

SHAKESPEARE TRANSLATION IN JAPAN: 1868—1998

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**Introduction: The Age of Civilization and Enlightenment**

Shakespeare was first introduced to Japan in the late nineteenth century, when the country opened its doors to other countries after the seclusion policy of over two hundred years. When the Meiji Restoration Government came into power in 1868, it decided to import the Western culture and technology in order to catch up with the developed countries. Japan's overall contact with the Western world began. The country's slogan then became "civilization and enlightenment", which meant Westernization for "national wealth and military strength".

Shakespeare came to Japan together with other things from Britain during this age of Westernization. The translation of two English books were published in 1871 and 1872 to enlighten the youth of the new age. One was Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (1859) and the other was John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859). Both books acquired immediate popularity. The translator was Masanao Nakamura who was originally sent by the old Tokugawa Government to Britain to study English. Coming back

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after two years at the collapse of the government, he eventually became an education specialist under the new government.

Chapter one of *Self-Help* contains a brief account of Shakespeare's life. In chapter nine is a reference to Shakespeare as a successful manager of a theater, and the head quotations for the next chapter include an extract from Polonius' speech in Act 1, scene 3 of *Hamlet*, where Polonius gives his son Laertes a piece of advice about borrowing and lending money. ("Neither a borrower nor a lender be,/ For loan oft loses both itself and friend,/ And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry." (1.3.75-77). Shakespeare was thus first introduced as a successful man of the theater who gives practical advice to young people.

Hamlet as a dramatic character appeared in 1874 in a periodical called *The Japan Punch* or *The Yellow Yokohama Punch*. The first thirteen lines of Hamlet's soliloquy in Act 3, scene 1 are translated and printed under a sketch of a stage of a playhouse on which a samurai figure in traditional costume and hair style is standing in a pondering posture folding his arms. (See "Hamlet and the Anxiety of Modern Japan" by Yasunari Takahashi in *Shakespeare Survey* 48, (1995), p.100 for a reproduction of the illustration.) The illustrator and translator is supposed to have been Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), a painter who was sent to Japan by the *Illustrated London News*.

There has been much speculation about the nature of Wirgman's illustration and translation (Kawatake 47-54). The translation is carried out in the strangely childish and nonsensical word for word method and written in the Roman letters system, a way of writing Japanese in the Roman alphabet. Scholars are still wondering whether it is due to the translator's limited command of the Japanese language or it is meant to be some kind of parody, for example, on the low level of Japanese interpreters' ability with English (Kawatake 54, 65).

Since the samurai is standing on stage with a backdrop and four foot lights, it must be a sketch of a scene in a play. There are captions on either side of the proscenium, one saying a "playhouse" and the other

“Shakespeare”. The head lines above the sketch are in English; “Extract from the New Japanese Drama Hamuretu san, ‘Denmarku no Kami’ (meaning “Hamlet, the King of Denmark”); proving the plagiarisms of English literature of the 16th Century.” The play in performance could be an adaptation of *Hamlet*.

It is known that there was a small theater for the foreign residents in Yokohama which opened at the end of the Tokugawa Government and lasted for about fifty years. The theater was called the Gaiety Theater and both amateur companies and touring foreign companies (mostly British and French) are known to have played there (Kawatake 60-61). However, it is unlikely that the article by Wirgman is referring to the performance by a foreign company, for the Hamlet actor is in Japanese costume and his speech is in Japanese although queer and unnatural.

It is also known that there were two theaters for the Japanese audience in Yokohama in the year 1874, the Iwai Theater and the Minato Theater. Since both theaters are said to have equipped with some Western style theater devices such as gas lamps and backdrops painted in oil paints, Wirgman’s article could be about the production at either of the theaters (Kawatake 61-64). Although no records have been discovered concerning the production of *Hamlet*, or its excerpt at these theaters, his article at least tells us that *Hamlet* was known in 1874, only six years after the opening of the country.

The introduction of Shakespeare during the early period succeeding these occasions was effected through adaptations and translations of poetical extracts from the plays. A *Hamlet* adaptation was attempted in 1875, but it was soon abandoned because of unpopularity (Robun Kanagaki’s *Seiyo Kabuki Hamuretto*—Hamlet in Western Kabuki Style). The story of *The Merchant of Venice* was rewritten, changing the scene and characters to Japan and the Japanese. The plot of *King Lear* was made in Chinese letters in 1879. Stories from Charles and Mary Lamb’s *Tales from Shakespeare* were introduced by different people. For example, *As you Like It* in 1883, and *The Merchant*

of Venice also in 1883. *Shintaishisho* (An Anthology of Poems in New Style) was published in 1882 in the movement for renovation of poetry. Fourteen poems among nineteen printed in the book are translations and four of them are from Shakespeare: Cardinal Wolsey's lamentation in *Henry VIII* (3.2.351-73), the King's meditation in *The Second Part of Henry IV* (3.1.4-31), and two versions of Hamlet's soliloquy in Act 3, scene 1 (ll.56-90).

The first complete translation of a Shakespeare play was *Julius Caesar* by Keizo Kawashima in 1883. The following year Shoyo Tsubouchi's translation of the same play was published. While Kawashima translated and published only one more play (*Romeo and Juliet* in 1886), Tsubouchi's work of translation was to proceed until he completed the translation of 37 plays and 3 books of poetry in 1928. He then continued to revise his translation till his death in 1935, thus devoting himself to Shakespeare translation for fifty years (1884-1935). Tsubouchi's Shakespeare had long been the standard translation both for performance and for reading. His translation was used when *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was performed at the Imperial Theater in Tokyo in June 1946 as the first Shakespeare production after the Second World War. Rokuro Hidaka, a Japanese Shakespearean, remembers how happy he was to hear such pleasant and humorous speeches spoken on stage. He was moved to see an elderly couple, who seemed to him not being very familiar with Shakespeare's plays, laughing so heartily (215).

Tsuneari Fukuda's translation appeared about ten years later in the middle of the 1950s. Fukuda's work was based on updated information and understanding of Shakespeare in the British culture. Twenty years later in the 1970s Yushi Odashima adopted a more relaxed and contemporary style for Shakespeare translation, which was at first prepared for a small experimental theater but soon spread into commercial theaters and the general reading public. In the 1990s Kazuko Matsuoka began a new series. Her translation reflects the trends in contemporary Shakespeare studies and performance in the world.

