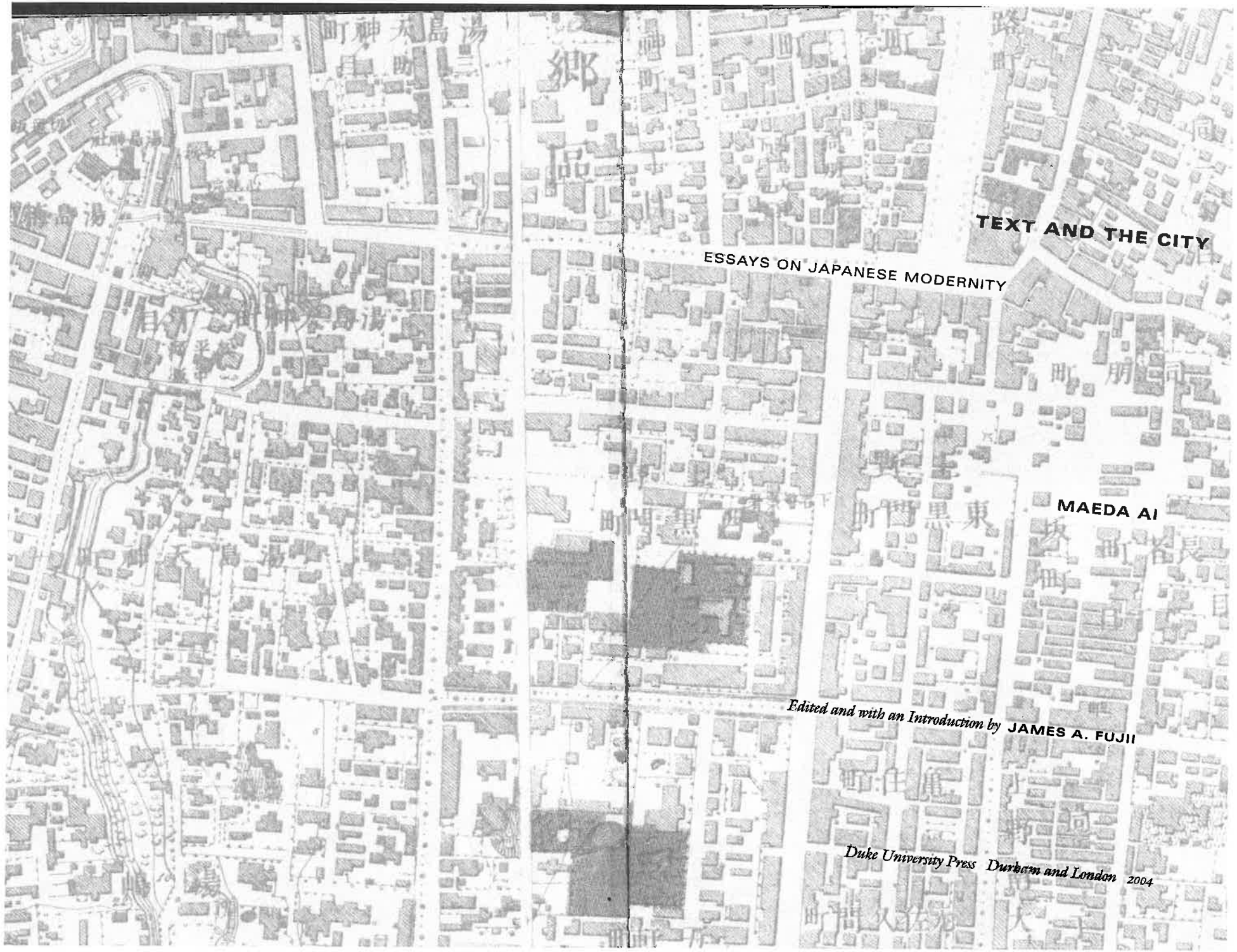

TEXT AND THE CITY

ESSAYS ON JAPANESE MODERNITY

MAEDA AI

Edited and with an Introduction by JAMES A. FUJII

Duke University Press Durham and London 2004

'L
26.57
5
.781
.04

© 2004 DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS. All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ♾

Designed by Amy Ruth Buchanan. Typeset in Carter & Cone Galliard by Tseng Information Systems, Inc. Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data appear on the last printed page of this book.

Grad
42857405
gelit
5-24-04

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments vii

Foreword: A Walker in the City: Maeda Ai and the Mapping of Urban Space HARRY HAROOTUNIAN xi

Introduction: Refiguring the Modern: Maeda Ai and the City JAMES A. FUJII 1

LIGHT CITY, DARK CITY: VISUALIZING THE MODERN

1. Utopia of the Prisonhouse: A Reading of *In Darkest Tokyo* 21
TRANSLATION BY SEIJI M. LIPPIT AND JAMES A. FUJII

2. The Panorama of Enlightenment 65
TRANSLATION BY HENRY D. SMITH II

3. The Spirits of Abandoned Gardens: On Nagai Kafū's "The Fox" 91
TRANSLATION BY WILLIAM F. SIBLEY

PLAY, SPACE, AND MASS CULTURE

4. Their Time as Children: A Study of Higuchi Ichiyō's *Growing Up* (*Takekurabe*) 109
TRANSLATION BY EDWARD FOWLER

5. Asakusa as Theater: Kawabata Yasunari's *The Crimson Gang of Asakusa* 145
TRANSLATION BY EDWARD FOWLER

6. The Development of Popular Fiction in the Late Taishō Era: Increasing Readership of Women's Magazines 163
TRANSLATION BY REBECCA COPELAND

TEXT, SPACE, VISUALITY

7. From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading: The Rise of the Modern Japanese Reader 223
TRANSLATION BY JAMES A. FUJII

8. Modern Literature and the World of Printing 255
TRANSLATION BY RICHARD OKADA

CROSSING BOUNDARIES IN URBAN SPACE

9. Ryūhoku in Paris 275
TRANSLATION BY MATTHEW FRALEIGH

10. Berlin 1888: Mori Ōgai's "Dancing Girl" 295
TRANSLATION BY LESLIE PINCUS

11. In the Recesses of the High City: On Sōseki's *Gate* 329
TRANSLATION BY WILLIAM F. SIBLEY

Afterword WILLIAM F. SIBLEY 351
Contributors 375
Index 377

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This anthology is the fruit of hard work by nine translators, whose own careers had varying intersections with that of Maeda Ai. A few knew only his published work, others had met him in academic venues, and still others had the pleasure of exploring parts of a city with him. That which makes Maeda's scholarship so cross-disciplinary, learned, and imaginative made translation truly daunting work; I remain in awe of the results produced by my fellow translators. Chicago would be the city where the authors of the essays that frame the translations at both ends of this volume, Harry Harootunian, Masao Miyoshi, and Bill Sibley, would invite Maeda for an extended stay that would contribute to the role played by the University of Chicago as the center of critical theory and Japan studies in the late 1970s and 1980s. My debts to all four scholars go well beyond the horizons of this anthology.

Every essay in this volume bears the mark of what can only be called heroic work on the part of Junko Matsuura, who performed with intelligence, resourcefulness, and diligence myriad tasks that extended well beyond the boundaries of remunerated labor. In addition to translating two essays that appear in this volume, my colleague Ted Fowler provided scholarly discernment, guidance, and friendship during the many years that this project took shape. Steve Carter, in his capacity as chair of my department and friend, also found creative ways to loosen up valuable time and support to help realize this anthology; he also helped make sense of a few vexing passages. For clarifying some obscure references and works from the *kinsei* (early modern) era, Masa Higurashi of Hōsei University deserves our sincere thanks. Rey Chow, now of Brown University, encouraged me as interlocutor and friend from the early stages of this project. Among the friends and colleagues not directly involved in translating Maeda's essays but whose support and friendship helped make this work possible are Brett deBary, Norma Field, William Haver, Kamei

Hideo, Komori Yoichi, Vic Koshmann, Frederic J. Kotas, Marti Miyoshi, Tetsuo Najita, Naoki Sakai, Barbara Sato, Kazuki Sato, Seki Reiko, Miriam Silverberg, and Stefan Tanaka.

In addition to producing a beautiful translation of "The Panorama of Enlightenment," Henry Smith was able to arrange for permission from the Santa Barbara Museum of Art to include Kobayashi Kiyochika's *Kaiun Bridge and First National Bank in the Snow* and *Shinbashi Station*, both of which appear in the chapter titled "The Panorama of Enlightenment." Mr. Narahara Makio of Hara Shobō publishers helped provide illustrations of Japanese prisons that appear with their permission in this volume. Staff at the Modern Japanese Literary Archives (Nihon kindai bungakukan), the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library, and the National Diet Library responded to our queries related to citation both in person and by electronic media with dispatch and thoroughness. Editors at Chikuma Shobō, publishers of *The Collected Works of Maeda Ai*, were as generous with their time as they were in giving permission for use of many of the illustrations that appear in this book. Farrell Graves, Adrienne Hurley, Kota Inoue, Helen Lee, Michele Mason, Junko Matsuura, and Jen Mertens provided perceptive comments in seminars that touched upon some of these essays by Maeda, and Michele also provided timely research assistance. Reynolds Smith of Duke University Press has been steadfast in his support throughout this project, and I owe him and Sharon Torian heartfelt thanks for their hard work and timely responses to uncountable questions. Kate Lothman provided superb editorial help in getting us through the always difficult later stages of production, and Judith Hoover deserves our thanks for her meticulous and skillful copyediting. Thanks also to Amy Ruth Buchanan, whose keen eye is evident in the design of this book. Funding support came from the School of Humanities at the University of California, Irvine, the University of California President's Fellowship, the Office of the Dean of Humanities, and the UCI Humanities Research Center. Some of the release time made possible from an NEH grant for a project focused on railways, I must admit, also migrated over to enable the completion of this one. Pam LaZarre, Dianna Sahhar, Suzy Jung, and Gerry Lopez of the UCI Interlibrary Loan Service and Document Delivery Services were unfailingly helpful in providing their services, including the processing of hundreds of books and articles we sought and received without a hitch. Michael J. Miller at the UCI Multimedia Development Computer Support Instructional Technology Center provided valuable support in helping to create maps and diagrams. We also received timely help from Hisayuki Ishimatsu, librarian at the University of California, Berkeley.

I am grateful to Ellen Radovic, who urged me to undertake this project, read multiple versions of translations, edited passages with a fresh and discerning pair of eyes, and supported me in countless ways that defy cataloguing; oddly enough, her presence added immeasurably to more than one of my many meetings with Mrs. Maeda, even though Ellen does not speak Japanese. If a book that is not really mine can be dedicated, it goes to Mrs. Maeda, who has inspired me as much as her husband did in his capacity as one of my academic mentors. In a conversation wedged into her busy schedule as a full-time clinical social worker with hours of additional weekly volunteer work, with a mixture of diffidence and affirmation, Mineko Maeda recounted to me her first meeting with the young undergraduate who would become her husband—he from Tōdai, she from Ochanomizu Women's College—at rehearsals for a leftist collegiate drama society. This volume celebrates that union of two remarkable individuals. Finally, let me mention our wonderful canine companion of twelve years, Nassi, whose last six years were mostly spent with me as I worked on this anthology, as well as other projects, both at home and at the office.

Maeda Ai in Kuruizawa. Photo by Sayama Tatsuo. Courtesy Shōgakukan P.C.

FOREWORD

A Walker in the City:

Maeda Ai and the Mapping of Urban

HARRY HAROOTUNIAN

In a life that passed too quickly and ended too abruptly, Maeda Ai was able to live the time of his life more fully and imaginatively than most of us who have been granted the span allotted to us. For those who knew him in what now seems to have been a momentary meeting the effect of his swift passage through our lives has far exceeded the event of an encounter. Many of us in the 1960s and 1970s interested in pursuing the study of Japan's culture, literature, and history, found in Maeda's writings an interpretative propaedeutic far richer and more complex than the simplistic exercises area studies promoted as forms of training—usually little more than extended language study informed by indefensible claims of cultural transparency. In the Japanese scholarly world the interpretative templates were no more helpful. As a result, Maeda occupied an ambiguous position, often reinforced by a disciplined self-marginalization between mindless empiricism, shared by both Marxists and non-Marxists alike, and approaches driven by outrageous conceits of exceptionalism based on the irreducible authority of cultural (read as ethnic) authenticity that not even the most masterful acquisition of language proficiency by a foreigner could ever hope to match.

Maeda was not simply devoted to understanding the spectacle of Japan's capitalist modernization since the nineteenth century; he was also a committed modernist convinced that the singular transformation brought Japan into the world as readily as it brought the world into Japan. This meant that despite, or better yet, because of the necessity of recognizing the inheritance of a specific culture of reference as it mingled with the new, he was able to recognize how much Japan had changed and how the nature of change, as already forecast by the philosopher Tosaka Jun in the 1930s, "linked Japan to a

wider world." As the essays in this collection show, time and again, Maeda's work was devoted to demonstrating how the great transformation was simply part of what Frederic Jameson has called a "singular modernity," making Japan's inflection interchangeable with modernizing experiences found elsewhere throughout the globe and thus as accessible as any other instance of the modern to seekers of the meaning of modernity. When I first met Maeda back in the 1970s and described my interest in Tokugawa nativism and thinkers such as Hirata Atsutane, perhaps the most intellectually obdurate exceptionalist thinkers Japan has produced, his response was to protest that he "was allergic to such people" and what they stood for.

Maeda Ai was formed in an intellectual and political culture marked by the immediate postwar years, when he attended university and began his teaching career. These years witnessed the incendiary mass mobilizations from 1960 on that expressed dissatisfaction with Japan's dependent relationship to the United States (now that the military occupation had officially ended). It was inflamed by the new U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Pact, the singular failure of social democratic discourse and its subsequent darkening in the lengthening shadow of a one-party "democracy" supported by the United States, and the explosion of a student movement and its radicalization prompted by both the state's effort to "manage" universities and the recognition that U.S. involvement in Vietnam was becoming a global event. In Japan during the decade of the 1960s and early 1970s, most universities were either periodically closed or campuses and buildings were sporadically seized and occupied on an unscheduled basis by student groups. Frequent confrontations on the streets between students and riot police often defined the educational culture of the times and resembled, in pace and rhythm, carefully orchestrated scenes seemingly inspired by cinematic medieval horse operas (chanbara).

If the conjuncture provided the background noise to Maeda's formation (in an ironic gesture he once confessed to me in a Chicago bar to his own "political cowardice"), the movement of events simply reinforced his perception that the site of modernity and its consequential discords had always been the city—the large urban concentrations that signified for him the moment Japan, with other industrializing societies, changed the received human ecology between countryside and city, provoked by the massive migrations of peasantry into the new urban industrial workplace. It was this fact that constituted for Maeda the singularity of modernity, inasmuch as it manifests the fateful and inevitable alteration of the space-time relationship by privileging the former over the latter and thus necessitated the identification of a new chronotope. With Maeda this privileging of space signaled the importance of the modern city—the massive urban complexes that reached deeply into the surrounding countryside, according to the folklorist Yanagita Kunio, and demanded its sacrifice—transmuted into the space of culture. Yet it is interesting to notice how the city, the expanded urban space, not only incorporated time by ontologizing the present but also absorbed the countryside itself, in his view lost its claim to autonomy promised by an older division of labor between town and country. Concern for the maintenance of the division between city and countryside appeared precisely at the moment the new metropolitan cities embarked on their expansion and colonization of space and when they projected a "universal" self-image of modernity that excluded any other alternative.

Maeda saw the emergence of this new urban space both as the subject of cultural analysis and as the occasion for working a new and appropriate interpretative strategy capable of bringing together history, urban geography and planning, ethnography, material culture, and literature into what now appears as a cultural studies "before the letter."

Although Maeda saw his own method as topographical (and even topological, hinting at mathematical rigor and scientific precision), in keeping with the spatial privilege modernity accords to the city, his primary instrument of analysis was the text of literature produced within the space of the city and that constituted its inscription. Texts needed deciphering as well as reading, and here Maeda turned to the model of the map, the principal template for representing space as such. The map supplied the coordinates organizing space that could provide an optic through which to look at literary texts and ways they signified the cityspace of their production. In this regard, Maeda's earlier work on late Tokugawa fictions, *gesaku*, already disclosed an interest in the city, albeit a premodern Edo that would become Tokyo, and how it supplied the space for literary production and the market of a reading public. It is hardly surprising that this work concentrated on examining writers imbedded in Edo life (Bakin) and its transition to Tokyo in the early Meiji period (Narushima Ryūhoku). But what these fictions and subsequent literary nonliterary texts offered were maps detailing specific spaces and sites, whether the "utopia" of Meiji prisons, the quarters of lower-class Tokyo reported by Yokoyama Gennosuke, or the Shanghai Bund in the late 1920s envisaged by Yokomitsu Riichi. Maeda looked upon literary texts as maps capable of yielding knowledge of a location and delineating the details of organization of streets and sites that filled and shaped the interiority of a city space to make it recognizably a place. But reading as a form of mapping required a committed observer of the scene itself, an urban ethnographer willing to walk the streets of the city and faithfully record, like the great urban ethnographer of Tokyo streets of the 1920s Kon Wajirō, the passing montage.

