SEWING TOGETHER THE *GŌKAN*: TEXT THROUGH IMAGE IN THE

NISE MURASAKI INAKA GENJI

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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The *gōkan* is a medium of pre-modern Japanese literature where the story is told through a mixture of text and image on every page, with the narrative and dialogue of the story surrounding the image illustrations on all sides. The *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji by a Fake Murasaki*, 1829-42), written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842) and illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1865), was one of the most popular *gōkan* of the Edo Period (1605-1868) and has been republished approximately twenty-four times from the end of the nineteenth century until today. By examining how these works handle text and image, this thesis seeks to gain a deeper understanding about how image functions in the *gōkan* genre. When text must be translated and the image altered from the original layout to make it comprehensible to modern readers, the resulting text and image combinations, or lack of image, offer insight into the importance of the role of image in *gōkan*.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The *gōkan* 合巻 (lit. bound together volume) is a literature medium that features a

two- page spread of images completely surrounded by the text of the story, which

developed in the later Edo Period (1605-1868). One of the most popular *gōkan* of the

day, the *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 偽紫田舎源氏 (*A Rustic Genji by a Fake Murasaki*;

hereinafter "*Inaka Genji*"; Figs 2.7-6.7), written by Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦 (1783-

1842) and illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786-1865), was a reworking of

the classical Japanese text *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (*The Tale of Genji*), written by

Murasaki Shikibu (c. 973 – c. 1014 or 1025) in the late tenth and early eleventh century.

While the series remained unfinished with the author's untimely death in 1842, the

extreme popularity of the work led other authors to continue the work for several more

chapters. The work would remain in the public interest through woodblock prints (*Genji-

e* 源氏絵) throughout the mid-nineteenth century and into the Meiji Period (1868-1912).

By the 1880's, interest rekindled in the literature of the Edo Period, leading to literature

compilations and reprints of the works of several famous authors, including Tanehiko's

Inaka Genji.

Since the end of the nineteenth century many versions of the *Inaka Genji* have

been published in Japanese, and while some of these have been exact replicas, most

versions make modifications. The development of standardized language and the use of

western style printing methods resulted in several different ways of placing image in

relationship to text in the intervening decades. One full translation of the work and one

partial translation exist in English. Each handle image in a different way, but with the

alteration from vertical to horizontal script, a change in the original relationship between text and image is unavoidable.

Unlike other genres of Edo Period illustrated fiction, the *gōkan* has a very text heavy nature. These works' text were printed vertically in pre-modern Japanese cursive (*kuzushiji* 崩し字), since at this time the syllabaries of Japanese writing, as well as the grammar, had not yet been standardized. The *gōkan* achieved strong popularity at the beginning of the nineteenth century and remained the dominant form of popular fiction until the end of the period. In previous iterations, such as the Red Books and Black Books (*akahon* 赤本 and *kurohon* 黒本), the illustration was the main focus, while text played a very small narrative role.[1] With the increase of text in the *gōkan*, illustration no longer carried the responsibility of story-telling. Since the plot and dialogue are all contained within the block of text surrounding the illustration, image in *gōkan* may seem to play a lessor role. This can present the misleading idea that image is fairly superfluous to the narrative of the story.

This thesis analyzes the union of text and image and studies how the manner of these changes underlines the working relationship between text and image in *gōkan*. With a four- page excerpt selected from the *Inaka Genji,* and using the translation theories Walter Benjamin put forth in his article "The Task of the Translator"[2] and Freidrich Schleiermacher's "On the Different Methods of Translating."[3] I will examine the changes

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[1] See Chapter II for a detailed explanation of the development of Edo Period illustrated fiction.

[2] Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in *The Translation Studies Reader,* trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Lawrence Venuti. (London: Routledge, 2000), 15-25.

[3] Freidrich Schleiermacher, "From 'On the Different Methods of Translating'" in *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*, trans. Waltraud Bartscht, eds. Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 36-54.

that take place regarding the role and function of image as the text changes from handwritten script to modern typeset Japanese, and from Japanese into English. Questions that concern this researcher are: what are the effects of replacing pre-modern Japanese with typeset Japanese in *gōkan*? What happens to image when vertical text must switch to horizontal? What level of changes are acceptable vis-à-vis the original object, authorial intention, and reading experience? This thesis re-evaluates the role of image in *gōkan* and argues that its importance becomes clear when one examines the alteration of viewing experience as translation takes place. By studying the changes undergone by the work as the result of modern publications, it becomes apparent how images works to create a "*gōkan*-nature" and why the role image plays in *gōkan* is more important than previously thought.

Scholars Michael Emmerich and Satō Yukiko, who study in depth the relationship of text and image in the *gōkan,* argue that image plays an important role, subtly adding to the richness of the reading experience. The elaborately illustrated covers of the *Inaka Genji* and front pages attracted readers and imparted a feeling of elegance. Many details are hidden within Kunisada's illustrations, ranging from clever visual puns to allusions to the plot and a complex visual codification of the *Tale of Genji* exists through kimono patterns. The marriage of text and image is the defining attraction of this genre, as non-illustrated fiction could be had by readers if they wished it, attracting readers with story and exciting visuals. Image plays a pivotal role in the experience of reading works such as these and image's role should not be considered less important than text. With this in mind, it is necessary to look at how others have dealt with the question of text and image in the *Inaka Genji.*

Literature Review

<u>*Gōkan* and Scholarly Assessment</u>

More attention has been paid to the *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 in recent years, the genre of *kusazōshi* 草双紙 that preceded the *gōkan*. English scholarship addresses issues of *kibyōshi* content, the play and rhythm of text and image, the wit of the author, and its place in Edo fiction and society. Adam Kern's monograph *Manga of the Floating World: Comicbook culture of Kibyōshi in Edo Japan,*[4] provides a detailed look at social, political, and economic factors that led to the blossoming of this playful literature in the mid-eighteenth century, and explores the techniques and connections to modern Japanese *manga*. His book only touches for the briefest moment on the genre that followed the *kibyōshi,* the *gōkan*. The void of *gōkan* scholarly works published in English is slowly being addressed as scholars exhaust the possibilities of the preceding genre.

There is little work on the *gōkan* genre of *gesaku* 戯作.[5] The *Inaka Genji*, being based on the famous literary classic, the *Tale of Genji*, has seen an amount of attention in Japanese and English beyond what most other works have received. Monograph- length works have been written on *gōkan* by Japanese scholars, for example Satō Yukiko's *Edo no eiri shōsetsu: Gokan no sekai*,[6] but the works published in English are more limited. Only certain aspects of *gōkan* have received much attention at this time and only a few works.

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[4] Adam Kern, *Manga in the Floating World: Comicbook Culture and the* Kibyōshi *of Edo Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University press, 2006).

[5] Genre of Japanese literature with a mocking, joking, or silly nature popular during the Edo Period.

[6] Satō Yukiko, *Edo no eiri shōsetsu: Gokan no sekai* (Tokyo: *Perikansha*, 2001).

The *gōkan* itself has also been viewed by literary scholars as a limited and uninspired genre. It often suffers the most when taken in comparison with its predecessor, the *kibyōshi*. The bias against the *gōkan* is apparent even in the simple course of describing the genre. Iwasaki Haruko describes it as "…the light hearted and cerebral *kibyōshi* gave way to the …*gōkan*…, feature[ing] humorless and drawn-out tales of vendettas."[7] Though in comparison to the *kibyōshi* the *gōkan* is long and of a more serious nature, this does not necessarily detract from their entertainment.

In the last half-century the attitude towards *gōkan* has undergone a profound reversal as scholars cast off the opinions of their predecessors and strip away the lens of literary hierarchies. Concerning the *Inaka Genji,* the views of existing scholarship can be generally divided into two categories: Japanese literature scholars and literary critics of the early to mid- twentieth century who viewed the *Inaka Genji* as a derivative work of the *Tale of Genji* without any story-telling skill of its own and those who praise its detail and the sumptuousness of the images. Tanehiko's contemporary critics can largely be placed within the former category.

Edo Period Commentary

Little mention of significance is made of the Ryūtei Tanehiko in the personal writings and publications of his contemporaries. He is mentioned briefly and favorably by literary scholar Kimura Mokurō 木村黙老 (1774-1856) in his work *Kokuji shōsetsu tsū* 国字小説通 (*An Expert Guide to Vernacular Novels*) published in 1849.[8] Kimura

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[7] Haruko Iwasaki, "The Literature and Wit of Humor in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo," in *The Floating World Revisited*, ed. Donald Jenkins. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press and Portland Art Museum, 1993), 60.

[8] Kimura Mokurō, *Kokuji shōsetsu tsū,* 1849, as cited in Andrew Markus, *The Willow in Autumn*: *Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783-1842* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 153-54.

provides an overview of several genres of literature and in the *gōkan* section classifies the *Inaka Genji* as among the "essence of the *gōkan kusazōshi*,"[9] along with Bakin's works *Keisei Suikoden* 傾城水滸伝 (*The Courtesan's Water Margin*) and *Shinpen Kinpeibai* 新編金瓶梅 (*Chin P'ing Mei in New Edition*).

The most detailed and influential commentary on Tanehiko and his works comes from fellow author and rival Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767 -1848), recorded in correspondence[10] and in his book, *Kinsei mononohon Edo sakushu burui* 近世物の本江戸作者部類 (*Authors of Edo in Recent Times*).[11] Highly educated in Chinese classical literature, Bakin often accused Tanehiko of being poorly learned, undisciplined, and overly vain in his success with the *Inaka Genji*. In his writings he suggests that most of the skilled narrative in the *Inaka Genji* was borrowed from the wealth of derivative works on the *Genji* published since the Genroku period (1688-1704) instead of deriving from familiarity with the actual classic work. Upon reading the work Bakin offered praise for Kunisada's drawings, but had few positive things to say about Tanehiko's writing in his letters to a friend. He cattily suggests the work suits girls and boys very well, implying its unworthiness for serious adult readers. He takes particular offense to the overly theatrical nature of *gōkan* plots and points out orthographic errors. He bluntly states that Tanehiko's writing talents are far inferior to Bakin's teacher, the late Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816), known for his writing, poetry, and art. These harsh criticisms,

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[9] Markus, *Willow in Autumn,* 154.

[10] Kyokutei Bakin, *Kyokutei shokanshū shūi*, 29-32, letter dated Tenpō 2:4:26/6 June 1831, as cited in Markus, *Willow in Autumn*, 156.

[11] Kaikō Sanji (Kyokutei Bakin), *Kinsei mononohon Edo sakushu burui*, 45, as cited in Markus, *Willow in Autumn*, 154.

seeming to stem from Bakin's own acerbic nature and jealousy, may have laid the ground work for Meiji scholars to view the *Inaka Genji* as little more than a derivative work of the *Tale of Genji*.

<u>Literary Scholarship of the *Inaka Genji*</u>

Two main types of scholarship on the *Inaka Genji* exist, stemming from the fields of literature and art history. The former is mostly concerned with the extent the *Inaka Genji* borrows from the *Tale of Genji*. The latter focuses on the nature of the images or the relationship between text and image.

The *Tale of Genji*, written in the tenth and eleventh centuries, follows the exploits of the Shining Prince Genji through his career and many love affairs. Wonderfully handsome and amazing talented, Genji is a figure of feminine desire and masculine envy. The many ladies in his life also have memorable characteristics and personalities, like the proud Rokujō Lady whose jealous spirit possesses and kills Genji's first wife and one of his lovers. The work became viewed as the pinnacle of *monogatari* 物語 (courtly tales) of the Heian Period (794-1185) and one of the finest, and earliest, gems of Japanese literature. The earliest surviving illustrations come from a twelfth century *emaki* 絵巻 (handscroll), *Genji monogatari emaki* 源氏物語絵巻 (*The Tale of Genji Handscroll*). The *Genji* acquired a monolithic place in literature and art that it retains to this day in Japan. Many simplified versions sprang up in the Edo Period, but Tanehiko's *Inaka Genji* was the first to take such liberties with its venerated model.

Addressing the literature aspect first, one of the main themes addressed is the extent that Tanehiko was familiar with the actual *Tale of Genji*. Doubt over his conversance with the work was planted by Bakin's criticisms and Tanehiko's own list of

works cited that appears in the preface of Chapter 3 in the *Inaka Genji*, which includes

summarized versions of the work mainly from the Edo Period and makes no mention of

the original classic.[12] In 1925 scholar Tayama Katai 田山花袋 (1872-1930) lamented in

his work that the *Inaka Genji* was to blame for people no longer reading the real *Tale of*

Genji.[13] In 1983 the work was evaluated harshly by Edo literature scholar Nakamura

Yukihito in his work *Genji Monogatari no kinsei bungaku e no eikyō*, who reached the

conclusion that the original *Genji* played no part in the literary aspect of Tanehiko's work

and "…it must be counted a great pity, both for the original text and for the reader, if

anyone at the time believed that by reading the *Nise Murasaki* they were able even to

imagine what the original was like."[14] This opinion well represents the subset of literature

scholars who view the work as secondary to the original and an unoriginal, unsatisfactory

derivative.

Scholars Yamaguchi Takeshi and Uchimura Katsushi have painstakingly

researched the exact amount of *Genji* derivatives used in Tanehiko's work. Uchimura

published a rigorous commentary on Tanehiko's use of the *Genji monogatari kogetsushō*

源氏物語湖月抄 (*Moon on the Lake Commentary on the Tale of Genji*) by Kitamura

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[12] Unless marked otherwise, all works date from the Edo Period. *Genji teiyō* (*An Outline of the Tale of Genji*, 1432)*; Osana Genji; Hinazuru Genji* (*A Genji for Little Cranes*, 1708)*; Fūryū Genji monogatari* (*A Tasteful Tale of Genji*, 1703)*; Genji kokagami* (ca. fourteenth century)*; Genji bikagami; Wakakusa Genji* (A Genji for Little Sprouts, 1707)*; Shin Hashihime monogatari* (also known as *Miyako no tsutsumi, A new Tale of Hashihime,* preface 1714)*; Jūjō Genji; Kōhaku Genji* (*A Red and White Genji*, preface 1709)*; Genji wakatake; Genji Rokujō gayoi; Kōkiden unoha no ubuya; Kokiden uwanari uchi; Aoi-no-Ue,* and a few *nō* plays. Michael Emmerich, "The Splendor of Hybridity: Image and Text in Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Inaka Genji,"* in *The Envisioning of the* Tale of Genji, ed. Haruo Shirane, 211-239, (New York: Colombia University Press, 2008), 227.

[13] Tamaya Katai, *Studies of the Novel (Chōhen shōsetsu no kenkyū)*, 1925.

[14] Nakamura Yukihiko, "*Genji Monogatari no kinsei bungaku e no eikyō*," in *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsushū* vol. 3 (Tokyo: *Chūō kōronsha*, 1983) 442, in Emmerich, "Splendor of Hybridity," 227.

Kigin 北村季吟 (1624-1704), [15] concluding that he was indeed thoroughly familiar with the classic work. [16] Yamaguchi divided the *Inaka Genji* into three sections, examining the extent each was based on the *Genji*, and discovering that each successive section was more faithful than the last. [17] This is attributed to the fact that Tanehiko did not expect his work to be so popular or run so long. As it continued and his ideas ostensibly thinned, he turned more and more to the original *Genji* for guidance. [18]

Towards the end of the twentieth century, literary scholarship of *gōkan* became interested in the interplay of text and image. With this change in focus, work on the *Inaka Genji* shifted from contextualization to the role of image. Illustration was no longer seen as an intrusion on the dominance of text, but a valuable addition to the work. In this vein, Ekkehard May, a scholar of Edo Period Japanese literature, describes the *gōkan* as a rich ground of text and image that hypnotized readers in an article on book illustrations of early modern Japan. [19]

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[15] The *Genji monogatari kogetsushō* was written in 1673 by Kitamura Kigin. Compiled into more than sixty volumes, the work brought together many medieval commentaries on the *Tale of Genji* and included extensive glosses and notes along with the *Genji* text in print. This work became of cornerstone of *Genji* scholarship. Michael Emmerich, "*The Tale of Genji* and the Dynamics of Cultural Production," in *Envisioning of the* Tale of Genji, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Colombia University Press, 2008), 26.

[16] Uchimura Katsushi, "Nise Murasaki inaka Genji *ron: Sono hōhō o megutte*," in *Meiji Daigaku Daigakuin kiyō bungaku hen* 21, no. 4 (1983): 16.

[17] Yamaguchi Takeshi, "Nise Murasaki inaka Genji *ni suite*," in *Yamaguchi Takeshi chosakushū*. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1972.

[18] Markus, *Willow in Autumn,* 42.

[19] Ekkehard May, "Books and Book Illustrations in Early Modern Japan" in *Written Texts- Visual Texts: Woodblock Printed Media in Early Modern Japan*, eds. Susanne Formanek and Stepp Linhart. (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), 41-43.

Michael Emmerich, a scholar of Japanese literature ranging from the Heian to the Edo Periods, focuses on text and image in his study of the *gōkan*.[20] His work on the *Inaka Genji* carefully examines both the role that image played in the popularity of the work and images relationship with the text. He presents insightful research on the function of the *Inaka Genji's* images as subtle additions to the written text.

The Sumptuous Images of the *Inaka Genji*

A second aspect of scholarship of the *Inaka Genji* is the study of image. The illustrations of the work are noted for their uncharacteristically sumptuous printing and attention to detail. Kondō Eiko is one of the first to suggest that readers viewed and admired the *Inaka Genji* more like a fashion magazine than a book, placing the importance of the work on the luxury of its images.[21] The view that image was very important to the consuming populace and was one of the hallmarks of the *Inaka Genji* is also shared by Markus and Emmerich. The cultural historian Andrew Markus's monograph presents an in depth study on the life of author Ryūtei Tanehiko, his contemporary authors and publishing market, and the development of the *Inaka Genji*.[22] He writes that Tanehiko had a talent for combining classical elements with contemporary popular objects. He is one of the first to argue that Tanehiko's tight partnership with talented artist Kunisada and financially generous publisher Tsutaya Jūzaburō (1750-1797) was critical to the work becoming a popular hit.[23] Michael Emmerich's 2008 essay,

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[20] Emmerich, "Splendor of Hybridity*,"* 211-239.

[21] Kondo Eiko, "*Inaka Genji* Series," in *Essays on Japanese Art Presented to Jack Hillier*, ed. Matthi Forrer (London: Sawers, 1982), 79.

[22] Markus, *Willow in Autumn.*

[23] Ibid., 84.

"The Splendor of Hybridity," is a crucial advancement of the study of the *Inaka Genji*.[24] Emmerich constructs a convincing argument for the best-selling nature of the work and goes on to discuss the wealth of visual-textual details which would have been easily recognizable to contemporary readers, but are much less apparent to modern readers. This paper examines similar visual-textual plays to emphasize the importance of image in *gōkan*. Emmerich argues that *Inaka Genji* was not a derivative work, but in fact originated the idea of a popular replacement for the *Genji*, and to most contemporary readers was more real than the original.

The relationship between text and image, author and reader is the object not only of Emmerich's article, but scholar Satō Yukiko as well. A scholar of *gōkan* and Edo period literature, Satō's 2001 work *Edo no eiri shōsetsu: gōkan no sekai*[25] looks carefully at the relationship between text and illustration, examining the flow of image and narrative. Using multiple *gōkan* for examples, she looks at the mechanics of the genre through both elements. She evaluates issues of time within images, the temporal relationship between narrative and given illustration, and how readers related to it.

The Art of Kunisada

Ukiyo-e, or woodblock prints of the Floating World, developed from paintings of beautiful women in the seventeenth century. This popular art form commonly depicted courtesans of the Pleasure Quarters, famous Kabuki actors, historical warriors, and landscapes. Suziki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1725? - 1770) is one of the best known earlier artists, famed for his willowy figures with child-like features. Natural dyes were used in

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[24] Emmerich, "Splendor of Hybridity*,"* 26.

[25] Sato Yukiko, *Edo no eiri shōsetsu: Gōkan no sekai* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2001).

woodblock printing until the introduction of Western trade in the late Edo period. These dyes, and the fading effects of time, render early *ukiyo-e* prints in subtle, subdued colors. Kunisada dominated the end of the Edo Period in terms of output and came from the noted Utagawa School. He was known for his beauty and actor prints. Often compared unfavorably to earlier *ukiyo-e* designers, such as Harunobu and Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (ca. 1753 - 1806), Kunisada's work has suffered from modern prejudices through the middle of the twentieth century. His work has been dismissed due to its strong colors produced by aniline dyes, something print scholars and collectors have viewed as less desirable in prints than earlier plant-based dyes. Kunisada and his later contemporaries Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797-1862) and Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉 (1790-1848) have been classed as the "decadents" and described as having "… a certain artistic lifelessness combined at times with a contorted, almost violent quality, a pre-occupation with clever composition for its own sake, and an interest in novel, peripheral effects in both subject matter and technique." [26] Though translator John Bester notes that these tendencies were less prevalent in these artists' earlier works, he concludes that the maturity of the *ukiyo-e* style and its artists was "…the kind of ripeness that immediately precedes the rot…"[27]

Oka Isaburō presents a more balanced review, acknowledging Kunisada's talents and successes, including the synergy between Ryūtei Tanehiko and Kunisada in the *Inaka Genji* that resulted in wide-spread demand, although he suggests that such high demand and large public audience led to an inevitable decline in quality as artists over- simplified

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[26] Suzuki Jūzō and Isaburō Oka, *Masterworks of Ukiyo-e: The Decadents,* trans. John Bester (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1969), 7.

[27] Ibid.

and vulgarized their work. Kunisada is known as a very prolific artist and his work is

often judged as declining in quality in his later prints. [28] Andreas Marks, a scholar of

Japanese art, concentrates on the artist Utagawa Kunisada's *Genji-e*.[29] His work focuses

on the development of the *Genji-e* genre of prints stemming from the *Inaka Genji*. His

writings within the last decade help to broaden the field of *Inaka Genji* studies by

examining how the work was absorbed into the woodblock print market and Edo culture.

The existent scholarship on the *Inaka Genji* invites further investigation into the

relationship of text and image in the work itself and *gōkan* in general. Building on

Emmerich's work on the role of image, this thesis examines how text and image function

together to create the *gōkan*.

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[28] Ibid., 44.

[29] Andreas Marks, "A Country Genji: Kunisada's Single-Sheet Genji Series," *Impressions: The Journal of the Ukiyo-e Society of America* 27 (2005-2006): 59-79.

CHAPTER II

CHANGING FUNCTION OF TEXT AND IMAGE IN EDO PERIOD *KUSAZŌSHI*

In this chapter I will be examining the development of Edo Period *kusazōshi* and their text and image relationship. Starting with early *kusazōshi* and ending with *kibyōshi* and *gōkan*, this section will track the changing roles of text and image through the different genres. Each type of work builds on the genre before it, so it becomes necessary to trace the origins of illustrated fiction in Edo. By understanding how image functions in early modern Japanese illustrated fiction, it becomes clear that at no time is image less important than text.

The Edo Period in Japan was a time of growing urban lifestyle and culture. With the establishment of the Tokugawa government, the previous feudal arrangement of Japanese society began to undergo great change as castle towns became urban centers. With the relocation of the capital from its traditional location in Kyoto to the seaside village of Edo, a new and highly influential city was born. Edo became the center of modern trends in Japanese urban culture, fashion, and literature. Among various types of literature, *gesaku* gained popularity, a genre that focused on playful works of a frivolous or mocking tone. Within this genre in the Edo Period developed the *kusazōshi*, short woodblock printed story books that contained both images and text, aimed at women and children. Within the category of *kusazōshi* fall the *akahon*, *kurohon*, *kibyōshi*, and *gōkan*. These *kusazōshi* present a study in the changing relationship between text and image from the earlier mostly image-based *akahon*, to the later mostly text- based *gōkan*.

Edo Japan is famous for its woodblock prints, but unlike the Western concept of the individual artist, the production of these works was collaborative between publishers,

authors, artists, and the craftsmen of the industry. In order to create a woodblock print, either single sheets or volumes, a publisher would employ a pool of authors who would provide work, or could be solicited to produce certain pieces. Some authors of *kusazōshi* would provide rough sketches to accompany their script, while others left it to the artist's imagination. Next the artist would design the layout, with input from the author, and illustrate the scene. After the master form had been created, woodblock print artisans would carve the required number of blocks to make a print. From there, the work would go into production and be sold in the publisher's stores. Over all, the process of creating *kusazōshi* was a collaborative work, but without the author's initial creative impulse, or the publisher's push, the work could not be created. Illustrator and author are closely intertwined, particularly in the later types of the *kusazōshi* genre.[30]

Early *Kusazōshi*

Akahon

The earlier types of *kusazōshi* include the *akahon* and the *kurohon*. The *akahon* developed in late seventeenth century and continued to be produced into the early eighteenth century before they were gradually replaced with the *kurohon*. Some key works in English on this subject are Ekkehard May's "The Literature and Wit of Humor in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo," Kristin William's dissertation on *akahon*, and the Japanese literature scholar Keller R. Kimbrough work on *kurohon*.[31] Unless otherwise noted, by discussion of early *kusazōshi* is based on the works of May and Kimbrough.

