2 Scenario as Film: Format, Canon, Medium

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Shindō Kaneto (1912-2012), whose longevity among Japanese scriptwriters is matched only by his slightly younger colleague, Hashimoto, had a most unusually varied career in cinema. Born into an impoverished peasant family in Hiroshima, Shindō began at the lowest rung of the industrial ladder in a small Kyoto-based studio, Shinkō Kinema, in 1935. However, during the wartime and early postwar years, he quickly worked his way up to become a sought-after in-house writer at the Shōchiku studios and eventually an independent filmmaker with an international reputation for films such as *Hadaka no shima* (*The Naked Island*, 1960) and *Onibaba* (1964). It was during the early days in the film processing unit that he had his first serendipitous encounter with a film script (*kyakuhon*). In his memoirs, Shindō (1993,

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

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

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

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

2.1 Evolving Script Formats

2.1.1 The Earliest Functions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1.2 Adapting Hollywood Practices: Tanizaki and Kaeriyama

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8 See Gerow 2010, 119.

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

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

9   See Bernardi 2001, 67-96.

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

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

2.1.1 The French Connection: Transcriptions and Translations

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

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

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

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

"FIÈVRE"

（狂　熱）

DRAME CINEGRAPHIQUE COMPOSE
ET REALISE PAR LOUIS DELLUC

原作並監督　ルイ・デルユック

──内田岐三雄　譯──

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 From Silent Script to Talkie Scenario[14]

2.2.1 Scriptwriters Amidst the Talkie Crisis

Steven Price has noted that in Hollywood

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 Unlike most of his contemporaries, Fushimi remained a regular employee (*senzoku*) at Shōchiku for his entire career. He was the only scriptwriter who did not shift to the postwar contract (*keiyaku*) system. Allegedly, he received a hefty sum for his loyalty upon finally retiring in 1959 (Kishi 1970, 392).
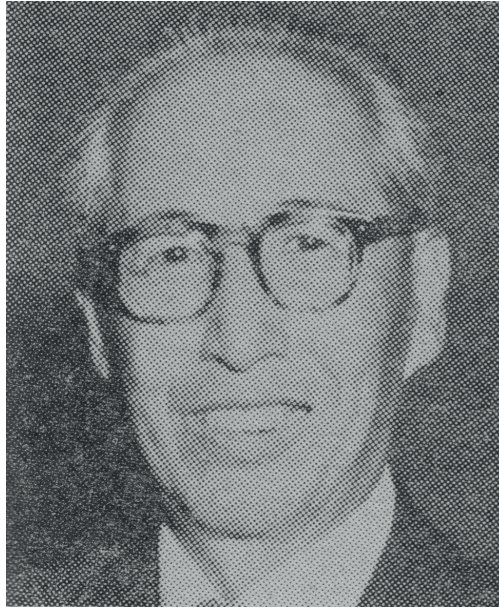
Figure 7
Fushimi Akira (1900-70).
Image sourced from *Nihon eiga
shinario koten zenshū* (1965)

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

2.2.2 Transitional Formats

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T
1 （F・I）吹き鳴らされる進軍ラッパ
一隊の兵士、草叢から勇敢に飛び出す。
皆、この漁村の子供たちである。
敵の大将が現れる。
正次である。
附け髯をした甲斐々々しい、いでたち。
正次を囲んで白兵戦が始まる。
散々に兵士に暴れる正次。
一隊の兵士の大きいのが、怒って正次に向っ
て、打つ。殴られた正次、大声。
「ほんとうに殴ったな」
とロ惜しそうに怒鳴る。
「だってお前があの子を殴るからさ」
正次に打たれて泣いている子供を指して言
う。
正次、負けずにいきなり、
「何言うんだい」
と大きい子を殴る。
ついに本当の争いになる。
正次、暴れる。
そして大きい子に勝つと他の子供たち、正
次につくが、正次、味方の者にまで、八当
りに暴れる。
他の子供たち逃げ去る。

2 馬車が来る
駅者「危ない」
と怒鳴る。
正次怒って駅者に石を投げる

3 何か落ちているものを拾ってまた投げる。
駅者にぶつかる
駅者、怒る。

4 駅者である。
草鞋である。

5 正次これは失敗ったと逃げ出す
馬車屋、フト、何か思いついたようにオイ
オイと呼ぶ。
正次、振り返る
駅者こっちへおいでと馬車を下りる
正次、怒られるのかと思い「いやだよ」と
言う。

6 正次、振り返る

7 駅者こっちへおいでと馬車を下りる
正次、怒られるのかと思い「いやだよ」と

8 「俺にかい？」と正次恐る恐る近づく
駅者、何か言おうとしたが少しきまり悪げ
に辺りを見る。
こちらを見ている子供たち

9 駅者、優しい調子で
「叱るんじゃない、正坊でなきゃならねえ
用があるんだよ」

10 「俺にかい？」と正次恐る恐る近づく
駅者、何か言おうとしたが少しきまり悪げ
に辺りを見る。
こちらを見ている子供たち

11 正次「何さ」と言う
駅者、思い切ったように正次の耳に口を寄
せ、何か言う終り
「姉さんだけに内証で言うんだぜ」

12 正次うなずいたが、ちょっと不審を起し、
「今度は小さい姉さんか」
と首を振り、
駅者「いいや」
「大きい姉さんだよ」
「また馬車へ乗せて町へ つれて行ってやる
ぜ」
と言う。

