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**UNBINDING THE JAPANESE NOVEL IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION**

**The Alfred A. Knopf Program, 1955 – 1977**

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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## ABSTRACT

Japanese literature in English translation has a history of 165 years, but it was not until after the hostilities of World War II ceased that any single publisher outside Japan put out a sustained series of novel-length translations. The New York house of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. published thirty-four titles of Japanese literature in English translation in hardcover between the years 1955 to 1977. This “Program,” as it came to be called, was carried out under the leadership of Editor-in-Chief Harold Strauss (1907-1975), who endeavored to bring the then-active modern writers of Japan to the stage of world literature. Strauss and most of the translators who made this Program possible were trained in military language schools during World War II.

The aim of this dissertation is to investigate the publisher’s policies and publishing criteria in the selection of texts, the actors involved in the mediation process and the preparation of the texts for market, the reception of the texts and their impact on the resulting translation profile of Japanese literature in America, England and elsewhere. The theoretical backdrop is built around the distinction of product, process and function viewed through developments in the sociology of translation. This includes Bourdieu’s constructs of *habitus* and capital, and the Actor-Network Theory applied to the translations under discussion, as well as Thornber’s concept of literary contact nebulae in settings of less steeply inclined hierarchical relations.

An examination of Japanese to English translations investigates the trends and practices which developed in the early decades following the forced opening of Japan. This background provides insight into influences which carried over to the translations in the Program under study. The dissertation draws upon empirical materials from the Knopf archives housed at The Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, including correspondence between the authors, the editor and the translators. My own personal interviews and personal correspondence with the translators involved, autobiographies, and memoirs add to the archival records. Peritextual and epitextual data help to trace the events and the actions of the actors involved during this period of Japanese literature in English translation, as well as assist with an investigation into the reception and legacy of the texts.

The findings help to clarify the policies and criteria employed at a major publishing firm. The role of the editor and authors in the translation process is explored in perhaps more detail than available in previous reports, as are the roles of the translators and the writers. Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus* and capital complement the notion of following the actors in Actor-Network Theory. Materials obtained from a translator and interviews with others add a qualitative perspective supported by Thornber’s conception of literary contact nebulae.

Other findings indicate that the Knopf translations have a larger circulation in Japan than in the English-language markets. The source culture Japan maintains its own subcultures and discourse communities which focus on these translations. Moreover, a number of the Knopf publications have proven more profitable in European languages. The long tail sales of the Knopf translations in paperback, augmented by improved printing technology, have kept these works in print and in classrooms to this day. These findings point to new areas of investigation. The Knopf firm, led by Harold Strauss, was the most active publisher worldwide in this time-restricted period when these English translations were published for the general reader and later inscribed as text and research materials in the university curriculum of the then-nascent fields of Japanese studies and comparative literature.

*Keywords:* Japanese literature in English translation, *habitus*, capital, Actor-Network Theory, transculturation, translation history

<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>ii-v</b>
<b>CONVENTIONS, ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS &amp; LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2.1 Bourdieu.....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1.1 Bourdieu’s notion of <i>habitus</i> .....	8
2.1.2 Bourdieu’s notion of capital .....	8
<b>2.2 Transculturation.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>2.3 Actor-Network Theory (ANT) .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>2.4 On Bourdieu and Latour .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHODOLOGY AND MATERIALS .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>3.1 Research Question 1.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>3.2 Research Question 2.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>3.3 Research Question 3.....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>3.4 The Data Examined.....</b>	<b>18</b>
3.4.1 Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Archives.....	18
3.4.2 First- and second-person accounts .....	19
3.4.2.1 Interviews with translators active in the Knopf Program.....	20
3.4.3 Memoirs and autobiographies, biographical materials and other interviews.....	20
3.4.4 The Published Translations of the Knopf Program.....	21
3.4.5 Miscellaneous Materials.....	21
<b>4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE LITERATURE IN ENGLISH</b>	
<b>TRANSLATION.....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>4.1 Overview of Japanese Literature in English Translation.....</b>	<b>22</b>
4.1.1 Early translation .....	23
4.1.2 Early works .....	24

4.1.2.1	The primary role of English .....	25
4.1.2.2	Directionality and the tension amongst practitioners .....	26
4.1.2.3	Team translation, camouflaged collaboration and retranslation .....	28
4.1.2.4	Translation, international relations and language prestige .....	28
4.1.2.5	Adaption and domestication .....	29
4.1.3	The emergence of the Japanese novel in English translation .....	30
4.1.4	A summary of the Japanese novel in English translation before World War II with special reference to aspects of translation relevant to the study .....	36
<b>4.2</b>	<b>Postwar Discourse on Japanese Literature in English Translation .....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART I - THE LAUNCH .....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>The House of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. ....</b>	<b>47</b>
5.1.1	Editor-in-chief Harold Strauss .....	49
5.1.2	Strauss' early activities and contacts .....	51
<b>5.2</b>	<b>Strauss' Pre-Launch Promotional Articles .....</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>5.3</b>	<b>The Debut Titles .....</b>	<b>60</b>
5.3.1	<i>Homecoming</i> (1955) .....	60
5.3.2	<i>Some Prefer Nettles</i> (1955) .....	64
<b>6.</b>	<b>ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART II – 1956 TO 1960 .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>6.1</b>	<b><i>The Sound of Waves</i> (1956) .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>6.2</b>	<b><i>The Heike Story</i> (1956) .....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>6.3</b>	<b><i>Snow Country</i> (1956).....</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>6.4</b>	<b><i>Fires on the Plain</i> (1957) .....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>6.5</b>	<b><i>Five Modern Noh Plays</i> (1957).....</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>6.6</b>	<b><i>The Makioka Sisters</i> (1957) .....</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>6.7</b>	<b><i>Thousand Cranes</i> (1958).....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>6.8</b>	<b><i>The Temple of the Golden Pavilion</i> (1959) .....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>6.9</b>	<b><i>The Journey</i> (1960) .....</b>	<b>114</b>