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[30] Iwasaki, "The Literature and Wit of Humor," 51.

[31] See Kristin Williams, "Chapter 3: Daughter: From (Rat) Brides to Mothers," unpublished dissertation chapter. *The Rats Bridal Entry*, 1-45 and Keller Kimbrough, "Murasaki Shikibu for Children: The Illustrated *Shinpan Murasaki Shikibu* of ca. 1747" *Japanese Language and Literature* 40 (2006): 1-36.

Akahon, literally meaning "red books," were named for their bright red covers,
while the *kurohon*, "black books," had black covers. They were both printed in black and
white from woodblocks and included monochrome title slips on the front cover. While
the *akahon* often did not have the names of author or illustrator, the *kurohon's* authors
and illustrators were recorded with more frequency. *Akahon* were shorter than *kurohon*,
generally printed in only one fascicle, whereas the *kurohon* were printed in two fascicles.
The volumes were printed with two panels on a page, which was folded in half so that the
loose ends were tied into the binding, usually measuring five by seven inches.

The *akahon* was generally aimed at children and contained pictures and minimal
text, depicting familiar stories such as fairy tales and weddings (**Figure 2.1**).[32] While
later entries in the *kusazōshi* genre, particularly the *kurohon*, would borrow elements
from the theater in their drawings, *akahon* were cruder in drawing style and composition,
telling their stories through pictures and dialogue but containing almost no textual
narrative. *Akahon* pictures used strong calligraphic lines to depict their characters,
leaving them looking rather flat, and only a limited amount of detailing, usually
appearing in clothing or scenery elements. Each illustration is similar to a stage setting,
allowing the viewer to see the entirety of a scene at one time. Rooms, streets, and
landscapes are all drawn from a wide angle with varying levels of perspective accuracy.
The characters in the scenes are all drawn roughly to the same scale, with positioning in
the fore or background of the frame giving clues to spatial placement within the actual
scene. Often times many characters are present in one panel, ranging from three to six or

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[32] While ostensibly aimed at children, dialogue and jokes often favored a more sophisticated reading by
adults. Kimbrough, "Murasaki Shikibu for Children," 2.

as many as twelve in one example, many more than are usually present in a single panel in later types of *kusazōshi*.

The *akahon* is almost completely devoid of textual narration, relying on its images and readers to carry narration. In an *akahon* written by an unknown author and illustrated by Nishimura Shigenobu 西村重信 (fl. 1730's-1740's), *Nezumi no yomeiri* 鼠のよめ入り (*The Rat's Bridal Entry*, before 1747), only one example of non-diegetic text is present.[33] All other dialogue and writing, such as on lamps or signs, is viewable or audible to the other characters in the scene. Dialogue is located close to the speaker and is limited to a few sentences in length. The broad, removed view of the scene in each panel leaves the reader's eye to wander through the character's dialogue with little guidance. How exactly the dialogue should be read presents something of a challenge in more complicated scenes from *kusazōshi*, when the general right to left rule for reading Japanese text is complicated with foreground and background spatial positioning between characters. In *akahon* only small clues given by characters' head and body positions direct the flow of conversation and the proper sequence of events. *Nezumi no yomeiri* is aimed at young girls, and depicts the well-known theme of marriage and wedding arrangements with the young rat bride. Since it was a highly familiar theme, authors did not need extensive narration to explain what was happening.[34] Due to the reader's familiarity with the concepts presented and a desire to keep text friendly to elementary

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[33] This comes in the opening scene which pictures a *shimadai* 島台, a type of center-piece present at wedding feasts, and a poem, which offers felicitous sentiments for the soon to be married couple. Williams, "Chapter 3: Daughter: From (Rat) Brides to Mothers," 22.

[34] As stated in her third chapter, "Daughters: From (Rat) Brides to Mothers," Kristin Williams located over 48 titles related to marriage stories in picture book formats in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books.

readers, *akahon's* story progression is mainly driven by images instead of narration. In this early version of *kusazōshi*, image plays a dominant role over text.

Kurohon

Kurohon developed alongside *akahon* and were published from the 1740's until the 1770's, when they were finally eclipsed by their other *kusazōshi* contemporary, the *kibyōshi*. An artistic leap occurred between the early *akahon* and later *akahon* and *kurohon,* with the introduction of Kabuki imagery into the illustrations of *kusazōshi*. While the illustrations of *akahon* generally showed a wide shot of a scene with many characters present, the *kurohon* brought its images more into the foreground, each scene generally not containing more than three or four people (**Figure 2.2**). Characters and setting were drawn in strong heavy lines. The tighter focus for each scene allowed for greater detailing in the background and in the robes particularly, though they were all drawn thickly with little fine detail. The depiction of robes became more stylized than the clothing from the *akahon*, being similar to robes in *ukiyo-e* prints. Besides the cropping of the image, the posing is the largest difference between *akahon* and *kurohon*. Now, poses that are recognizably borrowed from the Kabuki stage or prints are worked into the scenes. The borrowing of *mie* poses can clearly be seen in such stock situations as fighting or fleeing. In fascicle 1, image 3A of *Shinpan Murasaki Shikibu* 新版紫式部 (*Murasaki Shikibu, Newly Published*, ca. 1747)*,* we see Murasaki taking refuge in a mountain temple, her pose almost exactly the same as an early actor print by Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820).

As the genre progressed from *akahon* to *kurohon*, these artistic changes, combined with growing sophistication of the story, necessitated the introduction of a

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narrative voice. While these images offered greater detail, their tighter perspective made grasping the plot of the scene more challenging. Whereas in the *akahon*, the plot of the scene could be deduced by simply looking at the pictures, the scenes in *kurohon* did not always lead to immediate identification. Because of the reduction of characters per picture in order to focus more closely on main characters and the growing artistic sophistication of illustration techniques, omnipotent narration was necessary to clarify the plot progression contained in the image. Since the stories contained in the *kurohon* were still generally aimed at children, the narration was not overly lengthy or complicated. Dialogue was still sparsely present near characters and served generally the same function as in the *akahon*, namely, character interactions and opportunities for puns and humorous comments.

Like the *akahon*, it can be argued that image also played a dominant role in *kurohon*. For example, the story of *Monogusa Tarō* ものぐさ太郎 (Lazy Tarō) is well known and often retold in Japanese literature. Published in the mid-18th century by Urokogataya Magobei 鱗形屋孫兵衛 (1700-1784) the *kurohon* version *Shinpan Monogusa Tarō* 新版ものぐさ太郎 (Lazy Tarō, Newly Published) is a retelling of an earlier text-based tale of *Monogusa Tarō*. The story is highly familiar to Japanese people, and possesses several standardized characteristics and poems. In this *kurohon* version, certain actions are left out, while the poems that reference them are still included (**Figure 2.3**). In this image the narration tells us how the nursemaid brought Tarō clothes. Tarō then composes a poem referencing paper- a gift presented to him in other versions of the tale, but not depicted in this one. Thus readers are left to conjecture what the author was referring to, if they did not already realize the exclusion in this version. This happens

once more in the same work, thus one can conjecture that the audience's familiarity with the images of the story would be necessary for a full understanding of the work. So, like the *akahon*, the *kurohon* is more dependent on imagery and the familiarity of its audience with the story than on the actual text.

Later *Kusazōshi*

Kibyōshi

The next form of *kusazōshi*, the *kibyōshi,* is officially recognized as developing in 1775 with the publishing of Koikawa Harumachi's 恋川春町 (1744-1789) *Kinkin Sensei eiga no yume* 金々先生栄花夢 (Mr. Glitter 'n' Gold's Dream of Splendor, 1775). Like the *akahon* and *kurohon* before, *kibyōshi* were of *chūbon* size, five by seven inches, but unlike their predecessors, they were generally composed of three fascicles and had an illustrated title slip. These title slips were often colored and had a different illustration for each fascicle. The titles contained the names of the author, illustrator, and publisher, and the number of each fascicle. The *kibyōshi* were known as yellow backs due to the blue-green dye used that faded very quickly, leaving the book's cover a distinctive yellow color by which they are known today and would also have been known in their heyday.[35] Unless otherwise noted, this thesis bases its discussion of *kibyōshi* on the work of Adam Kern.

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[35] For an overview of the most famous authors of *kibyōshi*, Iwasaki Haruko's article, "The Literature of Wit and Humor in Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo" is a valuable resource. For translations of various *kibyōshi* see scholars Akiko Walley, "Through the Looking-Glass: Reflections on *Kibyōshi* Illustrations in Kishida Tohō's *Comicbook Chronicle*." *International Journal of Comic Art* 9.1 (Spring 2007): 157-197; Glynne Walley, "Kyokutei Bakin's *Buy My Candy and I'll Give You a Kite Story*." *International Journal of Comic Art* (Spring 2007): 33-60; James T. Araki, "The Dream Pillow in Edo Fiction 1772-81," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 25, No. 1/2 (1970), 43-105; Ivan Grail, "The Truly Un-Canny Samurai: Classical Literature and Parody in the Kibyōshi," in *International Journal of Comic Art* 9.1 9 (Spring 2007), 1-27.

The *kibyōshi* became the first comics in Japan to be aimed at adult readers. Their largest reader demographic was young middle class males, but Edo Period standards regarded such material as unfit for educated adults, so the notion that these comics, like their predecessors, were aimed at women and children was maintained. Often, the publisher's comments in the ending or front piece would make a tongue-in-check reference to the supposed audience of the *kibyōshi.* Content was clearly aimed at adults, and specifically at the sophisticated, or would-be-sophisticated, Edo adult male. Until the final decade of the eighteenth century, *kibyōshi* often took place in the Yoshiwara, the officially licensed pleasure quarters of Edo, and depicted dandies and playboys in various escapades. In addition to portraying the sophisticate, *kibyōshi* of this period often poked fun at governmental policies, an expressly illegal action. While authors took care to do this in a circumspect manner, eventually the government under control of Minister Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759-1829) included political satire in its reactionary purge of Edo popular culture through the Kansei Reforms (*Kansei no kaikau* 寛政の改革; 1790s). Sadanobu took office in 1789 and instituted reforms against the *kibyōshi* in 1891, which is the date which marked the end of the *kibyōshi* as a subtle form of protest against the government.[36] Post-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi* stayed far away from political themes and criticism, using other material, such as vendetta stories and miscellanies, to entertain their readers.

Artistically, the *kibyōshi* saw a refinement in its images, which became more detailed than those of its predecessors (**Figure 2.4**). Unlike the *kurohon*, which tended to use a uniformly thick line for clothing, characters, and backgrounds, the *kibyōshi*

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[36] Kern, *Manga in the Floating World,* 8.

employed thick and thin lines to better express nuance and even used more calligraphic style lines in the depiction of clothing to generate a feeling reminiscent of *ukiyo-e* prints. Robes became less stylized with more graceful and natural drapery, and depicted the high fashion of the day. More delicacy was present in the drawing of background and scenery. Trendy objects were depicted, such as smoking paraphernalia and current styles of hair and dress. Illustration between pre-and post- Kansei Reform *kibyōshi* did not see a great variation in style or detail. As with pre-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi*, the publisher, money, and time remained key factors in determining the quality and detail of the drawings in post-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi*. Compositionally, *kibyōshi* favored familiar cropping devices such as tree boughs and roofs. Scenes were generally variations on one- and two-point perspective, with some occasional Western influence in depth perception. Setting illustration remained similar, such as rooms, shops, and streets.

Unlike *akahon* and *kurohon*, text played an important role in *kibyōshi*. While generally still written in *hiragana*, without the more difficult Chinese ideograms ostensibly for the benefit of its women and children readership, the text in *kibyōshi* contained the body of the author's creative skill. Like its predecessor, the *kurohon*, *kibyōshi* required a narrator to give meaning to the pictures in each scene. The language play and clever story telling that comprised the *kibyōshi* genre would not have been possible without the narrator, who delivered puns and popular culture and literary references with ease, particularly in pre-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi*. Text often filled a large margin of the empty space around the characters and the setting in the pictures. The pictures showed a key moment from the story, similar to the *kurohon*, while the narration clarified the scene. The picture was less of a driving force in plot now and had become a

supplement to narration and a vehicle for *mitate*, or visual puns, visual nuances, and highlighting punch lines. Dialogue in pre- and post-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi* remained similar to previous *kusazōshi*. Small asides, generally placed near the head or body of their uttering characters, showed off the author's wit and creativity as he used them to lampoon stereotypes, insert further puns or smutty humor, and connect with his audience, sometimes even in the form of direct advertisement of his own products. While pre-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi* narratives are often lighter in tone and deal with frivolous topics like the pleasure quarters, post-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi*, due to the stricture of the reforms, adopt a didactic tone in their narrative but often stay irreverent in their dialogue.[37]

While text developed into the driving force in the narrative of the *kibyōshi*, unlike previous genres of *kusazōshi*, image still played an important role. In *Atariyashita jihon doiya* 的中地本問屋 (*It's a Hit! The "Local Book" Wholesaler*, 1802; **Figure 2.5***),* a post-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi* by Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831)*,* we can see three ladies sewing book bindings around a lamp on the left of the picture. On the right sits a man engaged with a coil of wire on a small table while a shop boy brings in more unbound manuscripts. Not being a take on any well-known historic story or play, the narration is crucial to understanding the events and the comedic content of the scene. Pre-Kansei Reform *kibyōshi* also had similar scenes, where original stories called for a greater dependence on text and dialogue to decode a scene. However, both pre- and post-

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[37] An example of this can be seen in Kyokutei Bakin's *Ame kattara tako yaro banashi* 買飴凧野弄話 (*Buy my Candy and I'll Give You a Kite Story*, 1801), where in the first scene the narration strings together many kite puns in the theme of moral righteousness in a sermonizing manner. The father of a family is depicted as a kite in flight while his wife and child hang onto his ankles. The wife comments "Bite down hard on Daddy's leg, junior. If we're not careful he's liable to swoop over to the Pleasure Quarter!" (Walley, 2007). While the narration in this *kibyōshi* maintains a façade of didacticism, the dialogue is unabashedly flippant.

Kansei Reform *kibyōshi* which drew on historical themes could use image to supersede

narration. In a scene from Ōta Nanpo's 大田 南畝 (1749-1823) *Nido no kake* 二度の賭

(*Second Loan Shark Attack*, 1783; **Figure 2.6**), Taira no Kiyomori 平 清盛 (1118-1181)

sits on the veranda while fireballs rain down on him. His courtyard is filled with bald

monks. Readers familiar with the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (*Tale of the Heike*, mid-

thirteenth century) would recognize the iconology in this scene, which serves to heighten,

or even eclipses, the humor of the narrative.[38] In this *kibyōshi*, text is the driving force in

plot progression, but image served to fill out the reader's understanding, and bring the

hallmark of the *kibyōshi*, visual jokes and sophistication, into the story.

Unlike its predecessors the *akahon* and *kurohon*, *kibyōshi* used text to flesh out its

stories. That, however, does not mean that image played a secondary role. The *kibyōshi*

presented witty writing and visual stimulation, working together to present an attractive

package. One need only consider publishing a translation without images, as so often

happens with *gōkan*, to realize that such a version could not possibly work. Jokes would

fall flat and references would be undecipherable. The reader takes just as much

information from the text as from the image in this genre of *kusazōshi*.

Gōkan

After the Kansei Reforms, the *kibyōshi* lasted another decade or so before giving

way to the *gōkan* at the beginning of the 19th century. Many of the same authors and

illustrators moved to this next medium, which kept the text and image formula, but

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[38] After moving the capital from Kyoto to Fukuhara, the powerful Taira no Kiyomori is troubled by the visions of specters and ghosts. The visions of skulls are a popular topic of woodblock prints, showing the torment in Hell awaiting Kiyomori for all his misdeeds, such as ordering Miidera temple burned in 1180.

combined multiple fascicles into one volume.[39] This increased length allowed authors to develop much longer narratives. *Gōkan* were published serially, some being released over many decades. Favorite topics included violent vendetta stories and retellings of stage plays. The tone of these volumes was more didactic and patronizing than the light-hearted *kibyōshi*, and was widely popular with women. They remained popular until the end of the Edo Period and into the Meiji Period. Keeping in the tradition of previous versions of *kusazōshi*, *gōkan* continued to use the *chūbon* format, but became standardized at six fascicles, or thirty double pages, bound into one or two volumes. *Gōkan* used higher quality paper than *kibyōshi* and substituted elaborately illustrated title covers for the title slips found on previous types of *kusazōshi*.[40]

While the *kibyōshi* generally kept a mix of forty percent text to sixty percent image, *gōkan* reversed this proportion, favoring text over image. Indeed, when looking at a page from a *gōkan,* it seems as if the characters are often floating in the middle of a sea of text. Early *gōkan* resembled *kibyōshi* in use of dialogue, placing it by the speaking character, but this quickly fell out of favor and dialogue became included in the body of narration in later *gōkan.* Text was still generally easy to read and contained very few Chinese characters, but the pervasiveness of it required the development of a symbol code to determine which paragraph to read next. This code was unstandardized, but easily decipherable in each *gōkan*, and involved matching the symbol at the end of a block of text with the same symbol at the start of another block elsewhere on the page. (**Image 2.7**). *Gōkan* were not meant to be funny like their *kibyōshi* predecessor, instead they were melodramas full of intricate plots and multiple characters. Readers would have been

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[39] My description of *gōkan* is based on Markus, *Willow in Autumn*.

[40] Markus, *Willow in Autumn*, 67.

unfamiliar with an author's particular version of a story, unlike the widely known tales featured in *akahon* and *kurohon*, though they may have had a basic understanding of the source idea. Thus narration played a crucial role in conveying the story of the *gōkan*, while images provided sophisticated insight and nuance.

Image illustration in *gōkan* became quite elaborate and detailed. While not having much background setting in a scene, characters were the focus of the artist's talents. Elaborate robes were normal, and quite often well-known Kabuki actor's likenesses were used for certain characters. A frontispiece would be included in each volume that was reminiscent of Kabuki posters, showing a character in an *ukiyo-e* type stylized pose. These were generally quite elaborately colored and embellished with poetry. Image in *gōkan* played a luxurious role, enriching the textual story with the visualization of the author and/or artist's imaginations. Freed from the burden of narrative, they are able to depict the latest fashion or grisly murder in detail. They can also contain foreshadowing and references to the popular Kabuki stage. The use of actor's faces continued to be quite popular in *gōkan* until the sumptuary limitations enacted by the Tenpō Reforms (*Tenpō no kaikaku* 天保の改革; 1841-43).[41]

Popular sources for *gōkan* included folktales and Japanese history, as well as theater and Japanese and Chinese classics. Often images made clever references to the source material which, if the reader were educated about it, would add depth or foreshadowing to a scene. For example, in our *Inaka Genji*, in the second fascicle of chapter five, the villainess Shinonome, dressed as an evil spirit, menaces hero Mitsuuji in front of a damaged wall painting depicting an ox cart (**Figure 2.8**). Readers familiar with

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[41] Kimura Yaeko. "*Neko de kakareru gōkan*," in *Kusazōshi no sekai: Edo no shuppan bunka* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2009), 168.

26

the classic work would immediately recognize the reference to Lady Rokujō and the chapter "Aoi" (Chapter 9) from the *Tale of Genji* from the ox cart on the screen behind the characters.[42] In Tanehiko's work, the story lines of Lady Rokujo's spirit attack and the story line of "Yūgao" (Chapter 4) are conflated. The ox cart acts as foreshadowing for the death of Mitsuuji's female companion Tasogare, based on Yūgao, at the hands of Shinonome, dressed as the specter, as Genji's wife Aoi died at the hands of the Lady Rokujō's wandering spirit. While the importance of text cannot be denied, image is crucial to a nuanced understanding of the scene.

Edo period *kusazōshi* all used a mixture of text and image in their stories, but over time the role each type played changed. In the early *akahon*, image was the dominant way of covering information. Simple illustrations of many characters in one scene were augmented by short bits of dialogue, which served to deliver jokes more than to advance the plot or the reader's understanding. Readers might already be familiar with the plots of the well-known stories that the *akahon* recycled, but the images provided a fresh and entertaining interpretation. The *kurohon* functioned in much the same way, although the illustrations showed increasing artistic sophistication and the influence of Kabuki theater imagery. More complicated and less well-known stories resulted in the addition of a sparse narrative voice in addition to dialogue. One might argue that the *akahon* format grew and developed into the *kurohon* due to the appreciation of image. Desire for more elaborate and nuanced illustrations could easily have been behind the changes between genres.

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[42] In this chapter, Lady Rokujō, one of Genji's lovers, attempts to attend the Kamo Festival, but her ox cart's place is usurped by Genji's first wife Aoi. A conflict ensues between the two carts attendants and the shafts of Rokujō's are broken. The shame and humiliation of this incident leads to Rokujō's spirit wandered from her body during sleep and attacking Aoi, eventually killing her.

Text and image would come together in importance with the development of the *kibyōshi* in the late eighteenth century. *Kibyōshi* used both sophisticated illustrations of modern Edo culture and the quick wit of its author to create a synergy between the two mediums. Either one could be used for the delivery of a joke, whether it be visual *mitate*, or a cleverly delivered pun. Finally, the *gōkan* of the early nineteenth century would develop into a balance of favoring textual narrative over image narrative in the content of the volumes. Now that long tales of vendettas and reworking of classics were popular, text was necessary to progress the author's serious plots. Dialogue separated from the main text body quickly fell out of use, but not image. This fact suggests that image still played an important role, adding nuance to scenes, and being in demand with readers. Over the course of the *kusazōshi's* popularity, *gōkan* were popular for the longest period of time, lasting into the Meiji period. Each iteration targeted a different group and as Edo's peoples interests changed, the *kusazōshi* changed with them, resulting in the four distinct mixes of text and image that we see today. In the next chapter I continue with the examination of *gōkan*, engaging in an in depth analysis of image in a selection of the *Inaka Genji*.

CHAPTER III

A MARRIAGE OF TEXT AND IMAGE

The *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji*

The *Inaka Genji* was written by Ryūtei Tanehiko and illustrated by Utagawa

Kunisada. This *gōkan* was published serially by Tsuruya Kiemon's 鶴屋喜右衛門

(1788?-1834) Senkakudō 仙鶴堂 publishing house between 1829 and 1842. The *gōkan*

followed the *kibyōshi* as that genre lost popularity at the beginning of the nineteenth

century. The greater length made the *gōkan* an ideal place to expand stories, and topics

ranged from ever popular vendettas and Kabuki plays, to classical literature. They also

began to print full size color pictures on the covers, a characteristic that made them

popular with the public. The *gōkan* and the illustrated publishing industry it grew from

were very much a product and a commodity of Edo in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries. The latest fashions, amusements, and slang were used within them, so much so

that they were said to be unreadable to non-Edoites.

Plot Overview

The *Inaka Genji* follows the exploits of Ashikaga Jirō Mitsuuji 足利次郎光氏, a

character based on the "Shining Prince Genji" (Hikaru Genji 光源氏) from the *Tale of

Genji*.[43] It is set during the fifteenth century Ashikaga Shogunate instead of in the

eleventh century Heian court. In the story, Mitsuuji is the second son of Ashikaga

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[43] The titular main character of the *Tale of Genji* is the son of the emperor by a favored lady. The emperor conveys commoner statue on Genji, which eventually allows him to rise to the heights of power in the Heian court in the novel. His beauty and talent earn him the nickname, "The Shining One." Genji is portrayed as the consummate lover and the book relates many of his affairs.

Yoshimasa by his favorite concubine Hanagiri.[44] Mitsuuji becomes a shining example of polite and martial accomplishments, earning his father's favor, but threatening to throw the succession into chaos. When three important artifacts, including the sword Kogarasumaru (Little Crow), are stolen from the *shogunal* holdings, Mitsuuji hunts them down undercover. In order to prevent his father from choosing him as his successor instead of his older brother, Mitsuuji takes up the rakish cover of a playboy while searching. His tactics include the seduction of many beautiful women, echoing the loves of Genji. Unlike the original *Tale of Genji*, the *Inaka Genji* includes many attempted assassinations, fight scenes and murders, catering to a modern audience that presumably found the slower pacing of the older classic unpalatable.