13 正次「じゃ、ゲンマンしよう」
と言い指を駅者の指に引っかけようとして
ふと見る。
駅者「本当に頼むぜ」
と言う。

14 路
使いから帰りの妹お絹と村の女。
正次これを見て

T
「小さい姉さん！」
と飛んで行く。
そして姉たちと馬車屋の傍を通りかかった
時、正次、馬車屋を見て、フイに、
「叱られるから嫌だよ」
と言う。

駅者「何を！」
とムッとする。
お絹、振り返る。
駅者、ニヤッと笑ったが、正次を見てい
ます。いましめにらむ。
正次、お絹。

T
「馬車屋の源公がね、また、今夜、皆に内
証で、大きい姉さんに浜へ来てくれって…」
と言う。
姉、いやらしい奴と思う。
源公、大したことを言う奴だと思い、恥し
そうに馬車を走らせて行く。
お絹、見送って正次、
「こんなこと大きい姉さんに話すんじゃな
いよ」
と言いきかせる。
連の女も「いけすかない奴だよ」
と言う。

T
「お静さんには健一さんと言う立派な許婚
があるのを知ってる癖に……」
と言う。
正次も成程と思う。
お絹、本当にそうだと笑う。

15
（F・O）
（F・I）甚兵衛の家
村の床屋である。
汚れた古い椅子が二つあるくらい。
一人のお客の顔を剃っている姉娘、こっち

— 126 —

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

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

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

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

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titles that would surely amuse the audience (Mori 1930, 113). In the script of *Madamu to nyōbō*, there is a passage that reads: "The child (sounds the clock) again/Repeat this a couple of times. Some gags, please [*gyagu yoroshiku*]" (Kitamura 1966, 44). This directive can only be interpreted as the writer's signal to the gagman, an instance of unspoken communication among the crew members that emphasises the provisional nature of the script.
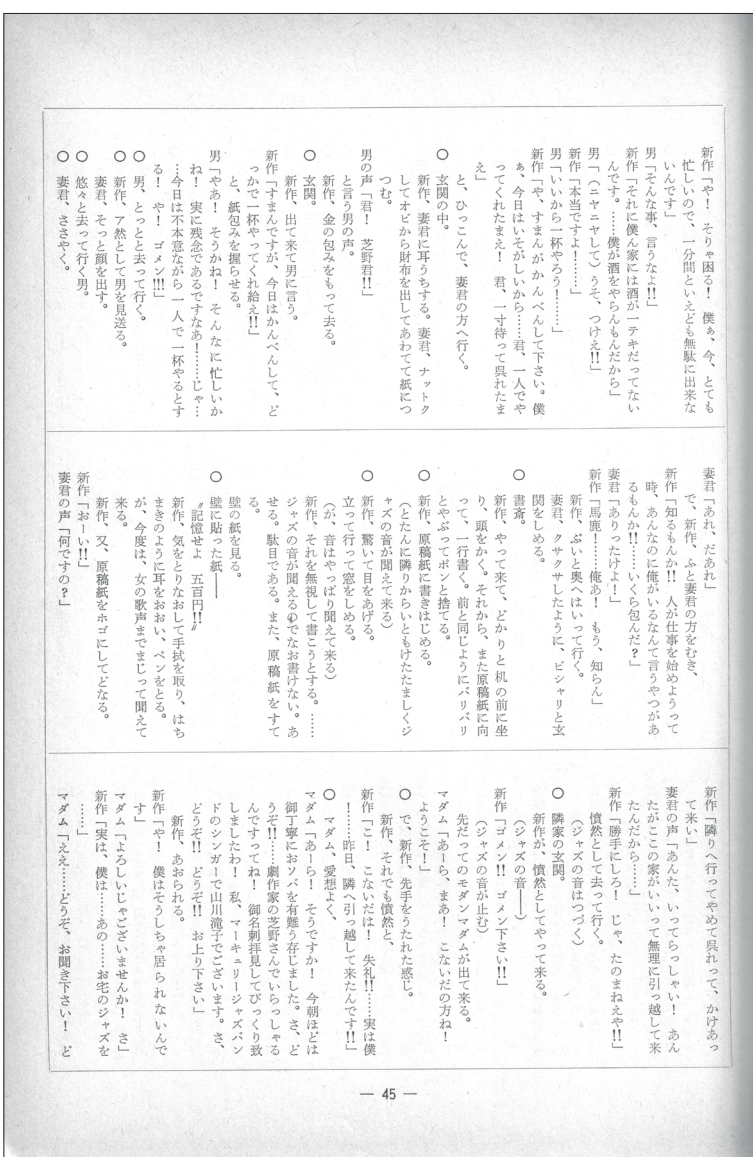
新作「や！　そりゃ困る！　僕ぁ、今、とても忙しいので、一分間といえども無駄に出来ないんです」
男「そんな事、言うなよ！！」
新作「それに僕ん家には酒が一テキだってないんです」
男「ニヤニヤして」うそ、つけぇ！！」
新作「本当ですよ！！……」
男「いいから一杯やろう！！」
新作「や、すまんがかんべんして下さい。僕ぁ、今日はいそがしいから……君、一人でやってくれたまえ！　君、一寸待って呉れたまえ」
と、ひっこんで、妻君の方へ行く。
男の声「君！　芝野君！！」
と言う男の声。
新作、金の包みをもって出る。
玄関の中。
新作、出て来て男に言う。
新作「すまんですが、今日はかんべんして、どっかで一杯やってくれ給え！！」
と、紙包みを握らせる。
男「やぁ！　そうか！　そんなに忙しいかね！……今日は不本意であるですなぁ！……じゃ……や！　ゴメン！！！」
男、とっとと去って行く。
妻君、そっと顔を出す。
新作、ア然として男を見送る。
○○　男、悠々と去って行く。
○○　妻君、ささやく。