In this essay the history of Shakespeare translation in Japan is to be analyzed focusing on the works of four translators who have made significant contributions to establishing the Japanese Shakespeare for each age as well as helping to develop our understanding of Shakespeare.

### **1. Shoyo Tsubouchi: Theater Renovation and Translation of the Complete Works**

Shoyo Tsubouchi (1859-1935) read a lot of English novels in his student days and translated and published Sir Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (under the Japanese title, *Shunpu Jowa*) and *The Lady of the Lake* (also under the Japanese title, *Shunso Kiwa*) in his early twenties. He was at first eager to renovate the Japanese novel and is remembered in the history of Japanese literature for his critical essay, *Shosetsu Shinzui* (Essentials of the Novel, 1885) and for a novel *Tosei Shosei Katagi* (The Modern Students' Way of Thinking, 1885-86), which he wrote as a practical example of his theory. In the essay Tsubouchi denounces the Japanese traditional didactic novels, insisting that the novel in the new age should be artistic like the European novel (*Shosetsu Shinzui* 150, 167).

He then became more concerned with the renovation of Japanese theater and thought Shakespeare would be helpful for the purpose. When he started teaching at a college, he translated parts of *Hamlet* (Act 1, scene 1) and *Macbeth* (Acts 1 and 2) for his classes. The first Shakespeare play he translated whole was *Julius Caesar* which was published in 1884.

Tsubouchi's translation of *Julius Caesar*, however, was not the first translation and publication of the work in Japan. It was first translated and printed in serial form on a political party's newspaper, the *Kenseito Shinbun*, in 1883. It was in fact the first of Shakespeare's plays translated and published in Japan. The translator was an English teacher named Keizo Kawashima who did the work, according to Sasaburo Moriya, by

consulting the Webster's English Dictionary and Schlegel-Tieck's German translation (21). The title of Kawashima's translation of the play was *An European Drama: a Play of Julius Caesar*.

Unlike Kawashima, Tsubouchi gave his translation a Japanese Kabuki style title: *Shizaru Kidan Jiyu no Tachi Nagori no Kireaji* (A Strange Tale of Caesar: Remembered Sharpness of the Sword of Liberty). Tsubouchi's language was the traditional Joruri style Japanese consisting of narrative verse and dialogues, while Kawashima adopted literal translation faithful to the original.

Tsubouchi explains that his method has been a strategy to make an easier access to the Japanese reading public. In the preface to his *Julius Caesar*, he writes:

The original is just a rough script consisting of only dialogues without any songs to be chanted, which is very different from the traditional Japanese Joruri text. Therefore, I've transformed the original into the Joruri text form. Differences and changes from Shakespeare's text will be found if compared word by word or line by line with the original English text. However, please understand that my first aim was the convenience of my Japanese readers so that they will have no difficulty in enjoying the play. Narrative verse style is used when it is effective and the dialogue style is adopted when it is more appropriate. The hardest efforts have been made to convey the meaning of the original text. (301-02, my translation)

Tsubouchi's choice in the language style must have seemed right in those early days of Western culture's introduction to Japan. For Keizo Kawashima himself was influenced by Tsubouchi and rendered his next work, *Romeo and Juliet* in the Joruri style, giving up his first word for word style which would have been thought more appropriate.

Kawashima's *Romeo and Juliet* was published in 1886, again to become the first translation of the entire text of the work.

While Kawashima left only two plays' translation published, Tsubouchi was to continue the strenuous work until he completed translating Shakespeare's whole canon (37 plays and 3 books of poetry) by 1928. However, it should be noticed that *Julius Caesar* was taken up by the two pioneers of Shakespeare translation. In such early years of the Meiji Restoration, Shakespeare was still received as a source of enlightenment for the youth. The movement for democratic government and politics was particularly active around the years 1883-84, and *Julius Caesar* was exactly the play for the time. This explains why Kawashima's Caesar was printed in the newspaper of a democratic political party and Tsubouchi named his play "the Sword of Liberty".

Tsubouchi writes that the first production of a Shakespeare's play by Japanese actors was the adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* in 1885 by the Sojuro Nakamura Company at the Yebisuza Theater in Osaka. It was a play made from the story in Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. The next was two scenes from Tsubouchi's *Julius Caesar*, that is, the assassination scene (Act 3, scene 1) and the speeches by Brutus and Antony scene (Act 3, scene 2), which was played in 1901 by the Ii Company at the Meijiza Theater in Tokyo (*Selected Works* 12. 377-78).

Among the early productions of Shakespeare's plays, there are a few by Otojiro Kawakami and his company, if adaptations are included. An enthusiastic theater reformer in his own right, Kawakami produced *Othello* (adapted by Suiin Emi), *The Merchant of Venice* (adapted by Shunsho Doi) and *Hamlet* (adapted by Kayo Yamagishi and Shunsho Doi), all in 1903 in Tokyo. Scenes and characters were changed into Japan and the Japanese, and Kawakami's wife, Madam Sadayakko, played the parts of Desdemona and Ophelia.

Kawakami was an adventurous enterpriser, and led his company on tours in America and Europe twice (1898-1901 and 1901-02). On the first occasion they played in San Francisco, Boston, Washington D.C.,

London and Paris. In Boston they saw Irving's *The Merchant of Venice*, and presented their own Japanized version of the court scene of the same play. The National Theater's Pamphlet mentions that their show at the Paris World Exposition (Kawakami's *hara-kiri* and Sadayakko's Japanese dancing) is said to have been well received. Kawakami's theatrical activity too was based on his criticism against the Japanese traditional Kabuki theater, and his desire to establish the new theater for the new age. Since Kabuki was sometimes called "the Old School" in those days, Kawakami is known as the father of "the New School". But his understanding of Western culture and drama and the skill of his company's players have often been criticized (Kawatake 189-91).

On the other hand, an artistic movement for the modernization of Japanese theater had been arising among the students of Tsubouchi's, and when their association, the Art Society, was organized in 1906, Tsubouchi was asked to work as their leader. For the first public performance of the Society at the Kabukiza Theater, he translated the Court Scene of *The Merchant of Venice* as well as offering two works of his own: a historical play, *Kiri Hitoha* (A Leaf of Paulownia) and a musical play, *Tokoyami* (The Everlasting Darkness), which needed more than 120 cast members including a chorus of 70 singers. According to the memoir of one of the main members of the society (Biyo Mizuguchi), the theater was full for two days of performance (*Selected Works* 12. 23-25).

