

**Scenario Culture:
Reconsidering Historiography and Readership in
Japanese Cinema**

[Your Name]
[Department Name]
[University Name]

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of [Degree Name]

[College Name]

[Date]

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

PREFACE

At some point along the way I realised that I have always found talking and reading about films much more compelling than actually watching them. It seems inevitable, then, that my doctoral project initially devised as close readings of selected screen works has ended up being about discursive practices rather than artistic ones, not texts but their contexts.

I also feel that I need to come clear by confessing that I never write at libraries, or for that matter in whatever office space I have. One thing I will certainly take with me from the experience of working on this dissertation is that materiality matters and space links people from different eras. Therefore I am tempted to state my own working conditions. It was not always easy to keep going but it would have been much worse if the following places did not exist: Afternoon Tease, Arts Picturehouse Cafe, Grads Cafe and Massaro's at Cambridge; ambient cafe Mole, Banda no hana, Cafe Bibliotic Hello, Cafe Kocsi, Cafe Loop, Cafe Zanpano, Coffee House Maki, efish, Elephant Factory Coffee, 58 Diner, Kamogawa Cafe, Kissa Inon, Kyoto Soh-an Cafe, Ōgaki Bookstore Cafe, Rebun Cafe, Sentido, Shinshindō, TRACTION book cafe and Tsuki to rokupensu in Kyoto; Boheem, Kamahouse, Lyon Cafe, Reval Cafe, Rucola and Veski Kõrts in Tallinn. Eventually, the experience of sitting, jotting and typing in cafes proved to be so excessive that by the last stretches of writing I had quit drinking coffee for good. The soundtrack of this thesis is the album *Sticky Fingers* by the Rolling Stones.

Before plunging into the writing-up phase, I benefitted greatly from frequenting various libraries at Cambridge and the kind help of their staff, as well as Tsubouchi Shōyō Memorial Theatre Museum and the Main Library of Waseda University 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 luck to be supported by a number of very generous awarding bodies. I would particularly like to thank the Archimedes Foundation, Japanese Trust Funds (FAMES), Japan Foundation, Japan Foundation Endowment Committee (BAJS) and Rouse Ball & Eddington Research Fund. I cannot see how I could have completed this work without the kind help of the Emoluments Committee of Trinity College which enabled me to spend two crucial weeks at Burrell's Field in June 2015.

I 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 dissertation. 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 express my gratitude to Mark Morris for being the perfect, and ever so patient, supervisor, Susan Daruvala, Richard Bowring and Isolde Standish for their feedback at the early stages of this project, Peter Kornicki, Mary Howe, Tash Sabbah, Jill Cooper, Helene Sutton and Sheila Ellis for making my life at Cambridge a lot easier than it might have been, Koyama Noboru for promptly acquiring rare books, Katō Mikirō for inviting me to Kyoto, Gaye Rowley and Morita Norimasa for their help at Waseda, Toshiko Ellis, Rajyashree Pandey and Rein Raud for their many letters of reference, Robert Omar Khan for his endless encouragement and ceaseless hospitality, Alexander Jacoby for inviting me to present my research in various venues and promptly perusing the final draft of this thesis, Alo Jõekalda for always correcting me, Johan Nordström for many practical research tips, Ryan Cook and Michael Tan for their friendship and hospitality, 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, Suzuki Isao from the late Eikishi Shoten for never-ending chats, Ōmori Osamu from Fuyachō Eiga Town for all the rare VHSs, David Desser and Rayna Denison for inviting me to submit and editing my first peer-reviewed article, Beth Grace for being a generous *senpai*, Marie-Noëlle Beauvieux for hospitality and inspiration, Giulio Pugliese for all the coffee breaks and laughs, Sherzod Muminov for reciprocating on so many life issues, not least of which was PhD-inflicted stress.

Most of all, I would like to thank my parents Juta and Peeter for their warm care and support, my beautiful wife Joanna for always staying by my side and my son, Kōu Kaarel for being a good and happy boy: in many ways he is the doppelgänger of this thesis, brought up on the same timeline, in the same faraway places.

Cambridge-Kyoto-Tallinn-Rōuge
2013-2015

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
CHAPTER ONE WRITING A HISTORY	21
Film histories and scriptwriting	21
<i>Exclusion from histories</i>	22
<i>Inclusion in histories</i>	24
<i>Scriptwriting in Japanese film histories</i>	26
<i>Contribution to film history</i>	28
History in fragments	30
<i>Iida and Kobayashi</i>	31
<i>Tanaka and Satō</i>	35
A complete history of Japanese scriptwriting	39
<i>Framing history</i>	39
<i>Structuring principles</i>	41
<i>Time frames personalised</i>	45
CHAPTER TWO FORGING A FORMAT	49
Early script forms and their influences	49
<i>Influenced by Hollywood</i>	51
<i>Transcriptions and translations</i>	55
<i>The formats of silent scenario</i>	57

The master-scene scenario	59
<i>Talkie crisis and scriptwriters</i>	60
<i>Transitional formats</i>	61
<i>The standardisation of scenarios</i>	65
Materiality of the scenario	67
Genkō yōshi	69
<i>The typed script</i>	72
<i>Hybrid modernity of scriptwriting</i>	74
 CHAPTER THREE SITUATING THE SCRIPTWRITER	 76
The status of the scriptwriter	77
<i>Geniuses and craftsmen</i>	77
<i>Scenario writer and scenario author</i>	80
<i>The canon of scriptwriters</i>	81
The working conditions of the scriptwriter	85
<i>The script department</i>	85
<i>The master-disciple system</i>	88
<i>Writing alone and together</i>	90
<i>The writing inn</i>	93
Gender in scriptwriting	98
<i>Writer as wife</i>	98
<i>Female scriptwriters</i>	100
<i>A critique of the yoyū system</i>	104
 CHAPTER FOUR LOOKING FOR LITERATURE	 107
Semi-independence of the scenario	108
<i>The Scenario Literature Movement</i>	109
<i>Analogies in drama and music</i>	111
<i>Independence and intermediality</i>	113
Critics and writers	116
<i>Critic as catalyst</i>	116

<i>Professional divide</i>	118
<i>New talents</i>	121
Scenario as alternative to film	123
<i>Original scenario and bungei eiga</i>	124
<i>Anti-commercialisation of cinema</i>	126
<i>Scenario as archive</i>	127
<i>Focusing on the reader</i>	130
 CHAPTER FIVE READING SCENARIOS	133
Scenario publishing and canon	133
<i>Standard and contesting formats</i>	134
<i>Journalistic resources and anthologies</i>	136
<i>Static and dynamic canon</i>	140
<i>Strategies of scenario publishing</i>	144
Scenario and its readers	146
<i>Between accuracy and evocativeness</i>	147
<i>From reader to writer</i>	148
<i>Examples of readers</i>	150
Itami Mansaku's scenario reviews	152
<i>Reviews and their context</i>	153
<i>Examples of reviews</i>	155
<i>Itami's achievement and influence</i>	158
 CONCLUSION	161
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	166
 SUMMARY	179

INTRODUCTION

Satō Tadao, the foremost Japanese film critic, recalls how during his school days in the immediate postwar years, in order to appease his hunger for cinema, he sometimes escaped provincial Niigata and went up to the capital hunting for scenarios.

In order to read scenarios, 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. Then I walked around the whole Sunday in used book stores in the Kanda area and looked for journals and books that would contain old scenario masterpieces. Old journals and the like were cheap so I could buy a lot. Owing to this, I had no other hobbies but did not mind in the least. After stuffing the journals that I had accumulated 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).

Aside from the particular train trip, what Satō is describing was no doubt a common practice for many young people of his generation with deep interest in cinema. He adds that after reading the scenarios of celebrated prewar films no longer available for watching, he was usually convinced of their historical importance (Satō 1975: 289). Above all, this account

attests to the role published scenarios played for such self-educated postwar film buffs as Satō.

Scenarios first began to appear in various periodicals in the mid-1920s, serving as a main source of learning for aspiring scriptwriters. Although by then, first manuals in Japanese already existed, the method of “observe and learn” was regarded as the most effective one for immersing oneself in the art of writing film scripts. This was a mostly utilitarian approach but by the mid-1930s, coinciding with the advent of sound cinema, calls to read scenarios as autonomous literary texts began to be heard. The publishing reached its peak in the 1950s by the appearance of scenarios in major film journals such as *Kinema junpō* (Motion Picture Times) and numerous book series. This interest by the general film audience was accompanied by a number of critical accounts on individual scriptwriters and attempts at writing film history from a viewpoint of scriptwriting. The amount and scope of materials available alone suggests the interest this mode of reading elicited. Curiously, the viability of published scenarios seems to have run parallel to the health of the Japanese film industry which faced the start of a stark decline by the mid-1960s.

We will now go back in time, some years prior from the milieu Satō is describing, with the country still at war. On a different train bound for Himeji in western Japan, a salaryman called Hashimoto Shinobu was making use of the spare time it took him to commute to work. The carriage was full so he did it while standing in the aisle, dedicating these 40 minutes or so to his new hobby, writing scenarios. Hashimoto had originally developed an interest in scriptwriting while recuperating at a military hospital. Enlisted for service in 1938 but discharged after the discovery of tuberculosis, he spent four years in Okayama Disabled Veterans’ Rehabilitation Facility. Expecting to die soon, he had brought nothing to read and must have seemed bored to his fellow patients. In his memoir, *Fukugan no eizō* (Compound Cinematics, 2006) which appeared in English translation this spring, Hashimoto recollects the following 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.

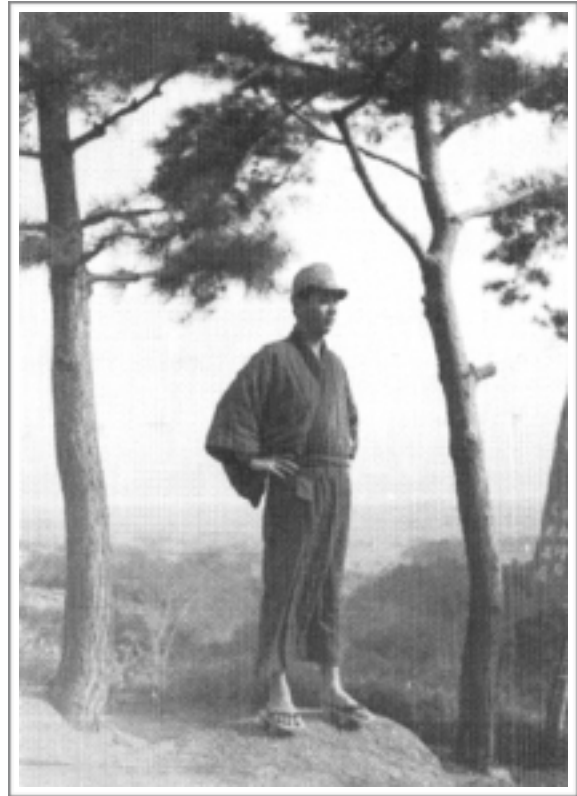
“I feel like even I could write something of this level.”

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).



A photograph of Hashimoto Shinobu during his time at Okayama Disabled Veterans' Rehabilitation Facility

It turned out to be not such an easy feat after all. In fact, it took three years for Hashimoto to complete his first script, and when he finally sent it to Itami in 1942 he was not hoping for a reply from the venerable scriptwriter. Against his expectations, he soon received a letter.

Hashimoto recalls that Itami “pinpointed weaknesses in [his] work and even offered specific guidance for what and how to revise” (Hashimoto 2015: 18). The correspondence between Hashimoto and Itami continued through the war years until the latter’s death in 1946. Possibly thanks to this accidentally discovered enthusiasm for writing, Hashimoto made a full recovery from tuberculosis and at 97 this year is one of the last surviving players from what is commonly called the Golden Age of Japanese cinema.

When Hashimoto eventually debuted with *Rashōmon* (1950, directed and co-written by Kurosawa Akira) it coincided with the period when scriptwriters were well known and held in high regard by film critics and audiences alike. Although a number of notable writers had appeared earlier, it was the immediate postwar condition that granted the profession new visibility, with the best of them being designated as *shinario sakka* (scenario author). Such writers were noted for producing original scripts that often revealed willingness to engage with serious social issues but also an aptitude for reworking the more traditional material. Indeed, *Rashōmon*, Hashimoto’s adaptation of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke’s short stories set in the Middle Ages, garnered considerable international acclaim and proved to be a turning point for both its director and the entire Japanese cinema.

Japanese film history is not short of occasions where the agency of the scriptwriter in filmmaking has been brought into discussion. The contributions to the emerging *jidaigeki* (period film) genre in the 1920s by a few silent era writers such as Susukita Rokuhei and Yamagami Itarō are particularly well known, their reputation matching that of the directors and star actors they worked with. In addition, the extent of creative influence of the writers Yoda Yoshikata and Noda Kōgo upon the mature styles of Mizoguchi Kenji and Ozu Yasujiro, respectively, has been frequently debated.¹ So are the contributions of two female scriptwriters, Mizuki Yōko and Tanaka Sumie, in this case to the oeuvre of the fourth canonical director, Naruse Mikio. In effect, putting scriptwriting in focus allows to reconsider the notion of authorship in film. It also provides visibility for a number of writers, among

¹ Not coincidentally, it seems, are the watersheds in the careers of Mizoguchi and Ozu commonly located at the start of exclusive collaboration with these writers: two 1936 films, *Naniwa erejii* (Ōsaka Elegy) and *Gion kyōdai* (Sisters of Gion), for the former and *Banshun* (Late Spring, 1949) for the latter.

them several women in this field of cultural production that in Japan has traditionally been a very male-centered endeavour.

Back in the rehabilitation centre, Hashimoto's friend had been right about Itami being one of the best scriptwriters in Japan. But he was much more than that. Despite his relatively young age, Itami had already gone through an illustrious career as filmmaker. He had been a major film director in the 1930s, particularly noted for his revisionist takes on period drama. At the



A photograph taken of Itami Mansaku during his illness by friend and fellow scriptwriter Itō Daisuke

time that he was in correspondence with Hashimoto, Itami was similarly lying in a sickbed with tuberculosis and already less active in the film world. He did, however, have a regular column in the leading wartime film journal Hashimoto mentions, *Nippon eiga* (Japanese Cinema) between 1941 and 1942. There, Itami reviewed the latest scenarios, and much like in his letter to Hashimoto, pointed out their shortcomings and suggested revisions while drawing attention to the work of such yet-unknown scriptwriters as Kurosawa.

Only a few years earlier and still in his prime, Itami had been a proponent of a movement that sought to consider scenarios as semi-independent texts lying between the fields of literature and film.

I am one of those who believe that in the form of the scenario, there is a unique appeal [*omoshiromi*] that cannot be found in any other type of literature. ... While being primitive in form, its implied meaning [*ganchiku*] and suggestive power [*shisaryoku*] surpasses any literary craftsmanship (Itami 1937: 21-22).

This particular format of scenario developed in Japan through encounters with Hollywood practices and changes that were imposed on cinema at the advent of sound film. Itami was not alone in drawing such comparisons between scenarios and literature. Together with other critics, who all approached the topic from slightly different angles, this collective attempt to provide scenarios more visibility was called the Scenario Literature Movement. Proposing ways how scriptwriting could contribute to the development of cinema, it was at its most potent in the late 1930s.

These brief vignettes about Satō, Japan's most famous film critic, Hashimoto, most celebrated postwar scriptwriter, and Itami, a notable prewar director are connected not only by crowded trains and debilitating disease. These are the stories of three human beings whose lives and interest in cinema were deeply shaped by scenarios. And these are not isolated examples either: similar accounts keep surfacing in recollections by other filmmakers and critics, attesting to the prominent place scenarios and scriptwriting hold in Japanese film culture. Surely, anyone researching Japanese cinema must have witnessed this simply by browsing back issues of periodicals such as *Kinema junpō* or *Eiga hyōron* (Film Criticism), where scenarios often make up the final quarter of the volume. It is only surprising, then, that so far no serious attempt has been made to examine this phenomenon in a comprehensive manner.

This dissertation aims to provide a cultural history of scriptwriting and scenarios in Japan. It is the presence of scenarios and the heightened interest in them, a phenomenon which I have coined 'scenario culture', that stands at the centre of my research. I will conduct what is mostly a contextual survey, keeping the textual analysis of particular scenarios outside the limits of the present thesis. My sources include (but are not limited to) film histories and (auto)biographical accounts, memoirs and interviews, critical debates and various paratexts to published scenarios.² Above all, my research addresses the multiple ways that scriptwriting and scenarios have been relevant for both film history and reception as a semi-autonomous discourse within the larger field of Japanese cinema. Admittedly, I will have to move through what are mostly fragmentary accounts, hoping that by focusing on early sound cinema and the

² I will mostly refrain from touching upon scriptwriting manuals, a forbiddingly broad topic which deserves a separate study.

Golden Age of the 1950s I can present several moments where the whole discursive field stood out in real prominence.

Although possible approaches to this topic are largely uncharted in Japanese film studies I will be drawing upon some helpful pioneering efforts that have looked at corresponding phenomena in Hollywood. These include Steven Maras's *Screenwriting* (2009) and Steven Price's *The Screenplay* (2010) and *A History of the Screenplay* (2013). The spectrum of approaches in current screenwriting studies becomes apparent from these titles, with the former focusing on the discourses that surround the notion of *screenwriting* and the latter on the format of the *screenplay* and the implications it entails. Some earlier attempts have taken a different angle and have tried polemically to bring to the fore the role and contributions of individual screenwriters. These include Richard Corliss's *Talking Pictures* (1974) and David Kipen's *The Schreiber Theory* (2006). Both of these books are clearly motivated by a revisionist drive towards the auteur theory, trying to replace director with screenwriter as the source of the authoritative voice in cinema.

The scholarship examining Japanese cinema has travelled more than half a century since its early landmarks such as Tanaka Jun'ichirō's *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 the otherwise wide array of subsequent studies focused on a variety of aspects of the Japanese film culture. Arguably, this underrepresentation in scholarship mirrors the problematic position of scriptwriters and the script in the process of film production. It is the directors who are generally considered the parties responsible for a film's form and content, by default granted overwhelming visibility and focal position in scholarship.³ In turn, various anecdotes have the writer merely play second fiddle (or even more figuratively, taking on the role of the wife) to the director.

³ Symptomatically, the motto of *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* reads: "dedicated to that little band of men who have tried to make the Japanese film industry what every film industry should be: a directors' cinema" (Anderson and Richie 1982: 5).

At the same time, the practice of publishing scenarios for a wider audience seems to leave the aesthetic integrity of the text intact by crediting it to what is usually a single writer. As a result, this sizeable textual corpus enables us to consider the issue of authorship in cinema and the status of the scriptwriter in a more meaningful and reliable way. While looking at various accounts of scriptwriting offers an alternative way to examine authorship in Japanese film, the published scenario also provides new avenues for reappraising spectatorship as an alternative readership beyond its common site of going to see the film in a theatre. My research focuses on how the practice of publishing scenarios and reading them by practitioners and laymen alike has made it possible to address film history from the point of view of scriptwriting (both in its stylistic development and ties to the industry) and has prompted debates on the autonomous value of the film script as a literary text.

The present study will contribute to filling an important gap in the scholarship of Japanese film. At the same time, I hope to complement the emerging discipline of international studies of screenwriting. 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). The present dissertation is also an attempt to answer this challenge. On a more general level, I hope 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. More than a decade ago, Abé Mark Nornes pointed out what he perceived as the common neglect of textual sources in studying 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).

Such discourses have been extensively examined in a few remarkable works on the early history of Japanese cinema such as Joanne Bernardi’s *Writing in Light* (2001) and Aaron Gerow’s *Visions of Japanese Modernity* (2010) which continue to inform and inspire my own research. At the same time, it is all too apparent that both of these studies have opted to use

alternative sources partly due to the unavailability of visual material from their chosen period in what amounts to a quasi-archaeological approach.

Bernardi's *Writing in Light* remains by far the biggest contribution to English language scholarship on Japanese scriptwriting. This monograph could be seen as something of a curiosity, even in the Japanese context, where no separate study with such focus has emerged.⁴ In this important book, by uncovering a discourse in various early film journals from the 1910s, Bernardi argues that the emergence of the scenario was part of a larger set of innovations first proposed by critics involved in the so-called Pure Film Movement. This included abolishing *benshi* (silent film narrator) and replacing *oyama* (female impersonators) with real actresses, all things considered to hold back the development of Japanese cinema.

My research differs from this study by tackling a considerably wider array of issues that relate to scriptwriting and scenarios. Bernardi's interest in scriptwriting seems to exist to the extent that it contributed to the Pure Film Movement and as such necessarily remains limited to a relatively short period as well as attached to the teleological model looking for the moment when Japanese cinema became Japanese cinema as we know it. Predominantly concerned with the question of origins, Bernardi's study is also representative of what Price calls quixotic attempts at looking for firsts in screenwriting (Price 2013: 22). All in all, Bernardi provides much insight to how alternatives writing models were sought but it is less (if at all) concerned with the film script in its mature form which only emerged after a number of shifts in filmmaking by the late 1930s.⁵

⁴ Handful of books are dedicated to the work of individual writers, the main task of which is to reprint major 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, Suga Hidemi and Arai Kiyohiko's *Shōwa no geki: Eiga kyakuhonka Kasahara Kazuo* (The Theatre of Shōwa: Film Writer Kasahara Kazuo, 2002).

⁵ Towards the end of her study, Bernardi seems to fall back on the great man theory by extensively focusing on Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's brief involvement in film production. Ironically, Tanizaki contributed very little to the future format of the scenario (See Chapter Two for more). Certainly, an interest in Tanizaki is understandable due to a wealth of studies that take on his involvement in the medium and because his recognised status as literary author might seem as a way to readily legitimise research into texts with otherwise uneasy standing. Unfortunately, it is precisely this gesture that effectively undermines the status of scriptwriter by introducing a 'proper writer' who also wrote scripts: minor texts by a major author. Bernardi's account, then, is in danger of becoming more about trivia in literary studies than scriptwriting in film.

Besides the concern of providing more visibility to the textual sources of Japanese film, this thesis also aims to address the material aspects of cinema, in this case embodied by the published scenario. Focusing on this seemingly paratextual source allows us to consider the capacity of a verbal text to undermine or even replace the audio-visual product that is film. After all, what a published scenario does is to provide a full-length account of a film, pointing at the crucial difference in comparison with teasers, trailers, synopses and posters: paratexts that represent only a condensed version of the central text. I will argue that while initially part of film production, scenario in its published form became part of the whole film viewing experience, and as such part of the film culture. The published scenario suggests an alternative materiality to film reception which until quite recently was considered communal and ephemeral, and replaces it with something 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 the thesis is to draw attention to the verbal and material character of scriptwriting and scenarios. As we know, terminology is something closely linked to the focus of a particular discourse. It follows from here that uncritically employing the vocabulary of screenwriting studies based on Hollywood examples would necessarily lead to the misrepresentation of various aspects of Japanese scenario culture.

Both Maras and Price have put in considerable effort to historicise the term ‘screenplay’ which, although at the moment the commonest expression in English denoting the film script, is highly problematic because it points to a certain format which has emerged from particular industrial needs and practices in 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 appeal to both of these spheres. The use of ‘shinario’ rather brings the textual aspect of the script to the surface while refuting the ambiguity of ‘screenwriting’ that has prompted some scholars to ruminate whether it could

also include the act of filmmaking, writing on screen, so to speak. By the same token, I will use ‘scriptwriter’ rather than ‘screenwriter’.

The focus of the present thesis is on a written document, the scenario, that can be used for multiple purposes, only one of which is to use it to put images on screen. The Japanese word ‘shinario’ is remarkably inclusive, as it appears in the titles of scriptwriting manuals and collections of published scenarios alike.⁶ By extension, the scriptwriter is called ‘shinario raitā’ (scenario writer), or depending on status, ‘shinario sakka’ (scenario author). Although ‘scenario’ was widely used in English in the silent era together with other similar terms such as ‘photo play’, it is largely obsolete now, which enables us to use it exclusively for Japanese (published) screenplays and not as a synonym to its various versions with different (industrial) functions.

In this thesis, I will be looking at the phenomenon of Japanese scenario culture. This includes various attempts of writing a history of scriptwriting in Japan and putting 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.

CHAPTER ONE deals with how the histories of Japanese film have gone about presenting scriptwriting, at times providing it with considerable attention. For this, I analyse general histories by Tanaka Jun’ichirō and Satō Tadao as well as minor historiographical attempts. The only comprehensive history, Shindō Kaneto’s *Nihon shinarioshi* (History of Japanese Scenario, 1989), is discussed in detail.

CHAPTER TWO focuses on the textual format of Japanese scenario, pointing out early foreign influences and traces the development of master-scene script as its standard. I also

⁶ Other available terms often refer to the exact 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, a common nickname for the script, *hon*, and for scriptwriters, *hon’ya*, is derived from here. Another term, *kyakushoku*, can be translated as adaptation or adapted script. Finally, there are terms such as *daihon* (shooting script) and *konte* (continuity script).

look at the material hybridity suggested by the standardised use of the manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*) in scriptwriting which informs my speculations about an alternative model of modernity.

CHAPTER THREE is dedicated to the social and material conditions of screenwriting. I show how the perceived critical status and descriptions of working conditions have proffered a particular image of the writer and his/her work. I discuss the writing space as exemplified by the *jōyado* (regular inn) while problematising this by introducing gender issues in scriptwriting and contributions of female writers.

CHAPTER FOUR focuses on the *Shinario bungaku undō* (Scenario Literature Movement) which sought to consider scenarios as a new literary genre. I delineate a number of topics which emerged in course of the debate, including scenario's semi-autonomous status in the cultural field, its role in inviting new talent from outside the industry, as well as archival capacity for film preservation.

CHAPTER FIVE offers an outline of the field of scenario publishing and its readerships. I show how the serialisation of film scripts in various periodicals and their subsequent anthologising functioned as a site for canon formation. Looking at various types of readerships, I also examine its function as film criticism at the hands of Itami Mansaku.

In CONCLUSION, I will draw together from the five main topics discussed in the thesis the advantages of studying scriptwriting and scenarios and their possible applications to scholarship on Japanese and international film history and reader/spectatorship.

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

CHAPTER ONE

WRITING A HISTORY

Steven Price has suggested that the “screenplay is a kind of doppelgänger of the film, seemingly physically separate and yet operating as a second, parallel form that can never wholly be repressed” (Price 2010: 53). The main question I pose in this chapter is whether scriptwriting, too, can act as such alternative focal position from which to organise film history. Richard Corliss (1974) has shown that the corpus of classical Hollywood films can be rearranged according to scriptwriters rather than genres or directors. I will examine various historiographical sources which have in their way attempted to do the same with Japanese cinema.

FILM HISTORIES AND SCRIPTWRITING

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 1985: 10). Indeed, histories of cinema generally move from one peak to another without paying much attention to the standard practices of ‘the genius of the system’ that in fact supports the few elevated to distinction. By way of analogy, scriptwriting as a whole, even if universally regarded as the backbone or blueprint of filmmaking, seems to fall into this kind of obscurity in the shadow of more familiar narrative ‘props’ such as genres, directors and actors, all regarded more

suitable for effectively telling the story of film. In effect, histories of scriptwriting rarely get written. Nor is the topic displayed in any notable extent in most general film histories which tend to mention scriptwriting only when it has been considered an inextricable part in a particular developmental phase in cinema. Perhaps it has seemed disproportionate to focus extensively on this aspect of filmmaking but one still wonders why among the vast amount of publications on all conceivable aspects of cinema a comprehensive history of scriptwriting has not yet materialised.

Exclusion from histories

There are a number of explanations for this neglect of scriptwriting. First, a common perception among filmmakers seems to be that the process of scriptwriting, while being crucial to the early stages of producing a film, loses its relevance once the words on paper have become images on film. Steven Price has pointed 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 script is taken for little more than a planning document that can, and should be disposed of once it has carried out its specific function.

Further, unlike film that has an undeniable completeness to it — a definitive version that emerges from the editing room and onto the screen for audiences to see⁷ — 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 these kind of texts. Is it a story outline, any one of the writer's (writers') drafts, or the final version that is handed to the director? Or the shooting script, already complete with suggested alterations? A continuity script with all cinematographical details added? Or a transcript of the film, accommodating all changes made during editing? Steven Maras has described 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

⁷ Alternative director's cuts somewhat undermine this notion.

that film scripts have commonly been hard to come by at least in the United States, hidden away by the studios who own the copyright and are almost never published (Price 2010: 94-95).

While a mix of deep-rooted ideological and practical assumptions may have kept scriptwriting out of focus for most film historians, the particular position occupied by the scriptwriting manual has in part certainly contributed to holding back historical studies. Written often in a highly accessible style, the manual in general represents a ‘theoretical’ inquiry into the structure and functions of the film script and its application. This is almost always accompanied by the more pragmatic concerns about how to churn out sustainable scripts that one could eventually cash in on. Underlining this goal is the title of Frances Marion’s influential *How to Write and Sell Film Stories* (1937). The position of the manual has strengthened in the course of the last few decades, with the emergence of screenwriting gurus such as Syd Field and Robert McKee whose work since the late 1970s has focused on advocating a dominant type of Hollywood narrative with its reliance on the Aristotelian three-act structure, development of character arc, embarking on a mythical journey, etc (Price 2013: 204-207).⁸

For the purposes of writing history it is important to note that the scriptwriting handbooks usually completely omit historical aspects in order to present scriptwriting as a timeless craft. Removing the temporal factor is hardly surprising as one of the manuals’ central concerns is to establish clear universal rules that have to be adhered to in order to build a functioning piece of work. In effect, any hint at the possibility that a different set of rules might exist, or might have existed, would greatly disrupt such a project. The main concern of the manual remains establishing a chosen theme through certain structures and how to produce a script that could be successfully sold by accommodating the expectations of the film industry. As a result, the manuals all but erase the history of scriptwriting by their attempt to provide an international template for writing for film, dehistoricising the whole topic on their way.

⁸ Notable works that sustain this understanding of scriptwriting include Syd Field *Screenplay: The Foundations of Screenwriting* (1979), Robert McKee *Story: Substance, Style, and the Principles of Screenwriting* (1998) and Christian Vogler *The Writer’s Journey: Mythic Structure for Storytellers and Screenwriters* (1998).

In Japan, in addition to a wealth of translations of foreign writing manuals⁹, similar examples of universalist approach include Noda Kōgo's *Shinario kōzōron* (On the Structure of Scenario, 1952), Kobayashi Masaru's *Shinario daiikkō* (The First Steps in Scenario, 1956), Shindō Kaneto's *Shinario no kōzō* (The Structure of Scenario, 1959) and Yasumi Toshio's *Shinario kyōshitsu* (Scenario Class, 1964). The latter draws extensively from Soviet theorists while the others remain less explicit about their particular influences. Kaeriyama's *Katsudō shashingeki no sōsaku to satsueihō* (The Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama, 1917), the first such manual of in Japan, heavily drew from readings of certain American sources (Bernardi, 2001: 77).

However, there are rare examples that sought to bridge the gap between serving as manual and providing historical perspective to scriptwriting practices. A notable example is Okada Susumu's *Shinario sekkei* (Design of the Scenario, 1963) which besides a thorough theoretisation of the structure of the film script provides a model for distinguishing between different historical styles of Japanese scriptwriting. I will further discuss Okada's work in Chapter Three. While scriptwriting manuals remain outside the scope of this study, it may be worth noting that they function as a nemesis that continues to both influence and undermine historiographical texts.

Inclusion in histories

In contrast, there are a few accounts that go beyond the universalist approach towards scriptwriting and in fact engage with it from a historical point of view. 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 for her account of the early Hollywood production mode. Somewhat ironically, these sections tend to come at the end of each chapter of the work, underlining scriptwriting's uneasy position at the margins of film studies. Nevertheless, Staiger shows how the development of scriptwriting is closely

⁹ These include Vsevolod Pudovkin *Eiga kantoku to eiga kyakuhonron* (On the Film Director and Film Script, 1930, trans. Sasaki Norio), Frances Marion *Shinario kōwa* (How to Write and Sell Film Stories, 1938, trans. Sasaki Norio), Sergei Eisenstein et al. *Eiga shinario ron* (On Film Scenarios, 1957, trans. Kinoshita Setsu), John Howard Lawson *Gekisaku to shinario sakuhō* (Theory and Technique of Playwriting and Screenwriting, 1958, trans. Iwasaki Akira et al.) and many others.

intertwined with film history, arguing that shifts in modes of industrial production necessitated changes in script format.

According to Staiger, during the lone cameraman era (1896-1907) a script was as yet unnecessary as a document of communication; it was only when the function of the director was introduced (1907-1909) that something akin to a script emerged, albeit in a rudimentary form (outline script). The ‘director-unit system’ (1909-1914) gave birth to ‘the scenario’ which was the first type of script to take a clearly narrative form. Then, during the ‘central producer system’ (1914-1920s), out of many experiments emerged the continuity script, what has been described as the most accurate and detailed format of scriptwriting ever to emerge (Price 2013: 6-7). Complex and detailed in description of not only the plot and movement of actors but also camera angles and all other imaginable elements of cinematography, it indeed worked as a blueprint in an era when assessing exact production costs became crucial. Steven Price has described the continuity script as “an industrial version of screenwriting” (Price 2013: 98). Finally, coinciding with the advent of sound and the ‘producer-unit system’, came the master-scene ‘screenplay’, the most recognisable format of script that with minimal modifications remains in place today (Ibid.: 7).

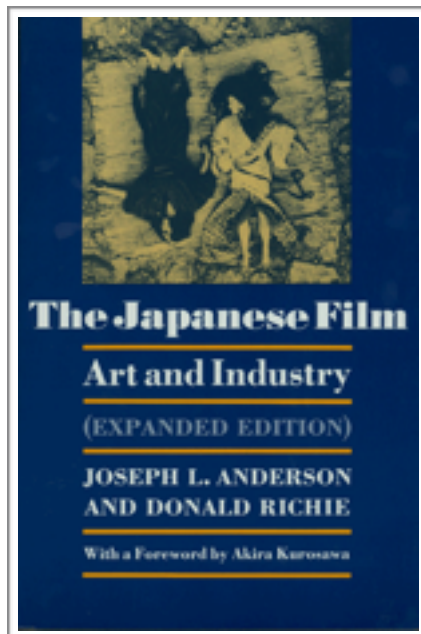
In the part of their studies that engage with history, both Maras and Price draw heavily from Staiger; the latter notes that “all subsequent studies of screenplay history need to take account of Staiger’s work as a starting point” (Price 2013: 6). Indeed, the general framework of Price’s detailed study of the screenplay neatly follows Staiger’s example in delineating how the development of a textual format has been necessitated by particular technological and industrial demands. A question that becomes relevant here is to what extent can this template be appropriated to studying the history of Japanese scriptwriting?

Staiger’s taxonomy of production modes and script functions can to a certain extent be applied to the Japanese practice. Arguably, a term corresponding to the outline script would be *oboegaki* (memorandum), pointed out by several sources as the first appearance of a text specifically prepared for shooting a film (Iida 1954a: 3). The more common practice in 1910s Japan, made famous by the director Makino Shōzō (often credited as the father of Japanese

cinema), was *kuchidate* which consisted of simply shouting out directions to the actors before letting the camera roll (Bernardi 2001: 72). If we put aside such rudimentary examples, the crucial distinction to be made in Japanese scriptwriting is between two conceptually different types: first, the continuity script largely used for silent film that took the shot as its organising principle and second, the master-scene screenplay that, as is apparent from its name, has the scene as the main structuring unit. I will elaborate on this further in Chapter Two.

Scriptwriting in Japanese film histories

Scriptwriting is not dealt with in most film histories; this is also the case with English language scholarship on Japanese film. Its start is commonly dated to 1959 with the



Cover of Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie's *The Japanese Film*

publication of Anderson and Richie's *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* which, despite its age and obvious shortcomings is still considered an authoritative work.¹⁰ As is apparent from its subtitle, *The Japanese Film* remains attentive to the industrial process behind filmmaking which makes the failure to address the role of scriptwriting all the more baffling. As we saw, Staiger included sufficient accounts on scriptwriting as an integral part of successive developments in Hollywood production mode. In Anderson and Richie, although a great deal of attention is paid to everything from studio mergers to actor profiles, Noda Kōgo and Susukita Rokuhei are the only two writers mentioned in the main body of the book, while the function

¹⁰ Eric Cazdyn evaluates Anderson and Richie (1982) as “a work that is not only well researched and inclusive, but also one that is impulsively quick to criticize any political project, a work that is routinely — and at times fiercely — anticommunist in a way that discloses uninterrogated political reflexes more than it does responsible thinking through of the relation between aesthetics and politics” (Cazdyn 2002: 70-71).

and role of scriptwriting goes unassessed.¹¹ However, among the chapters named after technical film terminology (eg. “Wipe”, “Long-Shot” etc.), it is the section on the censorship and propaganda-plagued war years that is titled “Shooting Script” (Anderson and Richie 1982: 126-147). By way of metaphor, this choice may reveal the anxiety the topic of scriptwriting entails, ending up marked as something incongruous and shameful. Anderson and Richie’s work, however groundbreaking in its other aspects, at the same time seems to be symptomatic in its neglect of the place of scriptwriting in Japanese film.

Eric Cazdyn (2002) has made a major contribution to scholarship by putting a number of histories of Japanese film into perspective and providing something of a typology. He introduces six histories produced between 1931 and 1995, aligning these against each other based on their ideological underpinnings and against the particular socio-political background behind the production of each work. He also makes a distinction between teleological and chronological types of histories. The latter, to which Cazdyn has placed both Anderson and Richie, and Tanaka Jun’ichirō’s *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* (History of the Development of Japanese Film, 1957, updated 1968 and 1976) is characterised by a forward-moving timeline, inclusivity, the use of larger history as ballast, being bottom-heavy in contrast to the top-heavy teleological history and unconsciously diachronic by grouping “products together by their stylistic or generic similarities” (Cazdyn 2002: 68). Cazdyn argues that the third major history, Satō Tadao’s *Nihon eigashi* (Japanese Film History, 1995, revised 2006-7), also adheres to this model while also spreading out horizontally, exceeding the borders of a national film history by including the foreign reception of Japanese film (Ibid.: 85).¹² I will discuss both Tanaka and Satō later in this chapter.

¹¹ Susukita, misspelled Susukida (and once again in the appendix as Kokuhei Susukita), is noted as responsible “for the style and structure of present-day period drama” (Anderson and Richie 1982.: 59). Noda Kōgo appears twice: as the origin of a quote on the workload of Shōchiku scriptwriters (Ibid.: 53-54) and as a man “who has done many of [Ozu’s] scripts” (Ibid.: 362). A few relatively obscure names of writers are thrown in for the charts section (Ibid.: 495-500). However, the bibliography at the end of the book has a section titled “Script Anthologies” which lists four collections of scenarios (Ibid.: 485). This attests to the fact that even Anderson and Richie could not completely ignore such a sizeable textual corpus.

¹² While it provides some useful models to work with, it should be pointed out that Cazdyn’s opus is plagued with dozens and dozens of errors in details such as transcription of Japanese names and dates which cannot but undermine his otherwise thought-provoking effort.

What both teleological and chronological histories have in common is the way they are embedded in the notion of development which remains instrumental in organising the narrative of the (hi)story. For instance, Staiger describes the development of scriptwriting from an industrial point of view, seen as tied to certain practices in production; shifts in these will bring about stylistic changes in the format of the script. However, Price notes that the influential model introduced by Staiger becomes less effective when looking at scriptwriting beyond the emergence of the master-scene screenplay (Price 2013: 8). Could it then be argued, then, that scriptwriting as such ceased to be part of cinema's development once its exact role and boundaries were fixed? Could this be one of the reasons behind the scarcity of historical accounts of scriptwriting? Could it be that to certain extent scriptwriting is resistant to historiography? Of course, these question cannot be easily answered. The least that can be done while examining histories of Japanese scriptwriting is to keep this possibility in mind and to see to what extent these texts subscribe to the developmental model.