妻君「あれ、だぁれ」
で、新作、ふと妻君の方をむき、
新作「知るもんか！！　人が仕事を始めようって時、あんなのに俺がいるなんて言うやつがあるもんか！！……いくら包んだ？」
妻君「ありったけよ！」
新作「馬鹿！……俺ぁ！　もう、知らん」
妻君、ぷいと奥へはいって行く。
新作「馬鹿！！……俺ぁ！」
妻君、クサクサしたように、ピシャリと玄関をしめる。
書斎。
新作、やって来て、どかりと机の前に坐り、頭をかく、それから、また原稿紙に向って、一行書く。前と同じようにバリバリとやぶってポンと捨つる。
新作、原稿紙に書きはじめる。
（とたんに隣りからいともけたたましくジャズの音が聞えて来る）
新作、驚いて目をあげる。
立って行って窓をしめる。
（が、音はやっぱり聞えて来る）
新作、それを無視して書こうとする。……ジャズの音が聞える④でなお書けない。……あせる。駄目である。また、原稿紙をすてる。
壁の紙を見る。
壁に貼った紙。
「記憶せよ　五百円！！」
新作、気をとりなおして手紙を取り、はちまきのように耳をおおい、ペンをとるが、今度は、女の歌声までまじって聞えて来る。
新作「おーい！！」
妻君の声「何ですの？」

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

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

第　一　巻

モロツコ

Ⅰ インサート（地球儀）
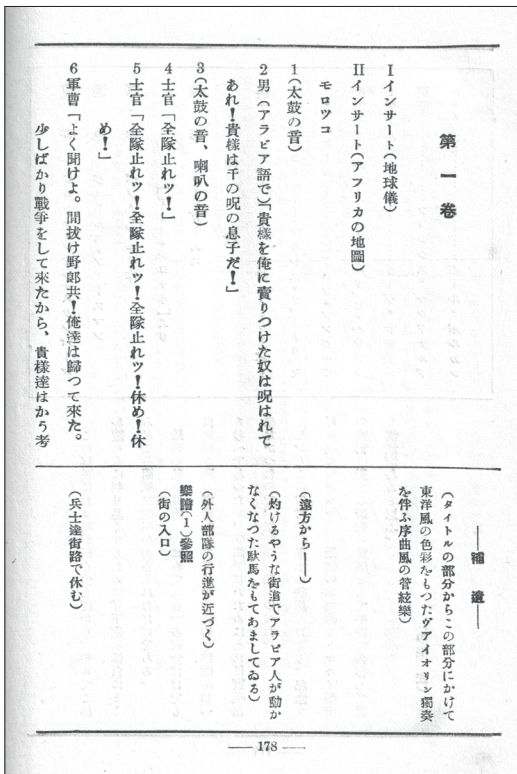Ⅱ インサート（アフリカの地圖）

1 （太鼓の音）

2 男（アラビア語で）「貴様を俺に賣りつけた奴は呪はれてあれ！貴様は千の呪の息子だ！」

3 （太鼓の音、喇叭の音）

4 士官「全隊止れッ！」

5 士官「全隊止れッ！全隊止れッ！休め！休め！」

6 軍曹「よく聞けよ。間拔け野郎共！俺達は歸つて來た。少しばかり戰爭をして來たから、貴様達はかう考

（タイトルの部分からこの部分にかけて東洋風の色彩をもつたヴァイオリン獨奏を伴ふ序曲風の管絃樂）

—雜音—

（遠方から—）

（灼けるやうな街道でアラビア人が動かなくなつた驢馬たちてをあましてゐる）

（街の入口）

（樂譜（1）參照）

（外人部隊の行進が近づく）

（兵士達街路で休む）

— 178 —

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

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

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

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

水原、見かねて仲裁に入った。
水原「まァまァ」
栄吉をなだめた。

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

21

第　七　巻

1
字幕　唄へ天城曇れば　涙雨
沖の遠鳴り　黒汐の
果てに消えゆく　思い出を
吹くよ秋風　湯の煙
温泉場の景色――
宿の二階。
薫は手摺りにもたれて山々の景色を見てい
る。
浴客たちはバイオリンを弾いて賑やかに唄
っていた。
心配そうな千代子、百合子、母親。
沈黙していた栄吉。