The program for the following year's performance consisted of two shows: *Hamlet* and *Urashima: a New Musical Play*. *Hamlet* was in five acts with only some scenes cut. *Urashima* was a show like *Tokoyami*, in which a play, dance and music were combined as in an opera in the West. For some time Tsubouchi was eager to create the Japanese opera, and let his three adopted children (two boys and one girl) learn dancing and singing in order to carry out experimental performances at home (Iizuka 37-39).

Soseki Natsume, a great novelist of this age, refers to a production of *Hamlet* by the Art Society in one of his most popular novels, *Sanshiro*,



which is a story of a new student of the University of Tokyo (published in 1908). The hero of the novel, Sanshiro, goes to see the performance because he has bought a ticket from a student who is supporting the Society's activity by selling tickets. He thinks that the costume of Hamlet resembles that of an English actor he has once seen in a photograph. He likes the way Hamlet moves about nimbly on stage, but is disturbed with the language of the play. Although it is good Japanese with rhythm, fluency and dignity, Hamlet does not seem to be speaking like an ordinary Japanese man. Sanshiro sees the discrepancy between the play's language and action (249-55).

*Hamlet* was again performed by the reorganized Art Society in 1911, using the complete translation by Tsubouchi and directed by himself. This production is regarded as epoch-making in the history of Japan's modern stage because an attempt to reproduce a Shakespeare play faithful to the original has been materialized to a certain point. The translation was careful and elaborate and the acting method was realistic. All the female parts were played by actresses for the first time. Sumako Matsui, who played the part of Ophelia, was to become the first popular actress to play in modern plays.

The production was a commercial success as well. It was the opening program at the newly built Imperial Theater and the house was full during one week's performance. Sokeki Natsume saw this performance too and wrote its criticism "Dr. Tsubouchi and *Hamlet*" for a newspaper (286-91). Natsume, who had studied English literature in London for two years as the first recipient of the Japanese national scholarship in the field, writes that it is essentially impossible to translate Shakespeare's blank verse into Japanese in spite of Tsubouchi's serious efforts. Therefore, Natsume asserts, the production of a Shakespeare's play in Japanese would surely fail to give an artistic satisfaction to the audience.

Tsubouchi explains that Shakespeare is one of the means to improve the skill of Japanese actors, and they have intended to create a Japanese version of Shakespeare play, which, he hopes, would be

studied by foreign researchers when their performance has risen to the required standard (*Selected Works* 12. 671). Tsubouchi was a man of the theater while Natsume was not, and besides, Tsubouchi might have been more optimistic about the possibility of transcending the difference between the East and the West.

The activity of the Art Society came to an end in 1913, when the Society was dissolved due to difference of opinions among the members, and was to be reorganized in three separate companies. Freed from the duty as the head of the Society, Tsubouchi now devoted himself to Shakespeare translation, completing 20 plays by 1923, since his translation of *Hamlet* in 1909. The project was then enlarged to cover the whole canon and the work was completed in 1928, with the publication of 37 plays and 3 books of poetry. Tsubouchi continued revising his translation and the revised edition was published in separate volumes per play between 1933 and 1935. This series remains Tsubouchi's final version due to his death in 1935.

Tsubouchi never stopped searching for a better Japanese style to be used in Shakespeare translation. He looks back at the history of his Shakespeare translation in an introductory guidebook to Shakespeare study published in 1928 as the 40th and the last volume of his Shakespeare series. According to him, there have been five stages in his approaches to Shakespeare translation (317-25). To the first period comes his translation of *Julius Caesar* as *A Strange Tale of Julius Caesar: Remembered Sharpness of the Sword of Liberty* (1883). Tsubouchi comments that "it has been the loose free translation in seven and five syllables verse like the Joruri text". The product of the second period (about 1895-96) is the lectures on Shakespeare's plays printed in the journals of Waseda University where he was teaching as a professor. For the benefits of the students he tried word for word translation in prose with plentiful notes. The style is the archaic literary one which was in fashion in those days, and later he finds it is not suitable to convey the sentiment of the original text.

The third is the translation for the productions by the Art Society. Since his idea of a good play at this period (1908-09) was a renovated Japanese drama, he adopted the traditional Japanese language for stage such as seven and five syllabic meter, the Kabuki text style and the Kyogen speech style of the classic Noh play. While still translating for the Art Society, he learned that late Lafcadio Hearn used to say that the Japanese translation of a Shakespeare play should be in the spoken language, and he decided to try it. However, since he was not able to give up completely the old delicate literary style, the work resulted in the mixture of the two styles. In order to attain better harmony between the two styles, he was obliged to choose rather new literary and old colloquial languages. This is the fourth period which he calls "the mixture of literary and spoken styles". *Hamlet* (1909), *Romeo and Juliet* (1910) and *Othello* (1911) are translated in this style.

The fifth is the period of the modern spoken style. The old colloquial language of the fourth period was not well received because the language reminded readers and audience of the age when it was spoken. Therefore he tried to use the exact contemporary language for *King Lear* (1912) and *Julius Caesar* (1914). Seeing *Julius Caesar* performed by the members of the Art Society, he realized that the language was very effective in representing Shakespeare. The translations after this were all made in this principle. He argues, however, that it is not an easy task as some people may think, for the language must not suggest any particular kind of the modern Japanese life style, such as a middle class family in the residential area, the traditional townspeople in the downtown, or the fashionable streets in the Ginza district at night. He devised a special sort of spoken language for translation which is fairly free from unnecessary associations.

Junji Kinoshita, a dramatist and translator who has translated and published 15 of Shakespeare's plays so far and is especially renowned for his excellent translation of *Macbeth*, refers to Tsubouchi's five stages of translation commenting that the younger generations of translators including himself are greatly indebted to a pioneer like Tsubouchi (266).

The difference of Tsubouchi's 1934 version of *Julius Caesar* from his first translation of the work in 1884 is the record of his laborious journey. Kinoshita admits that his generation could start from where Tsubouchi had arrived, that is, his fifth stage.

The greatest characteristic of Tsubouchi's Shakespeare translation is that it has been meant for stage. His starting point was the reformation of Japanese drama and dance, and he thought Shakespeare's plays would work as stimulating models for his purpose. Though he quit theatrical activity as early as in 1913, he continued to have performance in mind for his translation. The Tsubouchi Shakespeare had in fact functioned as the standard translation for many years until about 1960, and even now his "spoken style" does not seem too outdated probably due to the artificial elements invented by him.

