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Reading and Writing Classical Japanese Cinema

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Abstract

Japanese cinema has commonly been studied through the contributions of major directors and actors, its various genres, and, more recently, by audience engagement. This monograph adopts an alternative viewpoint, focusing on the significant yet overlooked role of scriptwriters in the filmmaking process and in the popular imagination during the peak of the studio system between the 1930s and 1960s. Simultaneously, it examines the role and function of a new type of readership, equipped with specific intermedial skills, facilitated by the wide and continuous availability of film scenarios. The monograph is structured into three main parts. The first part provides an analysis of the evolution of the textual format of the Japanese film scenario, emphasising the transformative period that coincided with the advent of sound cinema and tracing the development of the standard master-scene script. It also outlines the field of scenario publishing and demonstrates how the serialisation of film scripts in various periodicals, and their subsequent anthologising, functioned as a site for canon formation. An examination of the standardised use of the manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*) in scriptwriting traces the implications arising from its medium specificity as a hybrid modern writing device. The second part shifts the focus to the act of reading scripts and discusses the concerted efforts of the *Shinario bungaku undō* (Scenario Literature Movement) to establish the scenario as a distinct entity within the literary field. It delineates several topics that emerged in course of the debate, including the scenario's autonomous status, its role in inviting new talent from outside the industry, and its archival capacity for film preservation. It also examines the unique faculties and skills required from readers of the scenario form, and discusses various examples and functions of readership, including film criticism by Itami Mansaku. The final part is dedicated to exploring the social and spatial conditions of scriptwriting. It highlights how the perceived critical status and privileged writing environment have projected a particular image of the writers and their creative processes. A discussion of the collaborative writing space, as exemplified by the *jōyado* (regular inn), is further complicated by the introduction of gender in scriptwriting and contributions of several female writers. Finally, an examination of script scouting practises that characterise Japanese scriptwriting, and Mizuki Yōko's work in particular, addresses the extent of scriptwriter's agency and authorial status. In conclusion, this book provides a multi-faceted exploration of the role of scriptwriters in Japanese cinema, highlighting their significant contributions and the complexities of their craft. As such, this study offers a fresh perspective on some of the reasons behind the international success of Japanese film since the 1950s, arguing for a more nuanced understanding that fully acknowledges the collaborative nature of filmmaking and the diversity of audience reception through cinema's textual means.

Keywords Authorship. Canon formation. Film history. Japanese cinema. Scriptwriting.

Acknowledgments

At some point along the way, I realised that I have always found talking and reading about films more compelling than actually watching them. It seems inevitable, then, that my first book on cinema should be about discursive practices — not screen works, but the texts and contexts surrounding them. What began as a PhD project took quite some time to morph into this monograph you are about to read. The path to this book has been a long road with many stops and misteps, from the first words laid down a decade ago in the UK to the last ones in Japan and Italy only recently. In light of spatial issues that I will discuss in this study of Japanese scriptwriting, I am tempted to state my own working conditions: I never wrote at libraries or in any office space I was provided. Over the time, the list of cafes that I frequented in the cities of Cambridge and Norwich, and my hometowns Kyoto and Tallinn, has grown prohibitively extensive to give a full account, but I should mention that it was in a cafe named Jam Jar, which used to serve the best cappuccino in Kyoto, that the title of this book suddenly descended upon me one sunny February afternoon. One thing I will certainly take with me from the experience of working on this project is that materiality matters and space links people from different times and places.

For gathering resources for this study, I have benefitted greatly from visiting various libraries at Cambridge; Tsubouchi Shōyō Memorial Theatre Museum, the Main Library of Waseda University, and Shōchiku Ōtani Library in Tokyo; the libraries of Dōshisha University, Kyoto University, Kyoto University of Art and Design, and Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto; Pacific Film Archive and C.V. Starrs East Asian Library at Berkeley. In order to make it to all those places, I have had the good fortune of having been supported by a number of very generous awarding bodies. I would like to thank the Archimedes Foundation, Japanese Trust Funds (FAMES), Trinity College, British Association for Japanese Studies, the Japan Foundation, Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) for various grants and fellowships. Above all, I am grateful to my new academic home, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, and my colleagues here for gently encouraging me to finally place this study between proper covers where it belongs and for providing a publishing grant to make that possible.

I also feel obliged to express my gratitude to a number of people whom I have never met: historians, critics and scholars whose slightly or radically different approaches to Japanese cinema and scriptwriting have helped to shape my own. Their names can be found in the bibliography of this book. Then there is the ever-growing list of people without meeting whom I would never have gone further from a few hazy ideas percolating in my frontal lobe. I would like to thank Mark Morris for taking up the unenviable task of being the first reader of early drafts: I am happy to be finally able to hand in something that is perhaps readable; Susan Daruvala for her support on the road to and during the viva; Alexander Jacoby for promptly perusing the final draft of my

dissertation; the late Katō Mikirō and Chika Kinoshita for inviting me to Kyoto on two separate occasions; Gaye Rowley and Morita Norimasa for their help at Waseda; Robert Omar Khan for his endless encouragement and ceaseless hospitality; Alo Jõekalda for always correcting me; Johan Nordström for many practical research tips; Iris Haukamp for feedback as an expert on Itami Mansaku; Alexander Zahlten for an important illustrative example (you know which one); Nishioka Takuya and Saeki Toshimichi for providing a practitioner's viewpoint; Yamamoto Yoshiyuki from Zenkōdō for reading suggestions; the two anonymous reviewers for their incisive corrections and suggestions; everyone at Edizioni Ca' Foscari, and Elisabetta Taboga in particular, for making the publishing process truly efficient; and – last but not least – my mentor David Desser, the only one to read both the earliest and the final versions, who kept encouraging me at every turn leading to the completion of this book.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents Juta and Peeter for their warm care and support; my beautiful wife Joanna, for her love and patience while living under the same roof with me and my manuscript; and my son, Kõu Kaarel for being a good and happy boy – and now already a young man – in a way the doppelgänger of this book, brought up on the same timeline, in the same faraway places.

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Reading and Writing Classical Japanese Cinema

1 Introduction

Satō Tadao (1930-2022), who by the sheer range and scope of his contributions deserves the distinction as Japan's foremost film scholar, recalls how during his school days in the immediate postwar years, he sometimes escaped his provincial hometown and went up to the capital on something akin to a shopping spree to appease his unquenchable thirst for cinema.

> To read film scripts, I went through a lot of trouble in my youth. At the time, I was a student at a railroad engineering college in Niigata, but on a couple of Saturday evenings every year, I took my savings and got on a night train to Tokyo. Those were the postwar days of inconvenient transportation, so on most occasions, I slept the nine hours it took, crouching on newspapers spread along the aisle. I would spend the entire Sunday roaming around used bookstores in the Kanda area, looking for journals and books that might contain old scenario masterpieces [*shinario meisaku*]. Old journals and the like were cheap, so I could buy a lot. Owing to this, I could not afford any other hobbies but did not mind in the least. After stuffing the amassed journals in my rucksack, I returned to Niigata on another night train and on Monday morning went straight from the station to my classes. (Satō 1975, 290)

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Figure 1 Yaguchi Shoten, located in Tokyo's Jinbōchō used bookstore district, was founded in 1918 and specialises in film and theatre-related publications. Note the word 'scenario' on the signboard. The photo taken by the author in April 2024

Aside from the particulars of his itinerary, Satō appears to be describing a practice that was common among the members of his postwar generation with profound interest in cinema. At the time, the Japanese film industry was on a quick track to recovery after years of ideological pressure and material shortages. However, insufficient film preservation practices, together with firebomb campaigns at the end of the war that reduced the country's major cities into a wasteland, had all but ensured that the majority of actual film reels, made from highly inflammable nitrate stock, were forever lost. Satō (1975, 289) admits that reading the scenarios of celebrated prewar films no longer available for watching, usually resulted in convincing him of their historical significance, which he had hitherto possessed no means to validate. The above personal recollection attests to the crucial role that published film scripts played for the largely self-educated cinephiles as a way to experience and reconnect with a body of cinematic tradition that had disappeared in its visual guise but could – with the aid of some imagination – still be retrieved in a textual form from the pages of film journals, script anthologies, and volumes dedicated to the work of individual scriptwriters.

Film scripts (or scenarios, *shinario* in Japanese) first began to appear in various periodicals dedicated to cinema during the silent era in the mid-1920s. Among their many conceivable functions, scenarios served as a point of reference and education for aspiring scriptwriters, a profession still relatively novel within the emerging film industry at the time. Although the early 1930s saw a proliferation of scriptwriting manuals, often translated from various European languages, the method of 'observe and learn' was regarded as the more effective one for learning the tricks of the trade. Coinciding with the advent of sound cinema in the mid-1930s, this utilitarian approach was augmented by calls to treat scenarios as autonomous literary texts, which prompted further publication efforts. The casual reading of film scripts arguably reached its peak after the war when such texts appeared regularly in all major Japanese film journals, as well as reprinted in numerous special issues and book series. This fascination with scenarios, peaking around the year 1959, was accompanied by critical studies on scenario authors (*shinario sakka*) that effectively (re)evaluated film history from an alternative viewpoint. The viability of mass-publishing scenarios appears to have run parallel to the fortunes of the Japanese studio system of filmmaking, which underwent a stark decline from which it never fully recovered by the mid-1960s.

Some years prior to the milieu that Satō was describing, and with the country still at war, a salaryman named Hashimoto Shinobu (1918-2018) was creatively making use of his spare time during the daily commute to work and back on a different train bound for Himeji in western Japan. He dedicated these two slots of fifty minutes to his favourite pastime, writing film scripts on a specially devised clipboard; during the evening rush hour, he had to perform the task while standing. Back at home, Hashimoto would transcribe his day's work on special manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*) (Hashimoto 2015, 26). Hashimoto had developed an interest in scriptwriting while recuperating at a rehabilitation facility in rural Okayama, where he stayed upon receiving a tuberculosis diagnosis after being enlisted to military service. He had failed to bring anything to read and seemed visibly bored to his fellow patients. In his memoir, *Fukugan no eizō* (2006, translated into English as *Compound Cinematics*), Hashimoto recollects the following momentous incident.

> At some point I noticed someone moving on the corridor-side bed next to mine. When I looked over, a smallish fellow sitting up in his bed with a book in hand offered it to me saying, "If you like, you might read this". I responded to this unexpected kindness with a bob of my head and an "oh, thanks", and accepted a somewhat thick magazine with the words "Japanese Cinema" printed on the cover. I opened it, but finding no articles to my taste, flipped through the pages until I came upon a screenplay in the back. I

> read the first three or four pages, tilting my head in puzzlement, but continued on and asked the man when I was done, "This is a scenario… a film scenario?"
>
> "It is", he answered.
>
> "I'm surprised it's so simple… Really simple, isn't it?"
>
> There was a curious expression on the small man's face.
>
> "I feel like even I could write something of this level."
>
> The small man, sitting cross-legged on his bed, gave me a wry smile. "No, no, they're not that easy to write."
>
> "No, compared to this, even I could do better. Who's the greatest Japanese writer of these?"
>
> The smallish man from 63rd Regiment, Matsue army hospital – Isuke Narita – looked a little flustered, and with a bewildered grimace that contorted his face he replied, "A person called Mansaku Itami".
>
> "Mansaku Itami?" I parroted, somewhat argumentatively. "Then I'll write a scenario and send it to this Mansaku Itami." (Hashimoto 2015, 14-15)

However, writing a script based on his experiences at the sanatorium proved to be more difficult than Hashimoto had initially imagined. Eventually, it took him three years to complete it, and even in 1942, when he was finally able to fulfil the promise to his late friend at the hospital and send a final draft to Itami Mansaku (1900-46), he remained realistic about his chances of being noticed. Against all expectations, a reply soon arrived, in which the venerable scriptwriter went to lengths to "pinpoint weaknesses in [Hashimoto's] work and even offered specific guidance for what and how to revise" (Hashimoto 2015, 18). The correspondence between Hashimoto and Itami continued through the remaining war years until the latter's death in 1946. Hashimoto, whose recovery from illness had more than a little to do with his newly found enthusiasm, became one of the leading Japanese scriptwriters of his or any generation. When he passed away after a long and celebrated career at the age of 100 in 2018, he had outlived nearly all his contemporaries from what is commonly known as the Golden Age of Japanese cinema.

Hashimoto's writing attracted widespread attention with his very first produced script for the film *Rashōmon* (1950, co-written and directed by Kurosawa Akira, 1910-1998),[1] which, unexpectedly to everyone involved, garnered considerable international acclaim upon winning the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1951. This proved to be a turning point for both its director and the global

1 Hashimoto's first draft, an adaptation of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's (1892-1927) short story *Yabu no naka* (*In a Grove*, 1922), was thoroughly rewritten by the more experienced Kurosawa.

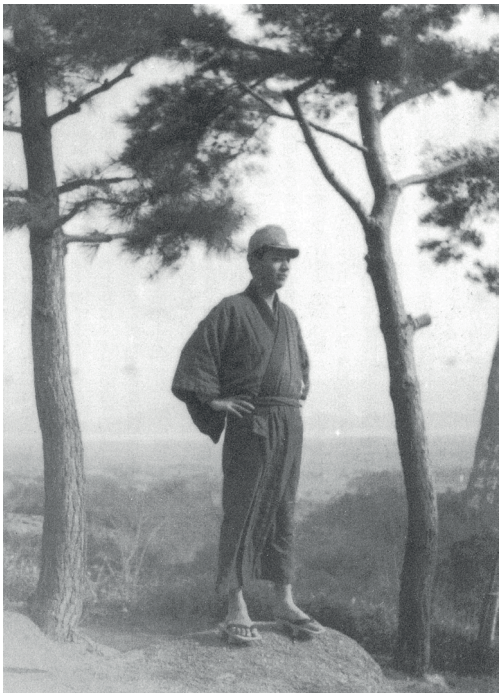

Figure 2
Hashimoto Shinobu, pictured during his time at the Okayama Disabled Veterans' Rehabilitation Facility. Image sourced from *Fukugan no eizō* (2006)

exposure of Japanese cinema that it helped initiate. Hashimoto's early career coincided with an era in Japanese film history when the names and distinctive styles of major scriptwriters were well known and held in high esteem among critics and audiences alike. Film histories commonly point out several notable proponents from the prewar period, but according to most relevant accounts, it was the immediate postwar condition that granted the profession and its role in filmmaking a new visibility. This elevation in ranks was underlined by the use of the semi-literary term scenario author to mark those considered to be the best in the field. This designation relied on the production of original scripts that often revealed willingness to engage with serious social issues, not always favoured by the commercial imperatives of the studio system, as well as an aptitude for adapting literature for the screen during the second boom of *bungei eiga* (literary film) in the 1950s.[2]

2 See McDonald (2000, 46-82) on literary adaptations in 1951-59. Unfortunately, McDonald does not discuss the contributions of scriptwriters/adapters, which is an example of the director-centred scholarship once prevalent in studies of Japanese cinema.

The agency of scriptwriters has been brought into discussion on various occasions across the history of Japanese cinema. Particularly well-documented are the contributions of silent era writers such as Susukita Rokuhei (1899-1960) and Yamagami Itarō (1903-45). Working predominantly in the *jidaigeki* (period film) genre during the late 1920s, their reputation equals that of the directors and star actors with whom they collaborated. Frequently noted from the postwar era is the extent of creative influence of writers Yoda Yoshikata (1909-91) and Noda Kōgo (1893-1968) upon the mature cinematic styles of the directors Mizoguchi Kenji (1898-1956) and Ozu Yasujirō (1903-63), respectively.[3] The late-career surge of Naruse Mikio (1905-69) would be unimaginable without the contributions of two female scriptwriters, Mizuki Yōko (1910-2003) and Tanaka Sumie (1908-2000).[4] These few examples alone suggest that placing attention on scriptwriting has the capacity to complicate the notion of authorship in cinema, often located in the director. This change of focus also provides visibility to the creative work of several women in the field of cultural production that in Japan has traditionally been an extremely male-centred endeavour.

Back at the rehabilitation centre, Hashimoto's new friend had been correct about Itami being one of the country's best scriptwriters. But he was more than that. Despite his relatively young age, Itami had already gone through an illustrious career as one of the major film director of the 1930s, who was particularly noted for his revisionist approach towards period drama. At the time when the correspondence with Hashimoto began, Itami was similarly lying in a sickbed with tuberculosis that had forced him into semi-retirement. As a way to compensate for this absence from the field, he was writing a regular column in the leading wartime film journal mentioned by Hashimoto, *Nippon eiga* (Japanese Cinema), between 1941 and 1942. In these publications, Itami reviewed the latest scenarios by Japanese writers, and much like in his reply to his younger colleague, identified the scripts' shortcomings and suggested revisions. By so doing, he was also the first to draw attention to the early writings of such yet-unknown filmmakers as Kurosawa.

Only a few years earlier, while still in his prime, Itami had been an advocate of a discursive effort that sought to (re)consider scenarios as autonomous and intermedial texts, bridging the fields of literature and cinema.

3 The watershed moments in the careers of Mizoguchi and Ozu are commonly identified as the beginning of their collaborations with Yoda on *Naniwa erejī* (*Osaka Elegy*) and *Gion no kyōdai* (*The Sisters of Gion*, both 1936), and with Noda on *Banshun* (*Late Spring*, 1949), respectively.

4 Either Mizuki or Tanaka received scriptwriting credits for twelve of the sixteen films that Naruse directed between *Meshi* (*Repast*, 1951) and *Anzukko* (1958).

Figure 3
A photograph of Itami Mansaku, taken during his final illness by a childhood friend and fellow scriptwriter, Itō Daisuke. Sourced from *Itami Jūzō Kinenkan Gaidobukku* (2007)

> I am one of those who believes that in the form of the scenario lies a unique appeal [*omoshiromi*] that cannot be found in any other type of literature. [...] While being primitive in form, its implied meanings [*ganchiku*] and suggestive power [*shisaryoku*] surpass any literary craftsmanship. (Itami 1937, 21-2)

The particular and distinctive format of the Japanese scenario first developed through early encounters with Hollywood practices and was subsequently informed by the changes imposed on filmmaking with the advent of sound cinema. Itami was not alone in drawing flattering comparisons between film scripts and literature proper: a collective attempt by major film critics of the day to provide scenarios with their due place and visibility, the Scenario Literature Movement (*Shinario bungaku undō*), succeeded in proposing new functions for scenarios as well as ways in which scriptwriting could act as a catalyst for the future development of Japanese cinema.

The above brief vignettes about Satō, Japan's most important film critic, Hashimoto, the universally lauded postwar scriptwriter, and Itami, an influential prewar director, are linked not only by crowded trains and debilitating disease. These are the stories of three individuals whose lives and passion for cinema were deeply shaped by their engagement with scenarios. These are not isolated examples: similar accounts keep surfacing in recollections by other filmmakers and critics, attesting to the prominent place

scenarios and scriptwriting still hold in Japanese film culture. Anyone with a more pronounced interest must surely have noticed this simply while browsing the back issues of periodicals such as *Kinema junpō* (The Movie Times) or *Eiga hyōron* (Film Criticism), where full scripts of recent films often comprise the final quarter of any given volume. It is all the more surprising, then, that so far no serious attempt has been made to examine this phenomenon relating to cinema in a comprehensive manner.

This monograph aims to provide a cultural history of scriptwriting and scenarios in Japan. It is the presence of scenarios and the heightened interest and visibility they have been given that stands at the centre of my research. I will be conducting what is mostly a contextual survey, keeping the textual analysis of particular scenarios outside the limits of this study. My sources include (but are not limited to) film histories, (auto)biographical accounts, memoirs, interviews, critical debates, and various paratexts of published scenarios.[5] Above all, my study addresses the multiple ways in which scriptwriting and scenarios have been relevant for both film historiography and audience reception as a semi-autonomous discourse within the larger field of Japanese cinema. Admittedly, I have had to navigate what are mostly fragmentary accounts, hoping that by focusing on early sound cinema and the Golden Age of the 1950s, I can present and examine several key moments when the entire discursive field stood out in real prominence.

The scholarship on Japanese cinema has undergone significant proliferation and diversification during the decades since the publication of early landmarks such as Tanaka Jun'ichirō's (1902-89) *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* (History of the Development of Japanese Film, 1957) and Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie's *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* (1959). However, scriptwriting has remained at the margins of an otherwise wide array of studies focused on a variety of aspects of Japanese film culture. Arguably, this underrepresentation in scholarship mirrors the problematic position that scriptwriters and the script hold in the process of film production. Even now, directors are generally considered single-handedly responsible for a film's form and content, and by default are uncritically granted overwhelming visibility and focal position in scholarship. Perhaps symptomatically for the studies that have followed, the overall motto of *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* reads: "[D]edicated to that little band of men who have tried to make the japanese [sic] film industry what every film industry

5 I will mostly refrain from examining scriptwriting manuals, a topic which is forbiddingly broad and deserves a separate study.

should be: a directors' cinema" (Anderson, Richie 1982, 5).[6] It should be noted, however, that in the final essay to the updated version (1982) of the same book, Richie sought some balance to the earlier statement by repeatedly discussing the contributions of Hashimoto, in particular, and in the space of two decades separating the two editions seems to have moved closer to the consensus among Japanese critics about the script being a crucial factor in film production and reception.

Although possible approaches to studying scriptwriting are yet uncharted in English-language scholarship on Japanese cinema, I will be drawing upon some helpful pioneering efforts that have looked at corresponding phenomena in Hollywood. These include Steven Maras's *Screenwriting: History, Theory and Practice* (2009) and Steven Price's *The Screenplay: Authorship, Theory and Criticism* (2010) and *A History of the Screenplay* (2013). The range of approaches in current screenwriting studies becomes apparent from the titles of these books, with the former examining discourses that surround the concept of screen*writing* while the latter focuses on the format of the screen*play* and the implications it entails. A few earlier studies have adopted a different angle and attempted polemically to bring to the fore the contributions of several individual Hollywood screenwriters. These include Richard Corliss's *Talking Pictures: Screenwriters in the American Cinema* (1974) and David Kipen's *The Schreiber Theory: A Radical Rewrite of American Film History* (2006). Both of these studies are clearly motivated by a revisionist drive towards the auteur theory and try to replace the director with the screenwriter as the source of authorial voice in filmmaking. At the same time, what still remains an understudied aspect in screenwriting studies is the function of the reader and the role of readership as a point of reception.

David Bordwell has noted that "[i]n most film histories, masterworks and innovations rise monumentally out of a hazy terrain whose contours remain unknown. In other arts, however, the ordinary work is granted considerable importance" (Bordwell, Staiger, Thompson 1985, 10). Indeed, histories of cinema generally move from one peak to another without paying much attention to the standard practices of, in Thomas Schatz's (1996) term, "the genius of the system" that, in fact, supports the few elevated to distinction. By way of an analogy, scriptwriting in its entirety, even if universally regarded as the

6 In the main part of the book, which resonates with the auteurist tendency of the day, scriptwriters and the function of the script are only rarely referred to. The exceptions are Kurosawa's scripts for other filmmakers and Shindō Kaneto (1912-2012) as the main writer for the perennial favourite, Yoshimura Kōzaburō (1911-2000). The single paragraph in the content section where scriptwriting is mentioned relates to the general poor quality of scripts, implying that only a genius director is able to save the day.

backbone or blueprint of filmmaking, seems to fall into this kind of obscurity in the shadow of the more familiar narrative 'props' such as genres, directors, and actors, all deemed more suitable for telling the (hi)story of cinema. In effect, histories of scriptwriting rarely seem to get written. Nor is the topic displayed to any notable extent in most general film histories, which tend to mention scriptwriting only when it is considered an inextricable part of a particular developmental phase. Perhaps it has seemed disproportionate to focus too narrowly on this single aspect of the filmmaking process, but one is still left to wonder why, among the vast amount of literature on all conceivable aspects of cinema, a comprehensive history of scriptwriting is yet to materialise.

There are several explanations for this neglect of scriptwriting. First, a common perception seems to be that the process of scriptwriting, while admittedly crucial to the early stages of production, loses its relevance once the words on paper have become images on film. Furthermore, unlike a film that has an undeniable completeness to it – a definitive version that emerges from the editing room and onto the screen for audiences to watch – film scripts necessarily have many versions, depending on the stage of production in which they are employed. This is a question one must always keep in mind when encountering texts of this variety. Is it a story outline, any one of the writer's (writers') drafts, or the final version that is handed to the director? Or is it the shooting script, already complete with suggested alterations? A continuity script with all cinematographical details added? Or is it a transcript of the film, accommodating all changes made during editing? Steven Maras has pinpointed this indeterminacy as the perennial 'object problem': as long as there is no definitive version of the script, it can never become a stable object of study (Maras 2009, 11). This 'problem' is often tied to availability issues, the much-repeated (but not always fully substantiated) fact that film scripts have commonly been hard to come by, hidden away by the studios who own the copyright, and very rarely published (Price 2010, 94-5). Subsequently, Ian W. Macdonald has proposed a solution to the 'object problem'. He suggests replacing the term 'screenplay' with 'screen idea', based on the following rationale:

> The Barthesian view gives us permission to accept the shifting, changing nature of the screenplay, instead of insisting that we find and fix an object for study. I suggest the imaginary of the Screen Idea allows us to accommodate both traditionalist and Barthesian perspectives of the screenplay. It allows us to view such documents as expressions of discourse, as plural and shared, as the Text rather than the Work, as part of the larger work of production. It also allows us to focus on the tangible document without needing to name it as definitive, as completed. (Macdonald 2013, 19)

While a mix of deep-rooted ideological and practical assumptions may have kept scriptwriting out of focus for most film scholars, it is the particular position occupied by the scriptwriting manual that has certainly contributed to holding back historical studies. Often written in a highly accessible style, a typical manual represents a 'theoretical' inquiry into the structure and functions of the film script and its applications. This approach is almost always accompanied by pragmatic concerns about how to produce marketable products. This goal is well underscored by the double emphasis in the title of Frances Marion's influential work, *How to Write and Sell Film Stories* (1937). Arguably, the position of the manual has strengthened over the last few decades with the emergence of screenwriting gurus such as Syd Field and Robert McKee. Since the late 1970s, their work has focused on advocating a dominant type of Hollywood narrative with its reliance on the Aristotelian three-act structure, development of character arcs, embarking on a mythical journey, etc (Price 2013, 204-7).[7]

It is important to note that scriptwriting handbooks often strategically omit any historical or developmental aspects in order to present scriptwriting as a supposedly timeless craft. The removal of the temporal factor is hardly surprising, as one of the central concerns of these how-to books is to establish clear, universal rules to be adhered to in order to create a well-functioning and marketable piece of writing. It goes without saying that any hint at the possibility that a different set of rules might exist, or might have existed, would greatly disrupt such an understanding. As a result, the prominence of manuals all but erases the possibility of historical engagement with scriptwriting due to the single-minded agenda of providing a universal, and necessarily ahistorical, template for screenwriting. In Japan, too, there is no scarcity of such how-to books with a universalist approach, as well as a wealth of translations of foreign writing manuals.[8] However, there are a few rare examples that have sought

7 Notable works that sustain this understanding of scriptwriting include Syd Field's *Screenplay: The Foundations of Screenwriting* (1979), Robert McKee's *Story: Substance, Style, and the Principles of Screenwriting* (1998), and Christian Vogler's *The Writer's Journey: Mythic Structure for Storytellers and Screenwriters* (1998).

8 Notable examples include Takeda Akira's *Eiga kyakuhonron* (On Film Script, 1928), Mori Iwao's *Tōkī sairento eiga kyakuhon nijūkō* (Twenty Lectures on Talkie and Film Scripts, 1930), Sasaki Norio's *Hassei eiga kantoku to kyakuhon ron* (On Sound Film Director and Script, 1931), Yasuda Kiyoo's *Eiga kyakuhon kōseiron* (On the Structure of Film Script, 1935) and *Tōkī shinario kōseiron* (On the Structure of Talkie Scenario, 1937), Kurata Fumindo's *Shinarioron* (On Scriptwriting, 1940), Noda Kōgo's *Shinario kōzōron* (On the Structure of Scenario, 1952), Kobayashi Masaru's *Shinario daiikka* (First Steps in Scriptwriting, 1956), Shindō Kaneto's *Shinario no kōsei* (The Structure of Scenario, 1959), Yasumi Toshio's *Shinario kyōshitsu* (Scriptwriting Class, 1964), and Arai Hajime's *Shinario no kiso gijutsu* (The Basic Techniques of Scriptwriting, 1985). Yasumi's manual stands out by drawing extensively from Soviet theorists, while the

to bridge the gap between serving as a handbook and providing a historical perspective on scriptwriting practices. For instance, Okada Susumu's *Shinario sekkei* (Scenario Design, 1963), besides thoroughly theorising about the script structure, provides a model for distinguishing between different historical styles of Japanese scriptwriting. While how-to books remain outside the scope of this study, it is worth noting that they seem to function as something of an adversary that continues to both inform and undermine historiographical texts.

Conversely, there are studies that go beyond the universalist approach and engage with scriptwriting from a historical perspective. In what remains a definitive study of Hollywood practice, Janet Staiger's contributions to *The Classical Hollywood Cinema* (1985) use scriptwriting as one of the organising devices in her account of the early Hollywood production mode. Somewhat ironically, these sections come at the end of each chapter of the book, underscoring scriptwriting's uneasy position at the margins of film studies. Nevertheless, Staiger convincingly shows how the development of scriptwriting is closely intertwined with film history, as the shifts in industrial modes also necessitated respective changes in script format. The genesis of screenwriting studies in the late 2000s is clearly indebted to Staiger's work: both Maras and Price draw heavily from it, and Price goes as far as positing that "all subsequent studies of screenplay history need to take account of Staiger's work as a starting point" (Price 2013, 6). A remaining question is to what extent Staiger's typology can be applied to studying Japanese practices, an issue that I have addressed in a survey of historiographies on Japanese scriptwriting (Kitsnik 2023).

The present study contributes to filling an important gap in the scholarship on Japanese cinema. At the same time, it hopes to complement the relatively recent and still developing discipline of screenwriting studies. In fact, Price notes that "[o]ne can anticipate that significant studies of writing in other film industries, such as those of India and Japan, will emerge in the near future" (Price 2013, 20). This book is an attempt to rise to this challenge. On a more general level, it aims to contribute to the discursive turn in recent film studies, which seeks to uncover and consider alternative resources for film analysis and sites of film reception. Already two decades

others remain less explicit about their particular influences. What is often regarded as first screenwriting manual in Japan, Kaeriyama Norimasa's *Katsudō shashingeki no sōsaku to satsueihō* (The Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama, 1917), heavily drew from various American sources (Bernardi 2001, 77). Translations into Japanese include Vsevolod Pudovkin's *Eiga kantoku to eiga kyakuhonron* (On the Film Director and Film Script, 1930), Frances Marion's *Shinario kōwa* (How to Write and Sell Film Stories, 1938), Sergei Eisenstein's *Eiga shinarioron* (On Film Scenarios, 1957), John Howard Lawson's *Gekisaku to shinario sakuhō* (Theory and Technique of Playwriting and Screenwriting, 1958), and many others.

ago, Abé Mark Nornes astutely pointed out what he perceived to be a common neglect of textual sources in the study of Japanese film.

> Most histories of the Japanese cinema concentrate on textual analysis and auteur study to the exclusion on all else. This is generally true of most writing on Asian cinema, where little attention has been paid to other discourses surrounding cinema, particularly those involving written texts. (Nornes 2003, xviii)

The kind of discourses to which Nornes refers have been meticulously examined in a few remarkable works on the early history of Japanese cinema. These include Joanne Bernardi's *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement* (2001) and Aaron Gerow's *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship* (2010), both of which continue to inform and inspire my own research. At the same time, it is all too apparent that both studies have opted to use alternative sources partly due to the unavailability of visual material from their chosen periods in film history, in what could be described as a quasi-archaeological approach.

Bernardi's *Writing in Light* remains, by some distance, the single most important contribution to English language scholarship on Japanese scriptwriting. This monograph could be regarded as a much welcome curiosity, because even in Japan, a separate study with this particular focus and scope is yet to emerge.[9] In this seminal book, Bernardi uncovers and collates a discourse from various early film journals from the 1910s. She argues that the emergence of the scenario was part of a larger set of innovations first proposed by the critics involved in the so-called Pure Film Movement (*Jun'eigageki undō*). The proposals included radical alterations to certain practices common at the day that were believed to be holding back the development of Japanese cinema, such as abolishing *benshi* (silent film narrator) and replacing *oyama* (female impersonators) with actresses.

My research differs from Bernardi's study by tackling a considerably wider range of issues related to scriptwriting and scenarios. For Bernardi, scriptwriting appears to hold interest only to the extent that it contributes to the nascent Pure Film Movement. For this reason, the study is necessarily limited to a relatively short period, relying on a teleological model that seeks to identify a particular

9 In Japan, a handful of books are dedicated to the life and work of individual writers, the main task of which is to reprint key scenarios and provide biographical detail. For instance, Takenaka Rō's *Yamagami Itarō no sekai* (The World of Yamagami Itarō, 1976), Murai Atsushi's *Kyakuhonka Hashimoto Shinobu no sekai* (The World of the Scriptwriter Hashimoto Shinobu, 2005), and Kasahara Kazuo, Arai Haruhiko and Suga Hidemi's *Shōwa no geki: Eiga kyakuhonka Kasahara Kazuo* (The Drama of Shōwa: Film Writer Kasahara Kazuo, 2002).

watershed moment in the history of Japanese cinema. Predominantly concerned with the question of origins, Bernardi's study is also representative of what Price calls 'quixotic attempts' of looking for 'firsts' in screenwriting (Price 2013, 22). Admittedly, Bernardi's study provides valuable insight into the often erratic formats of early Japanese scriptwriting, but is less concerned, if at all, with the film script in its mature form that only emerged in the late 1930s.[10]

While extensively employing a variety of textual rather than audio-visual sources of Japanese film, the present study also aims to address the material aspect of cinema, which in this case is embodied by the published scenario. By focusing on this seemingly paratextual source, we can consider the capacity of a verbal text to undermine or even replace the audio-visual product that is film. A published scenario presents a full-length account of a film (sometimes unproduced), which crucially distances it from teasers, trailers, synopses, and posters: a variety of paratexts that represent only a condensed version of the central text. I will argue that while it was initially considered a phase in film production, the scenario in its published form became an important part of the audience's film-viewing experience. Ultimately, scenarios published for the general reader suggest an alternative sociality and materiality to film reception, which until quite recently was considered communal and ephemeral, replacing it with something that is both private and tangible.

Before proceeding, a few comments are in order regarding the terminology I will use throughout this study. The reader might have already noticed that I prefer 'scriptwriting' to the more common 'screenwriting', as well as 'scenario' and 'script' to 'screenplay'. Admittedly, these choices are not without their ideological implications, as one of the aims of this study is to draw attention to the verbal and material character of scriptwriting and scenarios. As terminology is at the very core of any discourse, employing the vocabulary of screenwriting studies based on Hollywood examples uncritically, and not considering viable alternatives, could potentially lead to the misrepresentation of various crucial aspects of Japanese scriptwriting.

Both Maras and Price have put considerable effort into historicising the term 'screenplay', which, although currently the most

10 Towards the end of her study, Bernardi even seems to fall back on the 'great man theory' by extensively focusing on the novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's brief stint in film production. Ironically, Tanizaki contributed very little to the future format of the scenario. Certainly, an interest in Tanizaki is understandable due to a wealth of studies that examine his involvement in the new medium, and because his recognised status as a literary author might seem like a way to legitimise research of an otherwise marginal genre. Unfortunately, it is precisely this gesture that effectively undermines its own goal by introducing minor texts by a major author who also happened to write scripts, becoming a case of literary studies trivia rather than a study of scriptwriting.

common expression in English denoting the film script, is highly problematic. This is because it points to a certain format that emerged from the specific industrial needs and practices of Hollywood. Unlike 'screenplay', which gestures to the film 'screen' on the one hand and to the drama 'play' on the other, the main Japanese term for scriptwriting and scenario, *shinario*, seems to block direct appeal to both of these spheres. The use of '*shinario*' instead brings the textual aspect of the script to the surface, while refuting the ambiguity of 'screenwriting'.[11] To avoid similar misconceptions, I will use the term 'scriptwriter' rather than 'screenwriter'.

Fortunately for us, the noun 'shinario' is also remarkably inclusive, appearing in the titles of scriptwriting manuals and collections of published scenarios alike.[12] By extension, the scriptwriter is called *shinario raitā* (scenario writer), or *shinario sakka* (scenario author). Although 'scenario' was widely used in English during the silent era concurrently with terms such as 'photo play', it is largely obsolete now. This allows us to use it exclusively for Japanese (published) scripts and not as a synonym for other varieties with different functions within the filmmaking process.

In this study, I will examine the phenomenon of Japanese scriptwriting, drawing from various sources that bring both the process and the work of scriptwriters into focus. Arguably, these efforts were greatly supported by the extensive practice of publishing and reading scenarios, which in turn elicited comparisons to literature and facilitated the emergence of a new type of reader.

In Chapter Two, I will focus on the textual format of the Japanese scenario, pointing out early foreign influences and tracing the development towards master-scene script as its standard. The chapter also offers an outline of the field of scenario publishing and demonstrates how the serialisation of film scripts in various periodicals, and their subsequent anthologising, functioned as a site for canon formation. I will also explore the implications arising from the medium specificity suggested by the standardised use of the manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*).

11 This ambiguity has prompted some scholars to ponder whether it could also metaphorically include the actual act of filmmaking as 'writing on screen'.

12 Other available terms refer to the specific sites of their usage. The most common of these, *kyakuhon* (play, script) was borrowed from theatre terminology and initially used as a synonym for *shinario* but has since mid-1930s been used mostly for title credits; in the realm of scriptwriting, it has a somewhat bureaucratic tinge. However, it is from here that a common nickname for the script, *hon*, and for scriptwriters, *hon'ya*, is derived. Another term, *kyakushoku*, can be translated as adaptation or adapted script. Finally, terms such as *daihon* (shooting script) and *konte* (continuity script) relate to pre- and post-production phases.

Chapter Three focuses on the *Shinario bungaku undō* (Scenario Literature Movement), which sought to consider scenarios as a new literary genre. I will delineate several topics that emerged in the course of the debate, including the scenario's autonomous status in the cultural field, its role in inviting new talent from outside the industry, and its archival capacity for film preservation. I will examine the particular faculties of various types of readerships, including their function as film criticism by Itami Mansaku.

Chapter Four is dedicated to the social and material conditions of scriptwriting. I will demonstrate how the perceived critical status and situational learning in a homosocial milieu has proffered a particular image of the writer and their work. I will discuss the writing space as exemplified by the regular inn (*jōyado*), while problematising this by introducing gender issues and contributions of female writers. A discussion on script scouting practises and Mizuki Yōko's work will address the extent of a scriptwriter's agency.

In the Coda, I will revisit some of the issues that relate to the authorship and ownership of scenarios.

Japanese names are rendered in Japanese name order, surname followed by given name. All translations, unless noted otherwise, are my own.

2 Scenario as Film: Format, Canon, Medium

Summary 2.1 Evolving Script Formats. – 2.1.1 The Earliest Functions. – 2.1.2 Adapting Hollywood Practices: Tanizaki and Kaeriyama. – 2.1.3 The French Connection: Transcriptions and Translations. – 2.2 From Silent Script to Talkie Scenario. – 2.2.1 Scriptwriters Amidst the Talkie Crisis. – 2.2.2 Transitional Formats. – 2.2.3 The Master-scene Scenario. – 2.3 Scenario Publishing and Canon. – 2.3.1 The Standard Format. – 2.3.2 Publication in Journals. – 2.3.3 *Kinema junpō* and Scenario Anthologies. – 2.3.4 Static and Dynamic Canon. – 2.3.5 Publishing Strategies. – 2.4 Medium Specificity of the Handwritten Scenario. – 2.4.1 Sheets on Tracks. – 2.4.2 *Genkō yōshi*: The Manuscript Paper. – 2.4.3 The Typed Script. – 2.4.4 Typewriting and Gender. – 2.4.5 Hybrid Modernity of the Scenario.

Shindō Kaneto (1912-2012), whose longevity among Japanese script-writers is matched only by his slightly younger colleague, Hashimoto, had a most unusually varied career in cinema. Born into an impoverished peasant family in Hiroshima, Shindō began at the lowest rung of the industrial ladder in a small Kyoto-based studio, Shinkō Kinema, in 1935. However, during the wartime and early postwar years, he quickly worked his way up to become a sought-after in-house writer at the Shōchiku studios and eventually an independent filmmaker with an international reputation for films such as *Hadaka no shima* (*The Naked Island*, 1960) and *Onibaba* (1964). It was during the early days in the film processing unit that he had his first serendipitous encounter with a film script (*kyakuhon*). In his memoirs, Shindō

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(1993, 49) recalls a visit to the workplace lavatory where he discovered it in the form of scattered mimeograph (*gariban*) sheets used as toilet paper, which he quickly decided to take home for study.

As tongue-in-cheek as it may be, this story about film scripts being treated as little more than garbage is hardly exceptional. In a sense, it extends to the attitude towards these texts in film scholarship. Steven Price refers to an anecdote about a sizeable collection of scripts from London's Ealing studios. These scripts survived for posteriority only because they were accidentally retrieved from a skip. Price points out that "[f]ilm scholars, with some important exceptions, have naturally focused on films themselves and have tended to regard screenplays as, in effect, industrial waste products: what remains of value after production is the film itself, not the screenplay" (Price 2013, 19). In short, the film script is commonly treated merely as a temporary planning document, a blueprint that can and should be disposed of once it has finished performing its specific function.

While Shindō's recollection may be representative of one extreme of studio practices at the time, the common fate of film scripts in Japan, at least since the late 1930s, is distinctly removed from such lamentable yet comical accounts. Not only do they survive, but the copies of shooting scripts (*daihon*) are readily available in several research facilities such as the Tsubouchi Shōyō Memorial Theatre Museum at Waseda University and specialist bookstores such as Yaguchi Shoten at Tokyo's Jinbōcho second-hand bookstore district. It can be argued that scripts (at least from the prewar period) generally have a better survival rate and availability to the public than films based on them, which paradoxically suggests that cinema on cellulose can sometimes be more durable than on celluloid.

The magnitude of this Gutenbergian twist against modern forms of analogue and digital media is best attested by the long-running publishing of scripts in film journals and their ongoing anthologisation under the textual genre of scenario (*shinario*), a remarkable cultural phenomenon that will be closely scrutinised in this chapter. Before arriving there, I will examine how the standard format for scriptwriting in Japan, the master-scene scenario, emerged from the adaptation and negotiation of various foreign templates in the 1920s and overcame the talkie crisis of the early 1930s. I will also consider the more theoretical implications arising from the handwritten sheets of manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*) as a writing device employed by most Japanese scriptwriters.

2.1 Evolving Script Formats

2.1.1 The Earliest Functions

The poet and film critic Kitagawa Fuyuhiko (1900-90) recalls the following incident from his school days in Kyoto.

> One day when I was a student at Sankō [The Third High School] around the year 1920, I climbed the nearby Yoshida Hill where they were shooting a period film. The director was holding in his hand something that looked like scraps of paper but turned out to be *kōdan zasshi* [a journal of the popular genre of historical narrative]. A story printed there was underlined at different places. He was directing the film with the help of that narrative pencilled in with red. (Kitagawa 1952, 4-5)

Kitagawa refers to what he had witnessed as "the first bud of scenario [*shinario*]". He also asserts that texts devised in such a manner must have eventually evolved into what is known as the shooting script (*daihon*), in which the source text (*gensaku*) and the script (*shinario*), indivisible as they were in the marked-up literary journal, were finally separated from each other (Kitagawa 1952, 5). However, one should exercise caution when drawing definitive conclusions from this otherwise appealing formative image about early filmmaking. Steve Price has astutely noted when countering similar claims that "[c]onsidering ready sources as scenarios is a logical error" (Price 2013, 26).

While involving a text, the practice described above actually seems closer to *kuchidate* (improvisation), a common practice in 1910s Japan. This approach, made famous by the director Makino Shōzō (1878-1929), often credited as the 'father' of Japanese cinema, involved shouting out directions to the actors moments before letting the camera roll (Bernardi 2001, 72). A far more suitable candidate for the first format of the Japanese film script is the memorandum (*oboegaki*), pointed out by several sources as the first appearance of a text specifically prepared for shooting a film (Iida 1954a, 3). This is the Japanese parallel to the earliest example of Hollywood scriptwriting, the outline script (Bordwell, Staiger, Thompson 1985, 118-19). However, putting aside these initial rudimentary examples, the crucial distinction in Japanese scriptwriting should be placed between two conceptually different textual types: the continuity script, used predominantly during the silent period, which takes the 'shot' (which generally lasts until cut to the next frame) as its organising principle; and the master-scene scenario that, as is apparent from its name, employs the 'scene' (which lasts until the shift in time and place) as the main structuring unit.

At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that any given script could undergo alterations and transformations depending on its precise function within the filmmaking process. To illustrate a typical lifespan of a silent era script in its various phases and formats, Itō Daisuke (1898-1981), a prominent writer and director of period dramas, has provided the following account.

> [S]ilent scripts were handwritten on sheets of lined paper, and five carbon copies (the number of copies increased to ten by the end of the [1920s]) were made for distribution to the director, assistant director, chief cameraman, lead actor or actress, and the production department. The director usually wrote in the continuity on his copy of the script and used it as a shooting script. After shooting the film the director and cameramen used a copy of the script once again when editing the negative and separated sequences according to color for the toning process [...] The processed print eventually returned from the lab; the script, which by this point had been reduced to scattered fragments, did not. (Bernardi 2001, 153-4)

This description of the industrial process certainly explains how the script found by Shindō ended up in the studio lavatory. Herein also lies the reason why research into the earliest forms of Japanese scriptwriting remains difficult due to the lack of surviving sources, let alone identifying the people who were responsible for writing them. However, what can be concluded from the credits provided for films during the early silent era is that scripts in some form must have existed since at least the early 1910s.[1] The earliest available from 1908 are anonymously attributed to the studios' planning departments (*kikakubu*), but from around 1914, names of individual scriptwriters, credited for either the script (*kyakuhon*) or adaptation (*kyakushoku*), begin to appear (Kishi 1973, 813). While the texts referred to by these credits rarely survive, it is at this juncture that a rather well-known link to the contemporary literary scene has proved extremely helpful.