Joanne Bernardi (2001) has shown that Japanese scriptwriting can indeed be approached from a teleological point of view. In her understanding, it served as part of the discursive constellation called the Pure Film Movement which arguably helped bring about change in Japanese film production methods. But once again, when this goal had been attained, scriptwriting seems to have lost its former role and this is also where Bernardi's account leaves off without addressing developments in film script beyond the early 1920s. In a way, Bernardi's study can be placed to the long list of scholars who have sought to trace certain 'firsts' in film history, which in this case happens to be scriptwriting. As we shall soon see, this parallels the way some histories such as Tanaka's *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* treat the topic by shifting its focus to other aspects of cinema once the script's industrial function is consolidated.

Contribution to film history

Why would a historical account of scriptwriting be relevant for film studies in general and the history of Japanese cinema in particular? As we shall see, even general histories recognise the crucial role of the script at certain turning points for cinema, for instance the Pure Film Movement and the adoption of sound. However, this is where they usually halt, with no

discernible effort made towards addressing the development of the script over a longer period let alone the whole span of Japanese cinema. The same goes for the contribution of scriptwriters from either a chronological or thematic point of view. While studies centered on the industry, genres, directors and actors have long dominated scholarship, these approaches come with certain omissions.

Arguably, general film histories make too much of individual contributions to filmmaking, for whatever reason deliberately downplaying the ‘genius of the system’. Why then have the scriptwriters been omitted? Scholars such as Corliss have seen this gap as a struggle between the director and the writer about the authority over the text. Could it be that by introducing a new agent in film-making any previous and settled claims about a single authorial voice would suddenly be thrown into confusion? This seems to be less of a danger in cases when the director is strongly committed to scriptwriting and actively participates in the process. Consequently, the consensus that Kurosawa Akira, Ozu Yasujiro and Mizoguchi Kenji are the main determinants behind their works still remains adequate even if the issue of scriptwriting were to be introduced. In contrast, focus on writers all but refutes claims about the auteurship of postwar Naruse Mikio.

At the same time, there are possible pitfalls to endeavours such as rewriting film history from the point of view of scriptwriting. Cazdyn has warned that

[i]nstead of undermining the dominant history, including the hitherto underrepresented material may serve only to reinforce the dominant history’s authority ... the assumptions of writing and organizing history are usually left unchanged and are legitimized ... Failing to inquire into the methods of writing history and the social situation out of which the underrepresentation of certain content emerged in the first place risks merely filling in the absences in the existing dominant histories and participating in the self-marginalization of its own content (Cazdyn 2002: 86-87).

Is there, then, a meaningful way to discuss scriptwriting without demanding its inclusion in general histories yet falling prey to the same historiographical methods? In order to address this issue, I will pay attention to the agencies of particular writers-historians, what they had at stake personally and how the story of cinema, individual and the nation are often brought together in their accounts of Japanese scriptwriting.

My aim is to focus not on the history of Japanese scriptwriting itself but on how it has been presented in different histories. Most such histories are fragmentary and scattered between different sources, making it a painstaking task to draw together a bigger picture. The only single work to make a contribution to addressing this issue is Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* (History of Japanese Scenario, 1989, first published 1985-88). I will discuss this and earlier attempts of looking at scriptwriting from a historical point of view, as well as how and to what extent the topic has been treated in the two most prominent general film histories by Tanaka and Satō.

HISTORY IN FRAGMENTS

The first attempts to provide a systematic account of the history of scriptwriting from the silent era to the present day can be seen in *Shinario tokuhon* (Scenario Reader), published as a special edition of *Kinema junpō* in 1959. Opening with introductory remarks about the importance of the scenario by none other than Kido Shirō, the legendary head of Shōchiku Studios, the volume includes both practical and theoretical essays on scenarios and scriptwriting. Falling into the latter category is the two-part “Shinario hattatsushishō” (A Sketch for a History of the Development of Scenario) by Iida Shinbi and Kobayashi Masaru. The collection also contains an essay by Shiga Nobuo, “Shinario riron no rekishi” (The History of Theories on Scenario).



Cover of *Shinario tokuhon*

Shiga points out that a serious study from the point of view of the scenario is yet to emerge. This seems curious given that, as he argues, cinema is not merely a visual medium but has dramatic subject matter, sustained by the script, the poor quality of which is always the biggest reason for any film ending up being boring (*tsumaranai*). Shiga also notes that besides essays by scriptwriters and critics, the more theoretically inclined approaches to scriptwriting have almost invariably focused on how to write a script (*sakuhō*) or providing a commentary (*kaisetsu*) to existing texts (Shiga 1959: 82). Unable to locate a solid grounding in Japanese texts, Shiga looks at foreign examples, summarising stances by various early film theorists such as Ricciotto Canudo, Louis Delluc and Sergei Eisenstein, concluding that there seems to be no unified understanding about what a film script actually is (Ibid.: 83-85). Shiga's essay is too short and schematic to break much ground but it has the benefit of outlining issues in studying scriptwriting that seem as pressing now as they did in 1959.

Iida and Kobayashi

The two parts of “Shinario hattatsushishō”, by Iida and Kobayashi respectively, are divided between dealing with prewar and postwar but at times overlap and mention the same texts and developments.¹³ Unified under the same title, the differences in the structuring principles and stresses of the two efforts are worth examining.



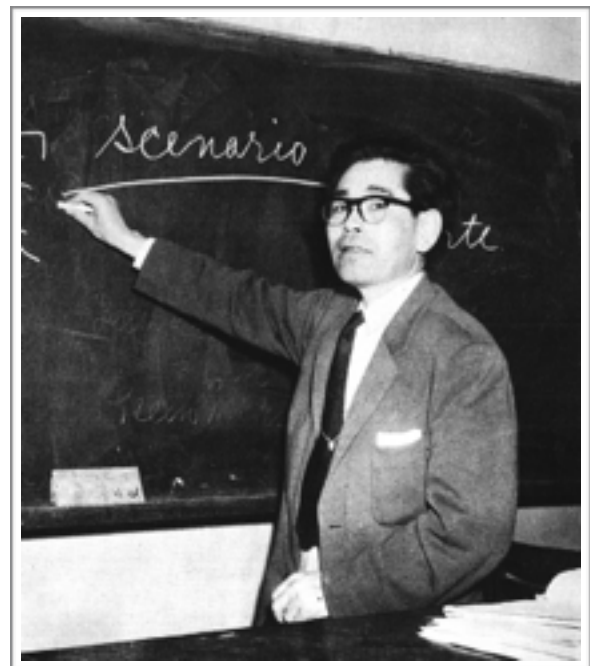
Iida Shinbi

Iida Shinbi (1900-1984), a prominent film critic, was a regular collaborator to *Kinema junpō*, the quintessential Japanese film journal, since 1927 and wrote extensively on scenarios and scriptwriting. On the side, he was active as a documentary filmmaker. Iida structures his essay by following a certain evolutionary logic and vocabulary: the birth (*tanjō*) of the scenario, the establishment (*kakuritsu*) of the format, the completion (*kansei*) of the silent scenario, the maturation (*seijuku*) of the form and content, the transition (*ikō*) to talkie and the perfection (*kansei*) of dialogue (Iida 1959: 14-19). In order to

¹³ An early version of Iida's text appeared in Wada Norie (ed.). *Gendai eiga kōza*. Vol. 3: *Shinario-hen*. (1954), 3-10.

underline the development in the format of the script, Iida inserts extensive quotations from seminal silent films such as *Sei no kagayaki* (The Glory of Life, 1919, Mizusawa Takehiko [pen name of Kaeriyama Norimasa]), *Kyōya erimise* (Kyōya Collar Shop, 1922, Tanaka Eizō) and *Rōningai* (Samurai Town, 1928-29, Yamagami Itarō). Iida's account stops around the time of the complete adoption of sound film in the mid-1930s, and closes by introducing excerpts from Yoda Yoshikata's early scenarios written for Mizoguchi Kenji, *Gion kyōdai* (Sisters of Gion) and *Naniwa erejii* (Ōsaka Elegy, both 1936) as well as that of Ozu Yasujirō's first talkie, *Hitori musuko* (The Only Son, 1936, Ikeda Tadao and Arata Masao) (Ibid.: 18-21). With its teleological structure and lengthy text examples, development of the format is clearly the focus of Iida's historiographical sketch.

The second part of “Shinario hattatsushishō”, is authored by Kobayashi Masaru (1902-1982). After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, Kobayashi entered the P. C. L. Studios (a precursor of Tōhō) where he found acclaim for writing a string of scripts for films directed by Yamamoto Kajirō, notably adaptations of Natsume Sōseki's novels *Botchan* (Young Master, 1935) and *Wagahai wa neko de aru* (I Am a Cat, 1936). Kobayashi is often credited for helping Yamamoto go beyond his earlier mode of slapstick comedies starring Enoken to treat more serious subject-matter and eventually become one of the most acclaimed wartime directors and a mentor to a young Kurosawa. Later, Kobayashi focused on other roles in the film world, which included membership in Eiga Rinri Kanri Iinkai (Eirin: Film Classification and Rating Committee) from 1950 to 1970. At the time of writing his history, Kobayashi was also very active in teaching scriptwriting, at Waseda University among other places: *Shinario tokuhon* even displays a photo of him standing in front of a blackboard. In addition, he was as a major contributor to scenario anthologies such as



Kobayashi Masaru

Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū (Complete Classical Scenarios of Japanese Film, 1965-66). Advocates of scriptwriting, both Iida and Kobayashi were members of the *Shinario kenkyū jūninkai* (The Club of Ten of Scenario Research), a group behind the late 1930s coterie magazine *Shinario kenkyū* (Scenario Research) which will be discussed in length in Chapter Four.

Kobayashi leads in with a discussion on the position of *shinario sakka* (scenario author) and the changes in the film industry's employment practices from that of the prewar *senzokusei* (exclusive contract system under which each writer worked for only one company) (Kobayashi 1959: 21). Compared to Iida, Kobayashi was more of an industry insider, a fact well reflected in this concern for the topic of labour relations. In contrast to Iida, his account is also completely devoid of quotations from scenarios, and instead stresses the industrial and interpersonal aspects of the process of scriptwriting. In general, his take on history is structured less on evolutionary terms than by a hybrid model underlined by inserting historical incidents such as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident to serve as a marker of the tightening grip of state control on the film world. Kobayashi goes to lengths to stress the ideologically restricted background of wartime filmmaking, alluding to an incident in 1938 when the scriptwriters' representatives from each studio were summoned by the Minister of Internal Affairs. This in turn leads to an account on how the film industry increasingly collaborated with the military regime, Kobayashi pointing out that Shōchiku alone was long able to avoid this trend by exclusively targeting female audiences (Ibid.: 24-25). All in all, Kobayashi's account is much more related to contemporaneous events, while Iida presents the film world as relatively isolated from currents in society.

Kobayashi makes considerable efforts to let scriptwriting seem a focal point in film history, mapping a number of important films according to scriptwriters rather than directors. For instance, he points out the individual contributions writers such as Yagi Yasutarō and Yatta Naoyuki made to late-1930s *bungei eiga* (films based on literary works) (Kobayashi 1959: 23). Another example is from the immediate postwar confusion.

The change reached the organisation of the studios. With the exclusive contract system [*senzokusei*] gone, everything became contractual [*keiyakusei*]. Unions were formed. The conflicts of labour and management began. Strikes broke out. There was no such phenomenon before the war. There was shortage of staff and materials, facilities had not been repaired but amidst the burnt ground films were to be made. Most people had not yet woken from their stupor. In such times, it is the scenario that takes the lead. This is because the scenario is what decides the ideas [*shisōmen*] behind a film. The year 1945 ended with musicals and trivial entertainment but already in 1946 scenarios with a backbone emerged (Kobayashi 1959: 26).

Kobayashi then singles out scenarios of films such as *Ōsone-ke no ashita* (Morning for the Ōsone Family, Itabashi Eijirō), *Machibōke no onna* (A Woman Kept Waiting, Shindō Kaneto), *Aru yo no tonosama* (Lord for a Night, Oguni Hideo) and *Waga seishun ni kui nashi* (No Regrets for Our Youth, Itabashi Eijirō).

This moment when scriptwriters rose to the occasion was best manifested by an unprecedented number of original scripts (as opposed to the ones adapted from other sources), a phenomenon arguably never repeated.¹⁴ According to Kobayashi, postwar scriptwriting was also characterised by contributions from four distinctive types of writers: novices (*shinjin*)¹⁵, women (*joryū*)¹⁶, those continuing with equal strength from the prewar¹⁷, and veteran writers who had emerged to the front-line after the war¹⁸. He provides his personal list of five best postwar Japanese scriptwriters as Shindō Kaneto, Kikushima Ryūzō, Mizuki Yōko, Kinoshita Keisuke and Yasumi Toshio (Kobayashi 1959.: 26-27).¹⁹ In addition, Kobayashi proposes that the postwar has brought new working practices to scriptwriting such as location hunting that

¹⁴ A call for more original scenarios was voiced by several film critics as early as the late 1930. See Chapter Four.

¹⁵ Shindō Kaneto, Uekusa Keinosuke, Ide Toshirō, Kikushima Ryūzō, Hashimoto Shinobu, Tanada Gorō, Funahashi Kazuo, Matsuyama Zenzō, Susaki Katsuya et al.

¹⁶ Mizuki Yōko, Tanaka Sumie, Kusuda Yoshiko, Wada Natto et al.

¹⁷ Yagi Yasutarō, Yoda Yoshikata, Oguni Hideo, Inomata Katsuhito, Ikeda Tadao, Yanai Takao, Saitō Ryōsuke et al.

¹⁸ Noda Kōgo and Yasumi Toshio.

¹⁹ See Chapter Three for the canon of scriptwriters.

he calls ‘writing with the feet’ (*ashi de kaku*). Perhaps characteristically for his time, Kobayashi signs off with expressing a dream of further international acclaim for Japanese cinema (which by then was already happening), suggesting that scriptwriting’s role in the recent success should not be overlooked (Ibid.: 27).

Ending on such a high note speaks volumes of the era *Shinario tokuhon* was published. At the height of the Golden Age, in 1959, the studio system was at its most prosperous, with Japanese films performing strongly in the box-office. Reportedly, over a billion tickets were sold that year with the domestic film production steadily amounting to over 500 films a year. Scriptwriters, too, were in many ways in the best position they would ever be, most of them employed by studios with generous monthly salaries but free to work elsewhere on a contractual basis. *Shinario tokuhon* is framed by Kido’s (who was famous among film executives for his untiring advocacy of the script) preface and the scenario of *Kagi* (Odd Obsession, 1959, dir. Ichikawa Kon) by Wada Natto, a film that had considerable international exposure, winning the Jury Prize at 1960 Cannes Film Festival. All in all, this is a volume very optimistic about the prospects of Japanese cinema at the moment when the industry, creativity and international market worked hand in hand as effectively as they ever would.

Tanaka and Satō

The title of the joint effort of Iida and Kobayashi, “*Shinario hattatsushishō*” (A Sketch for a



Cover of Tanaka Junichirō’s
Nihon eiga hattatsushi

History of the Development of Scenario), and the inclusion of the diminutive *shō* (extract) is hardly chosen by accident. This is an obvious allusion to a major work in historiography published only two years earlier, Tanaka Jun’ichirō’s *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* (History of the Development of Japanese Film). This groundbreaking work, initially in three (1957) and eventually in five volumes (1976), has arguably not been surpassed in scope and breadth, and is rivalled only by Satō Tadao’s *Nihon eigashi* (Japanese Film History, 1995). Tanaka (1902-1989), belonging to the same generation as Iida and

Kobayashi, was a formidable presence in the world of Japanese film criticism, not least for holding the position as the chief editor of *Kinema junpō* for many years. Much like *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* in the English-speaking world, Tanaka's history has been an overwhelming influence to subsequent Japanese film scholars.²⁰ To illustrate this, Cazdyn suggests that Satō waited long to publish his own history, both out of deference and anxiety, and did it only when Tanaka had passed away (Cazdyn 2002: 85).

Inasmuch as Tanaka influenced attempts of writing a history of scriptwriting, it is also important to examine to what extent he includes the topic in his own work. Leafing through the five volumes of *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* it seems to be all but absent. One of the few instances when Tanaka discusses the function of the script at length is innovations by Kaeriyama, one of which was 'importing' the scenario from Hollywood; he also quotes Kaeriyama about the value of the film being equally decided by the script and shooting (Tanaka 1976 vol. i: 282-284). Elsewhere, Tanaka mentions how young writers learned their skills from Bluebird films (Ibid.: 375)²¹ and the work of the scriptwriter Susukita Rokuhei (Ibid.: 380-381). In the second volume of the book, an account of the operating of Shōchiku's *kyakuhonbu* (script department) under Kido employs a prominent position as the introduction to the chapter on sound film (Tanaka 1976b: 58). After this, Tanaka rarely returns to the topic of scriptwriting; this happens only in tiny insertions here and there, mostly in the studios' employees lists. It is characteristic of Tanaka's history, then, that scriptwriting is decidedly kept a prewar matter. An overall impression from Tanaka (and indeed most other general histories) is that the film script disappears at some point from the historian's radar: completed and perfected for good it ceases to be part of the development of cinema.

An oddity that permeates Tanaka's history is the way he consistently employs the term *kyakushoku* (adaptation) rather than *kyakuhon* (script) to refer to scriptwriting credits regardless of the script being an adaptation or not. While the reason for this usage is not

²⁰ As late as 1982, Yasumi Toshio in *Shinario enshutsu engi* (Scriptwriting, Directing, Acting) extensively quotes Tanaka for basic information that one supposes he could have well known or gathered otherwise, from what he had heard and learned during his prolific career in scriptwriting that started in the 1930s.

²¹ Melodramas produced between 1916 and 1919 by Bluebird Photoplays, a subsidiary of Universal Pictures, that were immensely popular in Japan.

explained by Tanaka himself, it is clearly not general practice and above all extremely confusing.²² Although Tanaka should be given credit for always carefully adding the names of the writers alongside directors and actors, there seems to be an underlying patronising element to this approach. One might wonder whether Tanaka did not regard scriptwriting highly enough to elevate it to the level of *hon* (book), but relegated it to *shoku* (colour), as if all scriptwriting merely consisted of adding some shades to the already complete idea/work. Together with only brief mentions of scriptwriters in his opus, Tanaka appears to display his disregard to the topic also on a terminological level.

In clear contrast to Tanaka, Satō in his four-volume *Nihon eigashi* (1995, updated in 2006) gives much more space and importance to scriptwriting, and particularly to the contributions of a number of individual scriptwriters. Here, writing is no longer considered as a function ascribed to a nameless mass once the first few pioneers have set the standard. Remarkably, Satō allocates several independent subchapters dedicated solely to whom he refers as *shinario sakka* (scenario author).²³ In the overall structure of his history, these sections are part of larger sequences where they follow entries on studios and directors and precede those on actors. Like Tanaka, Satō underlines the importance of the script department at Shōchiku, quoting extensively from the recollections by one of its early employees, Oda Yū, and also provides passages from scripts by Kitamura Komatsu. What stands out from this account is the phrase ‘scenario system’ which suggest that the



Cover of Satō Tadao's
Nihon eigashi

²² In the early 1930s, *kyakushoku* was indeed a term that often denoted both original and adapted scripts but it looks completely out of place in the postwar context. In effect, Tanaka's choice to use the term makes this aspect of his history seem somewhat anachronistic.

²³ Writers discussed in length in these subchapters include Shindō Kaneto, Uekusa Keinosuke, Hisaita Eijirō, Yagi Yasutarō, Hashimoto Shinobu, Kikushima Ryūzō, Ide Toshirō, Mizuki Yōko, Tanaka Sumie, Yasumi Toshi, Noda Kōgo (Satō 2006 vol. ii.: 328-335), Shirasaka Yoshio, Ishidō Toshirō, Tamura Tsutomu, Ide Masato, Matsuyama Zenzō, Wada Natto, Narusawa Masashige, Abe Kōbō, Hasebe Keiji, Suzuki Naoyuki, Yamada Nobuo, Yamanouchi Hisashi, Terayama Shūji, Yoda Yoshikata (Shindō 2006 vol. iii: 86-91), Nakajima Takehiro, Kasahara Kazuo, Kuramoto Sō, Baba Ataru, Saji Susumu, Tanaka Yōzō, Ido Akio, Katsura Chiho, Matsuda Shōzō and Arai Haruhiko (Ibid.: 190-195).

studio head Kido had initiated something essentially different from the more common types of production built around stars, producers or directors (Satō 2006 vol. i: 211-225).



Page from a chapter on
scriptwriters from Satō Tadao's
Nihon eigashi

By creating separate entries on scriptwriters for each decade from 1930s through 1970s, Satō is in fact structuring film history around the contributions of writers. In comparison to usual film histories this certainly amounts to a radical gesture. Aiding this effort is the exclusive use of the term *shinario sakka*²⁴ to denote scriptwriters, which in turn is sustained by the recurring pointing out of themes and motifs that permeate (*ikken suru*) the work of these writers, emanating from what Satō calls *sakkateki shishitsu* (authorial capacity) (Satō 2006 vol. ii: 100, 331). At times, Satō even attempts to revise the long-held notion of the undivided authorship of directors, for instance suggesting that Ozu's late-career shift to depicting only middle to high class people — clearly at odds with most of his prewar work — could

plausibly be traced back to his collaboration with Noda Kōgo who preferred to stay clear of deeper and more disturbing social issues. Arguably, the disagreement over *Tōkyō boshoku* (Tokyo Twilight, 1957), the only film that stands out from Ozu's late work in its seriousness, almost broke up this writing team which continued uninterrupted from *Banshun* (Late Spring, 1949) to *Samma no aji* (An Autumn Afternoon, 1962) (Ibid.: 335).

Eric Cazdyn has noted how Satō's history departs from a simple chronological model by not only moving ahead vertically but also spreading out horizontally to exceed the borders of Japan and including various aspects of film culture hitherto unaddressed by studies of similar scope and aims (Cazdyn 2002: 85). Such inclusivity has a clear parallel in the extent to which Satō has included the topic of scriptwriting within his history and particularly the fact of discussing the work of several dozens of scriptwriters to provide an alternative model for looking at film authorship. While Satō's work has done much to bring attention to the topic,

²⁴ The implications of this term will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* arguably remains the only historiographical work that gives real gravitas to scriptwriting as part of Japanese cinema.

A COMPLETE HISTORY OF JAPANESE SCRIPTWRITING

At the end of his magisterial *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989), Shindō, in a moment of introspection, admits that he — perhaps against better judgement — has ended up writing a history of people (*jinbutsushi*) rather than texts (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 247). Apparently the attempt to provide an account both of scenarios and scriptwriting leads him to look for an agent — scriptwriter — to tie these notions together. His choice to focus on people is understandable given the obvious difficulties in trying to detach particular films/texts from their association with directors or genres. Shindō also remains decisively personal on another level, smuggling in his own relationship to Japanese film, which at times means dealing with the national (post)war trauma.

Framing history

So far the only comprehensive history of Japanese scriptwriting, *Nihon shinarioshi*, extends from early silent cinema to the 1980s when it was published. Shindō provides detailed accounts of the life and work of numerous scriptwriters, placing them into the context of several rises and declines in the film industry. He also keeps in mind the major historical events of 20th-century Japan, and owes a considerable debt to earlier histories. However, it is the way Shindō includes a number of frame stories that sets his history clearly apart from its more modest antedecents.

In the case of a bulky work of nearly 500 pages in two volumes, it is crucial to note how its structure is held together, and particularly how it begins and ends. Shindō



Cover of the first volume of Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi*

commences his history with the infamous Zigomar Incident in 1912 when the eponymous French film about a criminal mastermind was banned by the authorities allegedly due to a string of real-life crimes that followed certain patterns introduced in the film.²⁵ Aaron Gerow has shown how this incident prompted new laws which anchored the meaning of cinema to the films' verbal synopses which became the object of censorship (Gerow 2010: 52-65). Shindō, however, brings in this emblematic film for a completely different reason. He argues that while earlier, simpler stories might have been filmed without the help of a well-prepared script, the makers of *Zigomar* with its intricate plotline clearly must have had one at their disposal (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 3).

This claim allows Shindō to throw in a rhetorical question about whether Makino Shōzō, commonly regarded as the father of Japanese cinema and its first major director, saw *Zigomar* (there is no evidence to suggest one way or the other) and by association, fathomed the future of narrative cinema with the script as its central planning document (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 8). In other words, Shindō is asking when exactly did a proper script come to replace earlier practices exemplified by devices such as *oboegaki* (memorandum) and Makino's infamous *kuchidate*.²⁶ In effect, this is also a question about the process through which Makino eventually would reach his apocryphal comment on the most important elements in filmmaking. The commonest version of it goes: "Ichi suji, ni nuke, san yakusha" (First: plot, second: image, third: acting) (Ibid.: 64).²⁷

At the very end of the book, in contrast to his speculations on how and when exactly the screenings of foreign films might have incited Japanese filmmakers to first consider

²⁵ *Zigomar* (1911, dir. Victorin Jasset), first opened in Tokyo on 11 November 1911 and subsequently spawned a number of Japanese imitations such as *Nihon Jigoma* (Japanese Zigomar, 1912).

²⁶ While the first scriptwriting credits in Japan can be traced to 1908 (Shinario Sakka Kyōkai 1973: 813), Shindō has preferred to disregard this fact, apparently for the sake of a good story with a proper start and ending.

²⁷ Other accounts give "Ichi suji, ni nuke, san dōsaku" (Kishi 1973: 40). However, there are others that alter the exact order of the elements. For instance, Yamamoto Kajirō gives it as: "ichi nuke, ni suji, san yakusha" (Yamamoto 1956: 106). Bernardi discusses the genealogy of the phrase in detail, and concludes in favour of placing the plot first by referring to the first-hand recollections of the actor Takizawa Osamu (Bernardi 2001: 307).

introducing the script into film production, Shindō comes up with a decidedly Japan-centred utopia.

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

Let us make an experiment. Assume that one scenario 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.) What would this make in sixty years?

If we place the sheets on the railway tracks sideways, they would cover the distance between Aomori and Himeji. If we did it lengthwise, Aomori and Nagasaki. All sheets densely filled with characters (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 242-243).

In what amounts to an idiosyncratic cine-geographical fantasy, Shindō has the archipelago and its main railway line from the north of Honshū to the western shores of Kyūshū covered with the scenarios of all films ever produced in Japan.

Structuring principles

On the several hundred pages between these two framing images, Shindō makes a singular contribution to the historiography of scriptwriting, arguably on a global scale. Numerous passages quoted from the scripts, often preceded with detailed synopses, accompany a narrative that links major developments in scriptwriting since the silent era. Shindō carefully adds brief passages on the lives and selected works of all the writers he considers important, nearly a hundred in total. The overall structure of seven chapters reveals both the work's debt to earlier general film histories as well as the context in which it was first published.

Following Tanaka and Iida, Shindō uncritically employs evolutionary terminology in marking the successive phases of unfolding history. This preference in structuring can also be traced to the fact that *Nihon shinarioshi* initially appeared as installments in the eight-volume *Kōza Nihon eiga* (Lectures on Japanese Cinema, 1985-88), thus making Shindō dependent on the



Cover of the third volume of
Kōza nihon eiga

overall timeline and thematic stresses of this important multi-authored anthology. The role of Shindō's entries on scriptwriting in this collection curiously resembles that of Staiger's contribution to *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, also published around the same time.

Located between the last volume of Tanaka's *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* (1976) and the first edition of Satō's *Nihon eigashi* (1995), *Kōza Nihon eiga* more or less neatly subscribes to the dominant developmental model of Japanese film history present in these works. Likewise, Shindō has the film script pass through various changes in Japanese cinema: perfected during the silent cinema, then

replaced by the talkie, going through wartime and arriving at the Golden Age of the studio system, followed by decline and diversification. In the account of the earliest stages of scriptwriting, Shindō puts a particular stress to the contribution of Kaeriyama and other proponents of the Pure Film Movement such as Osanai Kaoru and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 12-42).

In Shindō's opinion, it was *jidaigeki* (period film) of the late 1920s and its revisionist trend in the 1930s that was crucial for the development of scriptwriting in general. This prompts him to discuss the work of Itō Daisuke (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 52-55, 71-75, 125-132), Susukita Rokuhei (Ibid.: 60-64), Yamagami Itarō (Ibid.: 64-71, 204-211), Itami Mansaku (Ibid.: 107-125), Yamanaka Sadao (Ibid.: 133-144) and Mimura Shintarō (Ibid.: 175-187) in separate entries. These are intercepted by accounts on the developments in writing for films dealing with contemporary matter (*gendaimono*), notably those produced at Shōchiku Studios (Ibid.: 93-104, 147-157). Placing the prewar *jidaigeki* in such a prominent place is characteristic of the first volume of *Nihon shinarioshi*, while the second, postwar volume seems less partial by focusing on a wider array of genres. This also means, however, that the contributions of individual writers are no longer discussed in vivid detail comparable to the ones above. As a result, the second volume is clearly built around film studios even when

focusing on the work of individual screenwriters, coming precariously close to becoming a studio history, at least to the extent of how Shindō has structured it.

Permeating *Nihon shinarioshi* is Shindō's effort to treat scriptwriters as individuals by providing biographical information and often tracing thematic elements in their work back to their familial, educational and working background. It seems a contradiction, then, that Shindō's accounts of individual writers should often be organised according to their industry affiliation. By doing this, Shindō indeed subscribes to the familiar model of structuring history around studios with only a handful of prewar scriptwriters presented purely on their own terms. Arguably, this might have been done out of necessity: in order to anchor his chapters of scenarios in the framework of *Kōza Nihon eiga*. The same tendency is underlined by starting each chapter with an outline of the current situation in studio filmmaking.

As the large part of Shindō's history engages with the period commonly considered as the flourishing of the studio system, this approach might seem well justified. However, in many ways, aligning scriptwriters with the studios where they were (first) employed can be misleading because since at least the early 1950s, it became a common practice that the more prolific scriptwriters (as was the case with certain directors and actors) contributed elsewhere beyond their main studio affiliation. In short, focus on the studios might be a convenient and easy-to-follow principle but is certainly at odds with Shindō's general attempt to make the particular contribution of scriptwriters more visible. However, one advantage of this approach is that it at least avoids structuring the work of scriptwriters around the director(s) they most often collaborated with, and by this eliminates the biggest anxiety for any study treating the status of scriptwriters in film production.

Looking at its structure, Shindō is writing parallel to general film history and filling in the gaps about scriptwriting as he proceeds, without any discernible attempt to break away from the model established by Tanaka. This influence is further underlined by Shindō placing corresponding trends in foreign cinema at the end of each chapter. Eric Cazdyn has argued that in Tanaka's case

the inclusion of this material is without doubt the principal controlling device of the work. Of course, foreign films have much to do with the development of Japanese film, so the inclusion of these works is not surprising. But the way in which these pages are left suspended at the end of each chapter, almost in note form, illustrates how chronological histories use *other* histories as a timeline, or as a ballast, without delving into what the relation between the histories might be (Cazdyn 2002: 69).

While I disagree with Cazdyn on whether this could be seen as *the* principal device of organising history, the repetition of this pattern in Japanese film histories temporally so apart from each other as Tanaka and Shindō attests to an anxiety that foreign cinema imposed in relation to the domestic product. The foreign films cannot be hidden from view but neither can they be discussed in length. However, Shindō goes a bit further than Tanaka by making brief remarks on the influence on Japanese cinema of works such as *La Roue* (1923, dir. Abel Gance) for its innovative cutting techniques and *Grand Hotel* (1932, dir. Edmund Goulding) for its overall dramatic structure.²⁸

Nevertheless, there are certain points where Shindō seems to depart from an evolutionary model of film history. For instance, towards the end of the book, he suggests that the Japanese scenario has remained essentially the same from the 1930s to the 1980s. In order to illustrate this point he makes a tongue-in-cheek comparison to show how an early sound script, *Mura no hanayome* (The Village Bride, 1928, Fushimi Akira, dir. Goshō Heinosuke) comes surprisingly close in its depiction of intimacy to one from a *roman porno* film, *Nureta kaikyō* (Wet Straits, 1980, Tanaka Yōzō, dir. Takeda Kazunari) (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 228-230). A pressing issue for an historian that follows from here is that the scenario does not seem to be undergoing much change over time, which would not make for a very compelling story. This might be another reason behind Shindō's choice to focus on writers rather than their texts and historical development of scenario's format. Much like Corliss (1974), Shindō seems to have realised that advocacy of scriptwriting works better when approached from the human aspect.

²⁸ Kobayashi, too, mentions *Grand Hotel* as a major influence on Japanese writers (Kobayashi 1959: 23-24).

Along with declaring that he is writing a history of scriptwriters rather than scenarios or scriptwriting, Shindō notes that having known most of the people he is writing about made it easier for him to see behind their particular motives, thematic and stylistic preoccupations. In contrast, he admits to having difficulties discussing foreign writers because he has never met them in person (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 144). By these remarks, Shindō is hinting at an intimate dimension that he brings to this history, also touching upon his own agency as a writer.

Time frames personalised

Among comparable histories of Japanese film, Shindō's comes somewhat close to Ōshima Nagisa's documentary *100 Years of Japanese Cinema* (1995) where the director conspicuously made sure to include most of his own films within the survey, up to the point of structuring the history around them. The comparison with Ōshima leads to the issue of examining film histories written by active participants in the industry. As we saw, both Iida and Kobayashi had been involved in film production earlier in their careers. One can speculate to what extent the roles of practitioner and critic can be merged. Despite being one of the most prolific Japanese scriptwriters of all time, Shindō appears surprisingly modest about including his own contribution in *Nihon shinarioshi*. He does, however, frequently insert personal recollections of the events he is discussing. In this capacity, Shindō's role could be better described as a witness than a historian.

In comparison to such prominent writers on cinema as Iida and Kobayashi, or even Tanaka and Satō, Shindō's position in the Japanese film world is quite unique. As an acclaimed scriptwriter, later as director and essayist, he has covered most imaginable roles in the field. Given that one of these was that of the president of the Japan Writers Guild, it seems suitable and even inevitable that it was Shindō who produced the most comprehensive history of Japanese scriptwriting. His book, then, is also a contribution towards the visibility of the status of scriptwriters, coming from the head of their professional union.

While remaining rather modest about his own contribution to Japanese scriptwriting, Shindō still organises his history by imposing time frames that seem to overlap conspicuously with that of his own life and involvement in the film industry. This personal dimension is

underlined more clearly in the book version, in contrast to the initial entries in *Kōza Nihon eiga*: each chapter begins with a photo of Shindō himself, corresponding to the period under scrutiny. By presenting an infant in a family photo to finally a middle-aged man staring into the lens of a camera, both



Photo of the Shindō family as it appears in the beginning of *Nihon shinarioshi*. Kaneto is in the front row, second from left

autobiographical and authorial (now a director not merely a writer) roles of Shindō are emphasised. In this

way, the history of people (*jinbutsushi*) also points at Shindō himself who at least implicitly equates the span of his life with that of Japanese cinema. After all, Shindō was born in 1912,



Shindō Kaneto on film set (from *Nihon shinarioshi*)

the year of the Zigomar incident which opens his history. A blurb on the cover of the book describing it as “*Nihon eiga no hajimete no jijoden*” (the first autobiography of/in Japanese film) makes this semi-auto-historiographical aspect even more explicit. At the same time, however, Shindō extends this very personal timeline to include national history.

At the beginning of the second volume of *Nihon shinarioshi* the biggest trauma of Shindō’s generation is introduced as an additional organising principle. For scriptwriters who came of age around this time, besides their upbringing and employment history, Shindō adds details about each writer’s experience during the Second World War. Indeed, a sharp sense of postwar (*sengo*) permeates the whole second volume of the book. Shindō even divides scriptwriters

into a series of waves of the postwar generation regardless of their initial industry affiliation.²⁹ Even the end of the first volume hints at the importance of war experience: a subchapter that stands stylistically apart from the rest of the work, contains the story of Yamagami Itarō, seminal silent era scriptwriter, who failed to carry on writing after the advent of sound, ironically turning into a full-blown nationalist during wartime, finally perishing somewhere in the Philippines (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 204-211).



Cover of the second volume of Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi*. The blurb says “the first autobiography of/in Japanese film”

Both the war and the postwar condition were something that had to be dealt with and along these lines, Shindō refers to scriptwriter Ide Masato who claimed that the postwar was something that could not start before the war experience was written about (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 48). Shindō's uses his own experience to begin the second volume in a rather lyrical mode: he returns to the Shōchiku studio at Ōfuna in October 1945 only to witness it overgrown with summer grasses. Shortly after that, he wrote his first scripts, notably *Machibōke no onna* (A Woman Kept Waiting, 1946, dir. Makino Masahiro), based on observations about the immediate postwar milieu (Ibid.: 3-4). This effectively started his long and celebrated writing and directing career which spanned to the beginning of this century. Shindō's forty-ninth, and last, feature, *Ichimai no hagaki* (A Postcard, 2011) took as its premise his own real-life experience of spending the last days of the war in cleaning duty while the rest of his unit was killed in combat.

Although *Nihon shinarioshi* still remains without a rival as a history of Japanese scriptwriting, it occupies an uneasy position between being a reference book (which it cannot be due to the uneven way the material is organised) and a truly engaging narrative (due to the general sketchiness and insertions, etc.). However, Shindō clearly surpasses the early fragmentary

²⁹ This breaking down to several postwar generations has a parallel in histories of Japanese literature.

efforts not only in scope but by connecting the history of scriptwriting to his own life story and on a larger scale to the history of the 20th century Japan.

As we saw in this chapter, there have been a number of attempts over the years at writing a history of Japanese cinema which puts scriptwriting in focus. I examined how the texts that make up this corpus have been structured around certain concerns ranging from cinema's evolution to national trauma. At the same time, it has become apparent that rather than focusing on the practice and function of scriptwriting which remain the domain of how-to-do-books, such histories tend to gravitate towards script formats and scriptwriters, both of which I will discuss in detail in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

FORGING A FORMAT

In his memoirs, Shindō recalls his first encounter with a film script at the film processing unit of Shinkō Kinema where he was first employed after entering the industry in 1935. Sheets from scripts, discarded after the completion of the print, were used as toilet paper in the lavatory (Shindō 1993: 49). This example underlines the uneasy material presence of the script while pointing at the reason why research into some of its earlier formats may be plagued by the lack of surviving sources.

In this chapter, I will look at how the standard of Japanese scriptwriting, the master-scene scenario³⁰, emerged from negotiating with various foreign influences in the 1920s and overcoming the talkie crisis of the early 1930s. I will also examine the more theoretical implications arising from the use of hand-written sheets of *genkō yōshi* as a standard for scriptwriters.

EARLY SCRIPT FORMS AND THEIR INFLUENCES

Kitagawa Fuyuhiko recalls the following incident from his high school days in Kyoto.

³⁰ See James Seymour cit. Price 2013: 143 for a definition of master-scene script.

When I was a student at Sankō [The Third High School] around the year 1920, one day I climbed the nearby Yoshida Hill where they were shooting a period film. The director was holding something that looked like scraps of paper but actually it was *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 story marked with red pencil (Kitagawa 1952: 4-5).