Authorial Partnership

Ryūtei Tanehiko was born into a mid-rank samurai family and never renounced his status, though he made his career as an author.[45] Chinese literature was in vogue when Tanehiko began writing the *Inaka Genji*, but since he was unlearned in the Chinese classics, he chose to adapt a work from classical Japanese literature with which he was familiar. Tanehiko had a working partnership with artist Utagawa Kunisada from previous *gōkan* they had published, such as the series *Shōhon jitate* 正本製 (*Stories in Promtbook Form*, 1815-1831). Kunisada illustrated the *Inaka Genji* until Tanehiko's death in 1842. He also illustrated series of *Genji* related prints and follow-up series. Tanehiko was not a professional artist, he made sketches of the illustrations he wanted

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[44] Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利 義政 (1435-1490) is a historical figure. He was the eighth shogun of the Ashikaga shogunate and reigned from 1449 to 1473 during the Muromachi period (1337 -1573).

[45] For an in depth discussion of Tanehiko's biography in English, see Markus, *Willow in Autumn.*

and passed them to Kunisada with many instructions.[46] The work was originally

published as a trial in 1829 and when it proved popular was continued at the rate of two

parts annually until 1833. From then until 1842 Tsuruya Kiemon published three or four

parts a year.

The work proved very popular, inspiring hair-styles and fashion. Over ten

thousand copies were reportedly sold, and a generation grew up more familiar with

Tanehiko's protagonist Mitsuuji than the original classic's Genji. Michael Emmerich

suggests that it was the images that made the *Inaka Genji* a best seller, lending the books

an elegant and refined style vaguely reminiscent of the *Tale of Genji*. The introduction of

full-page character illustrations in attractive poses done in the more elaborate *usuzumi* 薄

墨 style which used regular black ink and a thinner gray ink was an unexpected luxury

for a *gōkan*, and the subtle tasteful patterns done in various colors on the back covers of

the fascicles contributed to the feel of elegance (**Figure 3.1 and 3.2**).[47]

The Tenpō Reforms of 1842 spelled the end for the *Inaka Genji*. The woodblocks

for the *Inaka Genji* were confiscated and Tanehiko was summoned before officials twice.

Tanehiko died soon after the second summons and the *Inaka Genji* was left uncompleted

with thirty-eight chapters published. Two more chapters written in 1842 were not

published until 1928.[48]

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[46] Donald Keene, *World within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-modern Era, 1600-1867* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976), 429.

[47] Emmerich, "The Splendor of Hybridity," 213-216.

[48] Ibid., 434.

Formal Analysis of Selected Excerpts

This thesis uses a framework of comparison across multiple versions of the *Inaka Genji* in its analysis. To this end, I selected a four page excerpt from Chapter 4, due to its availability across multiple editions and in both English translations. This approach allowed me to examine a manageable selection over the many different Japanese and English publications of the work. The following sections provide an in depth formal analysis of this excerpt and its visual references, beginning with text and them looking at the images individually. I will begin with a short summary of the events of the scene, give a formal analysis, and then discuss significant elements of the images.

Reading the Flow of Text

Each two- page spread has figures and/or background surrounded on some or all sides by text. (**Figure 3.3**). The text is a running *hiragana* script with the rare appearance of a *kanji*. It reads right to left, but its placement around the figures renders breaks in it and forms it into visual blocks. In order to function as a smoothly-readable text, small symbols are inserted at the end and beginning of each text block. Readers begin in the uppermost right, which may or may not be marked with the word "next" つぎ (*tsugi*) in a small box. When the end of a text section is reached (readers' eyes are expected to jump across the middle gutter), a variety of small symbols may be used, such as a black triangle or hourglass in a box, the outline of a gourd, a crosshairs, or symbols from the *Genji* incense game, which the reader then locates at the start of another text block. Various other ways of alerting the reader of the correct way to proceed through the text are used, such as a connecting line between matching symbols if the next piece is very close or using directional words such as "to the right" (*migi e* 右へ) or "from the left"

32

(*hidari kara* 左から). The end of the last text section is marked with the words "continues" (*tsugi e* つぎへ) at which point the reader looks for the matching characters on the next page. This clever system helps to trace the flow of the written narrative which must be fit around the predominant image. (**Figure 3.4**).

The text is written in a fine hand, done by professional script carvers trained to write with a hand both legible and artistic. Closely spaced, though not too dense to read, the text does not simply fill in any space available, but flows around the characters, highlighting their forms. Breaks are artificially inserted into large areas of text-filled spaces which echo the outlines already preserved around the characters. This gives a more elegant look to the page and keeps the reader's eye moving across the image by forcing them to look for the succeeding text section. This action promotes text and image interaction, as the reader surveys from right to left generally two or three times depending on how text- heavy a two-page spread is. Text is also used to identify characters in a scene. Since faces are stylized and idealized in the style of woodblock prints, it can be difficult to tell people apart, particularly if they change clothing. To eliminate confusion, a character from the name of the person is placed, usually inside a circle, on the person's sleeve.

Excerpt 1 (**Figure 3.3**)

In the first scene of the four sequential excerpts, Kimikichi brings a letter from Mitsuuji to Karaginu. She reads the poem aloud while Muraogi busies herself in the background. This scene concludes the episode where Mitsuuji attempts to have an affair with Karaginu, but Murogi substitutes herself, since the two women are very similar in age. Muraogi, acting as Karaginu, refuses his advances. Kimikichi knows of the

deception and is eventually chastised by Mitsuuji for participating in deceiving him. This story is based on the Chapter 2 "Hahakigi" (The Broom Tree) and Chapter 3 "Utsusemi" (The Locust Shell), where Utsusemi (the Lady of the Locus Shell) is the first to successfully refuse Genji's advances. When Genji slips into her bed chamber one night, she flees, leaving her step-daughter behind, whom Genji mistakes for her. He realizes him mistake, but finds comfort with her anyway. Kogimi, the character on which Kimikichi is based, acts as a letter-bearer during the affair.[49]

On the right side of the page, a standing woman moves behind a seated young man. Across from them, on the left page, a seated young woman reads a letter. The man's hair-style, a samurai topknot with an unshaven forelock, is the style of a youth. His sleeve is marked "君" (*kimi*), identifying him as Kimikichi 君吉, the younger brother of Karaginu and adopted son of Muraogi.[50] His sword rests on the ground in front of the characters, denoting his samurai status. He holds a folding fan upright with the butt end resting on his knee. He wears striped hakama and a kimono with a large ikat vertical trellis checked design (*kasuri* 絣)[51]. His head bends down and his eyes gaze at the floor, suggesting his reluctance to engage with the female characters.

The woman behind him wears a dark kimono decorated with a small checkered trellis design and an obi decorated with bamboo stalks and a chessboard checked pattern (*ishidatami* 石畳). Her sleeve is marked "荻" (*ogi*), identifying her as Muraogi 村荻. Her

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[49] Shikibu Murasaki. *The Tale of Genji*, trans. Edward Seidensticker, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 57-83.

[50] A representative *kanji* with a character's name is usually placed on their sleeve, or somewhere on their clothing, to make identification easier for the reader.

[51] Ikat are fabrics made by selectively binding and dying portions of threads before they are woven. Either warp or weft threads can be dyed. This type of dying is exacting but versatile and produced in many regions of Japan with varying techniques and motifs. Okamura, *Japanese Ikat*, 92.

body faces the audience while her feet face away from the other characters and her upper body and head turn back towards them. Her left hand covers her mouth and her extended right hand holds a streamer of zigzagged strips of paper (*shide* 紙垂) of the type placed in Shinto shrines. She wears several combs and ornaments in her hair. Her exposed bare feet suggest an intimate indoor setting.

Across the page sits a woman in a light kimono patterned with pinks (*nadeshico* 撫子; *Dianthus superbus*) with a white and spider-web patterned obi. She wears two long tortoiseshell hair ornaments and two long pins through her coiffure. Her sleeve is marked "空" (*kara*), her name Karaginu 空衣. Her body angles away from the other characters and even slightly from the viewer, lending an air of possessiveness to the letter she shields in her hand. Her right hand is tucked inside her kimono collar as she looks over her shoulder towards the other woman, who busies herself. The text flows around the characters' outlines. On the right page it is divided into four groups, on the left into three. An artificial break following the outline of the seated woman is inserted into the text- heavy upper portion of the left page.[52]

Looking closely at the image reveals subtle nuances that expand the experience of the reading the narrative with visual representation. Muraogi and Kimikichi are depicted together on one side of the page, emphasizing their conspiracy in the happenings of this incident. Their posture, chin tucked, sleeve covering the mouth, and crossed arms, belies their discomfort in the moment. Karaginu knows nothing of the case of mistaken identities at play and has much more open body posture. The flowers on her kimono suggest a youthful freshness and her obi with its spider web pattern suggests that she is a

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[52] The scene and characters pictured are relevant to the text placed in the upper half of the right page. The Yūgao story line begins with the second paragraph indention in the upper half of the left page.

fly caught in the web of deceit at play here. Muraogi carries a Shinto *shide*; Shinto is traditionally concerned with purity. This may represent Kuraogi's purity, as she does avoid Mitsuuji's advances and stays faithful to her husband.

Excerpt 2 (**Figure 3.5**)

In the next figure, a continuous scene is spread over two pages depicting a fenced dwelling and three characters. Most of the space is devoted to the image, with the text placed in two sections. The text begins in the bottom right corner and underlies the image until halfway through the left page where it continues with only six short lines in the upper left corner. The spatial primacy devoted to the image on these pages places emphasis on the visual, rather than the narrative, aspect of this scene. In this scene, Mitsuuji is attracted to the pretty white flowers on the fence of a neighboring house as he waits for his manservant to open a gate. A young lady of the house brings a fan to put the blossoms on, which his servant Korekichi collects.

The scene is in perspective drawn along a diagonal line beginning from the lower left corner and ending in the upper right corner. The roofs of two adjoined houses, the line of the fences, and the handle of the palanquin trace boldly across the page, dividing the space into sections. The shingled roofs divide text from image, the palanquin handle divides the neighboring house from the main dwelling in this scene, and the fence divides the interior of the house from the scene before. This also marks where the eye of the viewer is privileged beyond that of the characters, who cannot see beyond the bamboo fence. The fence is made of bamboo poles and is overgrown with vines. In the upper right-hand side of the scene it is made of plank boards behind which bamboo grows tall, giving the dwelling a rustic feeling. Both of these elements are colored black, drawing the

eye away from the busy central area. In sharp contrast below are two white boards forming a triangle. On the boards rest strips of fabric with a large fan pattern. The heavy black printing pulls the eye to the right and then to the white below, drawing the reader's attention to linger on the bold fabric pattern.

On the right page a woman stands by the trellis gate in the middle of the fence wearing an abstract bamboo patterned kimono, holding out a flat fan with a flower on top. Her sleeve is marked with "たそ" (*taso*), identifying her as the character Tasogare 黄昏. On the left page a samurai, marked by his twin swords and wearing a white kimono with hakama of vertical stripes and arrow patterns, reaches out to receive the fan. His sleeve, marked with "惟" (*kore*), identifies him as Korekichi 惟吉, known to the readers as a servant of Mitsuuji.

In the bottom left of the left page a man, wearing an elaborately patterned kimono of joined swastikas (*manji-tsunagi* 卍繋ぎ) and flowered medallions, lounges indolently against a palanquin. The *kanji* on his sleeve, "光" (*mitsuu*), identifies him as Mitsuuji 光氏. He holds a fan before his face to hide his identity from the casual glance and his back faces the reader, enhancing the sense of concealed identity. He wears a topknot and a sword, marking him as a samurai, but his stylish dress and lack of hakama suggest less martial pursuits. The homely face of a bearer peeks over the top of the palanquin. The wall of the neighboring house is marked with three symbols: *kanji* reading "*yūgao*" 夕顔, a sideways gourd, and a symbol from the *Genji* incense game. A small cross-marked rectangle next to these symbols may be a repair patch on the wall designed to show the lower status and rustic nature of the neighborhood. A hanging paper lantern also bears the

Genji symbol. The lantern sways, but the movement seems odd as the rest of the scene appears quite still.

The woodblock printing industry was a multi-person process. Since most *gesaku* authors were not artists, they would make sketches for each page which would then be passed on to professional artists. In some cases these original authors' sketches survive, including several chapters' worth from the *Inaka Genji*, one of which will be examined now. (**Figure 3.6**).

In his sketches, Ryūtei Tanehiko drew outlines of the figures, props, and scenery. His notations to the artist included instructions about clothing patterns and important objects. He wrote in the text, including his own spacing, breaks between passages, and marking symbols. These drawings served only as guidelines for the artist, who rearranged objects as he saw fit, generally to emphasize readability or more closely align with popular artistic trends. Of the four pages I am examining, **Excerpt Figures 1, 3, and 4**, follow closely their sketched originals. A greater degree of separation in **Excerpt Figure 2**, however, can be seen between Tanehiko's sketch and the final printed page. **(Figures 3.5 and 3.6**).

The published version of Excerpt Figure 2 is almost a reversal of the layout sketched by Tanehiko and the characters are grouped differently. The dwelling of Tasogare and Shinonome is placed in the upper left corner running diagonally. Only a doorway with sandals propped inside is shown. This very modest row-house type of dwelling is exchanged in the printed version for one more luxurious, showing a small outdoor veranda, a rattan blind, shoji sliding screens and a stairway to the second story. These elements tie in more closely with the narration of the scene. Mitsuuji hears

women's voices and sees their silhouettes behind a rattan blind before alighting from his palanquin. After he meets with Shinonome, he follows her inside and upstairs. Though the audience knows Tasogare's situation to be humble, a more elegant appearance was no doubt more pleasing to the reader's eye.

Below this is drawn the fence, made of short overlapping wooden planks aligned horizontally between wooden posts. At the right edge it is made of bamboo poles. The trellis gate swings outward and upward, where it propped up by a forked pole. Crow gourd vines grow across the fence, whose diagonal direction strongly influences the composition of the image, stretching from the bottom left to the upper right of the two-page spread. The open trellis gate spans the fold of the image and just to the right of it are the boards with the pieces of kimono fabric spread on them. They lean together to make an equilateral triangle. Their placement in the upper center of the right page, paired with their strong geometric shape, draws the eye to them immediately. In the printed version, the plank boards are placed at the far right of the fence in dark ink, while the fence in the center of the image is of bamboo. This may have been altered to prevent having large white blanks spanning the image or to place the characters and not the architecture in the foreground. The trellis gate is also altered to open inward instead of upward, once again suggesting a dwelling more charming than humble.

Below the drying boards, Mitsuuji stands in front of his palanquin, his body facing the audience squarely, holding a folding fan in front of his lower face. The printed version changes this by turning Mitsuuji's back to the viewer; as such a greater sense of secrecy is achieved as the audience is unable to see his face. A palanquin bearer crouches by his feet just behind him. Mitsuuji, the palanquin and bearer, and the drying boards are

grouped together on the right-hand side of the image, while Tasogare and Korekichi stand together on the left page as he accepts a fan from her.

The alterations in the printed version change the relationships between the characters. Tasogare is separated from the two men, and the important plot element of the kimono pieces on the drying boards is brought to the front of the image, with the black fence boards behind in order to draw the eye. This emphasizes Tasogare's role as another pawn in Mitsuuji's quest to recover the royal treasures. While the kimono fabric functions as a clue to the identity of the villain, Tasogare functions as a literary reference, one viewers must have been eager to see interpreted. Mitsuuji and his servant dominate the other page and a clear break, the gutter between left and right panels, divides the two groups apart: main characters and temporary players, respectively.

Placement of the text is also greatly altered in to fit around the new composition. The beginning of Tanehiko's text in his sketch does not align with the beginning of the text in the printed version: about four more lines are included in the sketch. Both versions' scripts end on the same line. Most likely the professional script carver was able to balance script around image, resulting in some minor adjustments of lines between pages.

Excerpt 3 (**Figure 3.7**).

In the third scene Korekichi gives the fan to Mitsuuji who examines the poem and handwriting on it. Shinonome overhears his inquires about Tasogare and invites Mitsuuji into her house to meet her daughter, Tasogare.

His servant holds Korekichi out a lit taper, eager to assist his master and examine the handwriting of the poem's author. Mitsuuji sits casually with one knee tucked up,

wearing the same kimono as on the previous page, as he reads the fan. He holds the fan out to his left and reads it over his left shoulder. His body faces the reader squarely, as an actor on stage would, to better display his actions and attire. His cool face and demeanor at the exciting moment of a new romantic adventure portray him to be a true sophisticate in the manners of love and courtship. Behind him looms the figure of an older woman carrying a lantern. She wears a subtle kimono patterned with flower roundels paired with a black brocade obi and a striped sash. Her sleeve labels her "しの" (*shino*), identifying her as the character Shinonome 凌晨 from the text. Her left hand is tucked into her obi as her right hand holds the lantern just above the ground at the very edge of the scene, leading the viewer's eyes to the next page. Her frowning mouth gives her a faintly villainous look. The hanging paper lantern she bears is decorated with vertical lines and a small gourd very similar to the lantern and gourd on the previous page.

The scene emphasizes the poem which begins Mitsuuji's affair with Tasogare, leading eventually to the revelation that Shinonome was the one who stole the sword Kogarasumaru and her death and her daughter's death, by choosing to illustrate Mitsuuji looking at the fan. The clothing in the illustration serves to enhance knowledge of the characters. Mitsuuji wears an elaborately patterned kimono and no swords, although he is a samurai. His man-servant, Korekichi, wears tidy *hakama*, while Shinonome wears her obi tied in front. Often prostitutes would wear their obi this way, though Shinonome is not indicated explicitly to be one. She does fall under the entertainment profession however, since she is a dance instructor. Her clothing indicates that she is not high class or reputable as the ladies we saw in Except 1.

Excerpt 4 (**Figure 3.8**).

At this point in the story Mitsuuji has been invited in by Shinonome. She and her daughter talk with Mitsuuji and Shinonome encourages him to stay and enjoy their somewhat limited hospitality. She especially encourages a romantic encounter between Mitsuuji and Tasogare.

In this scene the young woman, Tasogare, stands holding an instrument behind her mother, the older woman Shinonome, who kneels on the floor in a second story room. Across from them on the left page Mitsuuji sits casually cross-legged holding a folded fan and looking at the older woman. His sword peeks out from behind him, resting on the floor. Shinonome leans forward engaging Mitsuuji; she holds up a stylishly long and thin tobacco pipe in her right hand over her lap while her left hand reaches toward a small round brazier to prepare it. Behind her, Tasogare stands shyly looking over her right shoulder at the Mitsuuji while the rest of her body faces slightly away from him, though still facing the viewer. She wears a kimono patterned with morning glories (*asagao* 朝顔; *Ipomoea purpurea*) and a striped obi with a flowing water motif. Tasogare's kimono is also highly symbolic, being decorated with morning glories, the symbol of Yūgao from the *Tale of Genji*.[53] This alerts readers immediately to her role and her fate as laid out in the *Tale of Genji*.

A low two-tiered railing stretches along the back of the room, though no outside scenery is depicted. Instead text fills the blank space above the rails and around the characters. Placed in front of the three people towards the bottom front of the page are a tall cylindrical vessel with a spout near the top, likely containing some type of liquid such

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[53] Tasogare's name, meaning twilight, is also related to Yūgao, whose name translates as "evening faces," a type of white flower. This playful pun is representative of Tanehiko's creativity in naming many characters in the *Inaka Genji*.

as sake, a petite round footed sake cup on a small tri-legged stand, and a wide bowl possibly containing some type of snacks with a pair of chopsticks resting on top of the rim. Beside Mitsuuji sits a black rectangular tobacco box with vertical handle. Inside are two cylindrical jars, their tops just visible; one to hold tobacco and one to serve as an ash tray. On the left page a balcony extends out into space. Hanging flush with the wall, and almost to the ground, is a reed blind with cut-out silhouettes of Mt. Fuji and three ship's sails. Hanging up on the right side of the screen are two dance props, a striped cane with a T-bar and handle and a black and white painted hobby horse with a cropped and bound mane wearing a bridle. This seemingly innocent background detail is in fact important an important plot point, much like the kimono fabric on the drying boards. The blind will appear again in the next fascicle and help reveal the identity of the true culprit behind the stolen objects. It is quite likely that at this point readers have forgotten about the screen and would need to flip back to it, or this might suggest that these works were read more than once, allowing readers to pick up on details they missed the time through.

The Edo Period delighted in the inclusion of *mitate* in visual materials and a skillfully given example is present in this image. To the left of Tasogare is a fan stand holding several folded fans inserted handle first. To her right is a standing candle holder. The base of the candle stand is a wide cylinder. A thin pole extends upward to hold a candle at about shoulder height. Tied around the back of the candle to guard the flame and catch the light is a partially opened folding fan, though normally a piece of paper would be used. This substitution creates a clever pun playing on the wave patterned base, the screen decorated with sails, and the hobby horse. These objects reference a famous episode from the twelfth century Japanese literary work the *Tale of the Heike*. In the

43

telling of the legendary incident at the Battle of Yashima, a lady of the Taira clan places a fan as a taunting target on their ship's mast bobbing out at sea, claiming that they enjoyed divine protection. Nasu no Yoichi 那須与一 (c. 1169 – c. 1232), a Minamoto retainer, shoots down the fan in an amazing feat of skill.[54] This episode from the *Tale of the Heike* was very popular and often illustrated with Nasu no Yoichi riding his horse into the surf with his bow drawn. With trademark Edo period cleverness, the clues are hidden within the scene without reference and left for the sophisticated to realize. The unusual use of the fan behind the candle is the first clue to unlocking the richness of this image. Looking across these four scenes, it becomes clear that images contribute a subtle and rich enhancement to the story's narrative.

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[54] Historically the Battle of Yashima took place in 1184. The Taira forces had suffered a string of defeats and retreated to a fortress on Yashima Island of the coast of Shikoku. Minamoto no Yoshitsune had only a small force of troops, but lit bond fire on the mainland, tricking the Taira into believing a large land force was coming. The Taira took to their ships and fled the fortress. A fan was placed on the mast of one boat and the Minamoto dared to shoot it down, which Nasu no Yoichi did. The Taira then fled to Dan-no-ura where they defeated once and for all, ending the war.

CHAPTER IV

CONTRASTING PUBLICATIONS: PRIVILEGED TEXT OR FAVORED IMAGE

A Parade of Publications

During its heyday in the Tenpō era (1830-1844), the *Inaka Genji* was one of the

most thrilling *gōkan* and is estimated to have sold 10,000 to 15,000 copies per edition,

(5,000-7,000 was an average run for more popular authors).[55] The popularity of the work

led to a long lasting boom in the production of *Genji-e*. This new type of *Genji-e*, based

on the appearance of the characters in the *Inaka Genji*, incorporated the more trendy style

of representation popularized through other genres of *ukiyo-e* paintings and woodblock

prints, superseding the earlier *Genji-e* that followed the *yamato-e* style of depiction based

on the original masterpiece. Many Utagawa School artists produced *Inaka Genji* themed

work, including Kuniyoshi (1897-1862) and Hiroshige (1897-1858). Kunisada would

produce many *Genji-e*, during and after, his illustration of the work. *Genji-e* were still

being produced into the Meiji Period, as a sensitive vertical diptych by Yoshitoshi shows,

though the theme's greatest popularity was in the 1840's and '50's. In this chapter I will

be exploring the continued publishing of the popular *Inaka Genji* from the end of the

nineteenth century to modern day. **Table 4.1** shows the distribution of text and image

usage among the works.

Before the Turn of the Century

Tanehiko's *Inaka Genji* has been re-published in Japanese approximately twenty-

four times since the original work ceased publication in 1842. The enduring publication

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[55] Markus, *Willow in Autumn*, 145-6.

