “Die deutsche Poetik” (“On German Poetry”), in which notes made by Ogai can be seen.

3. Ogai composes the scenes in the present between Pauline and Leonhard using “*desu/masu*” form. After the scene change, expressions such as Paola's “*zoe*” are used. “*Zoe*” is an expression used in *kowaka* verse. *Kowaka* verse is a style of dance that accompanied chanting or speaking, and “*zoe*” is a representative *kowaka* expression that is expressive of its characteristics. Expressions that use “*yaru*,” such as “*miyaru*” and “*shiyaru*,” occur frequently, but these are *kyogen* expressions from the Edo period and were

discussed above in the analysis of *Toriko*, whose origins are, of course, in the Muromachi period around the year 1600. It might be said that, to correspond to Schnitzler's method of producing a difference in time through the introduction of meter, Ogai makes free use of Japanese methods of expression produced around the same time as blank verse.

4. Older expressions appear in Pauline's lines from the scene set in the present near the point when the change in time draws closer, such as the "senu ka" within "anata niwa sore ga owakari ni narimasenu ka." A skillful use of language can be seen here in the original text, in which a rhythm of stressed and unstressed symbols has been appended within brackets to the original text. While this passage is not entirely blank verse, a set rhythm has been applied to it so that it gradually withdraws from a prose style. Ogai, by inserting expressions such as "senu ka," seems to be attempting to write in a way that corresponds to Schnitzler's methods of expression.

Other supporting examples in the text could be identified; nevertheless, it can be argued that Schnitzler's "The Lady with the Dagger" may have been the ideal text to show the effectiveness of modern language as the language of the theatre. The translation of "The Lady with the Dagger" was not done in response to a request that it be performed. Ogai, who envisioned the introduction of modern Japanese into the theatre, seems to have discovered Schnitzler's "The Lady with the Dagger" as an ideal work to realize his goal. I would like to discuss in another paper that these sorts of experimental attempts by Ogai served as harbingers to the later increase in the popularity of Schnitzler's work.

In this paper, based on the information in "Chronology" in Reference 2, I have generally outlined the respective characteristics of Ogai's writing and translation of drama and offered specific examples of these characteristics as they developed through three phases of his career: his first phase, transition phase, and second phase. Reference 1 represents the discursive spaces that are important in reconstructing Ogai's writing and translation of drama. In conclusion, I would like to return to this reference and speak about the potential for future developments in this research field. Referring to the four discursive spaces organized in Reference 1, the area in the upper-left section of the graph, labeled, "Ideas and concepts of theatre reform," is the area that corresponds to the themes of Ogai's first phase and is also the area that relates to the artistically enlightening activities that Ogai engaged in after returning to Japan from his studies abroad. In relation to the area of the graph that is labeled, "Theatre and literary journalism," in the bottom-left section, the *Shigaramisosshi* and *Yomiuri Shimbum* (in which "The Mayor of Zalamea" was serialized) are objects of consideration. This problem of media environment is deeply relevant to the discursive space of the section of the graph labeled "Modernism in European theatre" in the upper-right portion. Examinations of contemporary magazine media, such as *Subaru* and *Kabuki*, are important elements in reconstructing Ogai's activities in the media environment of his day. As introduced in this paper, "Modernism in European theatre" has a close relationship to the transition phase of Ogai's career, and it is particularly important to the second phase in the "Chronology." The elements that make up "Shingeki (New Drama) and other movements," featured in the in the bottom-right section of the graphic Chronology, were premised on the activities of the Free Theatre as well as other factors, and the drama writing and translation of Ogai's second phase developed in close relation to the diverse new theatre movements occurring in Tokyo. Additionally, the terms written on the right and left sides of the diagram, such as "standard language" and "study of meter," are, as identified in this paper, problem areas that must always be considered in examining Ogai's drama writing and translation, which can be understood as being born of essentially a mutual osmosis among the four discursive spaces.