2
字幕　薫「どちらへ」
字幕　水原「散歩ですよ」
水原、歩いて行った。
薫、呼びながら駈けてきて、橋の欄杆に佇
む。
薫は無邪気に妻の方を眺めていたが、フト
水原の姿を見つけて、表へ出た。
百合子は眉をひそめて、薫の行手を凝視し
た。

そして、二人は語りかけた時、通行人のあ
るのに薫はちょっと羞らいながらふたたび
二人肩を並べた。

3
字幕　水原「兄さんは、どうしています」
字幕　薫「すっかり、ふさぎ込んでいます
の」
水原「そうですか？」
字幕　薫「気が弱いんですけど、酔うとい
けないんですわ」
笑いこけながら、下の河原に降りて行く。
水原もつづいた。

6
字幕　水原「あんたは、昨夜、いっそ東京
へ行きたいって言いましたね」
薫、うなずいた。
字幕　水原「今後もしも、あなたの身に、
不安なることが起ったら、遠慮なく僕に相談
して下さい。僕は出来るだけお力になります
から」
薫「ええ、ありがとう」
二人はじっと川の瀬を見つめて、感傷的に
なった。

7

8
字幕　薫「あたし……」
水原「どうしました？」
字幕　薫「あたし嬉しいわ」
字幕　薫「嬉しいわ」
二人の若い心が溶け合った時、百合子が橋
上から呼んでいた。薫ははにかみながら脏
け戻って行こうとした。薫は、
字幕　水原「発つ時はまた知らせて下さ
い」

9
字幕　薫「あたし嬉しいわ」

10
字幕　薫「あたし嬉しいわ」

11
薫に別れた水原は、湯川楼へ訪れることに
なった。
湯川楼。
女中が、名刺を持って善兵衛に訊ねてい
た。

12
字幕　女中「若旦那様のお知り合いの学生
さんですか」
善兵衛、名刺を見た。
善兵衛「ウムウム判っとる、判っとる」
笑顔の一方にむけた。水原が立っていた。
善兵衛「さア、どうぞどうぞ」

13
字幕　善兵衛「僕は今、山小屋の方へ行っ
ておりますが、もう帰って来る頃ですから」
字幕　善兵衛「お前、ちょっと隆一を呼び
に行ってくれんか」
傍の喜作に言いつけた。
喜作は立って行った。

14
水原「それにはおよびませんよ」

15
字幕　水原「僕の用件はむしろあなたに何
った方がいいんです」
善兵衛「わたしに……ま、とにかく」
部屋へ通した。
部屋の中。
対座する善兵衛、水原。
廊下に囁く、芸者A。
水原は緊張していた。

16
字幕　水原「突然、それも大へん差し出が
ましい話ですが、旅芸人の栄吉という男のこ
とですか」
善兵衛、意外に思った。
字幕　水原「まさか、見込みのある金鉱を
騙してあなたがお買取りになったとは僕も思
いませんが」