Table 4.1. Printing variations of text and image in the *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji*

Version (year published, publisher)	Modern type-set; No images	Modern type-set; front images	Modern type-set; Front and interspersed images	Modern type-set; Cleaned images	Modern type-set; Text around cleaned images	Reprint of original	Screen-play	Abridged	New images
1995 *Iwanami Shoten*						X			
1978 *Horupu Shuppan*						X			
1960 *Nihon Shūhōsha*	X							X	
1953 *Ichōbon Kankōkai*	X								
1952-53 *Iwanami Shoten*			X						X
1947 *Minsei Shoin*		X							
1935 *Sankyō Shoin*			X						
1928-29 *Chūō Shuppansha*	X								
1926-29 *Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai*					X				
1927 *Yūhōdō Shoten*			X						
1921 *Genjikai*	X						X		
1920 *Meisaku Ninjō Bunko Kankōkai*	X								

Version (year published, publisher)	Modern type-set; No images	Modern type-set; front images	Modern type-set; Front and interspersed images	Modern type-set; Cleaned images	Modern type-set; Text around cleaned images	Re-print of origin-al	Screen-play	Abridged	New imag-es
1920 *Beisandō*						X			
1919 *Tokyo Tomoe Bunko*		X							X
1918 *Hakubunkan*			X		X				X
1913 *Tsunashima Shoten*	X[56]							X	
1913 *Tōadō Shobō*	X								
1911 *Ōkawaya*			X		X				
1910-11 *Sankyō Shoin*	X								
1898 *Hakubunkan*		X							X
1888 *Ginkadō*			X						X
1882-83 *Shinshindō*			X						X
1882-83 *Moriya Kiyokichi*			X						X
1882 *Bunkōdō*						X			

[56] In the portion of this work I was able to look at, there was one image. However, it is a painting of Mitsuuji and a lady in a western influenced style. It is not part of the original woodblock images or derived from them, so I am choosing not to count it as use of image.

of the *Inaka Genji* characters in prints attests to the work remaining within public awareness, which makes the sudden return of the work to the presses in the 1880's less incongruous. The first re-printing of the work[57] was published by Bunkōdō (Tokyo) in 1882. This edition is a replication of the original work in form and substance, consisting of chapters divided into upper and lower fascicles with Japanese-style sewn binding. It seems likely that this work was printed from woodblocks, perhaps copies of the originals. As the Yoshitoshi print earlier demonstrated, the woodblock printing industry was still operation, and a replica like this would have been in high demand from people interested in the source material. As they say, the old is new again.

Apparently not new enough, however, for beginning in 1882, an interesting substitution can be seen in some publications. In the next four publications printed by Moriya Kiyokichi (Yokohama) in 1882-3, Shinshindō (Kyoto) in 1882-3, Ginkadō (Tokyo) in 1888, and Hakubunkan (Tokyo) in 1898, replaced Kunisada's illustrations with new versions. (**Figure 4.1**). These new illustrations are a modern re-imagining, using more up to date facial models and dispensing with the Kunisada style. Each scene retains the elements of its predecessor, but adjusts the orientation, perspective, and presentation. Overall their nature is not too radically different; their general appearance is still *ukiyo-e*, but they represent a subtly updated aesthetic.

This change could have been caused by a variety of reasons. The woodblocks, copies or originals, were available for printing, as demonstrated by the 1882 Bunkōdō release. Perhaps these publishers were unable to obtain permission to use the blocks, it

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[57] Consisting of some, or all, of the original 38 chapters and uncompleted manuscripts for chapters 39 and 40 written by Ryūtei Tanehiko, illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada, and published by Tsuruya Kiemon's Senkakudō publishing house. I was unable to work with the original copy of many of the earlier works looked at in this thesis, including this one. Due to this, I am unable to tell definitely whether this version is printed from woodblocks or a Western method.

was too expensive, or there were issues with copyrights. Another possibility is that the publishers believed updated images would sell well. Funds would have been needed to commission new artwork, funds that could have gone towards purchasing publishing rights. The first two publishers to use these images are the only two from this list that did not operate in Tokyo. Perhaps these new images were designed to appeal to non-Tokyoites. They would not be used for the first time by Tokyo publishers until five years later.

In addition to new images, these works employed new typology. When the original work was written in the Edo Period, Japan's syllabaries were not yet standardized. The language would eventually become standardized, beginning with literature, during the Meiji Period.[58] This *Inaka Genji's* pre-modern *kuzushiji* text made it difficult to read by the turn of the century. In all subsequent versions, except for exact re-prints, the handwritten text would be replaced with modern type-set Japanese. Archaic *hiragana* and *kanji* would be updated with similar modern usages and the amount of *kanji* would be increased. The earlier published versions would rely heavily on *furigana*, providing readers with pronunciations for all *kanji* used. As the *Genbun'icchi* 言文一致 (the "unification of speech and writing") Movement progressed and typology standards became established, texts of published versions appear closer and closer to modern usage conventions. (**Figure 4.2**).

<u>Publication in the Early Nineteenth Century</u>

With the turn of the century came a new development in the published form of the *Inaka Genji*. Publishers begin to publish the work without images using Western printing

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[58] Nanette Twine, "The Genbunichi Movement. Its origin, Development, and Conclusion," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 33.3 (Autumn 1993): 333-356.

technologies. Of the twelve versions published between 1900 and 1930, six use no images within their pages. Sankyō Shoin in 1910-11, Tōadō Shobō in 1913, Meisaku Ninjō Bunko Kankōkai in 1920, and Chūō Shuppansha in 1928-29 released full-length versions of the *Inaka Genji* in modern typeset and Western binding without including images. Tsunashima Shoten in 1913 and Genjikai in 1921 released imageless abridged versions of the work in modern typeset and binding. Greatly reduced use of image also characterized Yūhōdō Shoten's 1926 publication, with images appearing in the preface and interspersed sparingly in the following text. One verbatim reprint was released, a publication by Beisandō in 1920 of the Tanehiko's original sketches of the *Inaka Genji*.

Three versions in this period made creative attempts at reproducing the work with modern technology and readability, while trying to preserve something of the work's original text and image relationship. The earliest of these was published by Ōkawaya in 1911. This version uses modern typeset font and images from the original work in the preface and scattered throughout the text. The decision was made, however, to clean out the *kuzushiji* script from the images and place the resulting illustrations as half- or quarter- page illustrations. (**Figure 4.3**). Usually when original images were used by publishers, the page with text and illustration was lifted as a whole, comprising what I term "original image." This version separated the text away from Kunisada's illustrations is a way that was not duplicated in Japanese printing, but was adopted by American translator Donald Richardson in 1985, three-quarters of a century later.

The next attempt at creative layout was published by Hakubunkan in 1918. This version built on the Ōkawaya technique, with modern typeset font and cleaned images, but with the addition of wrapping their printed text around the images. (**Figure 4.4**). This

made the text and image feel like part of each other in the spirit of Tanehiko's original

work, though this version also used the new-style of artwork as in the versions from the

late 1800's. Cleaned images were used in the preface and only sparingly throughout the

work. The extent of the attempt was limited, perhaps by budget and uncertainty of

reception.

The union of original illustrations by Kunisada with modern typeset text is best

achieved in the 1926-29 complete work publication by Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai

as part of their collection of famous Edo period literary classics. (**Figure 4.5**). The

closeness to a re-creation of the blend of text and image produced in the original Edo

version has not been equaled by any other publication, even today. Building on the

previous two creative attempts, this version uses modern typeset and cleaned images. It

sets itself apart, however, by making use of the original Kunisada images on every page.

In essence, it is a modern reprint, using Tanehiko and Kunisada's original text and

images with the exchange of *kuzushiji* for typeset. The edition also includes color reprints

of the Edo Period fascicle covers, miniaturized and printed four to a page, and Tanehiko's

chapter prefaces in unaltered *kuzushiji*. It is highly likely that the expense necessary to

produce this luxurious version has prevented other publishers from following suit or that

the market simply would not support two such sumptuous editions. Nearly a century later

however, as modern Japanese took its current form after World War Two, a work of this

nuanced nature with updated text would come to be much appreciated.

A Final Fling in the Mid-Century

The *Inaka Genji* would continue to see regular publishing from the 1930's to the

sixties, though not in such copious quantities. Of the works issued over this period, the

earlier ones use image sparingly, while the last two do not include images. Sankyō Shoin in 1935, and Iwanami Shoten in 1952-3, both use modern typeset font and images in the preface and throughout the text, while Minsei Shoin's 1947 version did the same, but with images only in the preface. Iwanami Shoten uses the non-Kunisada illustrations, while the other two do not. In 1953 Ichōbon Kankōkai released an un-illustrated version, while in 1960 Nihon Shūhōsha released a greatly abridged version without images. This would be the last of the chronologically closely grouped publications. It seems that at this point interest in publishing the *Inaka Genji* began to wane.

Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji: Specialized Interest

The last two Japanese versions published were in 1978 and in 1995. The former, published by Horupu Shuppan, is an elaborate reprint of the original work, presented in Japanese bound fascicles exactly imitating the Edo original. Included in this version is a booklet of commentary by renowned Edo literature scholar Suzuki Jūzō, a booklet of Tanehiko's original sketches, and a paper pouch to hold the fascicles. An elegant work, it appeals to collectors or scholars who might find copies of the original outside of their grasp. The average modern reader, however, would be unable to parse it. Iwanami Shoten published a version of the *Inaka Genji* in 1952-3 and returned with a radically different version in 1995. (**Figure 4.6**). This version is the seminal scholars' version, containing reprinting of all of the original pages, with text and illustration, on the top of the page, and a modern typeset transliteration below. Care is taken to align modern text to corresponding original pages and explanatory notes are included whenever necessary, including literary and artistic references contained in preface artwork. The extent of the

research that went into this edition seems to have quelled the need for further Japanese language publications, as none have been produced within the last fifteen years.

Analysis of Text and Image in Published Versions

Through these twenty-four editions, several trends in the relationship of text and image become evident. In all works that are not replications of the original, pre-modern text is replaced with modern typeset. A common type of publishing, occurring in almost half of the total versions, is to remove all illustrated images. While the rest of the versions use illustration, a wide range of images are used. Some substitute Kunisada's artwork with similar drawings of a modernized aesthetic, while others maintain or remove text around the image. Severely reducing the number of images used is very common, with half of these versions using only limited amounts appearing in the preface and/or scattered through the body of the text.

The Meiji era, when the first new publications appear, set about modernizing Japan along a Western model as quickly as possible. Politically the goal was to become a great power along the line of Western imperial nations. Native Japanese traditions paled in comparison to modern Western trends, and Western literature, being sparsely illustrated, may have contributed to the marginalization of image in re-publications. The editors may have desired to minimize the "Japanese-ness" of the work, such as illustrations in common *ukiyo-e* style, while trying to highlight the "civilized" nature of the Edo period by compiling famous writings into published anthologies. Money at this time may have also been directed away from the publishing industry towards modernization and the military.

In addition, change from woodblock to printing press at the turn of the century restricted the way publishers could lay out their pages. Though timely to create, the woodcut medium allowed for text to freely fill in the space around image, making works like *gōkan* easy to create. The Western printing press was less forgiving about placement and required separate keys for each character, eliminating the possibility of free-flowing calligraphy. The geometric restrictions made using image more difficult, which probably had the greatest influence in publishers removing the images of the *Inaka Genji* from its text for reprinting.

Let us begin with comparing the original images selected for my excerpt with volumes published with image-less text, such as can be seen in Hakubunkan's *Inaka Genji* of 1898. (**Figure 4.2**). This particular work uses images only in the preface and also uses the newer images instead of Kunisada's drawings. When image is removed from text like this, the work loses its feel of "*gōkan*-ness," which is generated by the combination of text and image. Works without any images give no hint to the beauty and craftsmanship of the genre. In their favor, however, they are easier to read since they do not require the reader to locate sections of text across the page. The use of *kanji* and *furigana* help the reader to distinguish the meaning of works more clearly than they might have from the original text as well. The absence of image makes the *Inaka Genji* feel and read like a book, which is not necessarily a bad thing, but is not the same as reading the work with images.

Publications that only use image in the preface avoid this feeling and give a taste of the work's original nature, but little more. They also read like books, albeit ones that provides character illustrations. The reader is not able to glean any additional information

or nuances from preface illustrations, just an idea of what characters and settings may look like. Publications that scatter images in the front and throughout the work do a bit better. Readers are reminded more often of the text and image relationship present in the original work and are exposed to more artwork. These publications are able to save space and improve textual readability without entirely sacrificing the image portion of the *gōkan*. Regrettably, large portions of the story may pass without illustration, however. In the Hakubunkan's *Inaka Genji* no illustrations are present for my four page excerpt. Fortunately this particular publication includes a great many images in the front, which look to be new images of frontispiece illustrations for many of the chapters. One of these features Mitsuuji, Tasogare, and Shinonome. (**Figure 4.2**). If a reader realizes that characters are illustrated in the front, they may return to look at the images more closely. On the other hand, they may not realize that they link to particular story lines, since the images are separate at the front.

This same publication also demonstrates the interesting substitute of Kunisada's illustrations for more modern illustrations. These images are still in *ukiyo-e* style, with characters and illustrations of scenes being easily recognizable. A reader with only some small familiarly with the original images may not notice the difference immediately. It is likely that a reader new to the *Inaka Genji* would never know the difference at all unless it was pointed out to them. These new images seem to be a type of image short-hand, combining illustrations that took up a two-page spread into one page. (**Figures 4.7** and **4.8**). The art style makes characters thinner and taller, with prominent noses, giving them quite an elegant look. For a reader of the *Inaka Genji*, this is in line with what they should expect- sumptuous images lending grace and elegance to the story. Sadly, these new

images only appear in limited amounts and are generally only scattered through the text. While publications that use these newer images stray further from a reproduction of the original work, they may fall more in line with the intention of Tanehiko to produce a work with sophisticated and elegant illustrations.

One of the more interesting publishing techniques is the use of images with the original *kuzushiji* text removed. One use of this method can be seen in Ōkawaya's 1911 *Inaka Genji*. (**Figure 4.3**). This version scatters its downsized and cleaned images through the text. This particular approach changes the role of image from a partnership with text as it is in *gōkan*, into non-integrated illustration. While the previous usage of image seems also similar to illustration, many of these images leave in original text, such as poems, in their images. The cleaned images of Ōkawaya's version do not do this, removing text inserted into image. This gives the reader the feeling that the images are very open and blank in some areas and darkly detailed in others. Their reduced size also results in lower clarity of detail, making them feel less impressive. This approach where image is placed beside, not integrated into, vertical text feels like an odd fit for a *gōkan* published in Japanese, perhaps why only one version uses image this way.

The two most intriguing styles of text and image combination will be discussed in depth in the following chapter, so I will address them only briefly here. Hakubunkan's 1918 publication and Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai's 1927 edition both use images with *kuzushiji* removed and replaced with modern type-set Japanese. (**Figure 4.4** and **4.5**) The former only incorporates images every few pages, but the latter reproduces the entire work. This version gives readers the closest sense of reading a *gōkan* that is to be had among all the publications by keeping the text blended into the image. Naturally some

elements are lost, like the full-size color fascicle covers, but the edition makes up for that with its legibility to the modern Japanese reader. The other interesting style is the layout chosen by Iwanami Shoten in the 1995 edition. This places the original image with *kuzushiji* on the top of the page with a modern type-set translation below it. This version privileges knowledge and understanding of the subject matter over presenting a *gōkan*-like reading experience. Readers are given extensive footnotes and explanations of images and events, making it very useful to scholars. Much is added to the reading experience by increasing the modern reader's knowledge of Edo Japan so that they might better appreciate what is happening on the page in front of them.

All these variations present a unique opportunity to view the *Inaka Genji* through many different lenses. While it is clear that the narrative of the story continues to function without image integrated into the text, loss of image results in the loss of *gōkan* charm. The following chapter investigates one of the reasons that change to the original work is necessary: translation.

CHAPTER V

INTRA-LANGUAGE TRANSLATION IN THE *NISE MURASAKI INAKA GENJI*

Written Language in the Edo Period

Kanbun Writing

Japan adopted its writing system from China early in its recorded history and by the sixth century used Chinese characters in formal writing.[59] The acceptance of this foreign writing system presented a challenge for the speakers of Japanese because native Japanese syntax and pronunciation differed from Chinese language. Eventually the *kanbun* 漢文 style of writing was developed to address the issue of using a foreign writing system to transcribe the local language. Documents were written in the Chinese style but would be amended with extra diacritical marks to inform the reader how certain words should be read and how to restructure the passage into Japanese grammar. Two simpler syllabaries were also developed around this time, the flowing *hiragana* script considered the domain of women and courtly elegance, and the more angular *katakana* script developed by monks. Each character of these scripts was a simplified version of a Chinese character, but unlike modern Japanese *kana*, several different versions each derived from different characters existed. These versions were used as the writer preferred, often interchangeably within one document. *Kanbun* and other forms of Chinese-based writing[60] became the accepted style of written works. The education necessary to master *kanbun* relegated it to use of the upper classes.

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[59] For an English source on *kanbun*, see Sydney Crawcour's *An Introduction to* Kanbun, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1965.

[60] *Sōrōbun* 候文, *wabun* 和文, and *wakankonkōbun* 和漢混淆文.

Colloquial Writing

By the late Edo Period, spoken and written Japanese had diverged significantly. While the official standard was still *kanbun* in the Edo Period, with its classical grammar and archaic construction, the *gesaku* literature was already using colloquial Japanese, although vestiges of classical grammar patterns were still in use. Writing in colloquial Japanese carried the stigma of being uneducated. Scholars, officials, and authors of serious literature, unlike *gesaku*, wrote in *kanbun*, while colloquial writing was aimed at uneducated women and children.

Kusazōshi, including *gōkan*, were mostly written in colloquial Japanese as part of their as frivolous and comedic tone. It is known that these works' readers were not entirely made up of the uneducated classes, but this fiction was maintained due to the strict Confucian class divisions supported by the Tokugawa regime.[61] The *Inaka Genji* was written in this easy to read style that used very few Chinese characters, which would have been well-known even to children. The use of *kanbun* continued into the late Edo Period, but come under criticism when Japan was forced into greater contact with the Western world after the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853.

Genbun'icchi and Modernization

Today's written Japanese developed from the *Genbun'icchi* Movement, a series of standardization efforts put forth in the Meiji Period that culminated in the acceptance of colloquial writing with the new constitution after WWII.[62] This development of modern standards mainly focused on bringing the archaic grammar and styles of written

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[61] The Confucian class divisions promulgated by the shogunate in the Edo Period did not consider *gesaku* to be appropriate reading for the samurai class. Educated men were only supposed to engage in such works as classical Chinese and Japanese works, philosophies, and other series works.

[62] Twine, "Genbunichi Movement," 333-356.

Japanese in line with colloquial spoken Japanese. The non-codified nature of *hiragana*,

with certain characters written in multiple ways, originating from multiple inspiring

kanji, coupled with the personal handwritten style of authors and woodblock print

carvers, made Edo Period Japanese generally unreadable for the regular population by the

early twentieth century.[63] The *Genbun'icchi* Movement served to eliminate differences in

writing and speech and to unify the disparate dialects of Japan, beginning in literature and

then within public writing at large.

Comparisons of Text, Image, and Translation in the *Inaka Genji*

The general purpose of translation is to convey the form and sense of the original

as accurately as possible from one language into another. The first question to address is

whether the change of typeset in the *Inaka Genji* constitutes a translation. The original

work is written in pre-modern Japanese cursive but re-published versions of the work use

modern Japanese typeset of pre-modern Japanese. Where then does the translation occur

when the text remains in Japanese without even being updated into modern Japanese?

When first considering the textual changes as a mere modernization of font without

change to content or source language, it does not seem to constitute "translation," but a

transliteration. However, in this highly visual work the intertwined nature of image and

text makes alterations to the appearance of the text a notable step away from the original

form. The translation taking place here is not of different languages, but of the text's

imagery and ambiguity.

In this chapter I compare two modern text transliterations of the *Inaka Genji*.

Beginning with translation theory, I will examine the 1927 Nihon Meicho Zenshū

Kankōkai and 1995 Iwanami Shoten publications closely, comparing them with the

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[63] Markus, *Willow in Autumn,* 62.

original text and each other. I pay particular attention to how they present the original

material and offer a comparison of typographical differences between the two works and

the original. This chapter concludes with a discussion of intentionalism and the effects

translation has on the *Inaka Genji*.

<u>Translation and Theory</u>

The nature of the changes made to original *Inaka Genji* suggests that the Japanese

language has changed enough through the 20th century to necessitate a new vernacular

translation. In his essay, "The Translator's Task," Walter Benjamin argues that "no

translation would be possible if, in accord with its ultimate essence, it were to strive for

similarity to the original. For in its continuing life, which could not be so called if it were

not the transformation and renewal of a living thing, the original is changed." In order to

be understood by modern audiences, the *Inaka Genji* had to undergo alteration from its

original state as the hand-written *kuzushiji* of the late Edo Period is no longer legible to

any but a few scholars. Benjamin views translation as a continuation of the original

work's life. A work's survival through the ages is due to translations that continue to

transmit its message. A translation owes its existence to the work and as such cannot lay

claim to producing the fame of that work.[64] Without a doubt the original woodblock

printed editions are the source of the *Inaka Genji's* fame and appeal. No twentieth

century edition with modern printing limitations and language replicates the luxurious

feel of the originals. Yet without its language updated into legibility, the message of the

Inaka Genji would be lost. Thus the transformation of the text must be painstakingly

rendered by scholars, carefully deciphering cramped handwriting in various states of

damage and print quality, carefully selecting the correct *kanji* through context to replace

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[64] Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," 154.

original *hiragana*. The addition of punctuation demands knowledge of modern and classical Japanese language and while the period may be placed with some confidence, the comma retains a more personal sense of placement. As Benjamin states,

> "…so translation, instead of making itself resemble the meaning of the original, must lovingly, and in detail, fashion in its own language a counterpart to the original's mode of intention, in order to make both of them recognizable as fragments of a vessel, as fragments of a greater language."[65]

Here indeed a new version of the original is being fashioned. By choosing *kanji* and adding punctuation, the modern typeset version creates a new version of the text according to the editors and publishers and clearly situates the original and the modern text versions as two fragments from the same Japanese vessel. The same language is being used, but is translated into modern script for the sake of legibility.

Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankokai's 1927 Edition

The first of two Japanese versions I will be looking at in detail was published in 1927 by Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai as part of the series *Nihon Meicho Zenshū: Edo bungei no bu* 日本名著全集–江戸文藝之部 (*Library of Japanese Masterpieces: Literature of Edo*). The entire series was bound into two lightweight volumes, approximately 10 cm by 16 cm by 3 cm, making the volumes easily portable. Being a non-scholarly work published in the early 20th century, no information is included about which original copy of the *Inaka Genji* was used by the translator, nor could I find the name of the translator, although a long explanatory text written by Yamaguchi Takeshi is present at the beginning of the second volume of the series.[66] This edition is particularly

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[65] Ibid., 161.

[66] I use the term 'translator" to mean the person who converts the pre-modern Japanese text into modern Japanese language text and later modern Japanese text into English language text. This person is responsible for preserving the content of the work as it changes languages.

interesting for its attempt to preserve a simulacrum of the original reading experience by retaining the marriage of text and image.

This edition includes fascicles cover prints, Tanehiko's comments at the beginning of each book, opening character illustrations, illustrations that take up the entire page, translated modern Japanese placed into the image instead of Edo Period Japanese, and Kunisada's signature cartouche. Leaving Kunisada's signature un-translated, but still readable, in the appropriate place reinforces the idea that two men were predominately responsible for the creation of this work. Tanehiko's prefaces and the poetry on character pages are left un-translated. (**Figure 5.1**). While a chance to see Edo Period Japanese is visually enlightening and academically interesting, since most modern people are unable to read it, a significant portion of Tanehiko's narrative device is lost. His careful framing of his work and explanations of his intent are not to be had in the main body of this work. The poetry is left, which makes for a pleasing image, but does not help comprehension. We are left to wonder whether this was the translator's choice, a general feeling about poetry's lack of usefulness to the reader's understanding of the story, or an attempt to preserve the artistry of the frontispieces.

Illustrations and text intermingle and fill the entire page, but details are easily visible. The edition is printed in good quality black and white, which remains reasonably consistent except for the character illustrations at the beginning of an upper fascicle. The images start looking properly toned, but become progressively darker as the volumes continue; this occurs in both volumes. While the volume covers are not included, though they are discussed in Yamaguchi's text in the second volume; the fascicle covers are included and printed in color. (**Figure 5.2**). The colors are rich, though perhaps a little

faded, and at times the color fill does not quite match the outlines. The images are printed four to a page, and thus inserted not at the beginning of each fascicle, as in the original version, but at the beginning of every two volumes. Including the color prints adds the luxurious feel that the original must have possessed, but down-sizing to place them on one page, far from their original position, was likely a cost- saving decision.

While this edition presents the closest blending of text and image in the manner of Tanehiko's work of the various publications reviewed in this paper, certain aspects are inevitably lost in the change between pre-modern and modern Japanese. The translator or the layout artist left in the symbols that indicate where to read next at the end of a passage of text. Unlike the original text, the modern Japanese is generally split into two to three passages that run vertically with very few visually outstanding gaps. The original text, however, often has notable gaps between text passages that follow and highlight character outlines. (**Figures 5.3**). This artistic execution is absent from the modern translation, and while it causes no loss in meaning, it does change the artistic experience.