More than anything else, Maeda was a walker in the city, any and all cities, even though Tokyo was the place he loved most and knew best, a careful observer of its infinite and often overlooked ordinary details that revealed all but forgotten remnants of different histories coexisting in the modern present yet capable of recalling other moments. As much as he was a scholar of literature he was a reporter of urban sites, always maintaining a slight distance from them, like Kon and indeed all those Japanese writers he tracked down who traveled to and wrote from foreign cities. In his principal book, *Toshi kukan no naka no bungaku* (Literature as cityspace), Maeda frequently focused on narratives whose authors were implicated in specific cityspaces: Ōgai's Berlin; Yokomitsu's Shanghai, the quintessential colonial city before the war, with its dangerous mix of foreign imperialists and subject peoples; Higuchi Ichiyō's late Meiji Tokyo, still vibrant with the rhythms of its Edo past mixing with the new in the neighborhood of her late nineteenth-century childhood; and Kafū's historically completed Paris, contrasted to a Tokyo "under reconstruction." As a good geographer and explorer, Maeda would walk these cities and acquire firsthand knowledge of the specific locations that structured stories and novels, always seeking to follow the traces of authors who had come before him to make the space of the city the subject of their texts. When he was in Chicago as a visiting professor he walked its streets tirelessly in search of traces of Japan and went to Kalamazoo to fulfill one stop in Kafū's only American itinerary. An indefatigable traveler, perhaps satisfying one of the unfulfilled ambitions of Tokugawa eccentrics (who were prohibited from traveling abroad) and their desire for difference, Maeda went to Berlin, Shanghai, Paris, and indeed anywhere the writer had preceded him. His most complex map and greatest mastery was the city of Tokyo, which over the years he had carefully deciphered for its multiple and mixed pasts and still surviving signs of other temporalities, however slight and insignificant, now concealed by the massive materiality of the modern city. I remember an exhausting walking tour of parts of Tokyo Maeda had mapped out, especially remaining traces from its Edo past, and that still housed the faintest traces of a forgotten history that he identified and that still bespoke its memory. I even tried once to recuperate this mazelike tour, looking for a restaurant that apparently had originated in the late Edo or early Meiji period, but failed miserably. Maeda recognized how much Tokyo had changed since its modern beginnings, how much the signs of mixed temporalities had been all but destroyed by the succession of earthquake, World War II bombings, and the senseless desecration inflicted by the Olympics and entrepreneurial developers, how important it was to keep vigil on the remains and survivals of earlier times. It was, in fact, this immense sensitivity to the minute reminders of the city's pasts, made indistinct by the image of an endlessly present space, that disclosed how Maeda envisioned the relationship between time and space demanded by modernity, industrialization, and urbanization. And it was precisely this approach that guided him as he sought to read texts for inscription of cityspace.

Maeda was no ordinary flâneur, however. His earlier studies on the verbal fictions of Edo in the late Tokugawa period acquainted him with a kind of premodern urban ethnography, where authors were always looking in on a scene, seeking to "penetrate the hole," as it was put, as well as the whole, in order to grasp its topos, voyeurs, peeping toms, recording things that colonized space, conduct, but always at a distance. Their purpose was to get behind (*ura*) the surface (*omote*) to make proper judgments concerning the style or lack of it in the subjects under observation. In a sense, this talent reflected "taste," "discernment," to constitute a culture of *furyu*, as it is often called, whose principal figures were eccentrics like Hiraga Gennai, marked by their desire for difference (defamiliarizing and even exoticizing everyday life), centered in the city life of merchant quarters. In this regard, Maeda resembled Roland Barthes, on whose method he wrote an informed essay, and shared with him a passion for the ordinary that is habitually overlooked but invariably capable of emitting cultural meanings. Maeda's walking, his incessant threading through the byways of a text's space, following its coordinates to grasp the totality, like Edogawa Rampo's amateur detective Akechi, ultimately fused a premodern ethnography practiced by the eccentric with a modern awareness of how the space of the city has come to constitute the central subject of modern literature.

The essays selected for translation in this volume offer the English reader a first glimpse of this complex but modernist vision, its interpretative accessibility, to those who can claim no special knowledge of Japan but only an interest in the experience of modernity and the ways Maeda went about implementing it. But they also constitute what Claude Roy, referring to the interwar years in France, once described as "a remembrance of things to come" that has now appropriately become our own inheritance.

INTRODUCTIO

Refiguring the Modern: Maeda Ai and t

JAMES A. FU

Every major Japanese newspaper reported the unexpected and sudden death of Maeda Ai in the summer of 1987 at the age of 55. One of the most prominent and influential literary and cultural critics of the late twentieth century, as well as a public intellectual who appeared on national educational television, was interviewed in magazines and newspapers, and taught adult education courses, Maeda had approached the study of modern Japanese literature and culture with daring, imagination, and uncommon erudition. A decade or so earlier, at a time when Japan's sensitivity to intellectual currents of Continental Europe would begin to yield Japanese translations of works by Merleau-Ponty, Barthes, Derrida, Kristeva, Foucault, Bachelard, and Deleuze almost as quickly as they appeared in the original French, Maeda was not simply "applying" but rigorously interrogating and practicing semiotic, structuralist, Marxist, and poststructuralist theory, in turn transforming it by bringing it into congress with native cultural achievements.

It may surprise many who are acquainted with Maeda Ai's (1932–1987) studies of modern Japanese society and culture that he was, by training, a student of premodern (*kinsei*) Japanese literature. Maeda often confounded his mostly traditional fellow scholars of Japanese literature by a profound erudition that (to many of them) was maddeningly informed by rigorous engagement with European critical theory. His distinctive practice of studying modernity through the optic of postmodernity spanned the years from the late 1960s to his death. As a contemporary of Foucault, Poulet, Bachelard, Derrida, Kristeva, and Lefebvre, he engaged their works as deeply and deftly as he did that of earlier students of modern society whose sensibilities intersected with his own, such as Benjamin, Marx, the Tartov School critics, Bakhtin, Piranesi, and a legion of others whose work he brought into the compass

of his own study of modern Japanese life, especially through articulations of urban space.

If literature centers Maeda's vast corpus, many of these works read more like social history, cultural criticism, advanced texts on semiology, even a mathematical proof.[1] He was an explorer, much like the urban geographers and literary heroes that figure prominently in his "Utopia of the Prison-house" (chapter 1), and he found a way of discovering the space that text and city, map and narrative, would open up in his explorations of infinitely rich, contradictory, vexing, and rewarding phenomena to which these days we give the all-encompassing term "modernity." Maeda took the text and showed us how to visualize its contours as one might make sense of a set of relationships on a map. At the same time, a significant part of his work represents an extended engagement of visual culture, which he traced as a defining characteristic of both Edo (1600–1867) and Meiji (1868–1912) city life. His innovative focus on text and visuality would coalesce into a literary-historical-critical practice that was centered on notions of space, *kūkan*, that became the signature of his scholarship. He unapologetically reveled in the practice of theory, and at the same time, he remained steadfastly a theorist for whom spatiality spelled historical understanding. When linguistics and literary theory showed us the conjuncture and separation of *langue* or system (*seido*) to parole, the enunciative moment was "discovered" as a way to relativize figurations of diachronic representations. Building on the conceptual richness of this enunciative moment where subjects encounter Others and contingency replaces fate or teleology, Maeda explored the space of intersections, of contest, exchange, that is, a dialogics broadly, richly, and finely articulated as speaking and listening, oppressing, resisting, and mobilizing—in short, the *productions in space* as a supplement to Lefebvre's production *of* space. Like Walter Benjamin who turned to the flâneur and his street-level performance as a way to interrogate modern society, Maeda took to the city as an effective avenue for making sense of modernity. What this approach would repeatedly yield was understanding of the *materiality* of *things* (*mono*) that constitute city life. It is as if the self-conferred epithet of "useless man" (*muyō no hito*) by the subject of Maeda's first study, Narushima Ryūhoku (see below, and "Ryūhoku in Paris," chapter 9), would alert him to the blinding dominance of utilitarianism in Meiji society. If a totalizing *instrumentality* seized modern Japan and attempts to study it, Maeda would examine the modern by steadfastly focusing instead on the *materiality* of modern, urban life.

Ultimately, however, what distinguished Maeda's work was the conjuncture of a populist sensibility that led to a rich array of concerns in Japanese literature and society and a determination to subject critical theory to a radically

different cultural space. In 1989, just two years following his death, Chikuma Shobō would issue *Selected Works of Maeda Ai* (*Maeda Ai chosaku-shū*)[2] in six thick volumes. Even a cursory look reveals how its editors strained to fit his essays into these thematically ordered books.[3] His studies of mass culture, the underside of modern life, visual media from *manga* (of the 1920s and 1930s) to panoramas and film, women's magazines and female readership, Higuchi Ichiyō, world's fairs and expositions, Meiji-era *kanbun-gesaku* literature (playful fiction written in Sino-Japanese), and the cultural habits of everyday life in the city would effectively change the register of inquiry for students of modern Japanese literature and cultural history. How much greater is the inadequacy, then, of a single-volume anthology of his essays in translation. Against these odds, I have selected works that presciently questioned and explored new dimensions of Japanese modernity and that resonate deeply with the concerns of literary and cultural studies today. Maeda was also a peerless student of textuality when neoformalist theorists (e.g., Greimas, Barthes, and a rediscovered Bakhtin) forced the word beyond its semiotic boundaries and headlong into "discursive realities." Collectively, these essays continue to serve as important models for how to read literature and culture in concert with the political economy which they both reflect and help shape. [4]

Visual Culture and Textuality

This anthology appears at a moment when the study of modernity has come to be identified with visuality as its defining constituent. Maeda was already vigorously exploring this connection in modern Japanese society back in the 1970s and 1980s. His interest in Western theoretical works would help him recognize the visuality that marked his initial specialization, late Edo literature and culture. Gesaku, he notes in "Modern Literature and the World of Printing" (chapter 8), must be viewed as a form of mass-produced urban literature whose textual-visual hybridity was enabled by the technology of woodblock printing. This text-image relationship profoundly shaped the very nature of literature itself, and it would not suddenly cease just because the shogun was replaced by the emperor to inaugurate the modern era. Alongside such visual-literary practices, Maeda convinces us in "From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading" (chapter 7) to consider another Edo-era literary-cultural practice: reading literary works aloud to an audience. The intersection of such "vestigial" practices, with new technologies like movable-type printing and new formations of visuality, he shows, were important determinants that have been overlooked or ignored in received ways of making sense of modern Japanese literature. These essays show Maeda as a revision-

ist theorist-critic whose legacy informs, rather than has been overtaken by, recent cultural work.

In "The Panorama of Enlightenment" (chapter 2), Roland Barthes's and Roman Jakobson's semiotics and the Marxist critic Henri Lefebvre's theorization of space help Maeda produce stunning new insights regarding the relationship between social space and text. In his reading of Hattori Bushō's *Shin Tokyo hanjōki* (New tales of Tokyo prosperity), Maeda analyzes the array of *things* displayed along the Ginza Brick District this way:

> The visual image of *things* lined up [catalogued] on display is conveyed directly by a rhetorical succession of nouns, while the parallel phrases of *kanbun* serve as a device to contrast the new and the old. The rather stereotyped listing of phrases beginning with "gold and silver sparkle" serves as a perfect representation of the dazzling fantasy of an overwhelming array of goods on display. Each separate *thing* is no more than an image that flashes on for just an instant, a symbol of consumption that has been emptied of all meaning. The richness of the display stands in odd contrast to the visual monotony of the Brick District itself, with row after row of the same standardized building design along the eight blocks of the Ginza. Constructed in the functional materials of white plaster over brick that excluded all traces of decorative meaning from the buildings themselves, the Brick District denied the possibility of going beyond the immediate perception of the material object itself. What rises before us is a symbol of "civilization and enlightenment" that is merely a myth emptied of meaning." (From Henry Smith's translation of "Panorama," chapter 2)

What virtually all Japan historians and critics read simply as the signifier of modern urban culture—the Ginza Brick District—Maeda unmasks as a harbinger of alienated production. The audience for the earlier *Tales of Edo Prosperity*, Maeda concludes, were busy "at play," be it in the brothels, theaters, or picnic sites, whereas Bushō's guide to the Meiji capital reveals "people who consume *things* as symbols of 'enlightenment' and people who gaze upon the new sights of Tokyo, so that the mode of interaction is rather between people and things."

If, as observed earlier, Maeda brought his own profoundly original sensibilities and training together with Continental high theory to produce literary, social, cultural, and intellectual history in his distinctive way, he was also following the legacy of earlier generations of Japanese intellectuals, from philosophers such as Nishida Kitarō and Watsuji Tetsurō to Marxist thinkers like Nakano Shigeharu and Aono Suekichi. (Western academics remain generally unaware of this decidedly cosmopolitan legacy among Japanese intellectuals that distinguishes the latter from their European counterparts, who typically know nothing of non-European thought, nor the irony of a term like "cosmopolitan" that denotes a parochial Western European continentalism.) Today Maeda's achievements can de discerned in the continuing interest that Japan specialists exhibit for urban ethnographers such as Gonda Yasunosuke, Kon Wajirō, and Matsubara Iwagorō and such Marxist writers and social critics as Ōya Sōichi and Aono. Together with a handful of scholars in allied disciplines, Maeda also helped generate widespread interest in studying mass culture on the one hand and the marginalized sectors of modern Japanese society on the other.[5]

Maeda's essays implicitly challenge the reified separation of text and society, or more specifically, the divide between cultural production and the urban space that it at once belongs to and helps constitute. Most important, this binary served as a means for Maeda to effectively displace what has steadfastly remained the reigning ideology that effectively deformed the study of modern Japanese literature and society since at least the 1880s: the appropriated concept of the modern "self" of Western provenance, or the *kindai jiga*. A short decade or two after Western mercantilism (in the form of Commodore Perry's gunboat diplomacy) pried open Japan into the "new world order" of global capitalism, Japanese government officials, intellectuals, and writers would be seized by the necessity to fashion a "modern Japanese subject" adequate to the times. Their efforts, alas, would collectively help reify the kindai jiga as an ideology consigning Japanese subjectivity to an inferior status relative to its manifestation in the West. Programmed for "failure"—whether we look to the postwar political scientist Maruyama Masao's self-exhortatory criticism of Japanese subjectivity (*shutaisei*) or even more recent exceptionalist affirmations of Japanese identity—ultimately problematic resolutions would be offered over the decades, from Marxist explorations of subjectivity in the 1930s to the advent of postmodern theories in the 1970s and 1980s that would confer on Japanese society a (decentered, fractured, radically contingent) subjectivity a few critics would claim existed in a Tokugawa society that was "already postmodern" before Japan had experienced modern life inflected with specifically Western practices.

Maeda took a different route, problematizing the kindai jiga by combining semiotics with figurations of the body. Semiology provided a way to defamiliarize concerns about forging a modern literary language, while the body (*shintai*), which he explored primarily in relation to urban space, afforded new avenues of displacing the positivist hold of the modern subject that has endured well into the 1970s and continues to this day. When prominent literary critics like Senuma Shigeki and Etō Jun were pursuing ideations of the self

in relation to the family, Maeda's work interpellated the subject into the *city* as an alternative, contingent site of mediation that related the subject to the nation-state in more complex ways. The result is work that came to be called *toshi-ron* (critical interventions on the city) and *kūkan-ron* (theorizing space), inaugurating what was an all too rare but still ongoing quest to seek ways of decentering Eurocentric approaches to the study of literature and society without resorting to a reactionary and essentialist affirmation of Japanese culture.[6]

If the study of discourse had become standard in the lexicon of historical investigation of the late 1970s and 1980s in order to help prise the self away from the rigidly given institutional structures of a nation, the horizon of study still tended to remain with discourses that were produced by these very institutions. Maeda explored the body as it negotiated and in turn refigured urban space as a way to find new paths for understanding the relationship between the nation and its subjects, which he would insistently recast in terms of conflict between state power and private desire. Ultimately, however, it was the city, the space that mediated this relationship, that captivated Maeda, and he would use it to challenge the all too familiar paradigm that viewed the individual directly in relation to the social or to state institutions. By examining the body in relation to the city, Maeda would show how subjects participated in the production and reproduction of everyday life. As a way to challenge the given-ness of the modern self, which Maeda himself asserted was something he explicitly sought to critique,[7] he shifted the terms of analysis from "interiority" to an examination of the materiality of the body as a viewing position, an object of the gaze, and as a player in the city, that is, as a subject whose materially conceived agency would allow one to recognize the political and social dimensions and consequences of participation in city life. To this end, he was particularly concerned with technologies of visual manipulation designed to shape the behavior of Japanese who would attend industrial and world expositions, visit panorama halls and movie theaters, explore lands beyond Japan's borders, and negotiate the pathways lined by newly "invented" display cases in department stores designed to stimulate consumption.

Revising the Japanese Modern

A profoundly democratic bent is present in Maeda's work, and his focus on the city and urban life provided a way to distance himself from the hierarchical logic immanent in conventions of literary studies as well as the articulations of state authority that sought to manage the modern nation-state. In his capable hands, urban space proved to be an effective construct for exploring the crenelations of lived space that exceeded the rule of social hierarchy. His egalitarian impulse underwrites the very focus of "From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading," which addresses the material and social conditions that shaped diverse practices of readership in the Meiji era (instead of resorting to the time-honored practice of reproducing the "author" that Foucault, Barthes, and other theorists had problematized, for example). We see a kindred egalitarian drive underwriting his careful study of women's magazines in "The Development of Popular Fiction in the Late Taishō Era" (chapter 6), where, instead of contributing to the reification of genre conventions, he effectively interrogates them in an essay that affirms what had been a neglected aspect of Japanese literary studies: female readers. The 1980s, when Maeda's work came to focus more emphatically on the city and urban life, was marked by the rise of widespread interest among the Japanese in community-based initiatives of *machi-zukuri* (literally, "town building"), a kind of grassroots alternative to urban planning (*toshi keikaku*) with its centrist, bureaucratic associations.[8] Asakusa, generally viewed simply as the "traditional" entertainment district of the masses, for Maeda is a space of far greater complexity. Here the denizens of *The Crimson Gang of Asakusa* ("Asakusa as Theater," chapter 5) stage their lives much as they perform their onstage roles in the multiply marginalized realm of the profane and the sacred, that uneasy space given to performer-entertainers in Japanese society. Maeda's populist humanism is also evident in the attention he gives to the student radicals of the 1960s in Shinjuku, the 1903 striking workers in Hibiya, and on to the early Meiji writers whose canonization as producers of idealistic political novels was belied by their frequent imprisonment by an oppressive new carceral technology ("Utopia of the Prisonhouse"). Just as Foucault discerned regimes of discipline and punishment in so-called enlightened society, Maeda would recognize new technologies of regimentation and repression in modern Japan. His recasting of the Meiji-era political novel as a testament to the tremendous violence and oppression that lay at the center of modern nationness, and more specifically its identification as fundamentally a literature of incarceration, is sure to revise our received assumptions regarding the Japanese novel (*shōsetsu*).