17
字幕　水原「昨夜、あの男が参りました時
お金がいるなれば妹を連れて来い、とおっし
ゃったそうですな」

18
善兵衛、じっと水原を見た。

19
字幕　水原「生意気な奴だとお思いになる
かも知れませんが、僕は義憤を感じてやって

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

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

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

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

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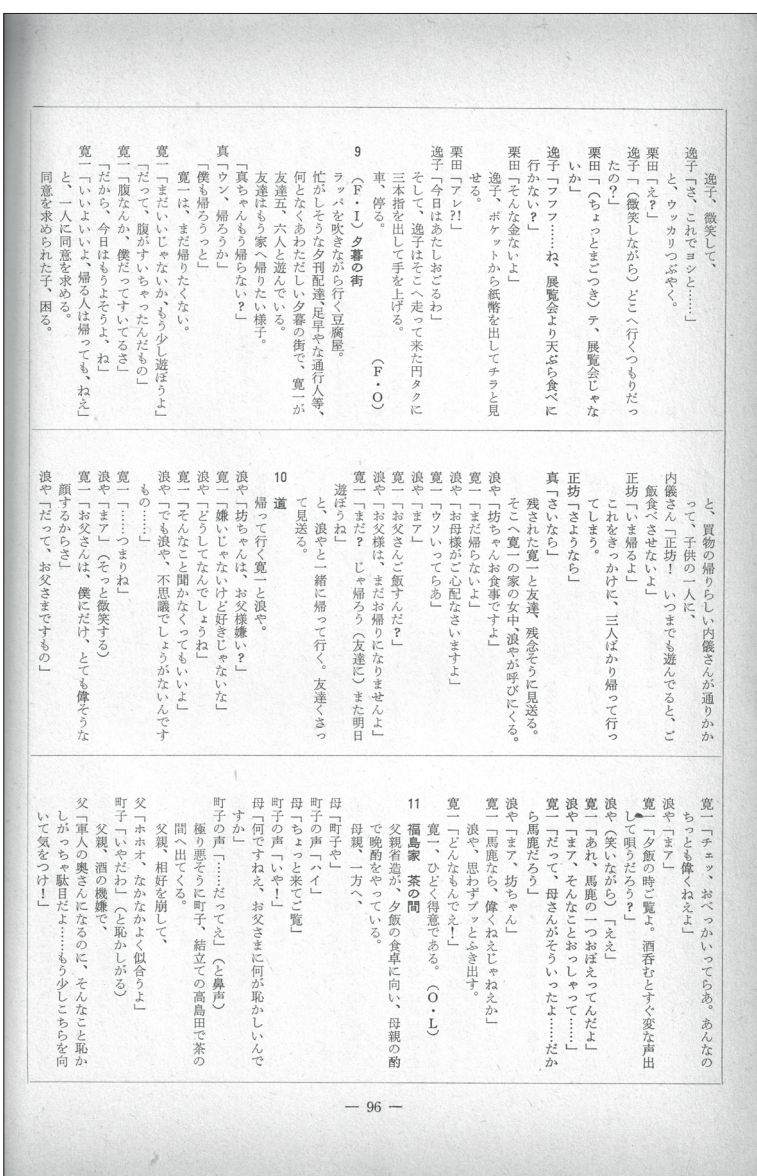
逸子、微笑して、