<b>6.10 Related developments .....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>6.11 Discussion.....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>7. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART III - THE NOVELS OF THE 1960s .....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>7.1 The 1960s Tanizaki novels.....</b>	<b>125</b>
7.1.1 <i>The Key</i> (1961).....	125
7.1.2 <i>Seven Japanese Tales</i> (1963) .....	128
7.1.3 <i>Diary of a Mad Old Man</i> (1965) .....	132
<b>7.2 The 1960s Mishima novels.....</b>	<b>134</b>
7.2.1 <i>After the Banquet</i> (1963).....	134
7.2.2 <i>The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea</i> (1965).....	138
7.2.3 <i>Forbidden Colors</i> (1968) .....	143
7.2.4 <i>Thirst for Love</i> (1969) .....	149
<b>7.3 The Abé novels.....</b>	<b>152</b>
7.3.1 <i>The Woman in the Dunes</i> (1964).....	152
7.3.2 <i>The Face of Another</i> (1966) .....	155
7.3.3 <i>The Ruined Map</i> (1969), <i>Inter Ice Age 4</i> (1970), <i>The Box Man</i> (1974).....	159
<b>7.4 <i>The Pornographers</i> by Nosaka Akiyuki (1968) .....</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>7.5 Related developments .....</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>7.6 Discussion.....</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>8. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART IV - THE NOVELS OF THE 1960s.....</b>	<b>174</b>
<b>8.1 Post-Nobel Kawabata novels.....</b>	<b>174</b>
8.1.1 <i>The Sound of the Mountain</i> (1970).....	174
8.1.2 <i>The Master of Go</i> (1972).....	176
8.1.3 <i>Beauty and Sadness</i> (1975) .....	177
<b>8.2 Post-Suicide Mishima novels.....</b>	<b>179</b>
8.2.1 <i>Spring Snow</i> (1972).....	179
8.2.2 <i>Runaway Horses</i> (1973).....	196

8.2.3 <i>The Temple of Dawn</i> (1973).....	200
8.2.4 <i>The Decay of the Angel</i> (1974).....	202
<b>8.3 <i>Darkness in Summer</i> by Kaikō Takeshi (1973) .....</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>8.4 <i>The Tale of Genji</i> (1976).....</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>8.5 <i>Contemporary Japanese Literature: An Anthology of Fiction and Film Writing</i></b>	
<i>Since 1945</i> (1977).....	212
<b>8.6 Discussion.....</b>	<b>215</b>
<b>9. CONCLUDING REMARKS.....</b>	<b>224</b>
<b>NOTES.....</b>	<b>227</b>
<b>WORKS CITED.....</b>	<b>231</b>
<b>LIST OF CORRESPONDENCES.....</b>	<b>246</b>
<b>APPENDIX I.....</b>	<b>256</b>
<b>APPENDIX II.....</b>	<b>259</b>

## CONVENTIONS

The Third Edition of the *MLA Style Manual* is used as the basis for citations and references in this paper. In the Works Cited and in the text proper, the Japanese order of names is preserved, i.e. family name preceding given name. However, in order to preserve the integrity of the correspondence quoted, it appears as is without modification including misspellings, etc. Japanese personages are identified and spelled in the manner that the names appeared in a given quotation. In addition, the titles of Japanese novels may appear in all uppercase letters or underlined in the correspondence quoted. Outside any quoted material, Japanese names and words are rendered in the manner used in *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition*. In order to avoid confusion, quotations from archival correspondence are indexed separately in a Correspondences List, which, follows the bibliographical resources in the Works Cited, and can be identified by a lowercase letter after the year cited in the main text, such as (Strauss 1953a). Due to space considerations, in general only the last name of scholars or personages is given for references in the running text. No disrespect is intended. To give an idea of the relative worth of the monetary figures which appear in the study, the value of each translation contract is expressed in an updated value of United States dollars as of 2013 in Appendix I, in square brackets, under the contractual amount of the advance originally paid.

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## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Academic Affiliations of Knopf Translators

Table 2: Japanese Novels in English Translation 1945-1977



## 1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is based in large part on the archives of the New York publishing house of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., named after its founder Alfred A. Knopf (1892-1984), housed in The Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. The Knopf Archives hold extensive records of correspondence and related publishing materials concerning their projects of bringing world literatures in English translation to English-reading markets. Knopf was one of the first publishers of Asian works in the American market. The early twentieth-century translations of Chinese poetry by Arthur Waley and a Japanese novel in English translation were likely supervised by the publisher himself, for at that time the firm consisted of Alfred Knopf, his wife Blanche and his father who acted as accountant. Knopf's postwar titles of Japanese literature in English translation, thirty-four books in hardcover between the years of 1955 to 1977, are the focus of this study. These translations were published under the direction of editor-in-chief Harold Strauss (1907-1975), who sought to achieve with Japanese literature in English translation what Alfred and Blanche Knopf had accomplished with other world literatures in English translation. As the series of translations under study went forward, the fields of Japanese studies, comparative literature, cultural studies and area studies gained a stronger foothold in the university curriculum. As this series was coming to a close, a new field of inquiry called translation studies was being formally acknowledged. These fields and the course of my investigation merge and form the dissertation being presented.