As if to counter assiduous Meiji government efforts to wipe away the untidiness of pre-*bunmei-kaika* Japan, Maeda takes the eminent historian Amino Yoshihiko's notion of the space of evil (*akubasho* or *akusho*) to discern the profound contradictions and unevenness of Japanese modernity itself, riddled as Meiji urban space was with the very elements of darkness, despair, and vast marginal populations that had marked Tokugawa Japan. In addition to his

extended critique of the reified modern subject, Maeda would tacitly part company with widely observed academic convention that placed the origins of Japanese modernity with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. His exploration of spatiality provided a way to challenge the rigid association of temporality to historical understanding, which, coupled with his training in premodern literature, opened the way to implicitly challenge the still widely held view that Japan's modernity was simply the product of concerted, reasoned importation of Western ideas, means of production, and political institutions—views largely promoted by everyone from officials in the Meiji government to postwar modernization scholars.

Even as he ostensibly critiqued the dimensions of modern Japanese subjectivity as it emerged in the Meiji era, Natsume Sōseki did more than any other writer to effectively affirm the modern bourgeois subject in Japan. In "In the Recesses of the High City" (chapter 11), Maeda's discussion of Sōseki's *Mon* (The gate) highlights the emergence of what we today call the urban middle class through the generation of new spatial arrangements in post-Restoration Tokyo. Commuter railways would play a principal role in transforming Tokyo into a different version of what class-based residential separation had maintained between highland samurai and lowland commoners in the Tokugawa era. The Chūō Line running from Shinjuku to Manseibashi, and its electrification in 1910, would help make the latter the busiest transport node of the inner city for a time, even as the center of transit would move steadily west toward Shinjuku, and dramatically so after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. The redrawing of *sakariba* (aptly naming a place where people congregate, whether to simply pass through or to seek out as destinations for pleasure) would be accompanied by redefinitions of newly conceived private space, as we see in Sōseki's description of Hirota Sensei's house in the novel *Sanshirō* (as explored in Maeda's "Recesses"). Maeda's reading graphically reveals the reorganization of urban space that simultaneously involves the westward shift of the "center" of Tokyo and the dramatic transformations of interior household space.

At the same time, Maeda was struck by the modernity of Edo and by the Edo in Tokyo. The cultural practices typically attributed to the Edo period (especially the later years, spanning the 1700s up to the 1868 Restoration) would endure into or be reinvented during the Meiji era and would help give Japan's modern moment not just residual traces of a bygone era, but the vigorous and indeed defining contradictions of modern life. Through a reading of Nagai Kafū's "The Fox" ("Kitsune") in "The Spirits of Abandoned Gardens" (chapter 3), Maeda reveals the unevenness of modern urban life in Japan's capital city that is a patchwork of lit-up streets and residential space

marked at the same time by wilderness, wily foxes, and deep dark wells that echo the vestiges of times supposedly long gone. For Maeda, how we create, reformulate, negotiate, and conceive of space were keys to help discern significant aspects of modernity that at once provided analytic acuity without carrying the overdeterminations of West–non-West conceptualizations and their variants. And in those "lived spaces" sedimented by the unevenness generated by capitalism "as it enters societies at different moments and different rates of intensity,"[9] Maeda would locate modernity, especially in cityspace that eluded or exceeded the systematization imposed by the state.

One such space was Asakusa, a diverse place of mass entertainment, which Maeda used to read Kawabata Yasunari's daunting, modernist prose narrative, *The Crimson Gang of Asakusa* (*Asakusa kurenaidan*, 1929–30) in "Asakusa as Theater." Maeda teases out a bewildering "plot" centered around the gender- and identity-bending beautiful androgynous heroine, Yumiko, of Kawabata's critically acclaimed avant-garde novel. Her adventures are depicted in a cinematic parallel-tracking narrative of intrigue, revenge, and adventure that unravels through the maze of a densely textured Asakusa, home to Edo-era amusements and seedy reviews and performance theaters whose very amateurish qualities form part of their allure, as well as panorama halls, an aquarium, and movie houses modeled on their Western counterparts. In "Asakusa as Theater" Maeda masterfully stitches the local lore and mythology of Asakusa and its environs to the labyrinthine story involving Yumiko and a cast of fellow amateur performers, beggars, and gang members, as a way to make the case for Kawabata's arguably most interesting work as a novel about transformation, be it in forms of mass entertainment, questions of personal identity, or Tokyo from a city of waterways to a land-based capital city.[10]

Whereas "The Panorama of Enlightenment" employs a familiar Edo-Tokyo opposition only to deconstruct the binary, perhaps the most conspicuous example of Maeda's historical revisionism can be observed in his work on Narushima Ryūhoku ("Ryūhoku in Paris"). This essay, along with his other works on Ryūhoku, helped establish Maeda early as a scholar willing and eager to displace the time-honored convention of viewing 1868 as the line separating medieval from modern Japan. Ryūhoku would write "modern" literature in the idiom of Tokugawa gesaku, written not in the customary and widely accessible *kana* syllabry associated with gesaku, but in the Sinified Japanese of officialdom, *kanbun*, to produce a distinctively *modern* literature in the 1870s and 1880s, a period that literary histories tend to reduce to a transitional moment for the development of the colloquially based modern (*genbun'itchi*) novel of the late 1880s. Maeda uses Ryūhoku's self-abnegatory epithet, "useless man" (*muyō no hito*) as a trope that contrasts Ryūhoku with

the figure of Fukuzawa Yūkichi, an iconic figure of a former samurai leading Japan's transformation into a modern, capitalist nation. Ryūhoku, the Tokugawa family loyalist with an accordingly much lower profile, is noteworthy precisely because his activities as a citizen and writer of Meiji Japan tellingly capture the complex nuances of a modernity inflected with the culturally specific contradictions of Meiji Japan. Maeda's Ryūhoku essays also testify to the centrality of military institutions as a requirement for modern statehood in an imperialist world.

The Space of Play

Whether we look to his studies of late Tokugawa-era merchant culture–based popular culture, his work on Taishō (1912–1926) mass culture, his readings of contemporary urban entertainment guides like *Pia*, or his analyses of urban space in literary texts, Maeda repeatedly identifies "play" as a part of everyday life that serves variously to diminish, confound, and resist the state. A postmodern inflection of the idea of play is evident in his insistent deconstruction of received categories for apprehending Japanese modernity. If we apprehend Meiji society through its new modern institutions and its exhortation to develop a strong army and create a society in the image of civilization and enlightenment, then it will appear predictably Westward-looking. And, as has become de rigueur, if Japanese modernity is symbolized by cinema, dance halls, cafés, beer halls, and a sudden emphasis on youth culture (e.g., *moga*, *mobo*, juvenile magazines), the complexion of the Japanese modern will be similarly monochromatic. But the theoretical force of play urged Maeda to employ it as both method and subject of inquiry, and he would find mass urban society richly striated by a cultural crossbreeding that was no simple echo of Western modernity. Most important, Maeda would find such cultural "contamination" from top to bottom in Japanese society—among the street people in the depths of Tokyo's slums, in the populist mass culture of Asakusa and Ginza, as well as among the intelligentsia of early twentieth-century Japanese society.

The self-declared "useless" Meiji man Narushima Ryūhoku would come to embody a playful subversiveness that would land him in jail, even as he briefly found employment in the new Meiji government. And play would find explicit and extended address in Maeda's arguably most celebrated work of literary analysis, "Their Time as Children: A Study of Higuchi Ichiyō's *Growing Up*" (*Takekurabe*; chapter 4). In his influential reading, the play of children whose parents live off the world of adult play of the licensed pleasure quarters shunted off to the outskirts of Tokyo becomes a way to understand

labor, friendship, the working class, monied relations, and, of course, childhood in the new calculus of social relations in Meiji Japan. Here Maeda is at his best as he deploys the many permutations of space—the periphery of the city, agricultural production, main street and backstreet, the countryside—where space as both subject and method coalesce in the material articulations of the city. The deadly serious dimensions of play as they are embodied in each of the children, and especially in Midori, destined to become the ultimate plaything in the world of licensed pleasure in its last years of licensing, also becomes an overlooked yet powerful means of demystifying a modern Japan formulated by the horizons of a West-native binary. Also revealing in this essay is Maeda's adroit identification of the gaze and its permutations in a society that, under the mantle of modernity and Western-style progress, increasingly takes on the functions of surveillance (a topic he would revisit and extend in "Prisonhouse"), even in the world of child's play on the margins of Tokyo. In related fashion, the gaze would figure early and prominently to mark the way space, social class, and gender would help define the parameters of Ōta Toyotarō's conduct in Berlin depicted in Ōgai's "The Dancing Girl" ("Berlin 1888," chapter 10).

Travels of a Ragpicker

We are accustomed to viewing the modern in temporal terms. Maeda recognized the problems of reducing historical understanding to simple chronological formulations. Raymond Williams found the residual as a way to capture the multifarious texture and contradictions of a historical moment; Maeda would use space to "discover" simultaneities as the defining feature of city life in post-Restoration Japan. Japan's move to embrace the institutions of a modern nation-state took place during what we now call the age of (Euro-American) empire, and by the 1890s Japan would claim its membership in the modern world by itself colonizing neighboring countries. By turning his attention to lived space, Maeda was able to interpellate a variety of subjects—social critics, revolutionaries, the working class, and the lumpen proletariat—who, at varying points, would contest such space with officials of the Meiji state who were eager to appropriate, regulate, and manage that space.

Unlike space that is marked off in advance by the state, such lived space takes shape only when contingencies (an event or encounter) in turn give meaning to the space they inhabit. In a short essay written for a general audience entitled "Machi no yomi-kata: Bungaku ni arawareta toshi fūkei" (Reading the city: Urban landscape in literature), Maeda observes that stu-

dent activities in the late 1960s represented a revolutionary moment that also changed the functions and meanings given to urban space.[11] In the late 1960s, the bus terminal at the west exit of Shinjuku Station was quickly turned into a plaza where youth held frequent antigovernment demonstrations, rallies, and street theater that spread even to the space of shrine compounds. To prevent the performance of such unauthorized events in the future, the government rebuilt the west side into a multilevel driveway for controlled vehicular access that was pointedly unsuited for mass mobilization. Maeda would not live to see the resolution to yet another unwanted "contingency" in the early 1990s, when the homeless built their cardboard village in the lower pedestrian levels of the station's west exit, and the government would eventually "reclaim" this public space, this time by installing a moving pedestrian walkway and planting "decorative" plastic figures into the floors to prevent the homeless from using the space for shelter.

Space that belongs to such events or comes to be "claimed" by the uses put to it by ordinary citizens typically fails to receive institutional recognition. What the phenomenal encounter through walking had once given names, new modes of transport (cars and trains) have reduced to instrumental points on a map or simply eliminated. Thus, maps show the locations of government buildings and list the official names given to monuments, but they do not record what a work like Tayama Katai's *Tokyo no sanjūnen 1885–1915* (Literary life in Tokyo 1885–1915, 1917) is replete with: the name of a hill, a valley, the corner plaza, alleyways, a small pond, a large tree at a bend in the road, an informal gathering spot—in short, the features that have meaning to locals in everyday life. Maeda lamented this phenomenon of lost names as a process of homogenizing urban space and the evacuation of the things that helped give meaning to everyday life. He pointed to such contemporary literary works as Murakami Haruki's *Kaze no uta o kike* (Listen to the song of the wind) and Tatematsu Wahei's "Mitsugetsu" (Honeymoon), wherein place is typically rendered abstract and naming is eschewed entirely even when the stories are clearly set in Tokyo.

Not surprising in a scholar-critic who valued the quiddity of cityspace, Maeda himself would frequently take to the road, traveling both far and close to home to discern the meaning of urban space in a register often ignored or erased, whether by officialdom, new transport, or contemporary literary practice. Walking trips along the avenues, besides landmarks, and in nameless places in the very urban landscapes that inspired much of modern Japanese literature were integral to Maeda's idiosyncratic approach to historical understanding as it was transposed into the key of literature. The gaze, the body in space, and phenomenal experience would come to be not just the subject

of his critical practice, but an important component of his "method." Both his interest in the theoretical notion of (sociohistorical) "contingency" and an abiding love of the city would help make the field trip an important part of his scholarly practice.

Meiji-era Japanese literature itself comes marked by travel—within the city and the nation and well beyond its borders—and Maeda retraced the steps of literary characters and authors in such cities as Chicago, Berlin, Shanghai, and Tokyo. His seminal work on modern Japan's preeminent woman writer, Higuchi Ichiyō, set in a neighborhood adjacent to the pleasure quarters, led him to sites for repeated excursions, although in the years Maeda was revisiting these sites, the "pleasure quarters" could be identified only by a remaining five-foot-long segment of the original ditch that separated the quarters from residential neighborhoods and a lone willow tree replanted and memorialized as the tree that Ichiyō's short story "Child's Play" had depicted in its memorable opening scene. Maeda was part scholar of expansive erudition, as evident in the many, often abstruse, forgotten literary works and figures that he revisited, and part ragpicker, or *bataya*, digging through the rich layers of "stuff" or "things" whose very plenitude, even in the deepest slums of Tokyo, epitomized modern urban life (see "Prisonhouse," "Panorama," and "Recesses of the High City"). And as he explored the city at street level, he insistently sought to make modernity something more than a parochial phenomenon confined to any particular cultural or geographic landscape, whether identified with Paris, Berlin, or Tokyo. Maeda's interest in the field trip—to the serpentine alleyways in both the high and low city sections of Tokyo that were integral to his readings of Kawabata, Sōseki, Kafū, the backstreets of Berlin that served as setting for Ōgai's "Dancing Girl," the topography of Shanghai that would inform his reading of Yokomitsu Riichi's novel *Shanghai*—was simultaneously an expression of his theoretical inclinations. His many forays into terrain vaguely mapped by literature or the work of urban ethnographers like Matsubara Iwagorō, the author of *In Darkest Tokyo* (1893), was in large part determined by his interest in the body as both the locus of meaning production and an effective means for his sustained problematization of the enduring ideology of the "modern subject" (kindai jiga). More than just figuratively, for Maeda the city and urban space was the *embodiment* of modern life, and in more than one essay of Tokyo's entertainment district, Asakusa, becomes a gigantic anthropomorphized organic subject that lives by ingesting, digesting, and disgorging ("Prisonhouse").[12]

Whether it is his masterful analysis of Midori on the cusp of becoming the most abject form of plaything-commodity in the world of licensed pleasure quarters or his intense interest in the plenitude of "things" that mark urban

life, we might refer back to the ragpicker as a label that nicely fits Maeda, who himself relished this role even as he critiqued the commodification of city dwellers and the accoutrements of urban life. Maeda's familiarity with Benjamin's and Baudelaire's work may suggest the flâneur, which Bruce Mazlish describes this way: "In the middle of the nineteenth century in Western Europe the *flâneur* emerges as a new sort of hero, the product of modernity at the same time as heralding its advent. He is the 'spectator' of the modern world, as it manifests itself in the capitalist metropolises, especially Paris, strolling its streets and lovingly regarding his own image in the glass of the arcades and the new department stores."[13] While sharing these characteristics, Maeda resists the self-insinuation of the flâneur into the spectacle of the streets, adopting instead, the practiced eyes of the bataya, who must discern the artifacts of everyday life, collecting what others deem useless and putting it to the imaginative uses his fertile imagination would confer. At the same time, the bataya does not exactly participate in the creation and perpetuation of commodified life. Such a liminal role undoubtedly appealed to Maeda.

Mapping Culture

To Maeda Ai, for whom the interrogation of "representation" underlay everything from his readings of literary texts to his exploration of space in its many permutations, maps provided a particularly rich medium for exploring their intersection. His analysis of Isoda Kōichi's widely read work, *Shisō to shite no Tokyo* (Tokyo as thought, 1978) is probably his most celebrated, if controversial example of such work.[14] Isoda's discussion of an Edo-period map of Tokyo has become canonical: the vast emptiness of the castle grounds in the center around which waterways spiral out into concentric rings; samurai residences indicated by names written with the top facing the direction of the center from all locations of the city, with all shrines and temples named in reverse with the words facing away from the center. Isoda argued that the placement of the samurai family names reflected homage paid to their feudal lord in the center, whereas the temple and shrine names were written facing away from the central castle to designate their function as guards facing outward to confront evil from without. The word for castle, he noted, was written "upside down" on a map that shows the direction west at the top. The character printed upside down, asserted Isoda, expressed deliberate disrespect to the former head of state, the emperor, residing to the West (in Kyoto).