2.1.2 Adapting Hollywood Practices: Tanizaki and Kaeriyama

At the time when Kitagawa bore witness to a film being shot with the aid of a note-filled popular magazine, serious alternatives to the practice had already appeared. In fact, the very same year, 1920,

1 A good and generally reliable source for identifying scriptwriting credits for early Japanese films is the appendix of the first volume of *Nihon shinario taikei* (Series of Japanese Scenarios, 1973).

represents a watershed in the history of Japanese cinema, when two new studios with innovative approaches started operation. The first of these, Shōchiku Kinema, was to become the most enduring of all Japanese film companies, even surviving the slump of the 1970s that proved fatal to several of its former industry rivals. The other, Taikatsu (short for Taishō Katsuei), although short-lived and little known, often receives disproportionate attention and scrutiny in film histories.[2] This is almost entirely due to the creative collaboration between Thomas Kurihara (1885-1926), a director who had recently returned from working in Hollywood, and the literary author Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965).[3] Bernardi has noted how the founding manifesto of the studio placed great emphasis on the prestige brought by the inclusion of an established writer as a literary consultant (Bernardi 2001, 143).

Tanizaki wrote four scripts for Kurihara, three of which survive, although the prints of all films have sadly been lost.[4] It appears that the scripts have undergone substantial editing before taking their final shape, and it might be partly for that reason that their outlook diverges greatly from any script formats that preceded or followed them. Consequently, perusing Tanizaki's scripts has little application for the purpose of examining the standard format and practice of Japanese scriptwriting. However, they can be considered as a fascinating example of an emerging textual form still under construction. The following excerpt from *Amachua kurabu* (*Amateur Club*, 1920) reveals the compositional logic and stylistic elements of Tanizaki's scriptwriting.

> Scene #15. Exterior. In the water
> Medium close up, Chizuko, all alone, unconsciously and effortlessly swimming various strokes.
> Scene #16. Exterior. Beach
> Positioning the lens at the same height as the young woman's eyes at the surface of the water, a shot of Yuigahama (beach) in the distance as it would appear to someone swimming parallel to the shore.
> Scene #17. Exterior. In the water
> A continuation of #15. Chizuko swims.
> TITLE: CHIZUKO, THE MIURA FAMILY'S TOMBOY
> Scene #18. Exterior. In the water

2 See Tanaka 1976, 1: 296-306; Satō 2006, 1: 167-9; Shindō 1989, 1: 20-32.

3 Taikatsu's production division was taken over by Shōchiku in 1922. Kurihara died in 1926 at the age of 41.

4 *Amachua kurabu* (*Amateur Club*, 1920), *Katsushika Sunako* (1920), *Hinamatsuri no yoru* (*Night of the Doll Festival*, 1921), and *Jasei no in* (*The Lust of the White Serpent*, 1921).

Figure 4 The crew of *Amachua kurabu*. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, in a white suit, is sitting in the middle. Image sourced from Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989)

> Close-up of Chizuko swimming. This scene calls for some graceful action. (Tanizaki, Kurihara 2001, 267; translated by Joanne Bernardi)

In this example, the information on camera positions and movements is provided with an almost excessive and seemingly unnecessary precision. However, one should consider that this script was written at a time when certain framing and editing techniques, now extremely common, such as the point-of-view shot described here, as well as terms used to mark them, had not yet been standardised and new vocabulary was most likely being invented in the process. Another proof of the tentative and hybrid nature of this writing style is the alternating use of Japanese and English terminology. The repetitive use of the terms 'Interior' and 'Exterior' for each 'scene' (or shot, to be precise), a staple of Hollywood screenwriting but almost never found in Japanese film scripts, immediately reveals a pronounced American influence. The inserted title about Chizuko represents the most common way new characters were introduced in silent cinema. The unusual perlocutionary statement at the end of the excerpt provides a cue to the shooting crew for improvisation.

The excessive technical details, unparalleled in subsequent Japanese scenarios, bring this format closer to what has commonly been called the continuity script, composed during the shooting for the post-production phase. This is also where the contributions of the director to Tanizaki's scenarios come to the fore. Apparently, Tanizaki was initially more of a 'concept man', and it was Kurihara who

made substantial alterations by inserting technical information for his own directing purposes (LaMarre 2005, 22-3).[5] This approach was based on his first-hand experience working at Thomas H. Ince's production company with what was the Hollywood standard script at the time.[6] Bernardi notes that at the rival Shōchiku, scripts used by another Japanese director imported from across the Pacific, Henry Kotani (1887-1972), who directed the studio's inaugural feature, *Shima no onna* (*Island Woman*, 1920), also closely resembled contemporary Hollywood continuity scripts (Bernardi 2001, 26).[7] However, from an examination of subsequent examples from the 1920s, it is evident that the practice of writing continuity scripts did not generally find a following in Japan. At the same time, the perennial problem with pre-1930s scripts that makes an adequate assessment of this point difficult is that most surviving texts have been later edited for legibility and therefore necessarily provide less insight into their initial formats.

While Tanizaki could employ the expertise of the Hollywood-trained Kurihara to guide his attempts at forging a new format for scenarios, another notable writer of the day, Kaeriyama Norimasa (1893-1964), had to rely on his encyclopedic knowledge of relevant English-language sources (Nada 2006, 519). Slightly predating Tanizaki's efforts, the script of Kaeriyama's debut feature *Sei no kagayaki* (*The Glory of Life*, 1919), is often considered the first surviving proper film script in Japan and consequently granted the honour of opening virtually all scenario anthologies, as we will see later in this chapter. Kaeriyama has been considered a pioneer of Japanese cinema, allegedly coining the word for film (*eiga*) that replaced the earlier *katsudō shashin* (active photographs),[8] but it is somewhat difficult to assess his exact influence on subsequent developments.

In Kaeriyama's how-to book, *Katsudo shashingeki no sōsaku to satsuei* (The Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama, 1917), which applies a step-by-step approach to film production, a

5 Kurihara's additions to the *Amachua kurabu* script allegedly inspired Tanizaki to try several stylistic innovations in his subsequent scripts. Interestingly, it seems that what attracted Tanizaki to this format was not its fragmentary and possibly evocative nature, but rather the multiple textual layers provided by semi-technical references and additional explanations. Arguably, there are parallels to this in his later literary works, where various narrative devices such as frame stories and unreliable narrators are employed to striking effect, such as in *Mōmoku monogatari* (A Blind Man's Tale, 1931), *Yoshino kuzu* (Arrowroot, 1931), and *Shunkinshō* (A Portrait of Shunkin, 1933), among others.

6 See Price 2013, 80-5 on Ince's continuity scripts.

7 According to some accounts, Kotani is also credited for introducing the word *shinario* for film script in its industrial context, replacing the earlier *daihon* (Tanaka 1980, 160-1).

8 See Gerow 2010, 119.

Figure 5
Shooting script of Kaeriyama Norimasa's *Shiragiku monogatari* (Tale of the White Chrysanthemum, 1920), a film written and produced shortly after *Sei no kagayaki*. Image sourced from Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989)

considerable amount of space is dedicated to the principles of scriptwriting (Kaeriyama 2006, 67-120). Kaeriyama put the techniques introduced there into practice in what amounts to the first 'pure' films in Japan.[9] The book was widely read, but his films did not appear to have a clear and direct impact on contemporary filmmaking.[10] Somewhat similarly, Kaeriyama's scripts seem to represent an isolated, albeit intriguing, attempt at devising a script format. Kaeriyama's continuity scripts, unusual for Japanese scriptwriting, appear as dry and technical in comparison to the subsequent developments. Apparently,

9 See Bernardi 2001, 67-96.

10 Much like with the entire Pure Film Movement, it is difficult to prove whether Kaeriyama's scenario format truly had a lasting influence on contemporary and future writers. In fact, there might have been other, more important and less conceptual factors that contributed to the shifts that Japanese film underwent with the advent of sound cinema. At any rate, the growing importance of the script as a communication document was in line with the need to manage larger-scale production rather than concerns about the quality of cinema.

it was his professional background in engineering that informed the technicalities-heavy text aimed at precision rather than evocativeness.[11] However, Kaeriyama was also known for convening meetings before shooting commenced where the script could be read aloud and discussed together with the entire crew (Shindō 1989, 1: 12). This collective approach differs diametrically from earlier practices such as Makino's *kuchidate*, where everyone except the director was kept in the dark about the desired outcome of the production, and as such, attested to how far the scenario had travelled from its improvisatory beginnings.

2.1.1 The French Connection: Transcriptions and Translations

Tanizaki and Kaeriyama made significant pioneering efforts to adapt writing formats imported from Hollywood, but most of the fledgling scriptwriters seem to have acquired their skills by simply familiarising themselves with foreign films available at the time. The director Ushihara Kiyohiko (1897-1985), who also wrote the script for the seminal *Rojō no reikon* (*Souls on the Road*, 1921, directed by Murata Minoru, 1894-1937), asserts that for acquiring scriptwriting skills, it was more efficient to watch foreign films than read scenarios (Shindō 1989, 1: 36). Yoda Yoshikata, although belonging to a slightly younger cohort, also admits that a significant part of professional training for his generation of scriptwriters was attending in-house screenings at the studio and writing down continuities for the purpose of carefully scrutinising how films were structured (Bernardi 2001, 21-2). Later in this chapter, I will examine how a sizeable number of published transcriptions (*sairoku*) of foreign films emerged from similar practices, commonly and somewhat confusingly labelled with the same inclusive term for film script, *shinario*.[12]

It is crucial to make a distinction between transcriptions of foreign films and actual translations of scenarios published in a book format. Yamamoto Kikuo claims that the first scenarios translated into Japanese, by the French scriptwriter and director Louis Delluc (1890-1924), appeared in the journal *Eiga sekai* (Film World) in 1923 (Yamamoto 1983, 155). An excerpt from another scenario (or *drame cinégraphique*) by Delluc, *Fièvre* (*Fever*, 1921), translated by Uchida Kisao and serialised between the August and December 1925

11 While crediting Kaeriyama for certain innovations, Shindō dismissively notes that his relative disinterest in literary arts (*bungei*) is apparent from his scenarios (Shindō 1989, 1: 18).

12 A quarterly ambitiously titled *Eiga kagaku kenkyū* (Scientific Film Research) began appearing in 1928 and included very detailed and polished transcripts of foreign film continuities.

"FIÈVRE"

(狂　熱)

DRAME CINEGRAPHIQUE COMPOSE
ET REALISE PAR LOUIS DELLUC

原作並監督　ルイ・デリュック

内田岐三雄譯

三

213、——小さな東方の女は、もう誰もかまはないので、大膽になりグルリのものをながめる。その眼は……

214、——パイプの女の方へ、その女はパイプの煙を一吹き強く吹き脚を組み合はせる、以前よりも一層高く……

215、——コップを重々しい樣子で愛撫してゐる醉ひどれへ……

216、——古い鏡の前で身づくろひを仕直してゐるサラアの方へ……

217、——鈍重に嘲笑つてゐるトピネルリの方へ、此奴は飮まうと酒を注いでゐる……

218、——醉ひ潰れて無感覺になり其のシガアさへもう盡きかけてゐる山高帽の男の方へ……

219、——いぎたなく醉つてだらしない格構になつた骨牌をやつてゐる者達へ……

220、——男達とごつちやになつた女共。

221、——猿と遊んでゐるチビ女へ……

222、——セザアルの脚の間に坐つてゐるボムボンへ……

223、——東方の女の顏。

224、——トピネルリが自働ピアノのハンドルを廻はす。

225、——サラアは勘定臺に載つてゐるたコップをとる、その傍には……

226、——テュリップ……

227、——それを小さな東方の女が遠くから驚きの眼を以て眺める。一體何んだらう……

228、——あの花は？

229、——彼女は恐はゝ〳〵花の方へ手を差し伸べる、がそれを憶病さうに引つ込めて、なほ一身振りしてから勘定臺と自分との距離をヂ〳〵した眼付で測つてゐるらしい。

230、——一面の醉體だらけ。

231、——グリマイユは瓶から飮む。

232、——ミリティスは微笑む、ぼんやりしながら。

233、——カルロはやつとこさで立上つたが、腰が定まらず、千鳥足だ……

234、——一人の女がその後を追かけて同じ樣に千鳥足で步く。

— 66 —

Figure 6
A page from the Japanese translation of Louis Delluc's *Fièvre* (*Fever*, 1921). *Eiga ōrai* (December 1925)

issues of the journal *Eiga ōrai* (Film Traffic), displays a methodically enumerated script, where – much like in Tanizaki's work – a shot rather than a scene acts as the organising principle (Delluc 1925, 66-72). However, in contrast to the scripts by both Tanizaki and Kaeriyama, the focus is on action while technical vocabulary is entirely curbed, and there is no discernible awareness of camera positions or movements.

Delluc, a notable French impressionist director along with Jean Epstein (1897-1953) and Abel Gance (1889-1981), is arguably remembered better in Japan than in the English-speaking world as a foundational film critic and founder of early ciné-clubs. The critic Iijima Tadashi (1902-96) also claims that the collection of his film scripts, *Drames de cinéma* (Film Dramas, 1923), was the very first example in a single book format of what he calls *yomu shinario* (scenario for

reading) (Iijima 1976, 67).[13] Iijima, a graduate of the French department of Tokyo Imperial University, was a strong proponent of French cinema, of which he had acquired an extensive knowledge, displaying it in his many volumes of film criticism that began with *Shinema no ABC* (The ABC of Cinema, 1928). By employing the term *yomu shinario*, Iijima is effectively alluding to the debates on the literariness of the scenario of the late 1930s in which he actively participated; I will discuss this phenomenon in the next chapter.

In comparison to other critics who have written on Japanese scriptwriting, Iijima stands apart by focusing more on the stylistic beginnings of the scenario in an international context. In *Eiga no naka no bungaku, bungaku no naka no eiga* (Literature Inside Film, Film Inside Literature, 1976), published nearly half a century after his initial interest in scenarios began, Iijima delineates the influence of foreign formats available in translation in the 1920s on the subsequent work of Japanese writers such as Yoda and Itami. To make this point, Iijima comparatively dissects the styles of several notable scriptwriters. Delluc's writing, which Iijima still considers exemplary, is contrasted to that of Carl Mayer (1894-1944) and D.W. Griffith (1875-1948), representing German expressionist film and Hollywood, respectively. Mayer is criticised for failing to implement the continuity format: although camera movements are registered in the script, the links between shots are left undetermined. Griffith, in turn, includes an oppressive amount of technical information for Iijima's preference: for instance, how many feet of celluloid each scene requires. Iijima suggests that Delluc's originality lies in omitting unnecessary technical details, assuming that any reader of the scenario with previous film viewing experience would be able to fill in the gaps themselves (Iijima 1976, 72-7).

In sum, there were at least four types of texts that arguably influenced silent film scriptwriting in Japan: 1) the first-hand experience from Hollywood scriptwriting practices by returning directors such as Kurihara and Kotani; 2) the filmmaking how-to book *Katsudo shashingeki no sōsaku to satsuei* by Kaeriyama; 3) self-devised transcriptions of foreign films; and 4) published translations of foreign scenarios. To indentify any commonality between the diverse formats informed by these varied sources, we can benefit from a simple but highly instructive observation made by Itō Daisuke. In a conversation accompanying an anthology of earliest scenarios, Itō concludes from successively examining the lineup of the texts, that from a certain point in time, all Japanese scenarios began to be exclusively organised around scenes rather than shots (Itō et al. 1966, 17). This

13 Iijima attributes two more 'firsts' to Delluc: film criticism as presented in *Cinéma & cie* (Cinema and Company, 1919) and the earliest study on Charlie Chaplin (1921).

shift, which can be neatly attributed to the advent of sound cinema, suggests that the talkie crisis that shook the entire film industry also played a considerable part in shaping the standard format of the Japanese scenario.

2.2 From Silent Script to Talkie Scenario[14]

2.2.1 Scriptwriters Amidst the Talkie Crisis

Steven Price has noted that in Hollywood

> [t]he introduction of sound would momentarily throw screenwriting into a state of confusion, and no comparably universal set of principles would emerge in place of the continuity [...] the studios struggled to find ways of adapting their writing practices to cope with the shock. (Price 2013, 120)

However, comparing this situation to Japan is not straightforward, as the continuity script, as it was understood in Hollywood, never truly became the prevailing format in Japan. Another complication in making such cross-cultural comparisons is the fact that in Japan, sound was fully incorporated into film production only by the mid-1930s, which is approximately five years later than Hollywood. Despite these differences, the impact of the new requirements introduced by the advent of sound on scriptwriting is clearly evident in both film cultures.

The transition from silent to sound cinema was not just an industrial or technological change, but also represented a personal crisis for many individuals in the industry. The introduction of sound was a jolt for actors, who often struggled to modify their acting style or voice to meet the new demands of the talkies. This shift exerted similar pressure on scripts, causing several previously prominent writers to cease writing for cinema, including Mizushima Ayame (1903-90), the first female scriptwriter in Japan, who left her position at the Shōchiku Studios shortly after finishing her first and only sound script, and instead pursued a career as a children's author.[15] Two prominent figures of the 1920s *jidaigeki*, Susukita Rokuhei and Yamagami Itarō, who were reportedly paid more for their writing than directors and actors, both yielded their hitherto dominant positions in the trade and largely vanished from the scene. At the

14 An earlier, expanded version of this section appeared in Kitsnik 2022.

15 See Chapter Four for more details on Mizushima's career.

same time, several revisionist *jidaigeki* writer-directors, including Itō Daisuke, Itami Mansaku, and Yamanaka Sadao (1909-38), adapted well to the new environment and flourished.[16]

The talkie crisis in Hollywood coincided with the closure of studio script departments

> associated with the replacement of the numbered shooting script by the master-scene screenplay, which was better tailored to the requirements of writers working relatively independently of the studio system. (Price 2013, 163-4)

In contrast, Japanese studios kept their writing departments open, which rather thrived during the early sound era, as evidenced by numerous contests to recruit fresh talent that began in 1928 and lasted into the late 1940s. While the advent of sound reshaped labour organisation in Hollywood, the script department (*kyakuhonbu*) model established in Japan in the 1920s continued well into the early 1960s.

A prime example of a script department was that of Shōchiku, often noted for its familial atmosphere and collaborative approach towards writing. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. At this juncture, it suffices to say that upon closer examination, it becomes challenging to determine who contributed more to the cinematic style promoted by studio head Kido Shirō (1894-1977): young directors such as Gosho Heinosuke (1902-81), Naruse, Ozu, Shimazu Yasujirō (1897-1945), and Shimizu Hiroshi (1903-66), or scriptwriters, especially Noda Kōgo and Ikeda Tadao (1905-64), but also Fushimi Akira (1900-70), Kitamura Komatsu (1901-64), Saitō Ryōsuke (1910-2007), and Yanai Takao (1902-81), to name only a few. As we shall later observe, scenarios by these six writers, for both silent and sound films, have also been frequently anthologised.

Fushimi Akira's efforts stand out among his peers, at least in written records.[17] Approximately half of his 122 scripts were directed by either Gosho (26 scripts) or Saitō Torajirō (1905-82) (32 scripts). Beginning with *Hazukashii yume* (*Shameful Dream*, 1927), the partnership between Fushimi and Gosho extended well into the 1930s, resulting in a series of acclaimed films. While not as well-known as pairings between Noda and Ozu or Yoda and Mizoguchi, Fushimi and Gosho

16 It has been frequently noted that intertitles in Itami's silent period scripts possessed a certain clever, literary quality. It seems that focusing on this aspect facilitated his smooth transition to the progressively more dialogue-driven cinema. Itami's contributions to reviewing scenarios will be discussed at the end of Chapter Three.

17 Unlike most of his contemporaries, Fushimi remained a regular employee (*senzoku*) at Shōchiku for his entire career. He was the only scriptwriter who did not shift to the postwar contract (*keiyaku*) system. Allegedly, he received a hefty sum for his loyalty upon finally retiring in 1959 (Kishi 1970, 392).

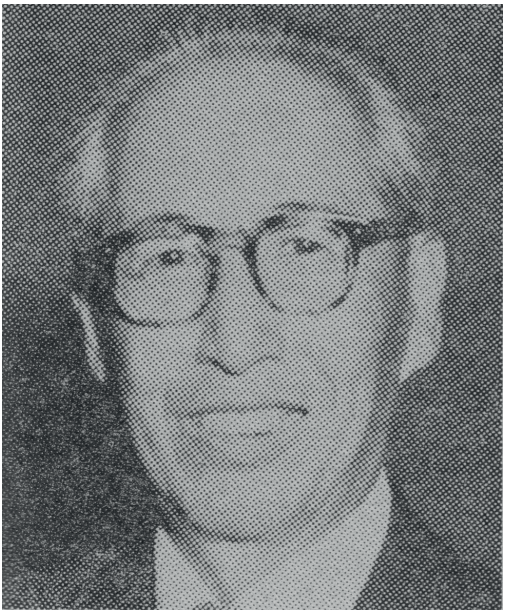


Figure 7
Fushimi Akira (1900-70). Image sourced from *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* (1965)

constituted one of the most successful writer-director teams during the late silent and early sound era. It often becomes challenging to identify the unique contributions of each to a specific film.[18] Fushimi was actively involved throughout the talkie crisis years, contributing to the full range of transitional film formats, from *musei* (silent), through *saundo-ban* (sound edition) and *kaisetsu-ban* (commented edition). He also participated in both Gosho's and Saitō's first full *hassei* (sound) features, in 1931 and 1936, respectively. Examining several of these scripts allows us to trace the evolution of the scenario format from silent to sound cinema.

2.2.2 Transitional Formats

The first example is the scenario of a silent film, *Mura no hanayome* (*The Village Bride*, 1928) (Fushimi 1965, 124-43). Anyone with some familiarity with the appearance of Japanese film scripts would be

18 According Kishi Matsuo, the two referred to each other using the pet names Atchan and Hei-san (Kishi 1970, 394). Fushimi wrote approximately a quarter (26 out of 99) of Gosho's films, establishing him as Gosho's primary scriptwriter from 1932 to 1935. This period is often considered as Gosho's most significant contribution to Japanese cinema. Regrettably, only a few of these films have survived.

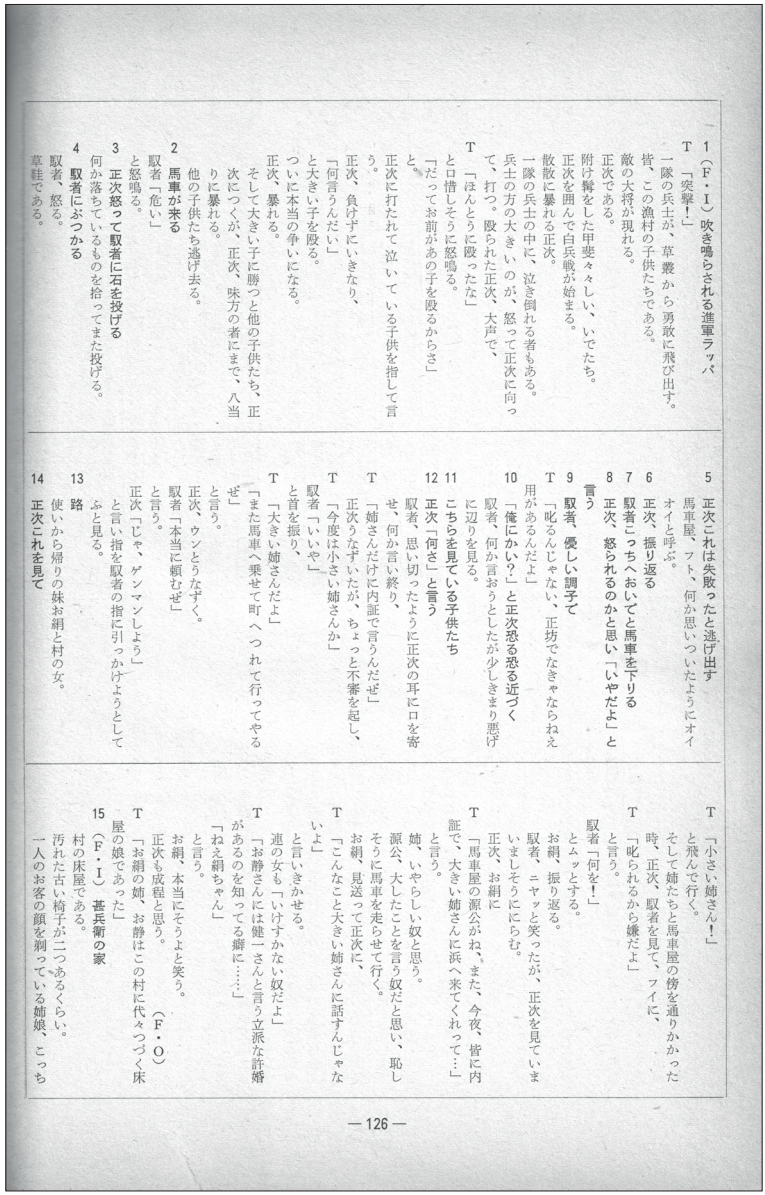
struck by how contemporary and like the later standard of talkie scenario this late 1920s example appears. Shindō has commended the light sketchiness of this specific writing style; he cites lengthy passages from the script and observes how harmoniously this bright, even bucolic work aligns with the three principles of the script outlined by Kido: tempo, mood, and pathos (Shindō 1989, 1: 100). The intended thematic lightness of the early Shōchiku's trademark 'Kamata flavour' (*Kamatachō*, after the studio's location) is thus reflected in the script format as well. Admittedly, other scenarios from the same era appear much denser, either due to the excessive literariness of descriptive passages (*jinobun*) or the attempt to pack in too many technical details. Fushimi, however, seems to have had a light touch from the beginning, which turned out to be fortuitous considering the upcoming arrival of sound cinema.

Another characteristic that brings the script of *Mura no hanayome* closer to a talkie scenario is its enumeration of scenes rather than shots. This would have been unusual in pre-sound scripts that resembled continuity, where the narrative flow was compromised to structure the script around camera movements. In this regard, and in contrast to its contemporaries, *Mura no hanayome* could be considered as a master-scene script in progress. However, it continues to bear resemblance to silent scripts in its treatment of dialogue. A distinct feature of scriptwriting from this era is the clear differentiation between lines delivered through intertitles and those that are not, determined by the presence of a capital 'T' alongside the corresponding bracketed passage. This classification effectively designates part of the dialogue as significant (or expositional) and the rest as merely incidental.[19]

In contrast, the script of Japan's first all-talkie film, *Madamu to nyōbō* (*The Neighbour's Wife and Mine*, 1931, directed by Gosho Heinosuke and penned by Kitamura Komatsu), exhibits a format in flux (Kitamura 1966, 39-48). Although Fushimi did not write the script, he is credited as a 'gagman' (*gyaguman*), a role in film production responsible for creating brief comedic moments, arguably a key component of the 'Kamata flavour'.[20] In comparison to *Mura no hanayome*,

19 Price has observed that "[i]t is likely that by this date spectators and actors were sufficiently well versed in lip reading 'silent' movies that a certain amount of dialogue could be reliably delivered in this fashion, obviating the need for interrupting the dramatic action with titles" (Price 2013, 90). However, the concept of lipreading, while fascinating, must in Japan consider the presence and role of the silent film narrator, or *benshi*. The *benshi* used the shooting script to create their *kagezerifu* ('shadow speech'), effectively vocalising the concealed dialogue and rendering any such effort from the audience unnecessary. At the same time, it is crucial to understand that the silent scenario cannot be simply equated with the film viewing experience, as the lipread lines are not readily discernible from the image.

20 In the Japanese film industry, the role of a 'gagman' is akin to what Mori Iwao (1899-1979) described as specialists who were often brought in solely to write dialogue



1 (F・I) 吹き鳴らされる進軍ラッパ
T 「突撃！」
一隊の兵士が、草叢から勇敢に飛び出す。
皆、この漁村の子供たちである。
敵の大将が現れる。
正次である。
附け髯をした甲斐々々しい、いでたち。
正次を囲んで白兵戦が始まる。
散敢に暴れる正次。
一隊の兵士の中に、泣き倒れる者もある。
兵士の方の大きいのが、怒って正次に向って、打つ。殴られた正次、大声で、
T 「ほんとうに殴ったな」
と口惜しそうに怒鳴る。
「だってお前があの子を殴るからさ」
と、
正次に打たれて泣いている子供を指して言う。
正次、負けずにいきなり、
「何言うんだい」
と大きい子を殴る。
ついに本当の争いになる。
正次、暴れる。
そして大きい子に勝つと他の子供たち、正次につくが、正次、味方の者にまで、八当りに暴れる。
他の子供たち逃げ去る。
2 **馬車が来る**
駅者「危い」
と怒鳴る。
3 **正次怒って駅者に石を投げる**
何か落ちているものを拾ってまた投げる。
4 **駅者にぶつかる**
駅者、怒る。
草荏である。

5 **正次これは失敗ったと逃げ出す**
馬車屋、フト、何か思いついたようにオイオイと呼ぶ。
6 **正次、振り返る**
7 **駅者こっちへおいでと馬車を下りる**
8 **正次、怒られるのかと思い「いやだよ」と言う**
9 **駅者、優しい調子で**
T 「叱るんじゃない、正坊でなきゃならねえ用があるんだよ」
10 **「俺にかい？」と正次恐る恐る近づく**
駅者、何か言おうとしたが少しきまり悪げに辺りを見る。
11 **こちらを見ている子供たち**
12 **正次「何さ」と言う**
駅者、思い切ったように正次の耳に口を寄せ、何か言い終り、
T 「姉さんだけに内証で言うんだぜ」
正次うなずいたが、ちょっと不審を起し、
T 「今度は小さい姉さんか」
駅者「いいや」
と首を振り、
T 「また馬車へ乗せて町へつれて行ってやるぜ」
と言う。
正次、ウンとうなずく。
駅者「本当に頼むぜ」
と言う。
正次「じゃ、ゲンマンしよう」
と言い指を駅者の指に引っかけようとしてふと見る。
13 **路**
使いから帰りの妹お絹と村の女。
14 **正次これを見て**

T 「小さい姉さん！」
と飛んで行く。
そして姉たちと馬車屋の傍を通りかかった時、正次、駅者を見て、フイに、
T 「叱られるから嫌だよ」
と言う。
駅者「何を！」
とムッとする。
お絹、振り返る。
駅者、ニヤッと笑ったが、正次を見ていまいましそうににらむ。
正次、お絹に
T 「馬車屋の源公がね、また、今夜、皆に内証で、大きい姉さんに浜へ来てくれって…」
と言う。
姉、いやらしい奴と思う。
源公、大したことを言う奴だと思い、恥しそうに馬車を走らせて行く。
お絹、見送って正次に、
T 「こんなこと大きい姉さんに話すんじゃないよ」
と言いきかせる。
連の女も「いけすかない奴だよ」
T 「お静さんには健一さんと言う立派な許婚があるのを知ってる癖に……」
「ねえ絹ちゃん」
と言う。
お絹、本当にそうよと笑う。
正次も成程と思う。
T 「お絹の姉、お静はこの村に代々つづく床屋の娘であった」 (F・O)
15 (F・I) **甚兵衛の家**
村の床屋である。
汚れた古い椅子が二つあるくらい。
一人のお客の顔を剃っている姉娘、こっち

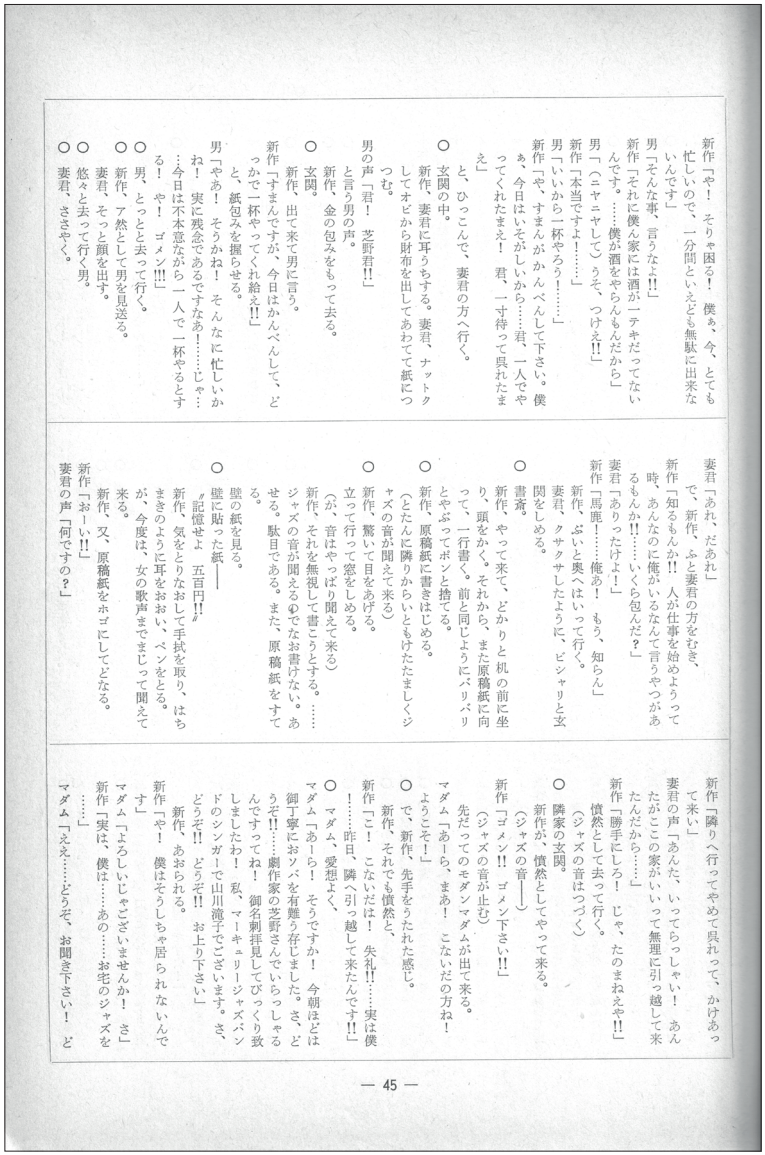
Figure 8 A page from Fushimi Akira's *Mura no hanayome* (1928). *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*, vol. 1 (1965)

one immediately notices the absence of capital 'T's for inter-titles, which are replaced by character names. Simultaneously, the use of bullet points to denote shots rather than scenes makes this script appear more akin to silent scripts. Paradoxically, Fushimi's silent script from three years prior seems more aligned with the format that talkie scenarios would eventually adopt. Noda Kōgo acknowledged that Japanese writers had to start from the beginning and learn their craft anew. He suggested that current scripts should be viewed merely as "research material aiming at the future perfection of the expressive form and skill of Japanese talkie scenario, [as] sacrificing stones" (Noda 1933, 173). Using a term from the game of *go*, Noda saw scriptwriting during the early sound period as an evolving process inevitably leading to some form of resolution, *Madamu to nyōbō* being the first such sacrifice.

The significant amount of content visible in the film but absent from Kitamura's script suggests that Fushimi's contribution might have been more substantial than his humble role implies. This is particularly true for elements specific to sound, which, despite their seeming novelty, are in fact highly effective and well-conceived. Given the somewhat fragmented nature of the scenario and its strong ties to and resemblance to silent writing, it would not be an overstatement to suggest that Kitamura faced clear challenges transitioning from silent to sound scriptwriting. Indeed, his productivity noticeably declined during this period, and he eventually shifted his focus to writing stage plays. Ironically, the advent of sound, which proved to be somewhat of a downfall for the writer of this first talkie, contrasted sharply with the film's protagonist, a playwright who initially struggles but eventually embraces the sounds of modern life, such as those emanating from the jazz band that has moved in next door.

Evidently, the primary challenge that writers had to confront at that time was how to integrate sound elements into a format that had previously been entirely silent. As a form of compromise, the script of *Madamu to nyōbō* incorporates sound effects within the scenario text, enclosed in round brackets. However, there were also more sophisticated efforts to document sound elements in writing, particularly when transcribing foreign scripts. The script of *Morocco* (1930, written by Jules Furthman, directed by Josef von Sternberg), which was the first talkie experience for many Japanese audiences, exemplifies such an approach. This script, labelled *daihon* rather than

titles that would surely amuse the audience (Mori 1930, 113). In the script of *Madamu to nyōbō*, there is a passage that reads: "The child (sounds the clock) again/Repeat this a couple of times. Some gags, please [*gyagu yoroshiku*]" (Kitamura 1966, 44). This directive can only be interpreted as the writer's signal to the gagman, an instance of unspoken communication among the crew members that emphasises the provisional nature of the script.

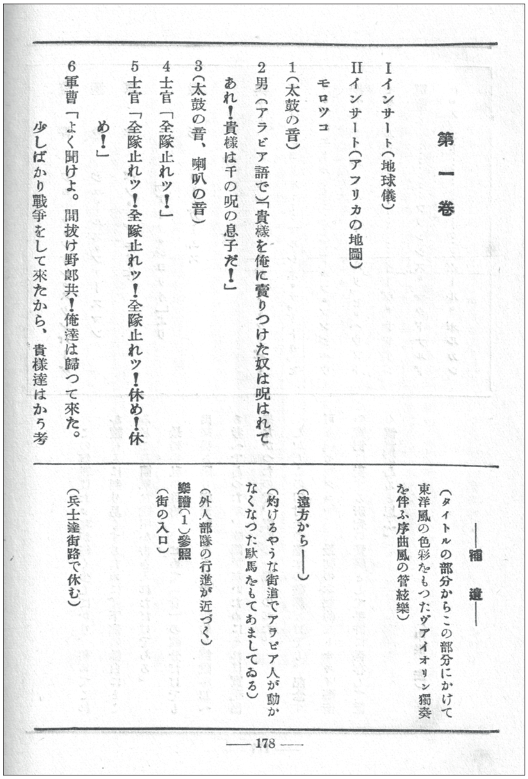


新作「や！　そりゃ困る！　僕ぁ、今、とても忙しいので、一分間といえども無駄に出来ないんです」
男「そんな事、言うなよ!!」
新作「それに僕ん家には酒が一テキだってないんです。……僕が酒をやらんもんだから」
男「〔ニヤニヤして〕うそ、つけえ!!」
新作「本当ですよ！……」
男「いいから一杯やろう！……」
新作「や、すまんがかんべんして下さい。僕ぁ、今日はいそがしいから……君、一人でやってくれたまえ！　君、一寸待って呉れたまえ」
と、ひっこんで、妻君の方へ行く。
○　玄関の中。
新作、妻君に耳うちする。妻君、ナットクしてオビから財布を出してあわてて紙につつむ。
男の声「君！　芝野君!!」
と言う男の声。
新作、金の包みをもって去る。
○　玄関。
新作、出て来て男に言う。
新作「すまんですが、今日はかんべんして、どっかで一杯やってくれ給え!!」
と、紙包みを握らせる。
男「やあ！　そうかね！　そんなに忙しいかね！　実に残念であるですなあ……じゃ……今日は不本意ながら一人で一杯やるとする！　や！　ゴメン!!!」
○　男、とっとと去って行く。
○　新作、アゼンとして男を見送る。
妻君、そっと顔を出す。
○　悠々と去って行く男。
○　妻君、ささやく。

妻君「あれ、だあれ」
で、新作、ふと妻君の方をむき、
新作「知るもんか!!　人が仕事を始めようって時、あんなのに俺がいるなんて言うやつがあるもんか!!……いくら包んだ？」
妻君「ありったけよ！」
新作「馬鹿！……俺あ！　もう、知らん」
憤然として去って行く。
（ジャズの音はっつづく）
妻君、クサクサしたように、ビシャリと玄関をしめる。
○　書斎。
新作、やって来て、どかりと机の前に坐り、頭をかく。それから、また原稿紙に向って、一行書く。前と同じようにバリバリとやぶってポンと捨てる。
○　新作、原稿紙に書きはじめる。
（とたんに隣りからいともけたたましくジャズの音が聞えて来る）
○　新作、驚いて目をあげる。
立って行って窓をしめる。
（が、音はやっぱり聞えて来る）
新作、それを無視して書こうとする。……ジャズの音が聞えるのでお書けない。あせる。駄目である。また、原稿紙をすてる。
壁の紙を見る。
○　壁に貼った紙——
〝記憶せよ　五百円!!〟
新作、気をとりなおして手拭を取り、はちまきのように耳をおおい、ペンをとる。
が、今度は、女の歌声までまじって聞えて来る。
新作、又、原稿紙をホゴにしてどなる。
新作「おーい!!」
妻君の声「何ですの？」

新作「隣りへ行ってやめて呉れって、かけあって来い」
妻君の声「あんた、いってらっしゃい！　あんたがここの家がいいって無理に引っ越して来たんだから……」
新作「勝手にしろ！　じゃ、たのまねえぞ!!」
憤然として去って行く。
（ジャズの音はつづく）
○　隣家の玄関。
新作が、憤然としてやって来る。
（ジャズの音——）
新作「ゴメン!!　ゴメン下さい!!」
（ジャズの音が止む）
先だってのモダンマダムが出て来る。
マダム「あーら、まあ！　こないだの方ね！　ようこそ！」
○　で、新作、先手をうたれた感じ。
新作、それでも憤然と、
新作「こ！　こないだは！　失礼!!……実は僕！……昨日、隣へ引っ越して来たんです!!」
○　マダム、愛想よく、
マダム「あーら！　そうですか！　今朝ほどは御丁寧におソバを有難う存じました。さ、どうぞ!!……劇作家の芝野さんでいらっしゃるんですってね！　御名前拝見してびっくり致しましたわ！　私、マーキュリージャズバンドのシンガーで山川滝子でございます。さ、どうぞ!!　どうぞ!!　お上り下さい」
新作、あおられる。
新作「や！　僕はそうしちゃ居られないんです」
マダム「よろしいじゃございませんか！　さ」
新作「実は、僕は……あの……お宅のジャズを……」
マダム「ええ……どうぞ、お聞き下さい！　ど

Figure 9　A page from Kitamura Komatsu's *Madamu to nyōbō* (1931). *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*, vol. 2 (1965)


第一巻

I インサート（地球儀）
II インサート（アフリカの地圖）
モロツコ
1（太鼓の音）
2 男（アラビア語で）「貴樣を俺に賣りつけた奴は呪はれて
あれ！貴樣は千の呪の息子だ！」
3（太鼓の音、喇叭の音）
4 士官「全隊止れツ！」
5 士官「全隊止れツ！全隊止れツ！全隊止れツ！休め！休
め！」
6 軍曹「よく聞けよ。間抜け野郎共！俺達は歸つて來た。
少しばかり戰爭をして來たから、貴樣達はから考

—補遺—
（タイトルの部分からこの部分にかけて
東洋風の色彩をもつたヴアイオリン獨奏
を伴ふ序曲風の管絃樂）
（遠方から——）
（灼けるやうな街道でアラビア人が動か
なくなつた馱馬をもてあましてゐる）
（外人部隊の行進が近づく）
樂譜（1）參照
（街の入口）
（兵士達街路で休む）

— 178 —

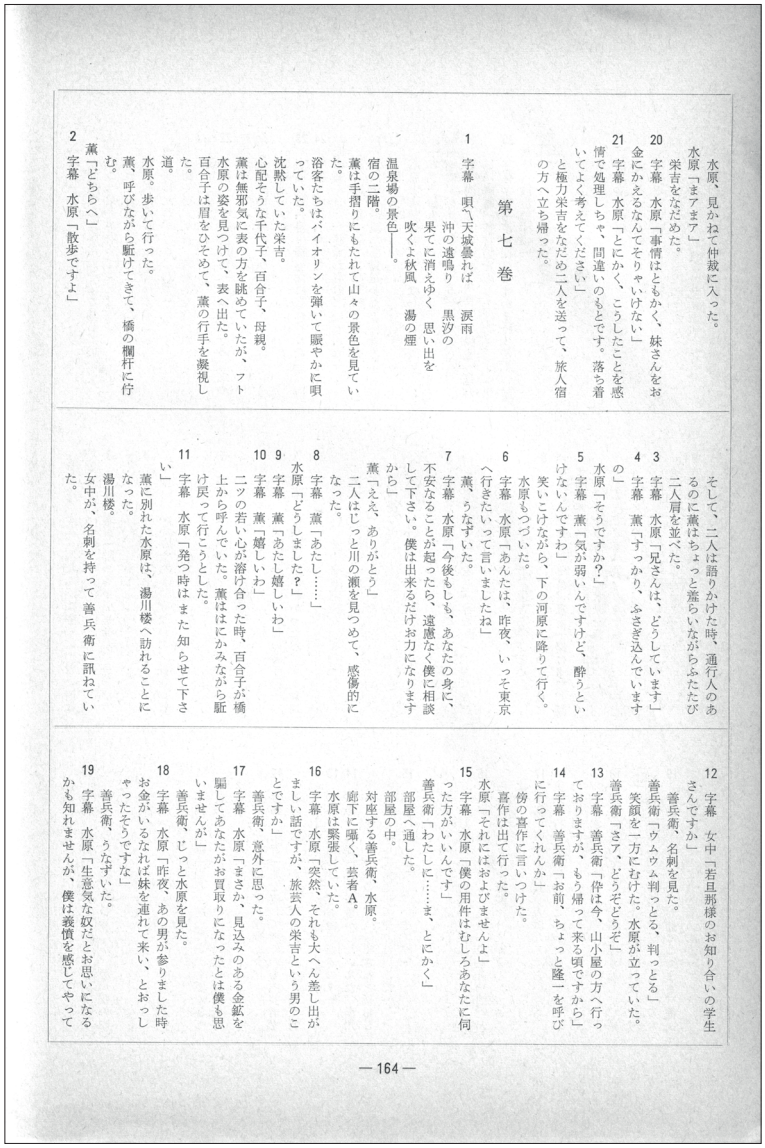
Figure 10
A page from the Japanese translation of *Morocco* (1930). *Eiga kagaku kenkyū* (April 1931)

shinario, was published in the journal *Eiga kagaku kenkyū* (Scientific Film Research) in April 1931, just a few months before the premiere of *Madamu to nyōbō*.[21] The text is organised into twelve reels, with the transcript of the audio elements prioritised by numbered sound effects and dialogue in the upper column, while the action is indicated in brackets and a smaller font in the lower one.[22] However, this turned out to be another transitional experiment that was soon forgotten, with no equivalent example among Japanese scenarios.[23] A clear drawback of this format is its readability: while it may

21 *Morocco* was the first subtitled film in Japan: the subtitling was done by Tamura Yukihiko, who was invited to New York by Paramount studios to successfully complete the task (Tanaka 1976, 2: 216-17).