## **2. Tsuneari Fukuda: In Search of Authenticity and the Theatrical Language**

Tsuneari Fukuda (1912-), a critic, novelist, playwright and translator, is one of the most significant Shakespeare translators after Shoyo Tsubouchi. Although the number of the plays he has so far translated remains 19, smaller than Tsubouchi's achievement of the whole canon, Fukuda has established a theory on the ideal Japanese translation of Shakespearean plays insisting how it should be different from Tsubouchi's and has completed translations to be performed by theatrical companies including his own. His translations were published one by one from 1955 (*Hamlet* and *Macbeth*) to 1974 (*Titus Andronicus*), and in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s most Shakespeare productions in Japanese were carried out in Fukuda's translation (Sasaki 602-14).

As a student of English literature, he was at first attracted by D.H. Lawrence and Shakespeare. Other writers he later took interest in were Jean-Paul Sartre and Anton Chekhov, and also some Japanese modern writers such as Ryunosuke Akutagawa and Osamu Dazai. A

translation of *Apocalypse* by D.H.Lawrence and criticisms on these writers mentioned are found among his early works. The primary theme of his critical activity was the search into the sense of self and solitude of modern people. Shakespeare was, for Fukuda, a writer who pursued this theme in his works (Works 5. 7-85).

Fukuda's study of Hamlet took a form of a fiction at first. In 1949, he published a novel entitled *Horatio's Diary*, which is a psychological novel set in the theatrical world of London during the time of the Second World War, about 1938-41(Works 1. 7-90). The hero and narrator, a Mr. David Jones, is an actor and director at the Old Vic. He used to be famous for his role of Hamlet, but has given the part to a younger member of the company and is now playing the part of Horatio as well as directing the play. A French critic praises his Horatio in the play-within-the-play scene for the act of gazing Claudius and Gertrude with an "evil eye". David and the critic agree that Horatio is a connecting agent between Hamlet and the outer world and that Hamlet cannot exist without Horatio. David's interpretation is that Horatio is more like Hamlet than Hamlet himself. In fact, David Jones as Horatio has been watching Hamlet and Ophelia as well as Claudius and Gertrude on stage. During the rehearsals David as the director has to observe the sentiment of love rapidly growing between the players acting Hamlet and Ophelia, while David himself feels being attracted by the Ophelia actress. He decides to write his thoughts on her in a diary and leave it on his desk so that his quiet and faithful wife could read it. In this novel, Horatio represents the self-consciousness and solitude of modern man.

Since he had never visited Britain until five years later, in 1954, London in this novel was the product of his study and imagination. He writes he was pleased to find in London that the imaginary city he had constructed with the help of Baedeker's London Guide was correct except for a miscalculation of distance between Piccadilly Circus and the Old Vic Theatre (Works 1. 277-79). During his stay in London he saw *Hamlet* directed by Michael Benthall and the title role played by Richard Burton at the Old Vic. The performance moved him so much

that he wished to translate the play and have it performed by Japanese players. In fact, he had once been disappointed by a production of *Hamlet* in Japanese which was dull and quite unlike the work of Shakespeare he had read in English. He had even thought that Shakespeare's plays should remain only to be read, since it had become very difficult to perform them. The *Hamlet* at the Old Vic, in particular Burton's powerful voice, changed this view of Fukuda's. He realized that Hamlet's will and action are mainly expressed by the player's speeches and that in a Shakespearean play speeches are the most important. If he could only reproduce the powerful and active lines in his translation, the Japanese production of Shakespeare would be as successful as the one by Benthall and Burton. The problem with Tsubouchi's translation, he concluded, was that it lacked the power of Shakespeare's lines (*Complete Works* 7. 337-39).

*Hamlet* in Fukuda's translation was presented the following year (1955) by Bungakuza (the Literature Company) with Hiroshi Akutagawa playing the part of Hamlet. His *Hamlet* was popular for his fast and yet clear speeches and swift movements. By 1967 Fukuda finished translation of 16 Shakespeare plays, some of them having been revised later, and by then he had translated three more plays, making the total of 19 plays. Fukuda endeavored to establish through his translation an ideal language for Shakespeare production in Japanese. He admits that Tsubouchi's translation has good rhythm and vigor. The main reason that Tsubouchi's Japanese seems outdated is, according to Fukuda, that Tsubouchi has imitated the Kabuki accent too much and also copied a plain and colloquial language of the townspeople of his day.

Fukuda argues that the movement during the Meiji era for unification of written and spoken Japanese language was wrong as far as dramatic language is concerned (*Complete Works* 7. 338). Therefore, he has not hesitated to adopt written style including archaic wording or phrases, which sometimes proves to sound more appropriate as well as poetic on stage than familiar spoken language. He is confident that

stage speeches should be different from daily language. In order to reproduce Shakespeare's rhythm, vitality and sonority, he has attempted to "raise up the Japanese language which tends to lie flat" (*Complete Works* 7. 339).

Another device Fukuda has practiced is to preserve the word order of the original text (*My Drama Class*, 238-46). The English word order usually has to be changed in translation, often in the reverse order, to gain naturalness in Japanese. He has challenged this rule by retaining the original word order. A speech on stage will accompany physical movements of its speaker and each movement will naturally occur alongside the articulated words. Changes in the word order will involve changes in the order of actions, and will result in weakening the power of acting. Therefore Fukuda has remained faithful to the original word order even when he has to accept a little unnatural Japanese expression.

He also has tried a technique of ending a sentence with a noun (*My Drama Class*, 237). This is a method usually used in the written Japanese language and not in the spoken one. However, it has sometimes been helpful for Fukuda since a sentence with a substantive at the end sounds very strong. As regards Shakespeare's wordplay, Fukuda has not shown much enthusiasm. He does not think it right to substitute a Japanese pun or wordplay for an English one in the original text. It seems to him idle to depend on the peculiarity of a target language.

Completed with such a strict artistic scheme, Fukuda's Shakespeare translation has obtained a reputation of having strength and poetic beauty. Players have found his lines effective when recited on stage. From the latter 1950s to the early 1970s his translation was used at most Shakespeare productions in Japan. All his translations have been performed at least once.