Maeda would frame the map itself—by repositioning the Edo-era map into its own enunciative moment—leading to rather different attributions of meanings. European maps, he observed, were designed to be viewed hanging on a wall, and accordingly the words appear right-side up from the viewing perspective that is away from the wall. But Japanese maps were placed on tatami mats, with viewers seated surrounding the map on all sides. The names of samurai who resided on these lots were written to accommodate those seated around the map. The person of highest rank would be seated at the top (west) of the map, and though to us the word for castle in the middle looks upside down, it would be right-side up for the occupant of that honored position. Maeda explains the upside-down word for castle (*shiro*) as well as the direction of writing for temple and shrine names by noting that naming was historically viewed as a disrespectful practice requiring some method of mitigating or softening the affront implied in such directness. The characters in *The Tale of Genji* are named only by the rooms or wings they occupy, and in writing the emperor's title the first character was often omitted (*ue no ji o akeru*). Hence, written characters denoting the location of the head of the nation and the names of temples and shrines must have been written to appear upside down or at an angle as a mark of polite indirection. Maeda was careful to affirm Isoda's contention that a map comes inscribed with the ideologies of its time. But he attempted to restore what he felt was missing in Isoda's otherwise impressive reading: the historical context of the map as an artifact reflecting the meanings given to social relations, things, and space that the map would yield most clearly by being repositioned into the semiotics of Edo cartography.

When Roland Barthes came to Japan to walk its streets in the 1970s, Maeda was struck by the conjuncture of text (map) and everyday life (walking) that would result in the production of a narrative reading of the city (*Empire of Signs*), leading him to observe that "the novel is a text/product of the city" ("shōsetsu wa toshi no shomotsu de aru"). It is this confrontation—between text and street, map and user, pedestrian (flâneur?) and place—that Maeda recognized and studied as the site where meaning was produced in everyday life. Accordingly, virtually every essay in this anthology pursues, in one form or another, urban space as the site of productive friction, as he strove "to bring into confrontation the oppositional aspects of the city as an expression of the System (central authorities) and the city as the space of desire."

Having spilt this much ink (or "processed so many words"?) to convey something of the approach and range that characterized Maeda's work, let me end with a simple observation that is perhaps all the reader really needs to know: Maeda read literature, history, cultural practices, maps, and events with a brilliance rarely encountered in his day or ours. His studies are sure to lead the reader to unexpected and welcome "pleasures of the text."

Notes

The place of publication for Japanese works, unless otherwise noted, is Tokyo.

1 For a critical look at Maeda's scientific theorizing, see, Joe Murphy's "Maeda Ai: Topology and the Discourse of Complexity in Japanese Literary Criticism," in *Metaphorical Circuit: Negotiations between Literature and Science in 20th Century Japan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell East Asia Series, 2003), 142–179. Heidegger and Poulet are used by Maeda when he explores the relationship between textuality and space, which keys the way he can relate literature to its largely urban context. The reader must refer to such essays as "The Text of Space, the Space of the Text" ("Kūkan no kekusuto tekusuto no kūkan") and *A Primer for Literary Texts* (*Bungaku tekusuto nyūmon*), which also appeared as a book, in volume 1 of his *Selected Works*, Maeda Ai, *Maeda Ai chosakushū* (Chikuma Shobō, 1989–1990).

2 I have sacrificed consistency for a kind of place-specific logic in presenting book titles. For example, Edward Fowler explicitly lays out his rationale for using *Takekurabe* instead of an English translation of the title throughout the essay he has translated as "Their Time as Children." Whenever practical, however, an English-language title is used for the title of literary works, especially when an English-language translation of the work is available, as in *And Then* for Sōseki's *Sorekara*. Nonliterary works, such as *Nihon no kasō kaikyū*, even though well-known, are generally presented with their translated titles—*Japan's Under Class*, in this example. Meant to accommodate non–Japan specialists and specialists alike, I am guessing that the *effect* created by following these procedures will appear far more "natural" and sensible than does this convoluted note seeking to explain them.

3 The six volumes are *Bakumatsu ishin-ki no bungaku: Narushima Ryūhoku* (The literature of the late Tokugawa-Meiji Restoration era: Narushima Ryūhoku), *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* (The rise of the modern reader), *Higuchi Ichiyō no sekai* (The world of Higuchi Ichiyō), *Genkei no Meiji* (The phantom landscape of Meiji), *Toshi kūkan no naka no bungaku* (Literature of urban space), and *Tekusuto no yūtopia* (The utopia of the text), all published by Chikuma Shobō from 1989 to 1990.

4 Instead of situating Maeda Ai's work in relation to two prominent, recent translations of Japanese literary-critical works, Karatani Kōjin's *The Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* and Kamei Hideo's *Transformations of Sensibility*, I have chosen to outline the contours of his critical range in the form of an abbreviated introduction to the essays selected for inclusion. I refer the reader of this volume to the superb editor's introduction to Kamei's book (by Michael Bourdaghs) and to Kamei's preface for the English translation, which serves as a kind of genealogical tracing of *Transformations* at the same time that it provides a concise intellectual history of what might be called the theory and the politics of subjectivity in mostly recent-postwar Japan. Although Kamei does not mention Maeda by name—he wrote what was on balance a critically supportive review of Maeda's *Toshi kūkan* shortly after its publication (see Kamei Hideo, "Maeda Ai cho: *Toshi kūkan no naka no bungaku*," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* [January 1984]: 67–71)—we can see the divide in sensibilities that marks Kamei's rigorous and steadfast interest in what Bourdaghs identifies as focused concern with addressing Japanese modernity by engaging the linguistic immanence of Japanese literature as opposed to Maeda's equally tenacious exploration of Japanese literature via nonnative Western European theory, particularly as it informs Maeda's own theorizing of culture and native urban space. In this volume, I have let this selection of essays appearing in a wide array of venues spanning a good part of his career give shape to the populist dimensions of Maeda's oeuvre.

5 Along with such contemporaries in kindred fields as Minami Hiroshi, Tsurumi Shunsuke, and Amino Yukihiko, who immediately come to mind.

6 For another effective recent challenge to *jiga*-centered approaches to modern Japanese literature around the same years, see Kamei Hideo's phenomenologically informed studies, including his study recently translated as *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*, translation edited and with an introduction by Michael Bourdaghs (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002).

7 This intention is affirmed in such essays as "Toshi no kaidoku" (Decoding the city) and in his afterword to *Toshi kūkan no naka no bungaku* (Literature in urban space).

8 See Nakai Norihiro, "*Toshi Keikaku* and *Machi-zukuri*," in *Social Science Japan* (Newsletter of the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo) 23 (April 2002): 17–19.

9 Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 32.

10 Kawabata's *Asakusa kurenaidan* is forthcoming in a translation by Alisa Freedman as *The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa* from the University of California Press. An extended discussion of the novel is provided by Seiji Lippit in *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

11 *Maeda Ai chosaku-shū*, vol. 5, *Toshi kūkan no naka no bungaku* (Chikuma Shobō, 1989).

12 See his "Toshi o yomu" (Reading the city) and "The Utopia of the Prisonhouse."

13 Bruce Mazlish, "The *Flâneur*: From Spectator to Representation," in *The Flâneur*, ed. Keith Tester (London: Routledge, 1994), 43.

14 "Toshi o kaidoku suru" (Deciphering the city), in *Maeda Ai chosaku-shū*, 5:401–419.

7. From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading:

The Rise of the Modern Japanese Reader

(Ondoku kara mokudoku e: Kindai dokusha no seir

TRANSLATED BY JAMES A. FUJII

As in many of Maeda's best works, close attention to literary concerns pries open dimensions of social history that historians have hitherto missed. By foregrounding everyday practices of reading in the Meiji era, Maeda's essay radically revised the genealogy of the Japanese modern novel (*shōsetsu*)[1] as he simultaneously reworked the significance of such figures familiar in the study of the vernacular (*genbun'itchi*) novel such as Tsubouchi Shōyō and Yamada Bimyō. Varied practices of reading—from family performances to nation-building sermons and homosocial *shosei* (male higher school students) recitations in private academies, to name a few—are stitched together in Maeda's magisterial study that inaugurated the interrogation of the modern Japanese novel, which remains an area of vital research in Japanese literature today. Through a finely nuanced discussion of multiple practices of reading and of writing as performance, Maeda shows how they played key roles in the production of the modern prose narrative form (shōsetsu). At the same time, Maeda limns for us the middle decades of the Meiji era that opens up the nation to modernity as a moment of failed community, where solitary reading and privatization echo the silencing of not just reading, but of sociality that found brief expression in the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement (Jiyūminken undo).

1

Today we take for granted that the novel [*shōsetsu*] is something to be read alone in silence, but when by chance we encounter an elderly person's idiosyncratic intoning of a newspaper, we begin to realize that the habit of silent reading became widely established perhaps only with the last two or three

generations of readers.[2] A look at the Meiji-era reader as he or she appears in such places as diaries and memoirs, moreover, reveals somewhat unexpectedly how vital and firmly rooted was the attachment to the pleasures of reading aloud.

In his autobiography written after the war, Ishikawa Sanshirō (1876–1957), one of the leading theorists of anarchism, records how deeply he was impressed by his mother's bedtime stories from *Records of Kusunoki* [*Kusunoki kōki*] and *Tales of Seidan* [*Ōoka seidan*].[3] He further relates with great interest touching scenes of his father and older brother reading aloud together about the storm clouds of civilization and enlightenment as they threatened the intellectual climate of the rural elite living along the Nakasendō corridor: "Father, too, enjoyed listening to my brother read various works, and I remember Father having him read for him *Han-Chu War Chronicles* [*Kanso Gundan*] and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* [*Sangokushi*]. Sometime later, my father who went all the way to Tokyo to purchase Fukuzawa Yukichi's *An Encouragement of Learning* [*Gakumon no susume*], had him read it."[4]

Han-Chu War Chronicles and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* may very well have been borrowed from a book rental store. In the earlier years of Meiji, families with their own copies of readers [*tokuhon*] and military chronicles [*gunki-mono*] were rare, so possession of such works borrowed from rental stores or friends was apparently occasion for group reading involving the whole family. In Yamakawa Hitoshi's (1880–1958) *Record of an Ordinary Person: The Biography of Yamakawa Hitoshi* [*Yamakawa Hitoshi jijoden: Aru bonjin no kiroku*] we find a similar account of reading practices of the time:

> When I was a youth, reading material was scarce . . . and in the countryside, after the demise of bookstores dealing in woodblock prints, there were not yet any new bookstores selling books printed with movable type. . . . When I was in grade school, a newspaper ad piqued my interest in a book on natural history and I took the trouble to order it from Fuzanbō of Tokyo. Unless it was an exceptional case, families did not have their own libraries, and in our home we just had some works along the lines of *The Analects of Confucius* [*Rongo*], *Mencius* [*Mōshi*], *Selected Tang Dynasty Poems* [*Tōshi sen*], and *The Unofficial History of Japan* [*Nihon gaishi*]. One winter I borrowed *The Eight Retainers of Satomi* [*Satomi Hakkenden*] from a friend whose family had a copy, and my father would give a nightly spirited reading. All of us in the family listened—mother mending clothes, my older sister knitting. Then, a year or two later, the urge hit our family again, so I went out to borrow the book and we resumed our nightly performances.[5]

In Higuchi Ichiyō's diary covering the period from 1891 to 1892, there are repeated entries in which we find Ichiyō reading novels to her mother, Takiko. It is also worth noting that March 1892 was the month that Ichiyō's maiden work, *Flowers at Dusk* [*Yamizakura*], appeared in the literary magazine *Musashino* on the recommendation of Nakarai Tōsui.[6]

> 16 September 1891: After sunset, I read *Gleanings from Yoshino* [*Yoshino shūi*] to my mother.
> 12 March 1892: Tonight I read some passages from a story for Mother.
> 18 March 1892: After a particularly spirited dinner, I read aloud from various works by the masters to my mother.
> 24 March 1892: After dark, I read a few stories to my mother.[7]

Ishikawa Sanshirō's father had served as the headman of Honjō, Yamakawa Hitoshi's had been responsible for overseeing storage charges as the warehouse superintendent under the shogunate vassalage, and Ichiyō's father was a government clerk for the Metropolitan Police—each figure, in other words, came from a middle-class family without intellectual pretensions. Even so, it appears that they all viewed the novel, not as something for private appreciation, but as the object for the whole family's edification and entertainment. Today, we are on the verge of forgetting how reading was very much a communal activity.

In my view, this communal practice linking reader to listener echoes the way life was lived by the Japanese family. To be more specific, this reading practice is associated with the absence of privacy that some time ago Lafcadio Hearn had identified as being the defining feature of the Japanese family: "And in this world of paper walls and sunshine, nobody is afraid or ashamed of fellow-men or fellow-women. Whatever is done is done, after a fashion, in public. Your personal habits, your idiosyncrasies (if you have any), your foibles, your likes and dislikes, your loves or your hates, must be known to everybody. Neither vice nor virtue can be hidden: there is absolutely nowhere to hide them."[8] Until quite recently, if not overtly critical about reading novels, more than a few families did not exactly welcome the practice. Might this reflect not so much concern with any ill effects the novel could exert on their readers as uneasiness with the idea of a reader shutting himself or herself away in the world of the novel and thereby threaten to undermine the sense of familial unity that Hearn saw in the Japanese family? In the early years of the Meiji era, when Confucian morality firmly held sway, the novel was dismissed as being little different from a plaything, and in fact, such genres as *kusazōshi* [illustrated storybooks] were treated as a kind of parlor game for the whole family. Hasegawa Shigure's (1879–1941) *Old News of*

Nihonbashi [*Kyūbun Nihonbashi*] is an interesting chronicle of the everyday life of middle-class downtown Tokyoites in the second decade (1870s-1880s) of the Meiji period.[9] It tells us that kusazōshi were read aloud after dinner in the recesses of the house warmed by a large brazier, where all the women in the house, the children, and the maids gathered around in a family circle to enjoy paper lantern shows, *kishago-hajiki*,[10] and needlework, with the grandmother taking the lead in song, and at other times delivering disquisitions on ethics [*shūshin-dan*]. Many who lived through the Meiji era remember with acute nostalgia their childhoods when grandmother, mother, or older sister unraveled the mysteries of the kusazōshi.

We must not overlook the connection between the practice of reading aloud and low literacy rates in this era, particularly in relation to women, children, and readers who belonged to the classes below the middle class. There is very little material that directly records writing and reading ability of the masses in the early years of Meiji. According to an 1888 survey tracking the educational attainment of young men in Ishikawa Prefecture, 1,869 out of 4,583, or roughly 41 percent, possessed the competency to read on their own as measured by their facility with texts widely used for basic instruction [*ōrai-mono*] in temple schools.[11] This relatively low literacy rate represents the level attained by the first cohort group of young men who had been educated under the new school system established in 1872. The level of education attained by women was even lower than that of their male counterparts; for example, school enrollment figures for 1887 show around a 60 percent rate for boys compared to 28 percent for girls. In her lifetime, Ishikawa Takuboku's mother, renowned as the most talented female student to attend the Senboku temple school at the end of the Tokugawa era, produced only forty-five letters written in *hiragana* [the simple, phonetic writing system],[12] and Ichiyō's mother, who was a farmer's daughter from Kōshū, could just manage bookkeeping in *kana*.[13] As illustrated by the scene in [Tsubouchi Shōyō's] *Tōsei shosei katagi* [The character of modern students] where the geisha Tanoji reads in a whisper the *Iroha Shimbun* [The A-B-C newspaper] that her friend has tossed away, it was common practice for a poorly educated woman or child reading alone to simply pick out the main points he or she could understand. Such limited literacy predisposes one to this simple if indirect method of comprehension—of listening to someone else's reading. Among those who frequented the book lenders in the early modern era [*kinsei*], particularly readers of *ninjōbon* [romantic stories], such methods were common. For example, in Tamenaga Shunsui's *Sweet Conversations* [*Eitai dango*] there is a scene in which Momiji Ofusa's lover Minejirō reads the ninjōbon *Sono kouta hiyoku no murasaki* [That little ballad, this adorable couple]

to her sisters under mosquito netting.[14] *Shungyō Hachiman kanen* depicts Fukagawa geisha whiling the afternoon away reading rental books,[15] and in *The Maidens of the Seven Spring Flowers* [*Otome Nanakusa*] a young woman begs her older sister, the proprietess of a pleasure boat, to read to her.[16] Ubiquitous in Shunsui's work, such scenes not only faithfully portray the reader of ninjōbon, but also provide his readers with hints about how to read and enjoy his work. They also hold one of the keys to unlocking the mystery of Shunsui's writing style, which was designed to please the ear [*chōkaku-teki na sutairu*].[17]

The appeal of the prose narrative form called *gesaku* ["playful" prose narrative forms] that circulated widely through the book rental outlets during the late Tokugawa era extended beyond the literate class [*shikijisha*] and began to create a new, latent readership [*senzaiteki dokusha*]. In his distinctly suggestive way, Yanagita Kunio observed that the practice of listening to written material borrows from the tradition of oral literature,[18] and in this case one can say that such new readers begin to appear in the very process of a written literature spreading among the masses whose interest in the literary arts has been nurtured by oral literary traditions. While this tradition provided interest in and demand for reading material, the new reader was deficient in both ability and desire to engage in independent reading, or, to put it more bluntly, he or she was reluctant to read for private comprehension, preferring instead the pleasure of listening. As I see it, the modern literary genre that contributed most spectacularly to the rise of this reader was the ninjōbon, with its primarily female readership. The ninjōbon reader was also the audience who sought accessible, small-format reprints of such popular performance art forms as kabuki, *onkyoku* [samisen-accompanied songs], *hanashi* [tales], and *kōdan* [historical narratives].[19] To borrow the words of Moriyama Shigeo, this was a reader "whose foundation had been laid by prior visual and auditory cultural traditions."[20] In the case of a form like ninjōbon, replete with elements of traditional popular performance arts, the relationship between writer and reader is modeled on the theatrical setting of an on-stage performer addressing an audience of listeners. Records show that Tamenaga Shunsui would sit on stage with Kenkonbō Ryōsai and deliver oral recitations of his own work, *Colors of Spring: The Plum Calendar* [*Shunshoku umegoyomi*, 1832–33],[21] giving credence to the view that Shunsui's works ought to be considered not so much as *shōsetsu*[22] as something like Enchō's stenographic notes [*kōen sokki*] for his oral performances.