22 Price provides evidence of similar use of parallel columns in the script of the part-talkie *The Shopworn Angel* (1928, Richard Wallace) (Price 2013, 122-7).

23 In rare cases, voice-over narration is given in a parallel column to the main text. See "Aisai monogatari" (Story of a Beloved Wife) (Shindō 1993, 219-73).



水原、見かねて仲裁に入った。
水原「まアまア」
栄吉をなだめた。
20 字幕 水原「一事情はともかく、妹さんをお金にかえるなんてそりゃいけない」
21 字幕 水原「とにかく、こうしたことを感情で処理しちゃ、間違いのもとです。落ち着いてよく考えてください」
と極力栄吉をなだめ二人を送って、旅人宿の方へ立ち帰った。

第七巻

1 字幕 唄「天城登れば 涙雨
沖の遠鳴り 黒汐の
果てに消えゆく 思い出を
吹くよ秋風 湯の煙
温泉場の景色――。
宿の二階。
薫は手摺りにもたれて山々の景色を見ていた。
浴客たちはバイオリンを弾いて賑やかに唄っていた。
沈黙していた栄吉。
心配そうな千代子、百合子、母親。
薫は無邪気に表の方を眺めていたが、フト水原の姿を見つけて、表へ出た。
百合子は眉をひそめて、薫の行手を凝視した。
道。
水原。歩いて行った。
薫、呼びながら駈けてきて、橋の欄杆に佇む。
2 薫「どちらへ」
字幕 水原「散歩ですよ」
そして、二人は語りかけた時、通行人のあるのに薫はちょっと羞らいながらふたたび二人肩を並べた。
3 字幕 水原「兄さんは、どうしています」
4 字幕 薫「すっかり、ふさぎ込んでいますの」
水原「そうですか？」
5 字幕 薫「気が弱いんですけど、酔うといけないですわ」
笑いながら、下の河原に降りて行く。
水原もつづいた。
6 字幕 水原「あんたは、昨夜、いっそ東京へ行きたいって言いましたね」
薫、うなずいた。
7 字幕 水原「今後もしも、あなたの身に、不安なことが起ったら、遠慮なく僕に相談して下さい。僕は出来るだけお力になりますから」
薫「ええ、ありがとう」
二人はじっと川の瀬を見つめて、感傷的になった。
8 字幕 薫「あたし……」
水原「どうしました？」
9 字幕 薫「あたし嬉しいわ」
10 字幕 薫「嬉しいわ」
二ツの若い心が溶け合った時、百合子が橋上から呼んでいた。薫はほにかみながら駈け戻って行こうとした。
11 字幕 水原「発つ時はまた知らせて下さい」
薫に別れた水原は、湯川楼へ訪れることになった。
湯川楼。
女中が、名刺を持って善兵衛に訊ねていた。
12 字幕 女中「若旦那様のお知り合いの学生さんですか」
善兵衛、名刺を見た。
善兵衛「ウムウム判っとる、判っとる」
笑顔を一方にむけた。水原が立っていた。
善兵衛「さア、どうぞどうぞ」
13 字幕 善兵衛「伜は今、山小屋の方へ行っておりますが、もう帰って来る頃ですから」
14 字幕 善兵衛「お前、ちょっと隆一を呼びに行ってくれんか」
傍の喜作に言いつけた。
喜作は出て行った。
水原「それにはおよびませんよ」
15 字幕 水原「僕の用件はむしろあなたに伺った方がいいんです」
善兵衛「わたしに……ま、とにかく」
部屋へ通した。
部屋の中。
対座する善兵衛、水原。
廊下に囁く、芸者A。
水原は緊張していた。
16 字幕 水原「突然、それも大へん差し出がましい話ですが、旅芸人の栄吉という男のことですか」
善兵衛、意外に思った。
17 字幕 水原「まさか、見込みのある金鉱を騙してあなたがお買取りになったとは僕も思いませんが」
善兵衛、じっと水原を見た。
18 字幕 水原「昨夜、あの男が参りました時お金がいるなれば妹を連れて来い、とおっしゃったそうですな」
善兵衛、うなずいた。
19 字幕 水原「生意気な奴だとお思いになるかも知れませんが、僕は義憤を感じてやって

Figure 11 A page from Fushimi Akira's *Izu no odoriko* (1933). *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*, vol. 2 (1965)

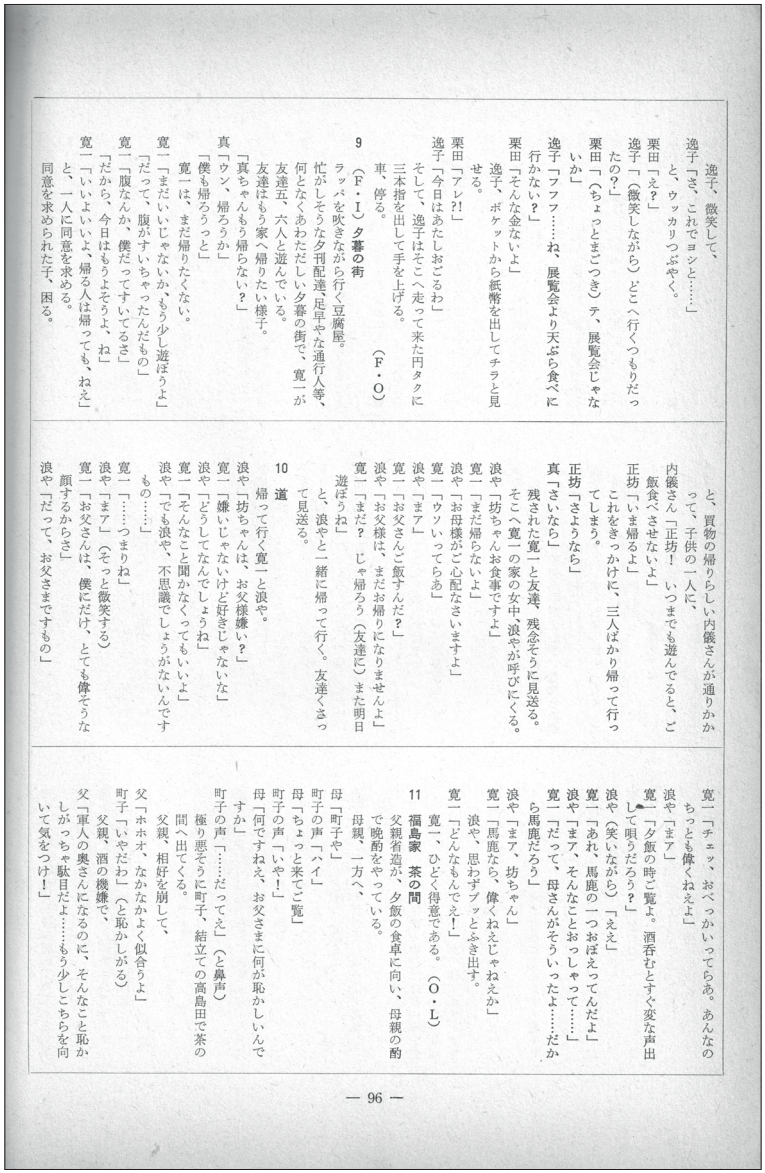
be technically accurate, separating the sound and image does not promote an effective reading experience due to the constant need to shift focus between these two modes of representation.

While *Madamu to nyōbō* marked a shift towards the complete embrace of sound cinema, silent films were still being produced concurrently as late as 1935. These included semi-sound features, often referred to as *saundo-ban*, which were essentially silent films with a musical score but lacked audible dialogue. A significant example of this is *Koi no hana saku: Izu no odoriko* (*The Flowers of Love in Bloom: The Dancing Girl of Izu*, 1933), adapted by Fushimi from a novella by Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972) (Fushimi 1966a, 155-68). Initially, Gosho intended to make it a full sound film, but due to budget constraints and the impracticality of using the still-evolving sound recording devices for on-location shooting in rural Japan, this plan was quickly abandoned. Although this might have seemed like a regression, it has been argued that *Izu no odoriko* is very much a sound film in spirit. The entire script could be said to be structured around the dialogue, whereas early sound experiments prioritised various sound elements. For instance, in contrast to sound scripts, the entire dialogue now appears as intertitles, making their frequency between the images almost obtrusive. As a result, this half-talkie attests to the fading trend of lipreading in cinema: it is as if the distinction between informative and incidental is suddenly discarded in anticipation of a full sound medium where every spoken line should be accounted for.

Perhaps the most unexpected and challenging aspect of the script for *Izu no odoriko* is its consistent use of the past tense.[24] This unusual choice sets this script apart, seemingly breaking an unwritten rule of scriptwriting: that it should create a sense of experiencing the film while reading the script. In other words, everything should occur in the present for the reader. Indeed, one immediately noticeable feature of any film script is its use of the present tense, a characteristic that has bolstered arguments for its status as an independent literary genre. However, since *Izu no odoriko* is an adaptation of a literary work and an early example of *bungei eiga* (literary film), Fushimi might have employed the past tense to maintain a certain authorial voice within the discourse of the Japanese *shishosetsu* (I-novel), where the confessional mode recounting past events was key.[25]

24 The script's breakdown into acts that corresponds to reels is not that unusual. In fact, this is often done when modulating it into a shooting script (*daihon*).

25 The use of past tense in the script cannot be attributed to the possibility that this available version might be a subsequent transcription. It is identical to the version that received approval from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, thereby greenlighting the production. A copy of it is presently held at the Shōchiku Ōtani Library.



逸子、微笑して、
逸子「さ、これでヨシと……」
と、ウッカリつぶやく。
栗田「え？」
逸子「（微笑しながら）どこへ行くつもりだったの？」
栗田「（ちょっとまごつき）テ、展覧会じゃないか」
逸子「フフフ……ね、展覧会より天ぷら食べに行かない？」
栗田「そんな金ないよ」
逸子、ポケットから紙幣を出してチラと見せる。
栗田「アレ?!」
逸子「今日はあたしおごるわ」
そして、逸子はそこへ走って来た円タクに三本指を出して手を上げる。
車、停る。（F・O）

9 **（F・I）夕暮の街**
ラッパを吹きながら行く豆腐屋。
忙がしそうな夕刊配達、足早やな通行人等、何となくあわただしい夕暮の街で、寛一が友達五、六人と遊んでいる。
友達はもう家へ帰りたい様子。
「真ちゃんもう帰らない？」
真「ウン、帰ろうか」
「僕も帰ろうっと」
寛一は、まだ帰りたくない。
寛一「まだいいじゃないか、もう少し遊ぼうよ」
「だって、腹がすいちゃったんだもの」
寛一「腹なんか、僕だってすいてるさ」
「だから、今日はもうよそうよ、ね」
寛一「いいよいいよ、帰る人は帰っても、ねえ」
と、一人に同意を求める。
同意を求められた子、困る。
と、買物の帰りらしい内儀さんが通りかかって、子供の一人に、
内儀さん「正坊！　いつまでも遊んでると、ご飯食べさせないよ」
正坊「いま帰るよ」
これをきっかけに、三人ばかり帰って行ってしまう。
正坊「さようなら」
真「さいなら」
残された寛一と友達、残念そうに見送る。
そこへ寛一の家の女中、浪やが呼びにくる。
浪や「坊ちゃんお食事ですよ」
寛一「まだ帰らないよ」
浪や「お母様がご心配なさいますよ」
寛一「ウソいってらあ」
浪や「まア」
寛一「お父さんご飯すんだ？」
浪や「お父様は、まだお帰りになりませんよ」
寛一「まだ？　じゃ帰ろう（友達に）また明日遊ぼうね」
と、浪やと一緒に帰って行く。友達くさって見送る。

10 **道**
帰って行く寛一と浪や。
浪や「坊ちゃんは、お父様嫌い？」
寛一「嫌いじゃないけど好きじゃないな」
浪や「どうしてなんでしょうね」
寛一「そんなこと聞かなくてもいいよ」
浪や「でも浪や、不思議でしょうがないんですもの……」
寛一「……つまりね」
浪や「まア」（そっと微笑する）
寛一「お父さんは、僕にだけ、とても偉そうな顔するからさ」
浪や「だって、お父さまですもの」
寛一「チェッ、おべっかいってらあ。あんなのもっとも偉くねえよ」
浪や「まア」
寛一「夕飯の時ご覧よ。酒呑むとすぐ変な声出して唄うだろう？」
浪や（笑いながら）「ええ」
寛一「あれ、馬鹿の一つおぼえってんだよ」
浪や「まア、そんなことおっしゃって……」
寛一「だって、母さんがそういったよ……だから馬鹿だろう」
浪や「まア、坊ちゃん」
寛一「馬鹿なら、偉くねえじゃねえか」
浪や、思わずプッとふき出す。
寛一「どんなもんでえ！」

11 **福島家　茶の間**
父親省造が、夕飯の食卓に向い、母親の酌で晩酌をやっている。
母親、一方へ、
母「町子やー」
町子の声「ハイ」
母「ちょっと来てご覧」
町子の声「いや！」
母「何ですねえ、お父さまに何が恥かしいんですか」
町子の声「……だってえ」（と鼻声）
極り悪そうに町子、結立ての高島田で茶の間へ出てくる。
父親、相好を崩して、
父「ホホオ、なかなかよく似合うよ」
町子「いやだわ」（と恥かしがる）
父親、酒の機嫌で、
父「軍人の奥さんになるのに、そんなこと恥かしがっちゃ駄目だよ……もう少しこちらを向いて気をつけ！」

Figure 12　A page from Fushimi Akira's *Jinsei no onimotsu* (1935). *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*, vol. 3 (1965)

2.2.3 The Master-Scene Scenario

The final film that Fushimi wrote for Gosho before Shōchiku's relocation from Kamata to Ōfuna was *Jinsei no onimotsu* (*Burden of Life*, 1935) (Fushimi 1966b, 89-107). The script showcases what would become the new norm, a master-scene talkie script. It is organised around scenes that are numbered and titled by locations in bold print. Each such unit contains descriptive passages and/or character dialogue in square brackets.[26] With the full transition to sound cinema, Fushimi and Gosho were able to fully realise what they had only partially achieved with *Izu no odoriko*. In fact, *Jinsei no onimotsu* was criticised at the time for its extensive dialogue. Arthur Nolletti, Jr. aptly countered this by stating that there is hardly any harm in constructing a film around dialogue as long as it is well written (Nolletti 2005, 31). It could be argued that while the earliest examples of sound film were primarily designed to exhibit technological innovation by incorporating a wide variety of sound elements into the film's plot, full talkie in its mature form was becoming more concerned with what the characters said. This, in turn, gave a boost to scriptwriting that, instead of having to meticulously facilitate the transcription of sound effects, could begin to focus more on the actual drama, conveyed by dialogue and descriptive passages, not entirely dissimilar from silent scripts.[27]

Price (2013) notes that "[t]owards the end of 1932 the studios […] attempted to homogenise the formatting of scripts, leading to the establishment of the 'master-scene' screenplay that, with some modifications, remains in place today" (Price 2013, 7). Although this shift from the continuity script to the master-scene screenplay in Hollywood took place at the time when Japanese cinema was only beginning its belated transition to sound, a similar trend toward standardising the master-scene scenario can be traced back to the mid-1930s. At the same time, there were a few successful formal experiments such as Kimura Chiyoo's script for *Tsuzurikata kyoshitsu* (*Composition Class*, 1938, directed by Yamamoto Kajirō, 1902-74) (Kimura 1966, 105-26) and *Kojima no haru* (*Spring on a Small Island*, 1940, directed by Toyoda Shirō, 1906-77) written by Yagi Yasutarō (1903-87) (Yagi 1966, 63-83), both arguably due to deliberately trying to appear sketch-like to correspond to their unconventional source material.

26 In comparison, in what has remained the standard screenplay in Hollywood, scenes are not numbered but instead contain abbreviations 'Ext.' or 'Int.' (for exterior and interior shooting) as well as designations of time. Characteristically, dialogue is centred on the page. For implications of reading this form, see Maras 2009, 63-78.

27 Mori encouraged the anxious writers by saying that there is nothing in sound cinema that could not be promptly learned, as the focus still has to remain on the dramatic structure (*geki no kōseihō*) and view of life (*jinseikan*) (Mori 1930, 114).

While the technological (and textual) aspects of this transition are evident, the shift to a master-scene script also involved a conceptual change: choosing to focus on either shots or scenes indicates an emphasis on either the production or reception context, respectively (in a sense, the film crew is the first audience). Price has argued that "eliminating technical directions […] helps to identify the screenplay as a particular kind of object, and as a relatively autonomous document, intended for particular kinds of readers, but removed from the process of production" (Price 2013, 211). This suggests that the master-scene scenario has the ability to function beyond its original context of film production and rely on the imaginative faculties of a skilled reader. Paradoxically, despite the intention to distance cinema from theatre, the sound script, as evidenced by the dialogue-heavy *Izu no odoriko* and *Jinsei no onimotsu*, came to resemble stage plays more closely. As scriptwriting for talkies gradually paid less attention to cinematographic specifics, this seemed to fuel the inclination to view scenarios as a literary form. This is precisely what transpired in the late 1930s, manifested in debates on *shinario bungaku* (scenario literature), to which I will return in the next chapter.

While the first generation of scriptwriters at Shōchiku's script department were predominantly self-taught, scriptwriting manuals arguably became important for writers who, unlike Fushimi, started their careers during the full transition to sound. The conceptual shift from silent to sound scriptwriting can also be traced in the terminology used in these how-to books; they provide a timeline for how the term *shinario* became widespread by the mid-1930s.

Notably, manuals from the silent era invariably used the word *kyakuhon* for script. Examples include Takeda Akira's *Eiga kyakuhon-ron* (On Film Script, 1928), Mori Iwao's *Eiga kyakuhon nijūkō* (Twenty Lectures of Film Scripts, 1930), and Sasaki Norio's *Hassei eiga kantoku to kyakuhon ron* (On Sound Film Director and Script, 1931). However, as the term *hassei eiga* (sound film) was soon replaced with *tōkī* (talkie), *kyakuhon* began to be overtaken by *shinario*.[28] This trend is particularly evident in the titles of scriptwriting manuals by Yasuda Kiyoo: the first edition *Eiga kyakuhon kōseiron* (On the Structure of the Film Script, 1935), and the updated one, *Tōkī shinario kōseiron* (On the Structure of the Talkie Scenario, 1937). By the time Kurata Fumindo's *Shinarioron* (On Scriptwriting) was published in 1940, *kyakuhon* was only found in film credits. This shift from *kyakuhon* to *shinario* might have been as significant for indicating a break in scriptwriting as the replacement of *katsudō shashin* (active photographs) with the term *eiga* (film) in the 1920s was for cinema in general.

28 While a special issue of *Eiga hyōron* from October 1933 was titled "Tōkī kyakuhon kenkyūgō" (The Issue of Talkie Script Research), its counterpart from three years later already had the title "Tōkī shinario kenkyū" (Talkie Scenario Research).

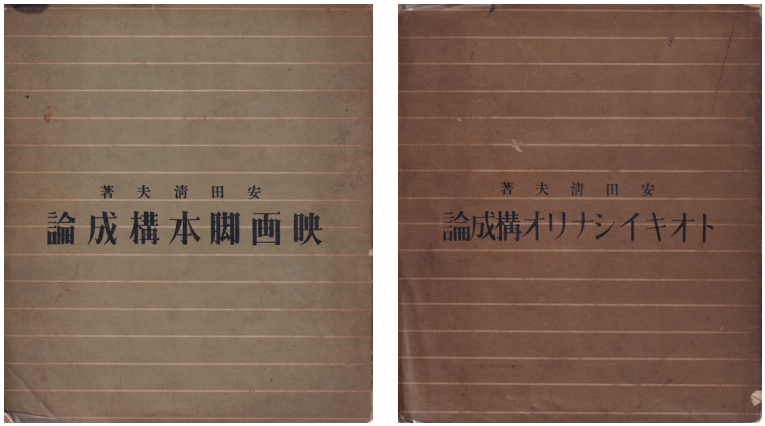


Figure 13 The covers of Yasuda Kiyoo's scriptwriting manuals *Eiga kyakuhon kōseiron* (1935) and *Tōkī shinario kōseiron* (1937)

2.3 Scenario Publishing and Canon

2.3.1 The Standard Format

When young Satō Tadao took the trip mentioned in the introduction to browse the used bookstores in the Kanda area, it was the existing vibrant publication culture that made it possible for him to acquire scenarios of lost prewar films. The first efforts to make film scripts, then mostly translations of foreign scenarios, available to a wider audience date back to the mid-1920s. This practice arguably reached its first peak in the late 1930s with the advent of sound cinema. In the next chapter, I will examine how the Scenario Literature Movement of the late 1930s helped to establish *shinario* as a reading matter (*yomimomo*) and, in this capacity, a semi-literary genre and a commodity in the publishing market. However, it was particularly during the Golden Age of the 1950s when the publication of scenarios in both film journals and anthologies intensified to unprecedented levels, thereby standardising the printed format in the process.

The number of scenarios published in Japan over time is so immense that any attempt to compile a comprehensive bibliography would inevitably incur substantial omissions. Tanigawa Yoshio's *Shinario bunken* (Scenario Resources, 1979, updated 1984 and 1997), an invaluable piece of bibliographical scholarship, comes closest to achieving this goal. It remains the main reference book for locating published scenarios in resources ranging from 1920s journals to

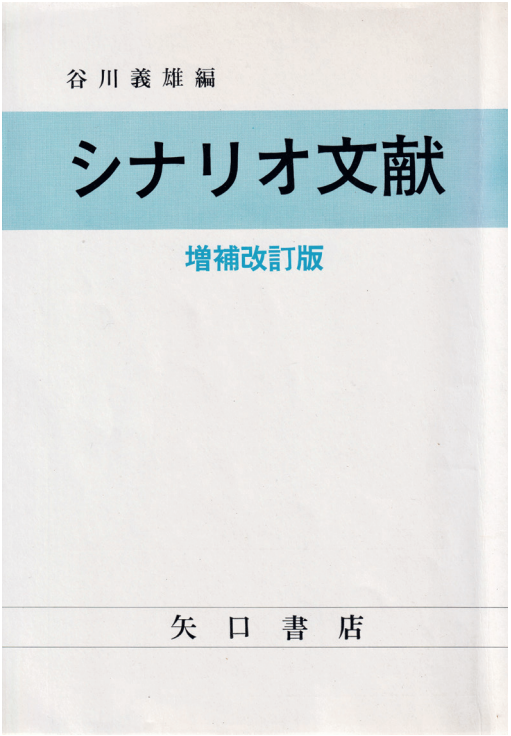


Figure 14
The cover of Tanigawa Yoshio's *Shinario bunken* (1984 edition)

1990s anthologies dedicated to individual writers.[29] Tanigawa provides a very instructive hint of which type of texts can be considered as *shinario* by way of many exclusions. He has strictly excluded shooting scripts (*daihon*) published by the film studios, although these are in most cases identical to the corresponding scenarios that appear in journals or anthologies.[30] Tanigawa reveals a strategy that readily suggests a different status to *shinario* in contrast to other versions of the very same text by excluding semi-official sources and providing information only on 'proper' publications (books and periodicals).

Most scenarios referred to in Tanigawa's *Shinario bunken* are surprisingly homogenous in their textual form, despite the timeline

29 Tanigawa includes selected essays on the topic of scriptwriting from the same periodicals.

30 The only pronounced difference between a *shinario* and a *daihon* is that in the layout of the latter, the text runs in a single column and it is, especially in the case of older films, often organised by reels, with the numeration of pages taking the form of A-3, B-17 etc. In contrast, the text of a *shinario* is often squeezed into several columns in order to make most effective use of space on the page.

extending from the year 1925 to the present moment of each edition. This is especially the case with most of the scenarios published since the end of the war. However, this apparent consistency is accompanied by a sharp division: it is not difficult to notice remarkable stylistic differences between Japanese and foreign scenarios. In the former, the scenes are numbered and descriptions of the action tend to be laconic, while the latter appears less structured and the explanation of visual elements can often become excessive. This discrepancy can be easily traced back to the simple fact that the pre-production script, reprinted without minimal or no editing, was commonly used for Japanese scenarios, whereas in the case of foreign scenarios, a specially devised transcription based on a film viewing was most commonly employed.[31] Notwithstanding this convergence in typology, there is a great formal uniformity within the textual corpora of Japanese and foreign scenarios separately.[32]

Tanigawa also demarcates pre- and postwar publications by starting his bibliography with the latter and adding information on the former in the mere dozen pages at the very end of the book (Tanigawa 1997, 84-96). What could partly explain this segregation is that the prewar journals in general comprised a wider spectrum of script formats. The master-scene script became the dominant format only in the late 1930s, and both the structure and layout of silent film scripts were less standardised and often remarkably heterogeneous. The standard format of the scenario is arguably most clearly represented in the regular publications in the postwar journals such as *Kinema junpō*, *Shinario* (Scenario), *Eiga geijutsu* (Film Art) and *Eiga*

31 A notable and rare exception to this is the continuity script of *Rashōmon*, published in the first *Kinema junpō* special issue of scenarios in 1952. It is as if the separation of Japanese and foreign scenarios was temporarily suspended. The same issue includes four scenarios and two continuities, the other one being the script of *The Third Man* (1949, written by Graham Greene, directed by Carol Reed).

32 A question that should be asked here is whether the transcribed continuity scripts should be considered scenarios at all. (They certainly could not be considered screenplays according to Price's terminology.) However, most of these transcriptions are similarly categorised as *shinario* (and less often *kontinyuitī*), and the long tradition of such publications should be considered in order to explain the persistence in presenting two seemingly different text types under an identical term. In a sense, this practice again attests to the high level of inclusivity held by the term *shinario*. For example, journals such as *Shinario kenkyū* (Scenario Research, 1937-40) and *Shinario bungei* (Scenario Art, 1946-49) printed texts remarkably diverse in length, style, and even the stage of completion. In *Shinario kenkyū*, texts labelled as *shinario* ranged from the so-called *cine-poems* and short stories to continuity-like scripts with precise production details. In many ways, *Shinario bungei* picked up where its prewar predecessor had left off. Curiously, Tanigawa lists *Shinario kenkyū* in his bibliography but there is no indication of *Shinario bungei* although the latter contained not only scenario texts but many script-writing-related essays by leading film critics. On the other hand, unlike most sites of scenario publication, the two periodicals were clearly set apart from the rest by providing a forum for unpublished, uncommissioned, and unproduced writing.

hyōron. The entries that cover the four periodicals occupy about two-thirds of *Shinario bunken*.

2.3.2 Publication in Journals

The first texts that Tanigawa mentions are from the 1925 issues of the journal *Eiga ōrai* and are mostly translations of foreign scenarios by the likes of Delluc and Mayer.[33] As I observed earlier, there is an important distinction to be made between early translations and transcribed continuity scripts which were to become dominant later. The names of the translators were also provided, which was commonly not the case with the parties responsible for transcribed scenarios. The very first scenarios to appear in *Eiga ōrai* were serialised over several issues and ran only a few pages for each installation, in sharp contrast with the subsequent standard practice of reproducing the entire text in single issue. This suggests two radically different reading modalities, with the former rather emulating the popular template of novels serialised in periodicals, bringing it closer to the field of literature.

Eiga ōrai was soon followed by the journals *Eiga jidai* (Film Age) and *Eiga hyōron*, which started publishing scenarios in a semi-regular manner in the late 1920s. At first, most of the scenarios were of foreign films, but the balance began to tilt towards Japanese products by the mid-1930s. Arguably, it was the advent of sound cinema and the standardisation of the format that prompted many journals to include scenarios on a regular basis: for instance, since 1934 *Eiga hyōron* published a scenario in virtually all its issues. The founding of film journals *Nippon eiga* (1936), *Shinario* and *Shinario kenkyū* (Scenario Research, both 1937), all of which became major channels for recent Japanese scenarios, further intensified this publishing landscape and made scenarios readily available to the wider public.[34]

33 As the first scenarios by Louis Delluc in Iijima Tadashi's translation were already published in *Eiga sekai* (Film World) in April and May 1923, Tanigawa's bibliography is far from comprehensive. There are other earlier examples of published scenarios such as *Kindai eigageki kyakuhon senshū* (Collection of Selected Modern Film Art Scripts, 1924). Tanigawa does not explicate why he has chosen to omit certain texts; he might have wanted to avoid those not labelled as *shinario*. The exclusion of a major three-volume anthology *Kyakuhon Nihon eiga no meisaku* (Scripts: The Masterpieces of Japanese Film, 1975) that used the term *kyakuhon* rather than *shinario* in its title certainly seems to point in that direction.

34 At the same time, there were journals such as *Shin-eiga* (New Film) that continued to print largely foreign work all the way to late 1941. After this, it briefly reoriented to Japanese scenarios before the insufficiency of paper stock first led to the exclusion of scenarios, and then to the closure of the journal in 1944.

Figure 15
The cover of *Eiga ōrai* (December 1925)

During the war, all Japanese film journals were forced to halt publication at some point due to military censorship and material shortages. It was not until after the defeat that a few of them were resurrected and new periodicals were founded. The year 1946 saw the (re)establishment of the following journals: *Shinario bungei* (Scenario Art) in February, *Shinario* in June; *Eiga geijutsu* in July, *Eiga shunshū* (Film Year) in August; and *Eiga tenbō* (Film Prospects) in October. *Eiga hyōron* followed in February 1947. Each of these journals featured scenarios: *Shinario*, *Shinario bungei*, *Eiga tenbō*, and *Eiga shunshū* from the inception, and *Eiga geijutsu* and *Eiga hyōron* from 1948. In *Eiga geijutsu*, the usual lineup comprised a Japanese scenario and a foreign transcription; in *Eiga hyōron*, Japanese scenarios dominated the 1950s but this changed in favour of foreign

material over the course of the 1960s. Among the journals, *Shinario* clearly stands apart due to its focus on the publication of domestic scenarios: its basic concept of featuring three texts per issue has not changed to this day.[35]

2.3.3 *Kinema junpō* and Scenario Anthologies

Kinema junpō, the most prominent Japanese film journal, was somewhat late joining the effort in comparison to other film periodicals. Not a single scenario can be found in its prewar issues. *Kinema junpō* commenced printing scenarios only in its third reincarnation in October 1950,[36] with the inaugural issue featuring the script of Roberto Rossellini's *Roma città aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945).[37] Over the course of the 1950s, *Kinema junpō* gradually became the main forum for scenario publishing, notably with the aid of its numerous extended and special issues. The editor, Shimizu Chiyota (1900-91), in his postscript for the resumed publication issue (*fukkan tokubetsugō*), explicitly expresses the journal's commitment to publishing scenarios.

> Each issue of this journal will feature a scenario of an outstanding domestic or foreign film. This approach has not been tried out in *Kinema junpō* before, but as the source material of film, the scenario is suitable for research, and we believe that it will be useful for strengthening the character of this journal. It can also be argued that stories in the film introduction column are essentially scenarios. (Shimizu 1950, 104)

Each issue of *Kinema junpō* from early 1950s onwards included a scenario, which usually occupied about one-fourth of its volume. True to the promise, the first Japanese scenario, *Sasaki Kojirō* (1950, Inagaki Hiroshi (1905-80, also director), Murakami Genzō (1910-2006) and Matsuura Takeo (1920-87)), was published in December 1950. Since then, issues began to alternate between publishing Japanese and

35 *Shinario*, released by the Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai (Japan Writers Guild), is the flagbearer of publishing Japanese scriptwriting. A few foreign scenarios were included in 1967-68, and a few isolated examples of TV drama scripts in the 1970s.

36 Initially founded in July 1919, *Kinema junpō* was closed by the military authorities in December 1940, re-established (*saiken*) in March 1946, closed again in April 1950, and finally resumed publication (*fukkan*) in its current version.

37 Unusually, the translator of the dialogue and the transcriber of the scenes have been identified as Kashiwaguma Tatsuo (1907-56, a prolific translator of Italian literature to Japanese) and Ogi Masahiro (1925-88, a notable film and culinary critic), respectively. The director, Rossellini (1906-77), is mentioned, but the scriptwriters, Sergio Amidei (1904-81) and Federico Fellini (1920-93), are not (Kashiwaguma, Ogi 1950, 81).

Figure 16
The cover of *Kinema junpō* (15 October 1950)

foreign scenarios. This balance reflects the general concept of *Kinema junpō*, which since its inception, sought to provide current information on Japanese and foreign films in an equal manner.[38]

In 1952, *Kinema junpō* launched a series of special editions of scenario masterpieces (*meisaku*), publishing them quarterly by the late 1950s. Initially, these were collections of foreign scripts, including an odd Japanese one, but this ratio was soon reversed and eventually maintained at a 6:1 or 5:2 pattern in favour of domestic scenarios. Arguably, this arrangement mirrors the growing self-confidence in Japanese cinema vis-à-vis foreign products during the decade. The issues were usually titled *Meisaku shinarioshū* (Collection of Scenario Masterpieces) and appeared as special issues (*zōkan*, 23 in total), and later also as separate volumes/extra numbers (*bessatsu*, 8) as if

38 Eventually, the ratio of domestic scenarios published in *Kinema junpō* distinctly waned by the mid-1970s, a trend that paralleled the decline of the Japanese studio system.

Figure 17 The covers of *Kinema junpō special issues*, "Meisaku shinarioshū" (October 1957 and April 1961), and "Shinario tokuhon" (1959)

to suggest that *Kinema junpō*'s regular size could no longer accommodate the heightened demand for scenarios by its readers.[39]

Among the *bessatsu* issues were two multi-volumed series that differed from *Meisaku shinarioshū* in that, instead of printing scenarios

39 *Zōkan* issues of scenarios: *Meisaku shinarioshū* (Collection of Scenario Masterpieces, October 1952 (*Meisaku shinario senshū*, Selection of Scenario Masterpieces), August 1953, March and November 1954, March (*Shinario kessakushū*, Collection of Scenario Masterpieces), June and December 1955, April, August and December (*Sengo jūnen kessaku shinarioshū*, Collection of Scenario Masterpieces from the Postwar Decade) 1956, January, April, June, and October 1957, March and July 1958, January, April, and August 1959, March 1960, March 1961, November 1962 (*Aki no tokusen shinarioshū*, Autumn Special Collection of Scenarios)), *Shinario meisaku tokuhon* (Reader of Scenario Masterpieces, November 1961), Western scenarios (June 1961, May, July and September 1962), *Kurosawa Akira: sono sakuhin to kao* (Kurosawa Akira: His Works and Faces, April 1963), *Ozu Yasujirō: hito to geijutsu* (Ozu Yasujirō: The Man and Art, February 1964), *Shinario sanninshū* (Collection of the Three Scriptwriters, April 1964), *Zankoku shinarioshū* (Collection of Cruel Scenarios, August 1967), *Terebi jidaigeki kessakusen* (Selected Masterpieces of TV Period Drama, May 1968), *Yamada Yōji to Atsumi Kiyoshi* (Yamada Yōji and Atsumi Kiyoshi, May 1971). *Bessatsu* issues: *Sekai kessaku shinario shū* (Collection of World Scenario Masterpieces, January 1959), *Sengo kessaku shinarioshū* (Collection of Postwar Scenario Masterpieces, September 1959), *Meisaku shinarioshū* (Collection of Scenario Masterpieces, November 1959, May and September 1960, January 1961 and March 1962), *Mihappyō hizō shinarioshū* (Collection of Unpublished Scenario Treasures, March 1959). After the film industry peak of 1959-60, the publication of special issues plummeted rapidly.

of current films, they made a pioneering effort to provide a definitive anthology of prewar scenarios. The two series, *Nihon eiga daihyō shinario zenshū* (Complete Representative Scenarios of Japanese Film, 1958-59, 6 vols.) and *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* (Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film, 1965-66, 6 vols.), as their titles indeed suggest, mostly overlap in material. However, what clearly distinguishes them is that while the former provided little more than full texts of scenarios, the latter was enhanced by a wealth of additional materials. *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* contains introductory essays to each scenario by the writers themselves (when available) and the series editor Kobayashi Masaru (1902-82), as well as recollections by the film crew and reprints of contemporary criticism. The series remains the definitive source for prewar scenarios due to the generous and varied background information it provides. Together with the special issue *Shinario tokuhon* (Scenario Reader, 1959) that contains the first attempt at writing a history of Japanese screenwriting by Iida Shinbi (1900-84) and Kobayashi,[40] these series were the first comprehensive attempts to organise the canon of Japanese scenarios.

2.3.4 Static and Dynamic Canon

In *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (2010), Edward Mack elucidates how the publishing industry laid the foundations for what is now considered the canon of modern Japanese literature. Mack points out two tactics that can be employed to prompt literary texts to achieve a canonical status. The first is exemplified by the series *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* (Complete Works of Contemporary Japanese Literature, 1926-31), which organised already existing texts into a static canon. The second tactic is represented by the Akutagawa Prize (*Akutagawa Ryūnosuke Shō*, awarded since 1935) with its more dynamic approach of incorporating recently published works. Mack posits that

> [w]here the *Complete Works* created a singular opportunity to influence a body of works, the Akutagawa Prize allows actors to influence works to this day, creating a continuous flow of elevated literary commodities and reinforcing the economy of literary value at regular intervals. (Mack 2010, 6)

40 See Kitsnik (2023, 318-21) for an analysis of Iida and Kobayashi "Shinario hattatsushishō" (Sketches on Developmental History of Screenwriting).

In the realm of scenario publishing, a similar distinction can be drawn between the principles of fortnightly (or monthly, or annual)[41] publications and those that reach further back in time. Regular publishing in various journals provided the scenarios of soon-to-be-premiered films with promotion and considerable visibility. On average, scenarios appeared in *Kinema junpō* between two weeks to two months before the film was released; *Eiga geijutsu*, *Eiga hyōron* and *Eiga sakka* (Film Author) occasionally published scenarios shortly after the opening night. Meanwhile, the act of collecting past scenarios in anthologies had the capacity to reconfigure the film canon.

According to Mack, the entire concept of *zenshū* (complete works) can be traced back to *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū*. This template was borrowed to establish scenarios as a literary genre by presenting the corpus of founding texts in the form of *Shinario bungaku zenshū* (Complete Works of Scenario Literature, 1936-37). This anthology will be discussed in the next chapter in relation to the debate on 'scenario literature' that it helped to provoke. Although this collection could be seen as a predecessor to the subsequent ones by *Kinema junpō*, it is too experimental in structure and heterogeneous in formats to be considered a definitive *scenario* anthology. Possibly due to this, *Shinario bungaku zenshū* also includes surprisingly few texts that have since become part of the scenario canon. In contrast, later collections such as *Nihon eiga daihyō shinario zenshū*, *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*, and *Nihon shinario taikei* (Series of Japanese Scenarios, 1973-79, 6 vols.) are much more uniform and overlapping in their content, effectively appearing more inclusive and authoritative. *Nihon shinario taikei* was the first anthology to fully combine both pre- and postwar in the same edition, which also turned out to be the last publication of this scope.[42]

Mack (2010, 7) notes that any canon is always in flux and the sustained status of any single text is never guaranteed. A survey of major scenario anthologies reveals that there are only a handful of scenarios that appear in all, and a far larger number keeps disappearing and resurfacing. Table 1 illustrates this point by chronologically listing all prewar scenarios that have appeared in at least two of the following collections: *Shinario bungaku zenshū* (1936-37, SBZ), the *Shinario kurashikku* (Scenario Classics) section in *Shinario*

41 *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū* (Annual Collection of Representative Scenarios) has been published since 1952, comprising ten scenarios in each volume. Published by the Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai, it is effectively an extension of the journal *Shinario*.

42 In comparison to earlier anthologies, *Nihon shinario taikei* arranges scenarios based on the dates of their completion rather than the subsequent films' premieres. Consequently, *Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*, written 1937, film released 1942) and *Uma* (*Horse*, 1938 and 1941) precede the scenarios of films with earlier release dates.

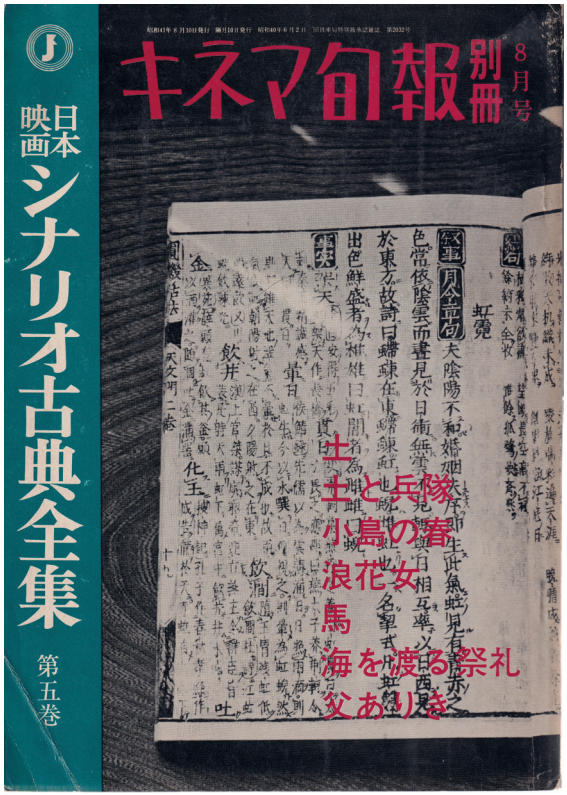


Figure 18 The cover of a volume of *Kinema junpō*'s *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* (1965-66)

kenkyū (1937-40, SK), *Nihon shinario bungaku zenshū* (Complete Works of Japanese Scenario Literature, 1955-56, NSBZ), *Nihon eiga daihyō shinario zenshū* (1958-59, NEDSZ), *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* (1965-66, NESKZ) and *Nihon shinario taikei* (Series of Japanese Scenarios, 1973-79, NST).[43] In addition, the scenarios that feature as excerpts in Shindō's *Nihon shinarioshi* (History of

43 The evolution of the canon can be traced through the terminology used to designate the status of each collection. The term *zenshū* has been used in most cases, but there is a noticeable shift between NSDSZ and NESKZ. Not only does the multilayered paratextual apparatus make the latter appear more comprehensive, but the use of *koten* (classics) in comparison to the more subdued *daihyō* (representative) also further elevates the act of building the scenario canon. This tendency is further augmented by the term *taikei* for NST, the most substantial collection to date. *Taikei* is the term usually reserved for large textual collections of encyclopedic scope, such as *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Series of Classical Japanese Literature, 1958-69).