Fukuda himself organized a dramatic company in 1963, for which he worked as a director as well as a translator. The leading members of Fukuda's company, which was named the Kumo (Cloud) Company, were from Bungakuza (the Literature Company) which presented

*Hamlet*, Fukuda's first work of Shakespeare translation, in 1955. This production of *Hamlet*, which was in fact the first *Hamlet* after the War, is important in the performance history of Shakespeare and other Western plays in Japan after the War. The performance of Fukuda's *Hamlet*, and successive productions of other Shakespeare plays in Fukuda's translation by the Literature Company and later the Cloud Company, was the revival of Shakespeare in the Japanese dramatic world. Shakespeare's plays were not performed very often after Shoyo Tsubouchi disorganized the Art Society in 1913, for the leaders of the Western drama movement after Tsubouchi, such as Kaoru Osanai and Yoshi Hijikata, were more interested in German, Russian, and Scandinavian dramas. In fact the real popularity of Shakespeare on Japanese stage started after the war, with Fukuda's *Hamlet* marking the turning point (Nakano 5).

Fukuda is critical about the way Western drama has been accepted and developed in Japan since Shoyo Tsubouchi's the Art Society. In his essay, *A Survey on the History of Japan's New Drama* published in 1958, Fukuda asserts that the Western drama movement during the past fifty years in Japan has achieved nothing. He particularly attacks Kaoru Osanai's Tsukiji Small Theater for having built up a theater like a laboratory which was secluded from the outer world (*Collected Works* 4. 319-40). Although Fukuda agrees that Westernization has been the only possible means to modernize Japanese drama after the Meiji Restoration, he considers that Osanai has not recognized the difference between the modern histories of Japan and the Western countries, nor tried to see Western culture from the viewpoint of Japanese history and culture. Therefore the Small Theater movement has only become a dramatic substitute for the yearning after the West by the young intellectuals of the day.

Fukuda also criticizes Osanai's indifference to the skill and nature of translation. The Tsukiji Small Theater's basic policy was to present works by modern Western playwrights such as Henrik Ibsen and Anton Chekhov in Japanese translation. Since they used any translations



available and some of them were made in haste and were very poor, the players were obliged to depend more on physical movement than speeches to represent dramatic characters, which seems to Fukuda the fatal defect in performing a modern play. Some of Osanai's followers at the Tsukiji Small Theater became dissatisfied with his individualistic idea of drama and left him to make new companies to present political or radical dramas. These companies, which were to suffer severe oppression by the militaristic government before and during the War, revived after the War to form the main stream of Western style drama. Since these new drama companies are in fact practicing Osanai's dramatic method, they are still subject to Fukuda's criticism of modern Japanese theater.

Bungakuza (the Literature Company) was called Tsukijiza when it was founded in 1932 to produce non-political plays. The company was reorganized in 1945 under the present name, and aimed at presenting pleasant and mature modern plays both by foreign and Japanese writers. Since *Hamlet*, in 1955, Shakespeare's plays in Fukuda's translation were performed by this company until Fukuda's the Cloud Company was formed in 1963. Fukuda's experiment to establish the authentic modern drama of speeches started as the activity of the Literature Company. (*Macbeth*, 1958; *Julius Caesar*, 1961). As Tetsuo Anzai suggests, Shakespeare was for Fukuda a genuine example of the Western tradition (10).

Fukuda continued experiments in performance mainly with the Cloud Company. In 1965 he invited Michael Benthall to direct *Romeo and Juliet*. This was the first Shakespeare production in Japanese under a British director. *Hamlet*, in 1972, was directed by John David (the Toho Company at the Nissei Theater), and Terence Knapp came in 1974 to direct *Twelfth Night* by the Cloud Company. Fukuda also tried a production with Kabuki stars playing the title roles.

Fukuda's Shakespeare translation attracted theater people, audience and general readers. His Japanese was poetic, delicate and yet powerful, which was suitable to be spoken rapidly on stage

accompanied with quick physical movements. The speedy fluency of his Japanese was felt even by reading the printed pages. This was exactly what the Japanese general public of the day wanted. The days of destitution soon after the War had almost gone, and the Japanese people were in need of culture and art. We were given a taste of authentic British drama in the refined Japanese language. The popularity of Shakespeare in Japan started with Fukuda's translation.

### 3. Yushi Odashima: The Small Theater Movement and Popular Shakespeare

Yushi Odashima's (1930-) Shakespeare translation represents Shakespeare in Japanese in the 1970s. His translation too began with *Hamlet*. While working as a literary artist for Bungakuza (the Literature Company), around 1970, he held a study meeting for the young members of the company and read *Hamlet* with them. After about a half year's reading, although Odashima had translated only a few scenes, they performed the play using Fukuda's translation for the rest. Norio Deguchi, who was later to lead the Shakespeare Theater Company to perform Shakespeare's 37 plays in Odashima's translation, was a member of the company and directed the play. This is how their collaboration started (Deguchi 101-02). Some years later, in 1972, the Literature Company held the "Shakespeare Festival" at the company's studio. Three Shakespeare plays, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Hamlet*, and *Romeo and Juliet* were performed in two months. All three play texts were in Odashima's translation and Deguchi directed *Hamlet* again (Deguchi 104-05).

Through these two experimental productions of *Hamlet* Deguchi has made two discoveries. The first is that words are most important in performing Shakespeare's plays. All the players have to do is to speak Shakespeare's lines, and then a Shakespearean play will be formed on stage. The other dramatic elements such as costume, stage sets, properties, and so on are far less significant. The second discovery is

that a small theater is very effective for a Shakespeare production. As the audience sit very close to the players, the players are able to use wide range of voices, from a very low whisper to a loud shouting. Deguchi has been assured that the fertility of Shakespeare's language can be best reproduced in a small theater (105).

It seems that Fukuda and Deguchi have come to hold similar views on the language of Shakespeare's plays, that is, words are of primary importance in Shakespeare and speeches function as action in his plays. However, their ideas of a theater are different. Although Fukuda was against the theater of realism imported from Europe and practiced by the Japanese theater reformers during the last fifty years, his idea of a stage was conservative and realistic and his Shakespeare was presented in a large or middle sized theater. The Cloud Company's Shakespeare plays directed by Fukuda were beautiful and dignified, but rather stiff.