Kitagawa calls what he saw “the first bud of *shinario*”. He also asserts that such texts eventually developed into the shooting script (*daihon*), where the source (*gensaku*) and the script (*shinario*), indivisible in the marked-up literary journal, were finally separated (Kitagawa 1952: 5). While this makes for an irresistible image for the first film script, we should be careful in making such conclusions. In order to counter similar claims Steve Price has astutely noted that “[c]onsidering ready sources as scenarios is a logical error” (Price 2013: 26). In a way, this practice is much closer to Makino’s *kuchidate* which also did not involve a text specifically prepared to use when shooting the film. When looking at such early practices it is important to be clear about what can be called a script and what cannot. As I suggested in Chapter One, a far more suitable candidate for the first format of the Japanese film script is memorandum (*oboegaki*), a Japanese parallel to what Staiger calls the outline script, the earliest example of Hollywood scriptwriting.

Judging from the writing credits provided for films during the early silent era it can be concluded that some kind of scripts must have existed since at least the early 1910s.³¹ The earliest available credits tend to go to the planning department (*kikakubu*) but from around 1914 individual writers were consistently being credited for their writing (as *kyakuhon* or *kyakushoku*). However, the texts that all these credits refer to rarely survive. To illustrate the typical life span of a silent script, Itō Daisuke 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,

³¹ A good and generally reliable source for the purpose of locating writing credits is the appendix of the first volume of *Nihon shinario taikai* (Series of Japanese Scenarios, 1973).

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: 153-154).

Looking at this recollection by one of the most notable Japanese scriptwriters, it should come as no surprise that Shindō came across his first scripts in a toilet. It is curious, however, why this should have happened as late as the mid-1930s; this seems to attest to the long time it took for the script to gain a more respectable status.

Influenced by Hollywood

In 1920, when Kitagawa witnessed a film being shot with aid of a note-filled popular magazine, serious alternatives to this practice were beginning to appear one after another. In fact, this very same year represents something of a watershed in Japanese cinema, especially regarding the film script. Notably, this was when two new studios started operation. The first of these, Shōchiku Kinema, became the most enduring of all Japanese studios, surviving to this day. The other, Taikatsu (short for Taishō Katsuei), although short-lived and lesser known, is given much attention in film histories.³² This is almost single-handedly due to the brief collaboration between Thomas Kurihara, a director fresh back from Hollywood, and the literary author Tanizaki Jun'ichirō.³³ Indeed, Bernardi has pointed out how the manifesto that accompanied the studio's founding put much emphasis to the prestige brought by the inclusion of such an established writer as a literary consultant (Bernardi 2001: 143).

Importantly, most of Tanizaki's scripts survive, although they have arguably gone through substantial editing before taking their current form.³⁴ Paradoxically, however, these look

³² See Tanaka 1976 vol. i: 296-306, Satō 2006 vol. i: 167-169, Shindō 1989 vol. i: 20-32.

³³ Taikatsu was taken over by Shōchiku 1922. Kurihara died in 1926 at the age of 41.

³⁴ Altogether, Tanizaki wrote four scripts, *Amachua kurabu* (Amateur Club, 1920), *Katsushika Sunako* (Sunako Katsushika, 1920), *Hinamatsuri no yoru* (Night of the Doll Festival, 1921) and *Jasei no in* (The Lust of the White Serpent, 1921), all directed by Thomas Kurihara and all prints lost.

nothing like the script formats that preceded or came after. If not very useful for looking for the common practice of Japanese scriptwriting, Tanizaki's scenarios are an excellent example of a format still under construction. An excerpt from *Amachua kurabu* (Amateur Club) reveals the style 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

Close-up of Chizuko swimming. This scene calls for some graceful action (Tanizaki and Kurihara 2001: 267).

With just a glance at this script, one notices how the descriptions of camera positions and movements tend toward excess. At any rate, there is a healthy amount of improvisation implied by Tanizaki's writing, this at a time when framing and editing techniques and terms used to mark them down had not yet been standardised and new vocabulary was made up along the way. Using a mix of Japanese and English terminology is another proof of the hybrid nature of this writing style. For instance, the consistent use of 'Interior' and 'Exterior', a staple of Hollywood screenwriting but almost never found in Japanese scenarios, reveals a heavy American influence.

These excessive technical details, unparalleled in later Japanese scenarios, bring this format closer to what has commonly been called the continuity script. This is also where the particular contribution of director Kurihara to Tanizaki's scenarios should be considered.

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: 22-23).³⁵



The crew of *Amachua kurabu*.
Tanizaki Jun'ichirō in white suit is sitting in the middle

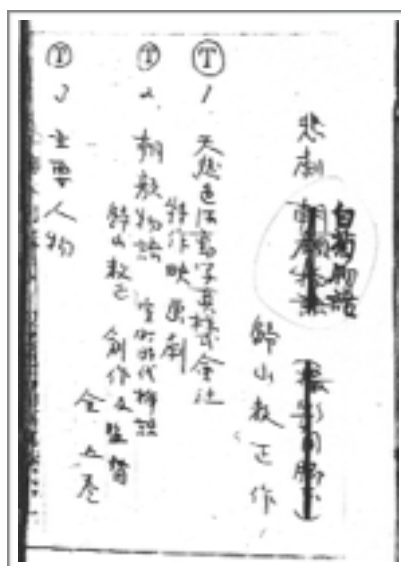
This was based on his first-hand experience working at Thomas H. Ince's production company with what was the Hollywood standard script at the time.³⁶ In addition, Bernardi notes that in the rival Shōchiku studio, scripts used by another Japanese director imported from across the Pacific, Henry Kotani, closely resembled contemporary Hollywood continuity scripts (Bernardi 2001: 26).³⁷ However, looking at other surviving examples of the 1920s scenarios, it becomes evident that this practice of writing continuity scripts was generally not followed in Japan. At the same time, what seems to be the perennial problem with pre-1930s scripts, it is difficult to fully assess this point because most texts have been edited for publication in order to make them readable and as such give less insight into their initial format.

While Tanizaki could use the expertise of the Hollywood-trained Kurihara to aid his attempts at forging a new format for the scenario, Kaeriyama Norimasa had to rely on his encyclopedic readings of 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

³⁵ 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 work where various narrative devices such as frame stories and unreliable narrators are employed to striking effect.

³⁶ See Price 2013: 80-85 on Ince's continuity scripts.

³⁷ Kotani is also credited for introducing the word *shinario* for film script in the industrial context, replacing the earlier *daihon* (Tanaka 1980: 160-161).



Shooting script of Kaeriyama Norimasa's *Shiragiku monogatari*, a film he wrote and produced shortly after *Sei no kagayaki*

considered as the first proper surviving film script in Japan and granted the honour of opening virtually all scenario anthologies.³⁸

Kaeriyama has been considered a pioneer of Japanese cinema but it is somewhat difficult to assess his exact influence on subsequent developments:

it has been repeatedly pointed out that his how-to-do book, *Katsudo shashingeki no sōsaku to satsuei* (The Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama, 1917), was widely read, but his films did not make a clear impact on contemporary filmmaking.³⁹ His scripts seem to represent an isolated albeit interesting attempt at coming up with a discrete format, his professional background in engineering apparently informing his technical style, aimed at precision rather than evocativeness. One of Kaeriyama's innovations was having meetings before shooting commenced where the script could be read aloud and discussed by the whole crew (Shindō 1989



Kaeriyama Norimasa (right) on the shooting set of *Shiragiku monogatari* at Kyoto's Arashiyama

³⁸ See Chapter Five for its publishing history.

³⁹ Much like with the whole Pure Film Movement, it is difficult to prove if Kaeriyama's scenario format really 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 by the advent of sound. At any rate, the growing importance of the script as a communication document was in line with the need to manage bigger-scale production rather than concerns about the quality of cinema which in the 1920s as little more than two-reel and one-copy entertainment, not even considered relevant for preservation (See Gerow 2000b).

vol. i: 12). This differs diametrically from earlier practices such as *kuchidate* where everybody except the director was kept in the dark about the desired outcome of the production, attesting to how far the scenario had travelled already from its rudimentary beginnings.

Transcriptions and translations

By different routes, both Tanizaki and Kaeriyama made efforts to appropriate models imported from Hollywood. However, most of the fledgling writers acquired skills for their trade by simply watching foreign films.⁴⁰ Yoda Yoshikata recalls how a big part of professional training for his generation of scriptwriters was attending in-house screenings at the studio and writing down continuities for careful scrutiny on how films were put together (Bernardi 2001: 21-22). As we shall see in Chapter Five, from similar practices emerged a sizeable amount of published transcriptions (*sairoku*) of foreign features which are commonly, and somewhat confusingly, labelled with the same inclusive term for film script, *shinario*.⁴¹

It is crucial to make a distinction between such transcriptions of foreign films and actual translations of scenarios published abroad in a book format. Arguably, the first translated scenarios, by the French scriptwriter and director Louis Delluc, appeared in the journal *Eiga sekai* (Film World) in 1923 (Yamamoto 1983: 155). An excerpt from another Delluc scenario (or *drame cinégraphique*) which appeared in *Eiga ōrai* (Film Traffic) in December 1925, displays a carefully numbered script where like in Tanizaki's work the shot rather than the scene is adopted as the organising principle. In stark contrast to the scripts of Tanizaki and Kaeriyama, technical vocabulary is completely withheld and there is no discernible awareness of the camera.

Delluc (1890-1924), a notable impressionist director along with the better-known Abel Gance and Jean Epstein, has earned his place in film history as a critic and founder of early ciné-

⁴⁰ Director Ushihara Kiyohiko, who also wrote the script for the seminal *Rojō no reikon* (Souls on the Road, 1921, dir. Murata Minoru), in fact asserts that it was more efficient to watch foreign films than read scenarios (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 36).

⁴¹ A quarterly ambitiously titled *Eiga kagaku kenkyū* (Scientific Film Research) started appearing in 1928, including very detailed and polished transcripts of foreign film continuities.



A page of the translation of Louis Delluc's *Fièvre* (Fever, 1921) from *Eiga ōrai*

clubs. However, it is the collection of his film scripts, *Drames de cinéma* (Film Dramas, 1923), that the critic Iijima Tadashi claims to have been the very first example of what he calls *yomu shinario* (scenario for reading) in a single book format (Iijima 1976: 67).⁴² Iijima, graduate of the French department of Tokyo Imperial University, was a strong proponent of French cinema of which he had extensive knowledge, as displayed in his many volumes of film criticism, starting with *Shinema no ABC* (The ABC of Cinema, 1928). Not incidentally, he was also the translator of Delluc's first scenario into Japanese.

Compared to other critics who have written on scenarios, Iijima is

exceptional for focusing more on their stylistic beginnings in an international context.

Decades after his initial interest in scenarios, in *Eiga no naka no bungaku, bungaku no naka no eiga* (Literature Inside Film, Film Inside Literature, 1976), Iijima shows the connections between the foreign formats available in translation in the 1920s, trying to delineate these influences on Japanese writers such Yoda Yoshikata and Itami Mansaku. Iijima also contrasts Delluc's scriptwriting style to that of Carl Mayer and D. W. Griffith. The former gets the blame for failing to fulfill the continuity format: although camera movements are registered in the script, the links between shots are left undetermined (Iijima 1976: 72). The latter, in turn,

⁴² 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).



A page from Kawabata Yasunari, Kinugasa Teinosuke, Inuzuka Minoru and Sawada Bankō's *Kurutta ichipeiji*

The next excerpt is from *Kurutta ichipeiji* (A Page of Madness, 1926, dir. Kinugasa Teinosuke), written by a team comprising the director himself, Kawabata Yasunari, Inuzuka Minoru and Sawada Bankō. An example of an experimental film without any dialogue, its layout necessarily differs from the more conventional silent script of *Orochi*. Here, the text is structured by bullet points which mark the beginning of the next shot. Most of the passages are extremely brief, merely stating the action without adding explanation on the motivation of the characters nor providing instructions to the cinematographer.

The final excerpt is from Yamagami Itarō's *Rōningai* (Samurai Town, 1928-29, dir. Makino Shōzō). This script (on the next page) starts to display an emerging tradition of scriptwriting where the scenario is structured according to the scenes rather than shots. As is common in silent scenarios, the dialogue is marked in both brackets and additionally by capital Ts which show their visual status as inter-titles. Commenting on this scenario, Kobayashi Masaru has said that “[t]he style of Yamagami’s script is of its own and difficult to read even for a silent script. Moreover, bursting with subjective description and psychological explanations, it is

haunted by the uneasiness whether all this can be visualised in film as expected” (Kobayashi 1966: 71).

To conclude, there were at least four types of texts that arguably influenced silent film scriptwriting in Japan. First, first-hand experience imported from Hollywood by returning directors such as Kurihara and Kotani. Second, the filmmaking manual *Katsudo shashingeki no sōsaku to satsuei* by Kaeriyama. Third, transcriptions of foreign films. Finally, translations of foreign scenarios. However, all these options would have to be reconsidered when the biggest crisis hit Japanese filmmaking in the form of the advent of sound cinema.



A page from Yamagami Itarō's *Rōningai*

THE MASTER-SCENE SCENARIO

Something that most of these diverse formats of silent scenario have in common is that they tend to adhere to the shot as structuring unit. However, in a conversation accompanying a volume of early scenarios, Itō Daisuke concludes from looking at the lineup that from a certain time on, all scenarios began to be exclusively organised around scenes rather than shots (Itō et al. 1966: 17). This shift, which can more or less neatly be located to the coming

of sound, suggests that the talkie crisis played a considerable role in shaping the standard format of scenario.

Talkie crisis and scriptwriters

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, drawing a parallel between this and Japan is somewhat problematic because the continuity script as it was known in Hollywood never really developed into a dominant format in there. Another issue that poses a problem with such possible transcultural comparisons is that the full adoption of sound to film production took place in Japan only by the mid-1930s, about half a decade later than in Hollywood. Nevertheless, the degree of shock that new demands imposed by the introduction of sound entailed for scriptwriting can be easily observed in both film cultures.

This was not merely an industrial or technological shift, but also meant personal crisis for many people working in the industry. As much as sound was a shock for actors who sometimes found it hard to adapt their acting style — or voice — to meet the new demands, the change imposed similar pressure on scripts, effectively leading a number of hitherto well-known writers to fall silent. For instance, the first women scriptwriter in Japan, Mizushima Ayame, quit her job at the Shōchiku studios soon after completing her first and only sound script and became a children’s writer instead.⁴³ Yet there were a number of writers who successfully made the transition, making an impact on both sides of the silent/sound divide. The two big names of the *jidaigeki* of the 1920s, Susukita Rokuhei and Yamagami Itarō, who reportedly received bigger checks for their writing than directors and actors, both disappeared from the scene. However, a number of revisionist *jidaigeki* writer-directors such as Itō Daisuke, Itami Mansaku and Yamanaka Sadao adapted well to the new circumstances and thrived.⁴⁴

⁴³ More on Mizushima’s career in Chapter Three.

⁴⁴ In Itami’s case, what has often been pointed out in this connection is a certain witty, literary quality of his silent period intertitles. Apparently, having focused on that aspect made it easier for him to adapt to the increasingly verbal cinema.

In Hollywood, the talkie crisis also coincided with the studios closing their 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: 163-164). In stark contrast, Japanese studios did not close their writing departments, which rather flourished during the early sound period, as attested by a string of contests held to employ young talent.⁴⁵ While the coming of sound altered the organisation of labour in Hollywood, the model of script departments (*kyakuhonbu*) established in the 1920s persisted in Japan well into the early 1960s.

An epitome of a script department was clearly that of Shōchiku. The family-like atmosphere of it has often been pointed out; this in turn seems to suggest a collaborative nature to what was coming out of the studio during that period. Indeed, at closer scrutiny it becomes difficult to discern who contributed more to the generally upbeat cinematic style advocated by the studio head Kido Shirō: young directors such as Ozu, Naruse, Gosho, Shimazu and Shimizu or scriptwriters, particularly Noda Kōgo and Ikeda Tadao but also Kitamura Komatsu, Fushimi Akira, Yanai Takao and Saitō Ryōsuke, to name only a few. Scenarios by these six writers, both for silent and sound films, have been frequently anthologised.⁴⁶ Examining a number of them enables us to look at the trajectory of the format of the scenario from silent to sound cinema.

Transitional formats

The first example is from the scenario of *Mura no hanayome* (The Village Bride, 1928, dir. Gosho Heinosuke) written by Fushimi Akira. Although lesser known than famous duos such as Noda and Ozu or Yoda and Mizoguchi, Fushimi and Gosho formed one of the most

⁴⁵ In the Shōchiku studios, such recruiting contests started in 1928 and continued into the late 1940s.

⁴⁶ Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano has argued strongly in favour of a collective Kamata or Ōfuna ‘flavour’ rather than personal styles of individual filmmakers (Wada-Marciano 2008: 26). At any rate, Shōchiku script department of the 1930s was a hub for future writers, establishing a template for the script and spreading its influence over the whole chart of postwar Japanese cinema even to works that have very little resemblance to its dominant mode.



A page from Fushimi Akira's *Mura no hanayome*

successful pairings of writer and director, often making it difficult to distinguish what each brought to a particular film.⁴⁷

What is bound to strike anyone vaguely familiar with the appearance of Japanese film scripts is how modern and close to the later standard of sound scenario this late 1920s work looks. Shindō has noted the light sketchiness of this particular style of writing (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 100); admittedly, other scripts from the same period look much denser, either due to the excessive literariness in description or from the effort to cram in many technical details. Another

feature that makes this script much closer to talkie scenarios are its numbered scenes: this was not common at all in the pre-sound continuity-like scripts, where the narrative flow was sacrificed to structuring the script around the camera movements rather than scenes. In contrast to its contemporaries, *Mura no hanayome* is a master-scene scenario in the making.

⁴⁷ According Kishi Matsuo, the men called one another by the nicknames At-chan and Hei-san, respectively (Kishi 1970: 394). 26 of 99, roughly a quarter of Gosho's films were penned by Fushimi, making the latter his main scriptwriter between years 1932 and 1935, arguably the time when Gosho made his biggest contribution to Japanese cinema. Unfortunately, only handful of these films remain.

However, like most silent scripts it still has capital Ts to mark the inter-titles, distinguishing between titled and untitled dialogue.⁴⁸

In comparison, the scenario of Japan's first all-talkie, *Madamu to nyōbō* (The Neighbour's Wife and Mine, 1931, dir. Goshō Heinosuke), written by Kitamura Komatsu, reveals a format in transition. Ts for inter-titles are gone, replaced by character names; at the same time, bullet points that mark shots rather than scenes makes this look much closer to silent scripts. Paradoxically, Fushimi's silent script from a couple of years earlier starts to look closer to the later talkie scenario format. Interestingly, Fushimi is also credited for the script of *Madamu to nyōbō*, this time as 'gagman'.⁴⁹

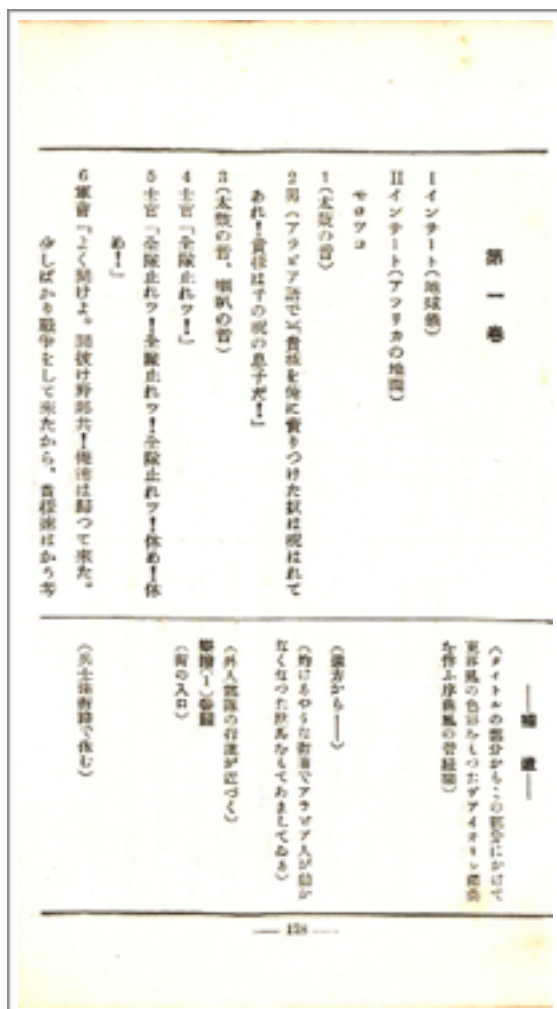


A page from Kitamura Komatsu's *Madamu to nyōbō*

⁴⁸ Another instantly noticeable feature of most silent scripts is the taxonomy of its dialogue. Based on whether the passage is represented by intertitles (marked with a T or not) effectively renders some dialogues important and some incidental. This interesting feature of the silent script that has not received enough attention is pointed out by Price as a site for lipreading from the image by the audiences. "Coexpressibility of verbal and physical action occurring simultaneously functions differently to the cognitive material of the 'leaders', which explicitly directs the spectator to a particular understanding of the action" (Price 2013: 90). He also suggests 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" (Ibid.). However intriguing the notion of lip reading, if it were to be applied to Japanese silent cinema, the presence and function of *benshi* necessarily has to be taken into account. The *benshi* were commonly using the shooting script for creating their *kagezerifu* effectively giving voice to the hidden dialogue and making any effort from the audience's side unnecessary. What is important, however, from the viewpoint of script research, is the implication that the silent script is something that cannot be simply replaced by film as the lipread lines are not readily readable from the image.

⁴⁹ Writer responsible for bits of comic relief in the script.

A considerable amount of material that can be seen in the film but is missing from Kitamura's script also seem to suggest that Fushimi's part might have been larger than suggested by his modest role. This is especially true when it comes to sound-specific elements which despite their apparent novelty value are in fact extremely effective and well thought through. Given the somewhat fragmentary nature of the scenario, its debt to and strong resemblance to silent writing, it might not be an exaggeration to say that Kitamura had clear difficulties making the transition from silent to sound scriptwriting. Indeed, around this time his output waned significantly and he eventually focused on a career in writing stage plays instead. Ironically then, the advent of sound proved to be something of an undoing for the writer of this first talkie, much in contrast to the film's protagonist, a playwright who is first distressed but then comes to embrace the sounds of modern life such as those coming from the jazz band that has moved in next door to him.



A page of the translation of *Morocco*

One of the questions writers necessarily had to address at the time was how to incorporate sound elements in a format that was previously completely devoid of such aspects. As something of a compromise, the script of *Madamu to nyōbō* has the sound effects put in round brackets. However, there were other, more elaborate attempts at putting the sound elements down in writing, in particular used for transcribing foreign scripts. An example of the script of *Morocco* (1930, dir. Joseph von Sternberg, written by Jules Furthman), the first talkie experience for many Japanese viewers, displays one such option.

This script (labelled *daihon* rather than *shinario*) was published in *Eiga kagaku kenkyū* (Scientific Film Research) in April 1931, only a

few months before *Madamu to nyōbō* came out.⁵⁰ The text is structured in twelve reels, with the transcript of the aural elements given preference by numbering sound effects and dialogue on the upper column and providing action in brackets and smaller font in the lower one.⁵¹ Eventually, this turned out to be another transitional experiment, soon to be forgotten; there is also no corresponding example of such a Japanese scenario.⁵² An obvious issue with a format like this is its readability: it may be accurate from a technical point of view but keeping the sound and image apart will not facilitate a very effective reading experience due to the reader constantly having to shift between these two modes of representation.

The standardisation of scenarios

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 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 towards standardising the master-scene scenario can be traced by the mid-1930s. After the talkie crisis was over, the standard for scenarios was settled although at times there were experiments such as *Tsuzurikata kyōshitsu* (Composition Class, 1938, Kimura Chiyoo) and *Kojima no haru* (Spring on a Small Island, 1940, Yagi Yasutarō), both arguably due to deliberately trying to appear sketch-like to correspond to the unconventional source material. The standard format, represented here by the scenario of *Chichi ariki* (There Was a Father, 1942, dir. Ozu Yasujirō), written by Ikeda Tadao, Yanai Takao and the director, has all scenes numbered and locations

⁵⁰ *Morocco* was the first subtitled film in Japan: the subtitling was done by Tamura Yoshihiko who was invited all the way to New York by Paramount studios in order to successfully complete the task (Tanaka 1976 vol. ii: 216-217).

⁵¹ Price provides evidence of similar use of parallel columns in the script of the part-talkie *The Shopworn Angel* (1928) (Price 2013: 122-127).

⁵² In rare cases, voice-over narration is given in a parallel column to the main text. See “Aisai monogatari” (Story of a Beloved Wife) in Shindō 1993: 219-273.

as their titles (both in bold print). The scenes contain descriptions of action and dialogue of the characters in square parentheses.⁵³

The conceptual shift from silent to sound scriptwriting can also be traced in the terminology used in film journals and how-to-do books; they provide a timeline for how the term *shinario* become prevalent by the mid-1930s. Notably, silent-era manuals still exclusively used the word *kyakuhon* for script. Such examples include Takeda Akira's *Eiga kyakuhonron* (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 *tōkii* (talkie), *kyakuhon* began to be surpassed by *shinario*. While a special issue of *Eiga hyōron* from October 1933 was titled “Tōkii kyakuhon kenkyūgō” (The Issue of Talkie Script Research), its counterpart from three years later was already “Tōkii shinario kenkyū” (Talkie Scenario Research). Particularly revealing of this trend are 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, *Tōkii shinario kōseiron* (On The Structure of the Talkie Scenario, 1937). By the time Kurata Fumindo's *Shinarioron* (On Scenarios) appeared in 1940, *kyakuhon* was to be found only in film



A page from Ikeda Tadao, Yanai Takao and Ozu Yasujirō's *Chichi ariki*, in the typical mature format of Japanese scenario

⁵³ 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.



Cover of Yasuda Kiyoo's
Eiga kyakuhon kōseiron



Cover of Kurata Fumindo's
Shinarioron

credits.⁵⁴ To exaggerate a bit, this shift from *kyakuhon* to *shinario* was as important for scriptwriting as the replacing of *katsudō shashin* (active photographs) with the term *eiga* (film) in the 1920s had been for cinema in general.

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). As a parallel, this points to the capacity of the master-scene scenario to function beyond its initial habitat of film production, combined with Delluc’s notion of a reader trained in cinematic imagination. I will take up this topic in Chapter Four and Five where I examine readerships of scenarios.

MATERIALITY OF THE SCENARIO

In Chapter One, we saw how, seeking for a suitable way to elevate the status of the script in Japanese cinema, Shindō concluded his history of Japanese scriptwriting on a high note by

⁵⁴ In a way it seems remarkable that the word *shinario* persisted even amidst the rise of militant nationalism. However, a script collection from a competition by the Board of Information indeed bares the title *Kokumin eiga kyakuhonshū* (Collection of National Policy Film Scripts, 1942). It seems plausible that the authorities wanted to avoid foreign-sounding words such as *shinario* and replace them with something more official and native looking.

proposing an idiosyncratic cine-geographical fantasy. Shindō first came up with an image of a mountain-tall pile of character-filled sheets of scenarios, which he then flattened and applied to the main transportation routes going through the Japanese archipelago. However, by doing this, he also underlined the dominant place that cities, and particularly Tokyo and Kyoto, hold in the history of Japanese film as the two centres of the industry, organised with the help of the railroad, that most potent marker of modernity. Consequently, Shindō's fantasy is closely related to the modern nation state and the grid it imposed on the land with the aid of the railroad industry.⁵⁵

On the other hand, it is easy to see why Shindō would grant the material form of the script such prominence against the backdrop of the national landscape. Certainly one of the reasons behind the metaphor of sheets of scenarios covering main channels of transport and communication is motivated by a wish to provide visibility for scriptwriting and its sizeable contribution to film history. On a different level, this image of covering the tracks works as a parallel to the script's groundwork function, with a stress on its role as the foundation of film: much like tracks make the running of trains possible in the first place, so does writing enable producing a film, which, in turn, when completed will travel all over Japan for screenings, film reels carried by train wheels.

This kind of visibility and esteem is very much in contrast to what Shindō recalls as his first encounter with film scripts in the studio's lavatory. Something that has been initially treated with indifference, whether out of ignorance or shame, has been redeemed by having the transportation routes (and not sewers) covered with it, in a gesture that combines modern Japan's media with its transportation network. Shindō's is an attempt to reverse the modest, often disdained status of the script by stressing its particular materiality. The sheets lying on the tracks are not shooting scripts circulated among the crew nor scripts published for wider audience, but instead handwritten sheets of manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*). Consequently, this fantasy also seems to suggest that the manuscript paper remains indiscernably linked with

⁵⁵ Shindō is one of the filmmakers who in his work as a director paid much attention to rural Japan in films such as *Hadaka no shima* (Naked Island, 1960) or his final feature *Ichimai no hagaki* (A Postcard, 2011). Notably, in the former, a rowing boat is the only means to carry water for everyday use to a tiny island in the Inland Sea. On recurring motifs in Shindō's oeuvre, see Kitsnik 2014.

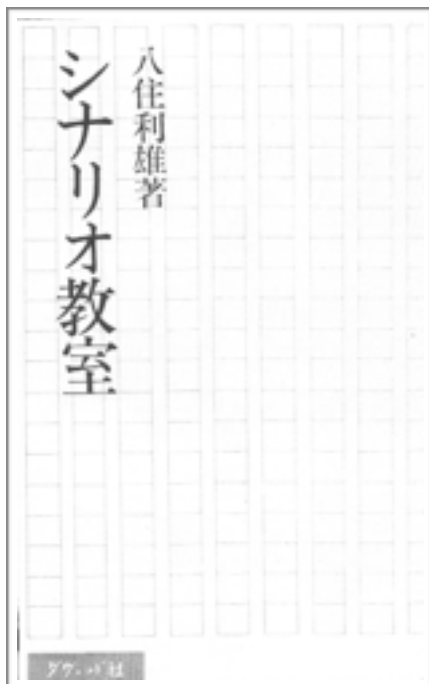
the issue of scriptwriting and an important image that supports its proposed semi-autonomous status.

Genkō yōshi

Shindō is by all means not alone in using *genkō yōshi* as the dominant form and image for the script. For instance, Arai Hajime's manual for screenwriting, *Shinario no kiso gijutsu* (The Basic Techniques of Screenwriting, 1985), most popular since Noda's and Shindō's earlier magisterial efforts, started off with teaching how to write on *genkō yōshi* (Arai 1985: 16-24), presenting it as the basis of all scriptwriting. Incidentally, the correct way to fill in *genkō yōshi* is part of the general education in Japan even in an era characterised by new technological means of text



A page from Arai Hajime's *Shinario no kiso gijutsu*



Cover of Yasumi Toshio's *Shinario kyōshitsu* displaying *genkō yōshi* in its design

processing. In parallel to Courier typeface in Western practice, *genkō*

yōshi is very much the metaphor for, and face of Japanese scriptwriting. In fact, publications on scriptwriting heavily draw from this iconography of a paper arranged in series of equal-size rectangles, attested by its frequent use in the layout of countless books.⁵⁶

In standard *genkō yōshi*, the page is divided into slots (*masu*) for 400 characters. However, there is another standard, that of only 200 used specifically for scriptwriting. A brief history of *genkō yōshi* offered by Matsuo Yasuaki proposes an early 19th-century historian Rai Sanyō, noted for his *Nihon gaishi*, as the first user of

⁵⁶ 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). Shindō's *Nihon shinarioshi* has pencils and handwriting integrated to the book's design.

genkō yōshi in its present form (Matsuo 1981: 30). Paraphrasing a saying ‘letters are people’ (*moji wa hito nari*), Matsuo also presents manuscripts of various important modern Japanese authors such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Natsume Sōseki, Dazai Osamu et al. (Ibid.: 62-80). In this way, *genkō yōshi* emerges as part of the authorial signature of modern Japanese writers. In addition, what permeates Matsuo’s account is stress on the function of *genkō yōshi* as a management tool. It is especially important for its link between the writer and publishing, as the fee is calculated according to the number of sheets (Ibid.: 59-60). As such, the format of *genkō yōshi* makes it into something of a communication device on the management level, akin to one of functions of the script in film production.



Natsume Sōseki’s manuscript of
Wagahai wa neko de aru
(I Am a Cat, 1905)

Although used by all kinds of writers, *genkō yōshi* seems to have remained particularly potent as an image for scriptwriting, and because of its literary associations, a means to underline the proposed cultural capital of the scenario. Conceivably, it works particularly well as an image for scriptwriting precisely due to the contrast it provides vis-à-vis film (as film stock). Admittedly, in literature the gap between a manuscript and a printed book is not as wide and media-specific as that of a flimsy handwritten sheet and a heavy film reel.⁵⁷ At the same time, *genkō yōshi* remains something much cherished by scriptwriters, and a part of professional pride.⁵⁸ There are accounts of certain writers ordering personalised *genkō yōshi* from the printing house.⁵⁹ As an analogy, it could be said that as much as early celluloid cinema was structured around reels, so is the Japanese scenario on *genkō yōshi*.

⁵⁷ Shindō recalls realising this contrast between the physically massive film negatives he at the time was assigned to develop and the almost ephemeral paper that the script is written on (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 246).

⁵⁸ In a conversation at the Kyoto Museum on 7 September 2014, the current head of the Japan Writers Guild, Nishioka Takuya admitted to me that he still uses *genkō yōshi* exclusively for his work, much to the chagrin of the production team.

⁵⁹ See Hashida and Yamada 1995: 80.

In contrast, Hashimoto Shinobu is a notable exception among Japanese scriptwriters for typing his scripts rather than writing. However, he wrote on the Japanese typewriter (*kana taipuraitā*) as if using a Western one, typing the script in *katakana*. Hashimoto himself has explained this choice as a way to counter the tendency of images to become too fixed when put down in ideographic Chinese characters (*kanji ga mazaru to imeeji ga kotei sareru node*). With this, Hashimoto suggests that the script needs to remain a provisional document and leave more room of interpretation for the shooting crew (Hashimoto 1965: 58-59). Certainly, this kind of text leaves the more very technical impression and not a literary one which has been the aim of many scriptwriters before and after Hashimoto. Apparently, this eccentric practice put the shooting staff used to the standard scenario format through some hard times on set.

However, it would be misguided to overstress the *manual* aspect of *genkō yōshi*; after all, it has its restricting mechanical nature as well. With slots to be filled, the very purpose of *genkō yōshi* is to facilitate a regular flow of writing. As such, it comes close to what Friedrich Kittler in his *Gramophone Film Typewriter* 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, *genkō yōshi* becomes rather complicated as an analogy to any Western practice of writing, combining as it does the irregularities of individual handwriting and a regular flow predetermined by the slots that mechanise the space between characters. Again, a parallel can be drawn with the Courier font that with its equal, typewriter-like spaces has the same effect of regulation as *genkō yōshi* with its slots. Both of these templates have practical as well as perceptual aims: making word count easy and providing enough space on the page for taking notes, while at the same time offering a standardised space for image-building. The same is true for shooting scripts, *daihon*, typed and serialised, used at the set, with the director free to add his storyboard, the cinematographer his camera angles and so on.⁶⁰ In this regard, scenarios printed in journals and collections, while commonly not edited, appear on columned pages with the empty space brought to minimal, differ significantly from *genkō yōshi* and *daihon* in terms of space and layout.

⁶⁰ Shooting scripts filled out in this manner are a particularly worthwhile research material, albeit for different reasons than proposed here.

The typed script

Still, a very clear and important conceptual distinction can be made between a script written on *genkō yōshi* and typed on a typewriter. Marshall McLuhan 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 added 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). When a Hollywood writer adhered to the typefaced format from the start, a Japanese one had his handwritten sheets typed clean for him at the script department by the female typists. Although the Japanese version of typewriter went a long way to make document preparation efficient at places such as government offices, in general use it never really took off, not least for its complicated nature compared to its alphabet-based counterparts.

Steven Price provided an historical account of the film screenplay as a unique textual format, something akin to a genre that is inextricably tied to the typewriter. According to Price, “[an] important development was the emergence of the 12-point Courier font as the default typeface for screenplays” that gave the screenplay its characteristic “one-page-per-minute, generic physical form, user-friendly white space” (Price 2013: 202-203). Price makes much of the standardised format of the screenplay, up to the point where the technical impositions start to sound all but oppressive to the creativity of the writer. At any rate, the use of Courier font is nothing short of a cliché in English language publications on screenwriting that almost invariably use some of this in their own layouts.⁶¹ Effectively, the image of the typewriter has long replaced that of a pen and is surprisingly persistent even now when functionally superseded by the computer. In comparison, it becomes apparent that scriptwriting is visualised through very different means in Japan.

The typewriter brings with it an ontological issue on a wholly different level. Kittler pointed out the inherent conflict embodied by the term itself: “‘Typewriter’ is ambiguous. The word

⁶¹ Steven Maras *Screenwriting: History, Theory and Practice* (2009), Jill Neldes (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 but a few more recent examples.

meant both typing machine and female typist” representing “the convergence of a profession, a machine, and a sex” (Kittler 1999: 183). By designating both the device and the person working on it the word ‘typewriter’ suggests a mechanical, even inhuman aspect to it. What is important, however, are gender connotations that set typewriter (the person) apart from the scriptwriter. Kittler noted that during what he calls the founding age of media (*Mediengründerzeit*), roughly corresponding to the late-19th century, one of the major shifts occurred when the use of the typewriter resulted in a new situation from the previous where writers used to have male secretaries to dictate to. “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 desexualization of writing, sacrificing its metaphysics and turning it into word processing” (Ibid.: 187). Thus, women were suddenly liberated by the typewriter for new ways of employment but, ironically, the tool proved to be its undoing. “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 and Wutz 1999: xxv). The typewriter, then, might have been a major step towards financial emancipation for many women but resulted also in reinstating their discursive subordination.

With the use of the typewriter, writing and typing became juxtaposed in gender terms, also sustaining a contrast between an author and a mere writer. In order to circumvent this situation, early Hollywood writers Anita Loos and Frances Marion kept 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). Thus, a power play with different types of materiality of the script was called to help women writers appear more masculine, manual, and as a result authorial; the opposite image of this would have been that of a typist shut out from understanding the very text she was typing, becoming a woman-machine instead. As I observed earlier, in Japan, the use of *genkō yōshi* allowed a similar distinction between male and female employees of the script department. This division of labour has yet another analogy in the profession of a scripter who much like the typist deals excessively with the text without the agency to author it.

Hybrid modernity of scriptwriting

Just as the invention of the typewriter did not lead to a clear-cut emancipation of women, so did *genkō yōshi* problematise looking at Japanese scriptwriting on a global scale as well as calling into question its particular modernity underlying the material aspects of the profession and textual form. Could a screenplay really be considered an all-encompassing global form when we have a very different understanding of the materiality of the scenario in Japan? Certainly, due to a different writing system, Japan cannot adopt the screenplay format without complications. Another Eurocentric assumption at work, that a page is always a page, and consequently, the one-page-one-minute rule can work as a template for reading a script (although *genkō yōshi* probably comes very close to regulating this). On a certain level, isn't the whole difference between American and Japanese screenwriting practices, on what a script looks like, retracable to the difference in the writing system? Not from a philosophical but purely technical viewpoint? All this might sound too obvious but needs pointing out if only to undermine the kind of generalisations Price is making about a supposedly global format of scriptwriting. If McLuhan pointed out that typewriter fused written and printed word, as long as *genkō yōshi* is used this is not true about the practice of Japanese scriptwriting. Kittler goes on about the shift from handwritten culture to a mechanised media one 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). The case of Japan clearly complicates this by offering a device that points in both directions simultaneously.

It is also crucial not to succumb to the temptation of considering *genkō yōshi* as something traditional, premodern, Japanese. As much as the typewriter, despite its seemingly antediluvian aspects *genkō yōshi* is a decidedly modern device that itself has emerged from the standardising, serialising, mechanically reproducing impulse of modern media. *Genkō yōshi*, taken into wider use only at the turn of the previous century, coincided with a number of innovations implemented within the framework of the Japanese nation state, such as unification of the written language by *genbun itchi*, which in turn is closely tied to the sudden change in literary expression exemplified by the work of Natsume Sōseki and others.⁶² Thus

⁶² While only a few novels were written in the unified *genbun itchi* Japanese at the turn of the century, their share of the whole literary output swiftly reached 100 per cent by 1908 (Twine 1978: 352).

genkō yōshi needs to be considered as part of the modern production of the text, in a constellation with not only the language but also the naturalist and realist trends in literature supported by a new understanding of the self as the source of an individual voice.