Table 1 The canon of prewar Japanese scenarios. SBZ (*Shinario bungaku zenshū*, 1936-37), SK (*Shinario kura*
eiga daihyō shinario zenshū, 1958-59), NESKZ (*Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*, 1965-66), NST (*Nihon shinario*

Title	Writer	SBZ 1936-37	SK 1937-40	NSBZ 1955-56	NEDSZ 1958-59
***Sei no kagayaki* (*The Glory of Life*)**	Mizusawa Takehiko				○
***Rojō no reikon* (*Souls on the Road*)**	Ushihara Kiyohiko				○
***Kyōya erimise* (*Kyōya Collar Shop*)**	Tanaka Eizō				○
Orochi (*The Serpent*)	Susukita Rokuhei				
Kurutta ichipeiji (*Page of Madness*)	Kawabata Yasunari / Inutsuka Minoru / Kinugasa Teinosuke / Sawada Bankō				○
Tsubakihime (*The Lady of the Camellias*)	Mori Iwao				○
Kagebōshi (*The Shadow*)	Susukita Rokuhei				
***Rōningai Daiichiwa* (*Samurai Town: 1*)**	Yamagami Itarō				○
***Jūjirō* (*Crossroads*)**	Kinugasa Teinosuke		○		○
***Mura no hanayome* (*The Village Bride*)**	Fushimi Akira				○
***Kaijin* (*Ashes*)**	Kisaragi Bin		○		
Zoku Ōoka seidan (*Ōoka's Trial 2*)	Itō Daisuke				○
***Kōbō Shinsengumi* (*The Rise and Fall of the Shinsengumi*)**	Itō Daisuke		○		○
***Madamu to nyōbō* (*Neighbour's Wife and Mine*)**	Kitamura Komatsu				○
***Adauchi senshu* (*Champion of Revenge*)**	Kobayashi Tadashi		○		○
Dakine no nagadosu (*Sleeping with a Long Sword*)	Yamanaka Sadao				○
Umarete wa mita keredo (*I Was Born, But…*)	Fushimi Akira				○
***Kokushi musō* (*Peerless Patriot*)**	Iseno Shigetaka				○
Yamiuchi tosei (*Professional Killer*)	Itami Mansaku		○		
Dekigokoro (*Passing Fancy*)	Ikeda Tadao				○
Tange Sazen: Dai-ippen (*Tange Sazen; Part 1*)	Itō Daisuke				○
***Bangaku no isshō* (*The Life of Bangaku*)**	Yamanaka Sadao			○	○
Nezumi kozō Jirōkichi (*Jirōkichi the Ratkid*)	Yamanaka Sadao				○
***Tonari no Yae-chan* (*Our Neighbour Miss Yae*)**	Shimazu Yasujirō				○
Ikitoshi ikerumono (*Everything That Lives*)	Fushimi Akira				○
Tsuma yo bara no yō ni (*Wife, Be Like a Rose*)	Naruse Mikio				○
***Jinsei no onimotsu* (*Burden of Life*)**	Fushimi Akira	○			○
Kono ko sutezareba (*If I Abandon This Child*)	Yanai Takao				○
Kunisada Chūji	Mimura Shintarō				○

shikku section in *Shinario kenkyū*, 1937-40), NSBZ (*Nihon shinario bungaku zenshū*, 1955-56), NEDSZ (*Nihon taikei*, 1973-79), Shindō (Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi*, 1989)

NESKZ 1965-66	NST 1973-79	Shindō 1989	Year	Director	Studio	Extant print
○	○		1919	Kaeriyama Norimasa	Eiga Geijutsu Kyōkai	×
○	○	○	1921	Murata Minoru	Shōchiku	○
	○	○	1922	Tanaka Eizō	Nikkatsu (Mukōjima)	×
○		○	1925	Futagawa Buntarō	Bantsuma Pro	○
○			1926	Kinugasa Teinosuke	Shinkankakuha Eiga Renmei	○
	○		1927	Murata Minoru	Nikkatsu (Daishōgun)	×
	○	○	1928	Futagawa Buntarō	Tōa Makino (Tōjiin)	○
○		○	1928	Makino Masahiro	Makino (Omuro)	×
○	○		1928	Kinugasa Teinosuke	Kinugasa Eiga Renmei / Shōchiku (Kyōto)	○
○		○	1928	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku (Kamata)	×
	○	○	1929	Murata Minoru	Nikkatsu (Uzumasa)	×
○			1930	Itō Daisuke	Nikkatsu (Uzumasa)	×
○	○		1930	Itō Daisuke	Nikkatsu (Uzumasa)	×
○	○		1931	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku (Kamata)	○
○			1931	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu (Uzumasa)	×
○			1932	Yamanaka Sadao	Kan Pro	×
○			1932	Ozu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Kamata)	○
○		○	1932	Itami Mansaku	Chie Pro	×
		○	1932	Itami Mansaku	Chie Pro	×
○			1933	Ozu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Kamata)	○
○			1933	Itō Daisuke	Nikkatsu (Uzumasa)	×
○	○	○	1933	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu (Uzumasa)	×
○			1933	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu (Uzumasa)	×
○	○		1934	Shimazu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Kamata)	○
○			1934	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku (Kamata)	×
○			1935	Naruse Mikio	P. C. L.	○
○	○		1935	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku (Kamata)	○
○			1935	Saitō Torajirō	Shōchiku (Kamata)	×
		○	1935	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu (Kyōto)	×

Title	Writer	SBZ 1936-37	SK 1937-40	NSBZ 1955-56	NEDSZ 1958-59
***Machi no irezumimono* (*The Village Tattooed Man*)**	Yamanaka Sadao				○
***Hitori musuko* (*The Only Son*)**	Ikeda Tadao / Arata Masao	○			○
Akanishi Kakita	Itami Mansaku			○	○
***Gion no kyōdai* (*The Sisters of Gion*)**	Yoda Yoshikata	○		○	○
***Naniwa erejī* (*Osaka Elegy*)**	Yoda Yoshikata				○
Ninjō kamifūsen (*Humanity and Paper Balloons*)	Mimura Shintarō				○
Asakusa no hi (*Lights of Asakusa*)	Ikeda Tadao			○	
Mori no Ishimatsu (*Ishimatsu of the Forest*)	Yamanaka Sadao			○	
***Sōbō* (*Many People*)**	Kurata Fumindo			○	○
Kagirinaki zenshin (*Unending Advance*)	Yagi Yasutarō				○
***Hadaka no machi* (*The Naked Town*)**	Yagi Yasutarō			○	
Haha to ko (*Mother and Child*)	Yanai Takao				○
Nakimushi kozō (*Crybaby Apprentice*)	Hatta Naoyuki				○
Uguisu (*The Bush Warbler*)	Hatta Naoyuki			○	○
Tsuzurikata kyōshitsu (*Composition Class*)	Kimura Chiyoo				○
Abe no ichizoku (*The Abe Clan*)	Kumagai Hisatora / Adachi Nobuo				○
Gonin no sekkōhei (*Five Scouts*)	Aramaki Yoshio				○
Danryū (*Warm Current*)	Ikeda Tadao				
***Tsuchi to heitai* (*Earth and Soldiers*)**	Suyama Tetsu / Kasahara Ryōzō				○
***Tsuchi* (*Earth*)**	Yagi Ryūichirō / Kitamura Tsutomu				○
Nishizumi senshachōden (*The Story of Tank Commander Nishizumi*)	Noda Kōgo				○
Toda-ke no kyōdai (*The Brothers and Sisters of the Toda Family*)	Ikeda Tadao				○
Kojima no haru (*Spring on a Small Island*)	Yagi Yasutarō				○
***Uma* (*Horse*)**	Yamamoto Kajirō				○
***Umi o wataru sairei* (*The Sea-Crossing Festival*)**	Mimura Shintarō				○
***Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*)**	Ikeda Tadao / Yanai Takao / Ozu Yasujirō	○			○
Muhōmatsu no isshō (*The Life of Matsu the Untamed*)	Itami Mansaku				
Sugata Sanshirō	Kurosawa Akira			○	○

NESKZ 1965-66	NST 1973-79	Shindō 1989	Year	Director	Studio	Extant print
○		○	1935	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu (Kyōto)	×
○			1936	Ozu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
○			1936	Itami Mansaku	Chie Pro	○
○			1936	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiichi Eiga	○
○	○	○	1936	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiichi Eiga	○
○			1937	Yamanaka Sadao	P. C. L.	○
○			1937	Shimazu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
		○	1937	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu (Kyōto)	×
○			1937	Kumagai Hisatora	Nikkatsu (Tamagawa)	×
○			1937	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu (Tamagawa)	×
	○	○	1937	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu (Tamagawa)	×
	○		1938	Shibuya Minoru	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
○			1938	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei	○
			1938	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei	○
○			1938	Yamamoto Kajirō	Tōhō Eiga (Tōkyō)	○
○			1938	Kumagai Hisatora	Tōhō Eiga (Tōkyō) / Zenshinsha	○
○			1938	Tasaka Tomotaka	Nikkatsu (Tamagawa)	○
	○	○	1939	Yoshimura Kōzaburō	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
○	○		1939	Tasaka Tomotaka	Nikkatsu (Tamagawa)	○
○	○	○	1939	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu (Tamagawa)	○
	○		1940	Yoshimura Kōzaburō	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
		○	1941	Ozu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
○			1941	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei	○
○	○	○	1941	Yamamoto Kajirō	Tōhō Eiga (Tōkyō)	○
○	○	○	1941	Inagaki Hiroshi	Nikkatsu (Kyōto)	×
○	○		1942	Ozu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
	○	○	1943	Inagaki Hiroshi	Daiei (Kyōto)	○
			1943	Kurosawa Akira	Tōhō Eiga (Tōkyō)	○

Japanese Scenario, 1989) mark a link between historiographical and anthologising efforts. The titles of scenarios that have appeared at least three times are given in bold print; I have added details on screen works produced from these scenarios as well the availability of their prints.[44]

The last column of Table 1 indicates that nearly half of the tentative prewar scenario canon (pre-postwar would be a more adequate term as it includes films made until 1944) is no longer available for viewing. Since the publication of these anthologies, a handful of prints have been rediscovered, such as *Kurutta ichipeiji* (*A Page of Madness*, 1926, written by Kawabata Yasunari, Kinugasa Teinosuke, Inuzuka Minoru and Sawada Bankō, directed by Kinugasa Teinosuke, 1896-1982) and *Tsuchi* (*Earth*, 1939, written by Kitamura Tsutomu and Yagi Ryūichirō, directed by Uchida Tomu, 1898-1970). In the latter case, the disorganised pieces of the unearthed print were reassembled with the help of the surviving scenario.[45] Besides their auxiliary function for film restoration, the surviving prewar scenarios deserve our attention because they have the capacity to introduce certain works into the film canon proper even without an extant print of the film.[46] This aspect relates to what Satō noted about realising the significance of certain lost films and appears to have been particularly relevant in the (re)evaluation of the prewar work of major directors such as Gosho, Uchida, and Yamanaka.

2.3.5 Publishing Strategies

Mack states in Bourdieuan terms that publishing literary anthologies was "an alternate economy to the extent that it claimed autonomy from the tyranny of the marketplace [...] impl[ying] a different logic of value" (Mack 2010, 3). Similarly, the canon of scenarios can be seen as contesting the imperatives of the film industry, as it ascribes certain literary qualities rather than entertainment value to the text, revealing some surprising discrepancies vis-à-vis the film canon. For instance, the work of Fushimi Akira, whose contributions to the emergence of the master-scene scenario I have already examined, stands out alongside more established writers such as

44 ○ marks the film print as extant, x = partly extant, X = completely lost.

45 A print of *Tsuchi* was discovered in Germany in 1968. Missing its first and last reel, this version is only 93 minutes of the original 142. Another, a 119-minute version of the film, again missing the last reel, was discovered in Russia around the turn of the millennium.

46 The way the scenario canon is tied to the critical success of films, and thus to the dynamic canon, is evidenced by their high positions in the *Kinema junpō*'s annual poll being included in *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*.

Ikeda, Itō, and Yamanaka. The inclusion of as many as five scenarios by Fushimi in *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* made the critic Kishi Matsuo (1906-85) question the good judgement of the anthology's primary editor Kobayashi (Kishi 1973, 385).[47] Yagi, too, emerges as a major writer with the inclusion of *Hadaka no machi* (*The Naked Town*), *Kagirinaki zenshin* (*Unending Advance*, both 1937, Uchida Tomu) and *Kojima no haru*.

The choice of scenarios for publication, especially in the voluminous special issues of *Kinema junpō*, also suggests a link to the film industry and its advertising practices. In every issue, five to six Japanese scenarios are included, each produced by one of the major film studios. In effect, this neatly distributes the content of the scenario collections among the five major studios of the late 1950s: Daiei, Nikkatsu, Shōchiku, Tōei and Tōhō (at times, a scenario from Shin-Tōhō or an independent company was added). This reveals a principle of even contribution to maintain the balance between the products from different studios, while at the same time emphasising the status of the scenario as a vehicle for publicity. A similar tendency can be detected to some extent in the anthologies where a balanced representation was sought not only in artistic terms but also in terms of studio affiliation. For instance, the third volume of *Nihon shinario taikei*, which contains scenarios from the same period covered by *Kinema junpō* special issues, includes four scenarios from Nikkatsu and Tōho, three from Daiei and Tōei, and two each from Shōchiku, Shin-Tōhō, and independent production companies.[48]

This entire practice stands in stark contrast to what was simultaneously occurring in the United States, where the studios that owned the copyright for screenplays were reluctant to allow them to be published at all. In Japan, there appears to have been a tie-in (*taiappu*) where studios took full advantage of the opportunity to promote their new films while *Kinema junpō* catered to their curious readers. Besides providing a site of advertising for the film industry, the emerging scenario canon arguably provided more visibility

47 Fushimi's scenarios in NESKZ include *Mura no hanayome* (*The Village Bride*, 1928, 1: 124-43), *Umarete wa mita keredo* (*I Was Born, But…*, 1932, 2: 69-86), *Izu no odoriko* (*The Dancing Girl of Izu*, 1933, 2: 155-68), *Ikitoshi ikerumono* (*Everything That Lives*, 1934, 3: 31-54) and *Jinsei no onimotsu* (*Burden of Life*, 1935, 3: 89-107). With the exception *Umarete wa mita keredo* (directed by Ozu Yasujirō), all scripts were made into films by Gosho.

48 The relatively meagre number of Shōchiku scripts can be partly explained by the very dominant display of its scenarios in the previous volume (seven to three from the rest). As for prewar scenarios, the first volume of *Nihon shinario taikei* contains eleven scenarios of Shōchiku films and nine of Nikkatsu, leaving only seven for the rest. A similar phenomenon can be observed in NESKZ and NEDSZ, with Shōchiku and Nikkatsu dominating the field by featuring 17 and 14, and 21 and 22 scenarios, in the respective collections.

for the domestic film product in general. There appear to have been two distinct periods when a noticeable shift can be observed in the balance between the publication of foreign and domestic scenarios, moving towards the latter. The pre- and postwar publishing eras, segregated by Tanigawa (from around 1925 and 1946, respectively), began with initial periods when foreign scripts (translations and transcriptions alike) were predominant, before giving way to heightened attention in Japanese scenarios in the late 1930s and the 1950s.

Unlike the film canon, which is reinforced in regular intervals by all-time best lists, retrospectives, re-releases, and so on, the efforts to maintain and update the scenario canon have generally halted since the 1970s with the publication of the last major anthology, *Nihon shinario taikei*.[49] At the same time, the surviving scenarios of lost films continue to complement the film canon proper. The yearly *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū* (Annual Collection of Representative Scenarios), which contributes to the ongoing, dynamic canon, is still in print. In the next chapter, I will discuss the various readerships that this sizeable corpus has attracted since the early sound era. However, before continuing along this line of thought, I will make a brief detour to examine a characteristic feature that underscores Japanese scriptwriting.

2.4 Medium Specificity of the Handwritten Scenario

2.4.1 Sheets on Tracks

Shindō Kaneto concludes his magisterial two-volume history of Japanese scriptwriting, *Nihon shinarioshi*, with the following analogy.[50]

> How many writers have appeared and disappeared since Susukita Rokuhei? Each of them invested their whole talent and passion in film. It is upon their glory and their dead bodies that we now stand. They have erected an enormous mountain of manuscript papers [*genkō yōshi*] and one by one filled their slots [*masume*].

49 After a long hiatus, Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai published the two-volume *Nihon meisaku shinariosen* (A Selection of Japanese Scenario Masterpieces, 2016), which presents 21 of the 127 scenarios that comprise *Nihon shinario taikei*.

50 See Kitsnik (2023, 323-9) for an analysis of how the overall structure of Shindō's book relies on a series of framing devices that draw from both individual memories and national history.

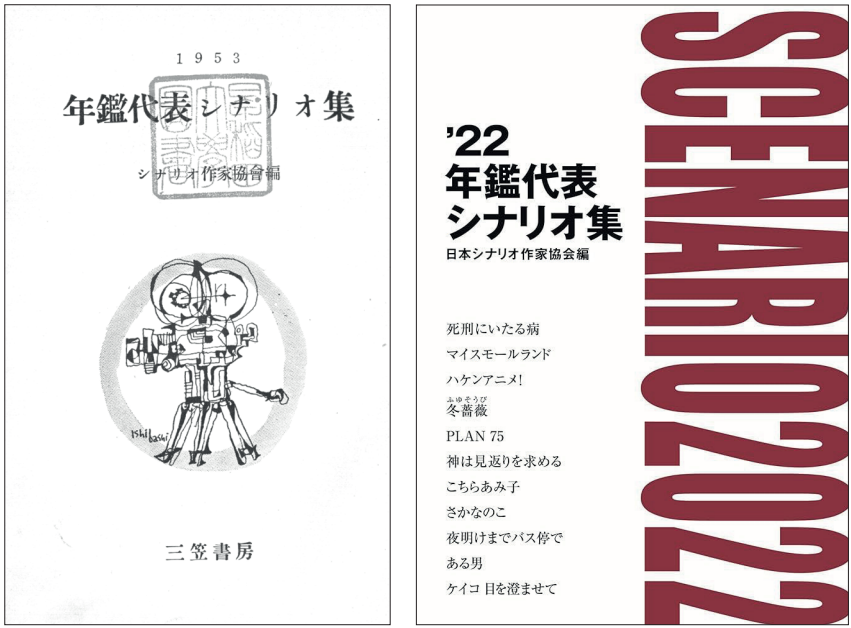


Figure 19 The covers of the 1953 and 2022 editions of *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū*

> Let us conduct an experiment. Assume that a script is written on 250 sheets of *genkō yōshi* (200 characters, 27 cm long, 18 cm wide). Now, let us say that each year about 500 films of all kinds were made. (In the silent era, each company produced about 150 films annually.) What would this amount to in sixty years?
>
> If we place the sheets on the railway tracks sideways, they cover the distance between Aomori and Himeji. If placed lengthwise, the distance between Aomori and Nagasaki. All sheets densely filled with characters. (Shindō 1989, 2: 242-3)

In this idiosyncratic cine-geographical fantasy, Shindō covers the archipelago and its main artery of transportation from the north of Honshū to the western shores of Kyūshū with the scenarios of all films produced in Japan during a period that roughly corresponds to the Shōwa Era (1926-89). The flattening of the pile of handwritten sheets and speeding it along the railway tracks at once adds a spatio-temporal dimension to the image. By so doing, Shindō also links cinema to the building of the modern nation state and the grid it imposed on the terrain with the aid of the industry that itself played a

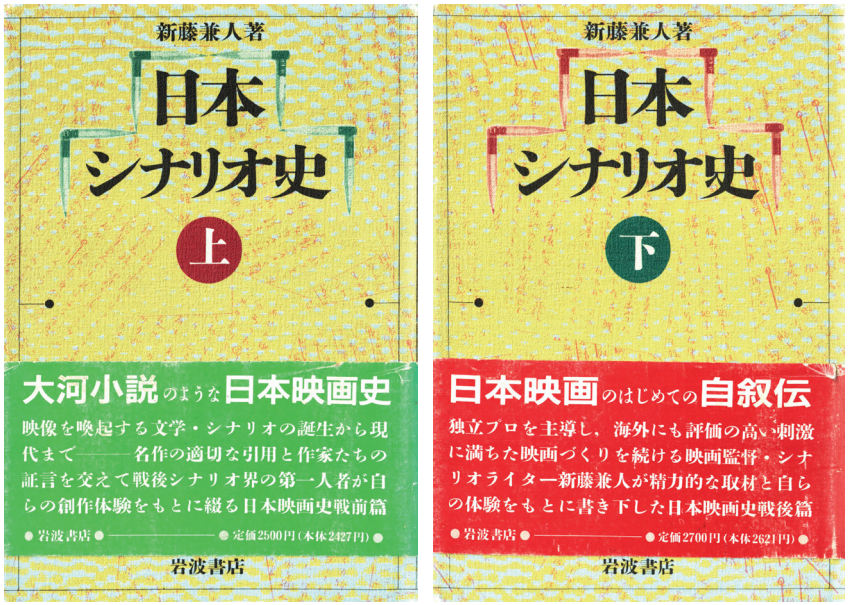


Figure 20 The covers of the two volumes of Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989)

crucial role in the development of Japanese film.[51]

Shindō granted the tangible form of the scenario such prominence against the backdrop of national landscape and the marker of modernisation, the railway, to provide visibility for scriptwriting and its important part in film production and sizeable contribution to film history. On a different level, this image of steel covered by sheets also works as a parallel to the script's function as a blueprint: much like the railway tracks provide the necessary underpinning for the vehicles to run on, so does a well-composed and streamlined written text serve as a foundation for the production of any screen work. Then, after having been completed, it will begin its journey from such focal sites of the industry as Tokyo and Kyoto, to the tiniest cinemas at the remotest locations of the archipelago, as film reels are being carried by wheels on trains for distribution and exhibition.

The kind of visibility and esteem provided by this image stands

51 Most notably, Tōhō was created by the founder of the Kansai-based private railway company Hankyū Railway, Kobayashi Ichizō (1873-1957), initially as the Tokyo branch of the Takarazuka Theatre Company and became a film production company after a merger in 1937.

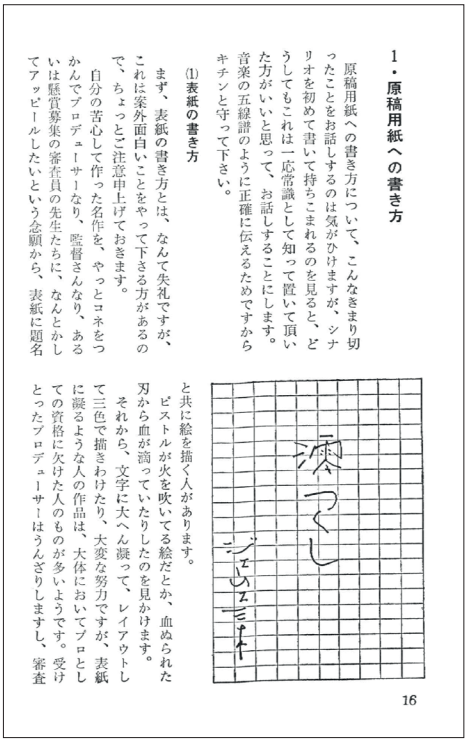
in stark contrast to Shindō's first encounter with a film script in the studio's lavatory. In effect, an object that has been initially treated with indifference, whether out of ignorance or shame, is redeemed by having the communication routes (instead of sewers) overrun with it. This gesture combines modern Japan's mediascape with its national network of transportation. This attempt to reverse the modest, often disdained status of the script relies on the emphasis placed on its distinct materiality. The sheets covering the tracks are not shooting scripts circulated among the crew (*daihon*) nor scenarios published for wider audience (*shinario*), but instead, they are handwritten pages of slotted manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*), a characteristically Japanese instrument of writing.

2.4.2 *Genkō yōshi*: The Manuscript Paper

Shindō is not alone when it comes to using *genkō yōshi* as a device to conjure up scriptwriting. For instance, Arai Hajime's (1915-97) popular how-to manual, *Shinario no kiso gijutsu* (The Basic Techniques of Screenwriting, 1985), begins with a discussion on how to use *genkō yōshi* properly (Arai 1985, 16-24). The correct way to fill out *genkō yōshi* is part of the general education in Japan, even in the current era, which is increasingly characterised by novel technological means of text processing. In the standard *genkō yōshi*, the page is divided into slots (*masu*) for 400 characters. Another standard, comprising 200 characters, is used specifically for scriptwriting.

In his brief history of *genkō yōshi*, Matsuo Yasuaki (1915-2007) posits that the early nineteenth-century historian Rai San'yō (1780-1832), known for *Nihon gaishi* (Unofficial History of Japan), was the first user of *genkō yōshi* in its present form (Matsuo 1981, 30). *Genkō yōshi* entered common usage in the Meiji period (1868-1912) with the advent of the modern publishing industry, which was based on typesetting where the characters needed to be precisely counted. What permeates Matsuo's account is an emphasis on *genkō yōshi*'s function as a managerial tool, especially important for providing a link between the writer and the publisher, as the honorarium was always calculated according to the number of sheets. Matsuo also introduces manuscripts of various important modern Japanese authors such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), and Dazai Osamu (1909-48). By relating to the proverb 'characters show your character' (*moji wa hito nari*), he suggests that using personalised *genkō yōshi* became part of the authorial signature of modern writers (Matsuo 1981, 59-80).

Although employed by writers of all varieties, *genkō yōshi* appears to work particularly well as a simile for scriptwriting, precisely due to the contrast it provides vis-à-vis film (as film stock). Admittedly,



1・原稿用紙への書き方

原稿用紙への書き方について、こんなきまり切ったことをお話しするのは気がひけますが、シナリオを初めて書いて持ちこまれるのを見ると、どうしてもこれは一応常識として知って置いて頂いた方がいいと思って、お話しすることにします。音楽の五線譜のように正確に伝えるためですからキチンと守って下さい。

(1)表紙の書き方

まず、表紙の書き方とは、なんて失礼ですが、これに案外面白いことをやって下さる方があるので、ちょっとご注意申上げておきます。

自分の苦心して作った名作を、やっとコネをつかんでプロデューサーなり、監督さんなり、あるいは懸賞募集の審査員の先生たちに、なんとかしてアッピールしたいという企画から、表紙に題名と共に絵を描く人があります。

ピストルが火を吹いてる絵だとか、血ぬられた刃から血が滴っていたりしたのを見かけます。

それから、文字に大へん凝って、レイアウトして三色で描きわけたり、大変な努力ですが、表紙に凝るような人の作品は、大体においてプロとしての資格に欠けた人のものが多いようです。受けとったプロデューサーはうんざりしますし、審査

16

Figure 21
A page from Arai Hajime's *Shinario no kiso gijutsu* (1985), explaining the use of *genkō yōshi*

the gap between a manuscript and a printed book within the realm of literature is not nearly as wide and material specific as the juxtaposition of a fragile handwritten sheet and weighty film reel. From his formative days in the industry, Shindō recalls the revelation of the clear disparity between the physically massive film negatives that he was developing and the almost evanescent paper on which the scripts were written (Shindō 1989, 2: 246). At the same time, *genkō yōshi*'s literary associations have the capacity to underline the scenario's proposed cultural capital and the authorial ambitions of certain writers. To this day, *genkō yōshi* remains a writing device much cherished by scriptwriters, and even part of professional pride. In a conversation at the Museum of Kyoto on 7 September 2014, Nishioka Takuya (1956), the head of the Japan Writers Guild at the time, told me that, much to the chagrin of the film production unit, he still uses *genkō yōshi* exclusively for his work.

Hashimoto is a remarkable exception among Japanese scriptwriters for typing, rather than handwriting, his scripts on *genkō yōshi*. Despite having devised a special clipboard for writing during his

early career, he subsequently began to employ a Japanese typewriter (*kana taipuraitā*), using the *katakana* syllabary. Hashimoto has explained this choice as a means to counter the tendency of images to become overly determined, as happens when written down in the ideographic Chinese characters (Hashimoto 1965, 58-9). He seems to suggest that the script needs to remain a provisional textual document and not directly overlap with its visual dimension, thus leaving more room of interpretation for the shooting crew.

2.4.3 The Typed Script

One should be careful not to overemphasise the 'manual' aspect of *genkō yōshi*: on its reverse, it has a distinctly mechanical side. Being equipped with equal-sized slots, the ultimate purpose of the manuscript paper is to facilitate a regular pace of writing. In this capacity, it comes surprisingly close to what the media historian and theorist Friedrich Kittler (1943-2011) has pointed out as the main conceptual innovation of the typewriter: "In contrast to the flow of handwriting, we now have discrete elements separated by spaces" (Kittler 1999, 16). At this juncture, it becomes difficult to find precise analogies to *genkō yōshi* among any Western practices of writing, as it combines the irregularities of an individual handwriting with a stable pace predetermined by the slots that mechanise the space between characters.

Price has described the screenplay as a distinctive textual format that is inextricably tied to the typewriter in its outlook. He points out that "the emergence of the 12-point Courier font as the default typeface for screenplays" gave them the characteristic "one-page-per-minute, generic physical form, user-friendly white space" (Price 2013, 202-3). In stark contrast, the scenarios printed in Japanese film journals and anthologies commonly appear on columned pages with the empty space minimised. In terms of the spatial distribution of text on the page, published scenarios differ significantly from both manuscripts written on *genkō yōshi* and shooting scripts (*daihon*) based on them. The layout of the latter has similarities with Hollywood screenplays in that it leaves enough space for notes to be scribbled in the margins of personal copies of the script, whether it is a storyboard by the director, design elements by the art director, or camera angles by the cinematographer.

The ubiquitous use of the Courier typeface has long been a cliché for English language materials on screenwriting, almost invariably appearing in some form within the design of most how-to books and

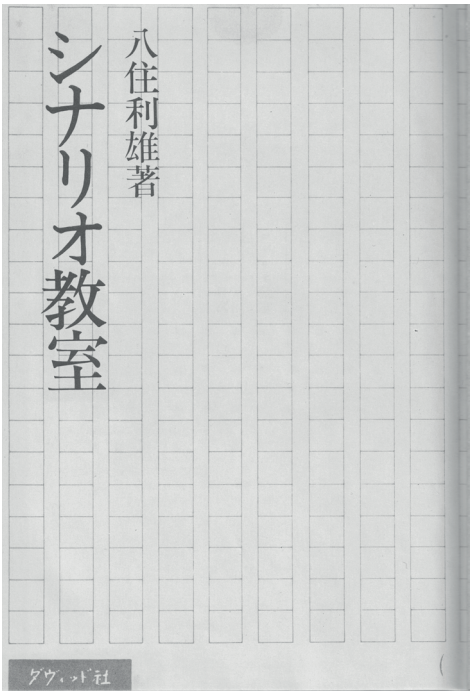


Figure 22
The cover of Yasumi Toshio's *Shinario kyōshitsu* (1964), with *genkō yōshi* weaved into its design

theoretical studies alike.[52] It underscores the fact that the image of the typewriter remains surprisingly persistent even after being replaced by newer technologies. Much like the Courier font in the Anglosphere, *genkō yōshi* is the metaphor for, and the face of, Japanese scriptwriting: various publications draw heavily from this instantly recognisable iconography of a page being split into vertical rows of equally sized rectangles.[53] A tentative parallel could also be drawn between the Hollywood screenplay and *genkō yōshi* as they both provide a similar effect of regularity in their capacity to encourage a certain reading speed, which relates to the duration of the scenes in the prospective film.

52 Steven Maras, *Screenwriting: History, Theory and Practice* (2009); Jill Nelmes (ed.), *Analysing the Screenplay* (2010); David Baboulene, *The Story Book* (2010); Michael Hauge, *Writing Screenplays That Sell* (2011); Darrin and Travis Donnelly, *The 10-Day Screenplay: How to Write a Screenplay in 10 Days* (2013) are just a few relatively recent examples of books that use the Courier font on their covers.

53 Examples of this practice include Yasumi Toshio's *Shinario kyōshitsu* (Scenario Class, 1964) and Kimizuka Ryōichi's *Shinario tōri ni wa ikanai!* (It Doesn't Go the Way of the Script!, 2002). Conversely, Shindō's *Nihon shinarioshi* has pencils and handwriting integrated into the book's design.

2.4.4 Typewriting and Gender

A lucid conceptual distinction can be made between a script written on *genkō yōshi* and typed on a typewriter. Marshall McLuhan has noted that "[t]he typewriter fuses composition and publication, causing an entirely new attitude to the written and printed word" (McLuhan 1994, 260). Building on this notion, Kittler adds that the use of typewriter brought about "a writing that already separates paper and body during textual production, not first during reproduction" (Kittler 1999, 14). He also points out the inherent conflict within the term itself: "'Typewriter' is ambiguous. The word meant both typing machine and female typist" representing "the convergence of a profession, a machine, and a sex" (Kittler 1999, 183). During what Kittler calls the founding age of media (*Mediengründerzeit*), roughly corresponding to the late-nineteenth century, a major conceptual shift occurred to the previous situation where writers dictated their work to male secretaries. The advent of the typewriter changed that:

> When men are deprived of the quill and women of the needle, all hands are up for grabs – as employable as employees. Typescript amounts to the desexualisation of writing, sacrificing its metaphysics and turning it into word processing. (Kittler 1999, 187)

Somewhat paradoxically, while the typewriter suddenly liberated women for new opportunities of employment, it also proved to undermine this very promise.

> Yet, while the typewriter did away with either sex's need for a writing stylus (and in the process giving women control over a writing machine-qua-phallus), it reinscribed women's subordination to men: women not only became writers but also became secretaries taking dictation on typewriters, frequently without comprehending what was being dictated. (Winthrop-Young, Wutz 1999, xxv)

The typewriter, then, might have been a major step towards financial emancipation of women but at the same time resulted in reinstating their discursive submission.

With the use of the typewriter, the acts of writing and typing became entrenched in gender terms, enforcing a distinction between a mere writer and an author. To circumvent this separation, early Hollywood writers Anita Loos and Frances Marion deliberately developed a habit of writing by hand on long yellow pads: "Both also claimed never to learn to type, as if the skill would make their careers and success appear premediated" (Price 2013, 92). This strategy helped women writers appear more manual, perhaps masculine, and as a result, more authorial. The opposite of this was a woman-machine

(typewriter) impeded from relating to the very text she was in the process of typing. In the Japanese context, this paper/body segregation in textual production has further implications: whereas a Hollywood writer would have prepared the script on a typewriter from the start, in Japan, scriptwriters (typically male) had their handwritten *genkō yōshi* sheets deciphered and diligently typed out at the script department by the female typists.

2.4.5 Hybrid Modernity of the Scenario

In current screenwriting studies, the Hollywood screenplay is often presented as a universal format that has been widely and successfully adopted elsewhere. However, the example of Japan complicates this view of the existence of a global standard for film scripts. Arguably, the pronounced differences in the writing system impose certain fundamental challenges that make it difficult to employ a similar layout, which would facilitate the screenplay's characteristic one-page-per-minute reading pace. The medium specificity of *genkō yōshi* also calls into question the particular version of modernity underlying this textual form. Kittler astutely points out the shift that occurred from the previous culture of handwriting to a mechanised regime where

> writing […] is no longer a natural extension of humans who bring forth their voice, soul, individuality through their handwriting. On the contrary, […] humans change their position – they turn from the agency of writing to become an inscription surface. (Kittler 1999, 210)

Genkō yōshi, partly mechanical and partly manual, suggests that some of the human agency might be left intact in its hybrid textuality.

At the same time, it is crucial not to succumb to the temptation of considering *genkō yōshi* as something traditionally Japanese. *Genkō yōshi*, despite its seemingly antediluvian aspects, and much like the typewriter, is a distinctly modern device that emerged from the standardising, serialising, and mechanical reproduction needs and logic of modern print media in the late nineteenth century. Coming into wider use only at the turn of the previous century, the appearance of *genkō yōshi* coincided with several concomitant innovations implemented within the framework of the Japanese nation state, such as unification of the written language by the *Genbun itchi* movement, which in turn is closely linked to the changes in literary language towards a vernacular version of Japanese exemplified by the work of Sōseki and others. The fact that most authors employed *genkō yōshi* for their work means that the device needs to be considered as part of the modern production of the text, along with the naturalist and

realist trends in literature, supported by a new understanding of the self as the source of an individual voice.[54]

Kittler also refers to Martin Heidegger who pointed out that even "the typewriter is not really a machine in the strict sense of the machine technology, but is an 'intermediate' thing, between a tool and a machine, a mechanism" (Kittler 1999, 200). In its semi-manual, semi-mechanical capacity, *genkō yōshi* certainly appears to represent a similarly intermedial means of text production. If considered against the background of what Kittler proposes as the triumvirate of modern media – gramophone, film and typewriter – the fact that *genkō yōshi* only partly fulfils the criteria of the new mechanised media underlines the hybrid, even deferred form of modernity it represents. In comparison to the typewriter, the use of *genkō yōshi* would have slowed down the writing process. Even Hashimoto admitted that his unusual use of the Japanese typewriter instead of the manuscript paper had little to do with velocity, rather devised for adapting a decidedly leisurely pace to writing (Hashimoto 1965, 58). In Chapter Four, I will further discuss the specific working methods of Japanese scriptwriters, particularly focusing on their relationship to spatiality and gender.

In this chapter, I first explored the evolution of Japanese film scripts from the late 1910s to the 1930s. During this period, the scripts not only found their standardised format in the master-scene scenario but also gained recognition and a following as a textual practice. The compilation of these scenarios into periodical publications and anthologies made them publicly accessible, hinting at the formation of an alternative canon of Japanese cinema. This accessibility also provided a tangible means for film enthusiasts to possess and freely explore these scenarios, which served as enduring versions of otherwise transient films, empowering discerning readers. In the next chapter, I will shift my focus to the role of the reader and its multiple implications. I will proceed to observe how a critical debate from the late 1930s established a framework for considering these publications as reading material (*yomimono*), as well as an alternative platform for preserving and experiencing cinema.

54 See Karatani 1993 for a multi-faceted analysis of the genesis of modern Japanese literature.

3 Reader as Director: Intermediality, Functions, Imagination

Summary 3.1 The Autonomy of the Scenario. – 3.1.1 Film Scripts as Literature. – 3.1.2 The Scenario Literature Movement. – 3.1.3 Analogies in Drama and Music. – 3.1.4 Autonomy and Intermediality. – 3.2 The Critics' Role and Scenario's Functions. – 3.2.1 The Positionality of the Critics. – 3.2.2 The Professional Divide. – 3.2.3 Introducing New Talents. – 3.2.4 Advocating for Original Scenarios. – 3.2.5 Scenario as Archive. – 3.3 The Skills of Cinematic Imagination. – 3.3.1 Cinematic Competence. – 3.3.2 The Anti-commercialisation of Cinema. – 3.3.3 Between Accuracy and Evocativeness. – 3.3.4 Expanding Readerships. – 3.4 Scenario Reader(ship)s. – 3.4.1 Amateur Readers. – 3.4.2 A Professional Reader: Itami Mansaku. – 3.4.3 Early Analyses of Ozu and Kurosawa.

In 1936, the year when sound cinema was finally and firmly established in Japan, Kitagawa Fuyuhiko outlined what he saw as the main task ahead for post-talkie scriptwriting.

> There has long been a demand for good scenarios. The need to elevate the scriptwriter's position has also been mentioned. However, I believe that the current format of the scenario will prevent this from happening for an indefinite period. This is primarily because the scenario today remains a secondary thing, regardless of how we look at it. Its form is distorted and altered by the director, but this is still reluctantly accepted. Even if it gets printed and published, the scenario can only be read by a devoted few. Above all, reading something close to a continuity script cannot be interesting for anyone who is not a specialist.

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Figure 23
Kitagawa Fuyuhiko (1900-90)

> At this juncture, to elevate the scriptwriter's position, the scenario-novel [*shinario soku shōsetsu*][1] becomes absolutely indispensable. In other words, we must request for a scenario that would be engaging reading matter [*yomimono*] even independently from the film; a scenario that would be an independent work of art [*geijutsu sakuhin*] that inspires the director. (Kitagawa 1936, 17)

Kitagawa connects the issue of the writer's social and industrial status to the script format, proposing an artistically enhanced, autonomous scenario as a solution. Simultaneously, he hints at the dilemma that this textual form necessarily involves: the dual requirement to stand on its own while never being completely detached from the context of film production. In addition to providing reading pleasure similar to that gained from literature, the scenario must also contribute to the medium of cinema by aiding its development in new directions.

Kitagawa was not alone in suggesting that scenarios can or should be considered and read as literature. In this chapter, I will apply a synchronic approach to examine how several leading film critics of

1 Kitagawa admits to borrowing the term 'scenario-novel' from the Soviet film director and theoretician Sergei Eisenstein (1898-1948).

the day participated in the collective effort to define and contemplate the concept of 'scenario literature' (*shinario bungaku*) around the years 1936-38. Specifically, I am interested in how contemporary film criticism was grappling with the rapidly expanding corpus of scenarios available through journals and anthologies discussed in the previous chapter, while suggesting ways in which the act of reading could benefit future Japanese cinema. I will argue that the discourse on 'scenario literature' proved to be highly influential beyond its immediate surroundings, proposing as it did how the possession of particular imaginative skills brings out the agency of professional and casual readers alike.

3.1 The Autonomy of the Scenario

3.1.1 Film Scripts as Literature

Appeals to consider scripts as independent literary texts have been surprisingly common across most film traditions. Price summarises this as a "history of perpetual novelty" where time and again the issue of literature is addressed in relation to publishing film scripts (Price 2010, 26). Recent studies of screenwriting in Hollywood have unanimously considered the anthology *Twenty Best Film Plays* (1943, edited by John Gassner and Dudley Nichols) as the first of its kind in attempting to "distill literature" out of existing screenplays (Maras 2009, 51).

In Japan, a collection comparable to *Twenty Best Film Plays* had already materialised a few years earlier with the publication of the six-volume *Shinario bungaku zenshū* (Complete Works of Scenario Literature, 1936-37). An advertisement for the anthology in the November 1936 issue of the journal *Eiga hyōron* (ex)claimed that "[a] new literary genre that brings together old forms of literature such as fiction, drama, and poetry is here! It will light the beacon of reform in our increasingly autumnal film world!! Make scenario into literature!!!" As I examined in the previous chapter, several similar collections later followed in the postwar years, but *Shinario bungaku zenshū* differs markedly from its successors by virtue of a sizeable critical apparatus that occupies the entire first volume of the collection.[2]

2 Although designated as the first volume, it was actually third to be published (following volumes 2 and 5). The remaining volumes contain the following: 2) recent Japanese scenarios (all but one produced) (*Nihon shinario kessakushū* Collection of Japanese Scenario Masterpieces), 3) translations and transcripts of foreign scenarios (*ōbei shinario kessakushū* Collection of European and American Scenario Masterpieces), 4) original work by professional scriptwriters (*Eigajin orijinaru shinario shū* Collection of Original

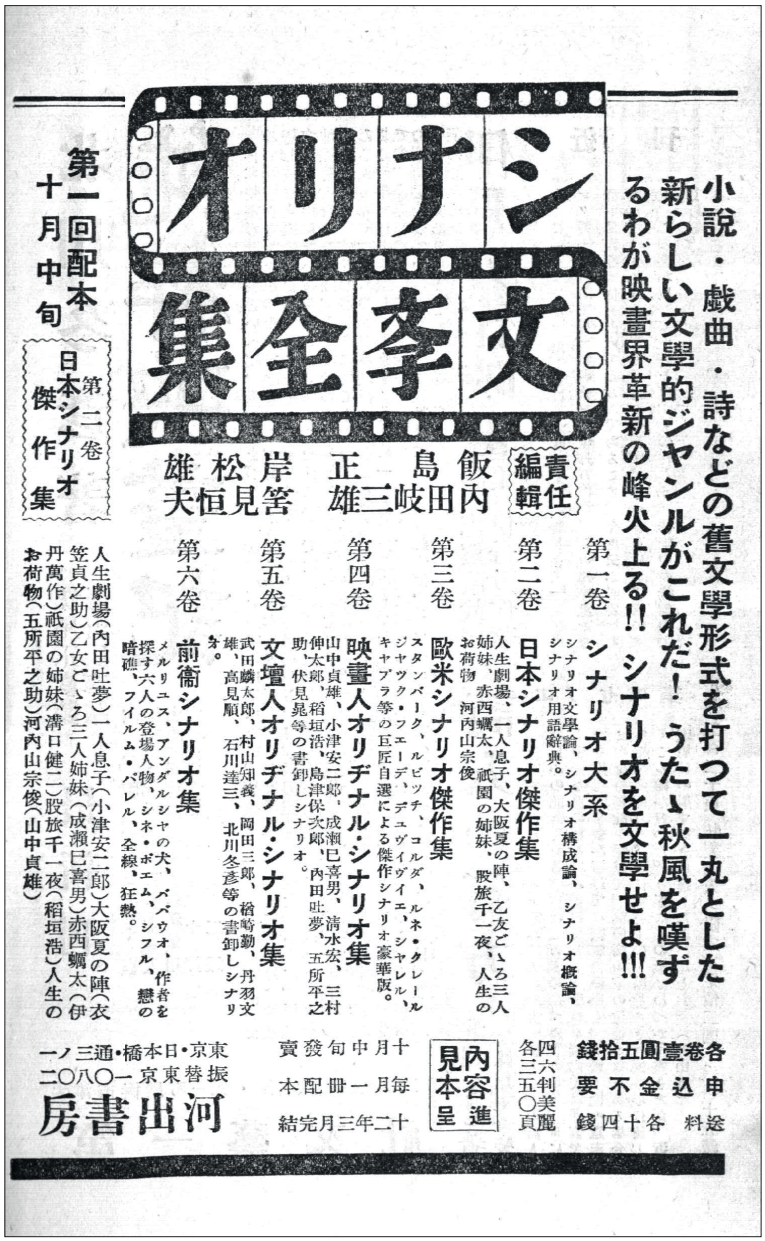


Figure 24 An advertisement for *Shinario bungaku zenshū* in *Eiga hyōron* (November 1936)

This volume, titled *Shinario taikei* (Outline of the Scenario), comprised essays on different aspects of the scenario, such as its dialogue and structure, as well as production context and prospects for research. Ostensibly, this gesture to contextualise was necessary to present and establish scenarios as autonomous texts, a step that subsequent script anthologies no longer needed to repeat. The essays were followed by summaries of the work of individual writers, both foreign and Japanese (70 and 16 names respectively). The volume concludes with a list of vocabulary of technical terms (*yōgo*) used in film scripts. This arrangement became the template for future critical collections on scriptwriting such as *Gendai eiga kōza: Shinario-hen* (Lectures on Contemporary Film: Scenario, 1954) and the *Kinema junpō* special issue *Shinario tokuhon* (1959).

3.1.1 The Scenario Literature Movement

As I observed in the previous chapter, scenarios had appeared semi-regularly in several film journals since the mid-1920s. However, it was only a decade later that a broader critical (re)consideration of the textual form began. The term 'scenario literature' became central to discussions about the artistic possibilities of the newly emerging talkie script. Writing in May 1937, Sawamura Tsutomu (1915-77) noted that "[s]cenario literature has lately become something of a vogue word [*ryūkōgo*] in the world of film and film criticism" (Sawamura 1937, 32). Other critics expressed doubts about employing this designation in an uncritical manner.

> We have become terribly particular about the word 'scenario literature'. Who on earth came up with it? 'Scenario literature' is surely a nice word. But isn't asking the scenario to become literature simply nonsense? Isn't it rather like asking the whale to live in the ocean? (Sugimoto 1937, 89)

While it seems nearly impossible to trace the exact origin of the term, *Shinario bungaku zenshū*, which was published between October 1936 and December 1937, should be credited with providing the impetus for the intense debate on whether scenarios should be considered as a new genre of literature.

Although the term 'scenario literature' was yet to be coined, quite a few essays in the journal *Eiga hyōron* addressed similar issues as early as May 1936. However, it was the year 1937 that the discursive

Scenarios by Film People), 5) scenarios by members of the literary establishment (*Bundanjin orijinaru shinario shū* Collection of Original Scenarios by Literary People), and 6) scripts of experimental films (*Zen'ei shinarioshū* Collection of Avant-Garde Scenarios).