"Ideas and concepts of theatre reform" are discussed in detail in my previous work, "The Poets Behind the Theatre – Ogai Mori — Reading the Theatrical Theory of His Early Days" (Keio University Press, 2012). Also, my paper "Ogai's 'Soga Brothers' and Hofmannsthal's 'Oedipus Rex'— Bridging the Past and

Present Through Adaptations —” (“Bungei Kenkyu” No. 125, 2015), represents my first exploration of Ogai’s theatre in connection to the broader theme of “Modernism in European theatre.” This paper represents a return to this topic and has expanded to include discussions of Ogai’s poetic style during his transition phase, as well as the modern Japanese style of his second phase, from a variety of perspectives. However, in order to illuminate the origins of Ogai’s experiments in literary style in his theatre translations, I would like to underscore important points about the style of Ogai’s first phase, which I have detailed elsewhere. Further research delving into the topic of “Modernism in European theatre” must be explored in future studies; moreover, in so doing, connections to active theatre movements from this period, such as the Free Theatre movement, should be positioned as objects of study, including the discovery of new material.

In addition to this call for further study of the themes of this research, there are valuable analytical perspectives that did not fit into the scope of this paper and that deserve future study. Problems remain related to criticism and journalism, for example, including the question of how the style of meter of *Tamakushige Futari Urashima* was assessed by contemporary audiences and critics. In this paper it was necessary to limit the scope to introducing a small portion of generally affirmative evaluations of Ogai’s work so as to focus on introducing the conditions of Ogai’s experiments in style. Topics such as the proficiency of actors and the reception of audiences must be fully considered in the future when consolidating or expanding this research. Finally, looking ahead to topics requiring further examination in future research, Ogai’s drama writing and translations were also exposed to severe criticism, sometimes due to apparent faults attributable to Ogai, but, in other cases, fundamentally connected to difficult problems born in the process of modernizing the theatre.

NOTES

- (1) See Keizo Ikimatsu, *Ogai Mori* (University of Tokyo Press, 1976), Chapter 3, “*Sentoteki keimo*” [Militant Enlightenment], pp. 83-122.
- (2) Ogai Mori, “*Engekai kairyo ronsha no benken ni odoroku*” [On Being Shocked at the Distorted Views of the Theatre Reformers]. Citations of Ogai’s writings in this paper are based upon Complete Works of Ogai (Iwanami Shoten, 1971-1975), Vol. 22, page 32.
- (3) For details, see my work “*Engekijo ri no shijin – Mori Ogai*” [The Poets Behind the Theatre – Ogai Mori] (Keio University Press, 2012), pp. 114-124.
- (4) Mori Ogai, “*Futatabi geki wo ronjite yo no hyoka ni kotau*” [A Second Essay on the Theatre in Answer to Criticism of the Age] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 22), page 53.
- (5) Ogai added a forward to the text of “The Mayor of Zalamea,” writing about his experience during his studies abroad, when reading “the scene in which Isabel is attacked” in “The Mayor of Zalamea” to a “young woman” from Spain who was working in a Dresden “liquor store.” (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 1, pp. 3-4).
- (6) Ogai Mori, “The Mayor of Zalamea” (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 1), p. 7.
- (7) In the case of contracted sounds such as nya, nyu, and nyo (にゃ, にゅ, and にょ), the combination of ni (に) and ya, yu, or yo (ゃ, ゅ, or ょ) written in small script is one syllable. Accordingly, the syllable count of tomaranya (とまらにゃ) should be four. However, in historical kana orthography like that used in tomaranya (とまらにや), contracted sounds are not written in small script, meaning that the example in this poem can be perceived as having five syllables. Additionally, the n (ん) sound comprises one syllable. Consequently, konya (こんゃ) is three syllables.
- (8) Ogai Mori, “The Mayor of Zalamea” (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 1), p. 71.
- (9) Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 1, p. 641.
- (10) Ogai Mori, *Toriko* [The Captive] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 2), p. 169.
- (11) Taro Akiba, *Nihon shingekishi* [History of New Theatre in Japan], first volume (Riso Co., Ltd., 1955),

pp. 194-195.