Finally, Martin Heidegger has 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” (Cit. Kittler 1999: 200). Thinking along these lines, *genkō yōshi* certainly represents an intermedial form of writing. If considered in the background of what Kittler proposes as the triumvirate of modernity: gramophone, film and typewriter, the use of *genkō yōshi* parallel to the other two media strongly hints at a hybrid form of modernity. Looking back at Shindō’s geographical fantasy about covering the railroad track with *genkō yōshi* gives a very layered picture indeed. Trains, much like gramophone, film and typewriter were all tied to altering time and space, particularly for the aspect of speed they provided in enhancement to their premodern antecedents. In contrast, *genkō yōshi* was a much slower way to write when compared to typewriter, unless one was a true writing-machine like Shindō.

Genkō yōshi allows us to look at both format and writing practices. Its materiality alludes to the special position enjoyed by the scenario in the imagination of not only writers themselves but various readerships (This will be discussed in detail in the last chapters of the thesis). In Shindō’s fantasy, the existence of the bulk of scenarios legitimises scriptwriting in film history, gives it visibility that has been held back by the dominance of the screen product. The materiality of the scenario comes with a paradox of typewriting offering independent women new means of supporting themselves while still subordinating them to merely transcribe male utterances or scribbles. Generic hybridity of the script suggested by Price (2010: 31-38) is further underlined by its the material hybridity within the Japanese modernity.

In the course of a string of developments from the late 1910s through the 1930s, Japanese film script found both its standardised format in the master-scene scenario as well as respect and following as a textual practice. With this, additional attention began to be paid to the particular role and contribution of scriptwriters that I will discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

SITUATING THE SCRIPTWRITER

Iwasaki Akira, a leading film critic, provides in his first collection of essays *Eiga geijutsushi* (History of Film Art, 1930) a fictional account of scriptwriting in Hollywood. In a text titled ‘Shinario raitā’, a young man claiming to be a writer working at a film studio at Piedmont tells his story. At the start, he offers two conditions any aspiring writer should fulfill: perseverance and robust feet. He adds that working at a textile factory and as chimney sweeper’s apprentice surely prepared him better for the job than any writing could ever have. In his opinion, a writer should first stand up from his table in the script department and take to the streets in order to see real life. The story concludes in a script meeting where his innovative work for a film called *Blondes Prefer Gentlemen* is torn apart by the producers. Then, after his final and desperate attempt at turning the whole situation into absurdity by proposing the most ludicrous mix of all imaginable clichés of filmmaking, he is suddenly hailed by the production team as a new genius (Iwasaki 1930: 13-20).



Cover of Iwasaki Akira's
Eiga geijutsushi

In Chapter One, I looked at how the historiography of writing in Japanese films has fluctuated—perhaps inevitably—between the focus on scriptwriting, scripts and scriptwriters. In this chapter, I will examine more closely the faculty of the scriptwriter, its status, working

conditions and related gender issues. As we saw, the inclusion of scriptwriting in film histories often depends on whether scriptwriters can be considered as the authors of films. In particular, I will be looking at the terminology used when discussing the work of individual writers and how it relates to their perceived status. Some of the more famous tropes about writing for film have already been alluded to by Iwasaki's story; in order to examine the spatial dimension of scriptwriting, I will consider some that are particularly persistent in Japan. In addition, I will reconsider certain notions of authorship through the prism of gender as well as the presence of female scriptwriters in the era commonly seen as the Golden Age of Great Men Directors.

THE STATUS OF THE SCRIPTWRITER

The issue whether scriptwriting should be included in film history seems to hinge on the notion of the writer as the author or one of the authors of a film. Conversely, if one decides that it is merely a technical role in film production, scriptwriting would rightfully be reduced to historical footnotes. This, indeed, has often been the case. Therefore, we need to look at how the status of the scriptwriter tied to particular skills of the profession has been laid out on the scale of craftsmanship and creativity. Admittedly, these categories are not mutually exclusive, and the relationship between the two seems to have been instrumental in how scriptwriting has been regarded in historical accounts. By having a closer look at certain terminological distinctions and implications borne from these, I will examine how the scriptwriter's social status has been articulated in various sources, which has in turn contributed to attempts at canon formation.

Geniuses and craftsmen

From most histories of scriptwriting emerges an understanding of different types of scriptwriters, a kind of taxonomy based on a discursive constellation that takes into account writers' backgrounds, thematic preoccupations, genre diversity, capacity for innovation and so on. Certainly, this bears close resemblance to how the work of auteur-directors is commonly approached. For instance, Satō brings forth class distinctions and political sympathies to look

at ways in which filmmaking changed in the 1930s (Satō 2006 vol. i: 60-63). In the case of looking at scriptwriters, this distinction has been instrumental in legitimising such attempts. It goes without saying that in order to instate any claims of authorship for scriptwriters they cannot merely be seen as technical staff. Certainly, making a distinction between artistic and technical at once subscribes to certain received values. One of the most common ways to divide scriptwriters is to bring into play pairs of terms such as *sainō* (talent)/*tensai* (genius) and *doryoku* (effort)/ *shokunin* (craftsman).

For instance, Iida Shinbi had described Shindō as belonging to the *doryoku*-type by evoking the fable about the tortoise and the hare to correspond to the two dominant types (Iida 1954b: 143). Notably, the first two early scriptwriters that even general histories never fail to



Susukita Rokuhei

mention, Susukita Rokuhei and Yamagami Itarō, have been routinely referred to as geniuses, as if that designation alone would suffice to give them special status. The scriptwriter Yahiro Fuji provided the three names that in his opinion changed *jidaigeki* in the 1920s: Susukita Rokuhei, Saijō Terutarō and Yamagami Itarō. About Saijō, Yahiro bluntly noted that he was not *kisaiteki* (devilishly talented) like Susukita but instead had the steady skills of a craftsman (*shokunin no ude no tashikasa*) (Shindō 1989a: 64).

The director

Namiki Kyōtarō has added, somewhat vaguely, that Yamagami was a genius (*tensai*) while Nishijō wrote great scenarios (Ibid.: 66). Indeed, the terms *tensai* and *shokunin* and their various synonyms permeate the discourse on scriptwriting. There also seems to exist a general agreement among critics about which



Yamagami Itarō

of these categories each writer belongs to.

On the other hand, labelling someone a craftsman does not necessarily lead to downplaying a writer's artistic contributions or status, as the term holds a certain dignity in the Japanese cultural context. After all, Itami Mansaku called upon scriptwriters to aspire to be craftsmen of words (*kyakuhonka wa ji o kaku shokunin de are*), a notion that Hashimoto Shinobu held very dear (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 31). Curiously, though, while in the case of a genius, the family or work background does not seem to matter, it tends to be pointed out in the case of writers dignified with the notion of *shokunin*. In Chapter One, we saw how both Satō and Shindō kept mentioning the writers' backgrounds in order to include them in the canon of filmmakers. For instance, Shindō is making a point about the social backgrounds of scriptwriters and how these are reflected in the general tone of their work: Yagi Yasutarō's peasant and Ikeda Tadao's urban bourgeois backgrounds point to their very different stylistic and thematic preoccupations. Somehow naively, this seems to suggest as if peasants alone have the right amount of perseverance and others are better off with having talent.

Umeda Haruo, while discussing his experiences in scriptwriting, found an idiosyncratic way to comment on this widely-used dichotomy of genius and craftsman. "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 *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 dash'" (Umeda 1955: 88). Admittedly, Umeda delivered this very much tongue-in-cheek but perhaps half-seriously as well, pointing out the fact that in scriptwriting the quantity and perseverance often come first even for talented writers.

Arguably the most technical-minded of all Japanese scriptwriters, Kaeriyama Norimasa, receives universal acclaim in histories not only for allegedly coining the word for film (*eiga*) in Japanese that replaced the earlier *katsudō shashin* (active photographs)⁶³ but for writing the first authoritative study on filmmaking, *Katsudō shashingeki no sōsaku to satsueihō* (The

⁶³ See Gerow 2010: 119.

Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama, 1917). In that seminal book which takes a step-by-step approach to film production a considerable amount of space is dedicated to the principles of scriptwriting (Kaeriyama 2006: 67-120). Kaeriyama also put the techniques introduced there into practice in what amount to the first ‘pure’ films in Japan.⁶⁴ It is perhaps suitable that the educational background of this pioneer who altered the way cinema was beginning to be perceived was in engineering rather than in performing arts. While crediting him for innovations in scriptwriting, Shindō somewhat dismissively noted that Kaeriyama’s disinterest in literary arts (*bungei*) is all too apparent in his scenarios (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 18). Indeed, compared to what was to come after him, Kaeriyama’s continuity scripts, unusually for Japanese scriptwriting, come across as rather dry and technical, the precision of the scene description considerably playing down the script’s function of evoking images.

Scenario writer and scenario author

Another important terminological distinction that permeates critical accounts of scriptwriting and is often used for assessing the work of individual scriptwriters is that between *shinario raitā* and *shinario sakka*. I would argue that this largely overlaps with what the *doryoku/shokunin* and *sainō/tensai* pairs signify. *Shinario raitā*, deriving as it does from English, can be easily translated as scenario writer. *Shinario sakka*, however, poses considerable problems for finding a suitable term. Most commonly, *sakka* denotes a prose writer, a novelist but also writer or author in general. More generally, the term can be used for any artist and as such comes close to the notion of *auteur*. The main question seems to be about whether and to what extent these two terms are interchangeable. Admittedly, the former is a common, neutral-sounding term while the latter bears implications of aesthetic qualities and social status in the cultural field. It would seem, then, that the use of either of these terms effectively renders certain scriptwriters authors and others mere writers. Notably, while *tensai* and *shokunin* seem to point at temperament and working methods, the juxtaposition of *raitā* and *sakka* has clear political implications in the context of film authorship.

⁶⁴ See Bernardi 2001: 67-96.

In order to look at the relevance of this distinction, it is instructive to examine different histories and how this terminology has been used in them. In Chapter One we saw how Satō consistently used *shinario sakka* in his chapters on scriptwriters and how it relates to the legitimising their place in film history alongside contributors commonly given more visibility such as directors and actors. Tanaka in turn, adhered to the use of *kyakushoku* instead of *kyakuhon* when crediting scriptwriters, as if to suggest that the writer is merely an adapter.

While Satō made sure to call the scriptwriters he discusses *shinario sakka* in order to include certain writers in film history by providing them sufficient stature, Shindō remained with the less pretentious *shinario raitā*. Apparently, refraining from the use of that culturally value-based term enabled Shindō to accommodate many more scriptwriters (he includes individual entries for nearly a hundred in his two-volume book) without having to claim too much about their exact creative or authorial capacity. Conceivably, Shindō, himself an active writer and the chairman of the Japan Writers Guild (1972-1982 and 1997-2001), preferred *raitā* for the fear of sounding too self-important. On the other hand, in the case of certain major writers, Shindō still proceeded more or less like Satō by providing recurring thematic or stylistic traits in their work. Somewhat ironically, by doing this, Shindō fell back on a biographical treatment that seems to take a hint from the dominant *sakkaron* in literary scholarship that is mostly concerned with finding a suitable metaphor for a central theme that would encapsulate the oeuvre of a writer. This treatment, however, is in contrast to the majority of writers who emerged since the 1960s as he does not do much besides providing lists of their major works. In a way, this gives an uneven look to his history but on the other hand seems to suggest Shindō's relative disinterest in the contributions of younger writers.

The canon of scriptwriters

Indeed, the term *shinario sakka* seems to be used mostly by film critics rather than practitioners. Scriptwriters themselves have often preferred the (somewhat self-derogatory) term *hon'ya*, derived from *kyakuhonka* (the official name of the profession, corresponding to the scenario being called *hon*, an abbreviation of *kyakuhon*.) Apparently, the writers themselves initially seemed to care less about their own status than the critics who were eager to make such a distinction. Since the early 1950s, a sudden trend can be detected in accounts

that look at the work of individual scriptwriters through such auteurist prism with the term *shinario sakka* strongly present. In 1952 an extended issue of *Kinema junpō*⁶⁵ offered a series of sketches of fourteen scriptwriters under the title “Shinario sakka gurinpusu” (A Glimpse of Scenario Authors), including short essays complete with friendly caricatures of Hisaita Eijirō, Tanaka Sumie, Mizuki Yōko, Oguni Hideo, Yoda Yoshikata, Yanai Takao, Kurosawa Akira, Kinoshita Keisuke, Shindō Kaneto, Saitō Ryōsuke, Uekusa Keinosuke, Noda Kōgo, Yagi Yasutarō and Inomata Katsuhito. Notably, Kurosawa and Kinoshita, better known now as directors, are included in this list of scriptwriters; out of these fourteen, Tanaka and Mizuki are women.



“Shinario sakka gurinpusu” in *Kinema junpō*, featuring profiles and caricatures of Noda Kōgo, Yagi Yasutarō and Inomata Katsuhito

Along similar lines, *Gendai eiga kōza* (Lectures on Contemporary Film, 1954) in its third volume dedicated to scriptwriting considered a number of writers and their styles; the whole enterprise takes up to one-third of the book, including essays on both Japanese and foreign writers. In comparison to *Shinario sakka gurinpusu*, the list this time comprises of 12 Japanese writers, with Ide Toshirō added and Hisaita, Yanai and Uekusa dropped (Wada 1954: 117-143). These essays were critical and polemical, often sharply pointing out the weaknesses of certain authors and proposing solutions to these. Four years later, another special issue of *Kinema junpō*, “*Rinji zōkan meisaku shinariosen*” (Special Extended Selection of Masterpiece Scenarios) boasted separate entries written by some major film critics on fourteen *shinario sakka*, this time accompanied by “*Gendai shinariosakka gunzō*” (A Group of Contemporary

⁶⁵ This was the first of numerous extended (*zōkan*) and special (*bessatsu*) issues dedicated to scenarios; see Chapter Five.

Scenario Authors), special photogravures (*tokubetsu gurabia*), a standard practice of *Kinema junpō* commonly used to provide photos of actors to the fans. This, together with earlier caricatures made not only the work but faces of individual writers familiar to the wider audience (Okamoto et al. 1958: 145-152).⁶⁶ Compared to the previous list, Hisaita has been reinstated, Noda, Saitō, Ide and Shindō have been dropped as have Kurosawa and Kinoshita (to make room for writers proper); newcomers include Kikushima Ryūzō, Hashimoto Shinobu, Kusuda Yoshiko, Shirasaka Yoshio, Yahiro Fuji, Yasumi Toshio and Yamagata Yūsaku.

The clearest distinction yet between scenario writer and author were made by Kitagawa Fuyuhiko in his review of contemporary scriptwriters in *Shinario tokuhon* in 1959. “In the Japanese film world, there are many *shinario raitā* but extremely few *shinario sakka*” (Kitagawa 1959: 52). Kitagawa singled out fifteen writers: Hashimoto, Mizuki, Yoda, Kikushima, Shindō, Yagi, Kinoshita, Shirasaka, Yasumi, Inomata, Yamagata, Uekusa, Noda, Hisaita and Kusuda from previous lists, with Kuri Sutei (the moniker for collaboration between Ichikawa Kon and Wada Natto), Kataoka Kaoru, Narusawa Masashige and Matsuyama Zenzō added for the first time. Interestingly, Kitagawa put Inomata in limbo due to his recent mediocre output: “Will he stay *shinario sakka*, or will descend as *shinario raitā*: we can say that Inomata Katsuhito is presently standing at such perilous crossroads” (Ibid.: 56). It seems, then, anyone can become a *raitā*, but one has to earn the *sakka* status. And even then there remains the possibility of downward mobility.

Notably, at the turn of the 1960s, as the publication of scenarios reached its all-time peak, a series “*Shinario sakka kenkyū*” (Research of Scenario Authors) ran in *Kinema junpō* between 1959 and 1961. Introducing in considerable length thirteen individual writers, an entry typically comprised of an interview with the writer, essays by both the writer and critics

⁶⁶ Entries are as follows: Kikushima (written by Okamoto Tōru, 145), Inomata (Nagae Michitarō 145-146), Oguni (Iida Shinbi, 146), Hashimoto (Okada Susumu, 146-147), Mizuki (Iwasaki Akira, 147-148), Kusuda (Oshikawa Yoshiyuki, 148), Shirasaka (Tanaka Yutaka, 148-149), Yagi (Kishi Matsuo, 149), Tanaka (Urino Tadao, 149-150), Yahiro (Takizawa Hajime, 150), Hisaita (Kobayashi Masaru, 151), Yasumi (Mori Manjirō, 151), Yamagata (Izawa Jun, 151-152), Yoda (Tada Michitarō, 152).

evaluating their contributions and finally a complete list of works produced.⁶⁷ This time, the lineup poses no surprises nor names that would not have appeared in earlier lists: in the order of publication, Hashimoto, Yasumi, Kikushima, Shindō, Wada, Yagi, Mizuki, Matsuyama, Hisaita, Shirasaka, Yoda, Uekusa and Narusawa. To conclude, Mizuki, Yagi and Yoda are the only three writers to make appearance in all lists from 1952 through 1961.

While commonly not nearly as rigidly determined as in Kitagawa, the distinction between *raitā* and *sakka* is important for understanding how certain writers became household names. From these and similar accounts, a list of canonical writers begins to emerge. Curiously, there seems to be room for about a dozen or so writers in the canon at any one time, as if only a limited number could be accommodated in the list. At any rate, these were lists in motion, a contemporaneous canon where even writers of such stature and solid record as Noda and Shindō could sometimes be refused the entry based on their recent output. (The formation of the canon of scenarios will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.)

Arguably, the use of the term *shinario sakka* served as a device to bring scriptwriters into the limelight, if only in film criticism. However, this had reverberations in subsequent film histories where it has become a common term to mark the work of notable writers. While the notion of *shinario sakka* is predominant among film critics and historians, there is one instance where it has been taken up by the practitioners of trade themselves. Notably, the Japanese version of the name for Japan Writers Guild reads Shinario Sakka Kyōkai (Association of Scenario Authors). It was established in 1947 among scriptwriters from various studios with the main purpose of establishing a standard for working fees and copyrights (Ogawa 1986: 111-115 and Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 52-54). However, this also had a prewar antecedent, dissolved like other similar unions by the military government in 1941. Founded in 1937, a year later than the Directors Guild of Japan, this earlier version of the writers guild was named Nihon Eiga Sakka Kyōkai (Association of Japanese Film Authors),

⁶⁷ The issues of *Kinema junpō* where the series appeared were: Hashimoto (March *jō* 1959), Yasumi (July *ge* 1959), Kikushima (November 1959), Shindō (January *ge* 1960), Wada (February *ge* 1960), Yagi (May *ge* 1960), Mizuki (July *ge* 1960), Matsuyama (October *jō* 1960), Hisaita (November *ge* 1960), Shirasaka (December *ge* 1960), Yoda (April *jō* 1961), Uekusa (May *jō* 1961) and Narusawa (August *ge* 1961).

already alluding to the growing self-awareness of scriptwriters of their own role and status in film production.

THE WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTWRITER

Attempts at smuggling the contribution of scriptwriters into film history commonly include accounts of the particularities of the writing process, often in an anecdotal vein.⁶⁸ In that way, focus can be lifted from the hard-to-resolve issues of the authorship of the text and replaced by a more biographical approach that nevertheless can underline the problematic relationship between different agents in film production. Indeed, it seems almost symptomatic that the topic of scriptwriting is more often that not addressed by bringing into play the quotidian aspects of the profession. On the one hand, such tropes give scriptwriters visibility by endowing them with a definite image, however exaggerated. On the other hand, these accounts can also inform us on how the script department operated and the collaborative nature of writing, both of which resulted in particular working spaces for the writers.

The script department

Even general film histories that tend to omit scriptwriting seem unable to do without mentioning the seminal place the Shōchiku's script department (*kyakuhonbu*) held in developing the studio's *shōshimin eiga* genre.⁶⁹ For instance, Tanaka, who pays next to no attention to the script beyond the first of his five volumes of *Nihon eiga hattatsushi*, stresses the importance of scriptwriting in molding the much-celebrated Kamata/Ōfuna tone of filmmaking in the 1930s.⁷⁰ Satō does the same, beginning his post-earthquake chapter with recollections of Shōchiku scriptwriter Oda Yū (Satō 2006 vol. i: 211-224). In most such accounts, the Shōchiku *kyakuhonbu* is presented as an exemplary, even idealised place that

⁶⁸ Quite in contrary to what Richard Corliss says about Hollywood writers being of silent type, the Japanese ones have left a sizeable archive of their practical advice, opinions, memoirs etc.

⁶⁹ *Shōshimin eiga* (in Western scholarship often mistakenly called *shomingeki*) is a genre closely associated with Shōchiku studios.

⁷⁰ *Kamata-chō* (and since the moving of the studio in 1936, *Ōfuna-chō*) with its light, comedic touch is commonly attributed to the products of the Shōchiku studios, a tradition that can be traced postwar films of Ozu Yasujirō and others.

introduced a model for all subsequent script departments, underlining Shōchiku's role as an innovator in film production and genre shaping.



A depiction of Shōchiku Kamata Studios from 1927

The central role in providing the script its status is unanimously given to Kido Shirō who became the head of the Shōchiku studios in 1924, his seemingly all-encompassing influence even resulting in the term Kidoism applied to a certain current in Japanese cinema. What Ishizaka Shōzō calls Kido's pet theory instantly takes up the most common metaphor for the film script. "Script (*kyakuhon*) is the blueprint (*sekkeizu*) of film. If the blueprint for a house is not proper (*iikagen*), only a shaky thing can be built. In film, too, if the script is bad, even a talented director cannot make a decent picture (*shashin*) from it" (Ishizaka 1995: 36). Notably, Kido demanded scriptwriting skills also from the directors which at times even lead to the situation in which assistant directors who turned

out to be good writers were sometimes quickly promoted to full rank (Ibid.: 37). Tanaka also points out that by placing more importance on the team of the writer and director, Kido sought to challenge the dominant star system in film production (Tanaka 1976 vol. ii: 59).⁷¹ In Kido's 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 bring them up" (Ishizaka 1995: 36).

Something very few histories fail to mention is that apart from his working place in the studio administration, Kido kept a chair at the script department on the second floor of the main building at Kamata; he stopped by whenever he had spare time to engage in lively discussion

⁷¹ It is questionable to what extent Kido was trying to employ this "secret plan for controlling stars" (Ishizaka 1995: 36). However, it seems to parallel the phenomenon during the 1930s when after the early 1930s flourishing of independent production centered around several stars (such as the jidaigeki actors Arashi Kanjurō, Kataoka Chiezō but also the actress Irie Takako) such independents died away by mid-decade.

with writers and to brain storm ideas for new films (Tanaka 1976 vol. ii: 58, Satō 2006 vol. i: 216). Apparently, Kido modelled his *kyakuhonbu* on experiences gathered from his many foreign trips. Returning from the United States in 1924, he quickly established a research group, *kyakuhon kenkyūsho*, putting in charge Noda Kōgo (better known at the time as a young film critic writing under the name of Midorikawa Harunosuke, later to become the doyen of Japanese scriptwriting). Into the Ōfuna period, with his personal secretary Tsukimori Sennosuke appointed as the head of *kyakuhonbu*, Kido held a strong grip over its proceedings and employed some fifty writers (Ishizaka 1995: 39).

Another aspect often used to characterise the Shōchiku *kyakuhonbu* is its intimate, family-like atmosphere. The actor Ryū Chishū's wife Harue was employed there since 1925 as a copywriter; she recalled the working space in a conversation with Shindō Kaneto.

The head Kido came to work early in the morning, so did the people from the script department. At night, they talked about scripts until late. That happened with quite some fervour and fury. Noda [Kōgo], Yoshida [Hyakusuke], Kitamura [Komatsu], Oda [Takashi], Murakami [Tokusaburō], Ochiai [Namio]. All still young. They wrote with a pen into a notebook, or on manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*), or coarse writing paper (*wara hanshi*). It was difficult for me because there were some who could not write well. The wives of scriptwriters were often in the room, too. It was more like a family (Shindō 1989 vol. i: 94).

Shindō himself remembered the warm welcome that he received upon arriving there in 1943 from Kyoto. This was very much in contrast with the markedly feudalistic attitude encountered at his former working place (Ishizaka 1995: 40).

Nevertheless, the notion of family here is not as cuddly or uncomplicated as it might seem. Steven Price has noted how the establishing of script departments in Hollywood helped to both define and restrict the trade: “only 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). Similarly, while appearing as one

big family for its workers, or a “Scenario Mecca” from outside (Shindo 1989 vol. i: 148), the Shōchiku script department had its mechanisms of exclusion. This is well represented by the six competitions held from 1928 to 1948 with Kido’s stated aim of finding and grooming talented young people to be film authors that had Shōchiku “employ[ing] graduates from the best universities as screenwriters” (Wada-Marciano 2008: 65).



The members of Shōchiku Ōfuna script department at Seikōen in 1947

Interestingly, the stress that Kido’s put on the script and his own educational background as a graduate of the law faculty of the Tokyo Imperial University (unusual at the time for someone working in the film industry), seem to work together in a phenomenon that appears to contrast writers and directors. The fact that many scriptwriters belonged to the elite (most saliently Ikeda Tadao, for many the quintessential writer of the Shōchiku’s witty and light-hearted style) raises the question of how distinctions between different agents in the filmmaking process might be tied to the notion of social class. At any rate, the role played by the writers (along with Kido and his much-celebrated directors such as Ozu, Gosho, Shimazu, Shimizu et al.) in creating the Kamata/Ōfuna tone should not be underestimated. In a way, this echoes claims made by Satō and Shindō in their scriptwriting histories where they make much of the backgrounds of writers when evaluating their work. Perhaps ironically, Kido must have realised that it was with the script that catering for the middle-class audiences should really start.

The master-disciple system

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). What somewhat undermines such achievements of democratising ways in which Japanese filmmaking had operated and still made Shōchiku appear somewhat feudalistic was the practice of training fresh incoming staff under established writers. This structure that seems to mirror that of the directors and assistant directors hints at a traditional master-disciple system of craftsmanship, where skills and knowledge are passed on through conversation rather than any textual means.⁷² To underline this practise, Inomata Katsuhito and Tayama Rikiya in their *Nihon eiga sakka zenshi* (The Complete History of Japanese Film Authors, 1978) routinely mention which writer had studied under which master (*shishō*).

However, there were ways out of this system in the form of certain dialectic suggested by Okada Susumu and Hayashi Tamaki. They point out that the master-apprentice initiation-like making of new hands (*shitei denju-teki shinjin-zukuri*) of the Shōchiku *kyakuhonbu* always generated its rebels. The list includes Inomata Katsuhito from the prewar, Shindō Kaneto from the postwar, and Ōshima Nagisa as a more recent example in time (Okada and Hayashi 1965: 79-80). According to Okada and Hayashi, Shindō, who through reading prewar scripts made the Ōfuna tone his own, subsequently broke with the studio after his script *Nikutai no seisō* (Body of Deception) for the director Yoshimura Kōzaburō was shelved (later filmed as *Itsuwareru seisō*/Clothes of Deception, 1951) and became the writer who actually shaped the postwar (*sengo o tsukuru kōdōteki na raitā*) (Ibid.: 82).

In his directorial debut, *Aisai monogatari* (The Story of a Beloved Wife, 1951), Shindō provided both a depiction of the master-disciple system in action and an alternative to it. In this semi-autobiographical film, a fledgling scriptwriter is put through much stress by the

⁷² Yasumi Toshio who joined the P.C.L. Studios in 1936 points out that at the time there were no places where one could learn about scriptwriting and not much in way of a handbook (Yasumi 1964: 30). Therefore, he suggests that best way to learn about the trade is to find a teacher (*sensei* or *shishō*) (Ibid.: 34). The paucity of scriptwriting manuals is not completely accurate, as the mid-1930s saw the publication of several such books, Yasuda's two books in particular. (On evaluating Yasuda's contribution to Japanese film criticism, see Satō 1984: 58-70.) The first one solidifying the field of manuals was Noda Kōgo's *Shinario kōzōron* (On the Structure of Scenario, 1952, *Shinario hōhōron* [On the Method of Scenario] in its first edition in 1948, a reprint of essays serialised in the journal *Shinario*). According to Ishizaka, this was the first scholarly guide to scriptwriting in Japan, none less than the Bible of scriptwriting (*kyakuhon no baiburu*) (Ishizaka 1995: 91).

demanding film director Sakaguchi-sensei (a thinly disguised take on Mizoguchi Kenji).⁷³ After being made to repeatedly rewrite a script, the protagonist takes a year to read through the collected plays of world literature.⁷⁴ Here, Shindō pointed at a third possibility of learning about scriptwriting: appropriating the dramatic aspect of film through theatrical tradition rather than the two more common sources of transcribed continuities and the master.⁷⁵

Writing alone and together

Although the *kyakuhonbu* might have appeared family-like and the skills of the trade were initially learnt from the master, producing the script was still the sole responsibility of the writer. In accordance with this, in Japan, more often than not films receive a single scriptwriting credit. Togawa Naoki, when discussing differences between Japanese and American scriptwriting practices, pointed out the prevalence of the collaborative system (*gassaku shisutemu*) in the US where several writers are involved in different stages of the process, suggesting that the Japanese film industry has much to learn from this practice. Ironically, joint authorship is precisely what has troubled most scholars of American screenwriting, mainly because it effectively blurs the notion of authorship as such and makes any claims of investing the writer(s) with power over the text problematic (Togawa 1959: 30).⁷⁶ Arguably, Togawa's juxtaposition of two traditions of film production is an attempt to sustain the image of Japanese scriptwriter as more authorial and autonomous compared to his American counterpart.

⁷³ According to Kishi Matsuo, this aspect of the film depicts the relationship between Mizoguchi and his main scriptwriter Yoda Yoshikata rather than Shindō's own experiences with the legendary director (Kishi 1973: 807).

⁷⁴ Pointing to an autobiographical background to this story, Shindō recalls how he had no money to buy the books but borrowed them from a used book seller at Kawaramachi one volume at time (Tachibana 2011: 19).

⁷⁵ This also rather neatly coincides with one of the types Okada Susumu proposes to distinguish various traditions of scriptwriting in Japan as exemplified by writers who made a transition from theatre to cinema such as Yagi Yasutarō, Yatta Naoyuki, Hisaita Ejirō and Yasumi Toshio (Okada 1963:195).

⁷⁶ This confusion is further supported by several seemingly arbitrary regulations of the American Screen Writers Guild concerning screenwriting credits, 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).

Japanese scriptwriters would appear to be a remarkable exception within world film history but it is debatable whether the Japanese scriptwriter had a completely free hand in developing the script and was adequately credited for his work. Still, while script conferences took place where changes to early drafts were proposed by various members of the production team (Umeda 1955: 93-94), the same writer was kept re-writing until the end of the process and arguably had more or less integrity for the final draft (*ketteikō*). In other words, unlike what often happened in Hollywood, the script was not taken from his hands altogether and given to another writer(s) to finish. Notably, although changes were always made to the script in the process of shooting, the final draft that effectively became the shooting script (*daihon*) remained intact so to speak, especially as many of these were later published, taking on a different function and readership as will be discussed in later chapters of this thesis.

Despite this seemingly dominant model of assigning a single writer to a project, there are many cases of collaborative scriptwriting in Japan.⁷⁷ The most famous of these are associated with the working methods of canonical Japanese film directors such as Kurosawa Akira, Mizoguchi Kenji⁷⁸ and Ozu Yasujiro. Much has been written about the *gasshuku* (boarding together) model employed by Kurosawa during his most active period from late 1940s to

⁷⁷ There was an earlier example of collaborative writing, a more radical one where individual contributions were dissolved into the common moniker of Kajihara Kinpachi. This was a name used by a group of writers active in Kyoto between 1934 and 1937, who called themselves Narutakigumi. Comparisons have been called to Kurosawa's scriptwriting circle (Itō et al. 1966: 24). The group was named after the Kyoto neighbourhood Narutaki where they all lived at the time. Most famous members include writer-directors Inagaki Hiroshi and Yamanaka Sadao but also such celebrated writers as Yahiro Fuji (1904-1986) and Mimura Shintarō (1897-1970). The rest of the eight were writer Fujii Shigeji (1908-1970), directors Takizawa Eisuke (1902-1965), Suzuki Momosaku (1901-1941) and Hagiwara Ryō (1910-1976). Narutakigumi has been credited for introducing the discussion of the script as part of process of filmmaking (although this can also be seen at Kido's Shōchiku, if not earlier). One of the members, Inagaki Hiroshi later noted that the biggest accomplishment of the group was its contribution to modernising *jidaigeki* by introducing contemporary language into a medium in transition from silent to sound (Inagaki 1983: 128). What seems relevant is that the group was founded on a principle markedly different from that of studio centered filmmaking, namely the members' (who were employed by different studios) own initiative and interests. All in all, Narutakigumi is responsible for more than twenty films produced in studios as diverse as Nikkatsu, P.C.L. (and its successor Tōhō), Shinkō and Shōchiku, but also Chiepro, Kanpro and Utapro (independent production companies built around *jidaigeki* stars Kataoka Chiezo, Arashi Kanjūrō and Ichikawa Utaemon, respectively). As such, Narutakigumi presents a remarkable case which hints at the possibility of collaboration in the environment of fierce competition between studios in the mid-1930s.

⁷⁸ Although Yoda Yoshikata is always credited as the single writer in Mizoguchi's films, according to virtually all accounts it was the director who was very much in charge of the whole writing process. Infamous for driving actors mad with his demands, the same thing is mirrored in his relationship to Yoda whom he tortured with assigning numerous rewrites. (Ishizaka 1995: 153-154).

mid-1960s (with the exception of the first six and the last three films, all Kurosawa's films received joint writing credits).⁷⁹ Kurosawa himself admitted that "[i]f I write alone it tends to get really one-sided. I would rather do it while discussing between two (or more) persons" (Kurosawa 2010: 13). Apparently, Kurosawa sat several writers together in the same room and had them compete with each other to come up with the best solution for a particular sequence under scrutiny. In a tense atmosphere much like a school exam, the director himself had the final word (Ishizaka 1995: 153-154). Based on this practice, Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro has proposed a new theory of auteurship as collective negotiation for (re)considering Kurosawa's oeuvre (Yoshimoto 2000: 54-57). Although introducing some much-needed balance to an auteurist understanding to the director's work, the notion of negotiation seems somewhat vague here, especially if we take into account Kurosawa's dominant role in the process, a strong sense of the director's presence that ultimately dictated the tone of the final version of the script.

In his typology of Japanese scriptwriting, Okada Susumu has noted Kurosawa's model as one bringing together several seemingly conflicting types of traditions. Okada lists four distinct schools (*nagare*) of writing: 1) silent *jidaigeki* characterised by focus on rhythm (Itō Daisuke and Yamanaka Sadao as its representative writers), 2) Shōchiku's *shoshimingeki* with its penchant for depicting nuances of everyday life (Ozu, Shimazu), 3) writers coming from theatre who cherish drama and conflict (Yagi, Yatta, Yasumi), and 4) an ironic framework that juxtaposes words and images (Itami Mansaku) (Okada 1963: 190-198). In Okada's view, by employing writers of each type to work together, Kurosawa effectively created a space where various strengths of Japanese scriptwriting could interact and result in the best possible results (Ibid.: 199). Whether we accept Okada's interpretation or not, the efforts of Kurosawa's group have been widely celebrated, and lately decorated with the highest international recognition yet for Japanese scriptwriting. It might seem ironic that amidst all the individuality attached to Japanese writers, the Jean Renoir Award for Screenwriting Achievement in 2013 (given by the Writers Guild of America West) was shared between Kurosawa, Hashimoto, Kikushima and

⁷⁹ Writers Oguni Hideo (12 credits), Kikushima Ryūzō (9), Hashimoto Shinobu (8) and Hisaita Eijirō (4) were Kurosawa's most frequent collaborators, with several different combinations between them making up the writing credits of the director's most emblematic films. All four, together with Kurosawa, are credited for *Warui yatsu hodo yoku nemuru* (The Bad Sleep Well, 1960).



Kurosawa Akira (in the middle) and his principal collaborators
(from the left) Hisaita Eijirō, Hashimoto Shinobu,
Oguni Hideo and Kikushima Ryūzō

Oguni (posthumously save for Hashimoto).⁸⁰

The case of Ozu offers a variation of the *gasshuku* model if only for the fact that the collaborators were limited to the director himself and scriptwriter Noda Kōgo. Although having worked in the prewar years with other seminal Shōchiku writers such as Ikeda Tadao and Saitō Ryōsuke, all Ozu films after the

1949 *Banshun*, a film which arguably established his late style, were shared with Noda.⁸¹

What seems important in comparison to the way Kurosawa saw the role of his writers, is that Ozu apparently had enormous respect towards Noda and treated him as his equal. This is illustrated by an anecdote where in the middle of shooting a film Ozu rang Noda, asking his permission to replace a single suffix in the dialogue (Ishizaka 1995: 94). In a way, this pedantry is connected to an understanding of the script as the definitive version of the film which should not be altered during shooting. In Ozu's opinion, "when the script is ready, it is the same as having eighty per cent of the film done" (Ibid.: 17).

The writing inn

An integral part of the image of Japanese scriptwriting was its reliance on specific working spaces. Despite the abovementioned exceptional collaborative models, the task of the

⁸⁰ "“Our Jean Renoir Award, honoring those non-U.S. 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 WGA 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).

⁸¹ Prewar, before commencing his collaboration with Noda, Ozu often collaborated, which sometimes took playful forms, as with the nom-de-plume James Taki to designate his own contribution plus Fushimi Akira or Ikeda Tadao (Kishi 1970: 402).

scriptwriter, especially when compared to the teamwork of shooting a film, has commonly been seen as a lonely ordeal. However, from various accounts emerges a strong sense of community which can be traced back not only to the family-like atmosphere of the Shōchiku script department. The template for this is characterised by Ishizaka: “A scriptwriter teams with a director, and



(From the left) Yanai Takao, Aramata Masao, Kiyoshima Nagatoshi, Noda Kōgo, Fushimi Akira and Sawamura Tsutomu at Seikōen

after deciding on the next project, shuts himself in the *jōyado* (the regular inn) and begins the scriptwriting process” (Ishizaka 1995: 40). The notion of *jōyado* permeates histories of scriptwriting, making it inextricable from those of the department and the master-disciple relationship. Moreover, during the immediate postwar years, big studios had their regular *jōyado*, often in quiet rural locations outside Tokyo. Famously, Shōchiku kept one for its writers at the hot spring resort Hakone Yumoto and another in the coastal town of Chigasaki, called Seikōen and Chigasakikan, respectively.⁸²

Ishizaka noted that at any given time during the Golden Age of the 1950s there were two to three writers or writing teams staying at each of these places (Ishizaka 1995: 40). He has dedicated a whole book, *Ozu Yasujirō to Chigasakikan*, to the special place this *jōyado* had in Ozu’s life and work between 1941 and 1957; he examines how the particular environment of a quiet coastal resort town with its historical background gave birth to a number of films considered as masterpieces. The relative proximity to the Shōchiku studios at Ōfuna and mild winters being the strong points of Chigasaki, Ozu allegedly spend 150 to 200 days a year at Chigasaki during the ten-year postwar period, always using the same corner room Number Two.⁸³ Needless to say, all expenses were paid by the company (Ibid.: 42). There are

⁸² Chigasakikan had been used by Shōchiku since its move from Kamata to Ōfuna in 1936 (Ishizaka 1995: 35).