逸子「さ、これでヨシと……」

と、ウッカリつぶやく。

栗田「え？」

逸子「（微笑しながら）どこへ行くつもりだったの？」

栗田「（ちょっとまごつき）テ、展覧会じゃないか」

逸子「フフフ……ね、展覧会より天ぷら食べに行かない？」

栗田「そんな金ないよ」

逸子、ポケットから紙幣を出してチラと見せる。

栗田「アレ？！」

逸子「今日はあたしおごるわ」

そして、逸子はそこへ走って来た円タクに三本指を立てて手を上げる。

車、停る。

　　　　　　　（F・O）

9　（F・I）夕暮の街

ラッパを吹きながら行く豆腐屋。

忙しそうな夕刊配達、足早やな通行人等、何となくあわただしい夕暮の街で、寛一が友達五、六人と遊んでいる。

真「僕ももう家へ帰りたい様子。

真「真ちゃんもう帰らない？」

寛一は、まだ帰りたくない。

真「ウン、帰ろうっと」

寛一「まだいいじゃないか、もう少し遊ぼうよ」

真「だって、腹がすいちゃったんだもの」

寛一「腹なんか、僕だってすいてるさ」

寛一「だから、今日はもうよそうよ、ね」

寛一「いいよいいよ、帰る人は帰っても、ねえ」

と、一人に同意を求める。

同意を求められた子、困る。

と、買物の帰りらしい内儀さんが通りかかって、子供の一人に、

内儀「正坊！いつまでも遊んでると、ご飯食べさせないよ」

正坊「いま帰るよ」

これをきっかけに、三人ばかり帰って行ってしまう。

正坊「さようなら」

真「さようなら」

残された寛一と友達、残念そうに見送る。

そこへ寛一の家の女中、浪やが呼びにくる。

浪や「坊ちゃんお食事ですよ」

浪や「寛一坊ちゃん」

寛一「まだ帰らないよ」

浪や「お母様がご心配なさいますよ」

寛一「ウンいってらあ」

浪や「まだ？」

寛一「お父さんご飯すんだ？」

浪や「お父様は、まだお帰りになりませんよ」

寛一「だ？じゃ帰ろう（友達に）また明日遊ぼうよ」

と、浪やと一緒に帰って行く。友達くさって見送る。

10　道

帰って行く寛一と浪や。

浪や「坊ちゃんは、お父様嫌い？」

寛一「嫌いじゃないけど好きじゃないな」

浪や「どうしてなんでしょうね」

寛一「そんなこと聞かなくってもいいよ」

浪や「でも浪や、不思議でしょうがないんですもの」

寛一「……つまりね」

浪や「アア」（そっと微笑する）

寛一「お父さんは、僕にだけ、とても偉そうな顔するからさ」

浪や「だって、お父さまですもの」

寛一「チェッ、おべっかいってらあ、あんなのちっとも偉くねえよ」

浪や「まア」

寛一「夕飯の時ご覧よ。酒呑むとすぐ変な声出して唄うだろう？」

浪や（笑いながら）「ええ」

寛一「あれ、馬鹿の一つおぼえってんだよ」

浪や「まア、そんなことおっしゃって……」

寛一「だって、母さんがそういったよ……だから馬鹿だろう」

浪や「まア、坊ちゃん」

寛一「馬鹿なら、偉くねえじゃねえか」

浪や、思わずプッとふき出す。

寛一「どんなんでえ！」

11　福島家　茶の間

父親者造が、夕飯の食卓に向い、母親の酌で晩酌をやっている。一方へ、

　　　　　　（O・L）

母親、一方へ、

町子の声「町子や」

町子の声「ハイ」

母「ちょっと来てご覧」

母「何ですね、いや」

町子「……だってえ」（と鼻声）

町子の声「いや」

母「何ですね、お父さまに何が恥かしいんですか」

町子、相好を崩して、

極り悪そうに町子、結立ての高島田で茶の間へ出てくる。

父「ホホオ、なかなかよく似合うよ」

町子「いやだわ」（と恥かしがる）

父親、酒の機嫌で、

父「軍人の奥さんになるのに、そんなこと恥しがっちゃ駄目だよ……もう少しこちらを向いて気をつけ！」

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

2.2.3 The Master-Scene Scenario

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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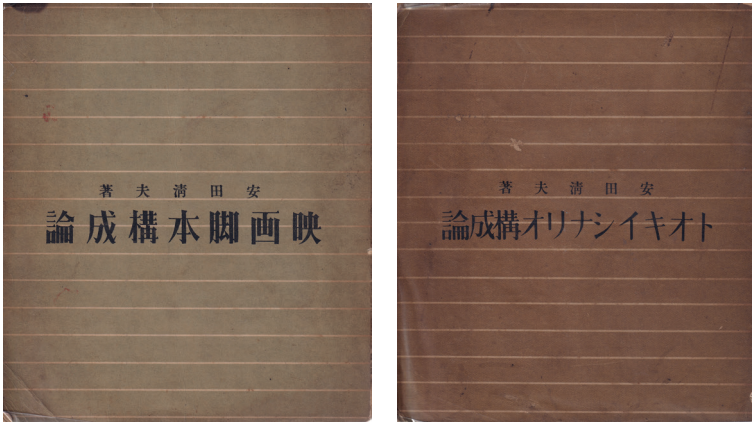
2.3   Scenario Publishing and Canon

2.3.1   The Standard Format

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

The number of scenarios published in Japan over time is so immense that any attempt to compile a comprehensive bibliography would inevitably incur substantial omissions. Tanigawa Yoshio's *Shinario bunken* (Scenario Resources, 1979, updated 1984 and 1997), an invaluable piece of bibliographical scholarship, comes closest to achieving this goal. It remains the main reference book for locating published scenarios in resources ranging from 1920s journals to
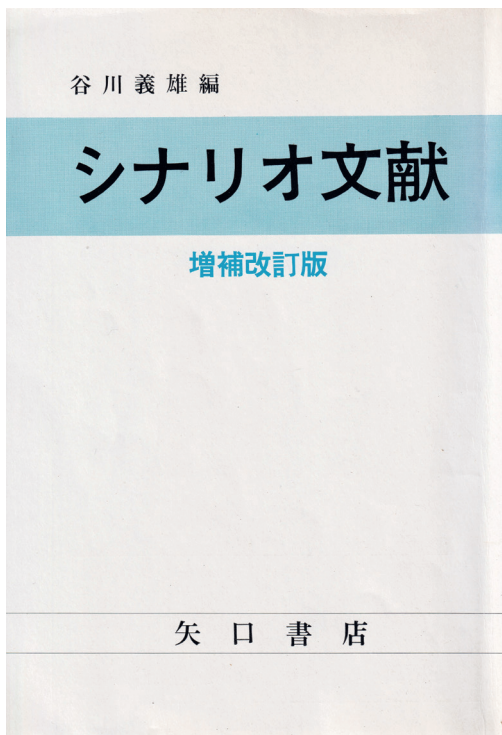
Figure 14
The cover of Tanigawa Yoshio's
Shinario bunken (1984 edition)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.2 Publication in Journals

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.3 *Kinema junpō* and Scenario Anthologies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.4 Static and Dynamic Canon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