- (12) Mokutaro Kinoshita, “*Ogai gyoshi to wa darezo*” [Who is Ogai Gyoshi] *Iwanami koza nihon bungaku* [Japanese Literature by Iwanami], Vol. 10, 1933], p. 17.
- (13) Ogai Mori, “*Ogai gyoshi to wa darezo*” [Who is Ogai Gyoshi] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 25), p. 128.
- (14) Mokutaro Kinoshita, “Mori Ogai” *Iwanami koza nihon bungaku* [Japanese Literature by Iwanami], Vol. 10, 1933, pp. 25-32.
- (15) Ogai Mori, “*Urashima no shodo no kogyo ni tsuite*” [On the First Performance of Urashima] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 3) p. 216.
- (16) Ogai Mori, “*Tamakushige Futari Urashima*” [The Jeweled Comb Box and the Two Urashima Taros] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 3), pp. 200-202.
- (17) Ogai Mori, “*Tamakushige Futari Urashima*” [The Jeweled Comb Box and the Two Urashima Taros] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 3), pp. 208.
- (18) Ogai Mori, “*Urashima no shodo no kogyo ni tsuite*” [On the First Performance of Urashima] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 3), p. 214.
- (19) Ogai Mori, “*Urashima no shodo no kogyo ni tsuite*” [On the First Performance of Urashima] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 3), pp. 212 and 215.
- (20) Ogai Mori, “*Kageki no kotodomo*” [Matters of Opera] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 26), p. 146.
- (21) Ogai Mori, “*Bokushū*” [The Clergyman by Ibsen] (Complete Works of Mori, Vol. 3), pp. 230-231.
- (22) Henrik Ibsen: Brand Ein dramatisches Gedicht. Übersetzt von L. Passarge. Leipzig (Philipp Reclam jun.), S. 29-30 (University of Tokyo General Library Ogai Collection)
- (23) Yoichi Nagashima, “*Mori Ogai – Bunka no bonyakusha*” [Ogai Mori – Cultural Translator] (Iwanami Shoten, 2005), p. 87.
- (24) Interesting Analysis on the Relationship of the Russo-Japanese War and *Utaniikki* [A Diary in Verse] from page 166 of *Mori Ogai to Nisshin/Nichiro senso* [Ogai Mori and the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars] by Yoshiharu Suenobu (Heibonsha, Inc., 2008).
- (25) Regarding “*Ogai to Ibsen*” [Ogai and Ibsen], see “*Ogai no Ibsenkan no kozō*” [Structure of Ogai’s View of Ibsen] by Kenji Uriu (Proceedings of Comparative Literature & Culture, Issue No. 1, edited by the University of Tokyo Comparative Literature & Culture Research Group, 1985, pp. 25-43). Ogai’s comments on Ibsen in the context of naturalistic writers are contradictory, but Uriu carefully shows how they changed. Ibsen’s “Brand” is considered part of Ogai’s reading from his Kokura period. Uriu’s comments are interesting, but they do not involve an analysis of Ogai’s translation style. Ogai’s translation of “Brand” may be considered a deepening of his awareness of Ibsen’s creative technique.
- (26) From 1921 (Taisho 10) to 1922 (Taisho 11), Ogai published *Maki I Doitsu shin geki hen* [Compilation of German Drama Vol. 1] and *Maki II Osutoria geki hen* [Compilation of Austrian Drama Vol. 2] through the Shunyodo publishing house as “*Rintaro Mori yakubun shū*” [Collected Translations of Rintaro Mori]. An announcement for “*Maki III hokuo shingeki hen*” (Compilation of Northern European Drama Vol. 3) was made at the end of Vol. 2. Ogai’s death seems to have made this impossible. Vol. 3 carried Ibsen’s “A Doll’s House,” “Ghosts” and “John Gabriel Borkman.” “Brand” was not scheduled. See “*Tankebon shoshū*” (bibliography of separately printed books) included on pp. 318-319 in *Mori Ogai hikkei* [Ogai Mori Handbook] (Gakutosha, 1969) edited by Tatsuro Inagaki.
- (27) From proposed first phase edit of *I, E, Su, Shi Tokubon* (*I, E, Su, Shi* Primer). See Yoshifumi Hida, *Tokyogo seiritsushi no kenkyū* [A Study of the Establishment of Tokyo Japanese] (Tokyodo Publishing, 1992), p. 50.
- (28) From proposed second phase edit of *Hatatako Tokubon* (*Hatatako* Primer). See Yoshifumi Hida, *Tokyogo seiritsushi no kenkyū* [A Study of the Establishment of Tokyo Japanese] (Tokyodo Publishing, 1992), p. 52.