Deguchi admits that Fukuda's translation has helped Shakespeare's works to be accepted by the Japanese audience and readers as modern drama. He remembers Fukuda's Shakespeare productions as splendid in the 1950s and 1960s. However his translation gradually began to be felt outdated from the late 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s. As Fukuda himself affirms, the starting point and the model of his Shakespeare production was Michael Benthall's *Hamlet* at the Old Vic (*Complete Works* 7. 337-39). To Fukuda, Shakespeare plays in London were the only authentic representation of Shakespeare's text. The problem was, as Deguchi points out, Fukuda just stayed there without moving on. He did not appreciate Peter Brook's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* nor Trevor Nunn's *The Winter's Tale*, both of which toured Japan in the 1970s, for he was not interested in a new way of producing Shakespeare plays. Although Fukuda thought it necessary to modernize Shakespeare in Japan, he did not want a contemporary Shakespeare.

The cult of the Western culture, the tendency to seek a norm in every cultural aspect of the West, gradually weakened around 1970 as the years after the War had passed on in the rapid economic growth

unprecedented in the history of Japan. Views on value were diversified and confused, as the traditional authority was losing its controlling power. Young playwrights and directors began the Japanese “underground theater” movement performing in small theaters. The enterprise by Odashima and Deguchi was the “small theater” movement in the field of Shakespeare translation and production. After the two experimental Shakespeare productions at the Literature Company, Deguchi organized his own company which he named the Shakespeare Theater and started the serial production of Shakespeare plays in Odashima’s translation. Deguchi’s theater was a small hall in the basement with about one hundred seating capacity, located near Shibuya Station, which was and is a busy downtown area favored by young people. The production opened with *Twelfth Night* in May 1975. A new Shakespeare play continued to be performed for five days every one or two months and by August 1981 the production of 37 works had been completed. Odashima had not yet translated the whole canon when the series started, therefore the translation and the performance went on side by side. The director worked on a play which the translator had just finished. Deguchi, who was 35 years old in 1975, reminisces that those were very hard years for him.

The stage for a Deguchi’s Shakespeare production was almost bare with only a few chairs which served for anything at all. Since the players were all young and they put on jeans and T-shirts on stage, his production was known as the “Shakespeare in jeans” or the “Shakespeare in everyday clothes”. The Japanese spoken on stage was plain and easy to understand, which was characteristic of Odashima’s translation. Odashima changed Shakespeare’s word plays and jokes into Japanese jokes so that the Japanese audience could laugh. Rock and roll was often chosen for background music and it helped the younger audience feel at home in the theater.

Deguchi’s serial production demonstrated that Shakespeare’s plays could be performed in a very simple and friendly way, and could be accepted as modern plays. Deguchi considers that Odashima’s

translation has brought about this change, for it is written with the modern audience in mind. Odashima believes that a translator's work is to stimulate the imagination of directors, audience and readers. When translating, he feels as if he was working as a director in an imaginary theater in his mind, but he considers that directing by the translator should remain only within his mind. The cooperation between Odashima and Deguchi resulted in the achievement by the Shakespeare Theater.

Tsuneari Fukuda was against Odashima's intention of translating Shakespeare into plain contemporary Japanese. He argues that Shakespeare's English is not easy for the British intellectuals of today, and moreover it must have been much above the average level of understanding of uneducated people of Shakespeare's time, in terms of vocabulary, rhetoric, structure, and so on. It would be difficult, he says, to write Japanese more complicated than Shakespeare's language (*Complete Works* 7.343). Fukuda thinks that Odashima's language is a colloquial Japanese of the day as Shoyo Tsubouchi's was that of his day and, Odashima is Tsubouchi's successor in this sense. Tsubouchi's Shakespeare translation became difficult for the younger generation to understand because the language he faithfully copied, such as the Edo dialect, the Kabuki speeches and the language of the Edo popular fictions had been forgotten. Fukuda ignores the fact that both Tsubouchi and Odashima translated for the readers and audience of their days.

Differences between Tsubouchi, Fukuda and Odashima reflect the stages of Japan's acceptance of the Western culture. Tsubouchi highlighted the similarities between the two, so that the Japanese people could understand and wanted to learn more about it. Fukuda thought it his duty to introduce the true features of Western culture, correcting the misunderstandings in the earlier importation. For Odashima, the West is a close and familiar world. The two cultures are different but they can coexist.

Odashima remembers how he was shocked to realize the enormous number of splendid words "scattered like stars in heaven"

in Shakespeare's plays, and he thought it would be an almost Herculean task to change those words into a Japanese which could be understood when spoken on stage. For him Shakespeare was "words, words, words" (48). He thought Shakespeare's prose could be expressed in contemporary spoken Japanese. As for blank verse, stress rhythm had to be given up simply because it was impossible. However he wanted to copy the "breath rhythm" of a line of pentameter, especially in the way spoken by the recent, that is, after the mid-1950s, British players who seemed to speak sixteen to eighteen lines of Shakespeare's verses per minute, compared to ten to twelve lines of the older generations of the players (50). Odashima has found that about 25 letters (sounds) of Japanese can be pronounced in a similar length of time to an English line of ten syllables. Speaking 25 letters in a breath would sound rather rapid and therefore modern Japanese. As for rhymes and couplets, Odashima considered it more important to excite the dramatic effect than to mechanically reproduce them in Japanese. Nevertheless, Odashima's translation is reputed for his attempts to copy Shakespeare's rhymes and word plays into Japanese.

Odashima explains his method of translating Shakespeare's sounds, meanings and metaphors as follows:

It is comparatively easy to transplant the sound effects of Shakespeare's language including rhymes. The alliteration in Iago's words that Cassio is "mere prattle, without practice" (*Othello*, 1.1.) is not difficult to translate.

It is harder when sounds are related to meanings. When Dromio of Ephesus says, "I am an ass, indeed—you may prove it by my long ears." (*Comedy of Errors*, 4.4.30) I have managed to connect "ass" and "long ears" in a humorous Japanese sentence.

The even harder case is when humor and bitter irony are combined.

King: But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my son,—

Hamlet: [Aside] A little more than kin, and less than kind.

King: How is it that the clouds still hang on you?

Hamlet: Not so, my lord, I am too much in the sun. (*Hamlet*, 1.2.)

“Too much in the sun” means (1) not in the cloud but in the sun, and (2) having comfortable and carefree life, but also (3) in a state like a vagabond due to having been barred from the throne and (4) that he does not want Claudius to call him his son. For Hamlet a word play is a suit of armor and a sword, as well as a joke. If a translator explains everything, the Japanese counterpart will be too long. Too plain hostility will mar the play and its disregard will not make correct translation.