42 In comparison to earlier anthologies, *Nihon shinario taikei* arranges scenarios based on the dates of their completion rather than the subsequent films' premieres. Consequently, *Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*, written 1937, film released 1942) and *Uma* (*Horse*, 1938 and 1941) precede the scenarios of films with earlier release dates.
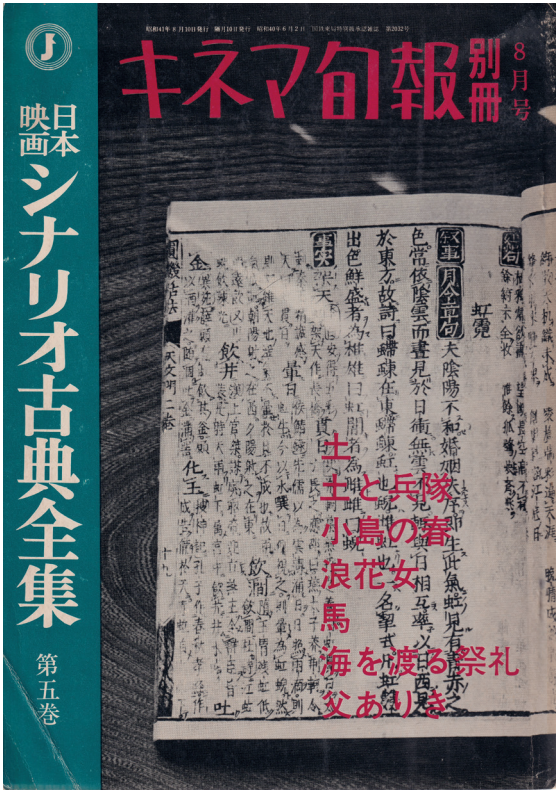
Figure 18 The cover of a volume of *Kinema junpō*'s *Nihon eiga shinario koten zenshū* (1965-66)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.5 Publishing Strategies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4 Medium Specificity of the Handwritten Scenario

2.4.1 Sheets on Tracks

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

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

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

50 See Kitsnik (2023, 323-9) for an analysis of how the overall structure of Shindō's book relies on a series of framing devices that draw from both individual memories and national history.
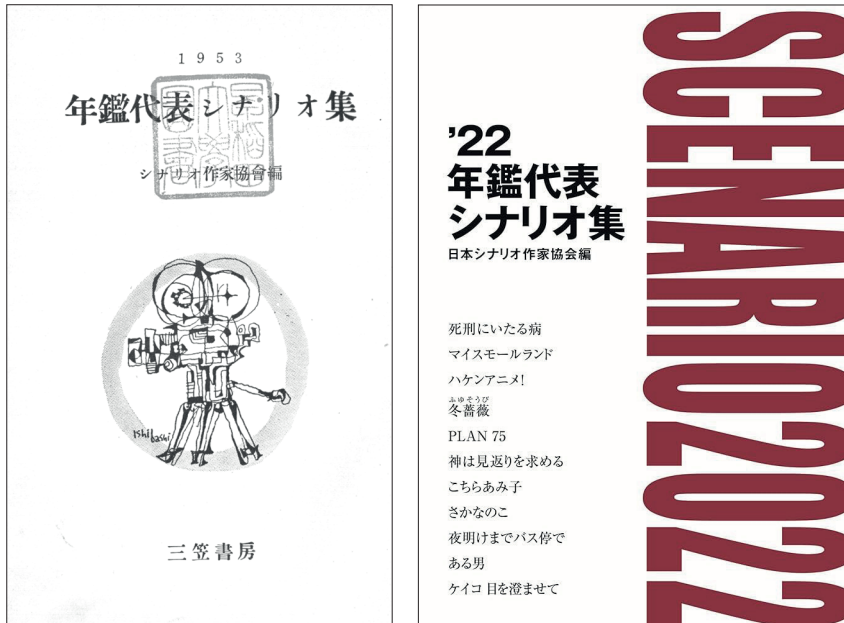
Let us conduct an experiment. Assume that a script is written on 250 sheets of *genkō yōshi* (200 characters, 27 cm long, 18 cm wide). Now, let us say that each year about 500 films of all kinds were made. (In the silent era, each company produced about 150 films annually.) What would this amount to in sixty years?

If we place the sheets on the railway tracks sideways, they cover the distance between Aomori and Himeji. If placed lengthwise, the distance between Aomori and Nagasaki. All sheets densely filled with characters. (Shindō 1989, 2: 242-3)

In this idiosyncratic cine-geographical fantasy, Shindō covers the archipelago and its main artery of transportation from the north of Honshū to the western shores of Kyūshū with the scenarios of all films produced in Japan during a period that roughly corresponds to the Shōwa Era (1926-89). The flattening of the pile of handwritten sheets and speeding it along the railway tracks at once adds a spatio-temporal dimension to the image. By so doing, Shindō also links cinema to the building of the modern nation state and the grid it imposed on the terrain with the aid of the industry that itself played a
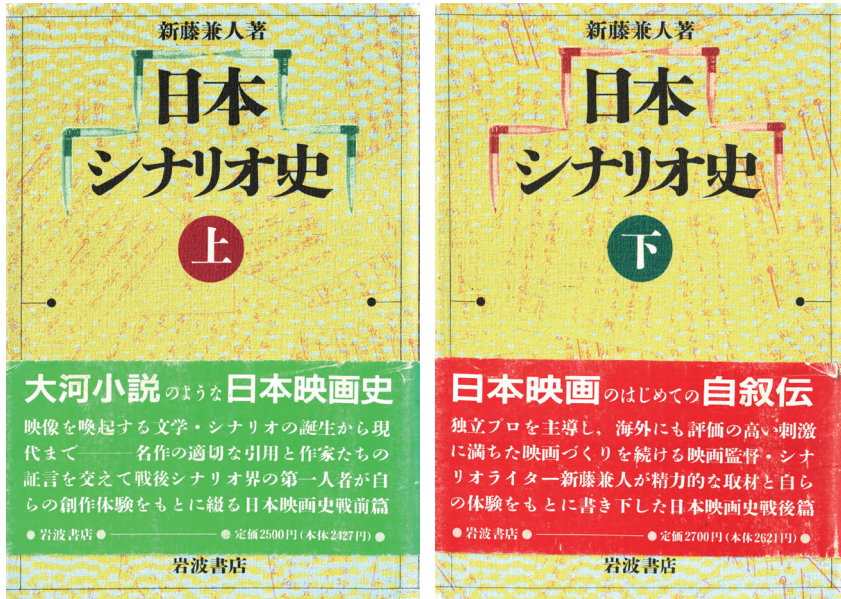
Figure 20   The covers of the two volumes of Shindō Kaneto's *Nihon shinarioshi* (1989)