Iwanami Shoten's 1995 Edition

In 1995, Iwanami Shoten published a version of the *Inaka Genji* in their series *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系 (*New Compendium of Japanese Classic Literature*), translated by Suzuki Jūzō (**Figure 5.4**). This version is more academic in nature, featuring text translated from the pre-modern Japanese into modern type-set Japanese placed underneath an image of the original with the original Edo period text. The text also includes explanations from the translator of the cover images and any references they might be making. This is the only version that also translates Tanehiko's preface comments and provides translations of the poems that adorn the character

pictures at the beginning of each book. Suzuki also includes the translation of Kunisada's seal at the end of the fascicles, unlike the other three editions. This thorough translation of text allows the reader access to the same textual material that Edo Period Japanese people would have had, though Suzuki does not include the advertisements that are often present at the end of original volumes. Whether this decision was his or influenced by his publisher is not clear. He does include advertisements that occur mid-text, placing them within an outlined box for clarity. Fascicles and volumes are labeled and Suzuki makes efforts to keep the translated text near the image it came from.

The images printed in this edition are of decent quality. The original Edo period text is preserved and could probably be read with a magnifying glass. The images are unfortunately small, being slightly less than half a page tall, roughly half the size of the original, with a double spread image placed on one page. The small size of images results in the loss of detail in kimono patterns and scenery. The images are located at the top of the page with the translation underneath. Each image is numbered and an explanation of the action taking place is offered. This convenience allows readers to decipher the events of the illustrations, but also fails to place the text directly into the context of text and image taken together. Readers must instead parse image and text separately, but the explanations do allow them to make an informed mental whole.

At the beginning of each volume, Suzuki includes the volume cover and both cover images of the separate fascicles on a title page. While these were originally the only part of the *gōkan* printed in color, they are reproduced in black and white in the same small size as the other images. All three are placed on one page, and the fascicle covers in particular suffer from this, losing much detail and rendering their cartouches

unreadable. (**Figure 5.5**). Overall, while Suzuki's version loses the experience of reading

text in image that the original had, the material is presented in a very thorough and

inclusive manner, allowing much of the original textual experience to remain.

Intra-Language Translation and Theory

Let us begin to look at translation with a brief comparison of type-set in a two

page spread from the lower fascicle (second half) of the fourth volume, marked as pages

fourteen and fifteen in the original work, from the 1927 Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai

edition, and the 1995 Iwanami Shoten edition. (**Figure 3.8**). Supporting the idea that

these textual modernizations are translations, the changes made in the 1927 and 1995

versions have key differences. In **Table 5.1** three versions of the first sentence from the

page fourteen are included: the original, 1927, and 1995. The sentence translates as

"Earlier as I waited outside, I noticed a pair of boards with pieces of a kimono stretched

over them. Even now it is still outside, but what is it?"[67] I elected to use this particular

phrase because it used punctuation and *kanji* and the other versions made typological

adjustments in this sentence, thereby making a comparison fruitful.

Immediately apparent is the contrast between the handwriting of the original and

the modern typeset of the latter two. Being translated from the same original, they say the

same thing and follow the original's *hiragana* faithfully. Their differences stem from the

time they were created. The 1927 Nihon Meicho Zenshū edition uses fewer *kanji*, with

fifteen characters appearing in the quote; the original uses two. Of these *kanji*, only six

kanji, constituting four words, receive *furigana*. We can also see that the practice of using

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[67] My translation.

a small "tsu" either in *hiragana* or *katakana* (つ・ツ) has not been adopted yet.[68] In the

phrase "*futatsu kumiawase*" ("two [wooden panels] joined together;" in the original

written, "二ツくミあはせ"), in the 1995 version (「二ッ組<ruby>み<rt>く</rt></ruby>合<ruby>は<rt>あ</rt></ruby>せ」) we can see the

use of a small *katakana* ッ and the separation on the two *kanji* with the *hiragana* み. The

1927 version renders it 「二つ組合せ」, using the larger つ common to pre-modern

Japanese and including the み and は[69] with the *furigana*.

In addition, while the two versions often agree on the placement of punctuation,

they present some difference. For example, two circular periods used in the 1995 version

are marked as commas in the 1927 version.[70] One of these can be seen in **Table 5.1**, in

the middle of the middle line of text, between the が (*ga*) and あれ (*are*) symbols. The

effect of replacing a period with a comma is the same in Japanese as it is in English. Both

versions add more punctuation than is present in the original text, which uses only one

circular period. This changes the flow of the character's speech, which now reads with a

slightly different cadence. The 1995 Iwanami Shoten version uses more *kanji*, with

eighteen appearing. Of these only two words are given *furigana* readings. The modern

reader is accustomed to greater *kanji* usage, which makes excessive *furigana* usage

unnecessary; however, an extensive amount of *furigana* is appended. This may be to

preserve the readings of the pre-modern *hiragana* of the original work. As this work is
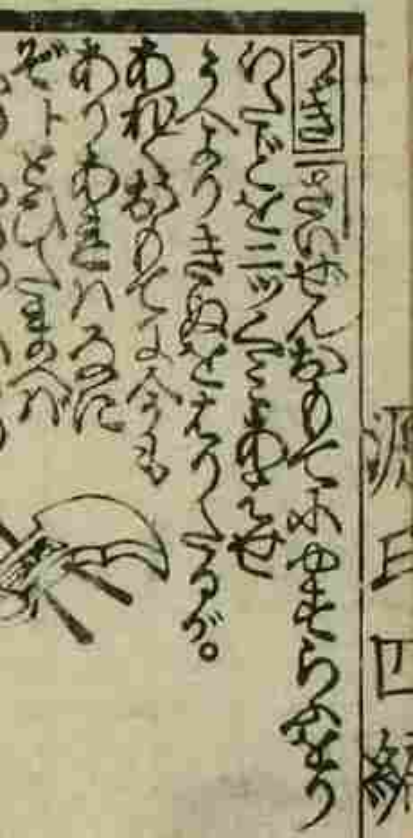
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[68] The つ is in hiragana, while the ツ is in katakana. These symbols represent the doubling of the following consonant.

[69] Marked as *wa* わ in modern Japanese.

[70] This circular period in Japanese is not entirely equivalent in usage to an English period. It can work like a period, or a comma, or a semicolon, etc.

Table 5.1. Textual Excerpts: *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji*, Chapter 4, Fascicle 2, Page 14

	たるが、あれ々*表に今もあり、あれは何ぞ」ト問ひ給へば、…」	「最前おもてにやすらふ折、板戸を二つ組合せ、上より衣を張り	るが。あれ々*表に今もあり、あれは何ぞ」ト問ひ給へば、…」	「最前 表に休らふ折、板戸を二ッ組み合はせ、上より衣を張りた
Ryūtei Tanehiko, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, original text	Nihon Meicho Zenshu Kankōkai, 1927		Iwanami Shoten, 1995.	
Translation: "Earlier as I waited outside, I noticed a pair of boards with pieces of a kimono stretched over them. Even now it is still outside, but what is it?"[72]				

aimed at scholars, giving *furigana* makes it easier to follow along in the original

kuzushiji.

Further changes in language use include phrases once written in *hiragana* now

rendered in *kanji*. For example, from the same excerpt, the phrase "*kumi awase*" (to join

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[71] The actual symbol here is the elongated く, which I could not type with MS Word. I will mark substitutions with an asterisk when 々 is used instead of the long く.

[72] My translation.

together; to bind) is written as 組合せ in the Nihon Meicho Zenshu Kankōkai edition.

This reflects the *kanji/hiragana* usage of the early twentieth century. Around sixty years

later at the end of the century, 組み合はせ is the accepted reading, as published in the

Iwanami Shoten edition. These orthographic changes in the use and selection of *kanji* are

not enough to prevent a Japanese reader from understanding the word, particularly since

furigana is provided. It does provide an example of the slow development of language

and help illustrate the extremity of the changes to Japanese language that occurred

between the Edo and modern periods, a change great enough to render translation

necessary for pre-modern works.

The retention of pre-modern grammar in the *Inaka Genji* gives the readers a sense

they are reading the original words of the author. The nature of *gesaku* is to use

colloquial language, which makes it modernly more readable than the Chinese-based

formal pre-modern Japanese writing. Perhaps the *Inaka Genji* has not been translated into

modern Japanese because native readers do not yet feel as estranged from the language as

to render a modern vernacular translation necessary.[73] The 20th century publications of

the *Inaka Genji* adopt a localizing strategy, which German theologian and philosopher

Friedrich Schleiermacher defines as "…[the translator] leaves the reader alone as much as

possible and moves the writer toward the reader…The translator takes pains…to

compensate for the reader's lack of understanding of the original language."[74] Here we

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[73] In English, one might compare this with reading Shakespeare in the original, a task generally required of high school students.

[74] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating," 42.

can quite clearly see the Japanese editor's actions to translate the original. Difficult hand written and non-standardized *hiragana* are placed with modern types *hiragana*. The confusion of reading Japanese without *kanji* or punctuation is alleviated. The audience receives the trill of reading a pre-modern work with almost all of the obstacles removed.

In the translated text of the modernly published *Inaka Genji*, the hand of the editor and scholars of the project are clearly evident. For the sake of legibility, the reader must sacrifice the art and ambiguity of the original text. A clear example of this can be found with the verb 'to sing.' In modern Japanese, to sing is usually rendered as 歌う (*utau*), though other versions exist that more closely defined words for singing, such as 唄う (*utau*) (to sing one's praises in a poem, etc.). This verb appears into two different forms in the modern editions of the *Inaka Genji*, with both versions using the same *kanji* in each situation. Unsurprisingly, the original version uses the pre-modern *hiragana*, う たふ (*utau*),[75] in all cases, but the modern typeset versions choose to use *kanji*. For instance, in the Nihon Meicho Zenshu Kankōkai version, Instead of using 歌う though, the first instance, when Mitsuuji hums a few lines from a *saibara* 催馬楽 (a genre of Heian-period Japanese court music, primarily consisting of *gagaku*-styled folk melodies) the *kanji* 謡ふ is used.[76] This version of 'to sing' is used when referring to singing songs of a more classical style such as *kagura-uta* 神楽歌, *saibara*, *imayo* 今様, and *naga-uta*

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[75] In pre-modern Japanese ふ *fu* (or *hu*) is used in place of う *u*. It is still pronounced as *u*.

[76] In Japanese language, often *kanji* and *hirgana* work together in verbs and adjectives. The *kanji uta* 謡 or 唄 will remain the same and the hiragana *fu* ふ will undergo conjugation. In this example, as in the previous footnote, the *fu* is voiced as the vowel *u*, giving us the verb *utau*.

長唄.[77] Since the main character is singing a *saibara*, this verb is appropriate, but more explicit than the original text. A second verb is used for 'to sing,' 唄う (*utau*),[78] when Shinonome sings clever reply to Mitsuuji's song. This version of 'to sing' is primarily used for *shamisen* songs. Shinonome herself is a teacher of dancing and singing, arts that in these days would have included the *shamisen*.[79] Her daughter is also a skilled player and Shinonome twists Mitsuuji's old song into a modern *shamisen* song, which is made clear to the reader with the *kanji* 唄 (uta). These types of changes alter the original flavor of the text along with the addition of the modern period and comma.

These alterations, though subtle, when viewed as a whole, are enough to constitute a translation of the original. The publishing companies and their editors re-position the intentional point of reference with every version of the work published. The text heavy nature of the *gōkan* makes its translation crucial for comprehension of the work. To this end, as translation of text focuses on the interpretation of signifiers from one language into another, the artwork often undergoes changes as it is adjusted to accommodate new textual bodies. This phenomenon is present whether the translation is from *kuzushiji* into modern Japanese typeset or from Japanese into English. The editors'

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[77] *Kagura-uta* is a type of Shinto music, originating in the eighth century. *Saibara* is a type of vocal accompanied court music originating in the Heian period. *Imayo* were contemporary songs that gained popularity in the late Heian period. *Naga-uta* are songs played in Kabuki and Noh plays, usually with shamisen and vocal accompaniment, developing in the mid seventeen hundreds.

[78] See footnote 75.

[79] A shamisen is a three stringed instrument, similar to a guitar or banjo, played with a plectrum. The instrument originated in China, passing next to the Ryukyu Islands, and entered Japan in the sixteenth century.

hand in altering *kanji* and punctuation mark the work as clearly as their alteration of image.

As Benjamin argues, a translation is the continuation of a work's life and cannot occupy the same space as the original.[80] The new versions of the *Inaka Genji* choose whether or not to imitate the original closely. In the 1927 Nihon Meicho edition, the new text is inserted into the image frame to mimic the original. The editors' intent is to maintain a similar reading experience to the original. The 1995 Iwanami Shoten edition editor aims to present a work suitable for scholarly use, preserving original image and text, but focusing on the translated text. Both versions engage in a localizing translation of text through the addition of *kanji* and punctuation. Without these changes only a few trained scholars would be able to enjoy the work, yet the loss of an integrated textual/visual reading experience for a modern audience is lamentable. This issue is further exacerbated when translating from vertically written scripts into horizontal ones. The changes to language within Japanese represent the first infusion of secondary intentions, a process that will continues with the alteration of visual presentation and with the *Inaka Genji's* translation into English

Text as Image

Image is an enticing element in *gōkan*, giving form to the characters and events in the text, but it is not the only artistic part of the work. The text itself can be viewed as image, flowing gracefully and deliberately across the page. Calligraphy in Japan has enjoyed a time-honored position as one of the highest of cultured arts since its introduction from China sometime before the seventh century. In the Edo Period, certain

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[80] Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," 153.

woodblock carvers specialized in gracefully handwriting, lending artistry to the works they carved.

The text of the *Inaka Genji* is carved in a robust yet sensitive hand, with ample spacing making the text easily legible. As it is laid out on the page, text forms part of the image in the *Inaka Genji* as well as illustrated image. The precise placing of the written words as they form themselves around the figures on the page creates an artistic compilation between the two.

To a Japanese speaker, calligraphy is traditionally viewed as an art form, so appreciating the script as such is part of the reading. For a non-native speaker, the text appears as image even more so. The extreme differences between characters and roman script makes reading comprehension impossible for one not educated in Japanese, or possibly Chinese. Since the words do not function as symbolic representations of meaning to the non-Japanese reader, they are instead processed as images. This lends an extra air of exoticness to the pages *Inaka Genji*.

When pre-modern Japanese calligraphy is translated in modern Japanese typeset, the elegance of calligraphy is lost. None of the republished editions are able to avoid this loss while preserving legibility in their translations. The only way to include it is to leave it present in the images, thereby rendering it part of the image itself, since a reader of the modern translations would be lacking in understanding of the original script. This problem continues when the work is translated into English, which also uses typeset fonts.[81] The following chapter will explore the relationship between text and image in English translation of the work in detail.

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[81] While making my translation of the excerpt, I experimented with using hand written English to preserve some of the artistic nature of text in the *Inaka Genji*. My attempt can be seen at the end of Appendix B.

CHAPTER VI

THE *NISE MURASAKI INAKA GENJI* IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

In this chapter I will continue using the second fascicle of the fourth volume for comparison amongst different versions, but will be moving on to the two English translations of the *Inaka Genji*. As changes are incurred in text and image placement when pre-modern Japanese is translated into modern Japanese, so too must changes occur between two disparate languages. I will be examining and comparing the translation strategies employed by Donald Richardson/Teruo Tanonaka and Chris Drake and how they each decided to handle the images of the *Inaka Genji* in their works. I selected this particular excerpt because it is from the only chapter published in translation by Chris Drake. As noted before, in this chapter Mitsuuji encounters a humble house with a gate covered with a white flowering vine, which he is informed is called crow gourd. A pretty young woman from the house offers a round fan on which to place the blossoms. This storyline alludes to the "Yūgao" chapter of the *Tale of Genji*.

Chris Drake's 2002 English Translation

Drake's translation was published in a compilation edited by Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*.[82] This work presents fiction, poetry, drama, essays, and translations from across the Edo Period. The volume is likely aimed at scholars or students of Edo period literature, reaching almost fourteen hundred pages. Drake translates twenty-four pages from the Iwanami Shoten publication of the *Inaka Genji* issued in 1995. He prefaces his work with an over view of the *gōkan* genre and the *Inaka Genji*. Drake's version presents a smooth English translation that

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[82] Chris Drake, "*Gōkan*: Extended Picture Books," in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 800-842.

focuses more on readability than literal translation. His version moves fluently, causing the reader no awkward moments with the language. Drake strikes a compromise between emphasizing the exotic Japanese cultural content, and localizing it into English. Footnotes explain many of the Japanese references to Edo Period customs or *The Tale of Genji*, which would be obscure to an average reader. In other cases, less exotic terms are translated into English. For example, the word kimono is rendered as "robes," while the term *saibara* is left in Japanese, but explained in a footnote.

Drake makes some interesting choices about where to begin and stop translating. The beginning of the second fascicle of chapter 4 does not start at the beginning of Mitsuuji's encounter with Tasogare and Shinonome. Instead, it spends the first page and a half (counting 1 page as the full spread of two pages) concluding the story from the first half of the volume, with Mitsuuji chastising the young man Kimikichi for not taking him properly to the lady Muraogi in the first page. The second page shows Kimikichi reporting back to Karaginu and Muraogi and finishes the text referring to them. The text containing the story of Tasogare, and where Drake's translation begins, starts at the top of the left hand page, fourth line from the right. (**Figure 6.1**). Most of the text on the page deals with the Tasogare episode, though the illustration does not, which most likely accounts for Drake's decision to not include it in his English version. I believe that Drake's close focus on the Tasogare storyline is what also leads him to swiftly summarize the last two full pages and a half, since these also divert from the main story. He avoids losing the reference to the Rokujō Lady through the use of a footnote, but the unexplained italicization of the text combines with the lack of images to leave the reader

feeling that what they just read is not actually part of the narrative, but instead perhaps an ill-placed aside.

The main differences with the original and Drake's work rise not from his translational decisions with language, but from the presentation of image. Drake's work, through his own preferences or due to the demands of editors and the limits of publishing, incorporates images poorly throughout the narrative. He makes little effort to connect the two, at no time indicating where text and image originally co-existed. Instead he provides a short summary of the action taking place in each image underneath the picture. (**Figure 6.2**). The pictures themselves are reproduced in low-quality, black and white grainy images. A note explains they were taken from an edition published in 1831, but offers no further details. Drake divides his translation into sections whose break-down is not obvious at first, but seems to correspond to the text present on the page of the original Japanese version he worked with. Thus, the text from section 12 corresponds roughly to the twelfth page of book 4. The poor quality of the images makes it impossible to read the original Japanese, but the original layout of the pages is preserved. The images take up only about one third of the page, rendering the image roughly one third the size of the original, and many of the finer details, such as vegetation and kimono patterns, are difficult or impossible to decipher. (**Figure 6.3**). Drake is clearly emphasizing the text of the *Inaka Genji* over its images in this published version.

Donald Richardson's 1985 English Translation

Donald Richardson translated the *Inaka Genji*, working with Tanonaka Teruo, and self-publishing his work in 1985. This version stands today as the only complete translation of the *Inaka Genji* into English. At the time of its publishing, it is likely that

the *Inaka Genji* was of interest almost exclusively to the community of Japanese

literature scholars. In the intervening years, only one partial translation has was published

in 2002, lending support that the *Inaka Genji* is still of interest to mainly pre-modern

Japanese literature scholars.[83] By self-publishing his work, however, Richardson avoided

the restrictions placed upon translators by editors and publishing companies, as well as

academic critique prior to publishing. This allowed him freedom to translate what he

chose, how he chose, in the difficult Japanese literature market of the 1980's.

Richardson and Tanonaka used three different versions of the *Inaka Genji* for

their translation: the Yūhōdō Bunkō, Tokyo 1927, the Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai,

Tokyo 1927, and the Shishōdō Shoten, Tokyo 1915, which are all three translated into

modern Japanese. Thus the duo was not working from the original Edo Period Japanese.

Since Richardson worked together with Tanonaka on this translation, it makes it difficult

to judge where one man's intention regarding word choice and image begins and the

other man's ends. Whether Tanonaka roughly translated the Japanese into English and

then Richardson smoothed it into a localized version, or if the material was divided in

another way, is unknown. However, the Richardson version remains very literal in its

translation.

Freidrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), a German theologian and philosopher,

divides translation practice into two basic camps: bringing the work closer the author, or

bringing the work closer to the reader in his lecture "On the Different Methods of

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[83] Between 1985 and 2002, when the editions were each published, little scholarly work on text and image of the *Inaka Genji* was published, with the exception of Markus's work *The Willow in Autumn* in 1992 and Iwasaki Haruko's article "The Literature and Wit of Humor in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo," in 1993. Scholarship exploring text and image relationships in *gesaku* did not appear in larger amounts until the start of the twenty-first century.

Translating."[84] The former is known as foreignizing and the latter as localizing. Within

Schleiermacher's framework, Richardson adopts a localizing translation strategy with

foreign terms by keeping his translation close to the wording of the original Japanese. In

order to better pinpoint Richardson's style, it is necessary to turn to Eugene Nida's basic

orientations of translating. [85] Nida proposes two basic orientations, formal and dynamic

equivalence. Formal translation style, also known as "gloss translation," is where "the

translator attempts to reproduce as literally and meaningfully as possible the form and

content of the original."[86] Dynamic translation "aims at complete naturalness of

expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the

context of his culture."[87] Nida also notes that in the last several decades translation

preference has changed from formal equivalence to dynamic equivalence.

Richardson and Tanonaka chose to format their translation like a Western novel,

with chapters marking the beginning of each volume, and images included like

illustrations (**Figure 6.4**). They do not mark the change between fascicles and does not

include Tanehiko's prefaces or the cover illustrations. In addition, the decision is made to

localize the text, instead of keeping the exotic. For example, they use the word carriage in

place of palanquin, cloak instead of robe or kimono, and refer to Korekichi as Mr.

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[84] Schleiermacher, "On the Different Methods of Translating," 44-54.

[85] Nida presents two basic translation orientations, formal and dynamic (or functional) as part of his theory on dynamic equivalence in translation. A formal translation translates practically word-for-word and attempts to leave syntactical arrangement in order while dynamic translation will take the meaning of a whole sentence, with the idea that the translator is translating the *effect* of the sentence.

[86] Eugene Nida, "Principles of Correspondence," *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 2000), 129.

[87] Richardson and Tanonaka, *Rustic Genji of A Bogus Murasaki*, vol. 1, 128.

Korekichi.[88] All Buddhist references are made using more familiar religious terms, calling the Pure Land by the more generic term "Buddha's land," substituting "worship" for chanting sutras and praying, and using the word tablecloth instead of altar cloth.[89] They also uses the phrase "what in Heaven's Name?" (130) when Mitsuuji asks 「あれは何ぞ」 (*are wa nanzo?*). This seems to me to be a bit of over-translation and sounds odd being uttered by Japanese characters, who the reader can never really forget are Japanese because of the illustrations every page (or two in Richardson's translation). This westernization attempts to bring the reader closer to the originally intended feeling of the work, by removing foreign elements that would pull the reader out of the experience as they read.

Following a localizing translation, Richardson translates what is in the original (with *kanji*), "…駕籠より下りてさし覗けば、座敷も二階も奥深からず、ものはかなき住居にて…" (*…kago yori orite sashinozokeba, zashiki mo nikai mo oku fukakarazu, monohakanaki jyūkyo nite…*) as "…so he alit from his carriage and peered in. Though the sitting rooms were two-storied, they were shallow. It was a residence of no great consequence."[90]

Here we can see how closely he matches the Japanese. In the first partial sentence he uses the same words present- 駕籠 (*kago*)/carriage, 下りる (*oriru*)/step down, and 覗く (*nozoku*)/peer. No superfluous words are present. He maintains this pattern whenever

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[88] Ibid., 126, 130, 128.

[89] Ibid., 127.