The early years of Meiji, when the introduction of movable type print led to an unprecedented increase in the production of inexpensive printed matter, was a time when the proportion of literati to an incipient mass reading public would shift dramatically in favor of the latter. A society experiencing

the heady changes of "civilization and enlightenment" demanded that the masses consume an immense volume of information. Both the newspaper reading groups [*shinbun kaiwa kai*] that were led by public-spirited villagers who gathered their neighbors for reading sessions, and the "sermons" delivered to the masses by Buddhist and Shintō priests who used material from newspapers and "The Three Principles" ["Sanjō no kyōken"][23] to explain the ins and outs of civilization and enlightenment or the ideology of the imperial restoration [*ōken fukkō*] employed printed information supplemented by oral presentation. What gave birth to this new peculiar hybrid form of communication was the unsettled marketplace of communicative possibilities in a transitional period.

It was a time when newspapers were enlivened by moving anecdotes about parents who were inspired to subscribe to a newspaper after hearing their grade-school children read from them.[24] From around the late 1870s gesaku narratives from rental shops began to lose readers to serialized novels in the newspapers. The convenience of daily morning newspaper delivery reduced to a relic the rental book vendor who would make his rounds every three days with a large package of books on his back, wrapped in a *furoshiki* (cloth used for wrapping and carrying gifts). When "little newspapers" [*koshinbun*][25] began gaining acceptance into private households, they were read aloud for aural appreciation. In the following passage from *The Curious Fate of Hanaoka* [*Hanaoka kien-dan*], a merchant's daughter begs a young clerk to read to her from a serialized work: "When she beseeches him to leave the accounts for the evening and to come back [living quarters were typically set back from the storefront] and read her today's installment in the newspaper, Sannosuke refuses saying that since she only likes romantic and love-suicide stories and thus nothing of any worth, it is a waste of money to buy a newspaper."[26] In chapter 15 of *Tōsei Shosei Katagi* there is a similar passage, where the courtesan Kaodori has her guest, Yoshizumi, read from the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

The scene of a family gathered together in a room reading and enjoying a novel is suggestive of the custom wherein the whole family sits together listening to the radio in the living room after dinner. By the mid-1950s, when portable transistor radios had been invented and the television set had become the center of entertainment in the living room, radio-centered communality broke down, and radios moved into private chambers and bedrooms for solitary listening. These changes brought transformations in the nature of radio broadcasts and the style of radio announcing; for example, late-night radio announcers began to address solitary listeners in hushed tones, temporarily creating a space for private communication. In contrast to the remarkable transformation in radio listening practices that lasted a decade beginning in the 1950s, the shift from communal to private reading practices took place at a much slower pace. Put differently, the novel was marked by the somewhat lengthy coexistence of both solitary reading and communal modes of reception.

2

The still prevalent practice in the early Meiji years of communal reading involving a single reader surrounded by several listeners reflected such conditions as the absence of privacy in the household, a low literacy rate, and the tradition of gesaku literature rooted in popular performative arts [*minshū engei*]. Although it cannot be denied that reading aloud was an effective means of communicating simultaneously to multiple listeners who each had their own expectations of the material being read, such practice was not something that necessarily signified an inner motivation at work that was strong enough to immediately stir up interest and admiration for the act of reading aloud in this reader-as-performer. Students educated at the level of temple schools, where language instruction was carried out through calligraphic practice using *ōraimono* [instructional readers] and *jitsugokyō* [a type of buddhist text], were clearly able to read texts aloud and be moved by their rhythms. Whether or not they developed the sensibilities to thoroughly appreciate the rhythms of writing or gained the capacity to read a text aloud and appreciate its aural qualities is linked to their experience with the Chinese classics through *sodoku*, where one reads only for sound without attending to meaning.

Let me clarify my discussion by sorting out *ondoku*, or reading texts aloud, into two types: the first might be characterized as a method of transmission, a recitation [*rōdoku*] that aids in the task of comprehension, the second type a performative recitation [*rōshō*] where the primary focus is on conveying the rhythms of a text through sonorous reading. The first type, rōdoku, embraced primarily by the masses, was suited for family-centered communal readings. Such literary styles as gesaku narratives, small newspaper serials, Meiji-style *gōkan* [bound volumes], and transcriptions of kōdan belong to this lineage. The second type, rōshō, came to be emblematic of the *shosei*, advanced students who had received instruction in reading Chinese classics aloud with no regard for understanding their meaning [sodoku, henceforth "sound-reading"]. Their ritualistic practice of intoning these classics helped give shape to a communitarian space for students whether at school, boardinghouse, dormitory, or political association. It was Chinese poetry,

readers [*tokuhon*], editorials of the large newspapers, and political novels that corresponded to this second type of reading aloud. Let me briefly outline this second type, which I neglected in part 1.

Children of former samurai and the wealthy and powerful families in the provinces had begun sound-reading of the Chinese classics, in some cases by age 5 and at the latest by 10. Some examples from prominent figures whose childhood years spanned the late Tokugawa–early Meiji transition are:

Ueki Emori (1857–1892): at age 11, enters the Domain academy for literary and military arts [*hankō bunbu kan*] and is instructed in the punctuation of the *Nine Chinese Classics*. (Ueki Emori den)

Mori Ogai (1862–1922): at age 5 begins his studies with the *daimyō* scholar Yonehara Tsunae, sound-reading the Chinese classics, and in the following year enters the Tsuwano Domain School of the Elders.

Tokutomi Sohō (1863–1957): at age 8, his maternal grandfather begins instruction through sound-reading of the Confucian *Analects*; prior to this, had been prepared by his mother with college reader of *Analects*. (Sohō jiden)

Saganoya Omuro (1863–1947): at around age 5 receives instruction in the Four Chinese Classics through sound-reading by his father, and after the latter's imprisonment for his part in the Ueno Rebellion, his older brother and uncle take him through book 2 of *Mencius*. (Saganoya Omuro denbunsho)

Kōda Rohan (1867–1947): begins sound-reading lessons with *The Book of Filial Piety* [*Kōkyō*] with a teacher of Chinese named Kaneda from Adachimachi at age 7, and continues after his enrollment in Ochanomizu Normal School. [*Shōnen jidai*]

Masaoka Shiki (1867–1902): at age 6 begins sound-reading of *The Analects*, and when 8 or 9, sound-reads Mencius with maternal grandfather. [*Fude makase*]

Taoka Reiun (1870–1912): around age 10, receives a grade school primer from his father, and soon thereafter begins commuting to a schoolteacher's house for sound-reading of *An Abbreviated History* [*Kokushiryaku*], *A History of Warrior Families* [*Nihon gaishi*], and *Jūhasshiryaku*. (From *Sūkiden*)[27]

Even after the new educational system was instituted in 1872, the study of Chinese was highly esteemed among fathers and older brothers, so that while young children were sent to grade school, it was apparently quite common for these children to learn the Chinese classics through sound-reading in their own homes and in private academies. Taoka Reiun recalls, "There was a competitive streak in the way [children] were sent to the private residences of teachers to receive extracurricular instruction in the Chinese classics."[28] Kōda Rohan's daily routine saw him rise while it was still dark and read aloud at the top of his lungs in candlelight, before running off to school. Through such strict discipline, Rohan tells us, "[I] turned the phrases into familiar expressions and memorized them all, so that except for the first two or three pages of the text, I didn't even bother to look at the words in the book [when reciting them later in the classroom]."[29]

The sound-reading of the Chinese classics—wherein repetition of the rhythms and the vibrations of the voiced words creates a kind of "spiritual language" [*seishin no kotoba*] that is radically different from everyday Japanese—represents a form of instruction that imprints the very form of Chinese language [*kango no keishiki*] on the souls of these youth. Even if comprehension of meaning remains beyond reach, the material qualities of the words, their resonance and rhythm, are fully mastered, and the understanding that is attained through reading, explication, and reading groups [*rindoku*] when the students have matured adequately supplements their grasp of these texts. These students whose thinking and literary sensibilities have been cultivated through largely uniform sound-reading instruction become a part of a community of intellectual elites whose shared interest overrides any geographic or class differences. Moreover, this practice of reciting Chinese literature aloud (an ability that presumes a common training that promotes the capacity to respond to the cadence and sounds of Chinese compounds) engenders and strengthens the feeling of community much as, for example, the use of a common regional dialect reinforces a sense of belonging among those from the same locale.

Many a youth who had flocked to Tokyo from all over Japan with dreams of rising in the world first enrolled in a private academy specializing in the study of the Chinese classics [*kangaku juku*]. "For entrance into a national university, the Army-Navy Military School, or law schools, the study of Chinese classics was essential."[30] Additionally, because boarding costs at these academies for the study of Chinese classics were low, many students used them as cheap alternatives to boardinghouses, commuting to their actual institutions of choice from these academies where they resided.[31] In *My Thirty Years in Tokyo* [*Tokyo no sanjūnen*][32] Tayama Katai reminisces about his youth as an apprentice and errand boy at the Yūrindō bookstore, when he was loitering outside the window of his older brother's private academy and listening with envy to the "voices of reading that spilled forth." In the 1870s and 1880s, Tokyo was teeming with these private academies—Nakamura Keiu's Dōjinsha, Mishima Chūshū's Nishō Gakusha, Sugiura Jūgō's Shōkō-juku,

Mukōyama Kison's Kison-juku, Oka Rokumon's Oka-juku, Yoshino Seikyō's Yoshino-juku, to name a few. "Voices spilled forth" not only from the *juku*, but from student boardinghouses. The following letter appeared in the 13 March 1877 edition of the *Yomiuri shimbun*:

> In contrast to the West, in Japan the practice has been to read material lacking grammatical rules, commas, semicolons, or full-stops, each reader freely adding one's own idiosyncratic tonalities—stretching out their syllables like the *dodoitsu*[33] master, Shijo-kotobuki, quoting the same attribution to an unofficial historian's account five times when one would do, adopting the voice of a pilgrim's vocalizations, calling out like a beggar, emitting sounds in the style of a Shinto funeral prayer, or in the manner of burlesque Buddhist scriptures, causing listeners to wonder if comic storytellers had arrived. And then there are some who sound like the calls of a bulletin vendor—all sounds that one can somehow still endure—but the students' voices booming from boardinghouses at night, just about the time people here and there have fallen asleep and keeping others from sleep is something we would like curbed, and, if I might add, to read properly one must punctuate it and speed it up a bit in the manner of the priests of the Shinshū Buddhist sect.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that among the forms of recreation favored by students was the recitation of memorized passages from Chinese-style prose and poetry [*kanshibun*] and the *yomihon* ["elevated" fiction] of Bakin. Ichijima Kenkichi, who had moved from Niigata to Tokyo and was preparing for university entrance, remembers those days this way: "It was all the rage among students to read Takizawa Bakin's shōsetsu such as *Tales of the Eight Retainers of Satomi* [*Nansō satomi hakkenden*, 1814–41], *Tales of the Crescent Moon* [*Chinsetsu Yumiharizuki*, 1807], and *Modern Chronicles of a Handsome Youth* [*Kinsei bishōnen roku*, 1829–32], and the dramatic scenes in *Tales of the Eight Retainers of Satomi* were memorized by many students. If you couldn't recite the separation scene of Shino Hamamichi in *Tales of the Eight Retainers of Satomi* you felt just a little second-rate."[34] Some years later, Masamune Hakuchō observed that when he was a child, "we felt affinity for the writing of Bakin and San'yō, and we read aloud passages from their works much as one might recite poetry."[35] Like Bakin's *yomihon*, the political novel, written in a sonorous simplified Chinese [*kanbun kuzushi*], was a literary form highly suited for oral recitation. It is already well-known that Tōkai Sanshi's *Chance Encounters with Beautiful Women* [*Kajin no kigū*, 1885–97], written in an elegant prose making liberal use of a splendid four-six syllabic meter, with Chinese poems inserted in key passages, was a favorite among students for

reading aloud, and I hardly need to mention the memorable scene in [Tokutomi Roka's] *Dark Eyes, Brown Eyes* [*Kuroi me to chairo no me*, 1914] depictin three hundred boarding students at Dōshisha who interrupt their studies t listen, transfixed by the recitations of Chinese poetry from *Chance Encoun ters with Beautiful Women*.[36] As Emi Suiin, who studied at the Sugiura Jūgō Shōkō Academy, remembers it, the Chinese academy students who typicall didn't pay any attention to cheap romances [*nanpa no shōsetsu*] were strongl drawn to the style of Tōkai Sanshi's *Chance Encounters with Beautiful Wome* and Yano Ryūkei's *Inspiring Instances of Statesmenship* [*Keikoku bidan*, 1883] which they read aloud enthusiastically.[37] As I suggested earlier, in the cas of those students who possessed a shared (trained) fondness for the rhythm of Sinified prose and poetry [*kanshi bun*], oral recitation held the power t stimulate feelings of communal belonging. The prototypes for these practice of reading and enjoyment predate the appearance of the political novels *In spiring Instances of Statesmenship* and *Chance Encounters with Beautiful Women* already mentioned. The manifesto exhorting "our 35 million brothers" in th form of a petition to the National Diet by Taoka Reiun, who spoke for subsidiary branch of the Tosa People's Rights Movement, and village youth who celebrated by singing the "Song of the Fall of Poland" are examples c these communal performative occasions.[38] By promoting communal grou reading in the inner sanctum of student communities like the school, dorm boardinghouse, private academies, and associations, the political novel wa able all the more effectively to serve as a catalyst in promoting sympathy fo the People's Rights Movement. Such activity would begin to resemble th forms of reception accorded epic poetry that was recited aloud in public.

3

David Riesman, well-known as the author of *The Lonely Crowd*, identi fies three stages in the development of culture in a work addressing the his tory of communication.[39] Stage 1 might be designated as the culture of ora communication, stage 2 the era of print culture, and, stage 3 the momen of popular culture defined by such media as radio, film, and television. Thi work by Riesman focuses not so much on the relationship of print culture t inwardly directed subjects as on the trajectory of visual culture (movies an television) that helps gives rise to other-directed beings, but my intentio here is to concentrate on the transitional period between stages 1 and 2, whe print is employed together with oral communication as a means to reproduc or represent orality.

Riesman attempts to grasp the rise of the practice of silent reading in con

nection with Puritanism. Accordingly, the invention of printing in the fifteenth century inaugurates the preparatory stage for print culture and culminates in the spread of an inwardly focused, private reading practice that takes shape under Puritanism in the eighteenth century:

> Even after the appearance of Gutenberg, it took a long time before the current manner of reading became accepted practice. Texts continued to be read aloud even for private reading. In fact, before Dr. Samuel Johnson's dictionary helped create a uniform standard for spelling, each writer used his or her own phonetic renderings of words. But, befitting the severe restraint that we ascribe to the Puritans, they would read the written lines of text at an angle, their heads moving quickly like a shuttle traversing a loom, in unilluminated silence. Thus, it was only in relatively recent times that printed matter helped open the doors leading outwardly as well as to the inner reaches, inviting individuals away from the clamor and noise of others and into solitude.[40]

In addition to social scientists such as Riesman, literary historians concerned with readership have also observed that the age of silent reading was preceded by an era when the practice of reading aloud was gradually abandoned. Taking England for example, they note that in Elizabethan times not only poetry but even prose was written for oral performance. A radically different literary expression conceived strictly as a printed medium (i.e., the prose narrative form of the novel) begins to appear only with the advent of journalism in the early eighteenth century.[41] On the other hand, almost without exception, in the seventeenth century, "reading" signified oral recitation. Punctuation separated words and phrases to aid the proper delivery of words rather than to act as grammatical diacritics.[42] The depiction of domestic scenes with mothers or fathers reading aloud to their children was said to be a staple of eighteenth century popular art in Germany.[43]

In Japan, this period of reading aloud can be thought of as coinciding with the era of woodblock printing, which preceded the importation of movable type print. The early years of Meiji, when woodblock printing was giving way to movable type print, also witnessed the final stages in the transition from what Riesman calls oral communication [*kōwa*] to the written word. This was still an age when the printed word had not quite realized its function as an independent medium in its own right, and was seen partly as a means of presenting or reproducing oral communication. Put differently, this meant that while on the one hand, movable type print functioned as a form of private communication, it was also not uncommon for type print to be employed as a means for communication where the "reader" was a group or commu-

nity—the family, local associations, and groups with shared interests such a the shosei—rather than a solitary individual. The family and its newspaper and gesaku fiction, local and regional associations and their news discussio groups, and communities of like-minded students and intellectuals and th political novel—each in its own way represents a unit of collective reader re ception.

Tsubouchi Shōyō was one of those individuals who experienced and t some extent correctly understood the implications of this shift from readin aloud communally to private, silent reading. His essay "For the Purpose o Promoting Reading" ["Dokuhō o okosan to suru shui"], which appeared i the April 1891 issue of *Kokumin no tomo*, was written at a pivotal moment i his literary career, when his attention shifted from the task of reforming th novel to that of reformulating theater.[44] His ideas in that essay on the natur of literary reception merit special attention.