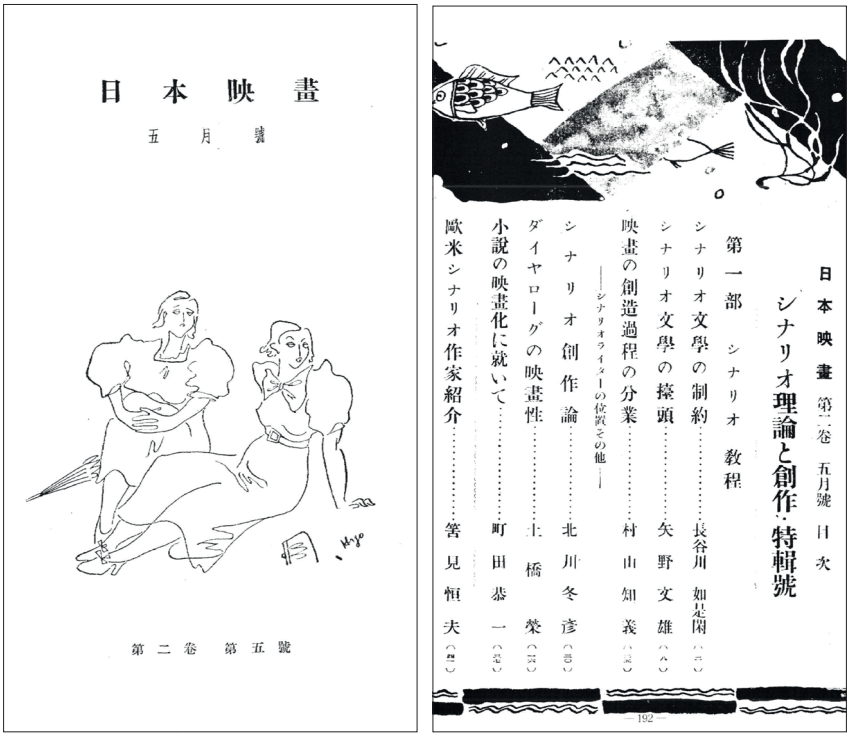


Figure 25 The cover and the table of contents of the special issue *Shinario riron to sōsaku* (The Theory and Creation of Scenarios) of *Nippon eiga* (May 1937)

endeavour commonly referred to as the Scenario Literature Movement began. Several leading film journals dedicated special issues to the topic, providing a platform for a similar circle of critics to test their opinions and arguments against each other. These issues include *Eiga hyōron* (January 1937), *Nippon eiga* (May and October 1937) and *Eiga sōzō* (Film Creation, December 1937). In addition, Kitagawa discussed 'scenario literature' in his regular column in *Kinema junpō* from May through June. He was also the driving force behind the establishment of the journal *Shinario kenkyū*, which provided an additional forum for debates on various facets of the phenomenon in its inaugural volume.[3]

3 Although the debate was largely confined to the pages of these periodicals, parts of it have been reprinted in influential books such as Hasegawa Nyozenkan's *Nihon eigaron* (On Japanese Film, 1943), Iijima's *Eiga to bungaku* (Film and Literature, 1948), Imamura Taihei's *Eiga geijutsu no seikaku* (The Character of Film Art, 1939), Kitagawa's

The Scenario Literature Movement was closely related to various topical issues in film criticism addressed by the same group of critics. These issues include film realism, sound, and documentary, as well as film genres such as *bungei eiga* (literary film), *bunka eiga* (culture film), and *nyūsu eiga* (news film).[4] In this capacity, the debate formed part of a broader discussion on different functions of sound film, indicating how the capabilities and opportunities of cinema as an audio-visual medium were perceived at the time. A deep concern for contemporary Japanese cinema permeates most of these accounts, often depicting it as significantly inferior to its foreign counterparts.[5]

3.1.2 Analogies in Drama and Music

The first task that most critics of the Scenario Literature Movement found themselves facing was to find a way to discuss scenarios as an independent textual form within the realm of literature and cultural production. This problem was commonly solved by aligning the new 'genre' with already existing ones, with the goal of legitimising scenarios as reading matter (*yomimono*). A comparison to drama was by far the most convenient example for these purposes. The common argument suggested that as drama plays in their printed form were widely considered literature and consumed separately from theatre-going, scenarios should be granted a similar status by association (Kikumori 1937, 22; Ueno 1937b, 13; Yano 1937, 9).[6] Tsuji Hisakazu (1914-81) even suggested that the history of Western theatre could serve as a point of reference for further prospects of the scenario.

> The first aspect that must first be improved to increase the value of the scenario is its form. I believe that the formal development of drama is a good example for this purpose. Doesn't the progress of the script – initially little more than an outline for a vulgar play – to our present days, when, in tandem with the development of theatre at the content level, it has taken the form of a drama play, also hint at the future of the scenario? (Tsuji 1936, 71)

Shinario bungakuron (On Scenario Literature, 1938) and Sawamura's *Gendai eigaron* (On Contemporary Film, 1941).

4 See Yamamoto 2020 for an analysis of the debate on film realism and documentary.

5 See Iijima 1937, 6; Ueno 1937b, 12.

6 The same mechanism can be observed in the case of the first American script anthology, *Twenty Best Film Plays*. The use of the term 'film play' rather than 'film script' or 'screenplay' immediately hints at its proximity to drama plays, an established literary genre.

This evolutionary view of art – maintaining that it was the embracing of particular limitations and improving them that eventually led to the emergence of crystallised forms – surfaces intermittently in the Scenario Literature Movement. Along these lines, various critics posit that the master-scene script provided precisely such a complete form for the scenario (Ihara 1937, 53-4; Kikumori 1937, 23; Sawamura 1936, 48; Ueno 1937b, 16).

The above comparisons were opportune means to argue for scenarios as both legible and reputable literary texts. However, references to drama also proved problematic due to theatre's association with early silent cinema, which relied heavily on stage repertoire and acting techniques. The prominent social critic Hasegawa Nyozekan (1875-1969) identified cinema as predominantly visual medium and consequently expressed his doubts about literary readings of scenarios. In his view, a stage play is always driven by dialogue, whereas in film, images interrupt the speech and thereby break the flow of the word-based narrative (Hasegawa 1937, 4-6). In effect, Hasegawa was sketching a distinction between what he considered major and minor elements in scenarios: the dialogue takes on merely an auxiliary role while the images on screen are essential for the unfolding of the narrative. In this decidedly narrow view of cinema, Hasegawa made a case against treating it as a verbal medium and, in effect, against the scenario as a literary genre akin to stage plays.

Another common analogy for the scenario came from the world of music. Future documentary filmmaker Ueno Kōzō (1908-81) pointed out that, parallel to scenario readership, the faculty of musical literacy makes it possible to read sheet music without listening to the actual performance. He even suggested that similar claims about 'music literature' (*ongaku bungaku*) are likely to emerge in the future (Ueno 1937b, 17-18). Another critic, Kita Saiga, was somewhat more hesitant about the accuracy of this analogy, illustrating his claim with a rather naive story from his youth.

> There was a music lover among my friends. During our school days, whenever he ran out of money, he had a habit of climbing into his dormitory bed and reading foreign music scores. He said it gave him great pleasure. German Lieder were the handiest: with minimal effort, he could enjoy piano music. Had this man money, he could have attended a concert or bought a record. Unfortunately, the pleasures of the musical score elude me. (Kita 1937, 77)

Along similar lines, the scriptwriter Kisaragi Bin (1903-65) expressed his strong doubts about considering scenarios as literature. He posited that while a professional writer might indeed derive enjoyment from reading them, to the general public they would seem as unintelligible as musical scores (Kisaragi 1937, 82). These dismissing

statements notwithstanding, the analogy of musical literacy can indeed be instructive for examining the readership of scenarios. This is closely tied to what is commonly called 'cinematic literacy', a topic I will return to later in this chapter.

3.1.2 Autonomy and Intermediality

Comparisons to other textual forms, whether verbal or not, also helped to underline the scenario's relative independence from the film production context. As we observed, for Kitagawa and others, it was paramount to find a format that could both captivate the reader and inspire the director. This was a precondition for the scenario to obtain an autonomous textual status. In this sense, the scenario's very existence was linked to its formal properties, and consequently, it became crucial to find an ideal form or rather a range of options for scenario literature. The American practice exemplified by *Twenty Best Film Plays* provides an interesting parallel: rather than trying to find a suitable form for the scenario, literariness was teased and 'distilled' out of a handful of existing scenarios. Price has noted the "editorial recasting of screenplays into a hybrid form combining narrative fiction and stage-play format" (Price 2013, 171). This is in sharp contrast with the Japanese practice of publishing largely unedited versions of whatever happened to be available, most often shooting scripts (*daihon*).

Most participants of the Scenario Literature Movement appear to have agreed that formats resembling the continuity script were unsuitable if literariness was sought for the scenario (Kurata 1937, 76; Yano 1937, 9; Yoshida 1937, 86). At the same time, there was a common understanding about the need to first identify various forms to eventually arrive at something that would accommodate the objectives of 'scenario literature'. Furukawa Yoshinori proposed that the continuity script was at best useful for familiarising oneself with the working styles of individual film directors rather than the narrative itself; conversely, the scenario should ideally be used for learning the writing skills and applying these on one's own film scripts (Furukawa 1937, 85). Tsuji went as far as calling for the abolishing of the continuity script: "The improvement of the scenario's position necessitates excellent scriptwriters, and in order for such writers to emerge, the current form of scenario must first be gotten rid of" (Tsuji 1936, 73). At the same time, warnings were sounded against the temptation to rely on existing literary forms. Kikumori Hideo (1909-2001), later a prolific translator and scholar of German literature, noted that to maintain its integrity as an independent genre, a scenario should under no condition attempt to take the form of a novel or a poem. In his view, the genre of *cine-poem*, gaining some popularity at the time, was not part of scenario literature at all but merely a poem that

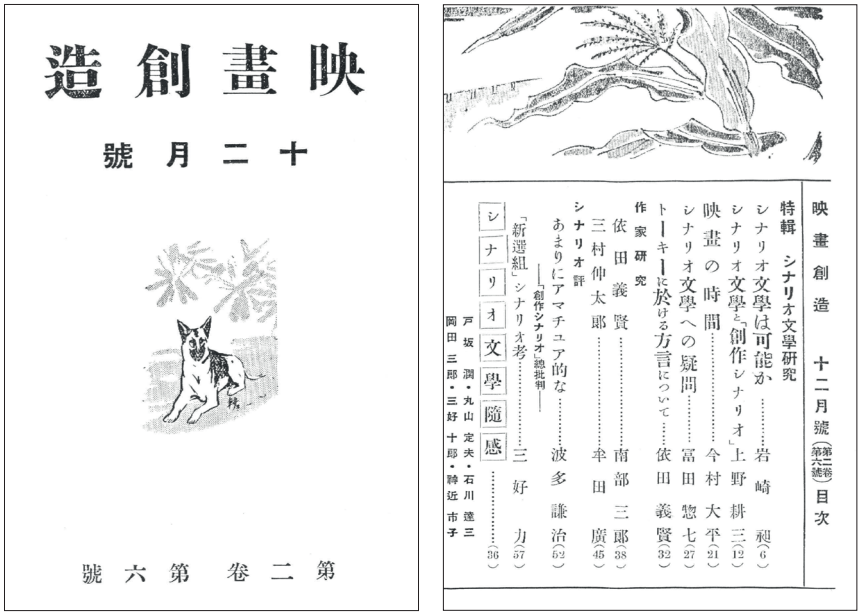


Figure 26 The cover and the table of contents of the special issue *Shinario bungaku kenkyū* (Research of Scenario Literature) of *Eiga sōzō* (December 1937)

happened to use literary techniques roughly reminiscent of corresponding cinematic devices (Kikumori 1937, 25).

The debate took place at a time when the master-scene scenario was already on its way to becoming the standard format in film production. Some critics, such as Tomita Sōshichi, insisted that the scenario remains meaningful only in its connection to film (Tomita 1937, 27), but most seemed to agree that the scenario had a strong claim for an autonomous status. For instance, Watanabe Toshihiko argued that while the scenario's dependence on film can be traced back to the production context and the continuity script, a different approach and format would dramatically change this situation (Watanabe 1936, 64). What emerges from these accounts is a consensus that the proposed autonomous position of the scenario as a literary text is contingent on its success in distancing itself from film production.

However, Yamakawa Yukio noted that by extracting itself from cinema, the scenario, as a new textual genre with its claim to autonomy, has paradoxically ended up subordinating itself to literature (Yamakawa 1938, 52). On a more conciliatory and constructive note, other critics pointed out that the scenario had come to occupy an intermediate position between film and literature. The following passage by Ueno illustrates this claim by employing a corporeal metaphor.

> Scenario literature is something of a child-in-between [*ai no ko*]. It is a mixed blood child [*konketsuji*] with flesh and bones from literature and skin from cinema. It is a film written with words. (Ueno 1937b, 16)

The novelist Ishikawa Tatsuzō (1905-85), the winner of the inaugural Akutagawa Price in 1935, saw this intermediality (*chūkansei*) mostly in negative terms and argued that due to its partial attachment to cinema, the scenario could not claim to be literature at all (Ishikawa 1937, 36). This opinion voiced by a leading novelist of the day ironically aligns with the one of the scriptwriter Kisaragi who found value in scenarios only for scriptwriting professionals.[7] Perhaps due to their respective professional allegiances, both Ishikawa and Kisaragi were compelled to underestimate both the efforts of film critics and the reading skills of the general audience. Conversely, the critics who participated in the Scenario Literature Movement agreed about the precondition that autonomy from cinema posed for the scenario as a new literary genre that could be perused independently from the film production context.

3.2 The Critics' Role and Scenario's Functions

3.2.1 The Positionality of the Critics

The arguments employed within the Scenario Literature Movement are at times very revealing of the critics themselves and how they reflected on their own positionality in the endeavour. In the inaugural issue of the journal *Shinario kenkyū*, Sawamura pointed out how during the silent era, literary people began producing texts in new genres influenced by their experiences of cinema.

> However, when films became talkies, such efforts by writers ceased for some time. After the initial confusion had dissipated, new cinematic techniques were generally apprehended and people made talkies their own. It was then that the advocacy of scenario literature on the part of film critics occurred. The voices raised from the critics' side resulted in cinema beginning to demand scenario literature. This is because film critics are the people who are first to understand and convey the voiceless demands of cinema. In contrast to the earlier *lese scenario* and *cine-poem*

7 Ishikawa Tatsuzō won the inaugural Akutagawa Prize in 1935 for *Sōbō* (Many People), This, like many of his subsequent works, was adapted for the screen (1937, written by Kurata Fumindo and directed by Kumagai Hisatora, 1904-86). Kisaragi authored one of the most acclaimed Japanese silent scripts, *Kaijin* (*Ashes*, 1929, directed by Murata Minoru).

> which emerged on the part of writers, the recent advocacy of scenario literature is none other than a great desire coming from the cinema itself. (Sawamura 1937, 32-3)

With a polemical pathos that is in danger of appearing self-righteous, Sawamura expresses an opinion not uncommon among the participants of the Scenario Literature Movement: in comparison to both the member of the literary establishment and film industry, the film critic is in a privileged position for evaluating the literary possibilities of the scenario. Moreover, many critics appear to have seen themselves as responsible for making the scriptwriters aware for the first time about their elevated status and opportunities as (literary) authors. The critic effectively becomes the catalyst for the writers' self-awareness as expressed in the following passage.

> This thing called 'scenario literature' should be conceived as the authorial awareness of the scenario author [*shinario sakka no sakkateki jikaku*]. It should give birth to those who are truly awakened to the function of film art. (Kitagawa 1938, 53)

It was the studio system in general, and its increasing focus on film adaptations of contemporary literature by the mid-1930s, that was blamed for keeping the writers unaware of their professional (class) consciousness. It was even suggested that those writers with permanent contracts with studios possessed insufficient creative faculties to even come up with original scripts. At the same time, some sympathy was afforded to the seemingly unenviable position of studio scriptwriters:

> [Th]e fact remains that current scenario writers know about little more than the techniques of adaptation [*kyakushoku*]. For them, possessing their own ideas or expression is not easily permitted. (Tsuji 1936, 70)

The critics displayed a generally low opinion of contemporary scriptwriters, but the efforts by the literary establishment to contribute to the field were commonly treated with similar disdain. The anthology *Shinario bungaku zenshū* had two contrasting volumes, one dedicated to scenarios by *eigajin* (film people), and the other by *bundanjin* (literary people).[8] Kitagawa expressed his disappointment about the latter volume soon after it appeared: "Regrettably, most of these works

8 In *Bundanjin orijinaru shinarioshū*, several established writers provided their scenarios, complete with short introductions on their views on the genre. An attempt of the Scenario Literature Movement to transfer prestige from the literary circles (*bundan*) to the scenario is nowhere more apparent. Interestingly, this pattern was never

Figure 27 The covers of the fourth (*eigajin*) and fifth (*bundanjin*) volumes of *Shinario bungaku zenshū* (1936-37)

keep the so-called cinematisation [*eigaka*] too much in mind, and due to this, the scenarios end up being of low artistic value" (Kitagawa 1938, 57). Kitagawa clearly expected more imaginative works from the 'real' writers, whom he presumed were not bound by the limitations seen in the film industry, once more suggesting that it was the role of the critics to decide on what would qualify film scripts as scenario literature.

repeated: perhaps the distinction between literature and film professionals made sense only in the context of 'scenario literature'.

3.2.2 The Professional Divide

Another line of demarcation, this time between the film critics and scriptwriting practitioners, was represented by two journals, *Shinario* and *Shinario kenkyū*. Both began appearing in the summer of 1937, during the peak of the Scenario Literature Movement.[9] The former was published by the Kansai section of Eiga Sakka Kyōkai (Association of Film Authors), a predecessor to the postwar Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai (Japan Writers Guild). The Kyoto-based scriptwriter, Yoda Yoshikata, served as its editor.[10] The inaugural issue of *Shinario* contained congratulatory messages from all major studios, attesting to its close industrial ties. This is further evidenced by the presence of Yoda, who was emerging as a major studio scriptwriter at the time, having recently written the acclaimed *Gion no kyōdai* (*The Sisters of Gion*) and *Naniwa erejī* (*Osaka Elegy*) both directed by Mizoguchi Kenji in 1936.

In stark contrast, *Shinario kenkyū* was edited by a coterie known as Shinario Kenkyū Jūninkai (The Club of Ten of Scenario Research), which was primarily composed of film critics. Often abbreviated as Jūninkai (The Club of Ten), this group relied on the combined critical and creative faculties of its members and was a significant entity in the Japanese scenario world until the 1950s. The establishment of the group roughly coincided with the beginning of the Scenario Literature Movement.[11] The original ten members included Horiba Masao, Ihara Hikoroku, Iida, Kaiwa Hikaru, Katanada Yakurō, Kitagawa, Sawamura, Shigeno Tatsuhiko, Sugimoto Shun'ichi and Tsuji (Sugimoto 1937, 89).[12] According to Sugimoto, the main aims of the Jūninkai were the following:

9 The ambiguity of the word *kenkyū* (research), which distinguishes these two journals, should be noted. A postwar series published by the Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai, similarly titled *Shinario kenkyū*, contained only scenarios with extremely brief commentaries, suggesting their status as *material* for research, with the presumed research itself excluded. Terms such as *kenkyū* and *ron* (theory) are used quite liberally to denote varying degrees of critical engagement with texts, not necessarily rigorous scholarly inquiry.

10 *Shinario* should not to be confused with its postwar reincarnation of the same name, which continues appearing to the present day. The postwar version of *Shinario* was published by Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai; so were *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū* and *Nihon shinario taikei*, the definitive scenario anthology discussed in the previous chapter.

11 There is some uncertainty regarding the exact inception of the group. Sugimoto cites 15 July 1936 as the date of the founding meeting (Sugimoto 1937, 89), whereas Kitagawa refers to September 1936 (Kitagawa 1938, 15).

12 The lineup of the group was listed in each issue of *Shinario kenkyū*, with Ōguro Toyoshi (1908-92), Takiguchi Shūzō (1903-79), and Asano Akira (1901-90) eventually replacing Katanada, Miwa, and Tsuji. Ihara passed away in August 1937 and Tsuji was reinstated. Supporting members of the group included the country's foremost moder-

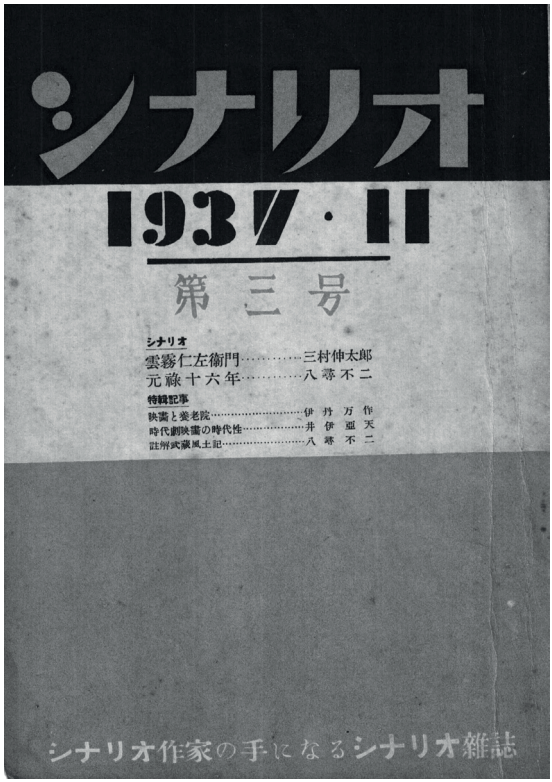


Figure 28
The cover of *Shinario* (November 1937)

> To open up new artistic territories not ruined by contemporary commercialism, to keep in mind the establishment of new textual forms, to examine monthly submissions of scenarios brought in by each group member, and to analyse work by writers from outside the group. (Sugimoto 1937, 89)

Due to the emphases above, *Shinario kenkyū* markedly differed in its content from *Shinario*. It dedicated equal space in the journal to both criticism and scenario texts, while *Shinario* clearly focused on the latter. The professional tensions between the two periodicals were brought to light in the editorial of the first issue of *Shinario*, which

nist poet, Hagiwara Sakutarō (1886-1942). Interestingly, the activities of the Jūninkai continued beyond the wartime period. The group is credited for editing books such as *Shinario nyūmon* (Introduction to Scenario, 1952), and its members contributed to discussions on scriptwriting in various fori such as *Kinema junpō* and its special editions, notably *Shinario tokuhon*. A notable postwar addition to the membership was Kobayashi Masaru, the main editor of the anthology *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*.

Figure 29
The cover of the inaugural issue of *Shinario kenykyū* (May 1937).

expressed disappointment that *Shinario kenkyū* had managed to enter the scenario publishing market first (May vs June 1937). Harsh words were directed at the behaviour of a particular unnamed member of the Jūninkai (Anon 1937, 80).

Shinario kenkyū appears to have borrowed its general template from literary coterie magazines such as *Shi to shiron* (Poetry and Poetics, 1928-31). This approach might have lent it some institutional credibility. The participation of several critics associated with the literary scene, such as Kitagawa and Takiguchi Shūzō (1903-79), reveals its close connection to a series of literary movements of the late-1920s, such as the Short Poem Movement (*Tanshi undō*) and the Prose Poem Movement (*Sanbunshi undō*). Indeed, Kitagawa, an advocate of both movements, was already an established poet when he began a parallel career as a film critic in the early 1930s. Takiguchi is widely considered the foremost surrealist artist in Japan.[13]

13 This literary connection is further emphasised by the two-volume facsimile edition of *Shinario kenkyū* that appeared in 2012 as part of the series dedicated to making available modernist poetry journals, *Toshi modanizumu shishi* (The Poetry Journals of Urban Modernism). Given that, apart from an odd *cine-poem*, *Shinario kenkyū* contains

Besides professional divisions, there is an underlying geopolitical dimension to the Scenario Literature Movement, as represented by the two periodicals. *Shinario* was established by scriptwriters working in the Kansai region, while *Shinario kenkyū* was founded by film critics residing in Tokyo. However, both journals were published by companies based in Kyoto, with Daiichi Geibunsha (*Shinario kenkyū*) also responsible for several books by members of the Jūninkai, such as Kitagawa and Shigeno, as well as writings by the director Itami Mansaku. This bias towards the Kansai region is notable due to the increasing concentration of publishing houses and capital in Tokyo following the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake (Mack 2010, 4). Such regional aspects have implications for the entire scenario literature project, which is seen as an alternative to what was perceived as an increasing commercialisation of cinema, a topic discussed later in this chapter. In fact, Muta Hiroshi has pointed out that, in his impression, people from Kyoto were generally stronger proponents of scenario literature (Muta 1937, 50). Often referred to as the Hollywood of Japan in the 1920s, Kyoto, which fostered such early scriptwriting circles as the Narutakigumi[14] remained a formidable presence for innovations in scriptwriting into the late 1930s.

3.2.3 Introducing New Talents

In December 1937, when the debate on scenario literature was already beginning to subside, Iwasaki Akira (1903-81) highlighted what he saw as the three greatest achievements of the endeavour.

> The Scenario Literature Movement has provided significant stimulation to the artistic improvement of cinema. First, it has rightfully acknowledged the importance of the script in film production.

neither poems nor discussion on poetry in any conventional sense, it seems unusual that it should have been reproduced in that particular series. Many central concerns and frequent contributors of *Shinario kenkyū* heavily overlap with those of other contemporary journals such as *Eiga to ongaku* (Film and Music), *Eiga sōzō* and *Nippon eiga*, all published in facsimile editions of film journals. While the effort to make *Shinario kenkyū* available should be warmly welcomed, its peculiar position is attested by the commentaries by its editors who appear to be out of their depth when discussing film criticism, preferring links to the literary scene instead (Hayakawa 2012, Mizutani 2012). As it appears in a series with the goal of making available several literary coterie magazines, *Shinario kenkyū* is situated in the literary realm rather than that of film criticism. This might explain why that the journal itself and Scenario Literature Movement have generally been excluded from discussions of cinema and relegated to footnotes of literary history as a modernist curiosity. Ironically, then, *Shinario kenkyū*, the main forum for publishing and discussing 'scenario literature', sits uneasily between the two fields to this very day, failing to find its proper place in either canon.

14 See Chapter Four for more details about the Narutakigumi.

> Second, it has created opportunities for the emergence of original scenarios from outside the film industry, not contracted by the studios. Third, it has introduced artistic talent from outside the film world to create scenarios. (Iwasaki 1937, 10)

Yamakawa seconded this evaluation by noting the benefits of publishing scripts that, for one reason or another, failed to be produced, and invited young writers to try their hand at writing for cinema (Yamakawa 1938, 52). Both statements highlight how the emergence of a new forum for scenario publishing resulted in engaging outsiders to contribute to scriptwriting beyond regular assignments facilitated by the studios.

One of the positive outcomes of the Scenario Literature Movement was undoubtedly the participation of individuals from various professional backgrounds and affiliations in the broader cultural field. While this might have occasionally revealed a divide between the literary establishment and the film world, it also underscored the flexibility and potential for merging different roles. By significantly expanding the opportunities for scenarios to be noticed, and sometimes even produced, the Scenario Literature Movement essentially democratised the contemporary film industry. The chance to publish their work without being commissioned by the studios led to new individuals joining the ranks of scriptwriters from outside the industry and its restrictive system of in-house training. As I will discuss in the next chapter, the script departments often acted as a site of exclusion, and those without proper training under the assigned master could not easily join the trade of scriptwriting. This practice highlights the negative aspect of the issue of professionalism in writing for film, which is addressed by several critics in the debate.

> Today, when there is a shortage of good scriptwriters, I would like to see the freshness that comes from amateur-ish scenario writers, even though this might not happen immediately. Amateur [*shirōto*] writers do not necessarily have to submit to the many requirements of the studio or obey the subordination of the scenario to film. It would suffice for them to write scenarios keeping in mind the optimal conditions for cinematisation [*eigaka*]. This is one aspect of the scenario's independence. Such scenarios would probably not be made into films *immediately* [emphasis original]. […] However, the attitude of professional [*kurōto*] writers, who are always just making do, is unproductive as well. (Watanabe 1936, 63)

Along similar lines, Furukawa suggested that future scriptwriters are most likely to emerge from among those who peruse and research scenarios published in journals, rather than from the professional writing staff employed at the studios (Furukawa 1937, 86).

Iida has pointed out that the general atmosphere of democratisation of writing for film, generated by the Scenario Literature Movement, was integral in helping to launch the careers of several significant postwar scriptwriters (Iida 1952, 212). The publication of original work by emerging talent facilitated the rise of new writers from outside the studio system. Many of these attempts never made it to the screen, but the opportunities to have their writing published in fori such as *Eiga hyōron*, *Nippon eiga*, *Shinario*, and *Shinario kenkyū*, and to receive feedback from their peers, proved to be crucial for future writers. These few decisive years in the late 1930s laid the foundation to the modus operandi of the typical postwar scriptwriter.

One of these young writers was Shindō, who had his first scenario, *Tsuchi o ushinatta hyakushō* (The Farmers Who Lost Their Land), published in *Eiga hyōron* in May 1938. Although he was already employed at the Shinkō Studio's art department at the time, it was not easy to cross professional boundaries within the industry. It was in the same year that, after accidentally acquiring a copy of *Nippon eiga* featuring scenarios, Hashimoto started to try his hand at scriptwriting. Yet another important filmmaker from the same generation who started his career by publishing unproduced scripts was none other than Kurosawa.

3.2.4 Advocating for Original Scenarios

Within the Scenario Literature Movement, the quality of the film script, and indeed that of the film made from it, often hinged upon the scarcity of original scenarios (*orijinaru shinario* or *sōsaku shinario*). This perceived deficiency was in turn related to the independence of the scenario from the film production context. The solution was seen in providing opportunities for publishing original work that would be free from industrial demands and addressing the problems arising from the often-formulaic methods of literary adaptation. During the early days of the debate, the scriptwriter Kyōto Nobuo (1914-2004) noted that

> [i]t has often been said that the film authors [*eiga sakka*] of our country have until now lacked the talent to write original scenarios and due to this cinema, too, has deteriorated. I am strongly against this view. It is rather that the authors of original scenarios have been kept all too long in such an unfavourable environment. Beginning with Itami Mansaku, there are more scenario authors [*shinario sakka*] than can be counted on one's fingers. It is only that they have not had the chance to publish their work. (Kyōto 1936, 121)

Kyōto associates the elevation in the scriptwriters' status with the creation and publication of original scenarios, which saw a considerable increase during the Scenario Literature Movement. Upon examining the texts that appeared in journals at the height of the debate, one is struck by the overwhelming proportion of original works, many of which were never filmed.[15] The flagbearer of this trend was clearly *Shinario kenkyū*: nearly all scenarios published there were subtitled as *sōsaku shinario*.[16] Original scenarios were also frequently published in *Nippon eiga* and *Eiga hyōron*, and to a lesser extent in other film journals, significantly contributing to the growing corpus of scenarios discussed in the previous chapter.

The impetus behind this advocacy of original scenarios was closely tied to the critics' disappointment with certain trends in contemporary Japanese cinema. This was an era characterised by the flourishing of *bungei eiga*, literary adaptations of so-called pure literature (*junbungaku*). Only a few years earlier, literary and film critics had placed great hopes in the emerging genre. However, these literary adaptations, often made with clear commercial considerations, were subsequently seen as the antithesis of scenario literature. Watanabe astutely pointed out that art (*bungei*) does not automatically follow from adapting highbrow material (*junbungei*) for the screen (Watanabe 1936, 65). Arguably, it was the failure of the *bungei eiga* to live up to its initial promise of bringing cinema closer to literature that prompted the critics to search for literary value in scenarios in the first place.

In several essays published prior to the Scenario Literature Movement, Kitagawa had already levelled harsh criticism at the attempts to adapt literature to film.[17] Nor was he particularly impressed by the recent shift from popular literature (*taishū bungaku*) to 'pure literature' as the source of film adaptations. In his view, the rationale behind adaptations was the lack of original scenarios, and the prevalence of adaptations was related to the generally poor skills of contemporary Japanese scriptwriters. Kitagawa singled out Shimazu's *Okoto to Sasuke* (*Okoto and Sasuke*, 1935), an adaptation of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's novel *Shunkinshō* (*A Portrait of Shunkin*, 1933) as an example of the failure to meaningfully transmit literature to the screen.

15 These original scenarios commonly concluded with the notice: "Screening and performing without permission prohibited" (*Kin mudan jōei jōen*). This suggests that even non-professional writers were sufficiently aware of the issue of copyright.

16 While placing its main focus on original scenarios, *Shinario kenkyū* also featured a section called *Shinario kurashikku* (Scenario Classics), where scripts of acclaimed earlier films were published (See Table 1 on the prewar scenario canon).

17 These include "Eiga to taishū bungaku" (Film and Popular Literature) from May 1933 (Kitagawa 1938, 190-2), "Bungei sakuhin eigaka shiken" (Personal View on Film Adaptations of Literary Works) from January 1935 (125-8) and "Bungei sakuhin no eigaka" (Film Adaptation of Literary Work) from March 1936 (133-6).

3.2.5 Scenario as Archive

In his opening essay to the first volume of *Shinario bungaku zenshū*, Iijima claimed that "[f]or us, unable to be satisfied with Japanese cinema, it has become impossible not to try cinematic creation through the printed word [*katsuji*]" (Iijima 1937, 6). This controversial and oft-quoted statement was followed by one that disproportionately invests only the dialogue passages of the scenario with literary qualities; the descriptive parts of the scenario (*togaki*), unable to account for all the visual aspects of the film, are considered suspect (10). Iijima's stance on the accuracy of dialogue as a faithful transcript of film is highly problematic: equating words printed on the page with those uttered on the screen fails to consider the aspects of voice and performance. It is also curious that this view should be expressed in the inaugural essay of the anthology, the main goal of which was to make scenario texts available, appearing as if Iijima was trying to undermine the whole effort at its inception.[18] Almost instantly, several critics reacted to Iijima's words. Ihara made a strong pitch about the directions (*togaki*) in the scenario being as important as its dialogue, a fallacy that he suggested resulted from Iijima's taking the analogy between drama play and the scenario too far (Ihara 1937, 52). Kitagawa, in turn, posited that instead of separating different facets of the scenario, it should be perceived as a single entity (Kitagawa 1938, 16).

Aaron Gerow has discussed the same essay by Iijima and his stance on film dialogue as a negative example of a certain trend in Japanese film criticism. Gerow argues that Iijima

> [tried] distinguishing between the cinematic aspects (camera, editing, etc.) from the literary aspects (mainly focusing on dialogue) in the scenario […] [arguing that t]he coming of sound […] opened up an avenue for the cinematic pursuit of literature in the form of dialogue. (Gerow 2000, 28)

Gerow finds in Iijima's stance a refusal to fully embrace the visual nature of cinema and uses it to illustrate his general claim about how the image has been repeatedly subordinated to the word in Japanese film theory. In his interpretation, literature "promised to finally give cinema that self-contained textuality, that unchanging and univocal meaning", effectively rendering "the script largely equivalent to the moving picture" (Gerow 2000, 29).

18 Iijima (1976) later admitted that his ideal at the time was a detailed continuity script that would include camera angles and changes made to the script during the production of the film. Remarkably, this is very close to what the compilers of the first anthology of American screenplays, *Twenty Best Film Plays*, tried to accomplish by significantly editing the shooting script in order to make it match the final screen work.

Figure 30
Iijima Tadashi (1902-96)

While I generally agree with Gerow's conclusion about Iijima assigning a privileged position to literature, I also think that Iijima's concern has strong practical implications as an early call for film preservation. One of the passages that Gerow quotes to present what seems to be Iijima's strong anti-visual stance reads as follows:

> [T]he words on screen disappear after an instant and do not possess the quality of permanence. In this regard, one cannot but recognize the superiority of literature composed in written words. (Gerow 2000, 28)

I argue that the emphasis here should not be on the superiority of literature but rather on the perceived ephemeral quality of cinema. In a revised version of this essay, published two years later in 1939, Iijima made significant changes to the passage in question, and explicitly addressed the archival capacity of printed words.

> The words on screen disappear after an instant and do not possess the quality of permanence. In this regard, the fact that the written

> words of the dialogue in the scenario provide permanence must be regarded as particularly crucial. (Iijima 1948, 119)

Iijima's words can instead be interpreted as an attempt to address the material status of contemporary cinema in his time. The tangible form of the scenario might have appeared as a more stable surrogate for the ever-disappearing images on screen. By emphasising the "permanence provided by written words", Iijima deems it important that cinema can emulate literature in order to secure its own durability and consequently, its status as an autonomous art. In what amounts to an evolutionary view of art, Iijima suggests that it was not until stories were put down in writing (*moji*) that they first became literature (*bungaku*) (Iijima 1937, 9-11; 1948, 126). It is through this analogy from the genesis of written literature that Iijima invests printed scenarios, rather than the more vulnerable film prints, with archival power. In Iijima's view, a scenario possesses the capacity to elevate cinema to a new artistic and social status with the more accessible means of preservation it implies.[19]

Film preservation was an extremely new concern in Iijima's day, not yet properly conceptualised, let alone acted upon. The first institutions with the explicit aim of preserving films for future generations were founded in the United States (The New York Museum of Modern Art) and France (La Cinémathèque Française), in 1935 and 1936, respectively. Japan was among the last countries with a sizeable corpus of films to systematically address the issue of film preservation. Sam Ho has noted that

> The heritage of film in Asia is particularly fragile. For a long while, the garbage bins of Asian cinema were a homeless bunch, not so much because of snobbish rejection of a new and popular medium but simply due to indifference. While the West waited three decades before establishing archives, it took a lot longer for Asia to get going. The first film archives in the continent are the ones in Iran, China and India, launched respectively in 1949, 1958 and 1964. Japan, perhaps the best among Asian nations in protecting its cultural heritage, did not start preserving films systematically until the 1970s, under the banner of the National Film Centre. (Ho 2001, 2-3)

19 The relevance of Iijima's suggestion about the scenario as an archive becomes increasingly urgent when we consider similar accounts by other critics of the Scenario Literature Movement. Several contemporaries pointed out what appeared to them the inherently ephemeral quality of cinema. For instance, Sawamura noted that "it could even be said that the literary independence [of the scenario] has already become something of a pressing necessity in order to acquire artfulness [*geijutsusei*] for film that disappears in the course of time" (Sawamura 1936, 48).

The debate on 'scenario literature' started with what might have seemed like purely literary concerns, but subsequently broadened to address several urgent issues relating to cinema at the advent of talkies. In terms of meeting its main goals, the Scenario Literature Movement can be described as unsuccessful: the scenario never became an established literary genre, and its publication was largely confined to film journals and specialist anthologies. However, the conceptual framework that first emerged from this debate in the late 1930s proved to be very influential in the postwar era, leading to an extended publishing and reading culture, as well as the emergence of several notable scriptwriters with no studio training. The expanding corpus of published scenarios also invited considerations of their archival capacity and significance to the wider readership.

3.3 The Skills of Cinematic Imagination

3.3.1 Cinematic Competence

Kitagawa considered Iijima misguided for focusing solely on the scenario's dialogue and advocated for a more holistic reading practice that treated all parts of the text in an equitable manner. He also expressed a preference for reading the scenario before watching the film made from it (Kitagawa 1938, 13). This is verified by the fact that a large part of his film reviews began with a self-assessment of the extent to which his expectations, based on the prior reading of the script, were met. Kitagawa's approach suggests an unusual level of reader participation in actively creating images from the printed word at the outset, rather than using the scenario simply to complement or recreate the audio-visual experience of watching a film. Other critics involved in the Scenario Literature Movement pointed to similar function of reading that presupposes familiarity with the cinematic narrative mode.

> Scenarios are not only written but also read with filming in mind. To the extent that the scenario includes artistic suggestions, completeness is expected from its expression. However, scenario writers have until now relied on directors and other member of the staff to read it cinematically, and as a result, they have continued writing in a rather muddled manner. Just as in the case of appreciating literature, the visual translation occurs without the reader being fully aware of it. Today, as the number of those with cinematic education has increased, there is no reason to leave unused the circumstances where the scenario is gathering strength as reading matter [*yomimono*]. Indeed, readers are presently acquiring

> skills to read scenarios cinematically. Even if the general reader will not understand all the details, it is quite enough if they understand the appeal [*omoshirosa*] of it. (Watanabe 1936, 64)

By shifting the focus to the act of reading, Watanabe highlights what is specifically expected from the reader of the scenario. In her study of Hollywood screenplays, Claudia Sternberg (1997) has described this particular skill-set as "cinematic competence". However, Watanabe was writing during the early sound cinema era when a broader population was still learning to 'read' the new medium. For this reason, he connects the alternative that the scenario offered to film viewing with the necessity of an emerging critical mass of skilful readers, something that the Scenario Literature Movement hoped to facilitate. Similarly, Kitagawa emphasises the importance of cinematic literacy. He mentions it as a prerequisite for the success of the entire scenario literature project.

> The extent to which a film script [*kyakuhon*] can be considered a scenario [*shinario*] depends on whether it involves the evocation of screen images. It cannot be claimed that screen images never featured in literature. However, this was merely a sprout and not like the scenario where everything evoked is in fact a screen image. … Even if scenarios become outstanding by the addition of more and more screen images, it would be like casting pearls before swine if the reader lacks skills to imagine them. (Kitagawa 1938, 9-10)

Kitagawa highlights the belief that an understanding of cinematic language and techniques is essential for readers to fully engage with and derive value from scenario literature. On the other hand, Ueno Kōzō argued that the task of the reader should not end with being able to functionally peruse scenarios.

> It will not suffice for scenario readers to use their experience of watching films merely to read the scenarios without going beyond this experience. What they are experiencing serves as the basis and starting point: with the development of scenario literature, the reader's creativity will also develop. The reader creates [*sōzō*]. […] They create while imagining [*sōzō*]. The general direction is indicated by the scenario, but for vividly painting its particular shape in the mind, imagining powers [*imeeji suru chikara*] are expected from the reader. Therefore, the reader directs. […] The real directors are bound by restrictions such as studio intentions, money, actors and so on. But the reader is not restrained by anything. They can spend money without regrets, move the shooting location to Egypt, cast [Valéry] Inkijinoff, [Pierre] Blanchar and

> Todoroki Yukiko together;[20] in short, carry out all things imaginable inside their heads. (Ueno 1937b, 14-16)

Ueno ingeniously employs the homonymy of the Japanese verbs 'to create' and 'to imagine' (both pronounced *sōzō*) to advocate for the agency of a reader-turned-director, envisioned as someone who possesses the imaginative faculties capable of devising a film that surpasses what any director could ever hope to produce. This concept underscores the power of imagination and creativity in the hands of a skilled reader, transforming them into an active participant in the cinematic process, rather than a passive consumer of screen images. At the same time, this line of thought also lends a political dimension to the act of reading scenarios.

3.3.2 The Anti-Commercialisation of Cinema

The extended publishing and reading of scenarios had already detached them from certain impositions of the film industry. Writing in the immediate postwar years, one of the original proponents of scenario literature, Iijima, pointed out the unique position that the scenario had since come to occupy in Japanese film culture.

> It is only natural that scriptwriters would want to get their work published, at least in the form of printed matter [*insatsubutsu*], given the reality that there are few chances of getting unhampered scenarios filmed. It could be said that this literary publishing form – printed matter – is also capitalising on the trend of the Japanese considering scenarios as literature. At any rate, the desire to publish [*happyōyoku*] and the spirit of study [*kenkyūshin*] should be cherished. I believe that the way scenarios are being successively published has significance as kind of a protest against Japanese commercial cinema. (Iijima 1948, 135)

This statement strongly suggests that during the decade following the Scenario Literature Movement, the published scenario had become something of an alternative to actual films. Iijima's strong anti-commodification stance also contains surprising echoes from an earlier statement by Ueno, which suggests that the mass reading of scenarios might have the capacity to force film production to eventually reassess its consumerist course.

20 Notable contemporary Russian-born (1895-1973), French (1892-1963), and Japanese (1917-67) actors.

> It should not be assumed that scenarios will remain unfilmed and that there is absolutely no chance of change. Even if the current production system prevails, the heightened demand for art by the masses will inevitably urge film capitalists to produce higher art films. This will certainly have its limits, but if various journals, newspapers, and books feature outstanding scenario literature and attract tens and hundreds of thousands of readers, the producers who are adept at making money will not let this opportunity pass unnoticed. (Ueno 1937a, 79)

In this ultimately simplistic sociological take on the dynamics of art and industry, Ueno views scenario literature as a vehicle for driving change in film production. Along similar lines, Yoshida Shigeru noted that the scenario might compel a reassessment of its own market value, thereby breaking the circle of capital.

> The social nature of the emerging scenario literature will yield various results. […] The possibility of the birth of the scenarios, not filmed under the restrictions of capitalist society, will present the prospect of art greater than current cinema to the wider masses. (Yoshida 1937, 91)

The above assertions, as superficial as they may seem, seek to assign a distinctly political meaning to scenario literature. They propose a kind of utopia where cinema's commercial considerations are countered and alleviated by unsolicited scenarios, unsullied by the imperatives of the film industry.

3.3.3 Between Accuracy and Evocativeness

In a series of short essays, "Katakana zuihitsu" (Jottings in *katakana*, 1943), Itami posits that the main task scriptwriters should never forget in their work is "[h]ow to make readers feel as if they were watching the film" (Itami 2010, 311). On the one hand, this can be seen as a call for the writers to employ specific techniques to prompt certain visual images to appear in the reader's eye. On the other hand, it hints at what Barbara Korte and Ralf Schneider refer to as "an intermedial competence […] essential in grasping the screenplay's special artistic demands and artistic merits" (Maras 2009, 75). Maras also discusses the concept of the screenplay as blueprint, which "can serve as a counterbalance to the idea that the script is an autonomous entity as well as the idea that the screenplay is a new form of literature" (121). Although the term 'blueprint' strongly relates to the screenplay's function as a management tool, Maras argues that it does not reduce the script to a technical document. Paradoxically,

it "[w]orks as a blueprint not because it is technically precise, but because it is poetic. Poetic writing draws on a different idea of precision that can be described as 'crystalline'" (124). For our purposes, Maras appears to suggest that an ideal scenario seems to possess an inherent incompleteness or open-endedness.

Approaching the film script as reading material from another perspective, Price points out "the function played by textual materials as mnemonic devices prior to the advent of home video in the late 1970s" and that "such texts function more or less explicitly as substitutes for the viewing experience" (Price 2010, 106-7). Here, Price is primarily referring to series such as *Classic Film Scripts* (1968-86) and *Modern Film Scripts* (1969-75), which, unlike the majority of Japanese scenario collections, also include a substantial number of film stills. This made such publications necessarily semi-visual and engaged to a lesser extent with the readers' intermedial faculties. The notion of the mnemonic tool serves to subordinate the published scenario to the already viewed film, while in actuality, these positions could be experientially reversed. The common practice in Japan of publishing scenarios before the opening of a film makes a strong case against this function, while also keeping that possibility intact. In that sense, much like for the shooting crew, the scenario preceded the film for the reader as well.

What emerges from the above are two markedly different ways of looking at published scripts: 1) as a mnemonic 'tool' for reprising an already existing film-viewing experience (Price 2010), and 2) as a 'text' both embedded in and detached from its function as a blueprint, more suggestive than detailed in its descriptive passages (Maras 2009). At the same time, even if a scenario were to function as a mnemonic tool, it evokes images not through an exact description but rather through suggestive textual passages. The Italian writer-director Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922-75) has noted that the screenplay asks the reader "to see the kineme in the grapheme, above all, and thus to think in images, reconstructing in his own head the film to which the screenplay alludes as a potential work" (Maras 2009, 70-1). It is precisely this process of transmitting the textual to the visual in the mind's eye that requires a particular set of skills from the reader.

Kitagawa highlighted the futility of presenting a scenario to a reader lacking the competence to evoke screen images. Conversely, a sufficiently skilled reader would not require precise information on shooting or editing techniques to trigger their cinematic imagination. Satō, who, as we saw in the introduction, used to employ scenarios to experience films that no longer existed, notes how the reader, holding what is essentially a shooting script in their hand, is in position akin to that of a film director, imagining a yet non-existent film out of the text (Satō 1975, 292). In this capacity, the reader's function is that of actively constructing meanings in scenario that is a '(script)writerly'

rather than 'readerly' text. To further paraphrase along these Barthesian lines, a scenario could even be considered a directorly, or for that matter, actorly or cinematographerly, text.