The most difficult and almost impossible is the use of a sound forming a metaphor. Macbeth’s “The multitudinous seas incarnadine” (*Macbeth*, 2.2) is an example of this case. My effort has only resulted in reproducing a poor image of the original (51-54, my translation).

In fact, he is the first Japanese translator of Shakespeare who eagerly and successfully translated puns and word plays, while other translators were not much interested or dared not challenge. Odashima sometimes substitutes Japanese word plays whose meanings are quite different from the originals, although similar dramatic effects are intended. In the first scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Justice Shallow and his kinsman Slender talk of Shallow’s coat of arms with a dozen “white luces”, and the Welsh parson Sir Hugh Evans mistakes them for “white louses”. Odashima translates “louse (lice)” literally. Since it is impossible to make puns with “louse” and “luce” in Japanese, he changes “luce” into a name of a white flower which sounds like “louse” in Japanese, thus making a Japanese pun.

Odashima’s translation was used when the director Yukio Ninagawa presented *Romeo and Juliet* in 1974 casting a popular Kabuki

actor and a film actress to play title roles. This production was Ninagawa's debut in a large commercial theater and marked the turning point in his career as a director for he was to move the place of his activity from the underground theater to the commercial theater (Ninagawa. *Sen no Naifu* 53-60). Ninagawa continued productions of Shakespeare's plays in Odashima's translation. *King Lear* was presented the following year with the same Kabuki actor (Somegoro Ichikawa) as Lear. Then came *Hamlet* in 1978 and *Macbeth* in 1980. Ninagawa's *Macbeth* was shown at the Edinburgh Festival in 1988 and in London in 1992.

Odashima's *The Works of Shakespeare* was published between 1973 and 1979 in seven volumes, and Deguchi's serial production was completed in 1981. Odashima's translation had also come to be used in these years for Shakespeare productions in larger theaters directed by other directors. The greatest contribution Odashima's Shakespeare translation has made is, as Norio Deguchi points out, that it has changed Shakespeare's plays from "a weapon to fight against something into an entertainment for the audience" (10).

#### **4. Kazuko Matsuoka: Shakespeare Translation and Stage Now**

Kazuko Matsuoka (1942-) is now translating Shakespeare's plays aiming at translation of his complete works. She has so far published the translation of seven plays in separate volumes: *Hamlet* (1996), *Romeo and Juliet* (1996), *Macbeth* (1996), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Comedy of Errors* (in one volume, 1997) *King Lear* (1997), *Twelfth Night* (1998). Her work started in the early 1990s by the request of theater companies for new texts for their productions. *The Comedy of Errors* in Matsuoka's translation was presented at the Tokyo Globe Theater in March 1994 under the direction of a Swedish director-actor Peter Stormare. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was directed by a Japanese director-actor Kazumi Kushida at the Theater Kokhun



(Cocoon) in Tokyo in May 1994. Kushida also played the part of Puck in this production.

The third work was *Romeo and Juliet* which was directed by John Retallack at the Tokyo Globe Theater in November 1994. *Hamlet* was directed by Yukio Ninagawa at the Ginza Saison Theater in October 1995. Next was *Macbeth* in September-October also at the Ginza Saison Theater which was directed by David Leveaux. The sixth play, *King Lear*, was performed in January-February 1998 directed by Hitoshi Uyama at the New National Theater in Tokyo to celebrate its opening. *Twelfth Night*, in her translation, was scheduled to be presented in October 1998 at the Saitama Arts Theater under Ninagawa's direction as the second program (the first being *Romeo and Juliet* in January 1998) of the Theater's project of the production of Shakespeare's complete works. Ninagawa is an art director of the project.

As is described above, Matsuoka's translation was first made for the theater, like many other Japanese Shakespeare translations before her. A remarkable tendency of Matsuoka's translation is that foreign directors worked in the first performances of some of the plays. In fact, three plays out of seven were directed by non-Japanese directors at their first performance. Although it is not the first attempt in Japanese Shakespeare production, for Michael Benthall was invited in as early as 1965 to direct *Romeo and Juliet*, in Tsuneari Fukuda's translation, the situation has made a considerable change in the Japanese theatrical world of the 1990s.

Michael Benthall was expected to show us a model of British Shakespeare. The foreign directors who produced Matsuoka's translations intended to present their visions of a play collaborating with the Japanese players and staff. Dennis Kennedy comments that "foreign Shakespeare", "Shakespeares not dependent upon English and often at odds with it", or "global exportations of Shakespeare", has had a history almost as long as "Shakespeare the idealized English dramatist" (1-3). But the age of global cooperation including English speakers has arrived, and Matsuoka's language seems to have a quality

that makes this kind of collaboration possible. The directors' nationalities are in fact varied. Peter Stormare is a Swedish, and Alexandru Darie, a Romanian director, directed *Macbeth* at its second performance in 1997.

Matsuoka's translation attains the final form through discussion with directors. In the Afterword to her translation of *Romeo and Juliet* Matsuoka writes that asking questions to and talking with John Retallack, the director, and Carl James, who was in charge of fencing and music at the Oxford Stage Company, was very helpful. In the case of *Macbeth*, she says, she has changed some words influenced by David Leveaux's interpretation of the text.

One of the examples she mentions is the word "love" in Act 1, scene 6, line 23 (And his great love, sharp as his spur, hath hold him/ To his home before us.), in Act 2, scene 3, line 108 (Th' expedition of my violent love/ Outrun the pauser, reason.), and in Act 2, scene 3, lines 114-116 (Who could refrain,/ That had a heart to love, and in that heart,/ Courage to make's love known). Leveaux suggested that "love" in these lines includes Macbeth's love to his wife well as his loyalty to the king. Matsuoka decided to select a simple Japanese word for love so that it could imply both kinds of love (187-88). David Leveaux also observed sexual connotation in the word to "die" in Macbeth's lines, "She should have died hereafter/ There would have been a time for such a word." (5.5.). Matsuoka thought it better to devise Japanese sentences which could accept such interpretation as well (188). Thus Matsuoka's Shakespeare translation has been completed in the rehearsal studio.

In the Afterword to her *Hamlet* (273-74) and in her article "Shakespeare Seen Through Translation (199-200)" Matsuoka explains her basic method of translation. She writes she has made a discovery on Shakespeare's language that most of his lines are made of three elements, that is, a semantic, a metaphoric and a metrical element. A Shakespearean phrase or sentence is like a piece of string made of these three elements twisted together. Therefore it is the aim and duty of a translator to transport this "string" into natural and fluent Japanese.