Japanese is what is referred to in the Anglophone world as a less-translated language, not unlike Finnish or other nations where the borders of a country coincide closely with the area in which a language is spoken. In addition, Japan was largely closed off to the outside world for some centuries before it was opened for trade in the 1850s. After several decades of industrialization, wars with China, Russia and expansion through colonization on the Asian mainland and beyond, the Japanese empire and its nationalistic regime were undone. This led to the isolation of Japan from the rest of the world yet again during the final years of World War II and the devastation that followed. The practice of translation into English flourished when diplomatic relations allowed for it. This study seeks to investigate these historical circumstances with theoretical insights and methodological practices in use in translation studies and a rich set of research materials. The main research questions to be addressed are the decision-making processes behind the selection of the texts for translation, the mediation

process of the translations between the editor(s), translator(s), author or other concerned parties and the reception of the final texts through reviews, etc. in related discourse communities.

The following chapter is a review of influential developments in the field of translation studies, which focuses specifically on the concepts put to use in this study. Namely, the notions of *habitus* and capital advanced by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1990; 1993) are paired with the Actor-Network Theory (e.g. Latour 2007). The ideas advanced by Karen Thornber (2009), which address texts in motion through cultures in dynamics of less steeply divided hierarchies, in this case that of post-occupied Japan and of the United States and the United Kingdom, are also interwoven to complement the analysis of the use of capital by the players in these actor-networks. The forces behind the trajectory of these translations and their use as inscriptions, i.e. textual artifacts that may shape perceptions of their profile, in the fields of academia and beyond are also discussed.

The third chapter lays out the materials and detailed research questions which supply the study with a focus on the product, process and function distinction. Correspondence between the actors provides rare access to data in the selection of texts, the process of the mediation and packaging of the texts. Interviews and memoirs are included. The use of peritextual matter based on Genette's seminal work (1997), e.g. an introduction to a text, footnotes or comments on the dust jacket, or material extra to the text (epitext), such as literary reviews and articles in academic forums which form a discourse around the published translations, will be discussed below in an effort to determine how the various actors exercised their capital in a public arena.

After the presentation of the research questions and sources of data there follows a brief historical background to Japanese literature in English translation in Chapter 4. This background serves as an introduction to the trends and practices which developed early on and provides illustrative examples of research topics that remain relevant. The range of translation strategies and the practices employed by the actors concerned are categorically predictable to a degree, e.g. we can expect that omission and explication will occur. When such topics arise later in the Knopf translations under study, they will be more easily identified and the motivations behind these practices perhaps more readily apparent.

The study itself is divided into four chapters as follows: Chapter 5 and covers the early activities of the editor-in-chief Harold Strauss and the network formation that led to the two debut titles in 1955; Chapter 6 examines the period of intensive activity from 1956 to

1960 that resulted in nine publications; Chapter 7 investigates the titles of the 1960s, which reflect the societal trends of an openness to sexuality, and that of alienation in a rapidly modernizing world; and lastly, Chapter 8 focuses on the titles of the 1970s, which were influenced by the awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature to Kawabata Yasunari and the death of Mishima Yukio. Through the use of the archival correspondence and related materials, an in-depth look into the selection process, translation process and dissemination of the titles is provided. The findings are reviewed at the close of each section in accordance with the research questions. Chapter 9 adds concluding remarks.

In the Chapter 2 below, some of the relevant developments in the field of translation studies and related disciplines will be discussed to inform the theoretical framework used in this study.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The field of translation studies has grown at an impressive rate in the decades since its inception. A number of encyclopedic style reference volumes (e.g. Baker 1997; Venuti 2000), comprehensive literature reviews, surveys, and handbooks cataloguing developments in the field have emerged in recent years (e.g. Bassnett 1980/1991; Gambier 2010, 2011; Gentzler 1993; Munday 2001/2008; Pym 2009; Robinson 2002/2014; Snell-Hornby 2006). Such volumes trace the emergence of the discipline from its foundational concepts and extend through debates on literalism versus free translation, equivalence, foreignization and domestication, and address various eras, regional developments, and paradigm shifts.

The development of Polysystems Theory by Even-Zohar (1978/1990/2000) is credited as one trigger which brought the field out of its preoccupation with a theory of linguistic equivalence, typified by works such as Nida (1964) or Catford (1965). Even-Zohar emphasizes text selection in the target culture, as well as the adoption of norms, behaviors, and policies, to explain the complex interaction that forms a literary polysystem (1978).<sup>1</sup> He also contends that a weakness or lull in a literary system would make it prone to introduce foreign literature in translation (1990 47). German scholars, in turn, developed an essentially functional approach which evolved into the skopos theory, coined by Vermeer (1978 100). Skopos from the Greek language is generally rendered as ‘purpose,’ and perhaps this Greek word was chosen to mark a break from the theory and practice of biblical translation, as it was inspired by the then West German context, where translation had become increasingly necessary in commercial, technical and legal arenas. Hönl and Kussmaul (1982 58) used the terminology of a socioculture with regard to translation practice emphasizing the communicative function of a target text. Soon after, in a German and Finnish context, Holz-Mänttari (1984 177) was then advancing the idea of translatorial action and saw translation as intercultural communication taking place in a social context. Thus, developments in both nonfiction and fiction practices had a growing trend toward examining the social nature of translation.

Further advances in the field emerged after a publication organized by Hermans (1985), and another later organized by Venuti (2000), which included James Holmes’ article, “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies.” Holmes’ vision was forward-looking in the sense that he saw translation as an essentially social act, and seems to have anticipated a field of translation sociology using the process, product, and function distinction (1972/2000 185)

in the descriptive branch, which Toury argues are related and form a complex whole (2012 5). This distinction has proven durable over the decades, for it appears to respond to three essential questions: Why are texts chosen for translation at certain points in time and places? How are the texts translated? How are the texts received in a recipient culture? Gouanvic supports this distinction when he cites Bourdieu's theory of cultural action and its application to translation studies. He delineates the "sociology of the text as a production of a process being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner" (2005 148). The interplay of these distinctions remains a topic of interest.