- (29) Ogai Mori, “*Hitomakumono no ryuko shita toshi?*” [Year of the One-Act] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 26), page 419.
- (30) Ogai Mori, “*Yakubon Fausuto ni tsuite?*” [On Translating Faust] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 12), p. 877.
- (31) Theodor Siebs: “Deutsche Bühnenaussprache”, 12. Aufl. Bonn 1920, p.4.
- (32) Ogai Mori, “*Kana Zukai Iken?*” [Opinions on Kana Orthography] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 26), pp. 289-290.
- (33) Interestingly, Ogai indicates a rather flexible attitude at the conclusion of “*Kana Zukai Iken?*” saying, “I do not count what is written phonetically as mistakes.” – “Textbooks ought to be written in regular phonetic *kana* orthography. Therefore, children might be made to write things themselves, so they might be able to write as they speak or to write things out phonetically. Anything they write out phonetically should not be considered a mistake. If this is acknowledged, and the phonetic writing method I have mentioned here is investigated for use by teachers, it might turn out to be usable. Treat phonetically written text as if it were not a mistake. If this is truly done and followed through without interference, then students will feel they are genuinely allowed to do the same.” Ogai Mori, “*Kana zukai iken?*” (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 26), p. 290.
- (34) Ogai Mori, “*Rodokuno ni tsukite no araso?*” [Fight Over Recitation Methods]. (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 22), pp. 351-352. See my work “*Engekijo ri no shijin – Mori Ogai?*” [The Poets Behind the Theatre – Ogai Mori], pp. 139-144.
- (35) See note (28).
- (36) See note (29).
- (37) Hideo Nagata, “*Shingeki no renmei?*” [Dawn of New Drama] (Guroria Bunko, 1941), p. 73.
- (38) The first translation into contemporary language may have been “Die Geschichte einer Liebe” by Hildegard von Hippel. This translation was serialized in four installments in *Geibun* and *Mannenkusa* magazines in 1902 (Meiji 35). In order to create sectional divisions for stories in novels and quotations from letters according to style, contemporary language was used for the former.
- (39) Titles other than for translations of Schnitzler by Ogai are as follows (Ogai’s titles and original titles):
 “Man of Valor,” “Der tapfere Cassian”
 “Andreas Thameyer’s Last Letter,” “Andreas Thameyers letzter Brief”
 “Christmas Shopping,” “Weihnachtseinkäufe”
 “Regret,” “Sterben”
 “Immersed in Love,” “Liebelei”
 “The Death of a Bachelor,” “Der Tod des Junggesellen”
 “Christmas Shopping” is the translation of a scene from the play “Anatol.”
- (40) Ogai Mori, “*Tanken wo mochitaru onna?*” [The Lady with the Dagger] (Complete Works of Ogai, Vol. 3), pp. 356-357.
- (41) Arthur Schnitzler: Die Frau mit dem Dolche. In: Lebendige Stunden. Vier Einakter. Berlin (Fischer Verlag) 1906, p. 53-55 (University of Tokyo General Library Ogai Collection).

Editor’s note

The original Japanese text of this article was published in *Bungei Kenkyu* 131(2017), pp.63-93. The revised version was translated by Editage. Co. ltd. under the supervision of the author.