In the introduction to this piece, he notes that the very difficulty of dis seminating writing back in antiquity when print technologies were absen and paper was a scarce commodity engendered the "necessity of oral reci tation." Employing the work of Homer and Herodotus, Shōyō argues tha the appearance of poetry and other rhythmic compositions in advance o "a-rhythmic" [*muchō*] or prose literature are related to this oral form of pre sentation. Making his points in the form of a soliloquy, Shōyō observes tha in contrast to antiquity, at present, education has become widely available and print technology has developed to create "a world in which writing i immediately transformed into tens of thousands of pieces of printed matte that is silently read by a hundred million people at the same time. The an cients 'read' the work of others with their ears, while people today enjoy th benefit of reading with their eyes." That, he continues, transformed the prac tices of *gakushū*, or learning (which had formerly depended on oral recita tion), into meaningless acts. Shōyō proceeds to advocate a "logical method' [*ronri-teki dokuhō*]—a new reading technique that applies to what he calls a new "method of studying life." Reading must follow the principle of "ex cavating the deep significance of the text, and criticism requires the reade to discern the nature of the author, or in the case of drama, its characters. while interpretation dictates that the reader be prepared to assume the posi tion of that writer or his characters." Although not clear in relation to the practice of reading aloud [ondoku], Shōyō notes that these principles "mus be followed for silent, private reading [*mokudoku*]." Following such guidelines provides the foundation for a kind of belletristic reading practice [*bidokuhō*], which emphasizes the process of representation [*hyōgen katei*]. Premised on the adoption of silent reading [*mokudoku*] as the new rule for reader reception,

bidokuhō required the rejection of the established convention of rōdoku, or recitative reading, so that reading could be given new form in performative expression that was to be found in theater. That is, it had to "express the true will of the author enacted as recitation," and to that end, Shōyō identifies *genbun'itchi* and the scripts of dramatic masterpieces as the written forms suited for such belletristic reading, a practice that requires sensitivity to a tonality that can express emotions ranging from inspiration to sorrow, attentiveness to shifts in cadence and intonation for conveying proper emphases, and care in expressing the required tempo and pauses appropriate to the feelings conveyed by the writing.[45] Shōyō's prescription completely reverses the path of sodoku (recitation without concern for meaning comprehension), which presumes form to be the point of entry for grasping content.

Insofar as this "logical reading method" emphasizes not so much any aesthetic appreciation of writing as understanding its phenomenality, Shōyō's approach shows the reader the proper orientation for appreciating prose. Literary works that are adequate to such a reading method that require the reader to identify with the author or the characters and to relive their thoughts and feelings must, of course, also demand strict models for characters that have been realized by the author's exacting determination to express himself or herself. Without realizing it, Shōyō had outlined the provisions for reader reception of the modern shōsetsu. Let us now turn our attention to how, in fact, the development of literary modernization after the late 1880s intersected with transformations in reader reception.

4

The work that launched Ozaki Kōyō's career, *The Amorous Confessions of Two Nuns* [*Ninin bikuni irozange*], appeared in the April 1889 volume of *A Hundred New Literary Works* [*Shincho hyakushu*]. In May of the following year, under the name of Kyō Wakako a review appeared in the *Publisher's Monthly Review* [*Shuppan geppyō*]. "The reader appreciates more deeply with each reading the fecundity of the elegant prose," she wrote, but praise gives way to some criticism. "However, the preponderance of staccato sentences/phrases [*ku*] makes reading awkward, resulting in prose narrative that is neither *uta* [*noh* chant] nor *jōruri* [dramatic ballad]; I doubt it will please the reader when it is recited."[46] The impression she receives of a "preponderance of staccato sentences" must be criticism that was directed at Kōyō's experimental writing style, marked by short sentences following one another in rapid-fire succession. It is worth noting that her perspective presumes that the language of the shōsetsu must "please the reader when it is recited."

What is evident here is a literary sensibility that is inextricably linke to aural reader reception, wherein appreciation is sought through exclusiv focus on the aesthetics of literary style. This orientation does not exactly lea to a practice of reading that seeks clear and swift understanding of rich an complex ideas as they take shape through writing. The sensibility articulate by Kyō Wakako is realized not through prosaic, transparent language, bu in elevated, baroque, and florid poetic expression. In spite of Kyō Wakako' assertion that the shōsetsu is "neither uta nor jōruri," there is little doub that her notion of prose narration is firmly rooted in the genealogy of thes narrative-recitative forms [*katari-mono*]. Recast in the idiom prevailing i those days, these literary expectations corresponded to the flowing rhythm characteristic of Bakin's style.[47]

Like Kyō Wakako, who felt dissatisfied with *Amorous Confession*'s hy brid elegant-straightforward style of writing [*gazoku-setchūtai*], it is easy t imagine the antipathy felt by traditional readers toward literature written i the new colloquial language, absent the pleasing performative metrics an rhythms of an earlier-age literature. Yamada Bimyō, one of the leading advo cates of the genbun'itchi movement, never missed an opportunity to rebut th simplistic reactions of such readers by raising issues related to the rhythm o language and focusing on, to use his terms, accent [*gochō*], tone [*seichō*], an euphony [*onchō*]. He argued his case on two grounds. Prose literature shoul not be assessed by standards developed from poetic conventions, and th rhythms of prose were fundamentally different from the rhythms of poetry Bimyō's thesis on genbun'itchi was a theory of readership, shedding consider able light on the relationship of author to reader in the 1880s and 1890s.

In the preface to his story, "Fake Diamonds" ["Nise kongō-seki," 1887] Bimyō was already promoting a new set of standards for literary apprecia tion. The prevailing view that written Japanese was distinctly different fro everyday speech, he said, was misguided. Accordingly, he exhorted his audi ence to read novels written in genbun'itchi as if it was spoken Japanese s that they might enjoy them more. More explicit arguments for the reform o orality-centered textual conventions were to follow in March 1888 in "Gen bun'itchi ron gairyaku" [An outline of genbun'itchi].[48] The criticism of gen bun'itchi proponents by those who denigrate the baseness of colloquial lan guage in contrast to the elegance and tonality of classical writing, he said was misguided, for it presumed Chinese and Japanese poetry to provide th standards for judgment, when in fact, syllabic rhythm [*onchō*] was not th most significant aspect of prose texts. Because "colloquial texts express lan guage exactly as it is spoken," it naturally followed that they were to b "read as if one were reading everyday speech." Bimyō's concern for reforming

widely held views on writing and literature would wend its way through his somewhat confusing explanations in "Bun to gochō" [Writing and rhythm][49] and develop into an affirmation of the difference in rhythms and cadences for prose and poetry.[50] This essay, which was written explicitly to challenge Mori Ōgai's "Thoughts on Genbun'itchi," provides thirteen principles of genbun'itchi writing: the last three, which specifically refer to the rhythms of prose, merit our attention:

> Principle 11: It is called stagnation [*jūtai*] when one recites prose and falters [*shiburu*], thereby failing to convey its meaning. When one recites such prose smoothly (without hesitation) and successfully conveys its meaning, it can be designated "flowing" [*fujūtai*] in distinction from "musical" [*gakuchō*].
>
> Principle 12: Even if one successfully conveys the feelings expressed by this prose, and though it may be free-flowing and sincere, such voicing is not necessarily musical.
>
> Principle 13: The term that accurately describes the supreme achievement of prose recitation is "flowing" [fujūtai]. On the other hand, "musical tonality" [gakuchō] best describes the sonorous quality of reciting verse.[51]

Bimyō attempts to identify the rhythms of prose in the very process of reader reception. In order for intention or meaning to be understood by and feelings to be aroused within the reader, what is required is the process of smooth, flowing recitation [*shō shite shiburazu*, literally "reading aloud without hesitation"]. Reading marked by hesitation clouds comprehension and prevents the reader from being moved by the words. For Bimyō, prose is marked by its flowing rhythm, evenness, and a uniform and regular cadence. In other words, he understands the rhythms of prose writing as something that serves as a filter (i.e., to clearly limn) the "meanings" and "emotions" conveyed by the words, rather than as something that (itself) conveys the subtle shifts in intentions/meanings and emotions found in writing.[52] This proclivity to view form and content as separate rather than integral also appears in a work that exerted considerable influence in reshaping the rules of Japanese poetry, Uchida Roan's *Japanese Poetry* [*Nihon inbun ron*]. Allowing for some misunderstanding on the part of both parties in this debate regarding poetry [*shi*] and verse [*inbun*], Uchida Roan is convincing when he states that even as Bimyō argues for poetic style [*seichō*] he does not recognize the presence of the thought or concept within poetry.[53] Roan's criticism pointedly reveals the incompleteness of Bimyō's poetic principles.

Even Mori Ōgai, who generally remained a bystander in the debates over

genbun'itchi, had taken the position that "verse is created to be sung and re cited and appeals to the ear, while prose is meant for reading, beckoning onl to the eyes and the heart."[54] Ōgai had reached the understanding that, as rule, prose was to be read silently, whereas Bimyō had not quite escaped th custom of reading out loud. Although what Bimyō called "reading" [*yomu* was conceptualized in opposition to "recitation" [*ginzuru*], it is clear fron his essay "Writing and Rhythm" ["Bun to gochō"] that he did not have silen reading in mind. For him, the rhythms of prose were conceived in terms o the reader's voice.

Only when genbun'itchi stopped being viewed as "writing that employ vernacular language" or "writing the spoken language exactly as it is," and wa understood as language "written the way one speaks"—that is, genbun'itch language was no longer seen as the transparent rendering of speech but rathe as a vernacularized expression stamped by the author's subjectivity and his o her distinctive style—did it finally attain its status as the language of mod ern literature.[55] The writer freed himself or herself from such stylized adorn ments as rhythm and meter to address the reader in his or her own voice– a voice that is dictated by the writer's own self-awareness and impulses [*sh haku*] rooted in his or her interiority. It is not surprising that the examina tion of prose writing coalesced not around the issue of reading [literally, th "readers' voice"] but on the "voice" assumed by the writer—the line of in quiry pursued by Shōyō and then Futabatei. It is one of the ironies of mod ern Japanese literary history that Futabatei's *Ukigumo* and *Aibiki* were mor effective in urging on a revolution in reader reception than were the copiou arguments found in Bimyō's essays urging reading reform.

5

> Back around 1892, Takase Bun'en was so helpful to me, and I remem ber how he used to tell me what a remarkable character Futabatei was After telling me "you must meet Hasegawa [Futabatei], the likes of whom you will never find in Japan," he proceeded to recite from Part 3, "Miyako no hana" from *Ukigumo* in an entertaining, rhythmic narration.[56]

The passage is taken from Tayama Katai's reminiscence of Futabatei. In his *Thirty Years in Tokyo* Katai credits Bun'en as a figure "who provided surpris ingly profound inspiration in literary matters."[57] Here, I wish to draw you attention to the fact that Bun'en had performed an entertaining rhythmic recitation of a passage from *Ukigumo* for Katai. Bun'en had observed in his "Views on Literature" ["Bungaku iken"]: "Is the prose narrative [*sanbun shō*

setsu] just like the historical narrative [kōdan] delivered from a stage? Even when the intense emotions take expression in the form of prose or poetic voice, isn't it by its very nature unable to escape the characteristics of spoken language *dan'wa*]?"[58] It is said that Bun'en read aloud his 1893 novel, *New Leaves* [*Wakaba*], to Katai.

For those of us who are accustomed to reading *Ukigumo* alone and in silence today, this episode alerts us to its different historical context. Isn't *Ukigumo* a work that was originally intended to be heard much in the spirit of *ninjō-banashi* [traditional melodramas] as they were recited from the stage? Ought we not to at least once again acknowledge that the literary style of this work requires voiced delivery [*koe o tomonatta buntai*]? In his essay "*Ukigumo* no sekai" [The world of *Ukigumo*] Togawa Shinsuke points to three examples found in the first half of *Ukigumo* that illustrate a narrative style [*katari*] that follows the formal conventions of Enchō and other raconteurs: (1) the narrator itself appears in the text to make comments and judgments; (2) the writer himself greets the reader at the conclusion of the tale; (3) interjections are made to solicit the reader's sympathies.[59] In the first half of the work, the author remains a detached bystander and, accordingly, at times assumes the role of interlocutor [*tōjisha*], at times addressing the reader, adding commentary, or performing as the occasion demands.

Let me raise an aspect of *Ukigumo*'s narration that Togawa neglected to address: onomatopoeia [*giseigo*] and mimetic words [*gitaigo*]. For example, here is the passage in part one when Bunzō arrives at the Sonoda household.

> Takai otoko wa genkan o tōri-nukete engawa e tachi-deru to katawara no zashiki no shōji ga surari hiraite toshigoro jūhachiku no fujin no kubi chonbori to shita tsumamippana to, hinomaru no mon o somenuita mukkuri to shita hō to de sono mochinushi no mibun ga shirareru to iu yatsu ga nutto deru.
>
> When the tall man slipped through the entryway and made his way to the hallway, the drawing room door adjacent to him slid open and out popped the head of a girl in her late teens. The little pinched button nose and the plump cheeks as red as the sun on the [Japanese] flag betrayed her rustic origins.[60]

Such mimetic expressions, we all know, borrow from spoken or voiced utterances [*onsei hyōshō*] to convey the essence of the targeted meaning by appealing to the senses. Generally, they are more effectively employed in spoken language than in writing. In the well-known climactic scene when the ghost of Otsuyu appears in Enchō's rendition of *The Tale of the Peony Garden Lantern*

Table 1. Use of Onomatopoeia in Selected Texts[1]

	Narrative Line #	Onomatopoeia Used	Onomatopoei per 10 Lines
Ukigumo part 1	587	140	2.4
Ukigumo part 2	754	144	1.9
Ukigumo part 3	634	65	1.0
Musashino	148	7	0.5
Kochō	199	12	0.6
Botan dōrō 1–8	243	71	2.9

[1]Statistics compiled from Iwanami Bunko editions of these works. (M)

[*Kaidan botan dōrō*, 1884], the sound of the low clogs echoing as they hit the ground—*karan-koron*—very effectively evokes an atmosphere of otherworldliness. Although not as numerous as in *Kaidan botan dōrō*, compared to other genbun'itchi novels of the time, *Ukigumo* employs a large number of these "performing" words.

The decline in the use of onomatopoeia from part 1 to part 3 of *Ukigumo* corresponds to what Togawa Shinsuke calls the transformation of the writer's position from observer [*bōkansha*] to coparticipant [*kyōhansha*]. Even in part 3, their frequency far exceeds such contemporary works as Bimyō's *Musashino* and *Butterfly* [*Kochō*] (see Table 1).

In the preface to his second genbun'itchi work, *A Tune for the Organ* (*Fūkin shirabe no hitofushi*), Yamada Bimyō describes his own work like this: "In short, it is as if you embellished Enchō's notes for his ninjōbon."[61] And in his first genbun'itchi work, *Mockery and Reproof for a Braggart Novelist* [*Chōkai shōsetsu tengu*], one can observe a cartoon-like depiction of the novelist-character who is "either a raconteur-in-training or someone who hammers together some warmed over or imitation novel and butters up the publisher."[62] For example, in the following passage, which appears in *Musashino*, it is abundantly clear that his work is like "embellishing Enchō's own outlines for his ninjōbon": "Even if you close your eyes and quiet the mind and attempt to devote your full attention to reading the Darani Sutra (even though a voice issues forth from the mouth), there is no feeling that comes from the heart. 'Neither present nor absent, active nor quiet, red nor white . . .' these lines resemble the words spoken by Oshimo [in *Botandōrō*]."[63] The passage that

resonates with this one is in part 8 of *Botan dōrō*: "After crawling under the mosquito netting he had hung, Hagiwara struggled to read the Darani Sutra. Nao bo ba gyaba tei ba zara da ra. sa gya ra niri gu sha ya. ta ta gya ta ya. ta ni ya ta on so ro bei. ban da ra ba chi. bō gya rei a sha rei a sha ha rei. It sounded like the rantings of a foreigner that made no sense to him."[64]

This reply corroborates the view that in forging new genbun'itchi writing, like Futabatei, he worked from the bare-bones transcriptions [*kōen sokki*] of Enchō's oral narrations, but in Bimyō's case, we cannot say that his writing assumes Enchō's performance, which was narrated to an audience from a stage. In the following sentence from chapter 2 of Futabatei's *Ukigumo*, we can observe the author-narrator's [*sakusha*] self-referential nod to the reader: "Before I launch into a charming little episode here, why don't we entertain a short biography of Magobei's eldest daughter, Osei."[65] Bimyō's work explicitly avoids such intrusions. This strategy seems to reflect the demands Bimyō placed on his readers to read his works "as one would read ordinary conversation." Accordingly, the vestiges of gesaku flavor found in the first part of *Ukigumo* are absent in Bimyō's *Kochō* and *Musashino*.

However, precisely because Futabatei strove to faithfully incorporate Enchō's manner of recitation, he was able to realize a highly nuanced depiction of interiority in the second half of *Ukigumo*. Togawa is somewhat critical of this gesaku-like style used in the first half of *Ukigumo*, but for Futabatei to achieve what he did in the second half, he first had to actively work through Enchō's narrative style.