⁸³ Room number one was frequented by the writer Saitō Ryōsuke, nicknamed the Master of Chigasaki (*Chigasaki no nushi*).

numerous accounts of how the first days after entering the inn were spent playing mahjong with other lodging writers; it was only a few days later that any work commenced. Apparently, Ozu spent most of the early part of the day preparing his special brand of miso soup for others (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 27).



Ozu Yasujirō and Noda Kōgo
in the room Number Two at Chigasakikan

Ashizawa Toshirō, who often stayed at Chigasakikan as an assistant to Saitō Ryōsuke, recalled the endless banter and reminiscing of old times by Ozu and Noda, which commenced every day with almost no variation. Ishizaka has pointed out how such small talk (*yomoyamabanashi*) always laid the foundation to a new project (Ishizaka 1995: 15). Donald Richie,

in turn, has argued that the fabric of Ozu's scripts invariably grew out of these small incidents and jokes and eventually "contributed both to the creation of character and to the form of the film itself" (Richie 1974: 35). The writing space and the kind of communication it allowed, then, was integral to Ozu's working method, making the environment part of filmmaking. Ozu himself noted that crucial for such collaboration is sharing certain daily habits, otherwise it would end in failure (Ishizaka 1995: 150). On the other hand, as if trying to sustain a certain mystique to the creative process, a myth that simple cohabiting will miraculously result in a finished script, Ozu and Noda never let others see them actually working on the script. Ishizaka referred to an interview when a journalist came in and found it hard to come across anything in the room that would give away that this was a place for writing: there were no paper or pencils on the table. However, the apprentice Ashizawa was once lucky to get a peek at 3 am, of the two bent over their *genkō yōshi*, feverishly writing (Ibid.: 151-153).

Concerning Seikōen where he mostly worked during his days at Shōchiku in the late 1940s, Shindō describes what he calls the leisure (*yoyū*) system. While each writer or a team of

writers was working on their respective tasks, there was always enough time to interact (Shindō 1989 vol. ii: 26-28). In fact, several descriptions of the life in *jōyado* make one wonder how anyone was able to get any writing done in the first place. In sum, this idealised description of *jōyado* puts forth an image that the Golden Age was not only one of making and watching films but also writing them. In addition, *jōyado* also functioned as a space of initiation, with a young writer groomed by the master sent off to the inn to finish his first script. At any rate, the particular setting sustained an image of the writer that was markedly different from that of the industrial image of work done in the studio environment.



Young Shindō Kaneto (in the right) with his elder colleagues (from the left) Saitō Ryōsuke, Noda Kōgo and Yanai Takao

Nevertheless, this model of writing at leisure did not come without its problems. Notoriously, Saitō Ryōsuke who had recently written a number of much-acclaimed comedies directed by Shibuya Minoru⁸⁴ developed a writer's block while working on the script of *Seido no Kirisuto* (Christ in Bronze) at Chigasakikan in 1953. Eventually, it took over a year to finish this single

script, even after additional writers were sent in by the studio (Ishizaka 1995: 40-41). In a conversation with Shindō, different people have recalled the incident. Ashizawa: "Having put down: 'A policeman chases through the streets of Edo', he did not write another word for three years." Inoue Kazuo, who worked as Shibuya's assistant director admits that he felt like beating Saitō up. Yamanouchi Hisashi adds that the blank manuscript paper had turned yellow waiting (Shindō 1994: 27-28). Ishizaka suggests that in order to facilitate such risks of running over the schedule, a balance was sought by employing writing machines such as Shindō, who was able to regularly turn out scripts in three weeks (Ishizaka 1995: 41). Indeed, there is an anecdote about a fellow scriptwriter who was staying and working at the same inn as Shindō. The poor man developed writer's block after hearing a steady rhythmical pattern

⁸⁴ Most important of these are *Ten'ya wan'ya* (1950, Crazy Uproar), *Jiyū gakkō* (1951, School of Freedom), *Honjitsu kyūshin* (1952, Doctor's Day Off) and *Gendaijin* (1952, The Moderns).

through the sliding door from the neighbouring room all night long. That was Shindō turning and finishing yet another page of a manuscript in an almost mechanical manner.



Shindō Kaneto on the roof of Seikōen

Although shut away in an inn, writing or being in conversation with other writers was the template for scriptwriting, much as in Iwasaki's account of Hollywood screenwriting, taking a stroll was often seen as part of the whole process. Parallel to location hunting for shooting, the so-called scenario hunting can be seen as a kind of preliminary location hunting (*rokehan*). For instance, Shindō recalled how he walked out at night to Miyagawachō in Kyoto to survey the real life of geisha houses when preparing his script for *Itsuwareru seisō* (Shindō 1954: 51). Noda pointed out that as the film stands on the script (*kyakuhon*, the first character of which means feet), the writer, too, should make a point of taking walks to find material (Ishizaka 1995: 188). Indeed, the 'writing with feet' metaphor frequently recurs in various accounts, making it appear as one the main stages of writing. As we saw in Chapter One, Kobayashi ended his historiographical sketch precisely underlining the importance of this practice in the postwar, singling out writers such as Mizuki, Shindō and Hashimoto, adding Yagi from an earlier generation (Kobayashi 1959: 27). This points at another site besides *kyakuhonbu* and *jōyado*, where research on a different level than studying the transcribed continuities can take place and substantially contribute to the quality of the scenario.

Whether the story is about Ozu and Noda hiding away their work in progress, Kurosawa putting his writing team through something of an exam, Saitō's writing block or Shindō jotting away like a machine, most of the accounts about the way scriptwriting took place in several spaces tend to remain tongue-in-cheek and anecdotal. The meta-anecdote seems to suggest: can a history of scriptwriting be written without anecdotes? However, even from these often humorous stories we can conclude that at least based on the example of Shōchiku

during the Golden Age, the role commonly perceived as by far the loneliest in the process of filmmaking appears lively and collective, both in the familial atmosphere of the *kyakuhonbu* and the leisurely living pace of *jōyado*. At the same time, however idyllic the leisurely *yoyū* system might look from the outside, it is still based on certain notions of industrial hierarchy that need to be examined in the context of how gender relates to the status and working conditions of scriptwriters.

GENDER IN SCRIPTWRITING

The distinction made between writers and authors invested certain scriptwriters with considerable social status while accounts of particular spatial arrangements for writing make the profession seem almost luxurious. However, a set of problematic issues lurk behind these notions, relating both to the gender gap in scriptwriting and how the role of the writer itself has been frequently articulated in gender(ed) terms.

Writer as wife

The opening scenes of the film *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!* (2006, *Cut! The Rights of Japanese Film Directors*, dir. Itō Shun'ya) 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, a baby's cry is heard, and in the adjacent shed they find a baby boy 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, thick with allegory, takes the baby metaphor even further by introducing a newly-wed couple in a *jidaigeki* setting. The groom, Kantoku Uemon (played by the director Oguni Kōhei) receives the bride Kyakuhon Tayū (director Sakamoto Junji in drag) in his house, and subsequently their marriage is discreetly consummated behind a screen. Next day, a wealthy man Chosakken Nijūkyū appears at the doorstep with his entourage and demands the new-born for himself.

These character names are full of puns, with Kantoku being a homonym for director (kantoku) and *tayū* designating a female role in kabuki; Chosakken Nijūkyū refers to the Article 29 of



The director-scriptwriter wedding night scene from *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!* (2006, dir. Itō Shun'ya)

the Japanese Copyright Law that gives the sole authorship of a film to the production company.⁸⁵ Something of a propaganda piece, *Eiga kantoku tte nanda!* was produced by the Directors Guild on the occasion of its 70th anniversary, a polemical stance insisting that current legislation should be revised in favour of the director as the holder of copyright covering the whole film. The issue is given its historical context starting with the Berne Convention and various past debates are reenacted by members of the guild appearing as actors. Ironically, then, a film about fighting for directors' rights has made a deliberate gesture to emasculate and indeed violate the scriptwriter by having the director impregnate him/her for the film to be born.

⁸⁵ “Article 29. 1) Copyright in a cinematographic work ... shall belong to the maker of that work, provided that the authors of the work have undertaken to participate in the making thereof” (Copyright Law of Japan. Chapter II Rights of Authors). Interestingly, the legislation is even less kind to the scriptwriters. “Article 16. 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” (Ibid.) In conclusion, the issue seems to be in the fact that in the case of film, authorship and copyright are not compatible, recognising the authorship does not lead to attaching copyrights to the author, given that a contract is signed with the ‘maker’, the production company. The script, on the other hand, is treated similarly to other ‘raw material’ such as source novel or songs used in the film, as if not produced specifically for the purposes of the work in question.

While this way of depicting the authorial relationship between the director and the scriptwriter might seem quirky and original, *Eiga kantoku tte nanda* has merely visualised a metaphor that has been around for a long time to describe the role of the scriptwriter. Curiously, scriptwriters, regardless of their sex or in fact the nature and amount of their contribution, have often been perceived, constructed as female. On the one hand, admittedly the scene does not seem to make a whole lot of sense. In fact, if reversed it would work better as the director is the one who has to bring up the promise embodied by the script. On the other hand, there have indeed been examples of working relationship between real life partners where the female invariably takes on the role of the scriptwriter. The collaboration between Thea von Harbou and Fritz Lang comes to mind first⁸⁶ but in Japan, the celebrated writing-directing team of Wada Natto and Ichikawa Kon is an example no less instructive.⁸⁷

Female scriptwriters

Although writers might have been perceived as having the wife's role in the relationship of authoring a film, there were not that many actual female writers in Japan until the postwar years. This is in stark contrast with the strong presence of women writers in early Hollywood, attested by the work of Anita Loos, Frances Marion, and June Mathis.⁸⁸ However, in the Japanese film industry, very much a male-dominated one – even to the point that until the early 1920s female roles were still played by male actors – there were considerably fewer chances for women to become part of film production in roles such as producers, directors, or scriptwriters. Japan saw its first major female director only when the actress Tanaka Kinuyo

⁸⁶ They worked together on some of Lang's most famous films such as *Dr. Mabuse der Spieler* (Dr. Mabuse the Gambler, 1922), *Metropolis* (1927) and *M* (1931). They divorced in 1933, not least for the reason that Harbou remained loyal to the emerging Nazi regime while Lang was forced to flee the country.

⁸⁷ Wada Natto scripted most of Ichikawa Kon's directorial work up to 1963: *Biruma no tategoto*, (The Burmese Harp, 1956), *Kagi* (Odd Obsession, 1959), *Yukinojō henge* (An Actor's Revenge, 1963) being few of the more famous examples. Working mostly on adaptations of contemporary literature, often adding new twists peppered with black humour to the original story, Wada gradually moved from light-hearted comedies in the early 1950s to the more serious subject-matter by the end of the decade. Interestingly, the moniker Wada Natto does not neatly refer to Ichikawa Yumiko but was used by Ichikawa Kon alone before, then later used collaboratively, and ultimately came to signify her exclusively.

⁸⁸ See Cari Beauchamp *Without Lying Down: Frances Marion and the Powerful Women of Early Hollywood* (1998), also made into a documentary film in 2000.

started a parallel career and directed six features between 1953 and 1962.⁸⁹ However, women as scriptwriters had actually emerged already in the silent era.

The distinction of first female scriptwriter is commonly given to Mizushima Ayame⁹⁰ (1903-1990, born Takano Chitose). The pen name was created for the occasion of her receiving her first screen credit with *Rakuyō no uta* (The Song of Fallen Leaves, dir. Ogasawara Meihō) which opened in November 1924; using her real name would have resulted in her being expelled from Japan Women's College where even viewing films, let alone participating in making them, was prohibited. The next year, Mizushima entered Shōchiku Kamata Studios, where she remained employed until the studio's move to Ōfuna in 1936, when she retired from the film industry to become a childrens' writer.⁹¹ Only three months after her debut, the rival Nikkatsu studio released *Shitaiyuku kage* (Yearning Shadows, 1925, in two parts, dir. Hatano Yasumasa) scripted by Hayashi Yoshiko,



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

⁸⁹ Sakane Tazuko had directed her only feature film, *Hatsusugata* (New Clothing), in 1936.

⁹⁰ A highly informative and well-maintained electronic resource in Japanese on the life and work of Mizushima Ayame can be found at <http://mizushimaayame.kane-tsugu.com>

⁹¹ Known for scripting comedies and melodramas, she had a total of 29 of her scripts produced. Unfortunately, most of the prints have been lost, with the exception of the melodrama *Akeyuku sora* (The Dawning Sky, 1929, dir. Saitō Torajirō) that has been released in the Digital Meme's Talking Silents series. Her work was not limited to writing scenarios: an original story *Obotchan* (The Young Master) attracted 3000 scripts in a contest called by the studio and was subsequently directed by Shimazu Yasujirō for its 1926 release. In 1928, Mizushima penned the script for the film *Sora no kanata e* (Beyond the Sky, 1928, dir. Tsutami Takeo), based on a novel by Yoshiya Nobuko (1896-1973), a notable and commercially successful contemporary women writer and pioneer of lesbian literature in Japan, as well as major influence on *shōjo manga* (genre of comics targeted at teenage female audiences). On Yoshiya Nobuko, see Suzuki 2010: 32-63. Curiously, Mizushima's last film, *Kagayake shōnen Nihon* (Shine On, Boy Japan!, 1935, dir. Sasaki Yasushi), commissioned to celebrate the birth of the Crown Prince (future Emperor Akihito) was also her only talkie, indicating that her withdrawal from writing for screen might in part have resulted from the changes the medium was going through in its shift to sound.

another female writer.⁹² The third notable women scriptwriter of the era, with 27 scripts to her credit, was Suzuki Noriko (1909-1985). She worked for the Nikkatsu studios from 1933 to 1937, and then for Tōhō until 1941.⁹³



Mizuki Yōko in her study

Given the relative scarcity of women scriptwriters before the war, it is all the more remarkable that Mizuki Yōko (1910-2003), Tanaka Sumie (1908-2000) and Wada Natto (1920-1983) were to become some of the most prominent writers in their trade. The first two, belonging roughly to the

same generation as Mizushima, Hayashi and Suzuki, only started working for film after the war, were most active in the 1950s and largely disappeared from the scene by the mid-1960s. The three wrote over thirty scripts in total. Mizuki and Tanaka, who shared a background in earlier careers of writing for the stage, scripted what were some of the most celebrated films of the 1950s. Both worked frequently with a number of notable directors such as Imai Tadashi, Naruse Mikio and Yoshimura Kōzaburō, resulting in critically acclaimed films including *Meshi* (Repast, 1951, dir.



Tanaka Sumie

⁹² 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 and Suzuki 2006: 13)

⁹³ Among her work is an adaptation of yet another Yoshiya Nobuko novel, *Hanatsumi nikki* (Flower-Picking Diary, 1939, dir. Ishida Tamizō), starring teenage star Takamine Hideko. A print of *Chokoreeto to heitai* (Chocolate and Soldiers, 1938, dir. Sato Takeshi), considered her representative work, was recovered in the United States in 2004. This fact hints at a perennial problem: the majority of prewar Japanese films are lost, making it very difficult to adequately assess the mark left by women scriptwriters on Japanese silent and early sound cinema.

Naruse), *Nigorie* (Muddy Waters, 1953, dir. Imai), *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds, 1954, dir. Naruse), *Yoru no kawa* (Night River, 1956, dir. Yoshimura), and *Kiku to Isamu* (Kiku and Isamu, 1959, dir. Imai). Tanaka also scripted two films directed by her namesake, Tanaka Kinuyo, the first Japanese women director. As seen in Chapter One, Kobayashi noted that one of the four characteristic postwar trends in scriptwriting was the emergence of women writers (*joryū raitā*) (Kobayashi 1959: 26). Ironically, while giving kudos to these writers, Kobayashi resorts to adding the term *joryū*, a somewhat derogatory label, in contrast to the basic term *sakka* that he uses to designate established male writers.⁹⁴

It is tempting to speculate as to which circumstances made it possible for women to work as writers. Arguably, it could have been because of the new atmosphere where Japan was supposed to become an egalitarian society, also on gender terms; but from the industry's point of view, it was also due to the rise of independent production after calamities at studios, e.g. Tōhō strikes, that laid the grounds to this. Elsewhere, I have proposed how the simultaneous shifts in the composition of audiences and the literary canon might have contributed to this phenomenon.⁹⁵ In short, film production companies started to employ women scriptwriters to accommodate the rapidly growing female audiences by providing films with a “feminine touch”, while certain female fiction authors such as Hayashi Fumiko and Yoshiya Nobuko were having a critical revival. On the other hand, Mizuki, Tanaka and Wada all penned a number of scripts for critically acclaimed films based on novels by such Japanese literary giants as Kawabata Yasunari (*The Dancing Girl of Izu*, *Sound of the Mountain*), Mishima Yukio (*The Temple of the Golden Pavilion*), and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (*The Key*).

There were a few other women regularly writing for film at the time, such as Kusuda Yoshiko (1924-2013), sister of the renowned director Kinoshita Keisuke, with 18 screen credits. However, after the 1960s when the film industry witnessed a deep slump, most women scriptwriters, including Mizuki and Tanaka, started to shift their attention to new opportunities brought about by television. Arguably, it was precisely the advent of television from the late 1950s which gave women scriptwriters an opportunity for employment and a new forum to

⁹⁴ In modern Japanese literature, *joryū* serves as marker of second class fiction produced by women writers.

⁹⁵ See Kitsnik 2015: 115-116.

display their talents in this seemingly more democratic and flexible medium, while film studios largely operated on templates implemented in the 1920s and 1930s. A good example of this trend at a time of transition was Hashida Sugako (1925), something of a link between the Golden Age of the studio system in the 1950s and the advent of TV in the 1960s. She was one of the six young writers granted entry to Shōchiku's script department in 1949 as their first female employee since Mizushima left in 1935.⁹⁶ Hashida left Shōchiku in 1959 when she came under the threat of being demoted to the rank of secretary, becoming instead a successful free-lance scriptwriter for television dramas, such as *Oshin* (1983-1984).

A critique of the yoyū system

While the leisurely pace crystallised by practice at Shōchiku might have seemed like paradise to writers like Shindō, accounts by writers such as Hashida considerably complicate the seemingly cheerful *yoyū* (leisure) system during the heyday of postwar studio production. In an interview, Hashida came across as utterly critical towards this practice. Although she, too, was once invited to write at Seikōan, one of the *jōyado* in Hakone Yumoto, she instantly felt less advantaged not least for not being accepted as a mahjong player or bathing companion to the lodging male scriptwriters (Hashida and Yamada 1995: 81). (Hashida does admit that she was not of the most agreeable character herself.) *Jōyado*, then, idyllic for some and a site of engaging young writers could also be seen as one of exclusion. At any rate, it must have been much more difficult for women to take on the position of an apprentice to an elder scriptwriter, although there are successful cases such as Yasumi Toshio mentoring Mizuki.

In addition, Hashida recalled how the main scriptwriter might have been asleep all along and the underlings were not credited at all for the work they did in his place. This makes the master-apprentice model appear more like a master-slave system. On the other hand, while it seems to have been difficult to earn the credit for oneself, the safe side of being employed at Shōchiku was a fixed monthly salary that did not depend on the writer's output. (There was an extra honorarium for any finished scripts.) Hashida admitted to having written very little during her time at Shōchiku, even considering herself a wage thief (*gekkyū dorobō*) (Hashida

⁹⁶ Her 15 film credits include a take on the A-bomb genre, *Nagasaki no kane* (Bells of Nagasaki, 1950, dir. Ōba Hideo, co-written with Shindō Kaneto) and a Yoshiya Nobuko adaptation *Kyōshū* (Nostalgia, 1952, dir. Iwama Tsuruo).

and Yamada 1995: 84). If not exactly lucrative, the job of a studio scriptwriter offered social security at least until the beginning of the 1960s when new writers ceased to be employed on regular basis. Indeed, most writers who were first hired on contractual terms became freelance sometime in the course of the 1950s.

This industrial background also brings into question a claim in Shindō's history that at some point many female scriptwriters emerged (Shindō 1989 vol.ii: 200). Indeed, this seems to have taken place only after the studio system experienced considerable difficulties. I am tempted to speculate that this became possible in the first place only after the master-disciple system became obsolete. It would be unfair, however, to suggest that the postwar studio system was completely devoid of an agenda to promote women as writers. The last recruitment competition at Shōchiku in 1948 that resulted in Hashida being offered a job had as many as 25 women among the shortlisted candidates: of original candidates, one third were women (Hashida and Yamada 1995: 83). Still, it seems to have been easier for the already established playwrights such as Mizuki and Tanaka Sumie to maintain their creative integrity when working as writers for studio productions.



Picture (marked 3) of the script department of Shōchiku Kamata Studios

If the *jōyado* practice reveals its weakness in gender terms so does the script department. The atmosphere there might have been family-like but this notion has certain negative implications as well. This becomes clear from ways in which women were appointed only certain roles in the industrial hierarchy. The wife of Ryū Chishū was one of the many typists at the department who typed the manuscripts

created by male scriptwriters into shooting scripts. In this way, there was a neat gendered division of labour to the roles of scriptwriters and typewriters. A photo taken of Shōchiku *kyakuhonbu* in the 1930s illustrates the point, showing only women at work (Rokusha 2006: 254). Male scriptwriters must have been out spending leisurely time at an inn or better yet, working with their feet.

With scriptwriters widely perceived as taking on the role of the wife in film production, women writers striving to work at the industry previously dominated by male employees might start to look doubly subaltern. *Jōyado*, that El Dorado for the studio era writers, too, emerges rather as a site of exclusion. All in all, I would argue that studying scriptwriting and especially women's contributions to it can also be helpful for shifting the perception of gender roles in Japanese cinema.

In this chapter, I discussed how in the course of the cinematic century, a number of Japanese scriptwriters have found considerable acclaim at the hands of film critics and their rightful place in the film canon. These accounts are supported by various anecdotal descriptions of the idyllic creative space exemplified by the Shōchiku script department and *jōyado*, characterised by the notion of leisurely pace allowed for writing. At the same time, what remains problematic is the extent to which the system could include female scriptwriters who were nevertheless making a strong contribution to Japanese cinema during its Golden Age of the 1950s.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOOKING FOR LITERATURE

In 1936, often considered the year when sound film became 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 rise of the scriptwriter's position has been mentioned, too. However, I think that the current format of the scenario will keep making this difficult for an indefinite time. This is all because, however we look at it, the scenario today remains a secondary thing. Its form is distorted and amended by the director but still reluctantly accepted. Even if printed and published, the scenario can be read only by the devoted few. Above all, to read something close to a continuity script cannot be interesting for anyone who is not a specialist.

At this juncture, scenario-novel [*shinario soku shōsetsu*]⁹⁷ becomes absolutely indispensable in order to elevate the scriptwriter's position. In other words, we must ask for a scenario that would be fine reading matter [*yomimono*] even independently from the film; a scenario that would be an independent work of art [*geijutsu sakuhin*] which inspires the director (Kitagawa 1936: 17).

⁹⁷ Kitagawa admits to borrowing the term 'scenario-novel' from Sergey Eisenstein.



Kitagawa Fuyuhiko

Here, Kitagawa ties the issue of the writer's social status to the script format, proposing an artistically enhanced, semi-independent scenario as the solution. At the same time, he is expressing the dilemma which this textual form necessarily entails: the requirement to stand on its own while being never entirely detached from the context of film production. In other words, besides providing reading pleasure akin to that of literature, the scenario still has to pay its debt to the medium of cinema by helping it develop 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 a number of leading film critics of the day participated in the collective effort of trying to define and ruminate on the notion of 'scenario literature' (*shinario bungaku*). In particular, I am interested in how contemporary film criticism was trying to make sense of the rapidly growing corpus of scenarios available through journals and anthologies while suggesting ways in which the act of reading could benefit future Japanese cinema.

SEMI-INDEPENDENCE OF THE SCENARIO

Calls to regard scripts as independent literary texts have been surprisingly common among most film traditions. Steven Price summarises this as a "history of perpetual novelty" where time after time the issue of literature is taken up 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, ed. John Gassner and Dudley Nichols) as the first of its kind in trying to "distill literature" out of existing screenplays (Maras 2009: 51).

In Japan, a comparable collection had already materialised a few years earlier with the publication of the six-volume *Shinario bungaku zenshū* (Complete Works of Scenario Literature, 1936-7). An advertisement for the anthology (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!!!” Although a number of similar collections later followed, *Shinario bungaku zenshū*, differs markedly from its counterparts (discussed in Chapter Five) by virtue of a sizeable critical apparatus which takes up the whole first volume of the collection.⁹⁸ This volume,



An advertisement for *Shinario bungaku zenshū*

titled *Shinario taikei* (Outline of the Scenario), comprised a number of essays on different aspects of the scenario such as its dialogue and structure as well as production context and research prospects.⁹⁹ Apparently, this gesture towards contextualisation was required to present scenarios as autonomous texts, something that subsequent script anthologies would not have to repeat.

The Scenario Literature Movement

Scenarios had appeared semi-regularly in a number of film journals since the mid-1920s but it was only a decade later that a wider critical (re)consideration of this textual form began. It

⁹⁸ While designated as the first volume, it was actually third in row to be published (after vols. 2 and 5). The rest of the volumes contained 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 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).

⁹⁹ The essays were followed by summaries of the work of individual writers, both foreign and Japanese (70 and 16 names respectively). The volume closed with a list of vocabulary of technical terms (*yōgo*) used in film scripts. This layout became the template for future critical collections on scriptwriting such as Wada Norie (ed.) *Gendai eiga kōza: Shinariohen* (Lectures on Contemporary Film: Scenario, 1954) and *Shinario tokuhon* (Scenario Reader, 1959).

was precisely then that the term *shinario bungaku* (scenario literature) become central for discussing the artistic possibilities of the newly emerged talkie script. Writing in 1937, Sawamura Tsutomu notes 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 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). Here, Sugimoto seems to be pointing at the inevitable comparison to other literary texts that scenario seems to be calling for. While it seems nearly impossible to trace the exact origin of the term, *Shinario bungaku zenshū*, published between October 1936 and December 1937, should be credited with providing the impetus for the fierce debate which ensued across the field of film journalism on whether scenarios should be considered as a new genre of literature.

Although the term ‘scenario literature’ was yet to be coined, a number of essays in *Eiga hyōron* (Film Criticism) in addressed similar issues as early as in May 1936. However, it was the year 1937 that saw the beginning of the discursive endeavour which has been commonly

called the Scenario Literature Movement (*Shinario bungaku undō*). A number of leading film journals dedicated special issues to the topic where roughly the same circle of critics had the opportunity to test their opinions and arguments against each other. These included *Eiga hyōron* (January 1937), *Nippon eiga* (Japanese Film, May and October 1937) and *Eiga sōzō* (Film Creation, December 1937). In addition, Kitagawa discussed ‘scenario



Cover and table of contents of the special issue of *Nippon eiga* (May 1937, *Shinario riron to sōsaku*/The Theory and Writing of Scenarios)

literature' in his recurring column in *Kinema junpō* from May to June; he was also the main force behind establishing the journal *Shinario kenkyū* (Scenario Research) which in its inaugural volume provided an additional forum for debates on various facets of the phenomenon.¹⁰⁰



Cover and table of contents of the special issue of *Eiga sōzō* (December 1937, *Shinario bungaku kenkyū*/Research of Scenario Literature)

It should be pointed out that the Scenario Literature Movement was closely related to various topical issues in film criticism taken up by the same group of critics: film realism, sound and documentary cinema as well as emerging genres such as *bungei eiga* (literary film), *bunka eiga* (culture film) and *nyūsu eiga* (news film). As such, it formed part of a broader discussion on different functions of sound cinema and indicates how film as an emerging audio-visual medium was perceived at the time. What permeates most of these accounts is also a deep concern for contemporary Japanese cinema which is often depicted as radically inferior to its foreign counterparts.¹⁰¹

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 the already existing ones, in effect legitimising scenarios as reading matter (*yomimono*). By far the most convenient example for these purposes was the comparison to drama. The common argument went that if drama plays in their printed form were widely

¹⁰⁰ Although largely confined to the pages of these periodicals, parts of the debate have later been reprinted in influential books such as Hasegawa Nyozenkan's *Nihon eigaron* (On Japanese Film, 1943), Iijima Tadashi's *Eiga to bungaku* (Film and Literature, 1948), Imamura Taihei's *Eiga geijutsu no seikaku* (The Character of Film Art, 1939), Kitagawa Fuyuhiko's *Shinario bungakuron* (On Scenario Literature, 1938) and Sawamura Tsutomu's *Gendai eigaron* (On Contemporary Film, 1941).

¹⁰¹ See Iijima 1937: 6; Ueno 1937b: 12.

considered literature and consumed separately from theatre-going, scenarios should by association be granted a similar status (Kikumori 1937: 22, Ueno 1937b:13; Yano 1937: 9).¹⁰² Adding to this, Tsuji Hisakazu suggested how the history of the Western theatre could serve as a point of reference for underlining further prospects of the scenario.

In order to increase the value of the scenario, its form must first be improved. I think that the formal development of drama is a good example for this end. Doesn't the movement from the script that was little more than an outline for a vulgar play to these days when, together with the progress of drama on the content level, it has taken the form of drama play, hint at the future of the scenario? (Tsuji 1936: 71).

Such an evolutionary view of art surfaces here and there in the Scenario Literature Movement, displaying how embracing particular formal limitations of different arts has eventually led to the emergence of their crystallised forms. It is suggested that the master-scene scenario (discussed in Chapter Two) provided precisely such a completed form for film scripts (Ihara 1937: 53-54; Kikumori 1937: 23; Sawamura 1936: 48; Ueno 1937b: 16).

Such comparisons proved to be a convenient means for making the case for scenarios as readable and respectable texts. However, theatre's association with early silent cinema which relied heavily on stage repertoire and acting techniques was far more problematic. Drawing from the general discourse of the Pure Film Movement, Hasegawa Nyozeikan identified cinema as a predominantly visual medium and consequently expressed his doubts about literary readings of scenarios. In his view, it is the dialogue that drives a stage play, but in film, images at times halt the speech and by doing so break the flow of a narrative based on words (Hasegawa 1937: 4-6). In a way, Hasegawa was sketching a distinction between major and minor elements in scenarios: dialogue has only an auxiliary role, while images on the screen are essential for the unfolding of the narrative.¹⁰³ In effect, Hasegawa made a case

¹⁰² The same mechanism can be seen at play in the case of the first American script anthology, *Twenty Best Film Plays*, where the use of the term 'film play' rather than 'film script' or 'screenplay' at once hints at its alleged proximity to drama plays.

¹⁰³ In other words, dialogue is there only to explain images: a rather narrow view of cinema at that, considering all the instances when words and images contradict each other, helping to bring about effects of unexpectedness and unreliability so characteristic of the medium.

against treating cinema as a verbal medium and against the scenario's chances of being literary in the way that stage plays are.

Perhaps inevitably, another common analogy for the scenario was from the world of music rather than literature. As a parallel to scenario readership, Ueno Kōzō pointed out the faculty of musical literacy which makes it possible to read sheet music without listening to the actual performance. He suggested that claims about 'music literature' are likely to emerge in the future much like those of 'scenario literature' (Ueno 1937b: 17-18). Another critic, Kita Saika was somewhat more hesitant about the efficiency of this analogy. Kita illustrated this with a story from his youth.

There was a music lover among my friends. During our school days, whenever he ran out of money he used to climb into his dormitory bed and read foreign music scores. He said it was a great pleasure. German Lieder were the handiest: with minimal effort, he could enjoy piano music. If this man had had 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 expressed his strong doubts about considering scenarios as literature by suggesting that while a professional writer might indeed draw enjoyment from reading them, to the general public they would seem as unintelligible as musical scores (Kisaragi 1937: 82). I would argue that regardless of such partly dismissing statements, the analogy of musical literacy can indeed be instructive in looking at the readership of scenarios which is closely tied to something that can be called cinematic literacy. I will return to this issue at the end of this chapter.

Independence and intermediality

Such comparisons to other textual forms, verbal or not, also helped to underline scenario's relative independence from the film production context. As we saw, for Kitagawa and others, finding a format that could both captivate the reader and inspire the director was the precondition for the scenario if it were to obtain status as an autonomous text. In this way, the

scenario's very existence was tied to its formal properties. Consequently, it became crucial to find an idealised form or rather a range of options for scenario literature.¹⁰⁴

Most critics seem to have agreed that formats resembling the continuity script were unsuitable for the scenario that seeks literariness (Kurata 1937: 76; Yano 1937: 9; Yoshida 1937: 86). At the same time, they pointed out the need to distinguish between various forms in order to arrive at something that would accommodate the objectives of 'scenario literature'. Furukawa Yoshinori claimed that the continuity script was at best useful for familiarising oneself with working styles of particular film directors rather than the text itself; ideally, the scenario should be used for learning from in order to apply those skills to trying one's own hand in writing film scripts (Furukawa 1937: 85). Tsuji Hisakazu went as far as to call for the abolishing of the continuity script: "[t]he improvement of the scenario's position makes necessary excellent scriptwriters, and in order for such scriptwriters to emerge, the current form of scenario must be get rid of" (Tsuji 1936: 73). At the same time, warnings were voiced against coming too close to existing literary forms. Kikumori Hideo noted that in order to keep the integrity of an independent genre, the scenario should under no condition take the form of a novel or poem. In his view, *cine-poem*, popular at the time, was not scenario literature but merely a poem that happened to use literary techniques roughly reminiscent of certain cinematic devices (Kikumori 1937: 25).

Suitably, all this happened at the time when the master-scene scenario was becoming dominant in film production. While some, such as Tomita Sōshichi, insisted that the scenario remains meaningful only in its connection to film (Tomita 1937: 27), most critics seemed to agree that the scenario indeed had a strong claim for independence. 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 change this situation dramatically (Watanabe 1936: 64). What emerges from these accounts is an

¹⁰⁴ 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. Steven Price has pointed at "editorial recasting of screenplays into a hybrid form combining narrative fiction and stage-play format" employed for such endeavours (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*).

understanding that the proposed semi-independent position of the scenario as literary work depends on its success in breaking away from cinema. At the same time, Yamakawa Yukio noted that by distancing itself from cinema, scenario literature has somewhat ironically ended up subordinating the newer art form once more to the hitherto dominant literature (Yamakawa 1938: 52).

On a more constructive and satisfying note, and as something of a compromise to these polarised views, other critics pointed out that the scenario had rather come to occupy an intermediate position between film and literature. The following passage from Ueno Kōzō illustrates this claim by deploying the metaphor of the body.

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

On the other hand, the novelist Ishikawa Tatsuzō saw such intermediality (*chūkansei*) mostly in negative terms by arguing that due to belonging partly to cinema, the scenario could not ultimately claim to be literature at all (Ishikawa 1937: 36). It is interesting to align the opinion of this leading novelist of the day with the earlier one of the scriptwriter Kisaragi who found in scenarios only value for writing professionals.¹⁰⁵ It seems that, perhaps due to their professional allegiances, they underestimated both film critics and the general audience.

Most critics who participated in the debate seem to have agreed about the need to weigh the scenario against other art forms and that its semi-independence from cinema formed a precondition for its very existence as reading matter and new literary genre. In order to examine the issue of motivation behind the Scenario Literature Movement, I will next turn to the agency of the critics involved.

¹⁰⁵ Ishikawa Tatsuzō won the first Akutagawa Prize in 1935 for *Sōbō* (Common People). This, like many other of his works was frequently adapted for the screen. Kisaragi authored what was one of the most acclaimed Japanese silent scripts, *Kaijin* (Ashes, 1929, dir. Murata Minoru).

CRITICS AND WRITERS

Looking at the scriptwriting histories in Chapter One, I demonstrated how different roles can sometimes merge in one person to include those of filmmaker, scriptwriter, critic and historian. The content and arguments employed in the Scenario Literature Movement are at times very revealing of the critics and how they reflected on their own position in the endeavour. On the surface, the movement seems to have been mostly about elevating the status of the scenario as well as that of the scriptwriter, but it was also the role of critics that was brought into fore on a number of occasions.

Critic as catalyst

In the inaugural issue of the journal *Shinario kenkyū*, Sawamura Tsutomu pointed out how during the silent era literary people first came to produce texts in new genres influenced by their experiences of cinema.

However, when film became talkie, such efforts by writers ceased for a while. When the initial confusion had settled, the new cinematic techniques were generally understood and people made talkies their own. It was then that the advocacy of scenario literature occurred on the part of film critics. Those voices raised from the critics' side meant that cinema began 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* 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: 32-33).

Here, Sawamura expresses an opinion not uncommon in the Scenario Literature Movement which has the film critic placed by default in a better position for evaluating the literary opportunities of the scenario. The agency of the critic is here contrasted to those of both literary establishment and film industry. This understanding that suggests that critics might be better equipped to point at which direction cinema should take is strongly present in a number of contributions to the debate. Moreover, many critics saw themselves responsible for making

the writers aware for the first time about their status and opportunities as (literary) authors. Within this line of thought, the critic effectively becomes the catalyst for the writers' self-awareness (*jikaku*) as expressed in the following passage.

This thing called 'scenario literature' should be born 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).

Criticism for keeping the writers unaware was mostly levelled at the studio system in general and how by the mid-1930s it was increasingly focused on producing films adapted from works of contemporary literature. By association, the writers employed at studios were characterised as possessing insufficient creativity to come up with original work. At the same time, many statements can be found that are sympathetic to the unenviable position of the studio scriptwriters. "The fact is that current scenario writers know little more than the technique of adapting [*kyakushoku*]. For them, having their own thoughts or expression are not easily allowed" (Tsuji 1936: 70). This suggests that the scriptwriters themselves had not yet realised the creative opportunities their work offers and the social status that the recognition of their achievements might offer.



Covers of *eigajin* (IV) and *bundanjin* (V) volumes of *Shinario bungaku zenshū*

While the critics had a generally low opinion of contemporary scriptwriters, efforts by the literary establishment to contribute to the field of scenarios were often treated with similar disdain by the critics. Notably, *Shinario bungaku zenshū* had two contrasting volumes, one dedicated to scenarios by *eigajin* (film people), the other by *bundanjin*

(literary people).¹⁰⁶ Kitagawa expressed his disappointment about the latter soon after it appeared: “regrettably, most of these works keep too much in mind the so-called cinematisation [*eigaka*] and because of this scenarios end up being of low artistic value” (Kitagawa 1938: 57). Apparently, Kitagawa had expected works that would be more imaginative from the real writers whom he presumed were not bound by the limitations of cinema. In effect, he reiterated the opinion shared by other critics that only they had the agency to decide what would make scenarios into scenario literature.

Professional divide

Another line of division, that between the film critics and scriptwriting practitioners, was embodied by two journals, *Shinario*¹⁰⁷ (Scenario) and *Shinario kenkyū* (Scenario Research), which began appearing in summer 1937 just at the height of the Scenario Literature Movement.¹⁰⁸ The former was published by the Kansai section of Eiga Sakka Kyōkai (Association of Film Authors, a predecessor of Shinario Sakka Kyōkai/Japan Writers Guild), with the Kyoto-based scriptwriter Yoda Yoshikata as its editor.¹⁰⁹ Greetings from all major studios printed in the inaugural issue of *Shinario* attest to its close ties with the film industry,



Cover of *Shinario*

¹⁰⁶ In *Bundanjin orijinaru shinarioshū* a number of established writers provided their scenarios, with short introductions on their views on the genre. An attempt of the Scenario Literature Movement to get the prestige transferred from the literary circles (*bundan*) to the scenario is nowhere more apparent than here. Interestingly, this pattern was never followed: perhaps the distinction between literature and film professionals made sense only in the context of ‘scenario literature’.

¹⁰⁷ Not to be confused with its postwar reincarnation of the same name which continues appearing to the present day.