3.3.4 Expanding Readerships

The readership of scenarios has typically been limited to specific members of the film industry. In Hollywood, there is a profession known as script reader, which refers to those who evaluate incoming scripts to pass the ones with potential onto the production team. However, the wide range of publications and the discursive efforts in Japan to conceptualise reading practices clearly extend far beyond such narrow industrial boundaries. As elsewhere in this book, my interest lies not in the most obvious kind of readership – producer, director, cinematographer, actors, and so on – and the production context, but rather in something more readily available and open to the general public.

Okada, in his editorial for the *Kinema junpō* special issue *Shinario tokuhon*, describes a phenomenon brought about by extensive publishing of scenarios.

> There is probably no other country besides Japan where scenarios would be so widespread as reading matter [*yomimono*] and introductions to cinema. At the same time, more people are trying to write scenarios. Students who have serious ambitions of becoming scriptwriters. Salarymen writing in their spare time. Film fans for whom simply enjoying films is not enough. The enthusiasm for writing scenarios is spreading even among young women. (Okada 1959, 158)

According to this observation about readership during the zenith of the Japanese studio system, one of the natural consequences of reading of scenarios is the desire to start writing them (much like fan fiction spreads literary production to hitherto uncharted territories). The slightly patronising tone in the final remark notwithstanding, it is notable that Okada raises the matter of gender precisely at a time when several prominent female scriptwriters such as Mizuki, Tanaka and Wada Natto (1920-83) were leaving a definitive mark on Japanese cinema. This trend of empowerment in readership, generated by the wide availability of published scenarios, also suggests that, at least in theory, those who have acquired the cinematic skills as 'writerly readers' also have the opportunity to put these in practice as actual scriptwriters.

A few years prior, Kitagawa had made a distinction between different types of readers based on both their individual preferences and social background.

Figure 31
The cover of *Shinario tokuhon* (5 May 1959)

> There are people who enjoy reading scenarios more than watching films. This is because they can evoke cinematic images freely from the scenario. For instance, they can bring in their favourite actor to play a character [...] On the other hand, in the case of film, joy can be felt and satisfaction drawn from things already presented. This applies to the general masses [*taishū*], and as such people form the majority, films continue to be made. Without the skills to paint cinematic images by reading scenarios, these people are satisfied with the fixed scenes painted by the director. Such people demand distinct images and find the picturing of cinematic images through scenarios vague and insufficient. (Kitagawa 1952, 6-7)

Kitagawa evokes certain tropes that were already activated during the Scenario Literature Movement about the reader's imagining faculties as well the relevance of mass reading of scenarios. Kitagawa also makes a distinction between two kinds of trends among the cinema audience. If we consider that this statement was made at the time of the rapid process of democratisation (*minshūka*) of postwar Japan,

it is far from being ideologically innocent.[21] Whereas the main part of the population simply yearns for images readily presented to them on the film screen, others will rather make an effort to develop the skills and freedom of imagining with the aid of the scenario. Somewhat surprisingly, Kitagawa points out that most scenario readers are people living in the rural areas where film screenings are rare. In this case the function of the scenario is for the reader to merely "grasp a rough impression of the film" (Kitagawa 1952, 7). However, Kitagawa adds that the 'real' readers of scenarios would rather prefer to "paint their own creative images through reading scenarios" (7). Next, I will proceed to examine various examples of such serious scenario readers among fans and professional, renowned and anonymous alike.

3.4 Scenario Reader(ship)s

3.4.1 Amateur Readers

While it is now nearly impossible to recreate the kind of readership both Okada and Kitagawa are referring to, fragments that point in certain directions can sometimes be excavated. For instance, notes of an anonymous reader in the copy of *Kinema junpō* (1 January 1959), currently held at the main library of Kyoto University of Art and Design, suggest a simultaneous reading/viewing practice where the discrepancies are marked down in the text of the scenario (Yasumi 1959). The scenario/film in question is based on the Naoki Prize-winning novel *Hana noren* (Flower Shop Curtain, 1958) by Yamasaki Toyoko (1924-2013). Set in the popular entertainment world of Osaka, it was adapted by the veteran scriptwriter Yasumi Toshio (1903-91) and directed by Toyoda Shirō.[22]

Although this is a conjecture, it seems plausible that the reader has made notes with a pencil while watching the film. First, several cross-cut scenes that detail alternating announcements on the signboard in front of a *rakugo* theatre (marked 18, 21, 23 and 25) have been rearranged with drawn boxes and arrows to be included within larger scenes. Second, an emotional and climactic scene (number 34) where the protagonist Taka tries on a white garment that reminds

21 *Shinario nyūmon*, including Kitagawa's essay, appeared on 20 May 1952, a month after the Treaty of San Francisco that ended the Allied Occupation in Japan came into effect.

22 The same team, including the film's stars Awashima Chikage (1924-2012) and Morishige Hisaya (1913-2009), had been behind earlier successes in the *bungei eiga* genre, most notably *Meoto zenzai* (*Marital Relations*, 1955), also set in prewar Osaka.

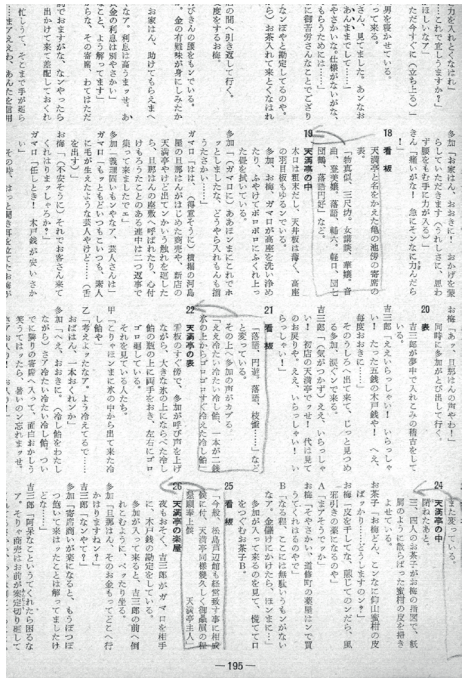


Figure 32
Written-in pages of Yasumi Toshio's *Hana noren* from a copy of *Kinema junpō* (1 January 1959) found at the library of Kyoto University of Art and Design

of her dead mother has been accentuated by inserting more arrows and a shaded box around the words "white garment". Third, by adding numeration (1 to scene 1 and 4 to scene 36), the reader seems to have been delineating the structure of the scenario based on either acts or film reels. Finally, the date marked at the beginning of the scenario also suggests that this was a reader with access to a prescreening of the film which opened in theatres only four days later, on 27 January 1959. In line with common practice, the scenario had appeared four weeks before the film's premiere. This unearthed example from the most prolific year of scenario publishing attests to the kind of engagement these texts invited from their readers.

There are also contemporary scenario readers, such as the Nagano-based blogger presenting himself as OKAMURA Hirofumi (http://acting.jp, 2010-), who has made a considerable effort to introduce the work of certain scriptwriters as well as summarise the key points of various scriptwriting manuals through social media.[23] In his profile, Okamura provides a list of his favourite scenarios and scriptwriters under the banner "this scriptwriter is wo*nnn*derful" (*kono kyakuhonka ga sunbarashii*). He is a big fan of Oguni Hideo (1904-96), a member of Kurosawa's writing team, but also Marune Santarō (1914-94), an obscure *jidaigeki* director and a kind of heir to both Itami and Yamanaka. Another name that appears on the list is Mizuki, whose work will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Rather surprisingly, Mizuki gets an approving nod from Okamura for comedies such as *Hadaka no taishō* (*The Naked General*, 1958, directed by Horikawa Hiromichi, 1916-2012) and *Amai ase* (*Sweet Sweat*, 1964, directed by Toyoda Shirō) rather than the more serious, socially conscious work she is better known for.

Among his favourites, Okamura also singles out Kurosawa's single-authored early and late works, and completely ignores what is considered the core of his *oeuvre*. Included are the unproduced scenarios such as *Darumaji no doitsujin* (The German of Darumaji Temple, 1941) and *Yuki* (Snow, 1942) but also *Yume* (*Dreams*, 1990) and *Hachigatsu no rapusodī* (*Rhapsody in August*, 1991), the latter of which received generally poor reviews and has commonly been considered a minor work. Okamura's all-time top three scenarios include Yoda's *Chikamatsu monogatari* (*The Crucified Lovers*, 1954, directed by Mizoguchi Kenji), Tamura Tsutomu's (1933-97) *Shōnen* (*Boy*, 1969, directed

23 Okamura's post from 27 April 2012 provides summaries of 22 manuals, including classics in the genre such as Noda's *Shinario kōzōron* (1952) and Shindō's *Shinario no kōsei* (1959) but also earlier books such as Takeda's *Eiga kyakuhonron* (1928), Yasuda's *Eiga kyakuhon kōseiron* (1935), Kurata's *Shinarioron* (1940) as well as translations of Sergei Eisenstein, Lev Kuleshov, and Frances Marion (https://acting.jp/hajime-arai-1965/). There is also a selected bibliography of scenario-related publications (https://acting.jp/story/index.html).

Figure 33 A screenshot of Okamura Hirofumi's blog (`http://acting.jp`)

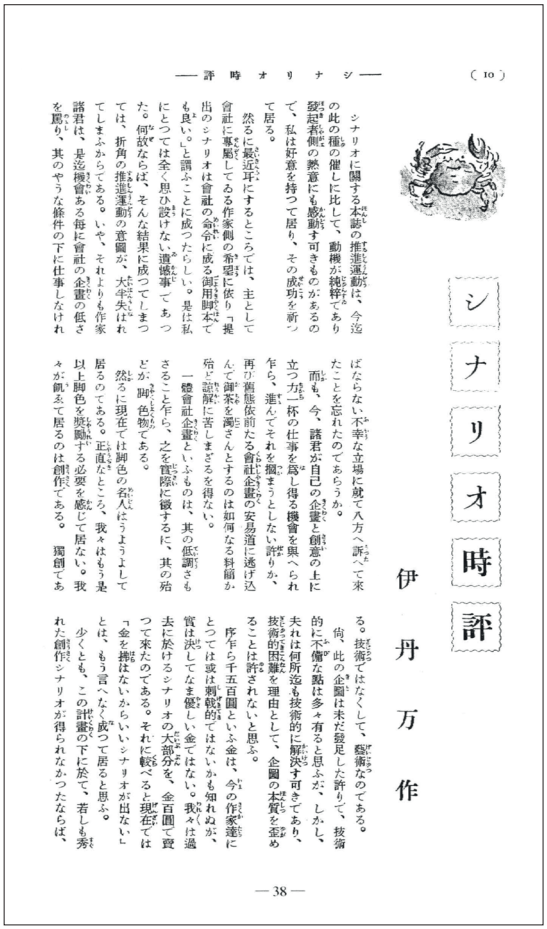
by Ōshima Nagisa, 1932-2013), and Ozu's and Noda's *Bakushū* (*Early Summer*, 1951, directed by Ozu) (`http://acting.jp/profile`). These are similarly somewhat atypical choices when weighed against the whole output of their respective writers. However subjective, and precisely for that reason, such preferences elucidate how a reader's reception of cinema can vary considerably depending on whether it is based on finished films or scenarios.

3.4.2 A Professional Reader: Itami Mansaku

There are notable cases of an even more elaborate engagement with published scenarios as an alternative for film criticism.[24] One such example is Itami Mansaku, who wrote a regular column, called "Shinario jihyō" (Scenario Reviews), for the journal *Nippon eiga*, published in eleven instalments between April 1941 and March 1942. The important place these texts hold in Itami's oeuvre is attested by their being reprinted in all subsequent collections of Itami's writings on cinema.[25] As mentioned in the introduction, Itami is well known as one of the 'radical directors' of the 1930s who sought to reform the period drama,

24 An earlier, expanded version of this section appeared as Kitsnik 2018.

25 First reprinted in *Seiga zakki* (Miscellaneous Notes from the Sickbed, 1943), this later became part of the three-volume *Itami Mansaku zenshū* (The Collected Works of Itami Mansaku, 1961) and *Itami Mansaku esseishū* (Collection of Essays by Itami Mansaku, 1971, *bunko* edition 2010).



（10）

シナリオ時評

伊丹万作

シナリオに關する本誌の推進運動は、今迄の此の種の催しに比して、動機が純粋であり發起者側の熱意にも感動すべきものがあるので、私は好意を持つて居り、その成功を祈つて居る。

然るに最近耳にするところでは、主として會社に專屬してゐる作家側の希望に依り「提出のシナリオは會社の命令に成る御用脚本でも良い。」と謂ふことに成つたらしい。是は私にとつては全く思ひ設けない遺憾事であつた。何故ならば、そんな結果に成つてしまつては、折角の推進運動の意圖が、大半失はれてしまふからである。いや、それよりも作家諸君は、是迄機會ある毎に會社の企畫の低さを罵り、其のやうな條件の下に仕事しなければならない不幸な立場に就て八方へ訴へて來たことを忘れたのであらうか。

而も、今、諸君が自己の企畫と創意の上に立つ力一杯の仕事を爲し得る機會を與へられ乍ら、進んでそれを攫まうとしない許りか、再び圖態依前たる會社企畫の安易道に逃げ込んで御茶を濁さんとするの如何なる料簡か殆ど諒解に苦しまざるを得ない。

一體會社企畫といふものは、其の低調さもさることを乍ら、之を實際に徹するに、其の殆どが、脚色物である。

然るに現在では脚色の名人はうようよして居るのである。正直なところ、我々はもう是以上脚色を奬勵する必要を感じて居ない。我々が飢えて居るのは創作である。獨創であると。技術ではなくして、藝術なのである。

尙、此の企畫は未だ發足した許りで、技術的に不備な點は多々有ると思ふが、しかし、夫れは何所迄も技術的に解決す可きであり、技術的困難を理由として、企畫の本質を歪めることは許されないと思ふ。

序乍ら千五百圓といふ金は、今の作家達にとつては或は剩額的ではないかも知れぬが、實は決してなま優しい金ではない。我々は過去に於けるシナリオの大部分を、金百圓で買つて來たのである。それに較べると現在では「金を掴はないからいいシナリオが出ない」とは、もう言へなくなつて居ると思ふ。

少くとも、この企畫の下に於て、若しも秀れた創作シナリオが得られなかつたならば、

— 38 —

Figure 34
Itami's column in *Nippon eiga* (September 1941)

although his posthumous reputation has somewhat paled in comparison with his contemporary Yamanaka.[26] What Itami was doing in his column was not entirely unprecedented. In the 1930s, scenario reviews were published in several film journals, some of which were later reprinted in book format. For instance, Kitagawa included a chapter's

26 Noël Burch notes that although Itami revolutionised *jidaigeki* on the content level, this was not translated into cinematic terms as in Yamanaka's work (Burch 1979, 192). Kitagawa even devised the terms verse film (*inbun eiga*) and prose film (*sanbun eiga*) to juxtapose the styles of Yamanaka and Itami (Kitagawa 1936, 23-6). The terms *sanbun* or *sanbun seishin* (prose mentality) frequently appear in discussions on Itami, although it is often difficult to understand what exactly is meant, except for the alleged lack of sentimental lyricism in his work, which was sacrificed for plot twists and witty dialogue.

worth of scenario reviews in his *Gendai eigaron* (On Contemporary Film, 1941). Many of the scenarios examined by Itami were simultaneously reviewed in competing journals such as *Eiga hyōron* and *Jidai eiga* (Period Film), albeit in less detail. However, what makes the case of Itami unique is his methodical approach to discussing these texts.

In this series of reviews, Itami discusses 30 scenarios, but only 17 of these were made into films (see Table 2). Judging from Itami's often harsh criticism, one might be tempted to conclude that perhaps not all of them were destined to be produced. On the other hand, the relatively poor production ratio can be attributed to the circumstances following the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941. Only a month later, to streamline the film industry and focus it on the war effort, all existing film studios, save for Shōchiku and Tōhō, were merged into the new Dai Nippon Eiga Seisaku Kabushiki Kaisha (Great Japanese Film Production Co Ltd, abbreviated as Daiei). This left a vast number of studio employees out of work and many already commissioned projects unfinished. However, film scripts continued to be published in film journals such as *Nippon eiga* and *Eiga hyōron*, effectively saving them from obscurity.

The reviews were commonly published before the actual release of the film, reflecting the work-in-progress nature of the scenarios and Itami's approach to them.[27] Itami acts rather like a script doctor, pointing out shortcomings with his keen professional eye and offering solutions to overcome them. Itami's method was to single out illogicalities, inconsistencies, or exaggerations in the script. At the same time, it appears as if each single review is also invested in exploring a wider problem, often demonstrating Itami's penchant for satire and social criticism. Such discussion points included the choice of material, the structure of the script, the motivation of the characters, the use of sound and dialogue, the style and functions of description, cinematic treatment of time, mixing fact and fiction, and adapting literature to film. In effect, using script doctoring as a pretext, Itami was tackling several general issues of filmmaking.

In his inaugural review of the series, that of Yoda's *Geidō ichidai otoko* (*The Life of an Actor*, 1941, directed by Mizoguchi Kenji), Itami presents his first rule of scriptwriting:

> I strongly believe that the basis of the scenario is simple objective description… A scenario must not arbitrarily express anything that film essentially cannot. (Itami 2010, 174)

27 For instance, one of the scenarios, *Jokyōshi no kiroku* (The Record of a Lady Teacher) by Kishi, was made into a film with a different title, *Wakai sensei* (*Young Teacher*, 1942, directed by Satō Takeshi, 1903-78). Another scenario, Asagami Toshio's *Kabacheppo* (Princess Trout), was re-reviewed by Itami eight months later upon the publication of its updated final version (*ketteikō*).

Itami adds that, at the time when publishing scenarios had become increasingly common, it was more important than ever to pay attention to distinguishing this mode of writing from those that relied more on verbal embellishments. This was

> [b]ecause even if the cinematic expression gets substituted with a literary one, it is only evil people like us who will notice it, while most people just casually skim it through and admire it for what it is. (Itami 2010, 174)

Itami is distinctly stating his own challenging task and responsibility as a critic.

In several reviews, Itami returns to this question of distinguishing between cinematic and literary modes of expression. For instance, in a review of Mimura Shintarō's (1897-1970) *Umesato-sensei gyōjōki* (*The Life Story of Dr Umesato*, 1942, directed by Takizawa Eisuke, 1902-65), Itami notes that

> [t]he difficulty, and at the same time the boundless appeal of the scenario, lies in the [writer's] attempt to mould a 'film' that has a thoroughly concrete form, while using 'literature' that is essentially of conceptual character. (Itami 2010, 255)

This concern naturally leads Itami to examine the issue of adapting literature to the screen: he readily admits that alterations to the source text are inevitable and strongly advocates the writer's right or even obligation to make appropriate changes (182), especially if one must work with poor source material (253). At the same time, Itami warns about extensive omissions, which should only be undertaken to make the story more comprehensible for the viewer (256).

When examining adapted scenarios, Itami seems particularly adamant about inconsistencies with genre conventions. In the review of *Shidō monogatari* (*A Story of Leadership*, 1941, directed by Kumagai Hisatora, 1904-86), Itami first congratulates the scriptwriter, Sawamura, on his choice of material, only to then dismiss the attempt to merge the modes of *bungei eiga* (literary film) and melodrama within a single work. The use of too many augmentations by way of subplots, as well as the omission of the dramatic final scene, prompts Itami to conclude that an adapter should have the correct attitude towards the original material (Itami 2010, 178-9).[28] Along similar lines, in his review of Kishi's *Jokyōshi no kiroku* (*The Record of a Lady Teacher*, 1942, directed by Satō Takeshi as *Wakai sensei*

28 In this review and a few others, Itami displays a particular dislike for the work of Sawamura, with whom he was clearly at odds ideologically. See High (2003, 223-46) for more on *Shidō monogatari* and other 'spiritist' films written by Sawamura.

Table 2 The list of scenarios reviewed by Itami Mansaku in *Nippon eiga* with publishing, reviewing and premiere dates

Title	Writer	Journal	Publishing date
Geidō ichidai otoko (*The Life of an Actor*)	Yoda Yoshikata	Nippon eiga	1941.01.01
Mikaeri no tō (*The Inspection Tower*)	Shimizu Hiroshi	Eiga hyōron	1941.01.01
Medetaki wa Kōrin byōbu (*Kōrin's Screen Is Auspicious*)	Inoue Kaoru	Nippon eiga	1941.02.01
Shidō monogatari (*A Story of Leadership*)	Sawamura Tsutomu	Eiga hyōron	1941.02.01
Akeyuku tsuchi (*Earth at Dawn*)	Yahiro Fuji	Jidai eiga	?
Jokyōshi no kiroku (*The Record of Lady Teacher*)	Kishi Matsuo	Eiga hyōron	1941.04.01
Waga ai no ki (*The Story of Our Love*)	Yagi Yasutarō	Eiga hyōron	1941.04.01
Gunji taii (*Captain Gunji*)	Yagi Ryūichirō	Nippon eiga	1941.05.01
Yomigaeru tsuchi (*Earth Returning*)	Itō Sadasuke	Nippon eiga	1941.04.01
Kabacheppo (*Princess Trout*)	Asagami Toshio	Nippon eiga	1941.07.01
Watanabe Kazan	Yahiro Fuji	Jidai eiga	?
Hachijūhachi-nenme no taiyō (*The Sun of the 88th Year*)	Sawamura Tsutomu	Nippon eiga	1941.08.01
Rudoran no gashū (*Ledran's Drawings*)	Inoue Kaoru	Nippon eiga	1941.08.01
Ishibumi (*Monument*)	Yanai Takao	Eiga hyōron	1941.05.01
Nobushi (*Masterless Soldier*)	Mimura Shintarō	Nippon eiga	1941.09.01
Genroku chūshingura: zenpen (*The Loyal 47 Ronin of the Genroku: Part 1*)	Hara Ken'ichirō / Yoda Yoshikata	Jidai eiga	?
Jirō monogatari (*The Tale of Jirō*)	Tateoka Kennosuke	Eiga hyōron	1941.09.01
Chichi ariki (*There Was a Father*)	Ozu Yasujirō / Ikeda Tadao / Yanai Takao	Eiga hyōron	1941.10.01
Shiroi hekiga (*The White Mural*)	Yoshida Fumio	Nippon eiga	1941.11.01
Ōmura Masujirō	Yahiro Fuji	Nippon eiga	1941.12.01
Nankai no hanataba (*Bouquet of the South Seas*)	Yagi Ryūichirō	Nippon eiga	1941.12.01
Seikatsu no kawa (*The River of Life*)	Uekusa Keinosuke	Nippon eiga	1941.12.01
Genroku chūshingura: kōhen (*The Loyal 47 Ronin of the Genroku: Part 2*)	Hara Ken'ichirō / Yoda Yoshikata	Eiga hyōron	1941.11.01
Ōhara Yūgaku	Ozaki Masafusa	Daito eiga senden panfuretto	?
Umesato-sensei gyōjōki (*The Life Story of Dr. Umesato*)	Mimura Shintarō	Nippon eiga	1942.01.01
Darumaji no doitsujin (*The German of Darumaji Temple*)	Kurosawa Akira	Eiga hyōron	1941.12.01
Hahakogusa (*Mother-and-Child Grass*)	Koito Nobu	Nippon eiga	1942.02.01
Shizuka nari (*All Is Quiet*)	Kurosawa Akira	Nippon eiga	1942.02.01
Kabacheppo (*Princess Trout*)	Asagami Toshio	Nippon eiga	1942.03.01
Yama o mamoru hitobito (*People Guarding the Mountain*)	Nobuchi Akira	Nippon kyakuhon	?

Itami's review date	Film premiere date	Director	Studio	Extant print
1941.04.09	1941.02.09	Mizoguchi Kenji	Tokusaku Production (Shōchiku)	○
1941.04.09	1941.01.30	Shimizu Hiroshi	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
1941.04.09				
1941.04.09	1941.10.04	Kumagai Hisatora	Tōhō Eiga (Tokyo)	○
1941.04.09	1941.03.09	Terakado Seikichi	Shinkō Kinema (Kyōto)	×
1941.05.09	1942.03.20	Satō Takeshi	Tōhō Eiga (Tokyo) (film title: *Wakai sensei* [*Young Teacher*])	○
1941.05.09	1941.11.07	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei Eiga (Tōhō)	○
1941.05.09				
1941.07.04				
1941.07.04				
1941.07.04				
1941.07.30	1941.11.15	Takizawa Eisuke	Tōhō Eiga (Tokyo)	○
1941.07.30				
1941.08.31	1941.07.29	Hara Kenkichi	Shōchiku (Shimogamo)	×
1941.08.31				
1941.09.04	1941.12.01	Mizoguchi Kenji	Kyōa Eiga / Shōchiku (Kyōto)	○
1941.09.04	1941.12.11	Shima Kōji	Nikkatsu (Tamagawa)	○
1941.11.01	1942.04.01	Ozu Yasujirō	Shōchiku (Ōfuna)	○
1941.11.01	1942.02.04	Chiba Yasuki	Shinkō Kinema (Kyōto)	○
1941.11.30	1942.01.14	Mori Kazuo	Shōchiku (Kamata)	○
1941.11.30	1942.05.21	Abe Yutaka	Tōhō Eiga (Tokyo)	○
1941.11.30				
1941.11.30	1942.02.11	Mizoguchi Kenji	Shōchiku (Kyōto)	○
1941.11.30				
1941.12.04	1942.06.25	Takizawa Eisuke	Tōhō Eiga (Tokyo)	○
1942.01.25				
1942.01.25	1942.06.04	Tasaka Tomotaka	Shōchiku (Uzumasa)	×
1942.03.07				
1942.03.07				
1942.03.07				

[*Young Teacher*]), based on a non-fiction book by Hirano Fumiko (1908-2001), Itami is puzzled by the scriptwriter's decision to enhance the plot with several fictional scenes. For Itami, this seems incongruous because the source text is based on real-life events (Itami 2010, 184).

3.4.3 Early Analyses of Ozu and Kurosawa

Another recurring motif in Itami's reviews is the issue of the motivation of the characters and how any discrepancies in that can undermine the entire logic of the narrative. A good example of this is the review of *Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*, 1942, written by Ikeda, Ozu and Yanai, directed by Ozu). Itami notes that while the film is built upon the simple premise of a father and a son destined to live apart from one another, their failure to make more effort to change the situation is insufficiently explained, which in effect leads to an ambiguity in the characters' real intentions (Itami 2010, 235). Itami also expresses his concerns about the idiosyncratic use of cinematic time: when switching from one scene to another, the amount of time that has been left out between the scenes is always greater than expected by the reader. For instance, when it appears that two or three months have passed since the previous scene, one soon learns from the dialogue that it is actually four or five years. Itami states that while watching these films the viewer must adjust to this "cinematic time", but when the time adjustment is small the viewer finds this pleasurable rather than annoying because it evokes a "sensation akin to velocity". In contrast, he points out that if the time displacement is only disclosed at the end of a long scene, it could be too difficult for the viewer to adjust (236).

Itami might well have been the first to identify and describe the typically Ozu-esque use of screen time and its cognitive effect on the viewer. By so doing, Itami astutely singled out several features, such as the apparent illogicality of the plot and elliptical style that leaves out major incidents, that later film critics have characterised as the strengths of Ozu's work. Itami's contemporary observations are surprisingly close to the subsequent detailed analyses of how Ozu's decentring of the narrative and playful use of time and space in fact draw attention to the conventions of cinema itself.[29] Somewhat prophetically, at the end of his review, Itami writes that judging from his impression of reading the script, *Chichi ariki* could turn out to be a singularly Japanese film, one no foreign filmmaker could hope to imitate (237-8). In effect, Itami is prefiguring the repeated claims of

29 See Bordwell, Thompson (1993, 396-401) and Desser (2005, 457-72).

the alleged Japaneseness of the director's work elaborated by scholars such as Noël Burch, Donald Richie and Paul Schrader.[30]

Itami praises the 'Japaneseness' of *Chichi ariki*, a film that very much subscribed to the dominant ideology of the time by underlining the sense of social duty on the part of both the father and the son. However, he appears to be taking a more critical stance towards propagandistic *kokusaku eiga* (national policy films) that were supposed to boost public morale during the war. When discussing Yahiro Fuji's (1904-86) *Ōmura Masujirō* (1941, directed by Mori Kazuo, 1911-89), a biopic of the man considered the 'Father of the Modern Japanese Army', Itami points out that just as a good subject does not by default make for a good film, good historical material does not automatically produce a good national film (Itami 2010, 242). By insisting that films must above all work in cinematic terms, Itami seems to be going against the grain of the official policies of the day by hinting at the severe problems facing such stale productions. Not without irony, in this review, published a week before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Itami appears to be providing instructions on how to make effective propaganda films.

As cinema was becoming an increasingly important part of Japan's war effort between 1941 and 1945, the Jōhyōkyoku (Cabinet Board of Information) organised annual script competitions. Several fledgling scriptwriters participated, and winners included such then-unknown figures as Kurosawa and Shindō.[31] Towards the end of the series, Itami reviewed two scenarios by Kurosawa, *Darumaji no doitsujin* and *Shizuka nari* (All Is Quiet, 1942). Both scripts remain unproduced, and Itami's reviews are highly relevant, not least for the fact that these are probably the first critical writings on the work of the future director; Kurosawa's debut feature, *Sugata Sanshirō*, was released only in 1943. *Darumaji no doitsujin*, also mentioned by the blogger Okamura as one of his favourites, received much praise from Itami, especially for its imaginative use of *ji no bun* (descriptive passages). Itami posits that although he had in the past proposed that descriptions in a scenario were equal in importance to the dialogue, it was only this script that finally provided him with concrete examples to support this argument (Itami 2010, 259). *Shizuka nari*, which placed second in the First Cabinet Board of Information Script Contest in 1942, fares somewhat less well under Itami, especially in comparison to the other script, being criticised by him for its overlong dialogue and several smaller issues (268). Itami's future son-in-law, the novelist Ōe Kenzaburō (1935-2023), points out that for contemporary audiences familiar with Kurosawa's later directorial work, it

30 For a critical appraisal of these approaches, see Yoshimoto (2000, 9-23).

31 For more on the competition, see Salomon (2011, 203-4).

Figure 35 Itami Mansaku (1900-46) at his house in Kyoto with his son, the future film director Itami Jūzō (1935-97)

is interesting to see that some of his future strengths are designated by Itami as shortcomings (Ōe 2010, 386).

It is highly probable that Itami never saw the films based on the scenarios he perused and reviewed. Incapacitated by illness, writing and script doctoring proved to be the only means to sustain his relationship with cinema. Ironically, this puts us today in a somewhat analogous situation: deprived of these films (many of which are now lost or were never produced in the first place) but endowed with their scripts as well as Itami's reviews. This attests to the viability of the scenarios and their propitious application to scholarship on Japanese cinema. The continued publication of scenarios also prompted, especially in the immediate postwar years, an interest in the individuals behind these works, scriptwriters such as Itami himself. Some of the writers attained a devoted following and were elevated to the status of 'scenario authors', resulting in extended literature on the content of their work as well as their peculiar working methods that I will proceed to discuss in the following chapter.

In this chapter, I conducted a comprehensive review of the Scenario Literature Movement, a collective discursive effort that acknowledged and advocated for the diverse roles of the published scenario. Beyond its relative autonomy from the context of film production, I examined the scenario's role in introducing new writers, disseminating

original works, and its potential as film archive. I also explored the specific requirements for both the scenario text and its readers, favouring evocativeness over precision for the former, and imaginative skills as cinematic competence for the latter. An examination of various readerships unveiled the scenario's dual role as contemporary film criticism and subsequent critical appraisal that can occasionally alter the perception of film history.

4 Scriptwriter as Author: Status, Space, Gender

Summary 4.1 Authorial and Canonical Writers. – 4.1.1 A Typology of Scriptwriters. – 4.1.2 Scenario Writers and Scenario Authors. – 4.1.3 The Canon of Scenario Authors. – 4.2 Social and Spatial Conditions. – 4.2.1 The Script Department. – 4.2.2 Situational Learning and Its Alternatives. – 4.2.3 Single and Collective Authorship. – 4.2.4 Homosocial Space of the Writing Inn. – 4.3 Gender in Scriptwriting. – 4.3.1 Writer as Wife. – 4.3.2 Female Scriptwriters. – 4.3.3 A Critique of Privileged Workspaces. – 4.4 Towards an Agency of the Scriptwriter. – 4.4.1 Script Scouting AKA Writing by Feet. – 4.4.2 Mizuki Yōko's Working Methods. – 4.4.3 Scriptwriter's Self-awareness and Autonomy.

The inclusion of scriptwriting in film history appears to hinge on the idea of the writer being the author, or one of the authors, of a film. However, if one perceives it as a mere technical function in film production, it would be justifiable to relegate scriptwriting to historical footnotes, which has often been the case. As a result, it becomes crucial to scrutinise how the scriptwriter's status, tied to particular professional competencies, has been situated within the continuum of craftsmanship and creativity. It is important to note that these categories are not mutually exclusive, and the interaction seems to have significantly informed the perception of scriptwriting in historical narratives. By dissecting certain terminological nuances and their ensuing implications, I aim to explore how the scriptwriter's social

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standing has been articulated in various sources, thereby contributing to canon formation.

Attempts to integrate scriptwriters' contribution into film history frequently encompass narratives about the unique aspects of the writing process, typically presented in an anecdotal manner.[1] This approach shifts the emphasis from the issues of text authorship to a more biographical viewpoint that can still underscore the intricate dynamics among different participants in film production. Interestingly, it seems almost symptomatic that scriptwriting is predominantly addressed by highlighting the everyday aspects of the profession. On one side, such narratives endow scriptwriters with visibility by attributing to them a distinct, albeit occasionally overstated, image. On the flip side, these narratives can also illuminate the workings of the script department and the collaborative nature of writing, both of which establish specific work environments for the writers.

In this chapter, I will examine the scriptwriter's role, covering their professional status, workspaces, and gender issues intertwined with these aspects. The recognition of scriptwriting in film histories often depends on the perception of scriptwriters as the film authors. Therefore, I will explore the language used to describe individual writers' works and its correlation with their acknowledged status. I will also investigate certain persistent aspects of scriptwriting's spatial dimension. Furthermore, I will reevaluate specific notions of authorship through a gendered lens and explore the representation of female scriptwriters during the era often referred to as the Golden Age of Great Men Directors.

4.1 Authorial and Canonical Writers

4.1.1 A Typology of Scriptwriters

Most Japanese film histories have been comparatively generous in their consideration of the role of the scriptwriters in filmmaking. In a historiographical analysis, I have surveyed various attempts to compose a history of Japanese cinema with a focus on scriptwriting (Kitsnik 2023). These histories include Iida's and Kobayashi's "Shinario hattatsushishō" (Sketches on Developmental History of Screenwriting, 1959) and Shindō's comprehensive two-volume *Nihon shinarioshi*. Shindō's work concludes with the unique image of script pages laid out along the country's railway network as detailed in Chapter

1 Quite in contrary to what Richard Corliss says about Hollywood writers being of the silent type, Japanese scriptwriters have left a sizeable body of practical advice, opinions, memoirs etc.

Two. While these historiographies outline the script's evolution towards the master-scene format and changes in the industry, they ultimately tend to become histories of writers due to the attention given to individual contributions.

Through an examination of these histories, one can identify a typology of Japanese scriptwriters based on criteria such as their backgrounds, thematic interests, versatility across genres, and innovative capabilities. This method mirrors auteurist approaches commonly used to discuss the work of individual film directors. For example, Satō presents the class identities and political leanings of several major filmmakers, and analyses how these factors influenced their work and impacted Japanese cinema during the 1930s (Satō 2006, 1: 60-3). To afford scriptwriters a comparable level of attention, they cannot be regarded merely as technical staff carrying out a specific task during the planning phase of filmmaking. Instead, it becomes essential to grant them creative, even authorial, agency.

A particular distinction that has proven efficient when discussing the work of scriptwriters is represented by pairs of terms: *sainō* (talent)/*tensai* (genius) and *doryoku* (endeavour)/*shokunin* (craftsman). The two silent era scriptwriters, Susukita and Yamagami, who are frequently mentioned even in general film histories, have been consistently referred to as geniuses of their trade. Shindō cites Yahiro, who has named three writers that, in his opinion, were responsible for the improvement in quality that *jidaigeki* went through in the 1920s. He added Saijō Shōtarō (1902-80) alongside Susukita and Yamagami. However, Yahiro bluntly notes that Saijō was not *kisaiteki* (devilishly talented) like Susukita but instead possessed the steady skills of a craftsman (*shokunin no ude no tashikasa*) (Shindō 1989, 1: 64). In turn, director Namiki Kyōtarō (1902-2001) has somewhat vaguely posited that while Yamagami was a genius (*tensai*), Saijō simply wrote excellent scenarios (Shindō 1989, 1: 66).

The terms *tensai* and *shokunin*, along with their various synonyms, permeate the discourse on scriptwriting in Japan. Iida even evokes the Aesopian fable about the tortoise and the hare to illustrate the distinction between the two extremes (Iida 1954b, 143). There appears to be a consensus among critics about which end of this typological continuum each writer belongs to. The distinction between artistic and artisanal subscribes to certain received values, but labelling someone a craftsman does not necessarily result in downplaying a writer's contributions or status, as the notion *shokunin* holds considerable dignity in the Japanese cultural context. Allegedly, Hashimoto continued to cherish his mentor Itami's dictum that, above all, scriptwriters should aspire to be craftsmen of words (*kyakuhonka wa ji o kaku shokunin de are*) (Shindō 1989, 2: 31).

Both Shindō (1989) and Satō (2006) highlight the scriptwriters' social backgrounds and how these are reflected in the scope and

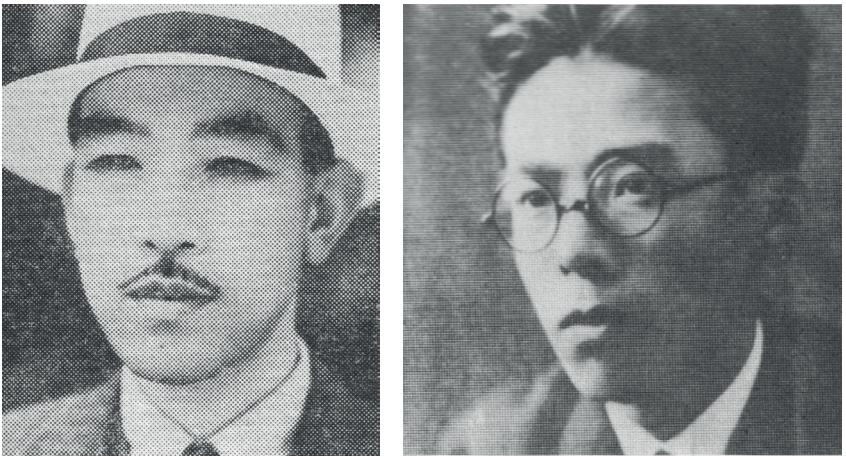


Figure 36 Susukita Rokuhei (1899-1960) and Yamagami Itarō (1903-45). Images sourced from *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989)

general tone of their writing. In this way, the diametric differences in the stylistic and thematic concerns of Yagi, who received only primary school education, and Ikeda, a graduate of the elite Waseda University, can be readily traced back to their respective rural peasant and urban bourgeois upbringing (Shindō 1989, 1: 149, 157). It also appears that in the case of a those endowed with talent, the familial or professional background seems to matter somewhat less, while this tends to be pointed out in the case of craftsmen-writers, perhaps suggesting that only the latter possess the right amount of tenacity.

Along similar lines, Umeda Haruo (1920-80), an essayist and playwright who also dabbled in scriptwriting, found an idiosyncratic way to comment on the genius-craftsman dichotomy.

> Most people would get fed up with having to do the same kind of thing for two or three hundred times, but I did not in the least. I have called this ability of not getting bored a *talent* [*sainō*, written in katakana]. I am not sure if it is the same thing they call talent [*sainō* in Chinese characters] but I think of it as a kind of *talent* in my own meaning of 'talent plus verve [*dasshu*]'. (Umeda 1955, 88)

Umeda appears to be pointing out the undeniable fact that in any writing activity, perseverance must come first even for those who excel in it, effectively blurring a clear demarcation between talent and endeavour.

4.1.2 Scenario Writers and Scenario Authors

A terminological distinction imbued with yet more gravitas is that between *shinario raitā* (scenario writer) and *shinario sakka* (scenario author). Within the discourse on scriptwriters' merits, the two largely overlap with the *doryoku*/*shokunin* and *sainō*/*tensai* dyad. *Shinario raitā*, deriving as it does from the English 'scenario writer', can be easily translated as such. *Shinario sakka*, however, poses certain challenges for finding a suitable rendition. In Japanese, *sakka* commonly denotes the profession of a novelist but also a writer or an author more generally.[2] At the same time, the term can be used for any creative artist. When applied to cinema, it necessarily comes very close to the notion of 'auteur'.

While the terms *shinario raitā* and *shinario sakka* can, to a certain degree, be regarded interchangeable, the former sounds rather casual and neutral while the latter contains further ideological traces about aesthetic qualities and social status in the cultural field. It appears that depending on which term is being used, certain scriptwriters can be effectively rendered as authors and others as mere writers. While *tensai* and *shokunin* seem to point only at different temperaments and working methods, the juxtaposition of *raitā* and *sakka* carries clear political implications in the context of film authorship. To examine the relevance of this distinction, it is instructive to survey relevant film histories for how the terminology has been employed.

In his four-volume *Nihon eigashi* (Japanese Film History, 1995, revised in 2006-07), Satō devoted several subchapters to scriptwriters, whom he consistently refers to as *shinario sakka*.[3] Within the overall structure of his history, these sections are part of larger sequences dealing with successive decades of Japanese cinema from the 1930s through the 1970s, following respective passages on major studios and directors, and preceding those on leading actors. In effect, Satō is (re)structuring film history around the contributions of scriptwriters and legitimises their place alongside the roles commonly provided more visibility; among general film histories, this certainly amounts

2 Another word, *sakusha*, is a more technical term for 'author'.

3 Scriptwriters discussed in length in these subchapters include Shindō, Uekusa Keinosuke (1910-93), Hisaita Eijirō (1898-1976), Yagi, Hashimoto, Kikushima Ryūzō (1914-89), Ide Toshirō (1920-88), Mizuki, Tanaka, Yasumi, Noda (Satō 2006, 2: 328-35), Shirasaka Yoshio (1932-2015), Ishidō Toshirō (1932-2011), Tamura, Ide Masato (1920-98), Matsuyama Zenzō (1925-2016), Wada, Narusawa Masashige (1925-2021), Abe Kōbō (1924-93), Hasebe Keiji (1914-?), Suzuki Naoyuki (1929-2005), Yamada Nobuo (1932-98), Yamanouchi Hisashi (1925-2015), Terayama Shūji (1935-83), Yoda (Satō 2006, 3: 86-91), Nakajima Takehiro (1935), Kasahara Kazuo (1927-2002), Kuramoto Sō (1934), Baba Masaru (1926-2011), Saji Susumu (1929-2001), Tanaka Yōzō (1939), Ido Akio, Katsura Chiho (1929-2020), Matsuda Shōzō (1928), and Arai Haruhiko (1947) (Satō 2006, 3: 190-5).

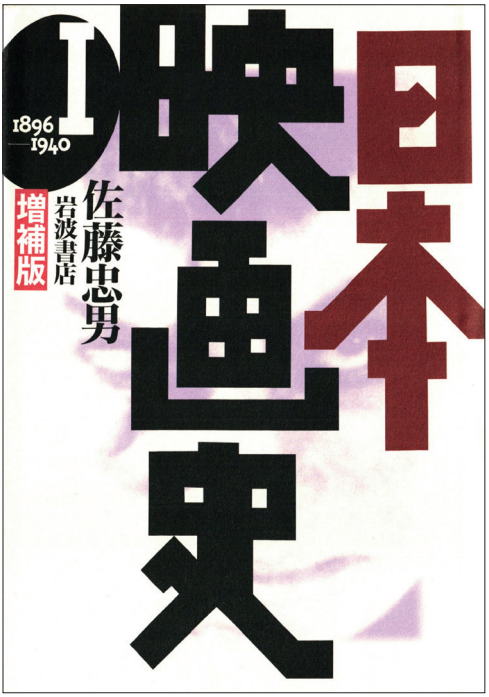


Figure 37
The cover of Satō Tadao's *Nihon Eigashi* (2006 edition, vol. 1)

to a radical gesture that questions dominant historiographical methods. The exclusive use of the term 'scenario author' is complemented by the recurring pointing out of the themes and motifs that permeate (*ikkan suru*) the work of writers in question, emanating from what Satō calls authorial capacity (*sakkateki shishitsu*) (Satō 2006, 2: 100, 331). By so doing, Satō also challenges the notion of directors as sovereign auteurs, as in his example of the collaboration between the scriptwriter Noda and the director Ozu, whose late-career shift to depicting the life of middle high class he locates in the preferences of the writer (335).[4]

While Satō's history provides due visibility to a selected number (35) of 'scenario authors', Shindō in his *Nihon shinarioshi* chose to employ the less pretentious term *shinario raitā*. It was by refraining from using that ideologically loaded term that Shindō was able to accommodate many more scriptwriters (he includes individual entries for nearly a hundred in his two-volume book) without having to make any exaggerated claims about their particular creative or authorial

4 An earlier version of this paragraph appeared in Kitsnik (2023, 322-3).

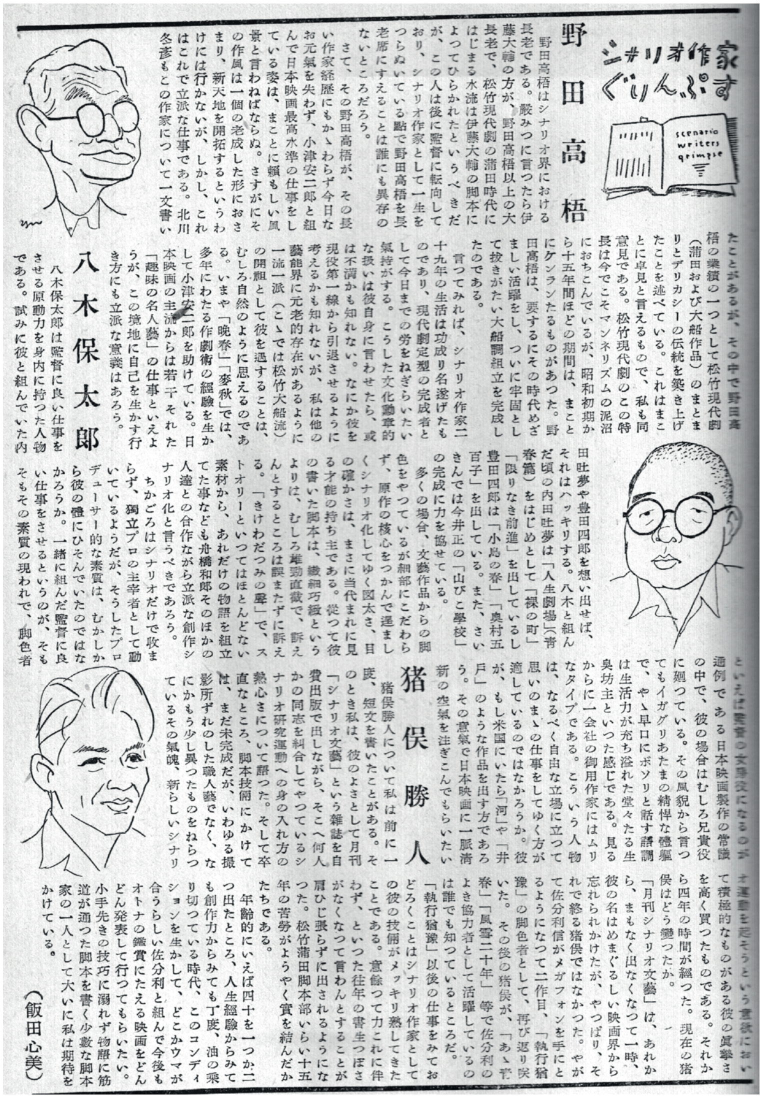
capacities. It is also possible that Shindō, himself a prolific scriptwriter and the two-time chairman of the Japan Writers Guild (1972-82 and 1997-2001), preferred the term *shinario raitā* simply for the fear of sounding self-important. At the same time, Shindō proceeds much like Satō in his history by trying to identify recurring characteristic thematic and/or stylistic traits in the work of major scriptwriters. By so doing, Shindō is in fact emulating *sakkaron* (author studies), the dominant mode in literary scholarship in Japan that seeks to find a central theme for encapsulating the oeuvre of the writer in question. However, Shindō appears to have some difficulties with applying this model to the majority of post-1960s scriptwriters and mostly limits himself to providing lists of major works, which perhaps suggests his relative disinterest in the more recent developments.