[90] Richardson and Tanonaka, *Rustic Genji of A Bogus Murasaki*, vol. 1, 126. A word for word translation reads: "palanquin from stepped down and peering, tatami room and two stories and interiors not deep, it was a poor dwelling."

possible, departing from it rarely. However, Richardson's choppy narration and make the

reading an unfortunately less rewarding experience than Drake's translation. For

example, take the passage about the crow gourds from the 1995 Iwanami Shoten version,

which I elected to use because it used *kanji* for the sake of modern readers, which reads

as follows:

> …垣根も折戸も青やかに、心地よげに這ひかゝれる、蔓に白き花のみぞ、
> 己一人が笑みの眉、開きしは「何なるか」ト、問はせ給へば駕籠舁く男子、
> 「あれこそは烏瓜、その名は黒き鳥めきて、花は白く実は赤く、かゝるい
> ぶせき垣根にのみ、咲き候」ト答ふるにぞ…

> *…kakine mo orido mo aoyakani, kokochiyoge ni haikakareru, tsuta no shiroki*
> *hana nomizo, onore hitori ga emi no mayu, hirakishi wa "nannaruka?" to,*
> *towasetamawaba kagokaku nannji, "arekoso wa karasuuri, sono na wa kuroki*
> *tori mekite, hana wa shiroku mi wa akaku, kakaru ibuseki kakine ni nomi,*
> *sakisōrō" to kotaurunizo…*

In order to help readers appreciate the difference between Richardson and Drake's

choices as translators, a word for word translation is provided:

> …hedge/fence and the folding door too seeming very blue, looking like one is in a
> good mood, creeping vine on white flower's, one person has smiling eyebrows,
> opening "what are those?" asked and was responded by the palanquin carrying
> person "those are crow gourds (Japanese snake gourd; *Trichosanthes*), that name
> is blackbird like, flowers are white and fruit is red, on run down hedges, bloom"
> he replied.[91]

Drake renders this passage into the following English,

> Deep green vines extended gracefully over the fence and gate. On them bloomed
> strikingly beautiful white flowers. "What are those?" Mitsuuji asked. "They're
> 'crow gourds,'" one of the carriers replied. "From their name, you'd think they
> were black as crows, but they have white flowers and red fruit. They bloom only
> on poor, run-down fences like this one."[92]

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[91] It is very difficult to point out subtle translation differences when one's reader does not understand the language. To this end, I decided to provide a very basic word-for-word translation for the passage. Not only does this help the reader understand the translator's choices, it also gives an appreciation of how difficult the translation process can be.

[92] Drake, "*Gōkan*: Extended Picture Books," 806-7.

While Richardson and Tanonaka have it as,

> …fence and gate, in their greenery, gave him a pleasant feeling. He gazed at the white blossoms on the bine [sic], which seemed to be smiling to themselves. "What would those blooms be?", he asked. The carriage man answered. "That's the crow's claw. Its name is blackbirdish, with its white flowers and red fruit, it blossoms only on gloomy fences such as this."[93]

We can see that Richardson's translation follows the Japanese transliteration more closely than Drakes, particularly the lines "…gave him a pleasant feeling…" and "…which seemed to be smiling to themselves…" Drake chooses to compress these lines into adjectives, "gracefully," and "strikingly" respectively. One version cannot really be argued to be stylistically superior to the other, as they both preserve understanding of the text. Their choice of translation style reflects their interpretation of Tanehiko's original intent. However, Richardson's second part shows a lack of understanding and finesse. As noted before, he mistakes the *kanji* for gourd for claw, and renders 「その名は黒き鳥めきて、花は白く実は赤く」 (*sono na wa kuroki tori mekite, hana wa shiroku mi wa akaku*) as the awkward "Its name is blackbirdish, with its white flowers and red fruit…" Drake's rendering may take more liberties, but generates a smoother reading experience in English, presenting a more localizing translation than Richardson and Tanonaka's translation.

In line with Richardson's localizing approach, the images of the *Inaka Genji* are presented like illustrations. They take up half the printed page and are done in low quality, grainy black and white (**Figure 6.5**). All Japanese text is generally removed, occasionally inexpertly, and no explanations or markings indicate how the images corresponded to the text. A reader with no prior knowledge of *kusazōshi* would be hard

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[93] Ibid., 126.

pressed to realize that the text had ever been intermingled with the pictures. Richardson also places pictures out of their original Japanese order on occasion. All pictures are in their original order in the second fascicle of the fourth book, but examples can be found in the first book where they are not. The image on page 2 actually uses the character pictures as an illustration without explaining that these images were not meant to go with the text. (**Figure 6.6**).

Richardson's use of image is very similar to that of Ōkawaya's 1911 edition and the effects are similar to what I discussed before. (**Figure 4.3**). Text and image feel very isolated from one another, even though they share the same page. The blend of text intermingled with image that defines the *gōkan* is traded for a more Western model of text accompanied by illustration. It is unfortunate that the image quality is reduced, prevent the reader from being able to absorbed their detail and nuances, however, Richardson's downsizing of the images from their original two- page layout into half of one page has the unusual effect of speeding up time within the pictorial narrative. As these images were originally meant to be viewed one after another, not simultaneously, the resulting effect is that the reader sees the next picture before they should, thus breaking the original chronology of the narrative. (**Figure 6.7**). With the English text offering no clue as to which part of the text should be read with each image, a reader is likely to look at all images on the page first, or last, and then read the text. Thus they get a distorted pacing, not to mention losing all the effects of the original comic-book style narrative progression.

Looking back to the Japanese editions, only the 1927 version does not show more than the original amount of images in a two- page spread, since it incorporates modern

Japanese into the image in place of the Edo period Japanese. Although Drake's version and the 1995 Iwanami Shoten version both include two- page spreads containing more images than does the two- page spread of the original Japanese version, the increased speed of time is mitigated by the inclusion of the Japanese text, borders, and the translator's reference notes. Only in Richardson's version are the images so taken out of context that this new temporal element is expressed.

Text, Image, and English Translation

Nida presents two basic translation orientations, formal and dynamic (or functional) as part of his theory on dynamic equivalence in translation. A formal translation translates practically word-for-word and attempts to leave syntactical arrangement in order while dynamic translation will look at the meaning of a whole sentence, with the idea that the translator is translating the *effect* of the sentence.

This can easily be seen in the two *Inaka Genji* translations. Richardson and Tanonaka, published in 1985, use as formal equivalence style, while Chris Drake's version was translated in 2002 and adopts a dynamic strategy that reads much more like natural English. This can be accounted for by Nida, who notes that in the last several decades translation preference has changed from a formal equivalence to a dynamic equivalence.[94] The formal equivalence style gives a stiff feeling to Richardson's translation as he closely replicates the Japanese in English. It makes Richardson seem like he has good command of pre-modern Japanese, but little flair for rendering it into English. This sounds more like work of someone using a second language. Perhaps the translation partnership between Richardson and Tanonaka was divided in a different way from what one would expect with Richardson's being a native speaker of English.

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[94] Nida, "Principles of Correspondence," 129.

Tanonaka may have played a larger role in translation then we are aware. Drake's translation using a dynamic strategy reads more easily to a native English speaker, but seems to perhaps take too many liberties with the source material. At the time of their creation, both works were following acceptable translation methodologies.

Both translators handle image in a very different style. Richardson/Tanonaka use images with *kuzushiji* text removed and do not integrate them into the text like the original work. They take up half a page and the lower quality of their printing makes it difficult to distinguish details clearly. Their work seems to follow in the footsteps of Ōkawaya's 1911 edition regarding text and image juxtaposition. While it may not be as close a marriage between text and image as in the original *gōkan*, it does incorporate almost all of the original images, which is above and beyond many of the other published versions. The reader definitely gets the feel that the *Inaka Genji*, and *gōkan* as a genre, is a work made up of both text and image, and that the image must be of some importance since it was included in the English work. Richardson places the images among the text with no explanations of their content, letting the reader develop their role. This functions to organically create a bond between text and image, which cannot be blended together in English as they can in Japanese, as the reader moves through the work. By not explicitly pointing to the images, Richardson and Tanonaka let them speak for themselves.

Drake makes the importance of image more explicit in his work by providing the original images complete with *kuzushiji* for the reader to view and a note explaining what is happening in the image. This greatly helps the reader unfamiliar with Edo Period culture and literature to understand what is happening in the illustration and how the genre works. However, it also makes the images feel like curiosities of the past, which

are there for examination and not so much as part of the story. The text is translated and printed underneath the images, letting the reader move through it without really being able to tell where the text from one image ends and the next begins. This edition was printed in an anthology of pre-modern Japanese literature, and likely composed with an eye towards an audience possibly familiar with Japan and its literature, but lesser acquainted with its specific genres.

By studying these modern editions of the *Inaka Genji*, the close bond between text and image is illuminated. Only by taking away image or modifying it can we truly see that the essence of *gōkan* is in its blending of the two. Drake's publication shows us that presenting the original images with text and giving English text underneath makes the image feel like it plays a lesser role. The text with in it cannot be understood, and the summaries provide the knowledge that readers would have otherwise gleaned from the text. By removing text from the original images, Richardson and Tanonaka create a surprising unity between the two, as the reader must process and inter-relate the images on their own. This is likely more similar to how the original *Inaka Genji* would have been read by its contemporaries. Even as their eyes had to seek around the image for the next text block, their minds were processing the images and cultural clues imbedded within them to create a larger picture than what is given in either text or image.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This work looked at the significance of image in the *Inaka Genji* by examining a

selected excerpt from the original work across multiple publications and two languages.

The changed relationship between text and image in these works presents an opportunity

to re-evaluate the role of image in the *Inaka Genji* and to apply this to the genre of *gōkan*

as a whole.

Image began as the heart and soul of *kusazōshi* and though it evolved to include

more text to suit the nature of its readership, image symbolism remained core to the

genre. The intricate play between text and image continued to be the essence of *gōkan*

even after the text became the primary means of carrying the plot of the story forward.

The increased importance of text as a narrative devise gave freedom to the author (or the

gōkan's "creative team" of publisher, author, and illustrator) to be inventive with the

images. In other words, more than any other form of Edo-period literature, the image, and

the formatting between text and image, became the arena for experimentation and

creativity in *gōkan*. As I demonstrated with the close reading of sample pages from the

Inaka Genji, the text-image relationship in *gōkan* is complex to say the least. Because the

text necessitates the act of reading, in one sense it functions as a metronome, moving the

plot forward steadily and regularly. The images, on the other hand, are seemingly free

from the restriction of time or space. They may imaginatively foreshadow an event, or

create a visual pun related or unrelated to the storyline, or reveal an aspect of a character

that seems to go unnoticed to the protagonists, in addition to conveying the nuanced

world of Edo to its readers in idealized woodblock form. In fact, the most significant

temporal bending happens in this space between text and image. While the story told through the text is set in the medieval past, in no small part due to censorship reasons, it is nevertheless still a "contemporary" fiction, as the readers can clearly see in all the beautiful ladies wearing up-to-date fashions. The complexity of the images in *gōkan* seem to work almost as a dare, challenging the readers to find clues, and perhaps inviting them to return for second or third read.

The subsequent versions of the *Inaka Genji* published over a wide range of time with varying techniques, point to the popularity of the work. What is significant for the purpose of this thesis is the fact that most of them manipulated the physical appearance of the text portion and/or the number, placement, and the appearance of the images. Although it may have been the case that many versions removed the original images from the text due to the new attitude of logocentricism that grew among the publishers after the Meiji Restoration, by tracing in detail the changes made to the original text-image configuration, this study underscores not only the centrality of the images in the appreciation of this work, but also the importance of the visual quality of the text itself. This well may be the reason why the works published more than a century and a half after the *Inaka Genji* began still incorporate image in their publications, despite the general impulse on the publishers' part to downplay image by removing it or lessening its presence.

The necessity of replacing *kuzushiji's* non standardized script with modern type-set Japanese creates an entirely different visual experience for the reader. Although in some versions a strong effort was made to replicate the original text-image interplay by placing the type-set text around the accompanying image, the tight integration of the

original was inevitably lost. The comparison between the original *kana*-centric, cursive, and woodblock-printed text and the later versions with different level of *kanji-kana* integration clearly demonstrates that in *gōkan* text was not just meaning, but was image also. When image is removed – and if a reader only knew of the version without image – perhaps s/he may feel that image is less important because it is not necessary to narrate the story, but as this study demonstrated the "*gōkan*-ness" is only created through a blending of text and image.

It appears the very concept of divorcing text from image in *gōkan*, or *gōkan*-based stories, did not enter publishers' consciousness until the change in printing techniques and the introduction of a more Western notion of "literature" in the modern period. In the Edo Period, before such a modernization of the notion of literature, *gōkan,* such as the *Inaka Genji,* were often epic novels with sophisticated language, complex plotlines, and well-developed characters. Not only were they works of literature in the Edo Period, *gōkan* were simultaneously a popular entertainment. Whether the reader was purchasing for the story or the rich images, the work was bought to be enjoyed. *Gōkan* as a genre, in other words, could not have achieved its popularity or complexity without having both the extensive text and intricately detailed illustrations.

However, because this text-image relationship was such an intrinsic part of Edo Period popular storytelling, and was so naturally done within the woodblock medium, it did not occur to anyone to seriously analyze its mechanism in the nascent period of modern literary criticism of the Meiji era.[95] The difficult question that the post-Meiji

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[95] An appropriate analogy is the recent rise in scholarly analysis of comics and graphic novels. Until the English language works of Will Eisner, Scott McCloud and a few others, few fans or casual readers of comics were conscious of, for instance, the manipulation of time and pacing through skilled arrangement of

publishers had to face, and any readers of *gōkan* still encounter today, is the unavoidable sense of foreignness of *gōkan*. The linguistic, artistic, and cultural divide between the Edo Period and the rapid Westernization of the Meiji Period was so great that it was almost as difficult for the post-Meiji people to relate to the visual qualities of *gōkan* such as the *Inaka Genji* as it is for us today. An interesting relic of the past, *gōkan* speaks to them, as to us, in a decidedly foreign tongue whether they speak Japanese or English. In other words, in post-Meiji Japan, the *Inaka Genji* was popular, producing a demand for publication, but no longer "contemporary." The essential mechanism that used to make the *Inaka Genji* so entertaining and perhaps fashionable, using a historical setting with contemporary literal and visual language, broke down as the "contemporary" faded into the "historic." One expedient solution to this dilemma may have been to separate the text and image. Ultimately, only by breaking the bounds of expected formatting can the *gōkan* come into its own in modern printing.

The large number of publications of the *Inaka Genji* over many decades suggests that interest remained fairly strong in certain types of Edo Period literature in Japan, or perhaps in the *Tale of Genji* and its related works. Many of these works were published in compendiums or collections of noteworthy literature, which may have been collected by a wide range of readers. The fact that a fair number of these reprints substituted Kunisada's original artwork for more modern drawings, however, begs the question *why*. Unfortunately, in my research I was unable to find any information dealing with the changed images. Most of the works using alternative images came from the last two decades in the 19th century. This timing allows us to speculate as to the reasons behind

panels. McCloud, Scott. "Chapter Three: Blood in the Gutters," in *Understanding Comics: the Invisible Art*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1994, 60-93.

the modification to the images. For instance, if we can assume that Edo Period literature continued to be published in modern times under the same premise of "for women and children," then one reason for the change may have been the change in the readers' perception of fashion and beauty. The new edition would have been targeting children born after the Meiji Restoration, who may have been familiar with the story of Mitsuuji and his beautiful ladies from bedtime stories, but had no memory of pre-Meiji fashion, or at women who may have had a first-hand knowledge from when they were young girls of pre-Meiji fashion, but as adults thought of them as hopelessly passé. The new images present more realistic clothing drapery and body shapes, as such, the updating of images certainly seems in tune with the government's policy at the time for rapid modernization. These questions beg further research into the use of alternative images in the *Inaka Genji*.

After the publications of the *Inaka Genji* largely died off in the early 1950's, only three more editions have been printed. While the earliest (published in 1960) presents an abridged, imageless version, the last two – one published in the 1970's, the other in the 1990's – include the complete illustrations of the *Inaka Genji*. The '70's edition is an exact reprint without translation, bound in Japanese fascicles, clearly focusing on the work as a material object. The '90's edition focuses on understanding, with footnotes and translations as well as original illustrations. For most of the *Inaka Genji's* reprinting history it is difficult to pin-point an exact attitude towards text and image. Works are fairly evenly divided between including, or not including, images. Perhaps what they most agree on is a readability of the contents. These last two editions, however, show more of an interest in the work in its original form, to this end, image is scrupulously included. Drake and Richardson/Tanonaka's English translations of the work are

contemporary to these latest Japanese editions and seem to follow their model of including reproductions of the original images. English translation of *gōkan* is a way that preserves the original blending of text and image may be nearly impossible, but that does not mean that translation cannot be done in a way that echoes the author's original intention, presenting blending of text and image in reading rather than formatting.

Due to the text heavy nature of the *gōkan*, image has been conventionally considered less important in literary scholarship because it does not serve a direct narration purpose. Using translation theory to explore the relationship of the *Inaka Genji's* text and images as they both undergo modification, it is apparent that image has been undervalued in the *Inaka Genji* and the genre of *gōkan* as a whole. Hopefully this work will help other see that the *gōkan* is not text or image alone, but a partnership of the two, sewn together into one elegant whole.

FIGURES

Chapter II
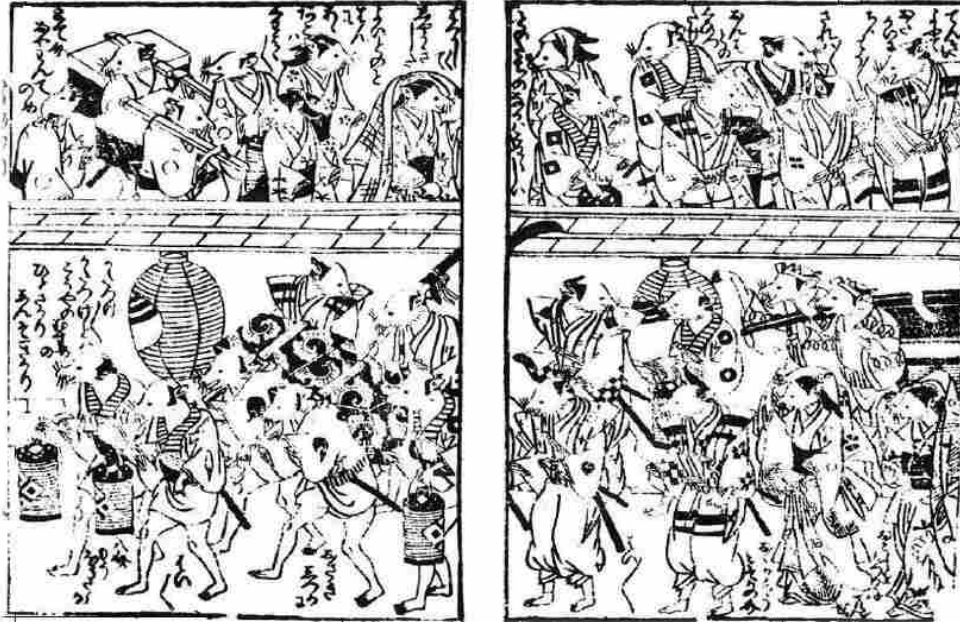
Figure 2.1. from *Nezumi no yomeiri* 鼠のよめ入り (*The Rat's Bridal Entry*), illustrated by Nishimura Shigenobu, author unknown. Publisher unknown, written before 1747.
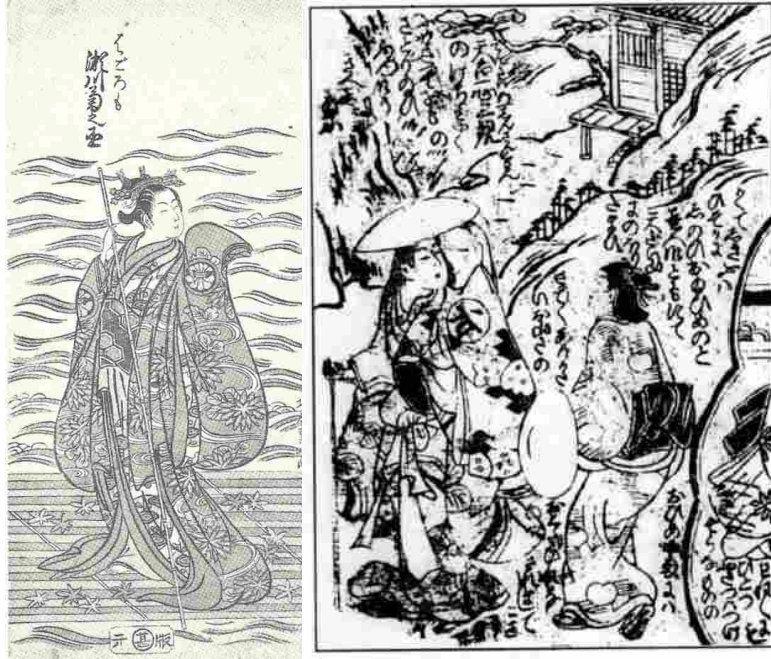
Figure 2.2. (left) Kitao Shigemasa, *Actor Segawa Kikunajo in the drama Hagoromo*, ca. 1739-1820, published by Marujin, date unknown. (right) from *Shinpan Murasaki Shikibu* 新版紫式部 (*Murasaki Shikibu, Newly Published)*, c. 1747, author/illustrator and publisher unknown.

2 — 2B

Being courted as she was, the lady felt obligated to take Lazy Tarō's worn-out singlet, dress him in robes and trousers and a court hat, and allow him into her room.

Lazy Tarō [unreadable text].

The nursemaid brings some clothes.

Lazy Tarō changes his attire and enters the lady's room.

Lazy Tarō composed a poem:
The mighty gods give mighty paper to their helpers – does your gift mean that you think me a shrine?

Figure 2.3. from, *Shinpan Monogusa Tarō* 新版ものぐさ太郎 (*Lazy Tarō, Newly Published*), author unknown, illustrated by Tomikawa Fusanobu, published by Urokogataya Magobei, ca. 17850-1770.

Having taken one look at Portrait Print's profile, Pillar falls head over base in love. She pursues him as persistently as someone haggling with a pawnbroker, and plies him with love letters:

Has such a picture of true love ever before appeared in prints?

"I care about you enough to do this!"

"Er, let's not be impulsive!"

Figure 2.4. from *Gozonji no shōbaimono* 御存商売物 (*Those Familiar Best Sellers*), written and illustrated by Kitao Masanobu (Santō Kyōden), published by Tsuruya Kiemon, 1782.

94

Figure 2.5. from *Atariyashita jihon doiya* 的中地本問屋 (*It's a Hit! The "Local Book" Wholesaler*)*, w*ritten and illustrated by Jippensha Ikku, published by Murataya Jirobei, 1802.

**Figure 2.6.** from *Nido no Kake* 二度の賭 (*Second Loan Shark Attack*) written by Ōta Nanpo, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1783.

Figure 2.7. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), chap. 4, fasc. 2, p 16 *ura* to 17 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.
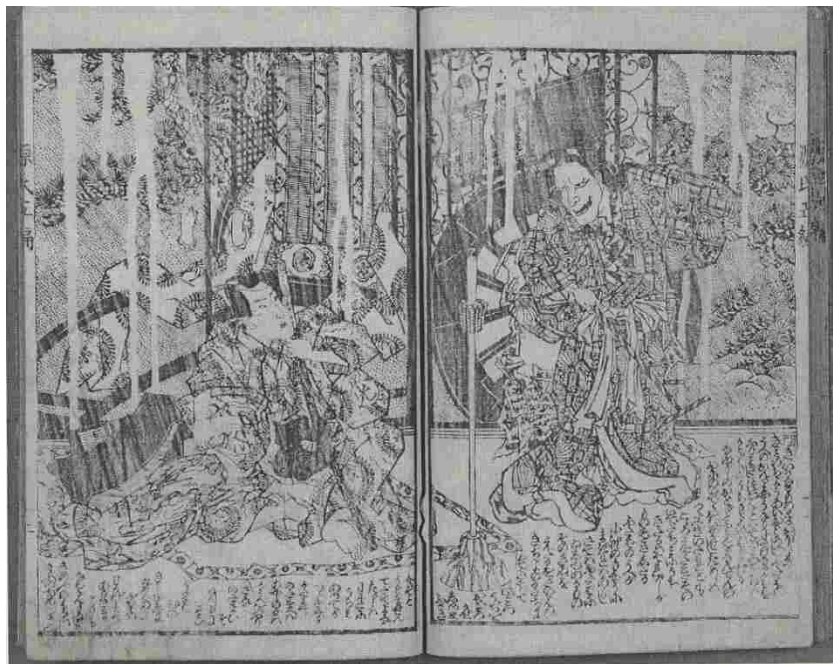
Figure 2.8. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 5, fasc. 2, p 11 *ura* to 12 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Chapter III

Figure 3.1. *Usuzumi* Technique in Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4, fasc. 1, p 2 *ura* to 3 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan. Tasogare (*left*) stands looking down on Mitsuuji (*right*).