This is, however, not an easy task. In Shakespeare's language, "the meanings are often multiple, the metaphors are complex, and the metrical sound effects are created by stress rhythm, combination of long and short vowels, rhymes and alliterations, and puns (*Hamlet*, 273)." Matsuoka acknowledges that she is obliged to concentrate on one or two elements of the three in a phrase or a sentence she is working on, and in most cases the semantic element has to be the first choice.

It is very rare that the whole string, that is, all the three elements have been successfully transformed into a Japanese sentence. In her article Matsuoka quotes two examples from her work (201). One is from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ("It shall be called 'Bottom's Dream', because it has no bottom.") and the other is from *Hamlet* ("How is that the clouds still hang on you?" "Not so, my lord. I am too much in the sun.") (my underlining). She has found a Japanese phrase which could imply the two meanings of the word "bottom" and also "dream", and a word which would suggest the relation between "cloud", "sun" and "son" (202-03).

The efforts of Matsuoka's to render the three elements of Shakespeare's language into Japanese has resulted in her style which is faithful to the original text and yet natural, rhythmical and poetical. Marta Gibinska, a Polish Shakespearean, discussing Stanislaw Baranczak's Polish translation of *Hamlet* (published in 1989), asserts that it is a translation "that reads well and sounds perfect from the stage and that one understands and recognizes the original text behind, which is a rare feat so far (1)". Matsuoka's translation too makes us feel the original English text behind. Perhaps this kind of faithfulness has made cooperation with foreign directors easier.

There is a problem of masculine and feminine uses of language in Japanese. When we read a printed speech by a character of a drama or a fiction, it is usually easy for us to discern the sex of its speaker. A speech by a woman can be recognized by its ending and the choice of personal pronouns and other words which are considered feminine. This peculiarity of Japanese has proved helpful for Shakespeare

translation. As Yoshiko Kawachi points out, most Japanese translators have given masculine expressions for the speeches by strong women such as Lady Macbeth, Goneril, Regan, Joan la Pucelle, Queen Margaret, and so on, thus highlighting their manliness (4-6). It is also convenient for translating the speeches of heroines who disguise themselves as boys. They switch from the feminine language to the masculine when they put on man's clothes.

However, the traditional distinction between the female and the male languages in Japan has weakened since the end of the Second World War, when more women started working in various fields of work. The women's liberation movement in the 1970s also contributed to dispelling the feminine use of the language. Japanese women today speak and write more like men than did the women of the Meiji era. In Matsuoka's Shakespeare translation, female characters tend to speak in less feminine way if not in masculine style. She regards that female characters in the preceding translations are often given too modest and elegant speeches probably because most of the translators were men and their interpretations of women are reflected in their choice of words (214). Therefore, she declares, one of her aims of translation is to render the female characters' speeches into contemporary and reasonable female language. In the translations of *Romeo and Juliet* before her, for example, Juliet's speeches are all very graceful and too respectful to Romeo compared with the original text. Her Juliet speaks to Romeo frankly and on equal terms.

Matsuoka puts footnotes to her text, although the number is not very large. *Hamlet* has 106 notes and *Romeo and Juliet* 72, for example. This is rather unique for a translation meant to be a performance text, and published for the general reading public. Footnotes are thought necessary for classroom use but rather a nuisance for other purposes. She says that the footnotes will be helpful for directors and players both professional and amateur and also for readers. Matsuoka believes that she should explain why she has chosen a certain interpretation, or the meanings of wordplays, proverbs, etc. Her notes are based on the

recent discoveries and tendencies of the academic world to which she gives keen attention.

### Conclusion

The four Japanese Shakespeare translators so far discussed, as we have seen, established their own basic methods of rendering Shakespeare's rich world of words into Japanese language. Their accounts on their art of translation are rather similar, though their individualities are distinctively marked in their works. Since the reception of Shakespeare in Japan in most cases has to be through translation, the quality of translation really matters. When Yukio Ninagawa planned to produce *The Tempest*, he read the work repeatedly in Odashima's translation until a dramatic image of the play developed within him. Therefore, Ninagawa's idea of *The Tempest* was based on Odashima's language (Note 298). It was fortunate for us that these four translators and many others who have not been mentioned here have produced what Anne Dacier, a seventeenth-century French translator of the *Iliad*, called "good translations", which "keep the spirit without moving away from the letter", while "bad translations render the letter without the spirit in a low and servile imitation" (Lefevre 13).

Shoyo Tsubouchi saw in Shakespeare a model after which Japanese theater could be reformed. He used Shakespeare to teach his actors the Western way of acting, and also to show the public an example of the Western theater. The greatest contribution of Tsubouchi, however, is that he established, through his thirty years' struggle, Shakespeare translation in modern spoken style, a method which has been most commonly adopted ever since by later translators.

Tsuneari Fukuda presented Shakespeare's plays as modern dramas which concern the sense of self and solitude of modern people. Stimulated by Richard Burton's Hamlet directed by Michael Benthall, he tried to transplant the power of Shakespeare's language into

Japanese and the psychologically realistic British acting style onto Japanese stage. Fukuda's poetic and energetic language spoken rapidly by actors moving about quickly on stage demonstrated Shakespeare's magnificence to Japanese audience of the 1960s and 1970s.

Yushi Odashima has made Shakespeare a more relaxed and friendly author for us. His activity as a translator started as a small theater movement in cooperation with the director, Norio Deguchi, who produced Shakespeare's 37 plays by Odashima's translation in six years, from 1975 to 1981. Deguchi's productions were known as the "Shakespeare in jeans", and Odashima's language was also in everyday style to match. Both audience and readers realized that Shakespeare could be easy to understand and entertaining.

Kazuko Matsuoka's translation is also in spoken style. Since she is working now—her first translation (*The Comedy of Errors*) was acted in 1994, and her first publication was *Hamlet* in 1996—her language cannot but be contemporary. However, her style is in fact a new sort of poetical spoken language, simple, concise, and with good sound, behind which we can feel the original text.

As this essay has attempted to show, Shakespeare has now become a part of Japanese tradition and culture through the 130 years' history of translation and performance.

(Quotations from Shakespeare's works herein are keyed to the Arden Edition.)

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