The juxtaposition of Satō's and Shindō's histories seems to indicate that term *shinario sakka* is used mostly by film critics rather than practitioners themselves. In fact, the older generation of Japanese scriptwriters has often preferred the affectionate but somewhat self-derogatory term *hon'ya*, an amalgamation of the word *kyakuhon* (script) and the suffix *-ya* (denoting a profession). It appears as if the writers cared less about their own social and industrial status than the critics who were eager to make such distinctions.

4.1.3 The Canon of Scenario Authors

A trend of examining the work of individual scriptwriters through an auteurist prism, suggested by the use of the term *shinario sakka*, can be detected in film criticism since the early 1950s. The first extended issue (*zōkan*) of the journal *Kinema junpō* specifically dedicated to scenarios (October 1952) offers a series of 'sketches' of fourteen scriptwriters under the title *Shinario sakka gurinpusu* (A Glimpse at Scenario Authors). This entry included short essays complete with friendly caricatures; in order of appearance, Hisaita Eijirō (1898-1976), Tanaka, Mizuki, Oguni, Yoda, Yanai, Kurosawa, Kinoshita Keisuke (1912-98), Shindō, Saitō, Uekusa Keinosuke (1910-93), Noda, Yagi, and Inomata Katsuhito (1911-79). It is notable that the list also includes the writer-directors Kinoshita and Kurosawa, and there are two women, Tanaka and Mizuki, among the fourteen scriptwriters.

The third volume of *Gendai eiga kōza* (Lectures on Contemporary Film, 1954), dedicated entirely to scriptwriting, introduces several writers, both Japanese and foreign, and their respective styles in a series of extended essays. In comparison to *Shinario sakka gurinpusu*, this list comprises twelve Japanese writers; Hisaita, Yanai and Uekusa have been replaced by Ide Toshirō (1910-88) (Wada 1954, 117-43). The essays are critical and polemical, often sharply pointing



シナリオ作家ぐりんぷす

scenario writers grimpse

野田高梧

野田高梧はシナリオ界における長老である。嚴みつに言つたら伊藤大輔の方が、野田高梧以上の大長老で、松竹現代劇の蒲田時代にはじまる水流は伊藤大輔の脚本によつてひらかれたというべきだが、この人は後に監督に轉向しており、シナリオ作家として一生をつらぬいている點で野田高梧を長老席にすえることは誰にも異存のないところだろう。

さて、その野田高梧が、その長い作家経歴にもかゝわらず今日なお元氣を失わず、小津安二郎と組んで日本映画最高水準の仕事をしている姿は、まことに頼もしい風景と言わねばならぬ。さすがにその作風は一個の老成した形におさまり、新天地を開拓するというわけには行かないが、しかし、これはこれで立派な仕事である。北川冬彦もこの作家について一文書いたことがあるが、その中で野田高梧の業績の一つとして松竹現代劇（蒲田および大船作品）のまとまりとデリカシーの伝統を築き上げたことを述べている。これはまことに卓見と言えるもので、私も同意見である。松竹現代劇のこの特長は今でこそマンネリズムの泥沼におちこんでいるが、昭和初期から十五年間ほどの期間は、まことにケンランたるものがあつた。野田高梧は、要するにその時代めざましい活躍をし、ついに牢固として抜きがたい大船調組立を完成したのである。

言つてみれば、シナリオ作家二十九年の生活は功成り名遂げたものであり、現代劇定型の完成者として今日までの労をねぎらいたい氣持がする。こうした文化勳章的な扱いは彼自身に言わせたら、或は不満かも知れない。なにか彼を現役第一線から引退させるように考えるかも知れないが、私は他の藝能界に元老的存在があるように一流一派（こゝでは松竹大船流）の開祖として彼を遇することは、むしろ自然のように思えるのである。いまや「晩春」「麥秋」では、多年にわたる作劇術の経驗を生かして小津安二郎を助けている。日本映画の主流からは若干それた「趣味の名人藝」の仕事といえようが、この境地に自己を生かす行き方にも立派な意義はあろう。

八木保太郎

八木保太郎は監督に良い仕事をさせる原動力を身内に持つた人物である。試みに彼と組んでいた内田吐夢や豊田四郎を想い出せば、それはハッキリする。八木と組んだ頃の内田吐夢は「人生劇場」（青春篇）をはじめとして「裸の町」「限りなき前進」を出しているし豊田四郎は「小島の春」「奥村五百子」を出している。また、さいきんでは今井正の「山びこ學校」の完成に力を協せている。

多くの場合、文藝作品からの脚色をやつているが細部にこだわらず、原作の核心をつかんで逞ましくシナリオ化してゆく図太さ、目の確かさは、まさに当代まれに見る才能の持ち主である。從つて彼の書いた脚本は、纖細巧緻というよりは、むしろ雄勁直截で、訴えんとするところは誤またずに訴える。「きけわだつみの聲」で、ストオリーといつてはほとんどない素材から、あれだけの物語を組立てた事なども舟橋和郎そのほかの人達との合作ながら立派な創作シナリオ化と言うべきであろう。

ちかごろはシナリオだけで収まらず、獨立プロの主宰者として動いているようだが、そうしたプロデューサー的な素質は、むかしから彼の體にひそんでいたのではなかろうか。一緒に組んだ監督に良い仕事をさせるというのが、そもその素質の現われで、脚色者といえば監督の女房役になるのが通例である日本映画製作の常識の中で、彼の場合はむしろ兄貴役に廻つている。その風貌から言つてもイガグリあたまの精悍な體軀で、やゝ早口にボソリと話す語調は生活力が充ち溢れた堂々たる生臭坊主といつた感じである。見るからに一会社の御用作家にはムリなタイプである。こういう人物は、なるべく自由な立場に立つて思いのまゝの仕事をしてゆく方が適しているのではなかろうか。彼が、もし米国にいたら「河」や「井戸」のような作品を出す方であろう。その意氣で日本映画に一脈清新の空氣を注ぎこんでもらいたい。

猪俣勝人

猪俣勝人について私は前に一度、短文を書いたことがある。そのとき私は、彼のよさとして月刊「シナリオ文藝」という雑誌を自費出版で出しながら、そこへ何人かの同志を糾合してやつているシナリオ研究運動への身の入れ方の熱心さについて語つた。そして卒直なところ、脚本技術にかけては、まだ未完成だが、いわゆる撮影所ずれのした職人藝でなく、なにかもう少し異つたものをねらつているその氣魄、新らしいシナリオ運動を起そうという意欲において積極的なものがある彼の眞摯さを高く買つたものである。それから四年の時間が経つた。現在の猪俣はどう變つたか。

「月刊シナリオ文藝」は、あれから、まもなく出なくなつて一時、彼の名はめまぐるしい映画界から忘れられかけたが、やつぱり、それで終る猪俣ではなかつた。やがて佐分利信がメガフォンを手にとるようになつて二作目、「執行猶豫」の脚色者として、再び返り咲いた。その後の猪俣が、「あゝ青春」「風雪二十年」等で佐分利のよき協力者として活躍しているのは誰でも知つているところだ。

「執行猶豫」以後の仕事をみておどろくことはシナリオ作家としての彼の技術がメッキリ熟してきたことである。意餘つて力これに伴わず、といつた往年の書生つぽさがなくなつて言わんとすることが肩ひじ張らずに出されるようになつた。松竹蒲田脚本部いらい十五年の苦労がようやく實を結んだかたちである。

年齢的にいえば四十を一つか二つ出たところ、人生経驗からみても創作力からみても丁度、油の乗り切つている時代、このコンディションを生かして、どこかウマが合うらしい佐分利と組んで今後もオトナの鑑賞にたえる映画をどんどん発表して行つてもらいたい。小手先きの技巧に溺れず物語に筋道が通つた脚本を書く少數な脚本家の一人として大いに私は期待をかけている。

（飯田心美）

Figure 38 Short profiles and caricatures of Noda Kōgo, Yagi Yasutarō, and Inomata Katsuhito. Image sourced from *Kinema junpō zōkan: Meisaku shinario senshū* (October 1952)

out the deficiencies of each author and proposing solutions. In March 1958, another special issue of *Kinema junpō, Rinji zōkan meisaku shinarioshū* (Special Extended Collection of Scenario Masterpieces), presented separate entries on fourteen *shinario sakka* written by top film critics. Instead of caricatures, these essays were accompanied by

high resolution 'special photogravures' (*tokubetsu gurabia*), a standard practice of the journal hitherto reserved for printing photos of actors (Okamoto et al. 1958, 145-52). This visual strategy would have made not only the work but also the faces of individual writers familiar to the wider audience.[5] In comparison to the previous list, Hisaita has been reinstated, while Ide, Noda, Saitō, and Shindō have been relegated, as have both Kinoshita and Kurosawa (ostensibly to make room for writers who are not also directors); newcomers include Kikushima Ryūzō (1914-89), Hashimoto, Kusuda Yoshiko (1924-2013), Shirasaka Yoshio (1932-2015), Yahiro, Yasumi, and Yamagata Yūsaku (1908-91).

In his review of contemporary scriptwriters in the *Kinema junpō* special issue *Shinario tokuhon* in 1959, Kitagawa makes a clear distinction: "In the world of Japanese cinema, there are many *shinario raitā* but extremely few *shinario sakka*" (Kitagawa 1959, 52). Kitagawa proceeds to single out fifteen authors. Hashimoto, Mizuki, Yoda, Kikushima, Shindō, Yagi, Kinoshita, Shirasaka, Yasumi, Inomata, Yamagata, Uekusa, Noda, Hisaita, and Kusuda are familiar from the previous lists, while the names of Kuri Sutei (the moniker for collaboration between Ichikawa Kon and Wada Natto), Kataoka Kaoru (1912-99), Narusawa Masashige (1925-2021), and Matsuyama Zenzō (1925-2016) have been added to the emerging canon for the first time. Notably, Kitagawa mentions another writer but places him in limbo due to his recent mediocre output: "Will he remain *shinario sakka*, or will descend to *shinario raitā*: we can say that Inomata Katsuhito is presently standing at such perilous crossroads" (Kitagawa 1959, 56). According to Kitagawa, anyone can become a scenario writer, but one has to earn the status of scenario author and even then there remains the chance of downward mobility.

At the turn of the decade, as the publication of scenarios had reached its all-time peak, *Kinema junpō* ran a series "Shinario sakka kenkyū" (Research of Scenario Authors) between 1959 and 1961. At considerable length, the series introduced the work of thirteen individual authors. A typical entry comprised an interview with the writer, essays by the writer as well as critics who evaluated their contributions and concluded with a complete list of scenarios made into films.[6] The lineup in this authoritative series, which no long-

5 Entries are as follows: Kikushima (written by Okamoto Hiroshi, 145), Inomata (Nagae Michitarō, 145-6), Oguni (Iida Shinbi, 146), Hashimoto (Okada Susumu, 146-7), Mizuki (Iwasaki Akira, 147-8), Kusuda (Oshikawa Yoshiyuki, 148), Shirasaka (Tanaka Yutaka, 148-9), Yagi (Kishi Matsuo, 149), Tanaka (Uryū Tadao, 149-50), Yahiro (Takizawa Hajime, 150), Hisaita (Kobayashi Masaru, 151), Yasumi (Mori Manjirō, 151), Yamagata (Izawa Jun, 151-2), Yoda (Tada Michitarō, 152).

6 The series appeared in the following issues of *Kinema junpō*: 1 March 1959 (Hashimoto), 15 July 1959 (Yasumi), 1 November 1959 (Kikushima), 15 January 1960 (Shindō), 15 February 1960 (Wada), 15 May 1960 (Yagi), 15 July 1960 (Mizuki), 1 October 1960

Figure 39 Photos of the scriptwriters Mizuki Yōko, Inomata Katsuhito, Ide Toshirō, Saito Ryōsuke, Noda Kōgo, and Yagi Yasutarō on the left, Mimura Shintarō, Shindō Kaneto, Yasumi Toshio, Oguni Hideo, and Kikushima Ryūzō on the right. Images sourced from *Gendai eiga kōza*, vol. 3 (1954)

er poses surprises, is, in the order of publication: Hashimoto, Yasumi, Kikushima, Shindō, Wada, Yagi, Mizuki, Matsuyama, Hisaita, Shirasaka, Yoda, Uekusa and Narusawa. Mizuki, Yagi, and Yoda are the only three writers to make appearance in all the lists surveyed from 1952 through 1961.

While the distinction between *shinario raitā* and *shinario sakka* is not always as rigidly defined as by Kitagawa, it is crucial for examining how certain writers were given or denied a place among canonical scenario authors. For some reason, it appears that at any point in time there was only a limited number of slots, approximately a dozen, available in that ever-fluctuating list. This was a dynamic canon where even writers of the stature of Noda or Shindō could at times be denied entry based on their most recent output. Another indication of the contemporaneous assessment and reputation of individual scriptwriters can be found from the winners' list in the scriptwriting

(Matsuyama), 1 November 1960 (Hisaita), 15 December 1960 (Shirasaka), 1 April 1961 (Yoda), 1 May 1961 (Uekusa) and 15 August 1961 (Narusawa).

category of the annual Blue Ribbon Awards (Burū Ribon Shō). Awarded between 1950 and 1966 by the film critics working in the Tokyo area (Tōkyō Eiga Kishakai, The Association of Tokyo Film Journalists), the list reveals an almost oppressive presence of Hashimoto, who won five times out of seventeen (including the first and last), with Kinoshita and Kikushima sharing a distant second place with two awards each.[7] The Mainichi Film Awards (Mainichi Konkūru) from the same period show a similar pattern of five wins to Hashimoto (one shared with Kurosawa and Oguni) and three to Kinoshita.

The notion of *shinario sakka* and its many applications was a strategic device to bring scriptwriters into the limelight, even if only in film criticism. However, this would later have reverberations in subsequent film histories such as Satō (1995) where it became a common term to mark major scriptwriters invested with authorial capacities. While the term is mostly used by film critics and historians, there is one site where it has been employed by the practitioners of trade themselves. The Japanese name for the Japan Writers Guild, although not readily apparent from its English designation, is Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai (literally, Japanese Association of Scenario Authors). The Japan Writers Guild was established in 1947 by a group of scriptwriters from all the major studios with the main purpose of establishing a standard for honoraria and copyrights (Ogawa 1986, 111-15; Shindō 1989, 2: 52-4). This postwar union had an antecedent, dissolved by the military government in 1941 along with other labour organisations. Founded in 1937, only a year later than the Directors Guild of Japan (Nihon Eiga Kantoku Kyōkai), the earlier guise of the union was ambitiously named Nihon Eiga Sakka Kyōkai (Association of Japanese Film Authors), which no doubt alluded to the growing self-awareness of the scriptwriters' role and status in film production and beyond.

4.2 Social and Spatial Conditions

4.2.1 The Script Department

Most histories of Japanese cinema,[8] even those that refrain from discussing the function of the script, mention the role that Shōchiku's script department (*kyakuhonbu*) had in developing the studio's

7 When the competition was reinstated in 1975 after being suspended for nearly a decade in 1966 due to a scandal, the awards no longer included a scriptwriting category.

8 An earlier, abridged version of this section appeared in Kitsnik 2016.

trademark *shōshimin eiga* genre.[9] Tanaka Jun'ichirō, who otherwise pays very little attention to the work of scriptwriters in his five-volume *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* (History of the Development of Japanese Film, 1957, revised in 1968 and 1976), points out the significance of scriptwriting for molding the much-celebrated Kamata/Ōfuna 'flavour' of the 1930s (Tanaka 1976, 2: 59).[10] The Shōchiku *kyakuhonbu* is considered an epitome of its kind, presented as an exemplary, even idealised place that introduced the template for all subsequent script departments, underlining the studio's reputation as major innovator in film production and genre-shaping since the 1920s.

Kido Shirō, who became the head of Shōchiku in 1924, was well known for his unwavering advocacy of the script, which he saw as the blueprint (*sekkeizu*) of film: "If a house has no proper blueprint, only a shaky thing can be built. In cinema, too, if the script is bad, even a talented director will not be able to make a decent film from it" (Ishizaka 1995, 36). This stance towards filmmaking, sometimes referred to as 'Kidoism', necessitated considerable scriptwriting skills from the writing and directing staff alike. At times, this made it possible for the assistant directors who proved themselves good at writing scenarios to be quickly promoted to full rank (Ishizaka 1995, 37). Several notable directors who began their careers at Shōchiku, such as Gosho, Naruse, Ozu, Shimazu, and Shimizu, benefited from this arrangement, all debuting when they were still in their early to mid-20s. Kido's emphasis on writer-director teams was part of his "secret plan for controlling stars" as he sought to challenge the star system that was dominant in film production at the time. In his words: "You can pick up stars on the street, but for film authors [*eiga sakka*] to be born, one must find talented young men and nurture them" (Ishizaka 1995, 36).

Kido, infamous for his hands-on approach, kept a chair at the script department on the second floor of the main building at the Kamata studios, in addition to his regular workplace in the studio administration. He stopped by whenever he had spare time to engage in lively discussion with writers and to brainstorm ideas for new films (Tanaka 1976, 2: 58; Satō 2006, 1: 216). Kido had modelled his *kyakuhonbu* on experiences gathered from his many foreign trips. Upon returning from the United States in 1924, he promptly established a research group (*kyakuhon kenkyūsho*) at Shōchiku, putting in charge none other than Noda (at the time better known as a young film critic writing under the *nom de plume* of Midorikawa Harunosuke). During

9 *Shōshimin eiga* (lower middle class film, in Western scholarship often errenously called *shomingeki*) is a film genre that focuses on the everyday of the middle class in a often humorous, bitter-sweet mode.

10 *Kamatachō* (and since the moving of the studio in 1936, *Ōfunachō*) with its light, comedic touch, is collectively attributed to the products of the Shōchiku studios.

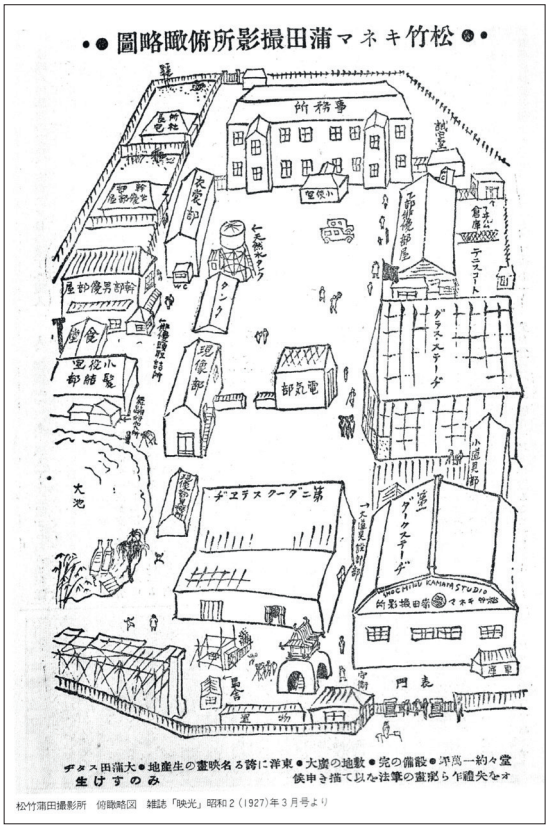


Figure 40
A depiction of the Shōchiku Kamata Studios from around 1927. The script department was located in the imposing main office building at the back of the complex. Image sourced from *Eikō* (March 1927)

the studio's Ōfuna period since 1936, Kido appointed his personal secretary Tsukimori Sennosuke as the head of *kyakuhonbu* and held a strong grip over its proceedings and about fifty affiliated writers (Ishizaka 1995, 39).

Another aspect that characterised the Shōchiku *kyakuhonbu* was its intimate, family-like atmosphere. Ryū Hanami, the wife of the actor Ryū Chishū (1904-93) who was employed there since 1925 as a copywriter, reminisced about the working space in a conversation with Shindō half a century later.

> The head Kido came to work early in the morning, and so did the people from the script department. At night, they talked about scripts until late. That happened with quite some vigour and fury. Noda [Kōgo], Yoshida [Hyakusuke], Kitamura [Komatsu], Oda [Takashi], Murakami [Tokusaburō], Ochiai [Namio]. All still young. They were writing with a pen into a notebook, or on manuscript

Figure 41 The members of Shōchiku's script department at Seikōen in Hakone Yumoto in 1947. Image sourced from *Shindō Kaneto no sokuseki*, vol. 4 (1994)

> paper [*genkō yōshi*], or on straw paper [*warabanshi*]. It was difficult for me [to type the scripts] because there were some who had bad handwriting. The wives of scriptwriters were often in the room, too. It was more like a family. (Shindō 1989, 1: 94)

Shindō himself recalls the warm and collegial welcome he received upon first arriving at the Shōchiku script department in 1943, which was very much in contrast with the markedly feudalistic attitudes he had encountered at his former workplace in Kyoto (Ishizaka 1995, 40).

However, the concept of family may not be as endearing and straightforward as it might seem. Price has observed that establishment of script departments in Hollywood served to both delineate and limit the trade:

> [O]nly those versed in the more esoteric arts of script writing could enter the portal [...] the studios' recently created writing departments would function as a closed shop by professionalising the craft. (Price 2013, 54)

While appearing as one big family for its employees, or even as "Scenario Mecca" from the outside (Shindo 1989, 1: 148), the Shōchiku script department possessed and utilised its own mechanisms of exclusion. This trend is represented by the extremely competitive

recruitment contests (six were held between 1928 and 1948, with only five or six hired from among several hundred applicants each time) organised with the stated aim of "employ[ing] graduates from the best universities as screenwriters" (Wada-Marciano 2008, 65).

Kido himself was a graduate of the Law Faculty of the Tokyo Imperial University, which was unusual at the time for someone working in the film industry that was yet to shed its associations with the world of organised crime. The fact that the majority of the studio's scriptwriters belonged to the educational elite (both Noda and Ikeda were graduates of Waseda University) raises important questions about the class dynamic between the writers and the directors, many of whom hailed from modest social backgrounds. If the Kamata/Ōfuna 'flavour' that Shōchiku was known for was indeed a collective effort rather than some combination of the personal styles of individual filmmakers, as some scholars have suggested (Wada-Marciano 2008, 26), the agency of scriptwriters should certainly be added to any re-evaluating attempts. In devising the *shōshimin eiga* genre, Kido must have realised that it was with scripts written by the elite that catering for the middle-class audiences should really begin.

4.2.2 Situational Learning and Its Alternatives

Isolde Standish has noted that Kido

> broke with the rigid hierarchical systems that governed the traditional theatrical arts by encouraging an open environment where young filmmakers could freely discuss and criticize the works of other directors. (Standish 2005, 30)

However, the practice of training new staff under established writers somewhat diminished the democratic strides made at Shōchiku and lends it a somewhat feudalistic air. This method had reverberations of a more traditional master-apprentice relationship, where skills and knowledge are transmitted through conversation and practice rather than any textual means.[11] John Singleton (1998) has called this approach prominent in Japanese arts and crafts 'situational learning'. The importance of this hierarchical relationship is highlighted in Inomata and Tayama Rikiya's *Nihon eiga sakka zenshi* (The Complete

11 Yasumi points out that when he joined the PCL Studios in 1936, there was no single place where one could learn about scriptwriting, and there was not much in the way of a handbook. He suggests that the best way to learn about the trade was to find a teacher (*sensei* or *shishō*) (Yasumi 1964, 30-4). The claim about the paucity of scriptwriting manuals is not completely accurate, as the mid-1930s saw the publication of several such books.

History of Japanese Film Authors, 1978), where entries on individual scriptwriters routinely mention the master (*shishō*) under whom they had studied.

However, there were ways out of this stratified system. Okada and Hayashi Tamaki point out that the producing of new recruits by master-apprentice initiation (*shitei denju-teki shinjin-zukuri*) that characterised the Shōchiku script department generated its share of rebels (Okada, Hayashi 1965, 79). Their list includes Inomata from the prewar period, Shindō from the postwar years, and Ōshima Nagisa as the most recent example at the time. According to Okada and Hayashi, Shindō, who made the 'Ōfuna flavour' his own through his diligent readings of prewar scenarios, subsequently broke with the studio after his script *Nikutai no seisō* (Body of Deception) was shelved.[12] Upon leaving the studio, he became the writer who actively shaped postwar Japanese cinema (*sengo o tsukuru kōdōteki na raitā*) (Okada, Hayashi 1965, 82).

Shindō's directorial debut, *Aisai monogatari* (*Story of a Beloved Wife*, 1951), a rare Japanese film for having a scriptwriter as its protagonist, provides a depiction of the master-apprentice system in action as well as its alternative. In this semi-autobiographical film, an aspiring writer, Numazaki (Uno Jūkichi, 1914-88), experiences a great deal of pressure and anxiety from the demanding film director Sakaguchi-sensei (a thinly disguised take on Mizoguchi).[13] Upon being requested repeated rewrites, Numazaki takes an entire year off to peruse the multi-volume anthology of plays from all over the world.[14] This case indicates a third possibility of learning scriptwriting by appropriating the dramatic aspect of cinema through theatrical tradition rather than the sources more commonly employed by Japanese scriptwriters: transcribed continuity scripts, published scenarios, and the master at the department.[15]

12 The script was later produced at Daiei as *Itsuwareru seisō* (*Clothes of Deception*, 1951, directed by Yoshimura Kōzaburō).

13 According to Kishi, this aspect of the film depicts the relationship between Mizoguchi and his main scriptwriter Yoda rather than Shindō's own experiences with his one-time mentor (Kishi 1973, 807).

14 Shindō recalls how he had no money to buy the books but borrowed them from a used book seller at Kyoto's Kawaramachi, one volume at a time (Tachibana 2011, 19).

15 One of the types that Okada proposed to distinguish between different traditions of scriptwriting in Japan is exemplified by a small group of writers who made a transition from theatre to cinema, including Yagi, Hatta Naoyuki (1905-64), Hisaita and Yasumi (Okada 1963, 195).

4.2.3 Single and Collective Authorship

Despite the familial atmosphere of the script department and the initial learning of the craft from the master, the writer alone bore the responsibility of script production. While there are exceptions, it is common in Japan for a single scriptwriter to be credited for a film. Togawa Naoki highlighted the contrast between Japanese and American scriptwriting practices, noting the collaborative system (*gassaku shisutemu*) prevalent in Hollywood, where multiple writers contribute at various stages. He suggested that the Japanese film industry could benefit from adopting this approach (Togawa 1959, 30). Interestingly, the very concept of joint authorship that Togawa admires is what most scholars of American screenwriting find highly problematic, as it obscures clear authorship and complicates the attribution of agency to the writer(s) over the text.[16] The comparison of these two film production traditions also serves to portray the Japanese scriptwriter as more independent and author-like than their American counterpart.

Scriptwriters in Japan appear to stand out as a remarkable exception in global film history, yet it remains a matter of debate whether they had total creative control over the script and received appropriate recognition and credit for their work. There were script conferences where members of the production team suggested modifications to preliminary drafts (Umeda 1955, 93-4). However, the same writer continued to revise the script until the final stages, maintaining a certain level of integrity for the final draft (*ketteikō*). In other words, unlike the common practice in Hollywood, the script was not entirely taken away from the writer and handed over to others for completion. Even though adjustments were made to the script during filming, the final draft, which essentially became the shooting script (*daihon*), was preserved in its original form. Many of these scripts were subsequently published, serving a different purpose and reaching a wider audience, as I explored in the previous chapters.

While the prevalent practice in Japan was assigning a single writer to a project, there are numerous instances of collaborative scriptwriting. An early example of collaborative writing can be seen in the collective contributions of a group of writers known as Kajiwara Kinpachi. This group, active in Kyoto from 1934 to 1937, was also referred to as Narutakigumi. The group derived its name from the Narutaki neighbourhood in western Kyoto, where all the members

16 This confusion is further supported by several seemingly arbitrary regulations of the American Screen Writers Guild concerning screen credit, such as allowing only three writers to be credited for a screenplay (Price 2010, 15), or disallowing credit to any director who has contributed less than fifty per cent of the dialogue (Corliss 1974, xxiii).

resided. Notable members included writer-directors Inagaki and Yamanaka, as well as renowned scriptwriters Yahiro and Mimura. The group also included writer Fujii Shigeji (1908-70), and directors Takizawa, Suzuki Momosaku (1901-41), and Hagiwara Ryō (1910-76). Narutakigumi is credited with integrating script discussions into the filmmaking process, a practice also observed at Kido's Shōchiku. Inagaki later noted that their most significant contribution was modernising *jidaigeki* by incorporating contemporary Japanese language as cinema was making a transition from the silent era to talkies (Inagaki 1983, 128). Interestingly, the group was founded on principles distinct from studio-centric filmmaking, with an emphasis on the individual initiative and interests of its members, who were employed by different studios. Overall, Narutakigumi produced over twenty films across diverse studios such as Nikkatsu, PCL (and its successor, Tōhō), Shinkō, and Shōchiku, as well as independent production companies built around *jidaigeki* stars Kataoka Chiezō (1903-83), Arashi Kanjūrō (1903-80), and Ichikawa Utaemon (1907-99). Narutakigumi serves as a remarkable example of potential collaboration amidst the intense competition among studios in the mid-1930s, and its collective approach has been compared to that of Kurosawa's subsequent scriptwriting circle (Itō et al. 1966, 24).

Some of the most enduring and acclaimed examples of collaborative writing are associated with the working methods employed by iconic Japanese film directors such as Kurosawa, Mizoguchi,[17] and Ozu. Apart from his first six and last three, all of Kurosawa's works were credited to multiple writers.[18] Much has been written about the *gasshuku* (lodging together) approach that the director adopted during his peak creative period from the late 1940s to the mid-1960s. Kurosawa himself confessed that "If I write alone, it tends to become very biased. I prefer to do it through discussions with two or more people" (Kurosawa 2010, 13). He would gather several writers in a single room and have them compete to devise the best solution for a specific sequence under review. In a tense environment akin to a school examination, the director had the final say (Ishizaka 1995, 153-4). Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, drawing on this practice, proposed a new theory of auteurship as 'collective negotiation' for reevaluating Kurosawa's body of work (Yoshimoto 2000, 54-7). While

17 While Yoda is consistently acknowledged and credited as the sole writer for Mizoguchi's films, it is widely reported that the director was the driving force behind the entire writing process. Known for his demanding nature that often pushed actors to their limits, Mizoguchi mirrored this intensity in his relationship with Yoda, to whom he subjected countless rewrites (Ishizaka 1995, 153-4).

18 Oguni (12 credits), Kikushima (9), Hashimoto (8) and Hisaita (4) were Kurosawa's most frequent collaborators. Several different combinations of them composed the writing credits for the director's most emblematic films. All four, together with Kurosawa, are credited for *Warui yatsu hodo yoku nemuru* (*The Bad Sleep Well*, 1960).

Figure 42 Kurosawa Akira (in middle) and his principal collaborators (from the left) Hisaita Eijirō, Hashimoto Shinobu, Oguni Hideo, and Kikushima Ryūzō. Image sourced from *Fukugan no eizō* (2006)

this introduces a much-needed balance to the auteurist interpretation of the director's work, the concept of negotiation appears somewhat ambiguous, particularly considering Kurosawa's dominant role in the process and the strong influence of the director's presence that ultimately shaped the final script.

Okada Susumu, in his typology of Japanese scriptwriting, recognised Kurosawa's approach as a fusion of various seemingly contradictory traditions. Okada identified four distinct schools (*nagare*) of writing: 1) silent *jidaigeki*, known for its focus on the film's rhythm (with Itō and Yamanaka as representative writers), 2) Shōchiku's *shōshimin eiga*, noted for its depiction of everyday life's subtleties (Ozu, Shimazu), 3) former playwrights who value drama and conflict (Yagi, Hatta, Yasumi), and 4) an ironic structure that contrasts words and images (Itami) (Okada 1963, 190-8). According to Okada, Kurosawa's strategy of engaging writers from each school allowed for an environment where the diverse strengths of Japanese scriptwriting could interact, leading to optimal outcomes (199). Regardless of whether we agree with Okada's interpretation, Kurosawa's team's efforts have been widely acclaimed and honoured with the highest international accolade for Japanese scriptwriting. Despite the strong emphasis on individuality among Japanese writers, the Jean Renoir Award for Screenwriting Achievement in 2013 (awarded by

the Writers Guild of America West) was jointly (and posthumously) received by Kurosawa, Hashimoto, Kikushima, and Oguni.[19]

Ozu's approach presents a variant of the *gasshuku* model, distinguished by the fact that the collaboration was confined to the director himself and scriptwriter Noda. Despite having collaborated with other influential Shōchiku writers such as Ikeda and Saitō in the prewar years, all of Ozu's works since the 1949 release of *Banshun* (*Late Spring*), a film that arguably marked the onset of his late style, were co-written with Noda.[20] What stands out when compared to Kurosawa's view of his writers' role is Ozu's profound respect for Noda, whom he regarded as an equal, if not superior. This is exemplified by an anecdote where Ozu calls him from the set to seek his permission for altering a single suffix in the dialogue (Ishizaka 1995, 94). This meticulousness is tied to the perception of the script as the final version of the film, which should remain unaltered during shooting. According to Ozu, "when the script is ready, it is the same as having eighty per cent of the film done" (Ishizaka 1995, 17).

4.2.4 Homosocial Space of the Writing Inn

Japanese scriptwriting is intrinsically linked to specific workspaces. Despite the notable collaborative approaches mentioned above, scriptwriting, particularly when contrasted with the teamwork of film shooting, is often perceived as a solitary task. However, numerous accounts reveal a robust sense of community, which can be traced back to the familial environment of the Shōchiku script department. Ishizaka characterises this template as follows: "A scriptwriter teams up with a director, and upon deciding on the next project, secludes himself in the *jōyado* [the regular inn] to commence the scriptwriting process" (Ishizaka 1995, 40). The concept of *jōyado* is deeply ingrained in scriptwriting histories, making it inseparable from the narratives of the department and master-apprentice relationships. Notably, during the immediate postwar years, major studios maintained their regular *jōyado*, often situated in serene rural locations near Tokyo. Shōchiku, for instance, reserved one for its writers at the

19 "Our Jean Renoir Award, honoring those non-US writers whose work has raised the bar for all of us, this year goes to Akira Kurosawa, Hideo Oguni, Ryūzō Kikushima, and Shinobu Hashimoto, honoring the writing at the heart of the Japanese cinema", said WGAW Vice President Howard A. Rodman. "These four men, working in loose collaboration, are responsible for writing many, many masterpieces – films that reflect the Japanese culture, and have given all of us a taste of the sublime" (Mitchell 2013).

20 Even before his postwar collaboration with Noda, Ozu often engaged in collective writing, which sometimes took playful forms. For instance, the *nom de plume*, James Maki, was used to designate his collaboration with either Fushimi or Ikeda (Kishi 1970, 402).

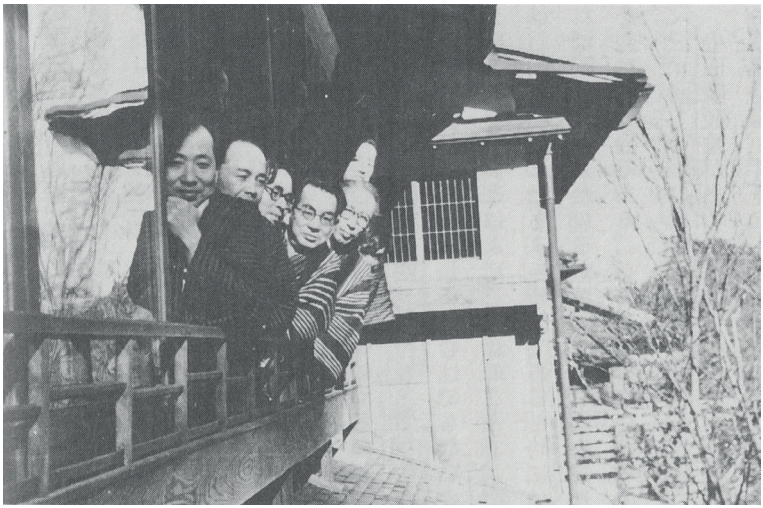


Figure 43 (From the left) Yanai Takao, Arata Masao, Kiyoshima Nagatoshi, Noda Kōgo, Fushimi Akira, and Sawamura Tsutomu at Seikōen. Image sourced from *Shindō Kaneto no sokuseki*, vol. 4 (1994)

Hakone Yumoto hot spring resort and another in the seaside town of Chigasaki, known as Seikōen and Chigasakikan, respectively.[21]

Ishizaka Shōzō (1932-2003) observed that during the 1950s Golden Age, each of these places typically housed two to three writers or writing teams at any given time (Ishizaka 1995, 40). He devoted an entire book, *Ozu Yasujirō to Chigasakikan* (Ozu Yasujirō and Chigasakikan), to the unique role this *jōyado* played in Ozu's life and work from 1941 to 1957, exploring how the tranquil coastal resort town's specific environment and historical context contributed to the creation of numerous films now regarded as masterpieces. The relative proximity to the Shōchiku studios at Ōfuna and the mild winters were key advantages of Chigasaki. Reportedly, Ozu and Noda spent between 150 and 200 days a year at Chigasaki during the ten-year postwar period, consistently occupying the same corner room, Number Two.[22] All expenses were covered by the company (Ishizaka 1995, 42). Many accounts describe how the initial days after checking into the inn were spent playing mahjong with other resident writers,

21 Chigasakikan had been used by Shōchiku since its move from Kamata to Ōfuna in 1936 (Ichizaka 1995, 35).

22 Number One was frequented by Saitō, nicknamed the Master of Chigasaki (*Chigasaki no nushi*).

Figure 44 Ozu Yasujirō and Noda Kōgo in room Number Two at Chigasakikan. Image sourced from *Ozu Yasujirō to Chigasakikan* (1995)

with work commencing only a few days later. It appears that Ozu dedicated most of the early part of the day to preparing his special brand of miso soup for others (Shindō 1989, 2: 27).

Ashizawa Toshirō (1930-2020), who frequently lodged at Chigasakikan as Saitō Ryōsuke's assistant, reminisced about the ceaseless chatter and nostalgic conversations between Ozu and Noda, which began daily with little variation. Ishizaka highlighted how such casual conversations (*yomoyamabanashi*) consistently set the groundwork for a new project (Ishizaka 1995, 15). Donald Richie, in turn, contended that the fabric of Ozu's scripts invariably sprouted from these minor incidents and jests that "contributed both to the creation of character and to the form of the film itself" (Richie 1974, 35). The writing space and the communication it facilitated were fundamental to Ozu's working method, integrating the environment into the filmmaking process. Ozu himself stated that sharing certain daily habits was vital for such collaboration, or it would result in failure (Ishizaka 1995, 150). Conversely, in an attempt to maintain a certain mystique around the creative process, a myth that mere cohabitation would miraculously yield a completed script, Ozu and Noda never allowed others to witness them actually working. Ishizaka referenced an interview where a journalist struggled to find any evidence in the room that it was a writing space: there were no papers or pencils in sight. However, the apprentice Ashizawa once fortuitously caught a

Figure 45 Young Shindō Kaneto (at right) with his elder colleagues (from the left) Saitō Ryōsuke, Noda Kōgo, and Yanai Takao. Image sourced from *Shindō Kaneto no sokuseki*, vol. 4 (1994)

glimpse at 03:00 am of the duo hunched over their *genkō yōshi*, writing fervently (Ishizaka 1995, 151-3).

Shindō provides an account of his time at Seikōen, where he primarily worked during his tenure at Shōchiku in the late 1940s. He refers to this as the leisure (*yoyū*) system, where each writer or writing team, while engaged in their individual tasks, always had ample opportunity for interaction (Shindō 1989, 2: 26-8). Indeed, numerous accounts of life in the *jōyado* might lead one to question how any writing was accomplished at all. Ultimately, this idealised portrayal presents an image of the Golden Age as a period not just for producing and viewing films, but also for writing them. Furthermore, the *jōyado* served as a space for initiation, where a novice writer, mentored by the master, both of whom were almost without exception male, was dispatched to the inn to complete their inaugural script. In essence, this particular setting fostered an image of the writer that stood in stark contrast to that of industrialised studio-based work.

However, this leisurely writing environment was not without its challenges. Saitō, who had recently penned several highly praised comedies directed by Shibuya Minoru (1907-80),[23] notoriously experi-

23 Most important of these include *Ten'ya wan'ya* (*Crazy Uproar*, 1950), *Jiyū gakkō* (*School of Freedom*, 1951), *Honjitsu kyūshin* (*Doctor's Day Off*, 1952) and *Gendaijin* (*The Moderns*, 1952).

enced writer's block while working on the script of *Seido no Kirisuto* (*Christ in Bronze*, 1955) at Chigasakikan in 1953. It took over a year to complete this single script, even with the studio bringing in additional writers (Ishizaka 1995, 40-1). In a conversation with Shindō, various individuals recalled the incident. Ashizawa mentioned that "[a]fter writing: 'A policeman chases through the streets of Edo', he didn't pen another word for three years". Inoue Kazuo (1924-2011), Shibuya's assistant director, confessed that occasionally he felt like assaulting Saitō. Yamanouchi added humorously that the blank manuscript paper had already yellowed with time (Shindō 1994, 27-8).

Ishizaka suggested that to mitigate such scheduling risks, a balance was sought by employing efficient writers like Shindō, who could consistently produce scripts in three weeks (Ishizaka 1995, 41). There is an anecdote of a fellow scriptwriter who was staying and working at the same inn as Shindō. The unfortunate man developed writer's block after hearing a steady rhythmic pattern through the sliding door from the neighbouring room all night long. That was Shindō methodically turning and completing yet another manuscript page. However, not all writers had the luxury of the privilege of a company inn, even during the peak of the studio system in the 1950s. Shindō, who had become independent after leaving Shōchiku, had to rent a workspace in a modest inn in central Tokyo, adjacent to a small printing house. Shindō reminisces how the rhythmic sound of its machines provided a constant backdrop to his work, day and night (Shindō 1994, 62). This less glamorous setup might have actually suited the writer, sometimes characterised as a human writing machine. Shindō was also a teetotaller, which starkly contrasted with several other Japanese filmmakers, notably Ozu, who famously associated the production of the script with the number of sake bottles consumed during the process. As a result, while Shindō could sometimes complete scripts in just a few days, it took Ozu and Noda months to finish theirs.

Whether the story is about Ozu and Noda concealing their ongoing work, Kurosawa subjecting his writing team to a form of examination, Saitō's writer's block, or Shindō tirelessly jotting away, most narratives about scriptwriting tend to be light-hearted and anecdotal. The question that remains is that whether such accounts are sufficient to lend enough credibility for examining the history and practices of Japanese scriptwriting. However, the very least we can deduce from these often amusing tales is that the role of the scriptwriter, often seen as the most solitary in the filmmaking process, appears vibrant and communal, both in the familial ambiance of the *kyakuhonbu* and the relaxed pace of work at the *jōyado*. At the same time, no matter how idyllic this arrangement might have appeared from the outside, it was still deeply rooted in the industrial hierarchy that needs to be scrutinised, particularly in the context of how gender influenced scriptwriters' social status and spatial working conditions.