Figure 3.2. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4 fasc. 2, back of last page, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 3.3. Excerpt Figure 1. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4 fasc. 2, p 11 *ura* to 12 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.
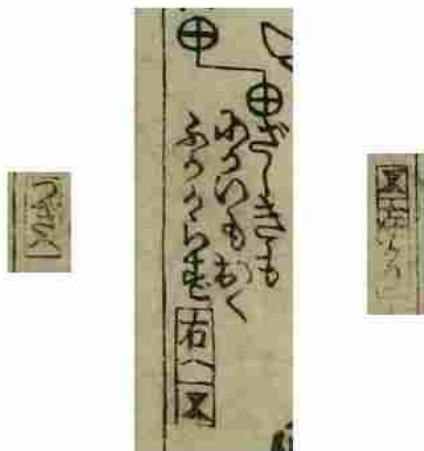
Figure 3.4. Symbol details, つぎへ (*tsugi-e*, to next…) (*left),* examples of markers giving reading flow instructions (*middle*), and 左から (*migi* gara, from the symbol on the left) (*right*).

Figure 3.5. Excerpt Figure 2. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4 fasc. 2, p 12 *ura* to 13 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.
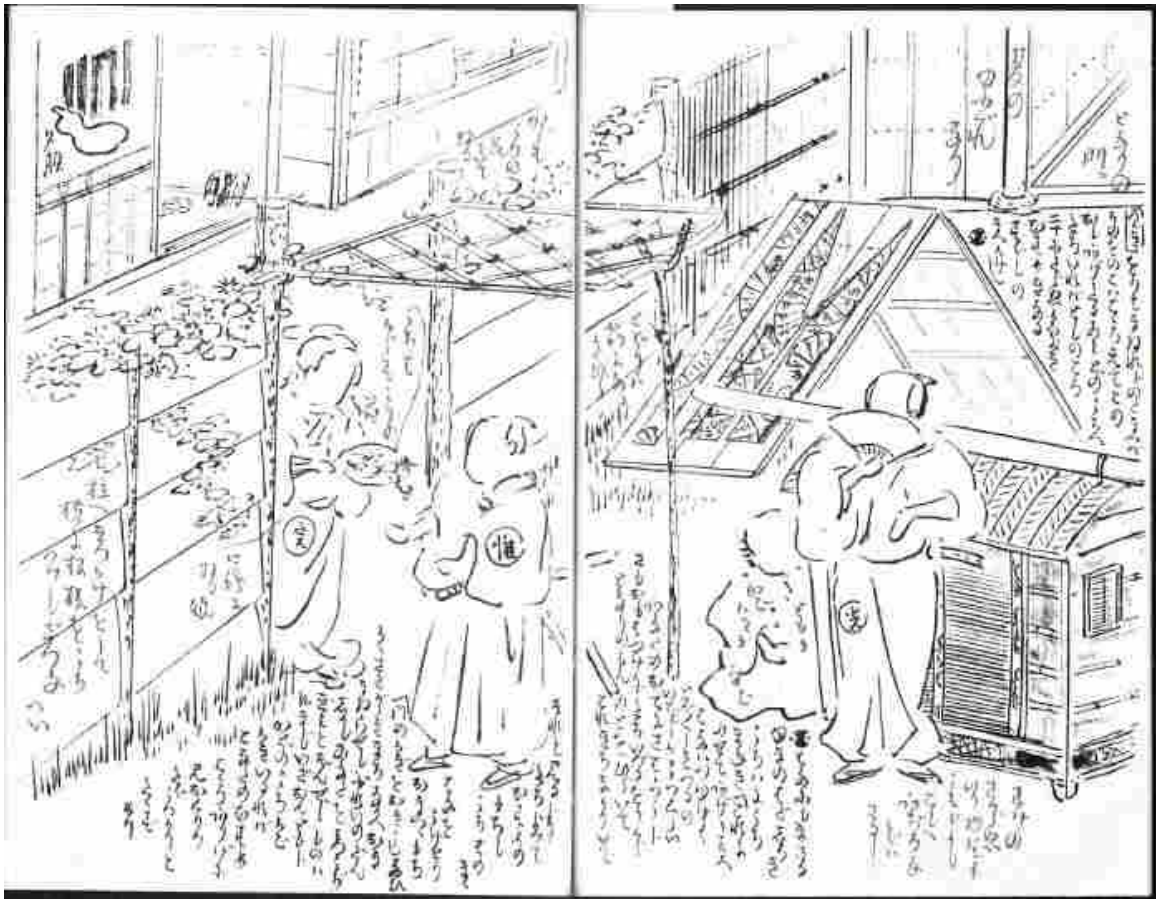
Figure 3.6. Author's Sketch, Excerpt Figure 2. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4 fasc. 2, p 12 *ura* to 13 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 3.7. Excerpt Figure 3. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4 fasc. 2, p 13 *ura* to 14 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 3.8. Excerpt Figure 4. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4 fasc. 2, p 14 *ura* to 15 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

102

Figure 4.1. New illustrations from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 12-13, published by Hakubunkan, Tokyo, 1898. National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan. Tasogare, Shinonome, and Mitsuuji can be seen in the left panel.

Figure 4.2. Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 100-1, published by Hakubunkan, Tokyo, 1898. National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.
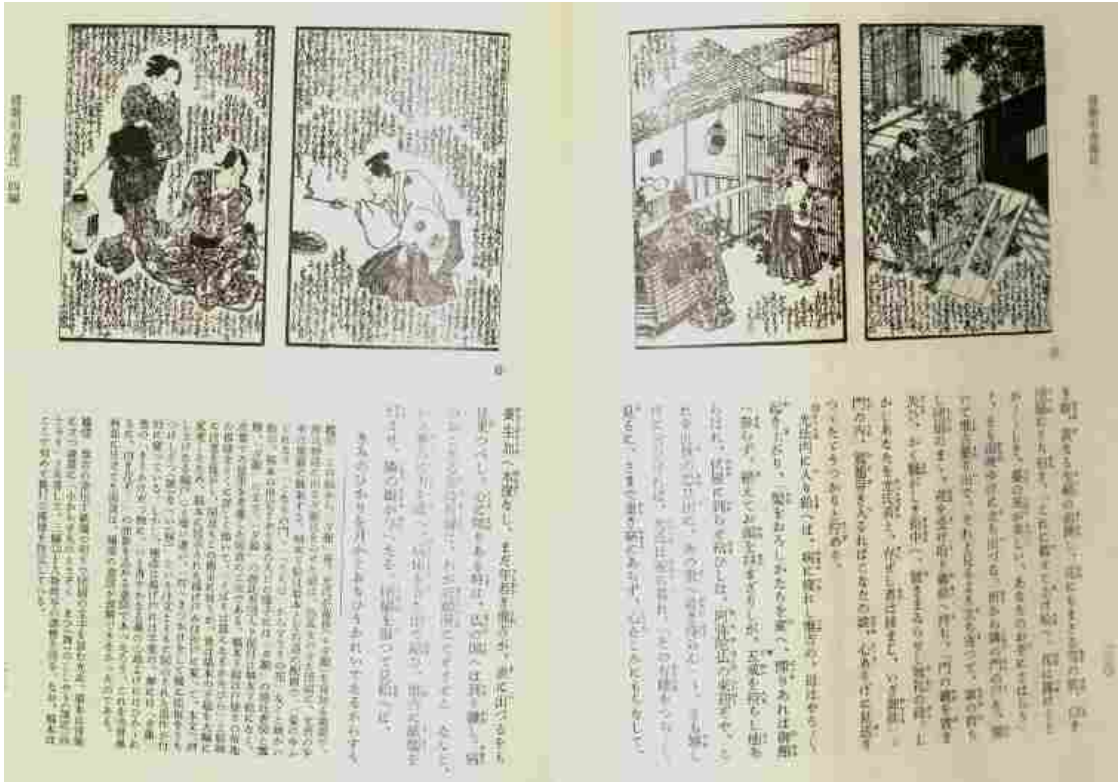
4.3. Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 158-59, published by Ōkawaya, Tokyo, 1911. National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 4.4. Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 18-19, published by Hakubunkan, Tokyo, 1918. National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 4.5. Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 150-51, published by Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai, Tokyo, 1926-29.

Figure 4.6. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 130-31, published by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1995.

Figure 4.7. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 1 fasc. 1, p 3 *ura* to 4 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 4.8. New illustrations from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 10, published by Hakubunkan, Tokyo, 1898.
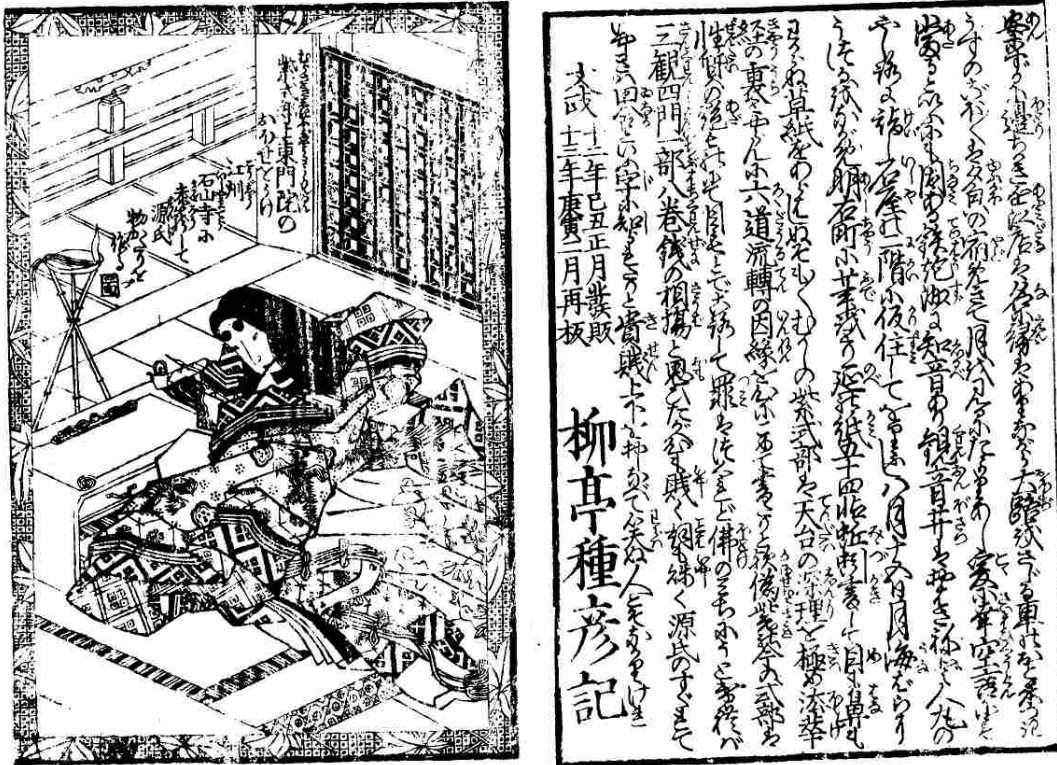
Chapter V

Figure 5.1. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), chap. 1 fasc. 1, p 4-5, published by Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai, Tokyo, 1926-29.

Figure 5.2. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), chap. 3, p 83, published by Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai, Tokyo, 1926-29.

Figure 5.3. detail from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 131, published by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1995.

Figure 5.4. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 132-33, published by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1995.

Figure 5.5. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 109, published by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1995.
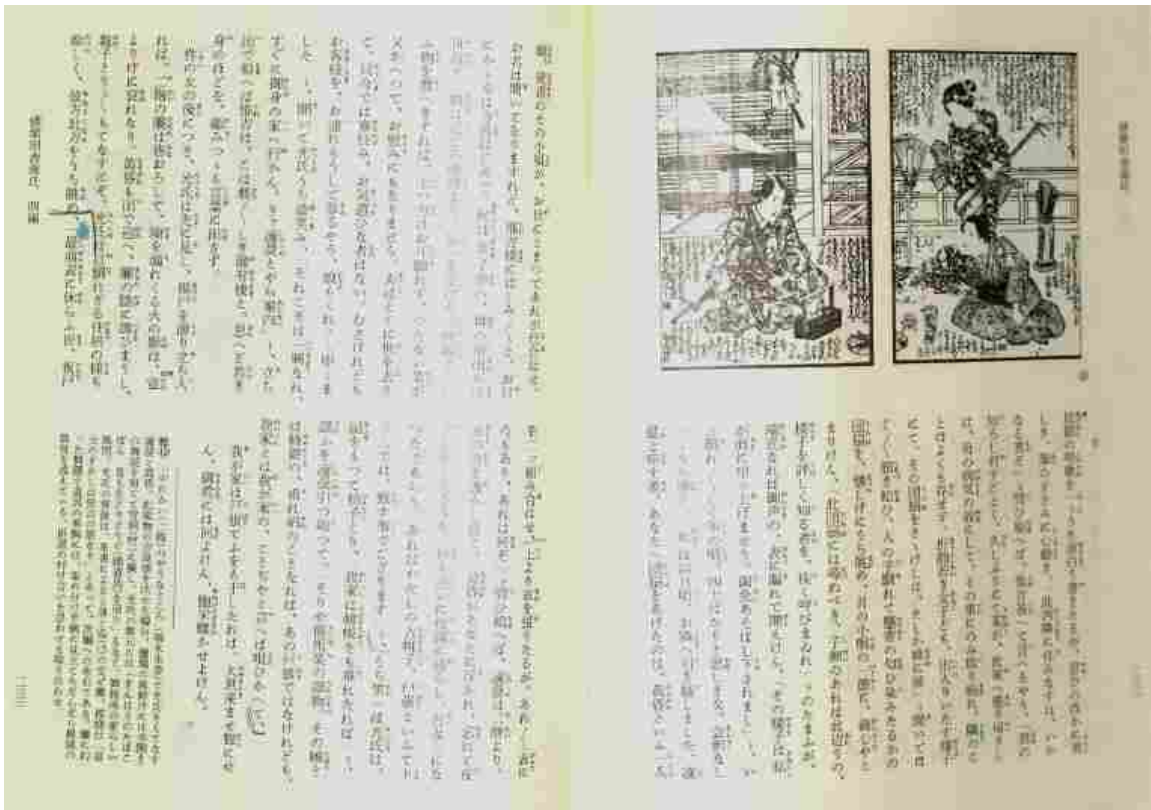
Chapter VI

Drake begins his translation from here: (*text reads right to left, beginning in the upper right corner*)

Figure 6.1. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*, 1831), chap. 4 fasc. 2, p 11 *ura* to 12 *omote*, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburo, 1829-1842. Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Mitsuuji converses with Kiyonosuke on the second floor. Tasogare appears anxious as she folds the robe. Two pillows lie in front of a folding screen, which is adorned with images of the *yūgao* flower, foreshadowing Tasogare's relationship with Mitsuuji.

Figure 6.2. detail from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 812, annotations by Chris Drake in "*Gōkan*: Extended Picture Books," in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900*, published by Columbia University Press, New York, 2002.

116
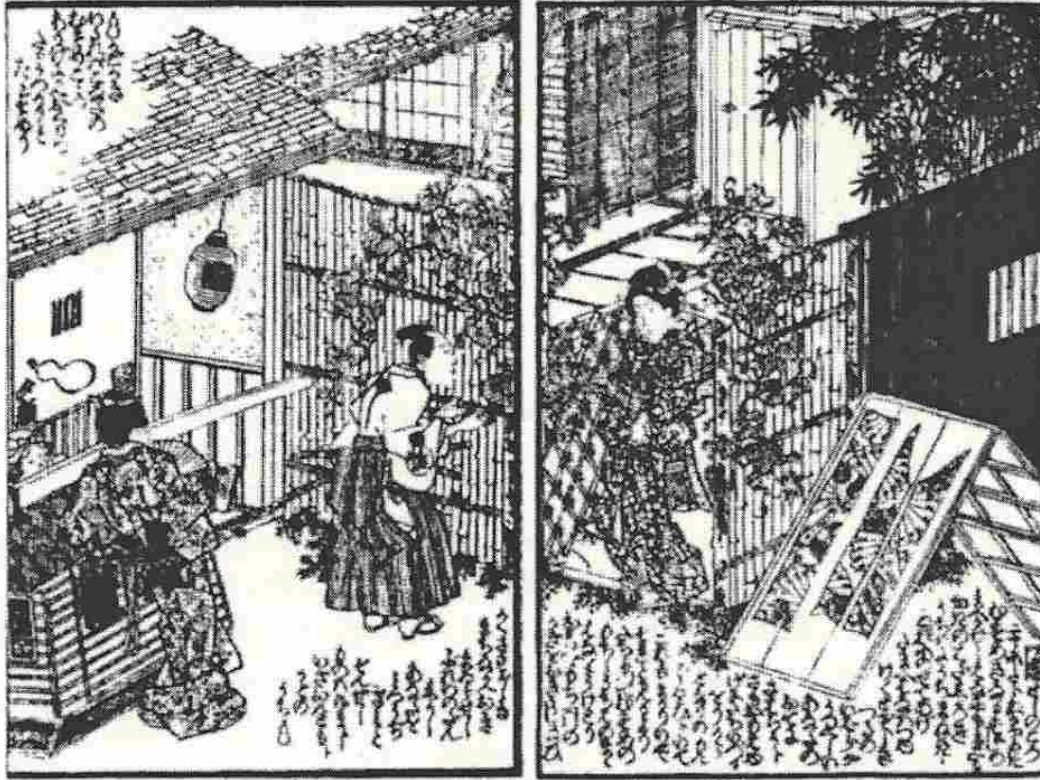
Figure 6.3. detail from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* (*A Rustic Genji and a Fake Murasaki*), p 806, annotations by Chris Drake in "*Gōkan*: Extended Picture Books," in *Early modern Japanese literature: an anthology, 1600-1900*, published by Columbia University Press, New York, 2002.

Figure 6.4. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *The Rustic Genji of A Bogus Murasaki,* vol. 1, p 109, translated by Donald M Richardson and Teruo Tanonaka, privately published, Virginia 1985.

there. He thought it unlikely that anyone would recognize him, so he alit from his carriage and peered in. Though the sitting rooms were two-storied, they were shallow. It was a residence of no great consquence. Pieces of an old summer garment had been spread out on wooden doors, which stood, one supporting the other. Fence and gate, in their greenery, gave him a pleasant feeling. He gazed at the white blossoms on the bine, which seemed to be smiling to themselves. "What would those blooms be?", he asked.

The carriage man answered. "That's the crow's claw. Its name is blackbirdish, with its white flowers and red fruit, it blooms only on gloomy fences such as this."

"The neighborhood is mostly cottages, in truth. Pick me a spray of those pitiful flowers, twined around tottering eaves."
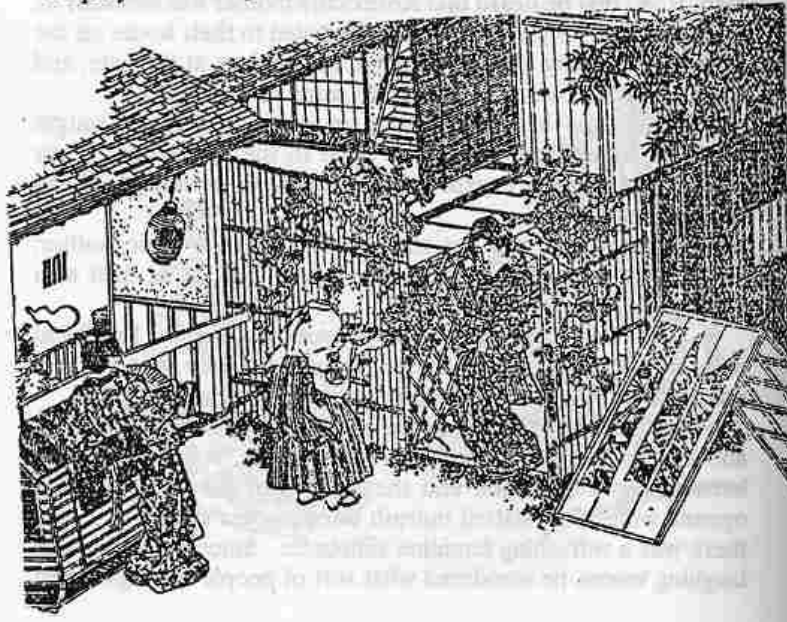

Figure 6.5. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *The Rustic Genji of A Bogus Murasaki,* vol. 1, p 126, translated by Donald M Richardson and Teruo Tanonaka, privately published, Virginia 1985.

Match the Shell-halves had concluded. Although there was no moon, Toyoshi observed that she wanted to view the twilight sky, and strolled into the outer gardens with only two or three of the very young maids to accompany her. She paused for a moment.

"Excuse me, Ma'am, but even though you may be within the gardens, it's unsafe for you to be lingering here without your chambermaids, especially at dusk."

Toyoshi turned in surprise. "Is that you Hirugao? Really, of the many women at the Residence who watch over me, none is more solicitous than you!"

Hirugao drew closer. "As His Lordship wishes, I and the other maids who pollute the threshold of the Residence's bedroom hold it our duty to take special care of you. I may seem to be gossiping, but Hanagiri does not know her duty, and has

Figure 6.6. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *The Rustic Genji of A Bogus Murasaki,* vol. 1, p 2, translated by Donald M Richardson and Teruo Tanonaka, privately published, Virginia 1985.

"Wherever they are going, bring them back! Call to them to stop!" Tasogare clapped her hands from the second floor, and beckoned with her forearm. The nun turned back and walked closer, indifferently. She was greatly surprised when she saw who it was. She made her way to the sitting room, and Mitsuuji came down with Tasogare from the second story.

"How curious! Nun Karukaya, come here!"

She edged forward with an anxious air. "Who would have thought it! Young Sire! It is ill-considered for one as important as you are to be in a neighborhood like this one."

He silenced her. "More to the point than me, you are also moving along from where you spent last night. Did you have interesting dreams?" As he spoke, his expression was guarded.

"Creeping around as you do, night after night, you are not

aware that Futaba has recently fallen ill. You've said in jest that Lady Futaba is deeply jealous, and that one should not have a wife older than he is. It's only natural that Futaba should take you to task, when the general censure reached her ears. She has comported herself with all propriety. I was summoned by her, and since the day before yesterday, offered prayers for her. She had recovered her spirits, and permitted me to leave this morning. I was going back to my thatched hut. She gave me a beautiful over-robe, and suggested that I might have it madeover into a tablecloth. I wrapped it up, and gave it to that small disciple of a nun to carry on her back, and here we are. Lady Futaba suggested that we ride back, and would even have provided us with a carriage, but while I was grateful, I was born a commoner, and preferred to walk. We excused ourselves, my disciple and I.

Figure 6.7. from Ryūtei Tanehiko and Utagawa Kunisada, *The Rustic Genji of A Bogus Murasaki,* vol. 1, p 134-35, translated by Donald M Richardson and Teruo Tanonaka, privately published, Virginia 1985.

MY TRANSLATED EXCERPT

Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji: *A Country Genji by a Fake Murasaki*

Translation by Charlotte K. Mueller

Pretending to be mad with the thrills of the Pleasure Quarter, Mitsuuji continued his search for the treasured sword, but even if he split his mind into a thousand pieces he could not come up with a plan. In any case, he would not catch up with his adversary by avoiding places frequented by people, so he set out for the Sixth Avenue pleasure district known as Rokujō Misuji Machi. As he traveled on foot to disguise himself, he heard that Korekichi's mother had fallen seriously ill and taken the vows of a nun. Deciding to pay what might be a final visit, he proceeded towards her house on Fifth Avenue. Stopping his palanquin before the gate, he sent his man in and Korekichi soon came rushing out to greet him.

"With my mother so very ill, I have had little time to spare and been unable to go to the palace. Your visit is most unexpected." He said bowing his head to the ground.

"Not at all! I was suckled at your mother's breast as a child. When I heard she had taken to her bed in illness, how could my heart cast her aside? Show me to her." He ordered.

"In that case please stay in your palanquin," but when Korekichi went through the side door to open the main gate, the lock would not open so he ran in haste to fetch a key.

Mitsuuji lifted aside the palanquin's rattan blind and gazed out over the people in the main street. Beside the house a few fence boards had been placed out and the neighboring veranda's shoji door was opened wide. Women's shapes were silhouetted

distinctly against the white rush blinds and their laughing voices could be heard. Although he did not know the women gathered there, he thought they would probably not recognize him and stepped down from his palanquin to have a peek. The house was two stories, but the rooms were not deep, and it was a decidedly humble dwelling. The pieces of a disassembled summer kimono were stretched out on boards that leaned together, supporting one another outside the gate. Crawling over the fence and gate was a green vine with charming white flowers that seemed to be smiling to themselves.

"What are those?" he asked and one of his bearers replied, "those are 'crow gourds,' they are named after black crows, but the flowers are white and the fruit red. They only bloom on sad, run-down fences like these."