Toury's *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995) explores the social constraints of norms and carries forward the work of Holmes by mapping out his article. The Holmes/Toury Map has been criticized for not explicitly having a consecrated plot for translation history, and not plotting a central place for translators (Pym 1998 13-15). In an interview with Pym which touched on this notion and the idea that people were functions in systems, Toury clarified his intentions:

People tend to exaggerate when they say, for instance, the norm approach ignores the translator. It didn't ignore the translator. It put it in a place where they were mainly subject to social and cultural constraints. ...It doesn't exhaust what people are. What I just wanted to say now we are on quite a good road in terms of the sociology of translation. We are on very bad terms with the psychology of translation. (2008)

The psychology of the translator is being addressed by approaches that investigate the internal processes of the translator such as Think-aloud Protocols (Bernadini 2001 241). Psychological and social influences are also being addressed by the concepts of *habitus* and capital and will be addressed below. The Holmes/Toury map itself remains a useful starting point for areas of research in translation studies and is still mentioned in most reference volumes. It can be argued that by default any study of translation or interpretation involves looking at the past and some form of human interaction. Translation history is also represented in the restricted areas of study in the map.

Other criticisms of polysystem include the idea that larger cultures may simply dump their literature in translation on other cultures (Hermans 1999/2009 111), and an overreliance

on studying texts with no clear delineation between the quantitative sociological and qualitative cultural methodologies (Pym 2006 14). Such efforts to displace Polysystems in favor of a research framework more suited to the advancement of a particular scholar's frame of reference may have discouraged the use of this research construct. However, Polysystems and Descriptive Translation Studies have inspired ideological and cultural models of analyses by scholars such as Lefevre (1992) and Tymoczko (2007).

Scholars have grappled with these key issues in an innovative manner. Chesterman suggests bridging concepts to support the interdisciplinary nature of translation studies (2007 171-183). Another response to bridging the dichotomy between descriptive and explanatory approaches is found in localism, which addresses hybrid practices in translation. Agorni argues that elaborate contextualizations of translation processes will assist in the reproduction of social and historical specificity by means of description and explanation. "Rather than moving along the beaten track, scholars will be committed to follow the loose threads which stem from the idiosyncratic behavior of human and institutional agencies" (2006 131) These perspectives provide a context for translation history, historiography and historicity by recognizing the social dimensions of translation and the translator(s).

Branches in the field of sociology have provided useful platforms for use in translation studies. The work of Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. 1986; 1990; 1993) has been used to focus study on the role of the translator, which is relevant to the present study as the research materials are in large part based on personal correspondence during the translation process. Bourdieu uses the term "fields" of cultural production where agents interact. For example, academics, politics, publishing or religion would all fall into such spheres. Agents struggle for power in these arenas using the 'capital' they possess, and in the process, form their evolving disposition or *habitus* which taken together defines their position in a power structure. This is also of relevance in the present context as translators are also agents striving to define their position through their work in networks of cultural production.

Bourdieu's ethnographic approach has garnered attention in a number of research contexts (e.g. Simeoni 1998; Gouanvic 1999; Hermans 1999). A special issue of the journal *The Translator* was devoted to the use of his work (Inghilleri 2005), and other volumes followed (e.g. Pym et al. 2006; Wolf & Fukari 2007) that expound on his concepts and their applications, in particular *habitus*, used as a way to understand the thoughts and actions of individuals, and capital, which is used as a measure of social influence. Much of this work is predicated on the hypothesis that conflict is an inevitable and ongoing manifestation of power

relations. Thornber employs Bourdieu's notion of capital and further writes extensively on *artistic contact nebulae*, where "artists from cultures/nations in unequal power relationships grapple with and transculture one another's creative output," as a means to examine the production of literary works (2009 2). Her analysis is not exclusively based on a win-lose proposition of power dynamics but rather contextualizes the struggle inherent in such transformations where the hierarchy between nations is less steeply divided, and where artists engage with each other's creative output. This is clearly of relevance to the present study in the sense that such an approach is applicable to the context of the less steeply divided hierarchy between the countries of the Allied Powers and Japan in the decades following the Occupation. Moreover, transculturation, the process of complex transformations of culture, will be found to be a concept embraced by the editor in the works under study, and at the Knopf firm itself, and will be discussed later in more detail.

The use of Actor-Network Theory (ANT), devised mainly by Callon (1986), Latour (1987; 2007) and Law (1986), to trace the individuals and actions which lead to the creation of a product is another theoretical apparatus from sociology that has been borrowed and applied in translation studies. ANT aims to account for *all* the actors involved in a production process, and is thus of potential use to the present study. The archival materials will serve to identify the various actors in the production process, and this tracing activity will assist in unbinding the works under study. Moreover, Buzelin has argued persuasively that ANT may complement Bourdieusian approaches (2005 193-218). This pairing has been applied by researchers in settings of less translated languages (e.g. Kung 2009; Hekkanen 2010), and these studies suggest the combination adds depth to the results. In the coming subsections, the ideas of these theorists are examined for use in this study,

## **2.1 Bourdieu**

Translation scholars have in part adopted the tenets of French social theorist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002). The application of his concepts encourages more focus on the human participants. His work includes numerous volumes which cover his approach to the social sciences and were published over several decades. The use of his work in translation studies has been broadly supported, in large part because translation has come to be seen as a socially regulated activity (Hermans 1997 10), and thereby influenced by both the subjective mindset of an individual and structural constraints in groups. The analysis of a process which involves

various individuals moving literature through translation from one culture to another culture is enhanced when seen through the lens of *habitus* and capital. This is because the analysis allows for a consideration of each individual in an evolving social setting and the actions they take based on the resources they possess.