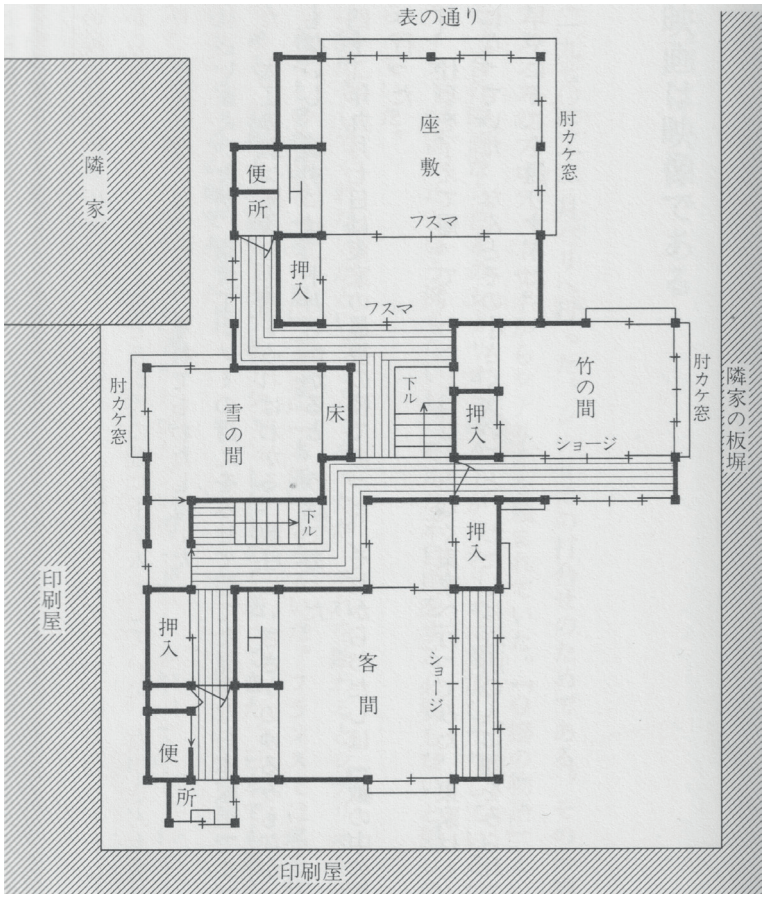


Figure 46 A depiction of Shindō's working space (Yuki no ma) in the middle left. Image sourced from *Shindō Kaneto no sokuseki*, vol. 4 (1994)

4.3 Gender in Scriptwriting

4.3.1 Writer as Wife

How do films come into this world? *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!* (*Cut! The Rights of Japanese Film Directors*, 2006, Itō Shun'ya, 1937) provides some surprising answers in vivid allegory. The opening scenes of the film depict the establishment of the Nihon Eiga Kantoku Kyōkai (Directors Guild of Japan) in 1936. When the founding members are shaking hands to congratulate each other, suddenly a baby's cry

is heard, and in the adjacent shed a baby boy is discovered lying in a cradle – Moses-like – with ink-written characters of the newly established union covering the soles of his tiny feet. The next sequence takes the infant metaphor even further by introducing a newlywed couple in a *jidaigeki* setting. The grave-looking groom Kantoku Uemon (played by the director Oguri Kōhei, 1945), and his bashful bride, Kyakuhon Tayū (director Sakamoto Junji, 1958, in drag), retreat to the bedroom after the ceremony. The marriage is discreetly consummated behind a folding screen while a band of lookers-on, unmistakably resembling a film crew, watches and captures the action. Subsequently, an imposing man, introduced as Chosakuken Nijūkyū, appears at the couple's doorstep with his entourage and authoritatively commands the newly born baby to be handed over to him.

What does it all mean? The character names in this playful yet disturbing domestic drama are replete with wordplay. In Japanese, Kantoku is a homonym for film director (*kantoku*), while Kyakuhon denotes film script (*kyakuhon*) and *tayū* in the kabuki tradition designates a female role played by male actors. Chosakuken Nijūkyū quite literally refers to Article 29 of the Japanese Copyright Law. Once these visual and verbal cues are collated, it is easy enough to extrapolate that filmmaking requires the mutual effort between a director and a scriptwriter (as well as a shooting crew). The process reaches its end by the cruel appropriation of the nascent product of this creative union by its lawful owner.

What we have visualised here is an act purportedly immoral, albeit entirely within the legal limits stipulated in the article in question: "Copyright […] shall belong to the maker of cinematic work, provided that the authors of the work have undertaken to participate in the making thereof" (Copyright Law of Japan. Chapter II Rights of Author).[24] To an attentive eye, this bad case of legalese fails to conceal the emphatic distinction between the concepts of 'author(s)' and 'maker' in this statement that, while recognising the former's effort, makes the latter the sole possessor of any (copy)rights over the final product. In other words, filmmakers are allowed to keep to themselves the nebulous notions of authorship and credit, while the ownership of their work will remain in the firm hands of the company. This legal arrangement, where the rights of film directors (authors) and producers (makers) are set apart based on their respective industrial roles, is precisely what the film *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!* attempted to uncover and contest. It was released on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Directors Guild of Japan, and several notable members appear as actors in the film.

24 http://www.cric.or.jp/english/clj/cl2.html.

Figure 47
The director-scriptwriter wedding night scene from *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!* (2006)

But with the rights and agency of directors being so vehemently fought for, where does it leave the other cinematic parent, the scriptwriter? Why do they appear in such an overly feminised, if not outright emasculated, guise? Are we to understand their role simply as that of a passive recipient and nurturer of the spark injected by their male counterpart? Admittedly, the way gender is introduced here to depict a creative collaboration might seem quirky and original. However, this apparent exaggeration merely translates into images an understanding quite commonly found in writings on Japanese cinema. Namely, that in relation to the film director, the scriptwriter has a role akin to that of a wife (*nyōbō-yaku*). This gendering of filmmaking seems to hint at something more deeply embedded within the conduct of Japanese cinema that, until very recently, used to be an extremely male-dominated field of cultural production. While actual women rarely had roles in the world of cinema beyond their very central function as actresses and audiences, somehow it was still deemed necessary to conceptualise the otherwise markedly homosocial process of filmmaking in gender terms. I will return to some of these implications in the coda of the book.

4.3.2 Female Scriptwriters

Regardless of how we interpret the way gender relations are depicted in *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!*, scriptwriting is precisely the part of Japanese cinema where the contributions of women to filmmaking since the silent era can be clearly identified and discussed. Seemingly adhering to the idea of scriptwriting as a female role, there have indeed been examples of working relationships between real-life partners where the wife takes on the role of the scriptwriter. On a global scale, there was the creative collaboration between the German writer Thea von Harbou (1888-1954) and the Austrian (later American) director Fritz Lang (1890-1976).[25] In Japan, there was an equally celebrated team of the scriptwriter Wada Natto and her husband, the director Ichikawa Kon (1915-2008). Wada is credited for writing the majority of Ichikawa's films until 1963, including *Biruma no tategoto* (*The Burmese Harp*, 1956), Enjō (*Conflagration*, 1958), *Kagi* (*Odd Obsession*, 1959), *Nobi* (*Fires on the Plain*, 1959), and *Yukinojō henge* (*An Actor's Revenge*, 1963). Primarily focusing on adaptations of modern Japanese literature, Wada frequently incorporated elements of black humour and unexpected twists into the original narratives. Over the

25 They worked together on some of Lang's most celebrated works such as *Dr. Mabuse der Spieler* (*Dr. Mabuse the Gambler*, 1922), *Metropolis* (1927) and *M* (1931). They divorced in 1933, at least partly for the reason that Harbou sympathised with the emerging Nazi regime while the Lang, who had Jewish ancestry, chose to leave the country.

course of the 1950s, her work transitioned from predominantly lighthearted comedies to tackling more serious themes by the decade's end. The conclusion of this collaboration is often used as a benchmark to signify the end of Ichikawa's zenith as a director.

The emergence of women as scriptwriters can be traced back to the silent film era. Mizushima Ayame is commonly credited as the first female scriptwriter in Japan. Born Takano Chitose, she adopted the pen name upon receiving her first screen credit for *Rakuyō no uta* (*The Song of Fallen Leaves*, 1924, Ogasawara Meihō, 1900-46); using her real name would have led to her expulsion from Japan Women's College, where watching films, let alone participating in their creation, was forbidden. The following year, Mizushima joined Shōchiku Kamata Studios, where she worked until the studio relocated to Ōfuna in 1936. At that point, she retired from the film industry to become a children's writer.[26] Just three months after Mizushima's debut, the competing Nikkatsu studio released *Shitaiyuku kage* (*Yearning Shadows*, 1925, Hatano Yasumasa), written by another female writer, Hayashi Yoshiko.[27] The third significant female scriptwriter of the era was Suzuki Noriko (1909-85), who has 27 film credits to her name. She worked for the Nikkatsu studios from 1933 to 1937, and then for Tōhō until 1941. *Chokorēto to heitai* (*Chocolate and Soldiers*, 1938, Satō Takeshi, 1903-78) is considered her representative work.

Given the limited presence of female scriptwriters before the war, it is particularly noteworthy that Mizuki, Tanaka and Wada emerged as some of the most distinguished figures in their field. The first two, contemporaries of Mizushima, Hayashi, and Suzuki, only began their film careers after the war, were most active in the 1950s and largely withdrew from the scene by the mid-1960s. Mizuki and Tanaka, both of whom had prior experience writing for the stage, scripted some of the most acclaimed films of the 1950s. Tanaka's frequently collaborations with directors Naruse, and Yoshimura Kōzaburō (1911-2000) resulted in critically acclaimed works, such as *Meshi* (*Repast*, 1951), *Bangiku* (*Late Chrysanthemums*, 1954), *Nagareru* (*Flowing*, 1956, all Naruse), *Yoru no kawa* (*Night River*, 1956), and *Yoru no chō* (*Night*

26 Mizushima, known for writing comedies and melodramas, had 29 of her scripts produced at Shōchiku. Regrettably, most of the prints have been lost. The exception is *Akeyuku sora* (*The Dawning Sky*, 1929, Saitō Torajirō), which has been released in the Digital Meme's Talking Silents series. Mizushima's last film, *Kagayake shōnen Nihon* (*Shine On, Boy Japan!*, 1935, Sasaki Yasushi, 1908-93), a sports film commissioned to celebrate the birth of the Crown Prince (future Emperor Akihito), was also her only talkie. A highly informative and well-maintained electronic resource in Japanese on the life and work of Mizushima can be found at `https://ayamemizushima.petit-disc.work`.

27 The July 1926 issue of the journal *Shibai to kinema* (Stage and Cinema), featured an illustrated introduction to Mizushima and Hayashi as flagbearers of newly emerging women scriptwriters (Mizushima, Suzuki 1926, 13).

女流シナリオライターから……

「お坊ちゃん」や「母よ戀し」で映畫脚本作家として確實な地步を占めた松竹蒲田の水島あやめ氏「鞍馬天狗」「孔雀の光」などを脚色した日活の林義子氏、この二人の女流シナリオライターが洩らした近頃の日本映畫界に對する感想です。

雜感一二三 □□□ 水島あやめ

貧しい感想 □□□ 林義子

Figure 48 Essays by Mizushima Ayame and Hayashi Yoshiko in *Shibai to kinema* (July 1926)

Butterflies, 1957, both Yoshimura). She also wrote two films directed by her namesake, Tanaka Kinuyo (1909-77), the first major Japanese woman director. Mizuki wrote the film that is often considered the high point of Naruse's directing career, *Ukigumo* (*Floating Clouds*, 1955); her collaboration with director Imai Tadashi (1912-91) will be

Figure 49
Tanaka Sumie (1908-2000). Image sourced from *Kinema junpō*

discussed in length at the end of this chapter. In his history of Japanese scriptwriting, Kobayashi highlighted that one of the four defining tendencies of postwar scriptwriting was the rise of female writers (*joryū raitā*) (Kobayashi 1959, 26). Interestingly, while praising these writers, Kobayashi uses the term *joryū*, a somewhat pejorative label, in contrast to the neutral term *sakka* that he uses for established male writers.[28]

One might ponder the specific conditions that enabled women to become scriptwriters. It could be argued that this was due to the overall atmosphere in postwar Japan, which, after its defeat in the war, was making strides towards becoming an egalitarian society, including in terms of gender. However, from an industry perspective, the emergence of independent production companies around 1950 set the stage for this development, following industrial upheavals such as the Tōhō strikes between 1946 and 1948 and the Red Purge, which targeted left-leaning members of the film industry.[29] As I have previously suggested (Kitsnik, Selbo, Smith 2015), the simultaneous shifts

28 In the context of modern Japanese literature, *joryū* is used as marker for second-rate fiction produced by female writers.

29 For more on the Tōhō strikes and the Red Purge, see Hirano (1992, 213-53).

in audience composition and the literary canon may have contributed to this phenomenon. Film production companies began hiring female scriptwriters to cater to the rapidly growing female audience by offering films with a 'feminine touch'. Meanwhile, certain female fiction authors, such as Hayashi Fumiko (1903-51) and Yoshiya Nobuko (1896-1973), were experiencing a critical resurgence.[30]

During that period, a handful of other female scriptwriters, including Kusuda Yoshiko (18 screen credits), who was the younger sister of director Kinoshita Keisuke, regularly wrote for cinema. However, following a rapid decline of the film industry during the 1960s, many female scriptwriters, including Mizuki and Tanaka, began to explore opportunities offered by the emergent television. This provided scriptwriters an alternative avenue for employment in a medium that was more democratic and flexible, while film studios largely adhered to hierarchical structures established in the 1920s and 1930s. A prime example of this transition was Hashida Sugako (1925-2021),[31] who can be considered as a bridge between the Golden Age of the studio system of the 1950s and the advent of television in the 1960s. Hashida was one of the six young writers admitted to Shōchiku's script department in 1949, marking the first female hire since Mizushima's departure in 1935. Facing the threat of demotion to secretary Hashida left the company in 1959 and successfully converted herself into a freelance writer for television dramas, including the internationally acclaimed series *Oshin* (1983-84).

4.3.3 A Critique of Privileged Workspaces

The relaxed pace and collegial atmosphere that characterised homosocial working spaces at Shōchiku may have seemed idyllic to its participants. However, some accounts add complexity to this otherwise self-congratulatory narrative about scriptwriting during the Golden Era of the postwar studio system. In an interview, Hashida expressed strong criticism of this practice. Despite being once invited to write at Seikōen, one of the company's regular inns, she immediately felt disadvantaged. This was primarily due to not being accepted as a mahjong player or a bathing companion to the male scriptwriters

30 Conversely, Mizuki, Tanaka, and Wada adapted to the screen novels by Japanese literary luminaries such as Kawabata (*Izu no odoriko* (*The Dancing Girl of Izu*, 1960, written by Tanaka, directed by Kawazu Yoshirō, 1926-72), *Yama no oto* (*Sound of the Mountain*, 1954, written by Mizuki, directed by Naruse)), Mishima Yukio (1925-70, *Enjō*, 1958), and Tanizaki (*Kagi* (*Odd Obsession*, 1959, both written by Wada and directed by Ichikawa)).

31 Hashida's 15 film credits include *Nagasaki no kane* (*Bells of Nagasaki*, 1950, co-written with Shindō, directed by Ōba Hideo, 1910-97), as well as a Yoshiya Nobuko adaptation, *Kyōshū* (*Nostalgia*, 1952, Iwama Tsuruo, 1918-90).

lodging there (Hashida, Yamada 1995, 81). (Hashida does concede that she might not have been the most congenial character herself.) While *jōyado* appeared blissful for some and a hub for engaging young writers, it could also be perceived as a place of exclusion. Undoubtedly, it would have been significantly more challenging for women to assume the role of an apprentice to a senior scriptwriter, although there are successful instances such as Yasumi mentoring Mizuki at the beginning of her career in cinema.

Moreover, Hashida recounted instances where the lead scriptwriter might have been asleep throughout the process, with the subordinates receiving no credit for the work they performed in his place. This casts the master-apprentice model in a light more akin to a master-slave system, raising doubts about the fairness of how scriptwriting credits are distributed. On the other hand, while it might have been challenging to earn individual recognition, the security of employment at Shōchiku came with a fixed monthly salary that was independent of the writer's productivity. (An additional honorarium was provided for any completed scripts.) Hashida confessed to having produced very little during her tenure at Shōchiku, even going so far as to label herself a wage thief (*gekkyū dorobō*) (Hashida, Yamada 1995, 84). While not particularly profitable, the role of a studio scriptwriter provided a measure of social security, at least until the early 1960s when studios stopped hiring new writers on a regular basis. Even before that development, most writers initially hired on contract terms had already transitioned to freelance work at some point during the 1950s (Kobayashi 1959, 21).

This industrial context raises question about the extent to which the hiring of women as scriptwriters was motivated by a desire for actual change. Indeed, this seems to have happened only after the studio system faced significant challenges. One might speculate that this only became possible once the master-apprentice system started to be phased out. However, it would be unfair to suggest that the postwar studio system completely lacked an initiative to promote women as writers, at least in relative terms. The final recruitment competition at Shōchiku in 1948, which resulted in Hashida securing a position, had as many as 25 women among the shortlisted candidates: women made up one third of the original candidates (Hashida, Yamada 1995, 83). Nevertheless, it appears to have been easier for already established playwrights such as Mizuki and Tanaka to maintain their creative integrity when working as writers for both studio and independent productions.

In addition to the regular inn serving as a place of exclusion, the script department also exhibited similar issues. Although the atmosphere there might have resembled a family, this concept inevitably carries certain negative implications along gender lines. This is evident in the way women were assigned only specific roles within the

Figure 50 A photo (marked 3) of the script department of Shōchiku Kamata Studios. Image sourced from *Eiga no komado* [1928] (2006)

industrial hierarchy. Ryū Hanami, who recalled the challenges of producing clean copies, was among the many typists in the department who transcribed the manuscripts written by male scriptwriters into shooting scripts. This resulted in a clear gender-based division of labour between scriptwriters and typewriters, as discussed in Chapter Two. A photograph taken of the Shōchiku *kyakuhonbu* in the 1930s underscores this point, showing only women at work (Rokusha 2006, 254). Meanwhile, male scriptwriters were likely out enjoying a leisurely time at an inn or, even better, out in the streets, actively scouting new locations and ideas for their next script.

4.4 Towards an Agency of the Scriptwriter

4.4.1 Script Scouting AKA Writing by Feet

Iwasaki Akira, a prominent film critic, presents a fictional tale of screenwriting in Hollywood in his debut essay collection, *Eiga geijutsushi* (History of Film Art, 1930). The short narrative, titled "Shinario raitā" (Scenario Writer), is told by a young man who purports to be a writer at a Piedmont film studio. He starts by asserting that any aspiring writer must possess two qualities: tenacity and sturdy feet. The writer contends that his prior experiences working in a textile mill and as a chimney sweep's apprentice have equipped him better for the job than any writing ever could. He proposes that a writer should leave his desk in the script department and venture out into the streets to observe real life. The tale concludes with a script meeting where his scenario for a film named *Blondes Prefer Gentlemen*[32] is torn apart by the producers. However, after his last-ditch effort to turn the situation into a farce by suggesting the most absurd concoction of all conceivable film clichés, he is unexpectedly hailed as a new genius by the production team (Iwasaki 1930, 13-20).

Much like in Iwasaki's ironic portrayal of Hollywood screenwriting, engaging in writing or conversing with fellow writers was the standard for scriptwriting, even when situated at the script department or secluded in an inn. However, taking ample time to familiarise oneself with spaces and practices relevant to the story being developed was considered an integral part of the writing process. Noda, who mentored an entire generation of writers at Shōchiku's script department and authored the seminal how-to book, *Shinario kōzōron* (On the Structure of Scenario, 1952), emphasised that just as a film is grounded on the script (*kyakuhon*, the first character of which signifies feet), the writer should also prioritise footwork to gather material (Ishizaka 1995, 188). The metaphor of 'writing by feet' (*ashi de kaku*) is a recurring phrase found in various accounts on Japanese scriptwriting, making it appear as one of the crucial stages of the entire writing process. It is almost as if the eventual act of writing by hand on the manuscript paper, which I discussed in Chapter Two, had to be preceded by this ambulatory practice.

The process known as 'scenario hunting' (*shinario hantingu*, or *shinahan* for short) can be seen as a preliminary step to the more familiar 'location hunting' (*rokēshon hantingu*, or *rokehan*), which involves scouting potential filming locations. Kikushima, the scriptwriter of

32 The title is an obvious spoof on Anita Loos's comic novel *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1925) that had been adapted for the first time in 1928 (directed by Mal St. Clair). Loos wrote the book while working as a screenwriter in Hollywood.

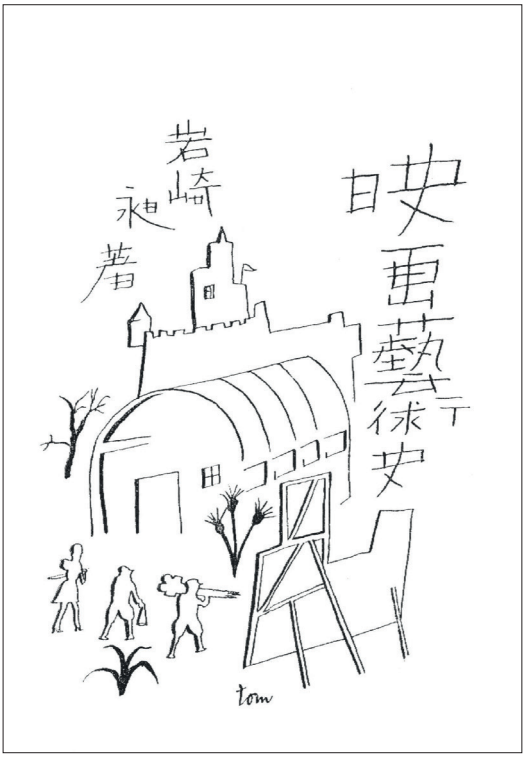


Figure 51
The cover of Iwasaki Akira's *Eiga geijutsushi* (1930)

the innovative detective film *Nora inu* (*Stray Dog*, 1949, directed by Kurosawa Akira), shared his experience of making numerous visits to the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department to understand the daily operations of the profession. This was his first script, and Kikushima humbly admitted that his writing skills were still developing, emphasising the importance of immersing oneself in the real circumstances to capture the right tone for the story (Kikushima 1949, 13-14). Around the same time, but in a very different context, Shindō was in Kyoto, taking nightly walks to the Miyagawachō district to observe the lifestyle of geisha houses, while drafting his script for what, after prolonged negotiations with different studios, eventually became the film *Itsuwareru seisō* (*Clothes of Deception*, 1951, directed by Yoshimura Kōzaburō) (Shindō 1954, 51).

Kobayashi underscores the importance of script scouting, particularly in the postwar era. He identifies four writers – Hashimoto, Mizuki, Shindō, and Yagi – who incorporated this practice as a crucial part of their working methods (Kobayashi 1959, 27). Yagi has reminisced about a forty-five-day sojourn at a coal mine in Hokkaidō to

find out more about the current working conditions of the labourers (Yagi 1958, 67). Interestingly, all four writers mentioned primarily worked freelance and predominantly for independent film production. This also suggests that they might not have had access to the privileged spaces provided by the studios. In response, they carved out their own spaces and took control of them. Script scouting, then, offers an alternative spatiality that complements the script department and the regular inn, allowing for preliminary research that goes beyond merely sitting at a desk, potentially enhancing the quality of the script. The case of Mizuki is particularly illuminating, highlighting key issues such as the constraints and opportunities presented by the studio system, and the implications for the scriptwriter's independence and agency.

4.4.2 Mizuki Yōko's Working Methods

During the 1950s,[33] Mizuki emerged as one of the country's most distinguished and celebrated scriptwriters. This status is further substantiated by the special issue *Shinario sanninshū* (Collection of the Three Scriptwriters, 1964), where Mizuki is featured alongside Hashimoto and Shindō. Mizuki's journey in the film industry began in 1949, almost concurrently with Hashimoto and Kikushima, both frequent collaborators of Kurosawa.[34] Mizuki primarily wrote scripts for two other renowned directors of the 1950s, Imai and Naruse. Satō has proposed that Mizuki's role was crucial for the work of those major directors of the day who, unlike Kinoshita, Kurosawa, Mizoguchi, and Ozu, did not participate in writing scripts for their own films (Satō 2003, 132). Mizuki's collaboration with Imai is of particular significance: in this creative relationship, she enjoyed considerable freedom and influence in projects that often spanned years due to their pronounced focus on meticulous research into unconventional subjects. The practice of script scouting underscores Mizuki's pivotal role in shaping the direction of each film project.

Despite scriptwriting being a markedly homosocial profession, Mizuki carved out a remarkable career as a freelance writer, working both for major studios and independent productions. Most of her scripts, often originals, were for what are often referred to as 'social issue' (*shakaiha*) films. These films scrupulously portrayed the anxieties and ambiguities of the post-war era, a time when the social

33 An earlier, expanded version of the following sections appeared in Kitsnik 2020.

34 Mizuki began her career in cinema with *Onna no isshō* (*The Life of a Woman*, 1949, directed by Kamei Fumio, 1908-87), sharing credits with her former Russian language teacher, Yasumi, who had persuaded Mizuki to try her hand at screenwriting after hearing her castigate cinema.

Figure 52 Mizuki Yōko (1910-2003). Image sourced from *Kinema junpō*

fabric of Japan was undergoing radical reconfiguration as its people embraced the newly imported values of democracy and consumerism. When assessing Mizuki's contribution to Japanese cinema, Satō has posited that her greatest role as writer was to explore how the Japanese nation both succeeded and failed in transitioning its mindset from wartime militarism to post-war pacifism (Satō 2003, 134). Mizuki achieved this by addressing several contested issues in post-war Japanese society, typically experienced by those marginalised by class, gender or race.

Since 1953, all Mizuki's scripts for Imai had been originals, in which she focused on fictionalised accounts of real social issues of contemporary Japan. *Jun'ai monogatari* (*A Story of Pure Love*, 1957), Mizuki's fifth collaboration with the director, was the first to highlight the importance of footwork behind the script. The film's title is certainly ironic, as neither of the protagonists, Kantarō (Ehara Shinjirō, 1936-2022) and Mitsuko (Nakahara Hitomi, 1936), are particularly pure: their first meeting occurs when a gang that Mitsuko is part of suggests that Kantarō should assault her. Instead, he ends up saving her, and after teaming up to commit minor crimes, both are incarcerated – Mitsuko in a reform school and Kantarō in a juvenile prison. As they await their release and reunion, Mitsuko begins to exhibit symptoms of an undisclosed illness. After several visits to different doctors, it is revealed that as a small child she had visited Hiroshima just days after the atomic attack, and she is diagnosed with radiation disease – a condition still poorly understood at the time – to which she eventually succumbs. Unexpectedly, the film

shifts from being a youth film to a kind of anti-war film with undertones of social class.

Jun'ai monogatari provided an opportunity for Mizuki to revisit and revise material she had been developing a few years earlier for a film tentatively titled *Yūkan kozō* (*Evening Paper Boy*). With the intention of making it a semi-documentary, Mizuki conducted research in the less reputable areas near Ueno Station, staying two weeks at an inn to take daily (and nightly) walks and converse with local people. When Imai approached Mizuki to make *Jun'ai monogatari*, she embarked on additional research, delving into issues such as the workings of the criminal court (Katō 2010, 275-7). This was much like Kikushima, who had spent time at a police station for his field work on *Nora inu*. Mizuki had also been collecting newspaper clippings relating to radiation disease since 1955. To write the scenes where an array of people states their physical complaints – and the circumstances through which they came into contact with the pathogen – to the doctors, Mizuki visited and conducted interviews at a hospital (Katō 2010, 283).[35]

At this juncture, what Mizuki began to contribute to each project was her original idea and its execution in the form of a script. While earlier films with Imai such as *Himeyuri no tō* (*The Tower of Lilies*, 1953) and *Koko ni izumi ari* (*Here Is a Spring*, 1955) required familiarity with archival and anecdotal sources, Mizuki's fictional work was equally reliant on meticulous research into its subjects. With *Jun'ai monogatari*, the focus shifted from fictional treatments of real-life events to fictional stories based on hypothetical situations embedded in actual social conditions. As Mizuki interest in the lives of the marginalised grew, she often found herself leaving the writing table and heading out to the actual locations. The two films discussed below precisely depict such individuals pushed to the fringes of Japanese society. The adjacent research activities arguably enhanced Mizuki's awareness of her role beyond submitting the completed script to the film crew, presenting her with opportunities to shape the entire filmmaking process.

4.4.3 Scriptwriter's Self-awareness and Autonomy

In *Kiku to Isamu* (*Kiku and Isamu*, 1959), two mixed-race children, abandoned by their African American father and predeceased by their Japanese mother, are depicted living with their elderly grandmother in a village in rural Fukushima. Through a series of successive

35 The hospital's real name later had to be changed due to a possible conflict with US organisations that had made donations.

Figure 53
The cover of the published script of *Kiku to Isamu* (1959)

incidents, Kiku (Takahashi Emiko, 1947) and Isamu (Okunoyama George, 1947) gradually become aware of the differences between them and the people surrounding them. Arguably the finest collaboration by Mizuki and Imai, *Kiku to Isamu* is a film that has been almost criminally overlooked, despite winning the top spot in the *Kinema junpō* annual critics' poll and the Blue Ribbon Award for the scenario. The film's subject matter is certainly unusual, especially for its time. However, its treatment of the issue does not feel heavy, yet remains urgent and relatable, resulting in a decidedly light-hearted and comical mood despite the film's serious topic. The film comprises sketch-like episodes, contrasting with the Mizuki's typically plot-driven narratives, but no less effective. This approach was not incidental: knowing that *Kiku to Isamu* would be an independent production without studio backing or star power, Mizuki designed it from the outset to be low budget (Katō 2010, 258).

In his review at the time of the film's release, Satō wrote:

> It is said that films that make appeal to humanism often fall into the drama of pity [*dōjōgeki*]. Sympathy will not suffice because it

> is often the attitude of the strong towards the weak and does not include an opportunity for human respect toward others. However, outstanding comedy does include respect towards people who bring about this laughter [...] I marvel at the persistency of the *authorial attitude* of Mizuki Yōko, who by setting these scenes has shown how to draw 'comedy' out of the issue [of racial discrimination]. (Imai 2012, 222; emphases added)

Kiku to Isamu is certainly a valid example to highlight Mizuki's authorship of the film: it began as her idea upon seeing a newsreel where a white girl was standing alone in the middle of a Japanese village. However, Mizuki decided to expand on this initial premise and introduced an additional facet of the race issue (Katō 2010, 258). More commonly encountered in locations with heavy US military presence such as Okinawa and Yokohama, this is yet another example of the legacy of war brought to the forefront by Mizuki.

Mizuki's active role in the film's production extended beyond scriptwriting and was particularly evident in the casting process. Initially, the search for suitable mixed-race children across the country began after obtaining a list of names from the Ministry of Education. After identifying about 70 potential candidates and auditioning ten, it took three months to decide who would play the part of Kiku. Mizuki had accidentally spotted Takahashi at Ueno Park in Tokyo and strongly insisted that she be cast, despite Imai's resistance, who had a different, more conservative image in mind. It was only after the film's completion that he admitted that Mizuki had been right about what was required to fully realise the intentions of the script (Katō 2010, 260). Another remarkable casting choice in *Kiku to Isamu* was Kitabayashi Tanie (1911-2010) in the role of the grandmother. Three years later, she had yet another leading role in *Kigeki: Nippon no obāchan* (*A Comedy: Japanese Grandmas*, 1962) in an urban setting as an elderly woman who has managed to escape from her retirement home. Mizuki's choice to address the issue of an ageing society displayed incredible foresight, decades before it became an actual problem that today largely defines Japanese society.

Through working on *Kiku to Isamu*, Mizuki may have become aware of the need to challenge the common view of Japanese identity as being forged by the inseparability of race, culture, and language, a theme she would explore further. While the otherness of the siblings in *Kiku to Isamu* was all too apparent to their fellow villagers, this was not the case with the protagonist of the next film Mizuki and Imai collaborated on, *Are ga minato no hi da* (*These Are the Harbour Lights*, 1961). The film begins with a Japanese fishing vessel being attacked by the Korea Coast Guard. The reason for this was crossing the so-called Syngman Rhee Line that had been unilaterally established as a maritime boundary between the territorial waters

of the neighbouring countries by the South Korean government, then headed by the eponymous authoritarian president.[36] Later, on shore, one of the Japanese crew members, Kimura/Park (Ehara Shinjirō), after a night out, meets a prostitute, Kim (Kishida Kyōko, 1930-2006), who immediately recognises him as a fellow Korean. Kimura is concerned about his real identity now in danger of being revealed to the world, but after another night with Kim, speaking together in Korean and sharing childhood memories, he decides to come clean. At first, the disclosure does not seem to bother the rest of the crew, but when approaching Korean waters on their next outing, doubts about him being a spy are suddenly voiced. In the ensuing climax of the story, when the ship is about to be seized by the foreign authorities, fellow sailors leave Kimura/Park to his own fate, and he is eventually shot by a Korean guard who, upon pressing a boot to his dead face, derogatorily calls him half-Japanese (*ban-jjokbari*).[37]

By creating an ethnic Korean protagonist – a rarity in Japanese cinema at that time – Mizuki expanded the issue of marginalisation, effectively embedding the legacy of militarism in the form of a maritime demarcation line within a character. As with *Kiku to Isamu*, this choice of material certainly demonstrates Mizuki's capacity for empathy, as she was by then transitioning from the post-war experiences of the 'pure' Japanese like herself to those forced to society's margins. Mizuki had obtained the idea for the story three years earlier from a radio broadcast about the dangers Japanese fishermen were facing when working in Korean waters. However, as had become common with her projects with Imai, the script took over a year to write. Mizuki decided to embark on two rounds of script scouting, travelling far to the fishing villages and interviewing local people, as well as several Zainichi Koreans, about their attitudes towards the issue (Naitō 2008, 99-100).

It appears that during the production of *Are ga minato no hi da*, Mizuki gained a profound awareness of her role and agency in filmmaking. She articulated this realisation in a column in *Yomiuri Shinbun* (4 November 1960, evening edition):

> [T]he filmmaking process has evolved significantly from the past. It is not just about the company deciding the type of film to make, assigning a director, and having a sort of studio writer do the writing. In my experience, it is common for the producer or director to ask me if I have any ideas, and then I present my theme. This is

36 Also known as the Peace Line, this disputed demarcation line was in effect from 1952 until 1965, when Japan and South Korea signed the Japan–Korea Fishery Agreement.

37 A Korean ethnic slur specifically denotes Japanised Koreans. An approximation, *Pan Chopali*, has sometimes been used for the film's title outside Japan.

Figure 54
The cover of a Kindle version of the scenario of *Are ga minato no hi da* (2020)

> why I consider myself not just a writer, but also a planner/instigator [*kikakusha*]. (Naitō 2008, 99)

From this, it is evident that Mizuki was fully aware of her role as an empowered scriptwriter with considerable freedom to select her material and negotiate with the director and producers. Over the years, Mizuki and Imai developed a strong mutual trust and respect. Imai asserts that he treated Mizuki as an equal from the beginning, and it made no difference to him whether the script was written by a man or a woman (Mizuki, Imai 1995, 383).[38] Evidently, the division of labour between them in terms of writing and directing proved to be highly effective, a fortunate instance of two individuals with similar mind-sets and complementary creative skills working together.

38 This stands in a stark contrast to Mizuki's other frequent collaborator, Naruse. He shared that his initial impression of a Mizuki script was that it was women-like (*onna-kusai*; *kusai* also implies something foul or fishy) (Naruse 1952, 4).

In a paradoxical way, being a woman offered Mizuki certain advantages. She was not expected to conform to the predominantly homosocial practice of scriptwriting under the studio system, particularly in the privileged setting of the regular inn. This arguably led to a more balanced and dynamic filmmaking sociality in her collaboration with Imai. It is worth noting that Tanaka, another prominent female writer who collaborated extensively with Naruse and other directors, did not enjoy the same level of autonomy as Mizuki. During a roundtable discussion, Tanaka expressed her frustration that, unlike her, Mizuki has the freedom to choose her films and directors. Mizuki, in a self-deprecating manner, attributed this to her laid-back nature and the limited number of directors willing to accommodate her slow writing pace (Naitō 2008, 102). As a freelance writer, Mizuki had the freedom to select and explore her own material. This arguably heightened her awareness of her significant role in the filmmaking process, a contribution that extended far beyond scriptwriting.

In this chapter, I have explored how numerous Japanese scriptwriters have garnered significant recognition from film critics and secured their deserved place in the film canon over the course of the cinematic century. This acclaim is amplified by various anecdotal depictions of the creative environment embodied by the script department and the regular inn, both characterised by a leisurely writing pace. However, a challenge that persists is the degree to which the system could accommodate female scriptwriters who were making substantial contributions to Japanese cinema during its Golden Age in the 1950s. As the case of Mizuki demonstrates, the potential for a scriptwriter's self-awareness of their role in the filmmaking process is tied to specific spaces and practices, and when activated, it often enriches the thematic range of Japanese cinema.

5 Coda

Arai Haruhiko (1947) is a distinguished scriptwriter of his generation who has recently forged an acclaimed directing career with films such as *Kakō no futari* (*It Feels So Good*, 2019, named the best film of the year in the *Kinema junpō*'s critics poll) and *Hanakutashi* (*A Spoiling Rain*, 2023). The latter features an aspiring scriptwriter as a main character, an unusual choice that mirrors his colleague Shindō's debut feature, *Aisai monogatari*, from seven decades earlier. Arai was born around the time when young Satō was making his rounds in postwar Tokyo's used bookstores, looking for old scenarios; most of the events discussed in this book date back to when Arai was only a young boy. However, he is the last writer mentioned by Shindō in *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989), appearing just before the final image, discussed in Chapter Two, of Japan's railway network blanketed with handwritten scenario sheets. In addition to his scriptwriting and directing, Arai is also an outspoken essayist and critic, known particularly for his staunch advocacy of the scenario as an independent work of its author (*chosakubutsu*). He often expresses his dissatisfaction with changes made by directors and producers to his scripts, a sentiment that resonates with various topics covered in this book.

In the beginning of the current century, Arai found himself embroiled in several controversies related to scenario publishing and scriptwriting credits. One such case, which ended up being discussed

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by the Supreme Court, began when Itoyama Akiko (1966), the Akutagawa Prize-winning author of *Yawarakai seikatsu* (*It's Only Talk*, 2005, Hiroki Ryūichi, 1954), the source text, would not allow the publication of Arai's script based on it. The scenario had already been selected for the annual anthology, *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū*, published by the Japan Writers Guild. Arai's response was to appeal to the Tokyo District Court, citing a breach of contract for the film adaptation of the book. The contract had stipulated that "no refusal of permission contrary to customary practice shall be made". This case provided an unusual opportunity for then-president of the guild, Katō Masato (1954), to elucidate the role and importance of the scenario in filmmaking to legal professionals.[1] After the appeal was dismissed by the Tokyo District Court on the grounds that neither Arai nor the guild had the right to request permission, Arai reappealed again to both the Intellectual Property High Court and the Supreme Court. The latter finalised the judgment in Itoyama's favour on 16 February 2012. Throughout the entire lawsuit, Arai and the guild continued to criticise Itoyama in the monthly *Shinario* journal. This case brought renewed attention to the legal loopholes that have left Japanese scriptwriters without ownership or protection for their work, echoing a similar issue highlighted by the film *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!*, discussed in Chapter Four.

Around the same period, Arai found himself entangled in another unfortunate controversy. This time, it was over the omitted scriptwriting credits from the film *Amarufi: Megami no hōshū* (*Amalfi: Rewards of the Goddess*, 2009, Nishitani Hiroshi, 1962). This unprecedented incident sparked outrage among the scriptwriting community, leading the Japan Writers Guild to lodge a protest with Fuji TV, the production company, accusing them of disregarding scriptwriters. The correspondence was summarised and published in the November 2009 issue of *Shinario*. Apparently, Maho Yūichi (1961), the author of the novel on which the film was based, co-wrote the script with the director but declined to take credit. At a production report meeting, he revealed that he did not personally scout locations in Italy, and his role was primarily to ensure the story's consistency based on the materials that the rest of the crew had gathered. According to Fuji TV producer Usui Hiroshi, Maho explained that "I don't want my novelist friends to think this is my script", and thus declined the credit.[2]

1 The text of the appeal can be found at `http://song-deborah.com/copycase5/X/090627Katostatement.pdf`.

2 In a somewhat ironic turn of events, Arai himself recently faced controversy for not crediting his collaborator. In 2022, Gotō Sayaka, a disciple of Arai, had spent two years writing the script for *Tenjō no hana* (*Flowers in Heaven*, 2022, directed by Katashima Ikki). However, just before filming commenced, Arai, credited as co-scriptwriter, made significant alterations to the script without consultation. The lead actor was also

Based on these legal cases, it appears that scriptwriting credits have recently become a site of intense contestation. In addition to the shortcomings of the copyright law, Arai has highlighted more general attitudes towards scenarios among contemporary film critics and audiences. He points out a lack of understanding of the script's basic function among viewers who, naively believe that the actors improvise their lines on screen (Arai 2012, 221). As for film critics, Arai notes that they often solely credit the director for aspects of the film that clearly fall within the script's domain, and thus, the scriptwriter's responsibility (228). This sentiment echoes Richard Corliss's motivation for his study of Hollywood screenwriters:

> [I]f auteur criticism had lived up to its early claim to be truly concerned with visual style, there would be no need for any systematic slighting of the screenwriter [...] But visual style is not the auteurist's major interest. Auteur criticism is essentially theme criticism; and the themes – as expressed through plot, characterization, and dialogue – belong primarily to the writer. (Corliss 1974, xxi-xxii)

Arai also mentions an international symposium held at Ozu's centenary in 2003 where the name of Noda, who co-wrote all of the director's films between 1949 and 1962, was not mentioned once in the panel discussions (Arai 2012, 227). Ultimately, Arai criticises the auteurist trend in film criticism, pointing out that film critics tend to credit directors for the script, while in fact they could be better described as those who bring 'it' on screen. However, it is precisely this 'it' that is created by the scriptwriters (230-2).

It may appear that the public's perception of scriptwriting has significantly evolved since the Golden Age of Japanese cinema. For instance, in the late 1980s, when many older films were introduced to home theatres via the VHS format, the names of the scriptwriters appeared alongside the director's on the cover of the cassette. This practice seems to have faded with the DVD releases since the 1990s. Nevertheless, in the retrospective appreciation of Japanese cinema, the contributions of scriptwriters remain highly visible. Over the past decade or so, during my involvement with this project, numerous programmes in all major Japanese art house cinemas have been dedicated specifically to the work of scriptwriters, alongside others with a thematic focus or those arranged according to actors, directors or studios.

replaced without permission, and the scriptwriting fee did not meet the "5% of the production cost" recommended by the Japan Writers Guild. As a result of these actions, Gotō demanded an explanation, an apology, and payment of the scriptwriting fee according to official rules, leading to a lawsuit.

Figure 55
The pamphlet of the retrospective "The World of Mizuki Yōko and Female Scriptwriters" (Jinbōchō Theatre, May-June 2019)

The list of programmes includes "Mizuki Yōko to josei kyakuhonka no sekai" (The World of Mizuki Yōko and Female Scriptwriters), featuring films written by Tanaka, Mizuki, Wada, Kusuda, Ōno Yasuko (1928-2011), Hiraiwa Yumie (1932-2023), Miyauchi Fukiko (1933-2010), Nasu Machiko (1952), and Okudera Satoko (1966). This programme ran from May to June 2019 at Jinbōchō Theatre, located just a few blocks away from bookstores selling scenarios. There have been extensive retrospectives on Arai (September 2017) and Hashimoto (November 2018) at Cine Nouveau in Osaka. The latest retrospective on Shindō as scriptwriter took place from February to March 2020 at Cinema Vera in Tokyo.[3] As I write these very words at my home in Kyoto in April 2024, a retrospective is underway at Jinbōchō Theatre, focusing on the work of the scriptwriter Yamada Ta'ichi (1934-2023) and his mentor, Kinoshita.

3 Arai received his personal retrospective even earlier, in 2008, in Kawasaki City Museum, once an important film archive. Unfortunately, it was damaged in a typhoon in 2019 and has remained closed since then.

However, even today, production companies generally retain ownership of film's images, which sometime complicates the study of Japanese cinema. From the authors' viewpoint, the concept of individual ownership has been subsumed by corporate objectives. Janet Staiger (1985) suggested in her study of historical Hollywood practices that alienation is an inevitable byproduct of the detailed division of labour that characterises studio filmmaking. Within this highly specialised Fordian enterprise, participants are typically kept in the dark about the overall plan and purpose. The Japanese Copyright Law, while bestowing a similar sense of dispossession upon both the director and the writer, at least invests the former with some notion of agency. Conversely, its article 16 states that

> the authorship of a cinematographic work shall be attributed to those who, by taking charge of producing, directing, filming, art direction, etc., have contributed to the creation of that work as a whole, *excluding authors of* novels, *scenarios*, music or other works adapted or reproduced in that work. (Copyright Law of Japan, emphases added)[4]

As we have already seen, under the same legislation, authorship and ownership of a film are, in fact, incompatible. However, when scriptwriting is denied basic recognition as part of the creative process of filmmaking and is instead treated as raw material to be adapted and appropriated, what avenues of empowerment can a scriptwriter explore? Is there any 'ship' upon which a scriptwriter can hope to embark? In this book, I have effectively argued that one such vessel is scenario readership, along with its various extensions within the broader idea of cinematic audience, which does not entirely align with the notion of film viewership.

While any definite claims of authorship will, and perhaps should, likely remain nebulous, there is an undeniable visibility to the work of Japanese scriptwriters. Simultaneously, the reader is also invested with images that spring from the pages of a scenario, rather than being imposed from the screen. I would further argue for script

4 http://www.cric.or.jp/english/clj/cl2.html. The idea of aligning source novels and scripts adapted from these is fundamentally flawed, as the script serves as the site of adaptation from one medium to another, transitioning the text from the verbal to the cinematic realm. This passage seems to suggest that lawmakers have limited understanding of how films are made, particularly the role and function of the script. On the other hand, the Paris Act (1971) of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, that guides international copyright law and was ratified by Japan in 1975, states in article 14bis (Special Provisions Concerning Cinematographic Works): "(3) Unless the national legislation provides to the contrary, the provisions of paragraph (2) (b) above shall not be applicable to authors of scenarios, dialogues and musical works created for the making of the cinematographic work, nor to the principal director thereof" (https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/283693).

readership as a site of empowerment where the audience can grasp the images from the pages, gaining a real sense of ownership of films. This is certainly a substitute, but it is something that, at least until the advent of home media, remained largely outside the realm of repeated engagement, scrutiny, and even scholarship. Ultimately, the tangible presence of the scenario allows us to observe opportunities for empowerment on various levels: the text becomes independent of the film, the reader peruses and owns the scenario, and the writers find their agency by taking possession of their workspaces and practices.

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