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

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

The kind of visibility and esteem provided by this image stands

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

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

2.4.2 *Genkō yōshi*: The Manuscript Paper

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

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

Although employed by writers of all varieties, *genkō yōshi* appears to work particularly well as a simile for scriptwriting, precisely due to the contrast it provides vis-à-vis film (as film stock). Admittedly,
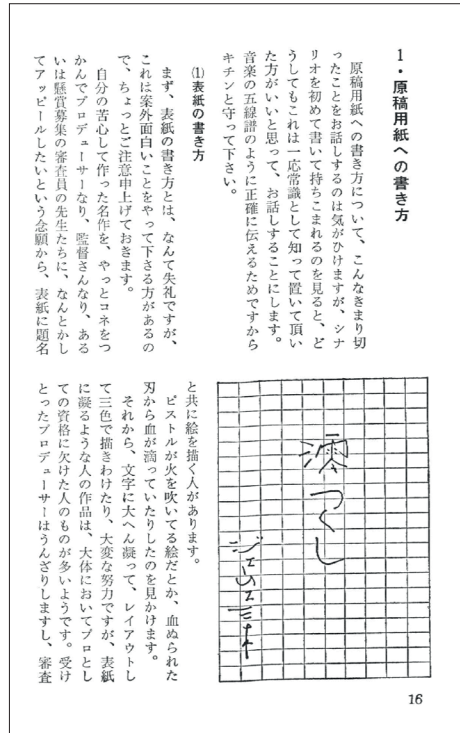
原稿用紙への書き方について、こんなきまり切ったことをお話しするのは気がひけますが、シナリオを初めて書いて持ちこまれるのを見ると、どうしてもこれは一応常識として知って置いて頂いた方がいいと思って、お話しすることにします。音楽の五線譜のように正確に伝えるためですからキチンと守って下さい。

⑴ 表紙の書き方

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

自分の苦心して作った名作を、やっとコネをつかんでプロデューサーなり、監督さんなり、あるいは懸賞募集の審査員の先生たちに、なんとかしてアッピールしたいという念願から、表紙に題名

と共に絵を描く人があります。ピストルが火を吹いてる絵だとか、血ぬられた刃から血が滴っていたりしたのを見かけます。それから、文字に大へん凝って、レイアウトして三色で描きわけたり、大変な努力ですが、表紙に凝るような人の作品は、大体においてプロとしての資格に欠けた人のものが多いようです。受けとったプロデューサーはうんざりしますし、審査

漆つくし

ジュン五十三

16

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

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

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

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

2.4.3   The Typed Script

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

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

   The ubiquitous use of the Courier typeface has long been a cliché for English language materials on screenwriting, almost invariably appearing in some form within the design of most how-to books and
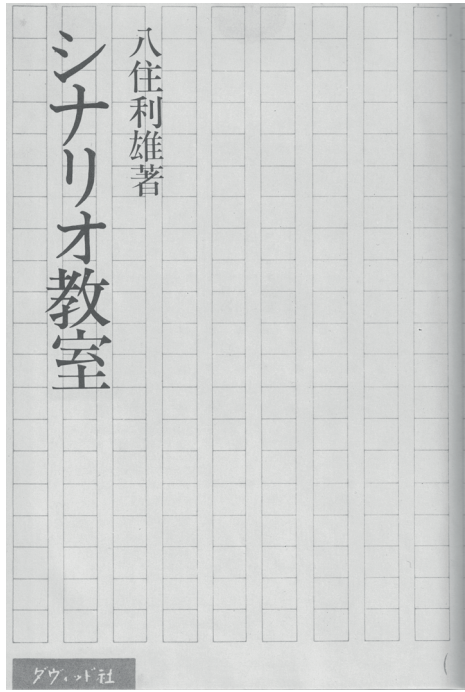
八住利雄著

シナリオ教室

ダヴッド社

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

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

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

2.4.4   Typewriting and Gender

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.5   Hybrid Modernity of the Scenario

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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