### 2.1.1 Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*

Bourdieu describes *habitus* in its relation to time as a “system of dispositions – a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation” (1990 54). Robinson adds clarity to a definition of the term in reference to translation studies: “Put simply, Bourdieu’s notion of the *habitus* is that we are what we do: all the many practices of our social lives, including talking and interacting with others, shape who we are” (2002 143). Thus, *habitus* refers to the evolving dispositions of an individual while engaged in an unfolding process. If we are fortunate enough to have some physical record of the translation process from the individuals involved, a more informed reflection of their practices would be at hand, and this has long been lacking. Folaron & Buzelin note: “Translation has traditionally been regarded as a solitary activity, and translators as invisible middlemen” (2007 22). It is important to look inside the process wherever possible, as the complexities in translation as a social activity have come to the fore. In this study, the *habitus* of the editor, the authors and the translators are opened to examination in a world less technologically connected than that of today but with writers, translators and editors perhaps more personally intertwined. *Habitus* and the various forms of capital Bourdieu defines may prove useful here in deciphering the various influences on text selection, production and reception.

### 2.1.2 Bourdieu's notion of capital

Bourdieu writes at length about producers and vendors of cultural goods in his works. The designated terminology for the various forms of capital is described below. Four types of capital will be taken up here: cultural, economic, social and symbolic. Cultural capital can be a function of education, the more prestigious the better, or even inherited by family name. He suggests that name and educational background are likely interrelated, and that both are the result of cultural conditioning and have an accumulative nature: “It is obvious how difficult it is to break the sequence of the cumulative effects which cause cultural capital to attract



cultural capital” (1993 233). This provides an interesting perspective for the evaluation of individuals, texts and institutions. Three subtypes of cultural capital are possible according to Bourdieu: embodied; objectified; and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital seeps into individuals and may influence their *habitus*. This occurs when an individual gains status due to their educational background or family name and begins to identify themselves as upper crust. The perception of this capital in an individual, because of their background or actions, is made possible when others are impressed by their credentials or ancestry. An objectified form of cultural capital is identified through the appearance of cultural goods, artifacts such as books, paintings, instruments, or machines. Cultural capital in an institutionalized form is evident with the appearance of academic credentials which inscribe a legal right of power (1986 248). The granting of degrees and diplomas is a typical example.

Economic capital derives from “the basis of self-assurance, audacity and indifference to profit—dispositions which taken together with the flair associated with possession of a large social capital and the corresponding familiarity with the field, i.e. the art of sensing the new hierarchies and the new structures of the chances of profit” (Bourdieu 1993 67). The term capital has in its origins this monetary sense, and it is basic to the configurations and accumulation of capital which Bourdieu infers. The status and prestige of economic capital give the perception of an individual or organization free of day-to-day monetary concerns and willing to finance riskier ventures.

Social capital is derived from membership in a group and is based on mutual acquaintance and recognition; within such groups individuals may derive influence from their connections (1986 51). Acting fast to secure these connections and maintaining these relationships is indispensable to their use in the future. As a field of study progresses and societies of interested parties are formed, social capital grows in importance. A publisher might, for example, look to find a translator outside their network of acquaintances by asking a member of a more specialized group for a recommendation.

Symbolic capital is “the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (1989 17). In writing about the accumulation of symbolic capital Bourdieu uses the terminology ‘consecrate’ to signify symbolic recognition, and further argues that economic capital is more effectively derived by this capital of prestige and authority:

For the author, the critic, the art dealer, the publisher or the theater manager, the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects (with the trademark or signature) or persons (through publication, exhibition, etc.) and therefore to give value, and to appropriate the profits from this operation. (1993 75)

Thus, a symbolic trademark such as a publisher's imprint or a colophon in Bourdieu's theory results in more powerful influence. A similar line of analysis is argued by Pascale Casanova in her work *The World Republic of Letters*. She suggests such literary belief is a direct result of "being published and recognized in the major centers—through translation and the prestige conferred by imprints that symbolize literary excellence" (2004 17). Objectified cultural capital then results when artifacts (e.g. texts) are produced and are legitimized or 'consecrated' by the symbolic capital of prestige, in publication at a leading house or with the award of a literary prize. The result is a perpetuation of both economic capital and potentially all the forms of capital discussed above, and is particularly relevant to a venture in a less-translated language such as Japanese entering the major English-reading centers.

Throughout the course of this study, Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and cultural capital, and its subtypes, economic, social and symbolic capital, will be applied to the translation and publication of Japanese literature intended for an American audience. The influence of these forms of capital will provide important perspective in the key questions of this study, i.e. the selection of texts for translation, the mediation process and the function of these texts after their production. Bourdieu's constructs may prove useful in an examination of the inner workings of a publishing house over a two-decade period, as well as in following the careers of the translators and the trajectory of the translated texts.

## **2.2 Transculturation**

In her 2009 work, Thornber has adapted the concept of cultural capital from Bourdieu in an analysis on transculturations of Japanese literature in Chinese, Korean and Taiwanese in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with a focus on *artistic contact nebulae*. The hybrid process of the textual creation is characteristic of transculturation. The term transculturation originated from the writings of the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in response to the Spanish colonization

of Cuba. He contends that through the process of complex transformations of culture, new cultural phenomena emerge at the institutional level and at the individual or interpersonal level. Ortiz's work examines the impact of sugar and tobacco on Cuban society, and was published in English translation at Knopf (1947). With the work of Ortiz and Bourdieu, Thornber further argues that: "artistic contact nebulae are characterized by atmospheres of greater reciprocity and diminished claims of authority than those of many other (post)imperial spaces" (2009 3). All of this is clearly of significance to the present study in that the history of Japan after the war has been deeply rooted in political and economic alliances with the United States. Transculturation in the context of post-occupied Japan can be understood to work on a more subtle level than that of a colonized space because Japan had surrendered, and while power relations were asymmetrical with the West, the country retained a promise of future independence in the objectives of the Potsdam Declaration.<sup>2</sup> Japan was not subject to the impositions it made on its former colonial possessions, which included assimilation and established Japanese as the language of education and publishing.