Tsurumi Shunsuke identifies the characteristic of Enchō's style in "language as gesture"—"a practice that had disappeared from the world of written language after the Meiji Restoration."[66] For example, Tsurumi notes that in the scene where the masseur, Sōetsu, massages the shoulder of Fukami Shinzaemon in *The True Views of Kasanegafuchi* [*Shinkei kasane ga fuchi*, 1898], removed from their context, such plain expressions as *konna* ["this sort of"] and *kono hidari no kata* ["the left shoulder here"] don't add much in the way of explanation, but deftly employed in a specific context they exhibit their appeal by allowing the reader to experience the singular quality of that scene.[67] It was Tsurumi who observed as an example of "language as gesture" the hollow echoes—*karan-koron*—of the low clogs [*koma-geta*] hitting the pavement to evoke the sensation of ghostliness. And in *The Biography of Shiobara Tasuke* [*Shiobara Tasuke ichidaiki*, 1878], he asserts that it is precisely the tedious, repetitive ineffectiveness of his attempt at seduction in the parting scene between Tasuke and Ao that so effectively expresses the stark pathos of a protagonist with no companion in life and nowhere to go.

In *Language as Gesture*, R. P. Blackmur argues that the repetition of the words "to die, to sleep" that appears in Hamlet's well-known soliloquy work in tandem with the repetition of "to die," not so much to convey some litera meaning, but as itself a *gesture* to arouse dread and fear in the observer/reade [*kankyaku*].[68] This kind of language as gesture—what the materiality of word and language convey in such contexts as the scene from *Hamlet* or the passag in *Shiobara Tasuke ichidaiki*—appears in part 1, chapter 4 of *Ukigumo*:

> Soreyori ka mazu sashiatari *eeto* nan*dak*ke. . . . Sōsō, menshoku no koto c obanihanashite. . . . Sazo iyana kao o suru kottarōna. . . . Shikashi hana sazu ni mo okarenai kara omoikitte konya ni mo oba ni hanashite. . . *Daga* Osei no iru mae dewa. . . . *Cho*[tto] iru mae demo kamawan oba n hanashite. . . . *Daga* moshi are no iru mae de kuchigitanaku demo iwa reta ra. . . . *Cho*[tto] kamawan Osei ni hanashite *iya*. . . . Osei ja nai ob ni hanashite. . . . sazo. . . . Iyana kao. . . . Iya na kao o hanashite. . . kuchi. . . . Kuchigitanaku hanashi. . . . shite. . . . *Aa*, atama ga midareta. . . .[69] [Maeda's emphases]
>
> At any rate, what *was* it now. *um* . . . Oh yeah, I've got to tell my Aunt about losing my job. . . . She's not going to like this, I know. . . . Still, I've got no choice, so I'll bite the bullet and tell her tonight and. . . . *But*, in front of Osei. . . . *Well*, even if Osei is present, *okay*, I'll tell my Aunt and . . . . But, if she chastizes me in front of her. . . . *Wait*, okay, I'll tell Osei no *wait*. . . . *No*, I'll tell my aunt, not Osei. . . . But she'll . . . speak with her offensive face . . . say . . . say abusive things . . . her mouth . . . *ohh*, my head is splitting. . . .

His determination to disclose his unemployment to Osei and the fear of incurring Osei's disdain are locked in struggle within Bunzō. This dissension is directly expressed by the repetition of words alternately addressing his aunt and Osei. The interrupted sentences that mirror the hesitation and indecision in Bunzō, the repetition of words expressing the desires and attachments he feels for the two, and finally, the transition from longer sentences to short broken phrases that illustrate a shift in the rapidity of Bunzō's thoughts—more like short, gasping breaths of thought at the end of the passage—these formal devices permit the reader to "experience" what is being described by the text. Rather than reproducing a psychological analysis of Bunzō's mind by employing concepts [*kannen*] and symbols, Futabatei is able to convey the doubts and hesitations in Bunzō's peripatetic inner state in a way that stimulates and resonates with the reader's own feelings by making extensive use of such immediate properties of language as tempo, rhythm, and other modulations—that is, by employing a method that fully exploits the quali-

ties of language as "gesture." Among the works that helped to advance this approach were Hirotsu Ryūrō's genbun'itchi novel, *Early Winter Chrysanthemums* [*Zangiku*, 1889] and, in more dramatic fashion, the scene in Ozaki Kōyō's *The Gold Demon* [*Konjikiyasha*, *Yomiuri shimbun*, 1897–1903] at the seashore of Atami where Kan'ichi stubbornly repeats the famous soliloquy that begins *kongetsu kon'ya* . . . ["This month, tonight . . ."] might be viewed as an example of such language use. Accustomed to the practice of silent reading rather than reading aloud, our tendency is to eschew this kind of writing. Let me provide one other example of this style, this time from *Ukigumo*, part 1 chapter 9:

> Munen munen Bunzō wa chijoku o totta. Tsui chikagoro to itte ni-san nichi mae made wa, kantō ni chitobakari ni kōge wa aru tomo onaji ikka no kyokuin de, masari otori ga nakereba oshi mo osare mo shinakatta Noboru gotoki inujimono no tame ni chijoku o totta, shikari chijoku o totta. Shikashi nan no ikon ga atte, ika naru gen'in ga atte.
>
> Omou ni Bunzō, Noboru ni koso urami wa are, Noboru ni uramirareru oboe wa sara ni nai. Shikaru ni Noboru wa nan no dōri mo naku nan no riyū mo naku, atakamo hito o hazukashimeru tokken demo motte iru yōni, Bunzō o dokai no gotoku ni mikudashite, inu-neko no gotoku ni toriatsukatte, amatsusae oba ya Osei no iru mae de, chōshō shita bujoku shita.[70]
>
> Damn it, Bunzō felt humiliated. Until a few days ago, even if they were not of identical rank, they had enjoyed close status as colleagues in the same office, and now because of that dog, Noboru, he was humiliated, just humiliated. What could have been the reason, why had Noboru felt such malice toward him?
>
> Many were the reasons for Bunzō to resent Noboru, but why would Noboru detest him? Without rhyme or reason, it was as if Noboru had special license to insult people, looking down on him as worthless, laughing derisively and treating him as if he were a dog or a cat—and all this humiliation in front of his aunt and Osei.

In this passage, the narrator amplifies just how Noboru's affront effectively bottles up Bunzō's anger, which can only be refracted into an inner dialogue of anguished voices intoning repeatedly, "What could have been the reason," and "laughing derisively and insulting him." By interweaving Bunzō's inner voices with the narrator's teasing tone, Futabatei depicted the subtle reactions of the mind in the second half of *Ukigumo*. Just as Enchō was able to differentiate the social standing and character traits of different characters according to their narrative situations, Futabatei similarly portrayed the voices and the drama within Bunzō. The vivid depiction of dialogic confrontation between Noboru and Bunzō, Osei and Bunzō, which we find in part 2, is in fact achieved by Futabatei in his role as performer-entertainer [*engisha-teki yakuwari*].

At this point we are reminded of Futabatei's encounter with Nicholas Gray at the Foreign Language School.[71] Gray's recitations of Russian literature, writes Futabatei, "closely resembled dramatizations of gestures accompanied by vocalizations, hand and feet movement, the eyes gesturing and the head shaking."[72] It hardly needs reiteration how profoundly Futabatei's work was influenced by Gray's method of physically reenacting and bringing to life the characters in Russian literature. Deeply impressed by his oral recitation, Futabatei would borrow his books to take home to read the best passages to himself, but "perhaps because the novelty had worn off, at any rate they weren't as arresting as when the professor had recited them."[73] In the same essay, he notes how boring a poorly delivered *gidayū* recitation was, while the lively performance of a skilled chanter made all the difference. To Futabatei's ears, still reverberating with the voice of oral performance in the classroom, the inability to recapture that experience through silent, solitary reading must have left him unsatisfied. The "language as gesture" that Futabatei had learned from Enchō's narrative performances and put to such effective use in *Ukigumo* must have been stimulated by the remembrance of Gray's classroom orations. (Bimyō was never to experience a similar experience with literary orality.)

Bimyō, whose first genbun'itchi novel employed the copula *da*, switched to the more polite *desu* beginning with his short story collection, *Summer Grove* [*Natsu kodachi*, 1888]. Because the more abrupt da is used in speaking to someone of lower social standing, he tells us that he opted for desu with its associations to the middle class, but even if desu and *masu* fix the relative position of the narrator in relation to the reader, what is lost is the capacity to vividly and realistically reproduce the subtle shifts and gradations of the character's mind, for example, by mixing together the voices of the narrator and characters [as seen in the *Ukigumo* passage quoted above]. Bimyō failed to notice this limitation inherent in the use of a copula that erases such differentiation. It is also possible that because he was not particularly adept at realistic depiction of interiority, he chose a way of writing that sacrificed this capability.

What was the issue that was left to Futabatei to resolve? Both Gray's recitations and Enchō's oral tales were conceived for a group of listeners, and as Fukuda Tsuneari has stated, when *Ukigumo*, which had been influenced

by these narrative forms, depicts the serious psychology of its characters, "in order to candidly narrate the tale while directly addressing the reader [listener], the author [narrator] is compelled to depart from realism and adopt a comic narrative vein."[74] This exaggerated narrative style, inflected by humor and dramatic flair, would be shunned in Futabatei's translation of Turgenev's *Rendezvous* [*Aibiki*, 1888].

6

In "My Favorite Reading" ["Yo no aidoku sho"] Futabatei makes the following observation: "Whenever I wanted to foreground prose rhythms in writing Japanese, I was almost overcome by the difficulty of the task." This prose rhythmicity [bunchō] differs from the vocalized rhythms [seichō], which, in his essay "Our Genbun'itchi Writing" ["Wareware no genbun'itchi-tai"], Bimyō noted, had closer affinities to the old grammar. For Futabatei, the rhythms of traditional Japanese writing (what Bimyō called the old grammar) "somehow lacked variation and seemed devoid of modulation and stops." Futabatei's understanding of and appreciation for prose rhythms came from Professor Gray's recitations of Goncharov's work. If Bimyō's oral rhythms [seichō] denoted a kind of extrinsic rhythm, what Futabatei sought was an intrinsic rhythm immanent in the author's poetic sensibilities; what Gray had displayed through dramatic recitation of Goncharov's work were concrete expressions of such prose rhythms. "Any writing has its own rhythms (the skill with which it is delivered aside) so that even if you read a passage silently to yourself and deliberately flatten out the reading, the rhythms are irrepressibly conveyed to the reader."[75]

It is not that oral reading for the first time reveals these rhythms; rather, it is that silent reading permits us to perceive and to feel the mysterious forms of prose rhythms. Futabatei saw in the very way such prose rhythms resonated in readers' minds solid clues regarding the form and very nature of literature. When he used Japanese writing [*Nihonbun*] to reproduce the rhythms of the Russian literature he translated, we can discern the pains he took in completing this task: "Enchantment [*enrei*] touched with loneliness, such is the poetic sensibility that informs Turgenev's writing. . . . Since his novels are infused with such sentiment, to translate his works without losing it demands writing as if one had become Turgenev, for otherwise one risks missing the rhythm of his prose which conveys that very sensibility. . . . When I translated his work, I conscientiously endeavored to retain this poetic sentiment [*shisō*] and to assimilate my own sensibilities to his."[76] Futabatei was able to accomplish his daring experiment to "assimilate his own sensibilities" to Turgenev's by managing the difficult task of applying Shōyō's "logical method" to a foreign literature, and in place of a Japanese literature he viewed as lacking diversity, metric variation, and shifts in tempo, he succeeded in forging a pliant and highly refined [*sensai na*] prose that could reproduce the rhythms of Turgenev's work. How were the results of his experimentation received by his contemporaries? Let us consider the question through Kanbara Ariake's comments on Futabatei's *The Rendezvous* [*Aibiki*, 1888]. For this young writer, *Ukigumo* was a work with a ponderous rhythm in contrast to the limpid and even musical *impression* [English in original] conveyed by *The Rendezvous*, which he found unforgettable: "In those days when I had just entered middle school and my still youthful powers of literary discernment saw me loudly reciting from *Chance Encounters with Beautiful Women*, the very idea of translated Russian by Turgenev seemed so mysterious. Whenever I began reading it, I was struck by the unusualness of colloquial language skillfully employed in a written text that seemed to murmur familiarly and ceaselessly right next to my ear. I felt an indefinable pleasurable sensation, and, at the same time, germinating somewhere deep within me, a feeling of resistance. I could not explain why I disliked being spoken to with such familiarity."[77] Ariake's description of a "continuous stream of words murmured with a presumed familiarity next to my ear" accurately mirrors Futabatei's intentions to produce "writing that even if read silently to oneself and deliberately flattened out, irrepressibly conveys its rhythms to the reader" so as to reproduce the modulations [bunchō] of writing inextricably tied to its poetic sensibilities. Ariake speaks to the mix of pleasurable shivering and a trace of resistance produced by this private exchange between writer and reader. In solitude, the reader comes face to face with the writer and listens to the hushed whisper of a tale told in confidence. The reader on whom was conferred the privilege of participating in this kind of mystery—is that not what we call the modern reader? Although Ariake does not refer to it in his reminiscence, it is worth adding that as an important condition for creating the sensation of erasing the psychological distance separating the writer from the reader, the use of the vantage point of peeping [*nozoki*]—the most emphatic and sensational of first-person perspectives—must be noted. What was devised was a point of view that assumed the role of co-conspirator gazing at the scene of clandestine activity along with the writer. In the earlier works written in colloquial language, first-person accounts frequently take the form of the writer directly narrating to the reader, but the artless and frank stance adopted in these confessional and life-story formulas such as Bimyō's *Crepe Wrap* [*Fukusazutsumi*, 1887–88], Saganoya Omuro's "First love" ["Hatsukoi," 1889], or Ryūrō's *Late Chrysanthemums* [*Zangiku*, 1889] are a far cry from the subtle renderings of

the inner life found in Futabatei's work. For example, as illustrated by the direct-address interjection "Now, ladies and gentlemen" [*aah minasan*] that appears near the end of "First Love," the enunciative scene presumes a small group sitting fireside and listening to the nostalgic reminiscences of an elder. The narrative perspective assumed in *Aibiki*, in contrast, is conceived to address a silent, solitary reader.

The *Chance Encounters with Beautiful Women* that Ariake had enjoyed reading aloud as a young reader still lacking literary discernment had been delivered in the very form of oral recitation [*ginzuru*] that Bimyō had rejected. As we saw earlier, Roka's *Dark Eyes, Brown Eyes* provided a vivid account of how schools, boardinghouses, private academies, and political associations were close-knit communities [*seishin-teki kyōdōtai*] responsive to such works. The end of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement [Jiyū minken undo] also spelled the demise of these sites of reading as collective activity, and the reading subject shifted to the household or the solitary reader. Bimyō's demands for the reader to read as if it were "ordinary speech" [tsūjō no hanashiburi] was perhaps best represented by the new, "improved" gesaku that could meet "the demands of an entire family reading aloud from an open book," as suggested by Shōyō in *The Essence of the Novel* [*Shōsetsu shinzui*].[78] Its concrete realization was perhaps the literature of the Ken'yūsha [Friends of the Inkpot], as well as in serialized newspaper fiction and domestic novels. In contrast to the large readership enjoyed by the neo-gesaku works by the stable of Ken'yūsha writers, the audience for *Aibiki* was small. Yet, the genealogy of the modern reader originates not with the students who were enraptured by the rhythms of splendid simplified Chinese prose [*kanbun-kuzushi*] that inflamed their political passions, nor with the Meiji-era families mesmerized by the patriarch's rhythmic oral recitations of the mixed classical-colloquial narratives [*gazoku-setchūtai*]. Rather, it can be traced to the few solitary readers of Futabatei's translation of Russian literature who responded to the poetic sensibilities and the rhythms of this prose by identifying with the writer or the characters in the work. If the reader of *Chance Encounters* can be represented by the Dōshisha 300 who rest their pens and interrupt their own studies mesmerized by its oration in the boardinghouse, the reader of *Aibiki* is to be captured in the solitary figure of a reader with a book tucked under his or her arm, wandering through the forest and listening to the soft sounds of nature. Let me end with the image of one other reader of *Aibiki*:

> I was never stricken by "unrequited love" as much as by "nomadic impulse," and in my experiences of the latter, I was taken by the remarkable portrayal of nature in *Aibiki*. The wondrous rendering of the sound of footsteps just as you heard them in life itself, breathtaking description that could let you hear the hushed clarity of a whisper—this was the skill of no mere mortal. Wearing what was back then the rather bold mantle of "unrequited love," I remember roaming the woods adjoining the temple grounds just behind my middle school during lunch. Imagining myself a character in Turgenev's work, I was lost in reverie until the bell beckoned me back to the classroom.[79]

Notes

1 The term *shōsetsu* subsumes what, in the context of Western literary culture, would be such forms as the novel, novella, short story, and essay. Additionally, on occasion Maeda uses the term to denote premodern prose narrative forms. Because the primary object of interrogation in this essay is the modern novel, even though the word shōshetsu occasionally refers to some of these other forms, I use the word *novel* throughout this essay rather than the Japanese term, asking the reader to keep in mind this incommensurateness. However, when Maeda uses the term to reference a pre-Meiji work, I use the word shōsetsu.