¹⁰⁸ The ambiguity of the word *kenkyū* (research) that distinguishes these two journals should be pointed out here. A postwar series published by the Shinario Sakka Kyōkai was similarly titled *Shinario kenkyū* and ever only contained scenarios with extremely brief commentaries to them, suggesting their status as *material* for research with the presumed research itself excluded. It is easy to see how terms such as *kenkyū* and *ron* (theory) have been used rather freely to designate varying degrees of critical engagement with texts, and not necessarily a more rigorous scientific inquiry.

¹⁰⁹ The postwar version of *Shinario* was in turn published by Shinario Sakka Kyōkai; so were *Shinario nenkan* (Annual Collection of Representative Scenarios, since 1952) and *Nihon shinario taikei* (Series of Japanese Scenarios, 1973-79), the definitive scenario anthology. See Chapter Five.

as does the presence of Yoda who was at the time emerging as a major studio scriptwriter, working mostly with Mizoguchi.

In clear contrast to this, *Shinario kenkyū* was edited by a coterie called Shinario Kenkyū Jūninkai (The Club of Ten of Scenario Research), comprising mainly film critics. Often abbreviated as ‘Jūninkai’ and combining the critical and creative faculties of its members, it



Cover of *Shinario kenkyū*

was an important presence in the Japanese scenario world until the 1950s. The establishment of the group roughly corresponded to the beginning of the Scenario Literature Movement¹¹⁰ and the original ten members included Horiba Masao, Ihara Hikoroku, Iida Shinbi, Katanada Yakurō, Kitagawa Fuyuhiko, Miwa Hikaru, Sawamura Tsutomu, Shigeno Tatsuhiko, Sugimoto Shun'ichi and Tsuji Hisakazu (Sugimoto 1937: 89).¹¹¹ A notable postwar addition to the membership was Kobayashi Masaru: his contribution to the historiography of Japanese scriptwriting was discussed in Chapter One. According to Sugimoto, the main aims of the Jūninkai were the following.

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 by each member, and to analyse work by writers from outside the group (Sugimoto 1937: 89).

¹¹⁰ There is some confusion about the group's exact beginnings, with Sugimoto Shun'ichi providing 15 July 1936 as the date for the founding meeting (Sugimoto 1937: 89) while Kitagawa sticks to September 1936 (Kitagawa 1938: 15).

¹¹¹ The lineup was given in each issue of *Shinario kenkyū* (with Ōkura Toyoshi, Takiguchi Shūzō and Awano Noboru eventually replacing Katanada, Miwa and Tsuji; Ihara passed away in August 1937, replaced by Tsuji). Supporting members of the group included Japan's foremost modernist poet, Hagiwara Sakutarō. Interestingly, the activities of the Jūninkai continued beyond wartime: 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 sites such as *Kinema junpō* and its special editions, notably *Shinario tokuhon* (Scenario Reader, 1959).

Due to the emphases above, *Shinario kenkyū* differed markedly in its content from *Shinario*, dedicating equal space to both criticism and scenario texts, while *Shinario* clearly focused on the latter. The tensions between the two periodicals were brought into the open in the editorial of the first issue of *Shinario* which lamented the fact that *Shinario kenkyū* had managed to make it first into the scenario publishing market (May vs June 1937). Bitter words were levelled at the behaviour of an unnamed member of the Jūninkai in particular (Anon 1937: 80).

Curiously, *Shinario kenkyū* seems to have borrowed its general template from the literary coterie magazines of the 1920s such as *Shi to shiron* (Poetry and Poetics). This gesture might have lent it some institutional credibility, while the participation of several critics associated with the literary scene such as Kitagawa and Takiguchi 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 who was an advocate of both, was already an established poet when he started a parallel career as film critic in the early 1930s; Takiguchi is widely considered the foremost surrealist artist in Japan.¹¹²

Besides divisions by profession, there is an underlying geopolitical dimension to the Scenario Literature Movement as represented by these periodicals. After all, *Shinario* was established by scriptwriters working in the Kansai region, *Shinario kenkyū* by film critics living in Tokyo. However, both of the journals were published by Kyoto-based companies, with Daiichi

¹¹² This literary connection is further stressed by the two-volume facsimile edition which recently appeared in the series dedicated to making available modernist poetry journals, *Toshi modanizumu shishi* (The Poetic Magazines of Urban Modernism). Given that apart from an odd *cine-poem*, *Shinario kenkyū* contains no poems nor discussion on poetry in any conventional sense, it seems strange that it should have appeared in that particular series. It is easy to see how certain central concerns and frequent contributors of *Shinario kenkyū* heavily overlap with those of other contemporary journals such as *Eiga to ongaku*, *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 strange position is attested by the commentaries by its editors who seem to be way out of their depth when discussing film criticism, preferring links to the literary scene instead (Hayakawa 2012, Mizutani 2012). Appearing in a series with the goal of making available a number of literary coterie magazines retroactively situates *Shinario kenkyū* in the literary realm rather than that of film criticism. This also suggests that the journal itself and Scenario Literature Movement in general has been excluded from discussions of cinema and relegated to literary history as a modernist curiosity. Ironically, then, the main site 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.

Geibunsha (*Shinario kenkyū*) also responsible for a number of books by the members of the Jūninkai such as Kitagawa and Shigeno but also those by the scriptwriter, director and essayist Itami Mansaku. This slant towards the Kansai region is notable because of the increasing concentration of publishing companies and capital to Tokyo after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 (See Mack 2010: 4). Such regional aspects have implications for the whole scenario literature project as an alternative to the increasing commercialism of cinema (discussed later in this chapter). In fact, Muta Hiroshi pointed out his impression that Kyoto people were in general stronger proponents of scenario literature (Muta 1937: 50). Often called the Hollywood of Japan in the 1920s, Kyoto which fostered such early scriptwriting circles as the Narutakigumi¹¹³ was still a formidable presence for innovations in scriptwriting in the late 1930s.

New talents

In December 1937, when the interest in scenario literature was already beginning to wane, Iwasaki Akira pointed out what he saw as the three greatest achievements of the endeavour.

The Scenario Literature Movement has supplied fine stimulation to the artistic improvement of cinema. First, it has rightfully acknowledged the importance of the script in film production. Second, it has provided opportunities for the birth of original scenarios from outside the film business and not contracted to the studios. Third, it has brought in artistic talent from outside the film world to create scenarios (Iwasaki 1937: 10).

Yamakawa Yukio seconded this by noting the benefits of publishing scripts that for one reason or another failed to be produced, addressing the low status of the scriptwriter and inviting young writers to try their hand at writing for film (Yamakawa 1938: 52). Both of these statements point at how the emergence of a new space for scenario publishing resulted in engaging outsiders to contribute to scriptwriting beyond regular assignments facilitated by the studios.

¹¹³ See footnote 77 in Chapter Three.

One of the side-effects of the Scenario Literature Movement was certainly the participation of people from different professional backgrounds and affiliations in this cultural field. While this at times revealed a divide between the literary establishment and film world, it also pointed at the flexibility and possibilities of merging different roles. By considerably widening the possibilities of writing scenarios and getting them noticed, if not produced, the Scenario Literature Movement was a democratising process targeted at the film industry. Opportunities to publish their work without being commissioned by the studios led to new people joining the ranks of scriptwriters from outside the industry and its restrictive system of in-house training.

In Chapter Three, I noted how the script departments often acted as a site of exclusion with the result that those without proper training under the assigned master (*shishō*) could not easily join the trade of scriptwriting. This well-guarded realm points at the negative side of the issue of professionalism in writing for film, addressed by several critics in the debate.

Today, when there is a shortage of good scriptwriters, and although this might not happen right away, I would like to see freshness that comes from amateurish scenario writers. Amateur [*shirōto*] writers do not necessarily have to submit to the many requirements of the studio nor obey the subordination of the scenario to film. It would suffice to write scenarios keeping in mind the best conditions of cinematisation [*eigaka*]. Here is one side of the scenario's independence. Such scenarios would probably not be made into films *immediately*. ... But the attitude of professional [*kurōto*] writers who are always making do with things is also unproductive (Watanabe 1936: 63).

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

Iida Shinbi has pointed out that the general atmosphere of democratisation of writing for film that the Scenario Literature Movement created was integral in helping to start the careers of a

number of important scriptwriters (Iida 1952: 212). The publication of original work by fresh talent made possible the emergence of new writers from outside the studio system. The majority of such work never made it to the screen but opportunities of getting their writing published and feedback from their peers proved to be crucial for future writers. One of them was Shindō Kaneto 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 over such professional limits within the industry. It was in the same year that after accidentally acquiring a copy of *Nippon eiga* featuring scenarios Hashimoto Shinobu started to try his hand at scriptwriting. Yet another important filmmaker of that generation who started his career in writing by publishing unproduced scripts was Kurosawa Akira.¹¹⁴

When the critics assigned themselves the role of awakening the writers, they also suggested that people from outside the film industry should be granted access to scriptwriting. Providing new fora such as *Eiga hyōron*, *Nippon eiga*, *Shinario* and *Shinario kenkyū* for fledgling writers to present their work went against the hitherto dominant practice of contracting writers to the studios' script departments. It could be speculated that those few decisive years in the late 1930s characterised by the Scenario Literature Movement also created the typical postwar scriptwriter.

SCENARIO AS ALTERNATIVE TO FILM

The Scenario Literature Movement created a forum for new writers coming from outside the film industry. At the same time, it sought to address the alleged quality issue of contemporary film by advocating the creation of original material rather than scripts adapted from literary works; the latter was often the case with studio filmmaking of the day. By virtue of their availability in print, scenarios also invited considerations of their archival capacity and significance to the wider readership.

¹¹⁴ See Chapter Five for Itami Mansaku's evaluation of Kurosawa's early scenarios.

Original scenario and bungei eiga

Within the Scenario Literature Movement, the issue of the film script's quality, and indeed that of the film, often came down to the question of the scarcity of original scenarios (*orijinaru shinario* or *sōsaku shinario*). This is in turn related to the independence of the scenario from the film production context: providing opportunities for publishing original work would be free from studio impositions and could address problems arising from the often formulaic adapting methods.

It has often been said that the film authors [*eiga sakka*] of our country have until now lacked the talent to write original scenarios and because of this cinema, too, has deteriorated. I am strongly against this view. It is rather that the authors of original scenarios have been all too long kept in such an unfavourable environment.

Beginning with Itami Mansaku, there are more scenario authors [*shinario sakka*] than fingers can count. It is only that they have not had the chance to publish their work (Kyōto 1936: 121).

Kyōto relates the status of the writers and creating original material to the publishing of scenarios which had increased considerably by the time of the Scenario Literature Movement. Looking at which texts appeared in these journals at the height of the movement, one is struck by the overwhelming proportion of original scenarios, many of them never filmed.¹¹⁵ The flagbearer for this was *Shinario kenkyū*: nearly all scenarios published there were called *sōsaku shinario*.¹¹⁶ Original scenarios were also frequently published in *Nippon eiga* and *Eiga hyōron* and to a lesser extent in other film journals.

The impetus behind this advocacy of original scenarios was closely tied to the critics' disappointment with certain trends in contemporary Japanese film. This was an era often characterised by the flourishing of *bungei eiga*, literary adaptations of the so-called pure

¹¹⁵ These original scenarios commonly ended with the notification "Screening and performing without permission prohibited" (*Kin mudan jōei jōen*), suggesting that even non-professional writers were well aware of the issues of copyright.

¹¹⁶ Besides its main focus on original scenarios, *Shinario kenkyū* also ran the section *Shinario kurashikku* (Scenario Classics) where scripts of acclaimed earlier films appeared (See Table 1 in Chapter Five).

literature (*junbungaku*). Only a few years earlier, literary and film critics had placed great hopes in the emerging genre. Ironically, such literary adaptations were later seen as the nemesis of scenario literature. Among others, Watanabe Toshihiko rightly 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 making cinema closer to literature that prompted the critics to look for literary value in scenarios in the first place.

In a number of essays published before the Scenario Literature Movement, Kitagawa had levelled harsh criticism at such attempts of adapting literature to the screen.¹¹⁷ Nor was he particularly impressed by the recent shift from popular literature (*taishū bungaku*) to pure literature (*junbungaku*) 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 the film adaptation of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's novel *Shunkinshō* (The Story of Shunkin, 1933) by Shimazu Yasujirō, *Okoto to Sasuke* (Okoto and Sasuke, 1935) as an example of the failure to meaningfully transmit literature to the screen. In Tanizaki's story,



Okoto to Sasuke (1935, dir. Shimazu Yasujirō)

Sasuke is a servant in the family of Shunkin, a blind young woman, noted for her koto and shamisen playing. Kitagawa noted that although depicting a blind person's inner world in a realistic manner might be possible by radically creative methods, current Japanese film directors were simply not up to such

¹¹⁷ These include “Eiga to taishū bungaku” (Film and Popular Literature) from May 1933 (Kitagawa 1938: 190-192), “Bungei sakuhin eigaka shiken” (Personal View on Film Adaptations of Literary Works) from January 1935 (Kitagawa 1938: 125-128) and “Bungei sakuhin no eigaka” (Film Adaptation of Literary Work) from March 1936 (Kitagawa 1938: 133-136).

challenges (Kitagawa 1938: 116).¹¹⁸

Anti-commercialisation of cinema

While original scenarios managed to detach scriptwriting from certain impositions of the film industry, it was on a different level that the scenario promised to be film's very substitute on paper. Writing in the immediate postwar years, Iijima Tadashi pointed out the unique position the scenario had 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 [*insatsumono*] when the reality is that chances are few of getting freely written scenarios filmed. It could be said this literary publishing form — printed matter — is also making use of the trend that the Japanese think about 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 publications including scenarios are coming out one after another is significant as a kind of protest against the commercial Japanese cinema (Iijima 1948:135).

This anti-commodification stance suggests that the scenario had by the late 1940s become something quite separate from the actual film. It is also remarkably close to Ueno Kōzō's suggestion from a decade earlier that masses reading the scenarios might eventually force film production to reassess its current consumerist course.

[I]t should not be thought that scenarios will remain unfilmed and that there is absolutely no chance of change. Even if the current production system will prevail, the heightened demand for art by the masses will inevitably urge the film capitalist to produce higher art films. This will certainly have its limits, but if various journals, newspapers and books will feature outstanding scenario literature and attract tens and hundreds of thousands of readers, the producers who are dexterous in making money will not pass this chance unnoticed (Ueno 1937a: 79).

¹¹⁸ See Cazdyn 2002: 102-108 for Tanizaki's opinion about the first film adaptation of his novel.

With the help of scenario literature, Ueno is trying to bridge the dichotomy between art and industry as it has been commonly perceived in cinema. Likewise, Yoshida Shigeru noted that the scenario can break the circle of capital by reassessing its own market value.

The social nature of the emerging scenario literature will yield various results. First, the possibility of the birth of the scenario that would not be filmed under the restrictions of the capitalist society will throw the possibility of art greater than present cinema before the wider masses. The possibility of the birth of the scenario that will overcome the commercial restrictions of present cinema will instead break through these very restrictions under the many requirements of the capitalist society and present a possibility for destruction of such barriers (Yoshida 1937: 91).

These accounts give scenario literature a political meaning within the social relevance of cinema. Tied to new writers unsullied by the industry, this was a kind of utopia which placed commercialism in stark opposition to artistic pursuits. In this way, the published scenario was considered as the replacement for and protest against the industrial nature of cinema.

Scenario as archive

Iijima Tadashi was responsible for what was by far the most controversial and often referred to statement within the Scenario Literature Movement. In his essay “Shinario bungakuron josetsu” (An Introduction of the Theory of Scenario Literature) which opened 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 [*katsujī*]” (Iijima 1937: 6). He backs this opinion with what looks like an attempt to disproportionately downplay the literary qualities of the scenario as a whole, investing only the dialogue with the status of literature. In contrast,



Iijima Tadashi

descriptive parts of the scenario (*togaki*) seemed more suspect to Iijima, as these could not really account for all the visual aspects of the film (Ibid.: 10). Apparently, Iijima saw the dialogue passages as the only part of the scenario that could adequately represent sound film as a faithful transcript.

Iijima's stance on the dialogue is problematic to say the least. For one thing, equating words printed on the page with those uttered on the film's soundtrack fails to take into account 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, making it look as if Iijima was trying to undermine the whole effort in its inception.¹¹⁹ Almost instantly, several critics reacted to Iijima's words. Ihara Hikoroku made a strong point about the directions (*togaki*) in the scenario being as important as its dialogue, a shortcoming he suggested resulted from Iijima's taking the analogy between drama play and the scenario too far (Ihara 1937: 52). Kitagawa, in turn, suggested that instead of separating different facets of the scenario it should be perceived as a whole (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] to 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 2000a: 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" (Ibid.: 29).

¹¹⁹ Iijima 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 screenplays, *Twenty Best Film Plays*, tried to accomplish by considerably editing the shooting script in order to make it match the final screen work.

While I generally agree with Gerow's conclusion about Iijima assigning a privileged position for literature, I also think that Iijima's concern has strong practical implications as an early call for film preservation. One of the passages which Gerow quotes in order to present what seems to be Iijima's strong anti-visual stance reads as follows: "the 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" (Cit. Gerow 2000a: 28). I argue that the stress here should be not on the superiority of literature but rather 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, revealing his wish to rephrase his initial statement by explicitly addressing 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 of the permanence provided by written words of the dialogue in the scenario must be regarded as particularly crucial" (Iijima 1948: 119).

Challenging Gerow's argument, I argue that Iijima's words can be instead interpreted as an attempt to address the material status of film. The tangible form of the scenario seemed a stable surrogate for the disappearing images on screen. Stressing the "permanence provided by written words", Iijima deems important the way cinema can learn from literature in order to secure its own permanence and consequently status as an autonomous art. In what amounts to his evolutionary view of art history, Iijima makes clear the relationship of words and art by suggesting that it was not until stories were put down in writing (*moji*) that they first became literature (Iijima 1937: 9-11; 1948: 126). It is through this analogy from the literary history that the printed scenarios rather than the more vulnerable film prints become the archive. In Iijima's view, much like literature was first invented by being written down, so has the scenario the capacity to elevate cinema to a new artistic and social status with its more accessible means of preservation.

The relevance of Iijima's suggestion about the scenario as archive becomes all the more urgent when we look at similar accounts by other critics of the Scenario Literature Movement. Indeed, a number of Iijima's contemporaries made sure to point out what seemed to them the inherently ephemeral quality of cinema. For instance, Sawamura Tsutomu noted that "in

order to acquire artfulness [*geijutsusei*] for film that disappears in time, it could even be said that the literary independence [of the scenario] has already become something of a pressing necessity” (Sawamura 1936: 48).

Admittedly, film preservation was an extremely new concern in Iijima’s day, not properly conceptualised yet, let alone acted upon. The first institutions with the explicit aim of preserving films for the future were founded in the United States (The New York Museum of Modern Art) and France (La Cinémathèque Française), in 1935 and 1936 respectively. Apparently, 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 Center (Ho 2001: 2-3).

Focusing on the reader

If Iijima was somewhat misguided about placing the focus solely on the scenario’s dialogue, Kitagawa advocated a more holistic reading practice which would treat all parts of the text equally. He also stated the preference for reading the scenario before seeing the film made from it, alluding to a strong level of reader participation for actively creating the images from the printed word rather than simply complementing or recreating the visual experience (Kitagawa 1938: 13). Other critics pointed to similar functions of reading.

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, the scenario writers have until now relied on the directors and

other member of the staff reading it cinematically and as a result have written in a rather messy manner. Just as in the case of literary appreciation the visual translation, too, occurs without one being really aware of it. Today, when the number of those with cinematic education have increased, there is no reason to leave unused the situation where the scenario is gathering strength as reading matter [*yomimono*]. Indeed, readers are now acquiring skills to read scenarios cinematically. Even if the general reader will not understand all the details, it is quite enough if s/he understands the appeal [*omoshirosa*] of it (Watanabe 1936: 64).

Here, Watanabe is alluding to the interplay between the format of the scenario and the competence of the reader which I will further discuss in Chapter Five. At any rate, it seems that the alternative that the scenario offered to film viewing was closely tied to the need to create a critical mass of skillful readers.

It will not suffice if the scenario readers are using their experience of watching films simply to read the scenarios and not go beyond this experience. What they experience is the basis and point of their departure: with the development of scenario literature, the creativity of the reader will develop, too. The reader creates. ... S/he creates [*sōzō*] while imagining [*sōzō*]. While the general direction is indicated by the scenario, to vividly paint its particular shape in the mind is expected from the imagining power [*imeeji suru chikara*] of the reader.

Therefore, the reader directs. ... Real directors are tied with restrictions such as studio intentions, money, actors and so on. But the reader is not restrained by anything. S/he can spend money without regrets, move shooting location to Egypt, cast [Valéry] Inkijinoff, [Pierre] Blanchar and Todoroki Yukiko¹²⁰ together; in short, carry out all things imaginable inside her/his head (Ueno 1937b: 14-16).

Ueno is suggesting the agency of a reader-cum-director who has the imagining skills to come up with a film superior to what any director could ever direct. Kitagawa, too, mentions

¹²⁰ Notable contemporary Russian-born, French and Japanese actors respectively.

cinematic literacy which becomes necessary if the whole scenario literature project were to succeed.

The extent to which a film script can be a scenario depends on whether or not it involves the evocation of screen images. It cannot be said that literature has hitherto not contained screen images. However, this was only a bud and not like the scenario where all that is evoked is in fact screen image. ... Even if scenarios become excellent by containing more and more screen images, in case the reader lacks skills to imagine them, it is like casting pearls before swine (Kitagawa 1938: 9-10).

While the debate on 'scenario literature' started from what seemed purely literary concerns it ended up addressing several pressing issues in the film world at the advent of sound cinema. As such, it should be considered as an important inclusion, an agent in the field where a number of debates on other aspects of cinema were already going on. While focusing on the possibility of the scenario becoming literature, this discursive effort in fact became more invested in providing another vessel to address what was perceived as the poor state of Japanese cinema. In a hindsight, addressing the dual issue of the lack of original scenarios and inviting writers not trained in the confines of the film industry would have a lasting influence on Japanese cinema.

In meeting its main goals, the discursive endeavour that was the Scenario Literature Movement can be described as unsuccessful. After all, the scenario never became a full-fledged literary genre. Instead, the publication of such texts continued to be largely confined to film journals and specialist anthologies. However, the conceptual framework which 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. In the final chapter of this thesis, I will examine the sites and canon of scenario publishing as well as the various readerships this practice elicited.

CHAPTER FIVE

READING SCENARIOS

Satō Tadao's recollections of trips taken to Tokyo in order to acquire scenarios point to a reading practice shared by many film critics of his generation but also the widest possible audience with an interest in cinema. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Scenario Literature Movement set the framework for treating such publications as reading matter (*yomimono*) but also as an alternative site of film experience and film preservation. In this chapter, I will look at the thriving publishing scene for scenarios, with a special focus on the 1950s Golden Age of Japanese cinema, while examining what kind of functions these texts carried for different readerships.

SCENARIO PUBLISHING AND CANON

Steven Price points out how film scripts have been more often than not treated like industrial waste, referring to an anecdote about the sizeable collection of scripts from the Ealing studios surviving only because it was quite accidentally retrieved from a skip (Price 2013: 19-20). The fate of film scripts in Japan—at least since the late 1930s and quite in contrast to Shindō's toilet encounter—could not be further from these pitiful and at times comical accounts. The majority of shooting scripts (*daihon*) have survived and are readily available in a number of research libraries and specialist book stores. However, the special status of film scripts in Japan is best attested by their continued publication in film journals and

anthologisation under the category of *shinario*. This remarkable cultural phenomenon calls for a closer examination of the publishing strategies involved.

Standard and contesting formats

The number of scenarios published in Japan is so large that any attempt to compile a comprehensive bibliography would necessarily run into considerable problems. Coming closest to achieving this goal is Tanigawa Yoshio's *Shinario bunken* (Scenario Bibliography, 1979, updated 1984 and 1997), an invaluable piece of bibliographical scholarship and still the main reference book for locating published scenarios in resources ranging from 1920s journals to 1990s anthologies dedicated to individual writers.¹²¹

By way of his many exclusions Tanigawa provided a very instructive hint at which type of texts can be considered as *shinario*. For instance, strictly excluded

are shooting scripts (*daihon*) published by the studios which in most occasions are identical to the scenarios that appeared in journals or anthologies.¹²² By such exclusion of semi-official sources and providing information only on 'proper' publications (books and periodicals), Tanigawa reveals a strategy that at once hints at a different status of *shinario* in contrast to other versions of the same text. Along the lines established by the Scenario Literature Movement, scenario becomes a reading matter (*yomimomo*) and as such a commodity in the publishing market.



Cover of Tanigawa Yoshio's
Shinario bunken

Despite the long timeline stretching from 1925 to the present of its each edition, the majority of scenarios included in *Shinario bunken* are surprisingly homogenous in format; this is

¹²¹ Besides scenarios, Tanigawa includes selected essays on the topic from the same periodicals.

¹²² The only marked differences are in the layout as *daihon* runs in one column and especially those for older films are often additionally organised by reels, the numeration of pages taking the form of A-3, B-17 etc.; in *shinario*, the text is often squeezed into several columns in order to make most effective use of space on the page.

especially true of all postwar output. As I demonstrated in Chapter Two, the standard format of the scenario was established in the late 1930s. However, this apparent consistency in textual form comes with a sharp division, as most periodicals printed both Japanese and foreign scenarios and it is easy to notice remarkable stylistic differences between the two types. In just a glance it can be detected that in the former, the scenes are numbered and descriptions of action laconic, while the latter look less structured and the description of visual elements can often become excessive. As I have noted earlier, this discrepancy in format can be traced back to the simple fact that for Japanese scenarios, a pre-production script was commonly used and reprinted without any editing, whereas a transcript made from viewing the film was employed in the case of foreign scenarios.¹²³ Notwithstanding this convergence in typology, there is great formal consistency within the realms of Japanese and foreign scenarios separately.¹²⁴

Tanigawa also makes a clear, if somewhat odd, distinction between pre- and postwar publications by starting with the latter and only adding information on prewar journals at the very end of the book, a mere dozen pages (Tanigawa 1997: 84-96). What could partly explain this division is that the prewar journals in general contained a wider spectrum of script formats. As the master-scene script became dominant only in the late 1930s the structure and

¹²³ A notable and rare exception to this is the continuity of *Rashōmon*, published in the first *Kinema junpō* special issue of scenarios in 1952. It is as if an understanding of placing Japanese and foreign scenarios on different side was temporarily not enforced. (The same issue includes four scenarios and two continuities, the other one being the script of *The Third Man* [1949, dir. Carol Reed, written by Graham Greene].) Then again, *Rashōmon* was the first Japanese film to find considerable acclaim internationally by winning the Golden Lion at Venice Film Festival in 1951, and later the Honorary Academy Award for Best Foreign Picture in 1952.

¹²⁴ A question to be asked here is whether such transcribed continuities should be considered scenarios at all. (They certainly could not be considered screenplays in Steven Price's terminology.) However, most of these transcriptions are similarly categorised as *shinario* (and less often *kontinyūiti*): the long tradition of such publications should be taken into account in order to explain the persistence in presenting two seemingly different text types in the same resources under the identical term. In a way, this practice attests to the high level of inclusivity held by the term *shinario*. For example, journals such as *Shinario kenkyū* (Scenario Research, 1937-1940) and *Shinario bungei* (Scenario Art, 1946-1949) printed texts remarkably diverse in length, style and even the extent of completion. In *Shinario kenkyū*, texts labelled *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 postwar where the former journal left off. Curiously, Tanigawa lists *Shinario kenkyū* in his bibliography but there is no sign of *Shinario bungei* although the latter not only contained scenarios but many scriptwriting related essays by leading film critics. On the other hand, unlike most sites of scenario publication, the named periodicals were clearly aimed at providing a forum for unpublished, uncommissioned and unproduced writing, thus setting them markedly apart from the rest.

layout of silent scripts were less standardised and often remarkably heterogeneous. After these earlier diverse formats, a standard format of scenario emerged and is arguably most clearly represented in regular publications in the postwar journals such as *Kinema junpō*, *Shinario*, *Eiga geijutsu* (Film Art) and *Eiga hyōron* (the entries of these four taking up about two thirds of *Shinario bunken*).

Journalistic resources and anthologies

Tanigawa's work clearly suggests that by far the most abundant period for publishing scenarios was the 1950s, coinciding with the Golden Age of the studio system. Tracing beginnings seems to be a much more difficult task. The first texts that Tanigawa mentions are



Cover of *Eiga ōrai*
(December 1925)

from the 1925 run of the journal *Eiga ōrai* (Film Traffic) and mostly translations of foreign scenarios by the likes of Louis Delluc and Carl Mayer.¹²⁵ As I showed in Chapter Two, there is an important distinction to be made between this early practice and transcribed continuity scripts which were to become dominant later. The names of the translators were also given which is commonly not the case with transcribed scenarios. Besides this trend, the very first scenarios to appear in *Eiga ōrai* were serialised over several issues and ran only a few pages at a time. This is in sharp contrast with the later standard practice of scenario publishing of printing the whole text in a single issue. Above all, this suggests two radically different reading practices, one of them embedded in the template introduced by serialised novels.

¹²⁵ Yamamoto Kikuo points out that the first scenarios by Louis Delluc in Iijima Tadashi's translation were already published in *Eiga sekai* (Film World) in April and May 1923, suggesting that Tanigawa's bibliography is far from being comprehensive (Yamamoto 1983: 155). However, even this addition retains Delluc's special place in the history of Japanese film. In addition, 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 withhold those that were not labelled with the term *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.

Eiga ōrai together with *Eiga jidai* (Film Age) and *Eiga hyōron* started publishing scenarios in a semi-regular manner in the late 1920s. Initially, most of the scenarios were foreign although the balance started to lean towards original Japanese material by the mid-1930s. Arguably, it was also the advent of sound and the standardisation of the format that prompted many journals to include scenarios on a regular basis; since 1934 *Eiga hyōron* included a scenario in virtually all of its issues. As we saw in Chapter Four, the publishing was further intensified with the founding of journals *Nippon eiga* (1936), *Shinario* and *Shinario kenkyū* (both 1937) all of which became major sites for publishing new Japanese scenarios.¹²⁶

All Japanese film journals were discontinued at some point during the war and it was not until 1946 that a number of new film journals were founded and a few old ones resurrected.

Shinario bungei (Scenario Art) was established in February, *Shinario* in June, *Eiga geijutsu* in July, *Eiga shunshū* (Film Year) in August, *Eiga tenbō* (Film Prospects) in October and *Eiga hyōron* in February 1947. Notably, all these journals started regularly to feature scenarios.¹²⁷

In *Eiga geijutsu*, the usual lineup was of one Japanese scenario and one foreign transcription; In *Eiga hyōron*, Japanese scenarios dominated the 1950s but this changed in favour of foreign material in the course of the 1960s. In the list of journals, *Shinario* stands clearly apart by concentrating on the publication of domestic scenarios. The basic concept of *Shinario* has not changed to this day, which from its very beginning featuring invariably three Japanese scenarios per issue.¹²⁸

Kinema junpō (Motion Picture Times) which was to become the major forum for scenario publishing, was somewhat late compared to other periodicals. It commenced printing

¹²⁶ At the same time, there were journals such as *Shin-eiga* (New Film) that kept printing largely foreign work all the way to late 1941 when it was briefly reoriented to Japanese scenarios before insufficient paper stock led to excluding scenarios and to the eventual closure of the journal in 1944.

¹²⁷ *Shinario*, *Shinario bungei* and *Eiga shunshū* from the very beginning in 1946, *Eiga geijutsu* and *Eiga hyōron* from 1948.

¹²⁸ Edited by the *Shinario Sakka Kyōkai* (Japan Writers Guild), it was clearly the flagbearer of Japanese scriptwriting, even through the meagre times. It was only in 1967-1968 that some foreign ones were included in *Shinario*, with a few isolated exceptions as well as a couple of TV drama scripts in the 1970s.

scenarios only with its third reincarnation in October 1950¹²⁹, the first issue featuring the script of Roberto Rossellini's *Roma città aperta* (Rome, Open City, 1945).¹³⁰ In the course of the decade, *Kinema junpō* became the most prolific periodical for scenarios with its numerous extended and special issues. This is all the more curious because not a single scenario can be found in the prewar *Kinema junpō*. The editor Shimizu Chiyota, in his postscript for the resumed publication issue (*fukkan tokubetsugō*), explicitly commits to publishing scenarios.



Cover of *Kinema junpō*
(15 October 1950)

Each issue of this journal will feature a scenario of an outstanding domestic or foreign film. This has not been tried out in *Kinema junpō* before but as the source material of film, the scenario is suitable for research and we think 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).

From the early 1950s each issue of *Kinema junpō* included a scenario which usually took up about one-fourth of its volume. In December 1950, the first Japanese scenario, *Sasaki Shōjirō* (1950, Inagaki Hiroshi (also director), Murakami Genzō and Matsuura Kenrō), was published and from there on, as promised by the editorial, issues began to alternate between Japanese and foreign texts. This balance is parallel to the general concept of *Kinema junpō* since its

¹²⁹ 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.

¹³⁰ In an unusual manner, the transcriber and translator of dialogue have been identified as Kashiwaguma Tatsuo (a prominent translator of Italian literature to Japanese) and Hagi Masahiro, respectively. The director Rossellini is mentioned but not the scriptwriters Sergio Amidei and Federico Fellini (Kashiwaguma and Hagi, 1950: 81).



Cover of *Kinema junpō*'s *Meisaku shinarioshū* (October 1957)

inception which seeks to provide information on Japanese and foreign films in an equal manner.¹³¹

In 1952 *Kinema junpō* inaugurated a string of special editions of scenario masterpieces (*meisaku*); these would appear quarterly by the late 1950s.

Initially collections of foreign scripts that included an odd Japanese one, this ratio was soon reversed and kept to a 6:1 or 5:2 pattern in favour of domestic scenarios. Arguably, this mirrors the self-confidence in Japanese cinema vis-à-vis foreign films as it grew during the decade. Usually titled *Meisaku*

shinarioshū (Collection of Scenario Masterpieces), they appeared as special issues (*zōkan*, 23

altogether), then as separate volumes/extra numbers

(*bessatsu*, 8) as if to suggest that the regular journal size could no longer accommodate the heightened demand for scenarios.¹³²

¹³¹ Eventually, the ratio of Japanese scenarios published in *Kinema junpō* waned decisively coming into the 1970s, a trend which can be tied to the decline Japanese film industry experienced at the time.

¹³² *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 and June and October 1957, March and July 1958, January, April, 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 Yasujiro: hito to geijutsu* (Ozu Yasujiro: The Man and Art February 1964), *Shinario sanninshū* (Collection of the Three of Scenario, 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 and 1960, the publication of scenario special issues also plummeted rapidly.

Among the extra number issues were two multi-volumed series that unlike *Meisaku shinarioshū* which sought to offer scenarios of current films made an effort to provide a definitive collection of prewar scenarios. *Nihon eiga daihyō shinario zenshū* (Complete Representative Scenarios of Japanese Film, 1958-1959, 6 vols) and *Nihon eiga koten shinario zenshū* (Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film, 1965-1966, 6 vols) as their titles suggest mostly overlap in material. However, while the former provided little more than texts of scenarios, the latter comes with a wealth of additional material. Introductory essays to each scenario by writers themselves and Kobayashi Masaru, with recollections by the staff and reprints of contemporary criticism complete an entry. Because of the generous and diverse information it provides, *Nihon eiga koten shinario zenshū* has remained the definitive source for prewar scenarios. Given that the published scenario itself can be considered as something of a paratext to the film these additional bits create a multi-layered textual formation that both provide valuable historical data and guide the interpretation of the main text. Together with *Shinario tokuhon* (Scenario Reader, 1959) which I discussed in Chapter One, these were the first comprehensive attempts to organise the canon of Japanese scenarios.¹³³

Static and dynamic canon

In *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (2010), Edward Mack shows how the publishing industry helped to bring about what now appears as the uncontested canon of modern Japanese literature. In particular, Mack points out two kinds of tactics for literary texts to attain such status. The first is exemplified by *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* (Complete Works of Contemporary Japanese Literature, Kaizōsha, 1926-1931) which organises past texts into a static canon. The second is represented by the Akutagawa Prize (since 1935) with its more dynamic approach of incorporating works recently published.

¹³³ The first anthology to fully combine both pre- and postwar scenarios in the same edition was *Nihon shinario taikai* (Series of Japanese Scenarios, 1973-1979, 5 vols), which also turned out to be the last publication of such scope. In comparison to earlier anthologies, *Nihon shinario taikai* lines up scenarios according to the date of completion rather than film's premier. Consequently scenarios such as *Chichi ariki* (There Was a Father, written 1937, film released 1942) and *Uma* (Horse, 1938 and 1941) precede those of films released earlier.

Where 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).

In scenario publishing, a similar line can be drawn between the principles of fortnightly (or monthly and yearly¹³⁴) publications and those that reach further back in time. While regular publishing in various journals provides scenarios of recently premiered films considerable visibility, it is the gesture of anthologising past scenarios that has the real capacity of reconfiguring the film canon.

According to Mack, the whole concept of *zenshū* (complete works) can be traced back to *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū*. It is this template that was later 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), discussed in Chapter Four. Although this collection could be seen as a predecessor to the subsequent ones, it is too experimental in structure and heterogeneous in formats presented to be considered a definitive anthology. At any rate, it 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* are much more uniform and therefore seem both inclusive and authoritative.

A survey of these three major scenario anthologies shows only a handful of scenarios appearing in all and a far larger number disappearing and resurfacing. The canon is always in flux and the status of a text is never guaranteed (Mack 2010: 7). To illustrate this point,



Cover of *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*

¹³⁴ *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū* (Annual Collection of Representative Scenarios) has been published since 1952, comprising ten scenarios in each volume. Published by Shinario Sakka Kyōkai, it is effectively an extension of the journal *Shinario*.