In her work, Thornber suggests:

Regardless of specialization, in the future we need to do more to contextualize peoples, texts and phenomena beyond their immediate cultural and geographic surroundings ... for understanding most literatures and cultures, particularly those of nineteenth- and twentieth-century empires and their aftermaths, it is essential to analyze how creative texts are transpatialized and how spaces are transtextualized. (23-4)

This study will address post-occupied Japan, where Japanese writers were working together with American translators and editors to promote the appreciation of Japanese literature in the English-reading world. One must dig deeper to uncover the interactions and mediation which resulted in these new cultural products, keeping in mind the complex historical background where once the governmental authorities in Japan had sought to use their national literature as propaganda and later writers had been subject to censorship during the years leading up to World War II, as well as during the Occupation, which will be discussed below. Japan became an important base of U. S. military operations in the region, and remains so today. It is in this milieu the editor and most of the translators involved in the texts under review here got their start in the study of Japanese. Thornber's focus on the actors in literary contact

nebulae has previously shown to lead to a more complete understanding of the products, the mediation process and the functions of transculturations in such complex settings, which is highly relevant to the research aims of the present study.

### **2.3 Actor-Network Theory (ANT)**

An accounting of the individuals and their action(s) in a production network is the goal of Actor-Network Theory (ANT). A leading proponent is Bruno Latour (e.g. 1987; 2007). He argues that both human agents and what he calls actants, physical objects such as texts, for example, participate in determining the outcomes of human interaction. It is essential to trace these developments:

Your task is no longer to impose some order, to limit the range of acceptable entities, to teach actors what they are, or add some reflexivity to their blind practice. Using the slogan from ANT you have ‘to follow the actors themselves’, that is to try to catch up with their often wild innovations in order to learn from them what the collective existence has become in their hands, which methods they have elaborated to make it fit together, which accounts best defined the new associations that they have been forced to establish. (2007 11-12)

The motto is “follow the actors.” Latour contrasts ANT with mainstream social science: “The choice is thus clear: either we follow social theorists and begin our trouble by setting up at the start which kind of group and level of analysis we will focus on, or we follow the actors’ own ways and begin our troubles by the traces left behind by their activity of forming in dismantling groups” (2007 29). Thus, it more than simply “reinvents network analysis” as alluded to by Abbott (1995 105). It is used as a tool to find out more about how texts are mediated by firstly identifying the parties involved, so as to gain insight into the translation process and, as Buzelin suggests, to identify multiple mediators, the manner in which decisions are made and the strategies actors used to negotiate their place in the process (2005 215).

The word *translation* is used in the nomenclature of ANT, which can initially be

confusing. Buzelin notes that in ANT “*translation* [italics in original] designates a process of mediation, of the interpretation of objectives expressed in the ‘language’ of different intermediaries engaged in an innovative project/process—intermediaries whose viewpoints and interests are not, initially, necessarily the same” (2007 137). Buzelin also explains the term *network* must be qualified as finding its definition in connections and extension, and as such is not simply a technical or social network (197). Thus, to translate in the ANT sense of the word is to persuade other actors in the network to follow along or behave in a prescribed manner, keeping in mind a network is not limited by human beings, boundaries or distance. This terminology is essential to understanding the basic positioning of the theory.

Inscriptions are another important term used in ANT, defined by Callon as “reports, books, articles, patents, and notes” (1986). He goes on further in this article to describe texts as a potential network themselves (1986 135-6). Abdullah provides further commentary: “Inscriptions, especially in textual form, are central in the process of ‘translation’, because they carry work to other people and institutions, thereby making action possible at a distance” (2012 24). When texts themselves are used as inscriptions, crossing over to a culture as published translations, such texts may form the basis of a new network and repeat this process in the form of, for example, a selection for a book club, the basis for academic papers or even blog entries. On this point, we are reminded of Bourdieu’s concept of objectified capital when an object, such as a translation published at a prestigious firm, takes form and endures as a cultural artifact. The object takes the relay in extending a network as Latour predicts (2007 18) and the extent of that influence can in part be measured by the capital it is perceived to hold as is spelled out in Bourdieu’s analysis of objectified capital (1986 248). Texts, among all objects, hold significant potential in the relay of social connections and the subjectivities which may emerge when a foothold is gained with readers or a translation becomes the object of scholarly inquiry or is otherwise inscribed in an academic network.<sup>3</sup>

## **2.4 On Bourdieu and Latour**

The application of Bourdieu’s concepts and ANT used in tandem for the field of translation studies was brought to light by Buzelin (2005). In her analysis, she shows how both make use of the concept of the network, how both explain actors’ behaviors in terms of strategies and struggles, and how both make use of ethnographic methods (195). She argues that the theorists could be “unexpected allies.” This approach has proven useful in studies such as

Hekkanen (2010) and Kung (2009), as both applied these theoretical constructs and found the combination added depth to their research findings.