2 This essay first appeared in *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* (The rise of the modern Japanese reader), 1973. This is a translation of "Ondoku kara mokudoku e: Kindai dokusha no seiritsu" (From reading aloud to silent reading: the development of the modern reader), in *Maeda Ai Chosaku Shū 2, Kindai Dokusha no Seiritsu* (Collected Works of Maeda Ai 2: the development of the modern reader) (Chikuma shobō, 1989). Maeda had taken three earlier essays he had written—"Ondoku kara mokudoku e" (*Kokugo to kokubungaku*, 1962), "Kindai bungaku ni okeru sakusha to dokusha, Bimyō-Futabatei to sanbun rizumu no mondai" (The author and reader in modern literature: Bimyō, Futabatei and the issue of prose rhythm) (*Bungaku gogaku* 34, 1964), and "Kindai bungaku to rakugo: Enchō no 'miburi' to Futabatei" (Modern literature and *rakugo*: Enchō's "gestures" and Futabatei) (*Kokubungaku: Rinji zōkan*, March 1973)—and woven them into this extended piece, which first appeared in *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* (Yūseidō, 1973). This translation is based on the version that appears in his *Maeda Ai Chosaku Shū 2, Kindai Dokusha no Seiritsu* (Chikuma Shobō, 1989).

3 *Kusunoki kōki*, or "Nankō-ki" is a record of a well-known defender of the imperial throne, and "Ōoka Seidan" are tales of the magistrate, Ōoka Echizen no kami.

4 Ishikawa Sanshirō, *Jijoden: Seishun no henreki* (Autobiography: Youthful wanderings) (Rironsha, 1956), 31. (M)

5 *Yamakawa Hitoshi jiden: Aru bonjin no sonota* (Iwanami Shoten, 1961), 157–158. (M)

6 For an English-language account of Ichiyō's mentor, Tōsui, see Robert Lyons Danley, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves: The Life and Writings of Higuchi Ichiyō, a Woman of Letters in Meiji Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

7 *Zen shaku Ichiyō nikki*, ed. Nishio Yoshihito (Ōfusha, 1976), 1:163 2:63, 66, 68. (M)

8 Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1894), 2:619. (M)

9 Hasegawa Shigure, *Kyūbun Nihonbashi* (Iwanami Shoten, 1983).

10 A game similar to marbles played with periwinkle hulls.

11 *Bun*, Ishikawa-ken tsūshin, 25 March 1889. (M)

12 Ishikawa Takuboku, *Nikki* (Seikai Hyōronsha, 1948–49). The entry is from 13 April 1909. (M)

13 Wada Yoshie, from *Ichiyō no nikki* (Chikuma Shobō, 1957), 2:203, 204. (M)

14 Mine: "I'll read this book to you in bed." Fusa: "Wonderful." Momi: "What book is it?" Mine: "A *ninjōbon* called *E hiyoku no murasaki* [The picture book of the purple chicks, here an imaginary pair of birds, each with one eye and one wing that always flies together]." Fusa: "Then, please read it from beginning to end." Momi: "Ha ha ha, Ofusa, even if you want that, aren't you going to fall asleep during the first volume?" From "Eitai dango" (Sweet conversations), section 8. Tamenaga Shunsui, "Eitai dango," in *Umegoyomi Part II* (1893; Iwanami Shoten, 1973), 65. (M)

15 "From a circle of women bound by their common labor of love sharing the intimacies of their misery and happiness day and night, the scene upstairs is marked by a bevy of singular beauties. . . . They are washing their faces, fixing their hair, chatting as they ready themselves. . . . 'Oh, that's the one—come on and read the rest to us. It's my treat later on if you do.'

"'Yeah, I was listening too, and if you read it for us, I'll really give you a treat.'

"'What a fanatic young lady you are. Let me start then with the second installment from "Ōgon Kiku" [The golden Kiku],' he says as he pulls out the middle section.

"'Why don't you read that big book there instead?'

"'All right . . . let me see now, how far had I read . . . ah, up to here.'" Tamenaga Shunsui, *Shungyō Hachiman kanen* (Tokyo Fukyūsha, 1932), 127. (M)

16 Otoyo: "Hey, that's one of those things they call a romance [*yomihon*], isn't it?" Oroku: "Un huh, it's a story called *Kōbun shiden* [The life of a learned warrior] by Tamenaga Shunsui. . . ." Otoyo: "It ought to be good then. Read a little to me." Oroku: "Okay, but only if you toast up some *kakimochi*." Otoyo: "Whatever you want." Oroku: "And some tea, too." Otoyo: "My, what an expensive fee. . . ." She laughs. Oroku: "Well, it's work to read aloud, and on top of that, whenever we get to romantic or suggestive scenes, right away you end up throwing yourself into it and bring it around to your own affairs. So unless I'm well rewarded it's not worth it." Tamenaga Shunsui, *Shunshoku enrei musume nanakusa* (The maidens of the seven spring flowers) (1836; Ninjōbon Kankō-kai, 1926), ch. 25, pp. 275–276. (M)

17 The style of Shunsui's ninjōbon, including his use of diacritics, is rooted in the practice of reading texts aloud. For example, in part 1 of his *Shunshoku umegoyomi* [Colors of spring: The plum calendar], there is a scene where Yonehachi visits Tanjirō at his retreat: "I'm so. . . . My heart was beating so loudly, I was so worried that I'd be found out or something. I walked here so fast and whenever I'd get out of breath, I would beat my chest and keep going. . . ." Tamenaga Shunsui, *Shunshoku umegoyomi*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Iwanami Shoten, 1973), 48. The periods here are not grammatical markers, but rather stops used to mimic the breathlessness of Yone's speech. (M)

18 "In former times, people would read books out loud. One person would read and many others would listen with pleasure so that even those who could not even read *hiragana* could join in the enjoyment of reading what we now call literature [*bungaku*]. People like myself see this as the vestige of the days before the era of mass literacy when memorized accounts were transmitted orally." Yanagita Kunio, "Josei seikatsu shi," part 4, in *Fujin kōron* (April 1941), *Yanagita Kunio zenshū* (Chikuma Shobō, 1990), 28:534. (M)

19 It is well-known that Sanba's *kokkeibon* have connections to Karaku's *rakugo*. See Honda Yasuo's "Kaiwatai no sharebon no seiritsu ni tsuite no shiron," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (November 1959): 51–63. For the relationship between *gōkan* and *kabuki*, see Suzuki Jūzō, "Gōkanmono no daizai tenki to Tanehiko," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (April 1961): 57–71. (M)

20 Moriyama Shigeo, "Edo shōsetsu no mondai ten," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (April 1961): 20. (M)

21 In addition to the old man, Sekine recalls: "When I was a young man, I remember it to be the tenth month of 1840, at a booth in Shitaya Yamashita there was a sign announcing a split bill with Kenkonbō Ryōsai in the midst of a *sewa kōdan ninjō banashi* [narrative performance of soap operatic content] with Tamenaga Shunsui scheduled to perform at the end. Shunsui was not the clearest speaker to begin with and he was an old man of over 70, so he gave his delivery in a low voice that was not pleasant to the ears; on top of that, he further disappointed me by presenting something other than the promised reading from *Umegoyomi*." Harunoya Shujin, "Tamenaga Shunsui ryakuden," in *Chūō gakujutsu zasshi* 21 (1 February 1886, Dōkō-kai Hensan): 43–44. (M)

22 To preserve the historical particulars of the Japanese novel, I have retained the term *shōsetsu* in this case.

23 These were a set of edicts issued in 1872 by the Ministry of Education (Kyōbushō) that combined religious and rational thought, and were aimed at promoting nationalistic sentiment in the wake of clan abolition and the establishment of prefectures.

24 For example, see *Yomiuri shimbun*, 5 April 1877, and 23 April of the same year. (M)

25 An early Meiji-era incarnation of the *kawaraban* ("extras") "were printed on small sheets of paper, carried no editorials, included *furigana* . . . reported simple news in a conversational style and featured serialized novels." Kathryn Ann Ragsdale, "Serialized 'Domestic Novels' and the Retraditionalization of Women's Roles in Late Meiji Japan" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 50.

26 Okamoto Kisen, *Hanaoka kien-den*, second half, part 1, 1882, 2–3. (M)

27 *Kokushiryaku* is a five-volume history of Japan covering the age of the gods to the Yōzei emperor (876–884) written by Iwagaki Matsunae in 1826 (Iwagaki Matsunae, ed., Kokushiryaku, 5 vols. [Kyoto: Gosharō, 1877]). *Nihon gaishi* (1827) by Rai San'yō is a military history of Japan (1780–1832) focusing on the late eleventh century. *Jūhasshiryaku* is an anecdotal chronicle of Chinese history covering antiquity to the Song Dynasty.

28 Nishida Masaru, ed., *Taoka Reiun zenshū* (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969), 5:500.

29 Kōda Rohan, "Shōnen jidai," in *Rohan zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1979), 29: 200. (M)

30 See Katayama Sen's *Jiden* (Autobiography) (1922; Iwanami Shoten, 1954), 97.

31 For detailed accounts of Chinese studies academies, see Katayama Sen, *Jiden* [Autobiography], Abe Iso'o, *Shakaishugisha to naru made: Abe Iso'o jijoden* [My path to socialism: the autobiography of Abe Iso'l] (Meizensha, 1947). and Shinoda Kōzō, *Meiji hyaku-wa* [A hundred tales of Meiji]. (M)

32 Translated into English by Kenneth G. Henshall as *Literary Life in Tokyo 1885–1915* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987).

33 A popular Japanese song of the times with 7–7–7–5 syllabic metrics.

34 Ichijima Kenkichi, "Meiji bungaku shoki no tsuioku," *Waseda bungaku* (July 1925): 11. (M)

35 Masamune Hakuchō, "Mukashi no nikki," *Kindai bungaku*, no. 1 (1946): 14. (M)

36 Dōshisha School of English, originally the Kyoto Kyōshisha Eigakkō, established in 1875, would later become Dōshisha University, as it is known today.

37 Emi Suiin, *Jiko chūshin Meiji bundanshi* (Hakubunkan, 1927), 29. (M)

38 Taoka Reiun, "Sūkiden," in *Taoka Reiun zenshū* (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1969), 5:510. (M)

39 David Riesman, *The Oral Tradition, Written Word, and the Screen Image* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1955); "Books: Gunpowder of the Mind," *Atlantic Monthly* (February 1957). (M)

40 Riesman, *The Oral Tradition*, 12. In place of Riesman's text, I have retranslated Maeda's translation, which is close to the original but makes the salient points a bit clearer.

41 Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 190. (M)

42 Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1932), 218. (M)

43 L. L. Schucking, *The Sociology of Literary Taste* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1945), 72. (M)

44 Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Dokuhō o okosan to suru shui" (For the encouragement of reading), *Kokumin no tomo*, no. 115 (Minyūsha, April 1891).

45 Ibid., 13, 16, 17.

46 Kyō Wakako, "Ninin bikuni irozange hihyō" (Review of the amorous confession of two nuns), in *Shuppan geppyō* (1889; Ryūkeishosha, 1983), 20:157–58.

47 Yamada Bimyō, "Bakin no bunsho ryakuhyō" (Brief comments on Bakin's writing), *Shinshōsetsu* (10 April 1889). (M)

48 Yamado Bimyō, "Genbun'itchi ron gairyaku" (An outline of genbun'itchi), *Gakkai no shinshin* (A guide to the world of knowledge), (March 1888): 2–21. (M)

49 In *Iratsume* (January 1889): 12–23. (M) *Iratsume* was begun as a women's magazine in 1894 to promote enlightenment values to women, but later, under Bimyō's editorship, became increasingly literary.

50 Yamada Taketarō [Bimyō's pen name], "Ware ware no genbun'itchi-tai" (Our genbun'itchi style), *Shigarami zōshi*, 8 (Shinseisha, 25 May 1890). (M)

51 Ibid., 12–13. (M)

52 "Rhythm is more profound than this. It is born, not with the words, but with the thought, and with whatever confluence of instincts and emotions the thought is accompanied. As the thought takes shape in the mind, it takes *a* shape." Herbert Read, *English Prose Style* (Boston: Beacon, 1961), 61. (M)

53 Uchida Roan, "Shiben: Bimyō ni atau" (Poetic discernment: for Yamada Bimyō), *Kokumin no tomo*, Minyūsha 105 (3 January 1891): 18. (M)

54 Mori Ōgai, "Genbunron," in *Ōgai zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1973), 22:145. (M)

55 Based on the discussion by Sakakura Atsuyoshi, "'Hanasu yōni kaku' to iu koto" (What it means to write as one speaks), *Kokugo kokubun* (June 1957). (M)

56 Tayama Katai, "Futabatei Shimei-kun o omou" (Remembering Futabatei Shimei), in *Teihon Katai zenshū* (Kyoto: Rinkawa Shoen, 1937), 15:37. (M)

57 Tayama Katai, "Ueno no toshokan" (The library in Ueno), in *Tokyo no sanjūnen*, in *Teihon Katai zenshū* (Rinsen shoten, 1994), 15:489. The English-language translation by Kenneth Strong (with introduction by Kenneth G. Henshall) is *Literary Life in Tokyo 1885–1915: Tayama Katai's Memoirs (Thirty Years in Tokyo)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987).

58 Takase Bun'en, "Bungaku iken" (Views on literature), in *Yamada Bimyō, Ishibashi Ningetsu, and Takase Bunen shū*, *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* (Chikuma Shobō, 1971), 23:360.

59 Togawa Shinsuke, "*Ukigumo* no sekai" (The world of *Drifting Clouds*), *Bungaku* (October 1965): 28–29. (M)

60 Futabatei Shimei, *Ukigumo*, in *Futabatei Shimei zenshū* (Chikuma Shobō, 1984), 10.

61 Yamada Bimyō, "Fūkin shirabe no hito fushi" (A tune for the organ), in *Iratsume* (1887; Fujishuppan, 1983), 15. (M)

62 Yamada Bimyō, "Chōkai shōsetsu tengu," in *Garakuta bunko, kappan hibaibon* (1886; Yumani Shobō, 1986), 9:13. (M)

63 Yamada Bimyō, *Yamada Bimyō, Hirotsu Ryūrō, Kawakami Bizan, Oguri Fūyō shū*, vol. 11 of *Nihon gendai bungaku zenshū* (Kōdansha, 1968), 11.

64 Yamada Bimyō, "Kaidan botan dōrō," in *Meiji kaikaki bungaku shū*, vol. 1 of *Nihon kindai bungaku taikei* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), 301.

65 Futabatei, *Ukigumo*, 16.

66 Tsurumi Shunsuke, "Enchō ni okeru miburi to shōchō" (Gesture and symbol in Enchō's work), *Bungaku* (July 1958): 1. (M)

67 Ibid., 4.

68 R. P. Blackmur, *Language as Gesture: Essays in Poetry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952), 15. (M)

69 Futabatei, *Ukigumo*, 31–32.

70 Ibid., part 1, ch. 9, 95–96.

71 For background information and accounts of the skilled classroom readings of Russian literature by this naturalized U.S. citizen from Russia at Gaigo Gakkō, see Marleigh Grayer Ryan, *Japan's First Modern Novel:* Ukigumo *of Futabatei Shimei* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 26–28.

72 Gray's recitation corresponds to Shōyō's dictum in "Ronri-teki dokuhō" (Logical reading method) that "it must be read as if you yourself have assumed that author's or the character's feelings." (M) From Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Shōyō senshū* (Dai'ichi Shōbō, 1977), 11:262.

73 Futabatei Shimei, "Yo no aidoku sho," in *Futabatei Shimei zenshū* (Chikuma Shobō, 1985), 4:163.

74 Fukuda Tsuneari, *Hihyōka no techō* (A critic's notebook) (Shinchōsha, 1960), 151. (M)

75 Futabatei, "Yo no aidoku sho," 163–164.

76 Futabatei Shimei, "Yo ga honyaku no hyōjun" (My standards for translation), in *Futabatei Shimei zenshū*, 4:168. (M)

77 Kanbara Ariake, "*Aibiki* ni tsuite" (On *The Rendezvous*), in *Hiun sho* (Misfortunes) (Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1989), 219–220. (M)

78 Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Shōsetsu shinzui*, in *Shōyō zenshū* (Shun'yōdō, 1927), 3:120.

79 Aono Suekichi, "Meiji no bungaku seinen" (Meiji literary youth), in *Meiji bungaku nyūmon* (Kyoto: Zenkoku Shobō, 1948), 71. (M)

8. Modern Literature and the World of Pr

(Kindai bungaku to kat

TRANSLATED BY RICHARD

The following essay by Maeda Ai is his classic statement on the relations among the rise of modern Japanese literature, the technologies of printing, and the general tenor of the times and how they enable a reassessment of Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* (Essence of the novel). An important moment in his lifelong interest in the production and reception of literature, the essay identifies the processes that led to a new paradigm that emerged in the way literary texts were produced and read. According to Maeda, a "visual revolution" occurred during the first few decades of the Meiji period that went hand in hand with the technological change from printing by woodblock to printing by movable type. He points out that as more emphasis was placed on the visual, the illustrations that had been an integral part of Edo-period books were replaced by visualized descriptions. In other words, the written text, which had heretofore emphasized dialogue, now bore the additional burden of providing visual description, which previously had been relegated to the illustrations. Also important is Maeda's discussion of how Shōyō handles two seemingly contradictory conceptions of art: art as idea versus art as mimesis. The wide-ranging essay includes discussions of Tsubouchi Shōyō, Ernest Fenollosa, Tamenaga Shunsui, Futabatei Shimei, and Mori Ōgai as well as references to writers such as Raymond Williams, Zola, Stendhal, and Flaubert.

It is commonly believed that *Essence of the Novel* [*Shōsetsu shinzui*, 1885], by Tsubouchi Shōyō, valorized the earliest form of a concept that corresponds to realism in modern literature.[1] What Shōyō actually attempted to develop in *Essence of the Novel*, however, was a problematic broader than anything that can be contained within the framework of realism. Take the term *moshu* [copy], for example. We tend to understand the term as being interchange