Title	Writer	SBZ 1936-37	SK 1937-40	NSBZ 1955-56	NEDSZ 1958-59	NESKZ 1965-66	NST 1973-79	Shindō 1989	Year	Director	Studio	Extant print
Sei no kagayaki (The Glory of Life)	Mizusawa Takehiko					o	o	o	1919	Kaeriyama Norimasa	Eiga Geijutsu Kyōkai	X
Rojō no reikon (Souls on the Road)	Ushihara Kiyohiko					o	o	o	1921	Murata Minoru	Shōchiku	o
Kyōya erimise (Kyōya Collar Shop)	Tanaka Eizō					o	o	o	1922	Tanaka Eizō	Nikkatsu Mukōjima	X
Orochi (The Serpent)	Susukita Rokuhei					o		o	1925	Futagawa Buntarō	Bantsuma Pro	o
Kurutta ichipeiji (Page of Madness)	Kawabata Yasunari / Inutsuka Minoru / Kinugasa Teinosuke / Sawada Bankō					o	o		1926	Kinugasa Teinosuke	Shinkankakuha Eiga Renmei	o
Tsubakihime (The Lady of the Camellias)	Mori Iwao					o	o		1927	Murata Minoru	Nikkatsu Daishōgun	X
Kagebōshi (The Shadow)	Susukita Rokuhei						o	o	1928	Futagawa Buntarō	Tōa Makino Tōjiin	o
Rōningai Daiichiwa (Samurai Town: 1)	Yamagami Itarō					o	o	o	1928	Makino Masahiro	Makino Omuro	X
Jūjirō (Crossroads)	Kinugasa Teinosuke		o			o	o	o	1928	Kinugasa Teinosuke	Kinugasa Eiga Renmei / Shōchiku Kyōto	o
Mura no hanayome (The Village Bride)	Fushimi Akira					o	o	o	1928	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku Kamata	X
Kaijin (Ashes)	Kisaragi Bin		o				o	o	1929	Murata Minoru	Nikkatsu Uzumasa	X
Zoku Ōoka seidan (Ōoka's Trial 2)	Itō Daisuke					o	o		1930	Itō Daisuke	Nikkatsu Uzumasa	X
Kōbō Shinsengumi (The Rise and Fall of the Shinsengumi)	Itō Daisuke		o			o	o	o	1930	Itō Daisuke	Nikkatsu Uzumasa	X
Madamu to nyōbō (Neighbour's Wife and Mine)	Kitamura Komatsu					o	o	o	1931	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku Kamata	o
Adauchi senshu (Champion of Revenge)	Kobayashi Tadashi		o			o	o		1931	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu Uzumasa	X
Dakine no nagadosu (Sleeping with a Long Sword)	Yamanaka Sadao					o	o		1932	Yamanaka Sadao	Kan Pro	X
Umarete wa mita keredo (I Was Born, But...)	Fushimi Akira					o	o		1932	Ozu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Kamata	o
Kokushi musō (Peerless Patriot)	Iseno Shigetaka					o	o	o	1932	Itami Mansaku	Chie Pro	x
Yamichi tosei (Professional Killer)	Itami Mansaku		o					o	1932	Itami Mansaku	Chie Pro	X
Dekigokoro (Passing Fancy)	Ikeda Tadao					o	o		1933	Ozu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Kamata	o
Tange Sazen: Daippen (Tange Sazen, Part 1)	Itō Daisuke					o	o		1933	Itō Daisuke	Nikkatsu Uzumasa	x
Bangaku no isshō (The Life of Bangaku)	Yamanaka Sadao			o		o	o	o	1933	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu Uzumasa	X
Nezumi kozō Jirōkichi (Jirōkichi the Ratkid)	Yamanaka Sadao					o	o		1933	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu Uzumasa	X
Tonari no Yae-chan (Our Neighbour Miss Yae)	Shimazu Yasujiro					o	o	o	1934	Shimazu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Kamata	o
Ikutoshii ikerumono (Everything That Lives)	Fushimi Akira					o	o		1934	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku Kamata	X
Tsuma yo bara no yō ni (Wife, Be Like a Rose)	Naruse Mikio					o	o		1935	Naruse Mikio	P. C. L.	o
Jinsei no onimotsu (Burden of Life)	Fushimi Akira		o			o	o	o	1935	Gosho Heinosuke	Shōchiku Kamata	o
Kono ko sutezareba (If I Abandon This Child)	Yanai Takao					o	o		1935	Saitō Torajirō	Shōchiku Kamata	X
Kunisada Chūji	Mimura Shintarō					o		o	1935	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu Kyōto	X
Machi no irezumimono (The Village Tattooed Man)	Yamanaka Sadao					o	o	o	1935	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu Kyōto	X
Hitori musoku (The Only Son)	Ikeda Tadao / Arata Masao		o			o	o		1936	Ozu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Ōfuna	o
Akanishi Kakita	Itami Mansaku					o	o	o	1936	Itami Mansaku	Chie Pro	o
Gion no kyōdai (Sisters of Gion)	Yoda Yoshikata		o			o	o	o	1936	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiichi Eiga	o
Naniwa ereji (Ōsaka Elegy)	Yoda Yoshikata					o	o	o	1936	Mizoguchi Kenji	Daiichi Eiga	o
Ninjō kamifusen (Humanity and Paper Balloons)	Mimura Shintarō					o	o		1937	Yamanaka Sadao	P. C. L.	o
Asakusa no hi (Lights of Asakusa)	Ikeda Tadao					o	o		1937	Shimazu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Ōfuna	o
Mori no Ishimatsu (Ishimatsu no the Forest)	Yamanaka Sadao					o		o	1937	Yamanaka Sadao	Nikkatsu Kyōto	X
Sobō (Many People)	Kurata Fumindo					o	o	o	1937	Kumagai Hisatora	Nikkatsu Tamagawa	X
Kagiri naki zenshin (Endless Advance)	Yagi Yasutarō					o	o	o	1937	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu Tamagawa	x
Hadaka no machi (The Naked Town)	Yagi Yasutarō					o		o	1937	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu Tamagawa	X
Haha to ko (Mother and Child)	Yanai Takao					o		o	1938	Shibuya Minoru	Shōchiku Ōfuna	o
Nakimushi kozō (Crybaby Apprentice)	Yatta Naoyuki					o	o		1938	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei	o
Uguisu (The Bush Warbler)	Yatta Naoyuki					o	o		1938	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei	o
Tsuzurikata kyōshit-su (Composition Class)	Kimura Chiyoo					o	o		1938	Yamamoto Kajirō	Tōhō Eiga Tōkyō	o
Abe no ichizoku (The Abe Clan)	Kumagai Hisatora / Adachi Nobuo					o	o		1938	Kumagai Hisatora	Tōhō Eiga Tōkyō / Zenshinsha	o
Gonin no sekkōhei (Five Scouts)	Aramaki Yoshio					o	o		1938	Tasaka Tomotaka	Nikkatsu Tamagawa	o
Danryū (Warm Current)	Ikeda Tadao						o	o	1939	Yoshimura Kōzaburō	Shōchiku Ōfuna	o
Tsuchi to heitai (Earth and Soldiers)	Suyama Tetsu / Kasahara Ryōzō					o	o	o	1939	Tasaka Tomotaka	Nikkatsu Tamagawa	o
Tsuchi (Earth)	Yagi Ryūichirō / Kitamura Tsutomu					o	o	o	1939	Uchida Tomu	Nikkatsu Tamagawa	o
Nishizumi senshachōden (The Story of Tank Commander Nishizumi)	Noda Kōgo					o		o	1940	Yoshimura Kōzaburō	Shōchiku Ōfuna	o
Toda-ke no kyōdai (The Brothers and Sisters of the Toda Family)	Ikeda Tadao					o		o	1941	Ozu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Ōfuna	o
Kojima no haru (Spring on a Small Island)	Yagi Yasutarō					o	o		1941	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei	o
Uma (Horse)	Yamamoto Kajirō					o	o	o	1941	Yamamoto Kajirō	Tōhō Eiga	o
Umi o wataru sairei (The Sea-Crossing Festival)	Mimura Shintarō					o	o	o	1941	Inagaki Hiroshi	Nikkatsu Kyōto	X
Chichi ariki (There Was a Father)	Ikeda Tadao / Yanai Takao / Ozu Yasujiro		o			o	o	o	1942	Ozu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Ōfuna	o
Muhōmatsu no isshō (The Life of Matsu the Untamed)	Itami Mansaku							o	1943	Inagaki Hiroshi	Daiei Kyōto	o
Sugata Sanshirō	Kurosawa Akira					o	o		1943	Kurosawa Akira	Tōhō Eiga	o

Table 1
Canon of prewar Japanese scenarios

SBZ

SK

NSBZ

NEDSZ

NESKZ

NST

Shindō

Shinario bungaku zenshū (1936-37)

Shinario kurashikku section in *Shinario kenkyū* (1937-40)

Nihon shinario bungaku zenshū (1955-56)

Nihon eiga daihyō shinario zenshū (1958-59)

Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū (1965-66)

Nihon shinario taikei (1973-79, NST)

Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989)

Table 1 chronologically lists 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 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).¹³⁵ Scenarios that feature as excerpts in Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989) show a link between historiography 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.¹³⁶

The last column of Table 1 shows that almost half of this tentative lineup of the prewar scenario canon (pre-postwar would be a more adequate term because it includes films made until 1944) is not available for viewing. The case of *Adauchi senshu* (Champion of Revenge, 1931, dir. Uchida Tomu) where merely 29 seconds exist on a toy film of the original 116 minute feature illustrates the situation rather well.¹³⁷ Since the publication of these anthologies, a handful of prints have been rediscovered, such as *Kurutta ichipeiji* (A Page of Madness, 1926, dir. Kinugasa Teinosuke) and *Tsuchi* (Earth, 1939, dir. Uchida Tomu). In the latter case, the badly disorganised bits of the unearthed print were reassembled with the help of the surviving scenario.¹³⁸ Besides this auxiliary aspect, the prewar scenario canon deserves attention because it also functioned as a means to introduce certain works into the film canon

¹³⁵ The evolution of the canon can be traced in the terminology used to designate the status of each collection. While the term *zenshū* has been used in most cases there is a noticeable shift between NSDSZ and NESKZ. Not only does the multilayered paratextual apparatus make the latter appear more comprehensive and thus authoritative, it is the use of *koten* (classics) in comparison to the more subdued *daihyō* (representative) that elevates the act of building scenario canon to the next level. This tendency is taken further by the use of term for the most substantial collection so far, NST. *Taikei* is the term usually reserved for large textual collections of encyclopedic scope such as *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Series of Classical Japanese Literature).

¹³⁶ ○ marks the film print as extant, x= partly extant, X= completely lost.

¹³⁷ See Toy Film Project at <http://toyfilm.jp/chanbara/>

¹³⁸ 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.

proper by making available whatever was left of them at that point.¹³⁹ This seems to have been particularly relevant in the (re)evaluation of the prewar work of major directors such as Gosho Heinosuke, Uchida Tomu and Yamanaka Sadao. Recollecting his early days of scenario hunting, Satō Tadao points out how finding and reading scenarios of films hailed as past masterpieces was always able to convince him about their reputation (Satō 1975: 289).

Strategies of scenario publishing

Mack states that publishing literary anthologies was “an alternate economy to the extent that it claimed autonomy from the tyranny of the marketplace ... [and] it implied a different logic of value” (Mack 2010: 3). Similarly, the canon of scenarios can be at times seen going against the imperatives of film industry, ascribing as it does certain literary rather than cinematic qualities to the text, resulting in some discrepancies. Somewhat surprisingly, the work of Fushimi Akira, whose contributions to the emergence of the master-scene scenario were discussed in Chapter Two, stands out alongside the more established writers such as Itō Daisuke, Yamanaka Sadao and Ikeda Tadao. In fact, the inclusion of as many as five scenarios by Fushimi in *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* has made Kishi Matsuo question the judgement of the anthology’s primary editor Kobayashi Masaru (Kishi 1973: 385).¹⁴⁰ Yagi Yasutarō, too, emerges as a major writer with the inclusion of his scenarios such as *Hadaka no machi* (The Naked Town, 1937), *Kagirinaki zenshin* (Unending Advance, 1937) and *Kojima no haru* (Spring on a Small Island, 1940). This seems adequate given the unanimous way he has been lauded with the status of *shinario sakka* (scenario author) as we saw in Chapter Three.

While arguably borrowing its anthologising mechanisms from the publishing world, the way scenario were often presented, especially in the numerous special issues by *Kinema junpō*, also reveals a link to the film industry and its advertising practices. Commonly, five to six

¹³⁹ The way the scenario canon is tied to the critical success of films, and as such to the dynamic canon, is attested by the addition of their high positions in the *Kinema junpō*’s annual poll in *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū*.

¹⁴⁰ Fushimi’s scenarios in NESKZ include *Mura no hanayome* (The Village Bride, 1928, Vol. i: 124-143), *Umarete wa mita keredo* (I Was Born, But..., 1932, Vol. ii: 69-86), *Izu no odoriko* (The Dancing Girl of Izu, Vol. ii: 155-168), *Ikitoshi ikerumono* (Everything That Lives, 1934, Vol. iii: 31-54) and *Jinsei no onimotsu* (Burden of Life, 1935, Vol. iii: 89-107). With the exception *Umarete wa mita keredo* (dir. Ozu Yasujiro), all scripts were made into film by director Gosho Heinosuke.

Japanese scenarios were included per volume. If we take a closer look, it turns out that each of these was produced by a different film company. This neatly divides the content of scenario collections between the five major studios of the late 1950s: Daiei, Nikkatsu, Shōchiku, Tōei and Tōhō (at times, a scenario from Shin-Tōhō or an independent studio was included). It becomes clear that in such publications, the principle of even contribution was sought in order to maintain the balance between products from different studios, at the same time stressing the status of scenario as a kind of commodity.¹⁴¹

This practice stands in the starkest possible contrast to what was occurring in the United States at the time when studios who owned the copyright of screenplays were reluctant to let them

be published at all. In Japan, there appears to have been a tie-in (*taiappu* in Japanese) where studios made most of the opportunity to promote their new films while *Kinema junpō* catered for their curious readers. While providing a site of advertising for the film industry, forming the scenario canon arguably provided more visibility for the domestic film product in general. Looking at the corpus of published scenarios, there appears to have been two distinct periods when a noticeable shift can be observed in the balance between foreign and domestic. Both pre- and postwar publishing eras (from around 1925 and 1946 respectively) started with initial periods when foreign scenarios were predominant, followed by those of heightened



Wakao Ayako on the cover of *Kinema junpō*'s *Meisaku shinarioshū* (April 1961)

¹⁴¹ The same tendency can be detected to some extent in the anthologies where a balanced representation was sought not only in artistic terms but also those of studio affiliation. For instance, the third volume of NST which contains scenarios from the same period that *Kinema junpō* special issues covered, has four scenarios from both Nikkatsu and Tōhō, three from both Daiei and Tōei, and two from Shōchiku, Shin-Tōhō and independent production companies. 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 taiki* contains eleven scenarios of Shōchiku films and nine of Nikkatsu, leaving only seven for the rest. Roughly the same phenomenon can be examined in NESKZ and NEDSZ, with Shōchiku and Nikkatsu dominating the field by featuring 17 to 14 and 21 to 22 scenarios, respectively.

attention paid to the Japanese scenarios instead (the late 1930s and the 1950s).

While the surge in everything Japanese in the late 1930s can be traced to the general political climate which also created a ground for promoting Japanese film, it is the growing confidence in the domestic product which facilitated a similar phenomenon in the Golden Age of the 1950s. From the outset, scenario collections were not only promoting new features by film studios or serving as a site for shaping the canon. Looking at its special issues of scenarios, there is one striking feature that cannot be found in the regular editions of *Kinema junpō*. This is the presence of Japanese actresses on the covers that certainly caught the eye and was an additional incentive for readers. While prominently displayed in many other fan-oriented periodicals such as *Eiga fan* (Film Fan), a Japanese actress had never before appeared on the cover of *Kinema junpō* which was still maintaining balance in its coverage of Japanese and foreign cinema (save for these very covers). In a way, then, publishing Japanese scenarios made it possible for domestic actresses to stand in such a limelight for the very first time.

Unlike film canon that is reinforced in regular intervals by all-time best lists, retrospectives, re-releases and so on, efforts to maintain scenario canon have generally halted since the 1970s with the publication of the last major anthology, *Nihon shinario taikei*. At the same time, surviving scenarios of lost films continue to complement the film canon proper. Still appearing is the yearly *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū* (Annual Collection of Representative Scenarios) which contributes to the ongoing, dynamic canon. Next, I will discuss the various readerships that this sizeable corpus accumulated since the silent era has invited over the years.

SCENARIO AND ITS READERS

Steven Maras notes that "the unique format of the screenplay ... facilitates a certain kind of reading" (Maras 2009: 65). If there is a scriptwriter then there has to be a scriptreader, too. While the readership of scenarios has commonly been limited to certain members of the film industry (in Hollywood, there is in fact a profession called script reader which refers to those evaluating incoming scripts in order to pass the ones with potential to the production team.),

the breadth of publications in Japan clearly points beyond such boundaries. As elsewhere in this thesis, my interest lies not in the most obvious kind of readership — producer, director, cinematographer, actors and so on — and the production context, but something more open to the general public.

Between accuracy and evocativeness

In a series of short essays, “Katakana zuihitsu” (Jottings in *katakana*, 1943), Itami Mansaku noted that the question a scriptwriter must never forget is “[h]ow to make readers feel as if they were watching the film” (Itami 2010: 311). On the one hand, this a call for writers to use particular techniques in order to evoke clear visual images. On the other hand, this hints at what Barbara Korte and Ralf Schneider have called “an intermedial competence ... essential in grasping the screenplay’s special artistic demands and artistic merits” (Cit. Maras 2009: 75).

Building on this notion of discrete readership, Maras adds that 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” (Maras 2009: 121). Although the term “blueprint” strongly relates to the screenplay’s function as a management tool, according to Maras it does not reduce the script to a technical document: it paradoxically “[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’” (Ibid.: 124). At any rate, part of an ideal scenario seems to be its incompleteness, openness.

Approaching the film script as a reading material from another direction, 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: 106-107). Here, Price is mostly referring to series such as *Classic Film Scripts* (1968-86) and *Modern Film Scripts* (1969-1975) which unlike the majority of Japanese scenario collections also included a substantial amount of film stills, making such publications semi-visual and engaging to a lesser extent with the readers’

intermedial faculties. What the notion of mnemonic tool does is to subordinate the published scenario to the already seen film, while in reality these positions could be experientially reversed.¹⁴²

What emerges are two markedly different ways of looking at published screenplays: 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 by an exact description but rather suggestive textual passages. Pier Paolo Pasolini, a particular favourite of all screenwriting scholars, 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” (Cit. Maras 2009: 70-71). It is precisely this practice of transmitting the textual to the visual in the mind’s eye that creates a certain experience for the scenario reader while requiring a particular set of skills.

From reader to writer

As we saw in Chapter Two, Delluc proposed that a sufficiently skilled reader will not need precise information on shooting or editing techniques to set off her/his cinematic imagination. In Chapter Four, Kitagawa suggested that presenting a scenario to a reader lacking the competence of evoking screen images would be like throwing pearls before swine. Along these lines, Satō notes how the reader of the scenario, holding what is basically a shooting script in his hand, is very much in the position of a film director, imagining a yet non-existent film out of the text (Satō 1975: 292). What we have here, then, is a (script)writerly text where the reader takes on an active role in constructing meanings. To paraphrase, a scenario could perhaps be even called a directorly, or for that matter actorly or cinematographerly, text.

¹⁴² Even if the scenario is indeed read after seeing the film, it does not necessarily overlap with or simply recall the film viewing experience, as the notion of mnemonic tool bluntly suggests. Moreover, there is evidence that in Japan a number of scenarios were published before the opening of a film, contradicting claims about following on from the actual film viewing experience.

Okada Susumu, in his editorial for *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 film. 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. Even among young women the enthusiasm for writing scenarios is spreading (Okada 1959: 158).

Here, Okada points out that one of the inevitable results of reading scenarios is the desire to start writing them (much like fan fiction is nowadays spreading literary production to hitherto uncharted territories). It is also notable that Okada brings up the gender issue at a time when women writers such as Mizuki, Tanaka and Wada were garnered with considerable critical acclaim. Above all, what this trend suggests is that those who are writerly readers conceptually can also become so in actuality. Published scenarios, then, mark the site where scriptreaders can try to become scriptwriters.

Kitagawa, writing some years earlier, suggested different types of readers based on both their personal preference and social background.

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 because such people form the majority, films continue to be made. Without skills to paint cinematic images by reading scenarios, these people are satisfied by the fixed scenes painted by the director. Such people find picturing cinematic images through scenarios vague and insufficient and demand distinct images (Kitagawa 1952: 6-7).

Here, Kitagawa introduces the term masses (*taishū*) to make a distinction between two kinds of trends in scenario readers. Given that this statement was made at the time of the democratisation of postwar Japan, it is not ideologically innocent.¹⁴³ It is as if some people desire simply to have clearer images offered to them, and others would rather have the skills and freedom of imagining. Kitagawa also points out that most of scenario readers are people living in the rural areas where film screenings are rare. The function of the scenario in this case is for the reader to merely “grasp a rough impression of the film”. According to Kitagawa, the ‘real’ readers of scenarios would rather prefer to “paint their own creative images through reading scenarios” (Kitagawa 1952: 7). Here, as country folk are contrasted to ‘serious’ readers, Kitagawa also continues to subscribe to the dichotomy between amateurism and seriousness towards film. Kitagawa suggests that the cinematic experience can reach beyond actually watching the film, and in this case employing the scenario as a catalyst.

Examples of readers

While it is nearly impossible to recreate the kind of readership that both Okada and Kitagawa are referring to, fragments can be found that point in certain directions. For instance, notes of an anonymous reader in the copy of *Kinema junpō* (January 1959 *jō*) 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. The scenario/film in question is based on the Naoki Prize-winning novel *Hana noren* (Flower Shop Curtain, 1958) by Yamasaki Toyoko. Set in the popular entertainment world of Osaka, it was adapted by the veteran scriptwriter Yasumi Toshio and directed by Toyoda Shirō.¹⁴⁴

Although a conjecture, it seems plausible that the reader has made notes with a pencil while watching the film. First, a number of 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

¹⁴³ *Shinario nyūmon* where Kitagawa’s essay appeared came from print on 20 May 1952, a month after the treaty of San Francisco that ended the Allied Occupation in Japan came into effect.

¹⁴⁴ The same team including the film’s stars Awashima Chikage and Morishige Hisaya had been behind earlier successes in the genre of *bungei eiga* (literary film), most notably *Meoto zenzai* (Marital Relations, 1955), also set in prewar Osaka.



Pages from a copy of Yasumi Toshio's *Hana noren* found at the library of Kyoto University of Art and Design

climactic scene (number 34) where the protagonist Taka tries on a white garment that reminds of her dead mother has been stressed 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 an access to a pre-screening of the film which opened in theatres only four days later in 27 January 1959. At any rate, this unearthed example from the most prolific year for scenario publishing attests to the kind of engagement these texts invited from their readers.

At the same time, there are contemporary scenario readers such as the blogger presenting himself as OKAMURA Hirofumi (<http://acting.jp>) who has made a considerable effort to introduce both the work of scriptwriters and various scriptwriting manuals through the means of social media.¹⁴⁵ In his profile, Okamura provides a list of his favourite scenarios and scriptwriters (“kono kyakuhonka ga sunbarashii [this scriptwriter is wonderful]”). He is a big fan of Oguni Hideo but also Marune Santarō, an obscure postwar *jidaigeki* director and apparently kind of a heir to Yamanaka and Itami. Another name in this list is Mizuki Yōko,

¹⁴⁵ In particular, Okamura's post from 27 April 2012 provides summaries of 22 manuals including classic work 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 (<http://acting.jp/wordpress/2012/04/27/02381164.htm>).

the foremost female scriptwriter who rather surprisingly gets a nod for comedies such as *Hadaka no taishō* (The Naked General, 1958, dir. Horikawa Hiromichi) and *Amai ase* (Sweet Sweat, 1964, dir. Toyoda Shirō) and not the socially conscious serious work she is more famous for.

Among his favourite writers, Okamura also singles out Kurosawa and his early and late work, completely ignoring what is considered the core of his *oeuvre*. Included are 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) which received generally poor reviews and failed to earn place in scholarship on Kurosawa. Finally, Okamura's all-time top three scenarios, *Chikamatsu monogatari* (The Crucified Lovers, 1954, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji, written by Yoda Yoshikata), *Shōnen* (Boy, 1969, dir. Ōshima Nagisa, written by Tamura Tsutomu) and *Bakushū* (Early Summer, 1951, dir. Ozu Yasujiro, written by the director and Noda Kōgo), are similarly somewhat atypical choices when weighed against the whole output of their respective writers (<http://acting.jp/profile>). However subjective, and precisely for that reason, these kind of preferences point at how reader reception of cinema can vary considerably depending on whether it is based on finished film or scenario.

Publishing and reading scenarios presupposes both an evocative format which would leave enough room for imagination as well as a wide readership with an intermedial skill-set. However, there are cases when scenario reading has led to an even more elaborate engagement with the text, in effect functioning as film criticism. One such example is provided by the scenario reviews of Itami Mansaku.

ITAMI MANSAKU'S SCENARIO REVIEWS

Between April 1941 and March 1942, the journal *Nippon eiga* (Japanese Film) published eleven instalments of film scenario reviews (*shinario jihyō*) by prominent director, scriptwriter and critic Itami Mansaku (1900-1946). Itami is well known as one of the 'radical

directors' of the 1930s who sought to reform the *jidaigeki* (historical drama) genre. While he is praised for introducing satire to the vocabulary of Japanese cinema there still seems to be indecision about his merits as a film director. He has somewhat paled in comparison with his contemporary Yamanaka Sadao.¹⁴⁶

Reviews and their context

In a practice that might seem like putting the cart before the horse, Itami's essays belong to a subgenre of film criticism that has the peculiar characteristic of reviewing 'films' before their actual release. The important place these texts hold in Itami's oeuvre is attested by them being reprinted in all subsequent collections of Itami's writings on cinema.¹⁴⁷ It is also worth noting that Itami wrote these reviews from his sickbed after having contracted tuberculosis in the late 1930s, an illness which effectively put an end to his career as a critically acclaimed film director. Given his condition at the time, this would have been one of the few options for continuing to be engaged with cinema. In addition, only a handful of Itami's films survive, making writings such as these essential for assessing his presence in the Japanese film world during this historically significant period between the Marco Polo Bridge Incident and Japan's defeat in the Second World War.



Cover of *Nippon eiga*

¹⁴⁶ For instance, Noël Burch notes that although Itami revolutionised *jidaigeki* on the content level, this was not translated into cinematic terms like in Yamanaka's work (Burch 1979: 192). Kitagawa Fuyuhiko even came up with terms verse film (*inbun eiga*) and prose film (*sanbun eiga*) to juxtapose the styles of Yamanaka and Itami (Kitagawa 1936: 23-26). Indeed, the terms *sanbun* or *sanbun seishin* (prose mentality) frequently pop up in discussions on Itami, although it is often difficult to understand what exactly is meant by these. It seems to have something to do with apparent lack of lyricism in his work, which is sacrificed for plot twists and witty dialogue.

¹⁴⁷ First reprinted in *Seiga zakki* (Miscellaneous Notes from the Sickbed, 1943), later 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).

Title	Writer	Journal	Publishing date	Itami's review date	Film premier date	Director	Studio
Geidō ichidai otoko (The Life of an Actor)	Yoda Yoshikata	Nippon eiga	1941.01	1941.04.09	1941.02.09	Mizoguchi Kenji	Tokusaku Prodakushon
Mikari no tō (The Inspection Tower)	Shimizu Hiroshi	Eiga hyōron	1941.01	1941.04.09	1941.01.30	Shimizu Hiroshi	Shōchiku Ōfuna
Medetaki wa Kōrin byōbu (Kōrin's Screen Is Auspicious)	Inoue Kaoru	Nippon eiga	1941.02	1941.04.09			
Shidō monogatari (A Story of Coaching)	Sawamura Tsutomu	Eiga hyōron	1941.02	1941.04.09	1941.10.04	Kumagai Hisatora	Bantsuma Pro
Akeyuku tsuchi (Earth at Dawn)	Yahiro Fuji	Jidai eiga	(No. 16)	1941.04.09	1941.03.20	Terakado Seikichi	Shinkō Kyōto
Jokyōshi no kiroku (The Record of Lady Teacher)	Kishi Matsuo	Eiga hyōron	1941.04	1941.05.09	1942.03.20	Satō Takeshi	Tōhō Eiga (film title: <i>Wakai sensei</i> , Young Teacher)
Waga ai no ki (The Story of Our Love)	Yagi Yasutarō	Eiga hyōron	1941.04	1941.05.09	1941.11.07	Toyoda Shirō	Tōkyō Hassei Eiga
Gunji tai (Captain Gunji)	Yagi Ryūichirō	Nippon eiga	1941.05	1941.05.09			
Yomigaeru tsuchi (Earth Returning)	Ito Sadasuke	Nippon eiga	1941.04	1941.07.04			
Kabachoppo (Princess Trout)	Asagami Toshio	Nippon eiga	1941.07	1941.07.04			
Watanabe Kazan	Yahiro Fuji	Jidai eiga	(No. 17)	1941.07.04			
Hachijūhachi-nenme no taiyō (The Sun of the 88th Year)	Sawamura Tsutomu	Nippon eiga	1941.08	1941.07.30	1941.11.15	Takizawa Eisuke	Tōhō Eiga
Rudoran no gashū (Ledran's Drawings)	Inoue Kaoru	Nippon eiga	1941.08	1941.07.30			
Hi (Monument)	Yanai Takao	Eiga hyōron	1941.05	1941.08.31	1941.07.29	Hara Kenkichi	Shōchiku Shimogamo
Nobushi (Masterless Soldier)	Mimura Shintarō	Nippon eiga	1941.09	1941.08.31			
Genroku chūshingura zenpen (The Loyal 47 Ronin of the Genroku: Part 1)	Hara Ken'ichirō / Yoda Yoshikata	Jidai eiga	(No. 18)	1941.09.04	1941.12.01	Mizoguchi Kenji	Kyōa Eiga / Shōchiku Kyōto
Jirō monogatari (The Tale of Jirō)	Tateoka Kenosuke	Eiga hyōron	1941.09	1941.09.04	1941.12.11	Shima Kōji	Nikkatsu Tamagama
Chichi ariki (There Was a Father)	Ozu Yasujiro / Ikeda Tadao / Yanai Takao	Eiga hyōron	1941.10	1941.11.01	1942.04.01	Ozu Yasujiro	Shōchiku Ōfuna
Shiro hekiga (The White Mural)	Yoshida Fumio	Nippon eiga	1941.11	1941.11.01	1942.02.04	Chiba Yasuki	Shinkō Kyōto
Ōmura Masujiro	Yahiro Fuji	Nippon eiga	1941.12	1941.11.30	1942.01.14	Mori Kazuo	Shōchiku Kamata
Nankai no hanataba (Bouquet of the South Seas)	Yagi Ryūichirō	Nippon eiga	1941.12	1941.11.30	1942.05.21	Abe Yutaka	Tōhō Eiga
Seikatsu no kawa (The River of Life)	Uekusa Keinosuke	Nippon eiga	1941.12	1941.11.30			
Genroku chūshingura kōhen (The Loyal 47 Ronin of the Genroku: Part 2)	Hara Ken'ichirō / Yoda Yoshikata	Eiga hyōron	1941.11	1941.11.30	1942.02.11	Mizoguchi Kenji	Shōchiku Kyōto
Ōhara Yūgaku	Ozaki Masafusa	Daito eiga senden panfuretsu	?	1941.11.30			
Umezato-sensei gyōjōki (The Life Story of Dr. Umesato)	Mimura Shintarō	Nippon eiga	1942.01	1941.12.04	1942.06.25	Takizawa Eisuke	Tōhō Eiga
Darumaji no dotsujin (The German of Darumaji Temple)	Kurosawa Akira	Eiga hyōron	1941.12	1942.01.25			
Hahakogusa (Mother-and-Child Grass)	Koito Nobu	Nippon eiga	1942.02	1942.01.25	1942.06.04	Tasaka Tomotaka	Shōchiku Uzumasa
Shizuka nari (It's Quiet)	Kurosawa Akira	Nippon eiga	1942.02	1942.03.07			
Kabachoppo (Princess Trout)	Asagami Toshio	Nippon eiga	1942.03	1942.03.07			
Yama o mamoru hitobito (People Guarding the Mountain)	Nobuchi Akira	Nippon kyakuhon	(No. 21)	1942.03.07			

Table 2
Scenarios reviewed by Itami Mansaku in *Nippon eiga* with publishing, reviewing and premiere dates

Only seventeen out of the thirty screenplays that Itami discusses eventually made it to the screen.¹⁴⁸ Judging from the often harsh criticism that Itami levels at these scripts, one is tempted to conclude that perhaps not all of them were meant to be produced. On the other hand, the relatively poor production ratio of these scripts can be ascribed to the consequences of the start of the Pacific War in December 1941. One of its first blows for the film industry was the merging of all existing film studios, save for Shōchiku and Tōhō, into Daiei in January 1942, leaving a number of employees out of work and projects unfinished. What is notable, however, is the fact that all the scripts reviewed had been published in film journals such as *Nippon eiga*, *Eiga hyōron* (Film Criticism), *Jidai eiga* (Period Film) and others.¹⁴⁹ The way these reviews were published before the release of the film, hints at the work-in-

¹⁴⁸ See Table 2 for the full list of Itami's scenarios reviews complete with publishing, reviewing and premiere dates.

¹⁴⁹ During the first peak of scenario publishing in the late 1930s, a number of journals publishing scenarios such as *Eiga hyōron*, *Nippon eiga* and *Shinario kenkyū* also ran a column of scenario reviews.

progress character of both the scenarios and Itami's reviews of them.¹⁵⁰ All this would not be remarkable if it went on in a studio environment, as different phases of script management, but having these scripts and reviews appear in film journals gave them a wider appeal and resonance.

At any rate, this is not conventional film criticism. Itami acts rather like a script doctor, with his keen professional eye pointing out shortcomings and offering solutions on how to fix them. He wastes no time beating about the bush, either: he goes straight to the point and singles out parts of the script that bother him for their illogicalities, inconsistencies or exaggerations. Often, he wraps a review up by providing particular context, situating the script among other contemporary efforts. All in all, Itami touches upon numerous facets of film writing. Moreover, it can be said that using script doctoring as a pretext, Itami tackles a number of important aspects of contemporary cinema. His interests encompass choice of material, structure of the script, motivations of 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. It is as if each single review is focused on a wider problem about film-making. Veiled behind the supposedly innocent act of script doctoring lurks Itami's penchant for satire and social criticism.

Examples of reviews

In his very first review in the series, that of Yoda Yoshikata's *Geidō ichidai otoko* (The Life of an Actor, 1941, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji), Itami puts forth his first rule of the scenario: "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). He adds that as printed scenarios have become more and more common, it is more important than ever that attention should be paid to having a clear methodological grounding. "Because 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" (Ibid.).

¹⁵⁰ One of the scenarios, *Jokyōshi no kiroku* (The Record of Lady Teacher, Kishi Matsuo) was made into a film with different title, *Wakai sensei* (Young Teacher, 1942, dir. Satō Takeshi). Another scenario, Asagami Toshio's *Kabacheppo* (Princess Trout) is re-reviewed by Itami upon the publication of its updated version eight months later.

In a number of reviews, Itami keeps returning to the question of cinematic and literary expression. Like many of his contemporary critics who participated in the debate on scenario literature, he proposes a demarcation line that runs between the categories of abstract and concrete, conceptual and descriptive, temporal and spatial. In a later review of Mimura Shintarō's *Umesato-sensei gyōjōki* (The Life Story of Dr. Umesato, 1942, dir. Takizawa Eisuke), Itami notes that "[t]he difficulty, and at the same time the boundless appeal [*omoshiromi*], of the scenario lies in trying to mould 'film' that has a form concrete from head to toes, using 'literature' that is essentially of conceptual character" (Ibid.: 255).

One of the recurring motifs in Itami's reviews is a question about the motivations of the characters and how that structures the whole narrative. Looking at his review of the script of *Chichi ariki* (There Was a Father, 1941, film released in 1942, dir. Ozu Yasujirō) by Ikeda Tadao and Yanai Takao and the director, it becomes evident that Itami likes to point out narrative discrepancies that for him seem to interrupt the flow of the narrative. For instance, he notes that while the film seems to be solely built upon the simple idea of a father and a son who are destined to live apart, it is insufficiently explained why they do not make more efforts to change the situation. In addition, Itami attacks Ozu's use of cinematic time: it always seems to be flowing one step ahead of the reader/viewer, thus having a strongly disorienting capacity. However, at the end of his review, Itami gives kudos to Ozu by suggesting that judging from the impression of reading *Chichi ariki*'s script, it could turn out to be such a singularly Japanese film that no foreign filmmaker could hope to imitate it (Itami 2010: 237-238). Curiously, Itami somehow manages to single out a number of features that have come to characterise the strengths Ozu's work in the hands of later film critics: the apparent illogicality of his plots, elliptical style that leaves out major incidents, and finally the alleged Japaneseness of his work, subsequently elaborated by Noël Burch, Donald Richie and Paul Schrader.¹⁵¹

Again, it is important to remember that the scenarios Itami reviewed were as a rule published before films were completed (and some never were). For instance, *Chichi ariki*'s script was published in *Eiga hyōron* in October 1941, Itami reviewed it in *Nippon eiga* on November 1,

¹⁵¹ For a criticism of the approaches of Richie, Schrader and Burch, see Yoshimoto 2000: 9-23.

1941, and the film itself premiered on April 1, 1942.¹⁵² This instantly calls into question the reasons behind this practice of letting the public have a glimpse of work before the film is even produced.¹⁵³ What seems more relevant in the case of Itami's script reviews, is that pre-published scenarios served as a possible site of feedback for filmmakers where the quality of the script could be tested before actual expenses for production were even made. However, the extent to which this practice might have been employed would ideally need to be checked against evidence which might now be difficult to obtain.¹⁵⁴

While Itami praised 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 father and son felt in sacrificing their private emotions, he quite boldly takes a much more critical stance towards the phenomenon of *kokusaku eiga* (national policy film). This new type of film was considered so important by the state authorities, that the Cabinet Board of Information (Jōhyōkyoku) organised an annual script competitions between 1941 and 1945, with a number of fledgling scriptwriters participating; winners included Kurosawa Akira and Shindō Kaneto.¹⁵⁵ When discussing Yahiro Fuji's *Ōmura Masujirō* (1941, dir. Mori Kazuo), a biopic of the man considered the 'Father of the Modern Japanese Army', Itami points out that generally a good subject does not by default make for a good film subject, and that good historical material does not automatically make for a good *kokusaku eiga* (Itami 2010: 242-243). By insisting that above anything else films must work in cinematic terms, Itami is going against the grain by hinting at problems facing stale propaganda films. Ironically enough, a review where Itami is dealing with issues of cinema as war propaganda, was published only a week before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

¹⁵² *Chichi ariki* had first been published as early as 1937 in *Shinario bungaku zenshū* vol. iv, 121-162.

¹⁵³ This is in striking contrast with Hollywood practice where the script was virtually hidden from the public. Conceivably, a script published before the release of the film could serve a function akin to that of a trailer or a teaser that will entice a consumer to go for the whole package.

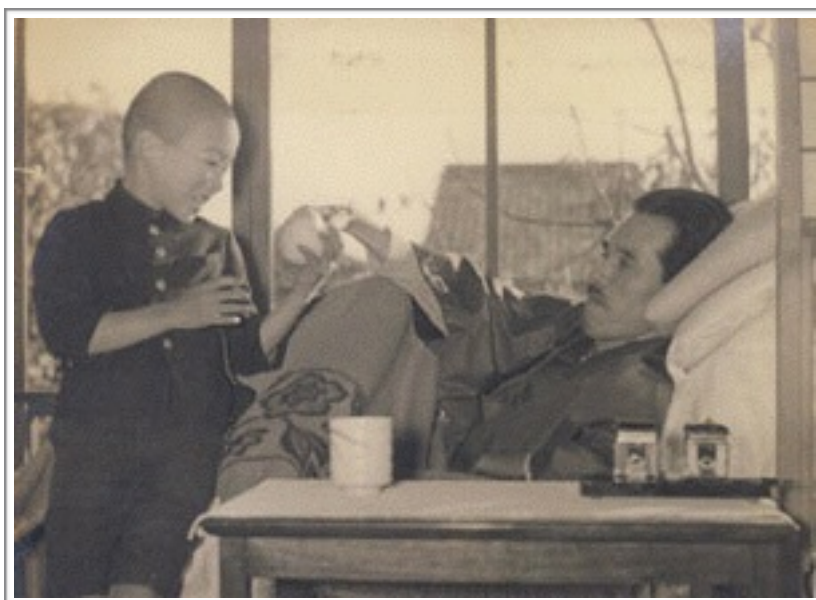
¹⁵⁴ Itami was not alone in looking at films through their scenarios. Another notable example is Kitagawa Fuyuhiko who included a chapter of scenario reviews in his *Gendai eiga ron* (On Contemporary Film, 1941).

¹⁵⁵ For more on the competition, see Salomon 2011: 203-204.