In order to further examine the corpus of texts under study here, ANT, which concerns itself with the various actors in production networks, in this case by tracing the actors involved with a Japanese novel in English translation, will be put to task in an examination of the translations produced in the Knopf Program. Once a network is identified in a title from the corpus of Knopf translations under study, the *artistic contact nebulae* composed of the authors, translators, editors, reviewers and other actors will be analyzed using Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and capital. The research materials and methodological apparatus that inform the analysis are presented in the next chapter.

### **3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHODOLOGY AND MATERIALS**

Three research questions are set to investigate the program of Japanese literature in English translation at Knopf, Inc. The research questions are presented below, followed by background support and the study materials. The questions are designed to reflect the interrelationships of the process, product and function distinction in translation studies. The focus is on how the titles were selected for translation, and by how and by whom the texts were prepared for market. The product is examined from the standpoint of the final text and how it was packaged by the actors concerned. The function is based on the reception of these final texts in their packaged form(s) by reviewers, stakeholders and the reading public. The study aims to address the influence these texts may have, or may have had, and whether this influence extended back into the source culture, as is seen in the first period of the Japanese novel in English translation, as well as address discourse on the translations in this program. As such, the study is concerned with the sociology of translation and not a contrastive analysis of each text. Unbinding these translations is thus not a process of deconstruction, but rather a tracing activity based upon empirical and qualitative data, without presupposition.

#### **3.1 Research Question 1**

What factors guided the selection of texts in the Knopf program?

The translations under discussion were published over twenty years by one private firm. Writings on the selection of texts are discussed under the rubric of translation policy. Toury defines translation policy as one of two preliminary norms of translation (1995).<sup>4</sup> He describes translation policy as follows:

Translation policy refers to those factors that govern the choice of text types, or even individual texts, to be imported through translation into a particular culture/language at a particular point in time. Such a policy will be said to exist inasmuch as the choice is found to be nonrandom.

Toury notes that publishing houses are fertile ground for policy hunting. Translation policy itself has yet to be fully explicated. If one searches for “translation policy” in a non-academic environment, it is perhaps most visible within the context of an organization, in an official

setting such as a government or institution that regulates the rules for language used in the public domain, such as multilingual voter pamphlets or even street signs. Private organizations refer to their “translation policy” in relation to quality measures. Meylaerts compiled an encyclopedic overview of translation policy emphasizing the importance of bringing clarity to the concept as it is used in such disparate settings (2010 163-8). The umbrella term is used in too broad a sense to apply to publishing translations as a commercial venture. Buzelin has more specifically addresses the publishing industry and refers to “two interdependent realities: the selection and promotion of foreign texts (this selection and promotion comes under editorial practice, but sometimes also involves the translators) and the work of translation and editing strictly speaking, i.e. from the translator’s initialed drafts through to the marketed version” (2007 140). Here we see more clearly the interrelationship of the product, process and function distinction for texts published in translation. Concerns over the challenges of a translation of a text which influence its selection, such as length or perceived difficulty, will also be investigated. The latter of the interdependent realities to which Buzelin refers will be covered in Research Question 2 below.

### **3.2 Research Question 2**

How did the actors involved exercise their influence in the process of the translation of the titles published in this Knopf Program?

This question will address how the actors were assembled, examine their interaction and investigate the textual aspects in the process of translation. Textual issues will be identified as they occurred, and will be examined in the workings of the translation process where possible to illustrate the interaction and mediation amongst the parties concerned. In the context of literary translation from a well-known publishing house, negotiation over the process leading to the final text generally goes unseen. The mediation of the text includes the process of translation, editing and copyediting—all common practices in publishing.

The presentation of a text is another step in the production process where mediation occurs. This may or may not include the actors who had a hand in the translation of the text proper. Genette, whose work originally appeared in French in 1987, is credited with coining the terms *peritext* and *epitext* (1997). *Peritext* refers to information that is supplemental to the actual text, such as the introduction or index, the book jacket, artwork, frontispiece, illustrations, title page, chapter titles, footnotes, glossaries, appendices, a preface, a postscript,



or maps. It may also include what he terms the *epitext*, consists of elements outside the book, in discourse such as reviews, publicity blurbs or interviews. He argues that the peritext may influence a reader, even unconsciously (409). Entire articles have been devoted to its application in translation studies, e.g. Tahir-Gürçağlar, who argues that peritexts are separate from the text and may meet the reader before they start a book, and as such are recognized as an important aspect in the research of translator practices and agency (2010 113).

Scholars are increasingly aware of the importance of such research in translation studies. Paloposki (2009), for example, analyzes literary translations with specific reference to changes in the peritextual matter of footnotes over time. In the series of texts under study here, it will be possible to see how the peritextual materials appeared over two decades and access any developments. As with the text itself, negotiation over the composition of the peritext generally goes unseen. Discussion, if there were indeed any discussion, between the actors in the production of a literary translation for the most part remains obscured. Any hint of controversy during the mediation of the text might lead to unfavorable publicity. This research question aims to help unbind each translation, by tracing the activity which led to its production from the point of its inception, and thereby show how the actors expressed themselves in the process and whether or not their efforts were realized in the final product.

### **3.3 Research Question 3**

How were the translations initially received, and did the Knopf Program influence the history of Japanese literature in English translation?

As noted above, in addition to *peritext*, which appears in the same publication, Genette refers to *epitext* as elements, either public or private, and may include reviews, interviews, diaries, journal articles and correspondence on a matter which is external, but may shed light on the process and/or the reception of a text(s). This includes actors, at times uninvited by the publisher, who join literary contact nebulae and may influence the trajectory of a text. Thornber (2009 92) focuses her analysis on a specific instance of interest to the translations in this study: “Writings about literature readily reveal the complex dynamics of transnational cultural struggles. They take on particular significance if other transculturations are in short supply.” These are the circumstances of the era under study. English translation of the modern Japanese novel had been interrupted by the war and the translations were in short

supply. As will be shown below, only fifty such novels in book form were available worldwide at the time.