"The houses of this neighborhood are certainly small. What a poor fate that they twine around the ends of such sagging eaves. Go and pluck me one of those hapless flowers." His bearer obliged him and as the man pushed open the trellis gate and entered, a maiden wearing a thin yellow silk apron with a youth-full face, not more than twenty years in age, and snowy skin that even surpassed the whiteness of the flowers, beckoned to him with a white fan. "Please put the flowers on this. They are wet with dew and their thorns will harm your lovely hands." She came forward very bashfully. At that moment Korekichi appeared after opening the main gate and seeing the situation, went over to the girl to accept the blossoms on the fan and brought them to Mitsuuji. "Forgive me for making you to wait, I had misplaced the key. I cannot apologize enough for my rudeness leaving you here in the busy street. However, it is unlikely that anyone has realized your identity. Please come with me now." As the palanquin entered the gate the young woman gazed thoughtfully after it, lingering unconsciously by the gate.

123

When Mitsuuji entered, Korekichi's mother arose with great joy and excitement to greet him.

"My appearance has changed since I shaved my hair as a nun. I hesitated to go to the palace and as such have been unable to see your face, but I have followed the Five Precepts virtuously. For you to visit me in my humble dwelling is like the coming of the Amida Buddha to welcome my spirit into Paradise. I will treasure this visit as a memory from this world, for I must soon depart to the next." She said these things with such joy that Mitsuuji was lost in tears.

"If we look at your condition closely, your illness is not very serious. Certainly if you brace your heart and seek additional treatment you will make a complete recovery. Korekichi is still young and your spirit will be unfulfilled if you leave this world before his position is settled. When your heart is hindered by regrets, it is very difficult to enter Buddha's Paradise. I will arrange for a temple I frequent to chant sutras and prayers for your recovery." His warm and caring manner gave her strength.

Taking leave of her sickbed, he ordered Korekichi to bring a twisted paper torch so he might look at the fan given to him by the maiden next door.

Red fruit of the crow gourd
Floats in your direction,
Mistaking your light
For that of the moon.

A shamisen tune was written in an intriguing hand, the delicate traces of the brush more beautiful than he had anticipated and his pulse quickened.

"Who are the people who live in the neighboring house to the west?" he asked.

Korekichi replied as best he could, "As you know, I haven't been home in a while, but I withdrew to this house to care for my mother in her illness. I have been so busy that

124

I don't know much about the neighbors, but it seems that young women occasionally go in and out. I believe the girl who gave you that fan is the daughter." Mitsuuji listened, nodding his head, pleased with his discovery. The scent of incense permeated the white fan and as he gazed at her handwriting he became more and more taken with the verse about the moon and seemed to long for her already.

"There seems to be something most touching about this fan, I wish to know more. Summon someone quickly who is well acquainted with the particulars of this neighborhood." Though they were inside the house, their voices must have escaped outside and been overheard.

"If you would know more, I can tell you directly, beg pardon for interrupting." A woman of forty or so, she spoke in an overly-familiar way and entered without regard for propriety. "My name is Shinonome and I moved into the neighboring house about four months ago. The girl that gave you that fan is my only daughter, Tasogare. It gave her great happiness that her scribbled poem caught your attention. I have heard your name from Korekichi, but tonight is the first time I have laid eyes on you. I make my way in this world by instructing young girls in dance. My daughter teaches the shamisen, an instrument just recently arrived from the Ryūkyū Islands. People of your station are likely unaccustomed to such an inexpert performance as she gives, but it still might provide you with some amusement. My husband departed this world and I presently live as a widow, so there is no one you need concern yourself over. My daughter and I would both be most delighted if we could provide entertainment for you tonight as our guest."

Mitsuuji smiled widely and replied, "That sounds very entertaining, let's head straight over to your house. Well then, lead the way, Shinonome." As Mitsuuji followed

125

her, Korekichi thought his lord was being very careless, but considered his youth and said

nothing. Following after her, Mitsuuji entered through the door he had seen earlier. The

blinds of the second story were all pulled down and the shadows cast by the light that

glimmered through the gaps were more melancholy than the light of fireflies. Tasogare

came to greet him and invited him through the hanging screens. Both mother and child

made his welcome in various ways and Mitsuuji gazed all around at the dwelling, taking

in the unusual atmosphere of such a place.

"Earlier as I waited outside, I noticed a pair of boards with pieces of a kimono

stretched over them. Even now it is still outside, but what is it?" As he asked Shinonome

peered outside through the decorative blind. "Tasogare was so swept away by you that it

seems she left it out for a spot of 'night drying.' With autumn so close the robe has

probably been soaked through with the evening dew and ruined. That was my old

summer kimono; we common people have a practice of drying our clothes on boards that

we call planking." She smiled and Mitsuuji, keeping time with his fan, recited, "My

domicile inside, the flanking curtains hang…" Shinonome picked up on his play and

handily returned, "That's one of the old *saibara*-style folk songs. Those curtains of

damask and brocade would never have graced a drying plank such as mine, but if this

house is the "domicile" of the song, why don't we sing instead,

> "My domicile inside, the curtains are a drying,
> Waiting for a lord to come, to make him merry.
> Which delicacies would make him linger?
> Abalone, wreath shell, and sea urchin."

When I sing it, it becomes a shamisen ditty. A lord for my son-in-law would be a great

fortune, but we will have to open my daughter's repertoire of fisher-folk songs for the

abalone, wreath shell, and sea urchin to make you linger. They may just be noisy

shamisen songs and we have no great feast, but this evening you shall spend the night with us, don't you agree, Tasogare?"

"Well yes, although it would be unseemly for such a lord to go to a bed as unworthy as mine." She spoke with a hesitant air, but did not seem to be unfamiliar with the workings of the world, and her youthful demeanor was charming.

Translation Methodology

In my approach to this four page excerpt of the *Inaka Genji*, I decided to adopt a foreignizing strategy, largely using formal equivalence. As such, I sought to stay faithful to the rules of Japanese language composition, but often was hindered due to English grammar and sentence order. In order to present a translation that reads smoothly in English, and does not weary a reader with stilted language, some dynamic translation is present. When translating I tried to select English words close to the Japanese and keep Japanese sentence order when possible. I decided not to smooth the sentences into more natural written English by adding words and only using turns of phrase when they were very close. Once in a while I made an exception and added a word or phrase, since I wanted the reader to have some familiar phrases to key them into the situation.

Key decisions

Following a foreignizing strategy, I decided to leave more mainstream Japanese terms like *kimono*, *shoji*, and *shamisen* in my translation. Potential readers of a Edo fiction in translation will most likely have at least some grounding scholarly or culturally in Japanese culture and language. As such, these words are likely to be well known and I elected not to use foot note explanations. This decision was based on the second part of my work, placing my translation around the original illustrations. Not only would they

not fit, no footnotes were included in the main pages in the original. I did attempt to help the reader with some words, such as *kimono*, by having it referred to as both a robe and a *kimono*. More obscure Japanese terms I rendered into English, like some of the specific gate and music words. Such specific vocabulary is likely to be too obscure even for the familiar reader.

Musume- "A maiden wearing a thin yellow silk apron with a youth-full face, not more than twenty years in age, and snowy skin that even surpassed the whiteness of the flowers, beckoned to him with a white fan."

Musume (daughter /maiden; 娘) can be a difficult term to render into English; most directly translated as "daughter." Depending on the situation, it can mean a female child or a young girl. The latter sense of the work is after rendered as "maiden" in English, giving connotations of virginity that are not always present in the Japanese. With this in mind I thought to not use maiden at all when Tasogare was introduced, but saying a "young woman with a youthful face" felt redundant. As I thought about it, I decided that she could not really be a maiden (i.e. virgin) because of the later lines that "she was not entirely unfamiliar with the world" and her lack of any real aversion to sharing a bed with him. However, I felt that Mitsuuji, as a character based on the famous lover Genji, would view her with such desire as to characterize her as a fresh maiden. Therefore I used maiden when she was in Mitsuuji's gaze and 'young woman' when she was mentioned separately in the narrative.

A particularly interesting aspect of this excerpt is the foreshadowing present in the third page in the form of the blinds with Mt. Fuji cutout. In the next volume, as the action of this storyline concludes, Shinonome gives the name of her villainous employer, using

128

the upside down cutout of Fuji in the blinds as a rebus. I decided to give the reader an extra hint about the blinds that figured importantly later in the story. The Japanese text only uses a verb to say she looked through something, but not what it was. I chose to elaborate a little, making it "peered outside through the decorative blind." I did this to help the reader identify what was happening in the images. Without any background in Edo Japan, these drawings can be hard to understand visually. Thus I chose words that a reader could apply to objects in the images, like decorative blinds, or "trellis gate." I believe that giving the reader a way to identify the possibly unfamiliar elements in the picture will make them more interested in the images and give them a more satisfactory reading experience.

The narrator of the *Inaka Genji* uses the honorific verb *tamau* 給う to refer to Mitsuuji's actions. Rendering this in English is highly unwieldy, so I chose to make no reference to it in my translation.

The crow gourd poem

Original text: きみのひかりを月かとおもひううかれいでたるからすうり

Text with *kanji*: 君の光を月かと思ひ浮かれいでたる烏瓜

Romanji: *Kimi no hikari o tsugika to omou ukareide taru karasu uri*

My translation:
> Red fruit of the crow gourd
> Floats in your direction,
> Mistaking your light
> For that of the moon.

I decided to switch the order of the subjects (light and moon, gourds; gourds, light and moon), something neither Richardson nor Drake did, but often is done by translators, such as Helen Craig McCullough's translation of the *Kōkinwakashū* poems. I considered

129

useing "yearn" instead of "float" until further research revealed that the vines of the

Japanese snake gourd (*karasu uri*) which support the red globular fruit are very thin and

hand away from the vine, living the appearance that the fruit are floating in midair.

The *Tobari* song

A challenging section was the word-play song that Shinonome sings to Mitsuuji

while encouraging him to stay in her house.

> *"Wa ga ihe ha tobari tehu wo mo hoshitareba,*
> *Ohokimi kimase muko nisen,*
> *Misakana ni ha nani yoken,*
> *Awabi sadaoka kase yoken."*

> "My domicile inside, the curtains are a drying,
> Waiting for a lord to come, to make him merry.
> Which delicacies would make him linger?
> Abalone, wreath shell, and sea urchin."

This song presented a challenging set of homophones. While *tobari(chou)* may

mean both drying boards and hanging curtains in Japanese, obviously the English differs

greatly. In the preceding paragraph, I had Shinonome describe their clothes drying

process as "planking." Then I translated Mitsuuji's *saibara* as "My domicile inside, the

flanking curtains hang…" Since no English homophone is to be had, and I didn't want

insert many extra words to explain the pun like Drake, I instead used the weaker rhyme

of planking and flanking. While it is a bit of a stretch, the curtains could be flanking the

rooms and I think it feels a touch more natural in English than "door-dryers" and

"hanging curtains."

I was pleased to find an English homophone in merry and marry. Shinonome

suggests that Mitsuuji become her son-in-law with her word play, so I substituted

'groom' from the song, with "to make him merry," implying the meaning of "marry" and

linking back to 'groom.' The next line, "what snacks shall we feed him" I altered to what delicacies to make him stay, since that is what Shinonome wants. I was also keeping in mind the up-coming pun on shell-fish that is made in Shinonome's next lines. We weren't sure what to make of this when we looked at it, but decided it was probably something dirty. I couldn't come up with any satisfactory dirty shell-fish puns, but I did come up with something that is hopefully not too subtle.

> "A lord for my son-in-law would be a great fortune, but we will have to open my daughter's repertoire of fisher-folk songs for the abalone, wreath shell, and sea urchin to make you linger."

The song wants to use tasty shell-fish to make him linger, while Shinonome wants to use her daughter. By *opening* her repertoire of…songs…he might find something to make his night *enjoyable*.

Yet another consideration when translating this song was what type of language to use, since it is supposed to be in an old-timey style. I didn't want to take an old English approach, since I felt it would distract from the subtle word plays. Instead I settle for some odd word order, which I had Shinonome echo in her song and then move away from, since she was adjusting to a modern version.

Problem Areas

なをも人の繁き所へ、立ち入らんには如くべからずと。。。

Nawomo hito no shigeki tokoro he, tachi iran ni ha shikube kara zuto…

It was difficult to tell if Mitsuuji want to avoid places with people or to go to places with people in the first paragraph. I translated it as "he would not catch up with his adversary by avoiding places frequented by people" but now that I look at it again I think the 入らん is a speculative, not a negative. Thus maybe the correct translation is "he

131

probably should not go to places frequented by many people…." The earlier version is already written into my hand done sheets, however, so it will stay that way for now.

蔓に白き花のみぞ、己一人が笑みの眉。。。

Kazura ni shiroki hana no mizo, onore hitori ga warami no mayu…

"Crawling over the fence and gate was a green vine with charming white flowers that seemed to be smiling to themselves."

This line was quite challenging. Should the vines crawl or creep? A particularly difficult phrase was *onore hitori ga emi no mayu* 己一人が笑みの眉. As I researched it I discovered that it came from the "Yūgao" chapter of the *Tale of Genji*. Comparing the *Inaka Genji* against it, it became immediately apparent that Tanehiko modeled his chapter very, very closely on the original, so much so that I was able to use the Seidensticker and Royall Tyler translations as dictionaries for passages describing the house and Tasogare's first appearance.

Alternate style

Although I had no intention to translate the language into anything other than marketable modern English, I wanted to play with style a little. One style I wanted to try that I thought might be appropriate was that of *Moll Flanders*, English of the seventeen hundreds. I thought of this style because of the very long sentences present in both works. I also thought it would suit the melodramatic tone of the *Inaka Genji*, with all of the capitalized nouns. These capitalized nouns could also be seen as more honorific. While I really enjoyed writing in this style and thought it fit quite well, I decided against it because space on the page is a premium and this writing style is lengthy and I have doubts about its marketability.

"Pretending to be mad therein with the Thrills of the Pleasure Quarter, Mitsuuji pursued the Search for the Treasured Sword, but the case was that, even if he split his mind betwixt a thousand, thousand pieces, he could not divine a Worthy Plan of action. He should not catch up with his Adversary, in any case, by avoiding Places Frequented by People, so he took the notion into his head to set his way for the Pleasure District, that then went by the Name of Rokujō Misuji Machi, being located on Sixth Avenue. In an endeavor to avoid Unwanted Interest, Mitsuuji traveled in Disguise, braving the streets on Foot and as he proceeded so heard the Shocking News that the Mother of his Faithfull Retainer Korekichi had been Taken Ill in a most Serious and Distressing manner that she taken upon herself the Vows of a Nun, to seek peace in her Final Moments."

Hand-writing Project

A large element of my translation is the placement of the text into the image. (**Figures at end of Appendix B**). One of the key concerns about translating *kibyōshi* and *gōkan* into English is how to place the text and preserve a similar reading experience to that of a Japanese language reader. The *kibyōshi* translators have more lee-way with far less text in their image, but the *gōkan* presents a serious challenge.

I took images of the original from Waseda University and removed the Japanese text from them with Photoshop. I decided to replicate the dirt and stains of the paper instead of changing the area around the image to one color to make my work feel more real. I tried to preserve many of the "read here next" symbols, but ended up moving them around because of English's horizontal left-to-right nature.
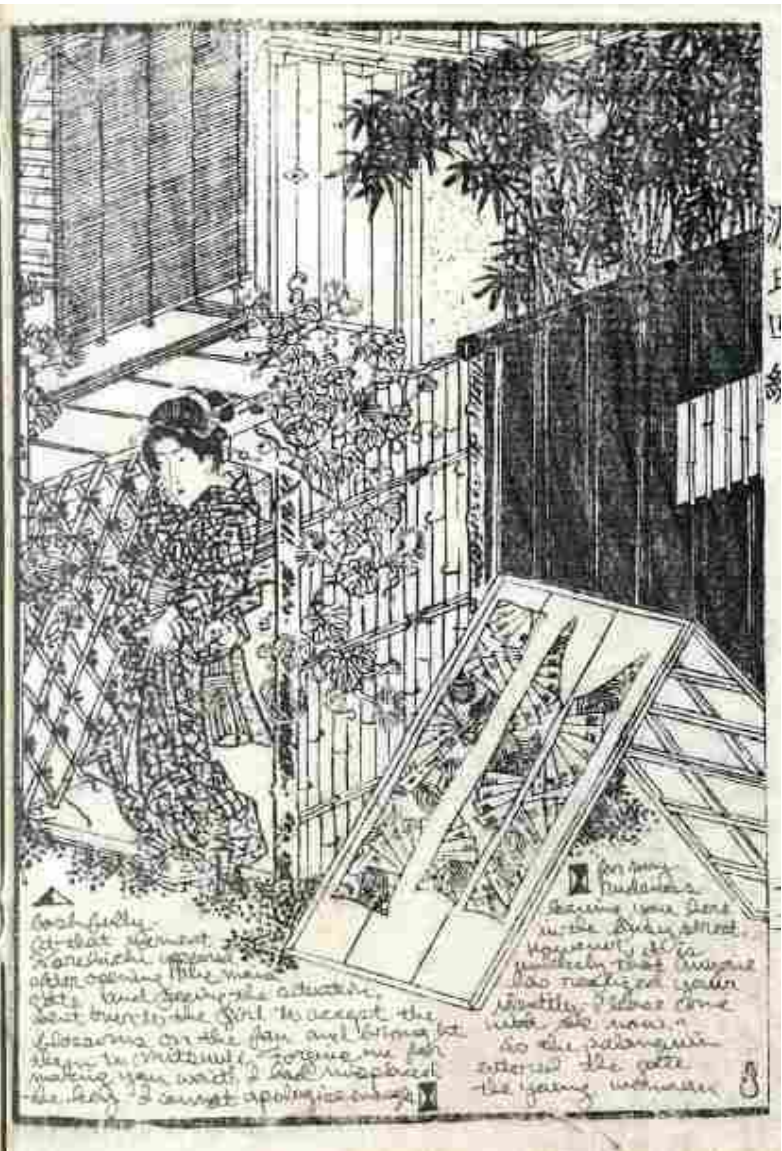
Font- We read many English *kibyōshi* translations in your class and I was always unsatisfied with the fonts used. There are very few cursive computer fonts and those are

not very personal. Computer type just looks too mechanical for the hand-written

calligraphy of the originals. What better way to replicate handwriting than to use

handwriting? To this end I decided to use my own. I think my handwriting is particularly

well suited to this task because I write in cursive, like the original calligraphy, and I do

not always make my letters the same way- like the non-standardized hiragana of the

original. My hand writing can be challenging to read and so is the original *kuzushiji* script.

Space- Sadly, English takes longer to say the same thing than Japanese does. It

was definitely a challenge to fit my translation into the space available in the image. To

this end, I need every scrap of space around the image and had to lose the lovely space

around the characters and the in-text lines of first and third pages.

*Progression-*In the second and fourth pages I preserved the original Japanese

reading order of the text portions to make the reader's eyes follow a similar path across

the page as the original Japanese readers. This became pretty much impossible in the

more text heavy pages, but I preserved it when I could.

A Country Genji by a Fake Murasaki

Written by
Ryūtei
Tanehiko

Illustrated
by

Kunisada

Utagawa

translated by

Charlotte
Mueller

NISE MURASAKI INAKA GENJI PUBLICATIONS

Japanese Publications of the *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji* from the late 19[96] century till the present.[96] The location of publication is Tokyo unless otherwise noted.

1. Publisher <u>Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1995</u>

Annotated by Suzuki Jūzō 鈴木 重三 (1919-2010)

Series Title *Shin nihon koten bungaku taiken* 新日本古典文学大系, 88, 89

Edited by Satake Akihiro 佐竹 昭広

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 僞紫田舎源氏, part 1

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭 種彦 (1783-1842)

2. Publisher <u>Horupu Shuppan ほるぷ出版, April, 1978</u>

Annotated by Suzuki Jūzō 鈴木 重三

Series Title *Fukkoku Nihon koten bungakukan; dai 2 ki*; 複刻日本古典文学館; 第 2 期

Limited Edition includes Reproduction of Ryutei's handwritten sketches, reproduction protective book pouch.

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 僞紫田舎源氏, vol. 4

Author Written by Ryūtei Tanehiko, illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞

3. Publisher <u>Nihon Shūhōsha 日本週報社, 1960</u>

Title *Shukustau Nihon bungaku zenshū; dai 3 kan*. 縮冊日本文学全集. 第 3 巻 (江戸小説篇).

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

4. Publisher <u>Ichōbon Kankōkai いてふ本刊行会, 1953</u>

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji,* vol. 3

Annotated by Takeshita Naoyuki 竹下直之

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

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[96] All works available through the National Diet Library of Japan, Tokyo.

5. Publisher <u>Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1952-53</u>

Annotated by Suzuki Jūzō

Revised by Shuzui Kenji 守随憲治

Series Title Iwanami Collection 岩波文庫

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, Part 1
Nise Murasaki inaka Genji, Part 2

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

6. Publisher <u>Minsei Shoin 民生書院, 1947</u>

Revised by Shuzui Kenji

Title *Rustic Genji* 田舎源氏

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

7. Publisher <u>Sankyō Shoin 三教書院, 1935</u>

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, vols. 1-4 (fascicles 1-38)

Author Written by Ryūtei Tanehiko, illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada

8. Publisher <u>Chūō Shuppansha 中央出版社, 1928-9</u>

Edited by Kōda Rohan 幸田露伴 (1867-1947)

Series Title *Shinyaku nihon bungaku sōsho* 新訳日本文学叢書 vol. 3, 4, 5

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, part 1

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

9. Publisher <u>Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kankōkai 日本名著全集刊行会, 1926-29</u>

Annotated by Suzuki Jūzō

Series Title *Nihon meicho zenshū. Edo bungei no bu* 日本名著全集. 江戸文芸之部, vols. 20-21

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, part 1 and 2

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

10. Publisher <u>Yūhōdō Shoten 有朋堂書店, 1927</u>

Edited by Tsukamoto Tetsuzō 塚本哲三

Series Title Yūhōdō Collection 有朋堂文庫

Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, part 1 and 2

Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

11. Publisher <u>Genjikai 源氏会, 1921</u>

      Author Motoyama Tekishū 本山荻舟 著

        Title *Inaka Genji: kyakuhon* 田舎源氏 : 脚本

12. Publisher <u>Meisaku Ninjō Bunko Kankōkai 名作人情文庫刊行会, 1920</u>

Translated by Nakauchi Chōji 中内 蝶二

        Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji: shinpan* 偐紫田舎源氏: 新訳

      Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

13. Publisher <u>Beisandō 米山堂, 1920 (reproduction)</u>

        Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*

      Author Written by Ryūtei Tanehiko, illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada

14. Publisher <u>Tokyo Tomoe Bunkō 東京トモエ文庫, 1919</u>

        Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*

      Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

15. Publisher <u>Hakubunkan 博文館, 1918</u>

  Series Title *Ehon haishi shōsetsu* 絵本稗史小説, vol. 8

        Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, part 2

      Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

16. Publisher <u>Tsunashima Shoten 綱島書店, 1913</u>

        Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji: kōdan shōsetsu* 偐紫田舎源氏: 講談小説

      Author Murata Tenrai 村田天籟

17. Publisher <u>Tōadō Shobō 東亜堂書房, 1913</u>

  Series Title *Nihon Bungei Sōsho*, Vol. 48. 日本文芸叢書 ; 第 48 巻

        Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, vol. 4

      Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

   Revised by Kōda Rohan

18. Publisher <u>Sankyo Shoin 三教書院, 1910-11</u>

  Series Title *Shūchin bunko* 袖珍文庫, vol. 8, 12, 19, 28

        Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, vol. 1-4

      Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

19. Publisher <u>Ōkawaya 大川屋, 1911</u>

  Series Title *Jissen bunko* 十銭文庫, vol. 6

      Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, vol. 1-6

    Author Written by Ryūtei Tanehiko, illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada

20. Publisher <u>Hakubunkan 博文館, 1898</u>

  Revised by Hakubunkan Henshūkyoku 博文館編輯局

  Series Title *Zoku teikoku bunko* 続帝国文庫, vol. 5

     Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, vol. 1-38

    Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

21. Publisher <u>Ginkadō 銀花堂, 1888. Shared publication with *Kakuseisha* 鶴声社</u>

  Revised by Hakubunkan Henshūkyoku

  Series Title *Zoku teikoku bunko* 続帝国文庫, vol. 5

     Title *A Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*

    Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

22. Publisher <u>Kyoto: Shinshindō 駸々堂, 1882-83</u>

  Edited by Udagawa Bunkai 宇田川文海 (1848-1930)

Annotated by Naitō Hisato 内藤久人

     Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, vol. 1-2

    Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

23. Publisher <u>Yokohama: Moriya Kiyokichi 守屋喜代吉, 1882-83</u>

     Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, vol. 1-18, 20-27

    Author Ryūtei Tanehiko

24. Publisher <u>Bunkōdō 文江堂, 1882</u>

     Title *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*

    Author Written by Ryūtei Tanehiko, illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada

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