Itami's reviews of two screenplays by Kurosawa, *Darumaji no doitsuujin* (The German of Darumaji Temple, 1941) and *Shizuka nari* (It's Quiet, 1942), both unproduced, are highly relevant if only for the fact these are probably the first critical writings on the work of the future director; his debut feature, *Sugata Sanshirō*, was released in 1943. *Darumaji no doitsuujin* receives much praise from Itami, especially for its imaginative use of descriptive passages (*ji no bun*). Itami goes as far as to say that although he had in the past argued that descriptions in a script are as important as dialogue, it was only this script by Kurosawa that finally provided him with concrete examples backing his argument (Itami 2010: 259). On the other hand, *Shizuka nari*, winner of the First Cabinet Board of Information Screenplay Contest, fares less well under the unflinchingly critical eye of Itami. He criticises it for its lengthy dialogue – quite a contrast to the other script – and the implausibility of how certain characters talk about their work (Ibid.: 268). Ōe Kenzaburō points out that for us, familiar with Kurosawa's later work, it is interesting to see that some of his future strengths are designated by Itami rather as shortcomings (Ōe 2010: 386).

Itami's achievement and influence

Soon after an ill-advised stint as the director of a German-Japanese collaboration *Atarashiki tsuchi* (The New Earth, 1937, co-directed by Arnold Fanck), Itami had contracted tuberculosis and never directed a film after 1938.¹⁵⁶ However, he did continue to both write scenarios and criticism from his sickbed. His merits as a director are somewhat difficult to assess today, apart from his alleged influence on filmmakers such as Ichikawa Kon (who once worked under him) and his own son, Itami Jūzō



Itami Mansaku at his house in Kyoto with his son, the future film director Itami Jūzō

¹⁵⁶ Peter B. High seems to suggest, apparently tongue in cheek, that Itami's illness might have been a direct consequence of being contaminated by collaborating on Nazi propaganda (High 2003: 163).

(Jacoby 2008: 90). At the same time, Itami has enjoyed a posthumous career as a writer since the 1971 publication of a selection of his essays, edited by his son-in-law, the Nobel-winning novelist Ōe Kenzaburō.¹⁵⁷ In a way, these essays suggest a link between Itami's earlier social criticism in film and his very last texts which in an unflinching manner tackled the issues of war guilt and responsibility.¹⁵⁸ Itami represents a remarkable case of a filmmaker who articulately put forth his opinions about both practical and theoretical side of screenwriting, perhaps rivalled only by Shindō. It is through Itami's scenarios and criticism that his place in the history of Japanese cinema and subsequent influence on later generations of filmmakers might be re-evaluated.

Bedridden and unable to attend any cinema, this was probably the only way for Itami to stay in touch with the film world while also contributing to it. There is also a good reason to suspect that Itami never saw the films whose scenarios he reviewed. Here we have Itami, robbed of images, confined to reading scenarios in his sickbed. Ironically, this puts us today in a somewhat analogous situation with him: deprived of these films (most of them now lost or not produced in the first place) but nevertheless endowed with the extant published scenarios and Itami's reviews of them. Above all, this attests to the viability of the scenario culture and its many application to scholarship on Japanese cinema.

However singular his achievement, Itami was not an isolated example. Hashimoto Shinobu, perhaps the most celebrated of all postwar scriptwriters, had a similar arc to his career in cinema, only in reverse. During the war, as Itami's life and work approached its premature end, somewhere else young Hashimoto was lying on his sickbed, recuperating from the same disease. At the time, he did not know much about film; but when in hospital, he incidentally came across a journal which contained scenarios. He was instantly taken by these texts, tried his hand in writing his own and eventually started a correspondence with Itami whom

¹⁵⁷ His last films were largely considered failures in comparison to his widely celebrated early 1930s work (Saeki 1986: 167). However, his final feature as director, *Kyojinden* (A Legend of Giants, 1938), was in my opinion an altogether solid and imaginative adaptation of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, displaying young Hara Setsuko as Chiyo (Cosette).

¹⁵⁸ See Yoshimoto 2000: 126-127.

Hashimoto, 97-year old this year, still considers his teacher. Both for Itami and Hashimoto and the unnamed many reading scenarios proved to be a gateway to cinema.

CONCLUSION

As I was working on the final draft of this dissertation, it was to my delight that I found out about the publication of the English translation of Hashimoto Shinobu's *Compound Cinematics: Akira Kurosawa and I*. This is an important book that gives first-hand insight about the process of scriptwriting during the 1950s Golden Age of Japanese cinema. Although its main attraction might well be the director's name in its title, *Compound Cinematics* marks a significant contribution to opening up the discussion on this underrepresented topic in Japanese film studies. It is also a sign that the vast corpus of scenario-related literature where Hashimoto's memoir certainly belongs to is finally beginning to be noticed beyond Japanese-language scholarship.

In the present thesis, I addressed the critical and popular fascination with scriptwriting and scenarios in Japan as a semi-autonomous field of entertainment and excitement. I examined this phenomenon which I have called the scenario culture by breaking it down to broader topics which form the five chapters of this dissertation. Each topic is also pointing at directions for further research which could not be addressed in the confines of this work.

In CHAPTER ONE, I looked at how scriptwriting has been displayed in several film histories and at times used as an alternative focus from which history, both national and personal, can be reconsidered. It became clear that such accounts tend to concentrate on the evolution of the script format and contributions of individual scriptwriters. In particular, histories by Satō Tadao and Shindō Kaneto have revealed the benefits of employing writers (sometimes called

shinario sakka, scenario authors) as an organising principle, reconfiguring film canon based on certain stylistic and thematic preoccupations. In effect, this approach provides attention and visibility to the contributions of a number of important scriptwriters; it also has the virtue of introducing a number of lesser known works while readjusting the oeuvre of major directors. On the other hand, it is the professional background and personal investment of the authors of these historiographical accounts that should be looked into more closely. This is especially the case with Shindō, the author of the only comprehensive history of Japanese scriptwriting, who over half a century merged various roles, creative and critical, in the Japanese film world.

In CHAPTER TWO, I addressed the development of the script format and its foreign influences. By looking at a variety of texts, I demonstrated how this process resulted in the emergence of the master-scene scenario which in the course of the talkie crisis became the standard for Japanese scriptwriting, making the field and format remarkably uniform since the late 1930s. Drawing from the standardised use of the manuscript paper (*genkō yōshi*) and Friedrich Kittler's media theory, I put forth a hypothesis about the materiality of Japanese scriptwriting supported by a hybrid version of modernity, much in contrast to its Hollywood counterpart.¹⁵⁹ While Steven Price has asserted that "Hollywood remains the necessary point of departure for any attempt to explore the screenplay as a generic form" (Price 2013: 20), the Japanese example, despite its undeniable debt to American practices, seems to undermine this notion by presenting its own tradition.

In order to reach a balanced account of the Japanese scenario vis-à-vis international screenwriting, its foreign influences should be neatly delineated by examining both the adoption of certain industrial practices and the more theoretical approaches represented by an abundant culture of translation. In particular, it is the extent to which the works of

¹⁵⁹ When considering *genkō yōshi*, it would argue that the material basis of not only scriptwriting but that of modern Japanese literature remains essentially unstudied. Kittler has noted that the typewriter is "[t]he unwritten literary sociology of this century. All possible types of industrialization to which writers respond have been thoroughly researched—ranging from the steam engine and the loom to the assembly line and urbanization. Only the typewriter, a precondition of production that contributes to our thinking prior to any conscious reaction, remains a critical lacuna" (Kittler 1999: 214). Analogously, examining the regulatory role of the manuscript paper which literally enables individual inscription in predetermined slots on paper, could open up new perspectives on both the supposedly confessional mode and epistolary drive of the dominant *shishōsetsu* (the I-novel) genre.

scriptwriting theorists such as Louis Delluc, Vsevolod Pudovkin, Sergei Eisenstein, Frances Marion and John Howard Lawson were appropriated by Japanese film critics and authors of subsequent scriptwriting manuals that deserves a thorough scrutiny. The manual is a notable source which has the capacity to provide further insight into both the development of the script format and film style in general. If Kobayashi Masaru raised a question about what implications the tradition of scriptwriting has had on the international success of Japanese cinema we could also speculate on how Ozu's famously elliptical narrative style relates to the efforts of his longtime collaborator Noda Kōgo in theorising the structure of the scenario informed by his allegedly encyclopedic knowledge of world cinema.

In CHAPTER THREE, examining the scriptwriter's position in the film industry allowed me to further discuss its spatial dimensions and gender issues relating to it. While the seemingly idyllic writing conditions epitomised by the regular inn (*jōyado*) suggest privileges that writers held during the more prosperous times in the 1950s, a look at the situation of female writers also reveals it as a site of exclusion. Despite this, a number of important women such as Mizuki Yōko and Tanaka Sumie continued to write scripts of what become some of the most celebrated films of the era. The contributions of these writers to the Golden Age of Japanese cinema and women's film in particular is another topic that should be more precisely addressed by future scholarship in order to reconsider the common notion of great male directors.

From various journalistic sources, I teased out the trend of treating certain scriptwriters as authors (*sakka*), thus crediting them with considerable control over their work. This remarkably balanced understanding of the writer's role in filmmaking is well reflected even in contemporary film programming practices. As I was going through the final phases of research in Kyoto in summer 2014, two extensive retrospectives structured around scriptwriters were under way simultaneously, one about the work of Oguni Hideo (at Cine Nouveau in Osaka) and the other on Takada Kōji (at Laputa Asagaya, Tokyo).

In the recent years, Japanese scriptwriting is also finally receiving its recognition on the international level as attested by the win of the Jean Renoir Award for Screenwriting Achievement (2013) jointly by Kurosawa, Oguni, Kikushima Ryūzō and Hashimoto.

Admittedly, this accolade might have more to do with the reputation of Kurosawa than any of the individual scriptwriters working in his team but at the very least it points at an adequate assessment of the collaborative nature of Kurosawa's oeuvre, which is in stark contrast with the auterist approach that has been uncritically accepted for way too long.

In CHAPTER FOUR, I discussed the notion of 'scenario literature' (*shinario bungaku*) as it appeared in the journalistic debates around the year 1937. In the course of this collective endeavour, a group of film critics, addressing what they perceived as poor state of contemporary Japanese cinema, sought to advocate the literary qualities of the film script. This led to placing their hopes upon new talent not trained nor tainted by the studios' script departments and original scenarios which were considered as a means to counter the increasing trend to adapt literary works to screen. Although the objective to forge a new literary genre was not successful, the effort to elevate scenarios still proved influential for postwar Japanese cinema. This was both in the capacity of introducing non-professional writers such as Shindō and Hashimoto to the trade as well as creating and sustaining a culture of reading and publishing scenarios.

In CHAPTER FIVE, I focused on the most visible trace of Japanese scenario culture: the practice of publishing film scripts which continues to this day. Out of these serial attempts at canon building which have borrowed the template from that of modern literature, emerges a tangible corpus which is complementary to and at the same time challenges the film canon. At the time, it represented a materialised version of cinema to the audiences for whom the actual filmviewing was a much more fleeting one. As such, reading scenarios was both an extension and an alternative to the cinema-going experience, something rather close to our current consumption patterns which have largely shifted to private spaces. I also suggested how dwelling within such scenario readers are potential writers as well as critics. The example of Itami Mansaku who wrote a series of scenario reviews from his sickbed points at the role of scenarios as source of film criticism. Combining this with the practice of transcribing foreign films in Japan during the silent era one might even speculate whether these represent an early version of film analysis as it provided solid textual basis for some serious scrutiny.

What has motivated me from the start of this project is a realisation that while the history of screenwriting in Hollywood is almost universally seen as a site of suppression, where screenwriters are destined to obscurity and the screenplay itself to vanish once the film is produced, this does not seem to apply to Japan. Instead, the history of the Japanese scenario provides an instructive case: it enables us to check a number of common assumptions and in effect, can offer valid counter arguments to the hitherto scarce and narrow accounts on the role of scriptwriting in film history and reception.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aisai monogatari* [The Story of a Beloved Wife]. Shindō Kaneto (dir.). Kyoto: Daiei, 1951.
- Anderson, Joseph L. and Donald Richie. *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Anon. “Shinario kenkyū jūninkai no koto [About the Club of Ten of Scenario Research].” *Shinario* 1 (June 1937): 80.
- Arai Hajime. *Shinario no kiso gijutsu* [The Basic Techniques of Screenwriting]. Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1985.
- Baboulene, David. *The Story Book*. Brighton: Dreamengine Media Ltd., 2010.
- Beauchamp, Cari. *Without Lying Down: Frances Marion and the Powerful Women of Early Hollywood*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Bernardi, Joanne. *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001.
- Bordwell, David, Janet Staiger and Kristin Thompson. *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960*. London: Routledge, 1985.
- Burch, Noël. *To the Distant Observer: Form and meaning in the Japanese cinema*. London: Scholar Press, 1979.
- Cazdyn, Eric. *The Flash of Capital: Film and Geopolitics in Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- “Copyright Law of Japan. Chapter II Rights of Authors.” Copyright Research and Information Center website. <http://www.cric.or.jp/english/clj/cl2.html>. Viewed 7 February 2015.
- Corliss, Richard. *Talking Pictures: Screenwriters in the American Cinema*. New York and

- Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc, 1974.
- Donnelly, Darrin and Travis Donnelly. *The 10-Day Screenplay: How to Write a Screenplay in 10 Days*. Lenexa, KS: Shamrock New Media, 2013.
- Eiga kantoku tte nanda!* [Cut! The Rights of Japanese Film Directors]. Itō Shun'ya (dir.). Tokyo: Nihon Eiga Kantoku Kyōkai, 2006.
- Eigageki kyōkai (ed.). *Kindai eigageki kyakuhon senshū* [Collection of Selected Modern Film Art Scripts]. Tokyo: Shuhōkaku, 1924.
- Eisenstein Sergei et al. *Eiga shinario ron* [On Film Scenarios]. Tr. Kinoshita Setsu. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1957.
- Field, Syd. *Screenplay: The Foundations of Screenwriting*. New York: Dell, 1979.
- Furukawa Yoshinori. "Shinario no ichi [The Position of the Scenario]." *Eiga hyōron* 130 (January 1937): 84-86.
- Fushimi Akira. "Mura no hanayome [The Village Bride]." In *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1965, 124-143.
- Gassner, John and Dudley Nichols (eds.). *Twenty Best Film Plays*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1943.
- Gerow, Aaron. "The Word before the Image: Criticism, the Screenplay, and the Regulation of Meaning in Prewar Japanese Film Culture." In Carole Cavanaugh and Dennis Washburn (eds.). *Word and Image in Japanese Cinema*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000a, 3-35.
- . "One Print in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Culture and Industry in 1910s Japan." *Screening the Past* 11 (2000b). www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr1100/agfr11e.htm.
- . *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895-1925*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Hashida Sugako and Yamada Taichi. "Jūnenkan gekkyū dorobō datta [For Ten Years, I Was a Wage Thief]." In Yamada Taichi et al. *Hito wa taisetsuna koto mo wasureteshimau kara: Shōchiku ōfuna Satsueijō monogatari* [Because People Will Forget Even Important Things: The Story of the Shōchiku ōfuna Studio]. Tokyo: Magajinhausu, 1995, 80-89.

- Hasegawa Nyozeikan. "Shinario bungaku no seiyaku [The Limitations of Scenario Literature]." *Nippon eiga* 2.5 (May 1937): 2-7.
- . *Nihon eigaron* [On Japanese Film]. Tokyo: Dainippon Eiga Kyōkai, 1943.
- Hashimoto Shinobu. "Ichiji zutsu kaku ji [Characters Written One By One]." *Shinario* 21.1-2 (January-February 1965): 58-59.
- . *Compound Cinematics: Akira Kurosawa and I*. Tr. Lori Hitchcock Morimoto. New York: Vertical Inc., 2015.
- Hauge, Michael. *Writing Screenplays That Sell*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011.
- Hayakawa Yoshie (ed.) *Eiga to shi I* [Film and Poetry I]. Vol. 16 of *Korekushon: Toshi modanizumu shishi* [Collection: The Poetic Magazines of Urban Modernism]. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2012.
- High, Peter B. *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003.
- Ho, Sam. "Fragile Heritage and Promising Outlook: Asian Film Archives Look Ahead While Looking Back." *Journal of Film Preservation* 62 (2001): 2-3.
- 100 Years of Japanese Cinema*. Ōshima Nagisa (dir.). London: British Film Institute, 1995.
- Ihara Hikoroku. "Shinario wa gikyoku de wa nai [Scenario Is Not a Play]." *Shinario kenkyū* 1 (May 1937): 52-55.
- Iida Shinbi. "Shinario no jūyōsei [The Importance of Scenario]." In *Shinario Kenkyū Jūninkai* (ed.). *Shinario nyūmon* [Introduction to Scenario]. Tokyo: Hōbunkan 1952, 9-17.
- . "Shinario no rekishi [A History of Scenario]." In Wada Norie (ed.). *Gendai eiga kōza* [Lectures on Contemporary Film]. Vol. 3: *Shinario-hen*. Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1954a, 3-10.
- . "Shindō Kaneto." In Wada Norie (ed.). *Gendai eiga kōza* [Lectures on Contemporary Film]. Vol. 3: *Shinario-hen*. Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1954b, 141-143.
- . "Shinario hattatsushishō: sono ichi [An Extract from the History of the Development of Scenario: Part One]." In *Kinema junpō bessatsu: Shinario tokuhon* [Scenario Reader]. Tokyo, Kinema Junpōsha, 1959, 14-21.
- Iijima Tadashi. "Shinario bungakuron josetsu [An Introduction of the Theory of Scenario Literature]." In Iijima Tadashi et al. (ed.). *Shinario bungaku zenshū* [Complete Works of Scenario Literature] Vol. 1: *Shinario taikei*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō: 1937, 1-26.

- . *Eiga to bungaku* [Film and Literature]. Tokyo: Shine Romansusha, 1948.
- . *Eiga no naka no bungaku, bungaku no naka no eiga* [Literature Inside Film, Film Inside Literature]. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1976.
- Iijima Tadashi et al. (ed.). *Shinario bungaku zenshū* [Complete Works of Scenario Literature]. 6 vols. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō: 1936-1937.
- Ikeda Tadao, Yanai Takao and Ozu Yasujirō. “Chichi ariki [There Was a Father].” In *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Vol. 5. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1965, 166-184.
- Imamura Shōhei et al. (ed.). *Kōza Nihon eiga* [Lectures on Japanese Cinema]. 8 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1985-1988.
- Imamura Taihei. *Eiga geijutsu no seikaku* [The Character of Film Art]. Kyoto: Daiichi Geibunsha, 1939.
- Inagaki Hiroshi. *Nihon eiga no wakaki hibi* [The Youthful Days of Japanese Cinema]. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1983.
- Inomata Katsuhito and Tayama Rikiya. *Nihon eiga sakka zenshi* [The Complete History of Japanese Film Authors]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Shakai shisōsha, 1978.
- Ishikawa Tatsuzō. “Shinario bungaku gūkan” [Miscellaneous Thoughts on Scenario Literature].” *Eiga sōzō* 2.6 (December 1937): 36.
- Ishizaka Shōzō. *Ozu Yasujirō to Chigasakikan* [Ozu Yasujirō and Chigasakikan]. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1995.
- Itami Mansaku. “Shinario zakkan [Miscellaneous Thoughts on Scenario].” *Shinario kenkyū* 2 (July 1937): 19-24.
- . *Itami Mansaku esseishū* [Collection of Essays by Itami Mansaku]. Ōe Kenzaburō (ed.). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010.
- Itō Daisuke et al. “Tokubetsu zadankai: Nihon eiga shinario dangi [A Discussion of the Japanese Scenario].” In *Horidasareta meisakusen* [A Selection of Recovered Masterpieces], 15-24. Supplement to *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1966.
- Iwasaki Akira. *Eiga geijutsushi* [History of Film Art]. Tokyo: Geibun Shoin, 1930.
- . “Shinario bungaku wa kanō ka” [Is Scenario Literature Possible?].” *Eiga sōzō* 2.6 (December 1937): 6-11.

- Jacoby, Alexander. *A Critical Handbook of Japanese Film Directors: From the Silent Era to the Present Day*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2008.
- Kaeriyama Norimasa. *Katsudō shashingei no sōsaku to satsueihō* [The Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama]. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2006.
- Kasahara Kazuo, Suga Hidemi and Arai Kiyohiko. *Shōwa no geki: Eiga kyakuhonka Kasahara Kazuo* [The Theatre of Shōwa: Film Writer Kasahara Kazuo]. Tokyo: Ōta Shuppan, 2002.
- Kashiwaguma Tatsuo and Hagi Masahiro. “Mubōbi toshi [Rome, Open City].” *Kinema junpō* [Motion Picture Times] 1 (15 October 1950): 81-103.
- Kawabata Yasunari, Kinugasa Teinosuke, Inuzuka Minoru and Sawada Bankō. “Kurutta ichipeiji [Page of Madness].” In *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1965, 62-69.
- Kikumori Hideo. “Shinario bungaku wa kanō de aru ka: bungaku keishiku to shite no shinario [Is Scenario Literature Possible? Scenario as Literary Form].” *Eiga sōzō* 2.2 (March 1937): 22-27.
- Kimizuka Ryōichi. *Shinario tōri ni wa ikanai!* [It Doesn’t Go the Way of the Script!] Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 2002.
- Kinema junpō bessatsu: Shinario tokuhon* [Scenario Reader]. Tokyo, Kinema Junpōsha, 1959.
- Kipen, David. *The Schreiber Theory: A Radical Rewrite of American Film History*. New York: Melville House, 2006.
- Kisaragi Bin. “Shinario no kachi [The Value of the Scenario].” *Shinario kenkyū* 1 (May 1937): 82.
- Kishi Matsuo. *Jinbutsu Nihon eigashi* [History of Japanese Film: People]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Daviddo-sha, 1970.
- . “Kaisetsu [Commentary].” In Shinario Sakka Kyōkai (ed.). *Nihon shinario taikei* [Series of Japanese Scenarios]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Maruyon Purodakushon, 1973, 794-812.
- Kita Saika. “Shinario no imi [The Meaning of the Scenario].” *Shinario kenkyū* 1 (May 1937): 76-79.
- Kitagawa Fuyuhiko. *Junsui eigaki* [Genuine Film Notes]. Ōtsu: Daiichi Geibunsha, 1936.
- . *Shinario bungakuron* [On Scenario Literature]. Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 1938.

- . “Shinario no daiichi ninshiki [The first recognition of the scenario]. In Shinario Kenkyū Jūninkai (ed.). *Shinario nyūmon* [Introduction to Scenario]. Tokyo: Hōbunkan 1952, 3-8.
- . “Gendai Nihon shinariosakkaron [On Contemporary Japanese Scenario Authors]”. In *Shinario tokuhon* [Scenario Reader]. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1959, 52-57.
- Kitamura Komatsu. “Madamu to nyōbō [Neighbour’s Wife and Mine].” In *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1965, 39-48.
- Kitsnik, Lauri. “A Record of Repeated Gestures: Leitmotifs in Shindō Kaneto’s films.” *Reflexive Horizons* (April 2014). <http://www.reflexivehorizons.com/2014/04/>
- . “Japanese women screenwriters: collaborators.” In *Women Screenwriters: An International Guide*. Jill Nelmes and Jule Selbo (ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 113-120.
- Kittler, Friedrich A. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*. Tr. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Kobayashi Masaru. *Shinario daiikkō* [The First Steps in Scenario]. Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1956.
- . “Shinario hattatsushishō: sono ni [An Extract from the History of the Development of Scenario: Part Two].” In *Kinema junpō bessatsu: Shinario tokuhon* [Scenario Reader]. Tokyo, Kinema Junpōsha, 1959, 21-27.
- . “Rōningai ni tsuite [On Samurai Town].” In *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1966, 71.
- Kurata Fumindo. “Shinario bungaku no keishiki [The Form of Scenario Literature].” *Shinario kenkyū* 1 (May 1937): 75-76.
- . *Shinarioron* [On Scenarios]. Kyoto: Daiichi Geibunsha, 1940
- Kurosawa Akira. “Kurosawa Akira ni kiku [Asking from Kurosawa Akira].” In Kinema Junpōsha (ed.). *Kurosawa Akira*. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 2010, 8-23.
- Kyōto Nobuo. “Eiga kyakuhon no junsuika [The Purification of Film Script].” *Eiga hyōron* 129 (December 1936): 120-121.
- LaMarre, Thomas. *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun’ichirō on Cinema and “Oriental” Aesthetics*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2005.

- Lawson, John Howard. *Gekisaku to shinario sakuhō* [Theory and Technique of Playwriting and Screenwriting]. Tr. Iwasaki Akira et al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958.
- Machibōke no onna* [A Woman Kept Waiting]. Makino Masahiro (dir.). Kyoto: Shōchiku, 1946.
- Mack, Edward. *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Maras, Steven. *Screenwriting: History, Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Wallflower Press, 2009.
- Marion, Frances. *Shinario kōwa* [How to Write and Sell Film Stories]. Tr. Sasaki Norio. Tokyo: Geijutsusha, 1938.
- Matsuo Yasuaki. *Genkō yōshi no chishiki to tsukaikata* [The Knowledge and Use of the Manuscript Paper]. Tokyo: Nan'undō, 1981.
- McKee, Robert. *Story: Substance, Style, and the Principles of Screenwriting*. London: Methuen, 1998.
- McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994.
- Mitchell, Gregg. "WGAW Names Japanese Filmmakers Akira Kurosawa, Shinobu Hashimoto, Ryūzō Kikushima, and Hideo Oguni 2013 Jean Renoir Award Honorees." Writers Guild of America, West website (24 January 2013). <http://www.wga.org/content/default.aspx?id=5168>. Viewed 9 February 2015.
- Mizushima Ayame and Suzuki Yoshiko. *Joryū shinarioraitā kara* [From Female Scenario Writers]. *Shibai to kinema* [Stage and Screen] 3.7 (July 1926): 13.
- Mizutani Maki (ed.) *Eiga to shi II* [Film and Poetry II]. Vol. 17 of *Korekushon: Toshi modanizumu shishi* [Collection: The Poetic Magazines of Urban Modernism]. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2012.
- Mori Iwao. *Eiga kyakuhon Nijūkō* [Twenty Lectures of Film Scripts]. Tokyo: Eiga Chishikisha, 1930.
- Murai Atsushi. *Kyakuhonka Hashimoto Shinobu no sekai* [The World of the Scriptwriter Hashimoto Shinobu]. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2005.
- Muta Hiroshi. "Mimura Shintarō." *Eiga sōzō* 2.6 (December 1937): 45-50.

- Nada Hisashi. “*Katsudō shashingeiki no sōsaku to satsueihō* kaisetsu [Commentary on *The Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama*].” In Kaeriyama Norimasa. *Katsudō shashingeiki no sōsaku to satsueihō* [The Production and Photography of Moving Picture Drama]. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2006, 519-531.
- Nelmes, Jill (ed.). *Analysing the Screenplay*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- “Nihon de hajimete no josei eiga kyakuhonka Mizushima Ayame [Mizushima Ayame, The First Female Film Scriptwriter in Japan].” <http://mizushimaayame.kane-tsugu.com>. Viewed 10 February 2015.
- Nihon eiga daihyō shinario zenshū* [Complete Representative Scenarios of Japanese Film]. 6 vols. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1958-59.
- Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. 6 vols. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1965-66.
- Nihon shinario bungaku zenshū* [Complete Works of Japanese Scenario Literature]. 12 vols. Tokyo: Rironsha, 1955-56.
- Noda Kōgo. *Shinario kōzōron* [On the Structure of Scenario]. Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1952.
- Nornes, Abé Mark. *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era through Hiroshima*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Ōe Kenzaburō. “Kaisetsu (ni): *Chikuma bungei bunko* de ririido suru [Commentary (Two): Rereading the *Chikuma Bungei Bunko* Edition].” In Itami Mansaku. *Itami Mansaku esseishū* [Collection of Essays by Itami Mansaku]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010, 385-390.
- Ogawa Tadashi. *Shinario no uramado: Aru katsudōya no omoidebanashi* [The Rear Window of Scenario: Recollections of a Filmmaker]. Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1986.
- Okada Susumu. “Henshū kōki [Editorial postscript].” In *Kinema junpō bessatsu: Shinario tokuhon* [Scenario Reader]. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1959, 158.
- . *Shinario no sekkei* [Design of the Scenario]. Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1963.
- Okada Susumu and Hayashi Tamaki. “Sengo shinario jinmyakuzu [Map of Postwar Scenario Networks].” In *Kinema junpō* 403 (November 1965): 79-83.
- Okamoto Tōru et al. “Gendai shinariosakkaron [On Contemporary Scenario Authors].” In *Kinema junpō: Rinji zōkan meisaku shinariosen* [Special Extended Selection of Masterpiece Scenarios]. Tokyo, Kinema Junpōsha, 1958, 145-152.

- “OKAMURA Hirofumi weblog.” <http://acting.jp>. Viewed 12 June 2015.
- Price, Steven. *The Screenplay: Authorship, Theory and Criticism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- . *A History of the Screenplay*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Pudovkin, Vsevolod. *Eiga kantoku to eiga kyakuhonron* [On the Film Director and Film Script]. Tr. Sasaki Norio. Tokyo: Ōraisha, 1930.
- Richie, Donald. *Ozu*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1974.
- Rokusha Osamu. *Eiga no komado* [Little Window to Film]. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2006.
- Saeki Kiyoshi. “Itami-san no enshutsu [The Directing of Itami-san].” In Imamura Shōhei et al. (eds.). *Kōza Nihon eiga* [Lectures on Japanese Film]. Vol. 3: *Tōkii no jidai* [The Age of Talkie]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986, 156-167.
- Salomon, Harold. *Views of the Dark Valley: Japanese Cinema and the Culture of Nationalism 1937-1945*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011.
- Sasaki Norio (ed.). *Hassei eiga kantoku to kyakuhon ron* [On Sound Film Director and Script]. Tokyo: Ōraisha, 1931.
- Satō Tadao. “Kaisetsu [Commentary].” In Satō Tadao (ed.). *Kyakuhon Nihon eiga no meisaku* [Scripts: The Masterpieces of Japanese Film]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Fūtōsha, 1975, 289-310.
- . *Nihon eiga rironshi* [A History of Japanese Film Theory]. Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 1984.
- . *Nihon eigashi* [Japanese Film History]. Zōhoban. 4 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006-2007.
- Sawamura Tsutomu. “Shōsetsu wa shinario de wa nai [Novel is Not Scenario].” *Eiga hyōron* 122 (May 1936): 46-52.
- . “Tōkii shinario no bungaku [The Literature of the Talkie Scenario].” *Shinario kenkyū* 1 (May 1937): 32-44.
- . *Gendai eigaron* [On Contemporary Film]. Tokyo: Tōkei Shobō, 1941.
- Shiga Nobuo. “Shinario riron no rekishi [The History of Theories on Scenario].” In *Kinema junpō bessatsu: Shinario tokuhon* [Scenario Reader]. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1959, 82-87.
- Shigeno Tatsuhiko et al. “Shinario sakka gurinpusu [A Glimpse of Scenario Authors].” In *Kinema junpō zōkan: Meisaku shinario senshū* [Special Issue of *Kinema junpō*: Collection of Scenario Masterpieces]. Tokyo, Kinema Junpōsha, 1952, 60-64.

- Shimizu Chiyota. "Kōki [Postscript]." *Kinema junpō* [Motion Picture Times] 1 (15 October 1950): 104.
- Shinario Sakka Kyōkai (ed.). *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū* [Annual Collection of Representative Scenarios]. Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1952-.
- . *Nihon shinario taikai* [Series of Japanese Scenarios]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Maruyon Purodakushon, 1973.
- Shindō Kaneto. "Teema no settei: suji to hakobi kōsei [Establishing a Theme: The Structure of Plot and Progress]." In Wada Norie (ed.). *Gendai eiga kōza* [Lectures on Contemporary Film]. Vol. 3: *Shinario-hen*. Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1954.
- . *Shinario no kōzō* [The Structure of Scenario]. Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1959.
- . *Nihon shinarioshi* [History of Japanese Scenario]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989.
- . *Shindō Kaneto no ashiato* [Shindō Kaneto's Footprints]. Vol. 1: *Seishun* [Youth]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993.
- . *Shindō Kaneto no ashiato* [Shindō Kaneto's Footprints]. Vol. 4: *Shigoto* [Work]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.
- Standish, Iselde. *A New History of Japanese Cinema: A Century of Narrative Film*. New York and London: Continuum, 2005.
- Sugimoto Shun'ichi. "Shinario bungaku undō gūkō: fu 'Jūninkai' no koto [Foolish Thoughts on Scenario Literature Movement: Incl. On *Jūninkai*]." *Eiga hyōron* 130 (January 1937): 87-89.
- Susukita Rokuhei. "Orochi [Serpent]." In *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1965, 39-61.
- Suzuki Michiko. *Becoming Modern Women: Love & Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature & Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Tachibana Tamaki. *Shindō Kaneto watashi no juppon: oitemo korogaru ishi no yōni* [Shindō Kaneto, Ten of My Films: A Rolling Stone Even If Old]. Tokyo: Kyōdō Tsūshinsha, 2011.
- Takeda Akira. *Eiga kyakuhonron* [On Film Script]. Tokyo: Genshisha, 1928.
- Takenaka Rō. *Yamagami Itarō no sekai* [The World of Yamagami Itarō]. Kyoto: Shirakawa Shoin, 1976.

- Tamura Yoshihiko et al. (tr.) "Morokko [Morocco]." *Eiga kagaku kenkyū* 8 (April 1931): 175-237.
- Tanaka Jun'ichirō. *Nihon eiga hattatsushi* [History of the Development of Japanese Film]. 5 vols. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1976.
- . *Nihon eigashi hakkutsu* [Excavations from Japanese Film History]. Tokyo: Tōjusha, 1980.
- Tane Shigeru (ed.). *Kokumin eiga kyakuhonshū* [Collection of National Policy Film Scripts]. Tokyo: Tōa Shorin, 1942.
- Tanigawa Yoshio (ed.). *Shinario bunken* [Scenario Resources]. Zōho kaiteiban. Tokyo: Fūtōsha, 1997.
- Tanizaki, Jun'ichirō and Thomas Kurihara. "Amateur Club (*Amachua kurabu*, 1920)". In Joanne Bernardi. *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001, 263-299.
- Togawa Naoki. "Amerika, sono tokuchōna seikaku to sakkatachi [America, Its Characteristic Features and Authors]." In *Kinema junpō bessatsu: Shinario tokuhon* [Scenario Reader]. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1959, 28-30.
- Tomita Sōshichi. "Shinario bungaku e no gimon [Doubts About Scenario Literature]." *Eiga sōzō* 2.6 (December 1937): 27-31.
- "Toy Film Project." <http://toyfilm.jp/chanbara/>. Viewed 11 February 2015.
- Tsuji Hisakazu. "Shinario no ichi [The Position of the Scenario]." *Eiga hyōron* 122 (May 1936): 69-73.
- Twine Nanette. "The Genbunitchi Movement. Its Origin, Development, and Conclusion." *Monumenta Nipponica* 33.3 (Autumn 1978): 333-356.
- Ueno Kōzō. "Shinario bungaku no kisoteki shomondai [The Basic Problems of Scenario Literature]." *Eiga hyōron* 130 (January 1937a): 73-80.
- . "Shinario bungaku to 'sōsaku shinario' [Scenario Literature and 'Original Scenario']." *Eiga sōzō* 2.6 (December 1937b): 12-20.
- Umeda Haruo. *Shinario no kufū* [Means of the Scenario]. Tokyo: Muromachi Shobō, 1955.
- Vogler, Christian. *The Writer's Journey: Mythic Structure for Storytellers and Screenwriters*. London: Pan, 1998.

- Wada Norie (ed.). *Gendai eiga kōza* [Lectures on Contemporary Film]. Vol. 3: *Shinario-hen*. Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1954.
- Wada-Marciano, Mitsuyo. *Nippon Modern: Japanese Cinema of the 1920s and 1930s*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- Watanabe Toshihiko. "E no nai ehon: shinario no jūzokusei to dokuritsusei [Picture Book Without Pictures: The Dependence and Independence of the Scenario]." *Eiga hyōron* 122 (May 1936): 62-65.
- Winthrop-Young, Geoffrey and Michael Wutz. "Translators' Introduction: Friedrich Kittler and Media Discourse Analysis." In Friedrich A. Kittler. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999, xi-xxxviii.
- Yamagami Itarō. "Rōningai [Samurai Town]." In *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* [Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 1965, 70-105.
- Yamakawa Yukio "Shinario bungaku ni tsuite [About Scenario Literature]." *Eiga to ongaku* 2.2 (February 1938): 51-52.
- Yamamoto Kajirō. *Katsudōya shinshiroku* [Movie Man's Who's Who]. Tokyo: Masu Shobō, 1956.
- Yamamoto Kikuo. *Nihon eiga ni okeru gaikoku eiga no eikyō: Hikaku eigashi kenkyū* [The Influence of Foreign Cinema on Japanese Film: A Study in Comparative Film History]. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1983.
- Yano Fumio. "Shinario bungaku no taitō [The Rise of Scenario Literature]." *Nippon eiga* 2.5 (May 1937): 8-15.
- Yasuda Kiyoo. *Eiga kyakuhon kōseiron* [On The Structure of the Film Script]. Tokyo: Eiga Hyōronsha, 1935.
- . *Tōkii shinario kōseiron* [On The Structure of the Talkie Scenario]. Tokyo: Eiga Hyōronsha, 1937.
- Yasumi Toshio. "Hana noren [Flower Shop Curtain]." *Kinema junpō* 224 (January 1959): 193-210.
- . *Shinario kyōshitsu* [Scenario Class]. Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1964.
- . *Shinario enshutsu engi* [Scriptwriting, Directing, Acting]. Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1982.
- Yoshida Shigeru. "'Bungaku to shite no shinario' no shomondai [The Problems of 'Scenario as Literature']." *Eiga hyōron* 136 (June 1937): 83-92.

Yoshimoto, Mitsuhiro. *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

SUMMARY

Scenario Culture: Reconsidering Historiography and Readership in Japanese Cinema

Lauri Kitsnik

This PhD dissertation addresses the critical and popular fascination with scriptwriting and scenarios in Japan as a semi-autonomous field of entertainment and excitement. This phenomenon, called the scenario culture, is examined by breaking it down to broader topics which form the five chapters of this thesis.

Chapter One looks at how scriptwriting has been displayed in several film histories and at times used as an alternative focus from which history, both national and personal, can be reconsidered. Such accounts tend to concentrate on the evolution of the script format and contributions of individual scriptwriters, sometimes called scenario authors (*shinario sakka*).

Chapter Two observes the development of the script format and its foreign influences. By looking at a variety of texts, it demonstrates how this process resulted in the emergence of the master-scene scenario which in the course of the talkie crisis became the standard for Japanese scriptwriting, making the field and format remarkably uniform since the late 1930s.

Chapter Three examines the scriptwriter's position in the film industry, the spatial dimensions of scriptwriting and gender issues relating to it. While the seemingly idyllic writing conditions epitomised by the regular inn (*jōyado*) suggest privileges that writers held during the more prosperous times in the 1950s, a look at the situation of female writers also reveals it as a site of exclusion.

Chapter Four discusses the notion of 'scenario literature' (*shinario bungaku*) as it appeared in the journalistic debates around the year 1937. In the course of this collective endeavour, a group of film critics sought to advocate the literary qualities of the film script. Although the objective to forge a new literary genre was not successful, the effort to elevate scenarios still proved influential for postwar Japanese cinema.

Chapter Five focuses on the most visible trace of Japanese scenario culture: the practice of publishing film scripts which continues to this day. Out of these serial attempts at canon building which have borrowed the template from that of modern literature, emerges a tangible corpus which is complementary to and at the same time challenges the film canon. Within readers of such scenarios dwell potential scriptwriters as well as film critics.