This question will also consider any enduring influence of these translations, address scholarly accounts of these translations with regard to the history of Japanese literature in English translation, and probe the relationship of these texts to the careers of the individuals involved. The range of materials used for the discussion of these research questions are outlined in the next section.

### **3.4 The Data Examined**

The study is based on five sets of data. The first set of study materials are housed in the Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Archives at the University of Texas at Austin in the Harry Ransom Center, and are composed of what Buzelin refers to as “written data” (2007 139) When the data being discussed takes the form of an exchange of letters by post, it is referred to as correspondence. When it is in-house correspondence, it will be referred to as an internal memo. The Ivan I. Morris Papers housed at Columbia University library, the Osaragi Jirō Memorial Museum and the Tanizaki Junichirō Memorial Museum were investigated for further written data. Second, I have also endeavored to contact as many individuals as possible still living who were directly or indirectly involved with this Program for semi-structured interviews or in correspondence to supplement the archival and biographical materials, which Buzelin has classified as “discursive data” (139). Third, further written accounts by actors in the process, or by individuals somehow related to the process, are provided by autobiographical and biographical materials. Fourth, the published translations and their source texts are artifacts under investigation, as are mass market paperback editions, and other related promotional material. The peritexts which accompany a translated text and the epitextual matter such as literary reviews or academic articles are included here. Fifth, materials related to the general subject of Japanese literature in English translation at times offer additional information. These data sets are discussed in further detail below.

#### **3.4.1 Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Archives**

The archival records are extensive, covering several decades, and were put in storage before much of the technology now used in archival science was available. The materials have since

been filed, categorized and indexed by name. The Ransom Center allows an allotment of up to 350 pages of photocopies every six months. For the first two and last two allotments, I hired proxy researchers to photocopy materials. While in residence at the Center, I put in for three allotments. Taken together this totals 2,450 photocopies of archival records. Every folder of reference to a translator, author, or individual related to these translations, however tentative, was reviewed. In addition to every person identified in the Program, I requested and reviewed every folder that was indexed with a Japanese name in the Knopf archives. To the best of my knowledge, no printed information regarding this Program in the Knopf archives went overlooked.

The correspondence allows for an in-depth look into all facets of the translations. Therefore, longer quoted excerpts from these letters will be employed to inform the analysis. Data include commissioned reports on novels considered for translation; white sheets which detail the proposal for a translation and a production schedule; contracts between Knopf, Inc., authors and translators; in-house memos regarding the translations; rejection files; copies of correspondence between editor, authors, and translators with outgoing letters in carbon copy and the original incoming postal materials; and publicity materials

The material is uneven in that a few titles are replete with information on nearly every category listed above while information on other titles is next to non-existent in the archives, making it necessary to search for other sources of written or discursive data. Unfortunately, the *only* title in the Knopf archives that has a draft manuscript is the translation of *Spring Snow*. The other titles are limited to the textual issues that arose in the correspondence and happened to be preserved. Additional written data regarding the process of the translation of *Spring Snow* and *Honba* was collected with the cooperation of the translator Michael Gallagher. This includes scans of the original letters with the editor and his compilation of “Commentary on Galleys of *Spring Snow*,” which is reprinted in Appendix II.

### 3.4.2 First- and second-person accounts

The stakeholders in the Program and some of their personal and professional acquaintances were party to the postwar literary scene in Japan. This network of connections is documented through semi-structured oral histories and written accounts.

### 3.4.2.1 Interviews with translators active in the Knopf Program

At least fifteen individuals worked as translators in the Program; twelve translators were publicly acknowledged in the peritextual data of the published translations, while three were not. Of the twelve individuals publicly acknowledged as translators in the Program, five were deceased by the time this research began. Of the remaining seven acknowledged translators, I was unable to personally contact four individuals regarding their life as a translator and more specifically their role in this Program. I did write these four people, but received no answer from two (Donald Keene and Alfred Marks), and a polite ‘no’ in 2003 from Howard Hibbett who suggested it would be redundant as material concerning his career would be appearing in another publication from his students, which it did in 2010. Initially there was a positive response from another translator, John Nathan, but I was not able to coordinate a meeting. Fortunately, three of the four translators noted above (Hibbett, Keene, and Nathan) published autobiographical works. I was able to interview or correspond with the remaining three translators (Michael Gallagher, Edward Seidensticker, Cecilia Segawa Seigle) acknowledged in the Program. I have also spoken and corresponded with two individuals that translated for Knopf, Inc. in the post-Strauss years, Juliet Winters-Carpenter and Anthony Chambers, and Charles Elliott, the editor who replaced Strauss. Taken as a whole, these interviews supplement the archive material with personal recollections on the translation and publication process, as well as providing insight into the personal relations of actors.

### 3.4.3 Memoirs and autobiographies, biographical materials and other interviews

Of the twelve translators acknowledged in the Program, four wrote memoirs or autobiographies. As noted, three of these were authored by the group of four translators I was unable to contact regarding the Program. Their writings at points confirm and add information to materials in the archives. Biographical material about the editor and translators in the Program is gleaned from other memoirs or biographies.

Individuals who knew the authors, translators and/or editor provided information on the actors involved in the publication process, and anecdotal evidence. Interviews with *The Japan Times* art critic Donald Richie and translator Paul McCarthy supplement the archive material with personal recollections about writers, translators and the editor of the Program, particularly concerning those who had already died before the start of this research.

#### 3.4.4 The Published Translations of the Knopf Program

The original Japanese editions and the Knopf hardcover editions of the translations for sale in North America, reprinted editions and trade paperback editions of the target text product are used as data for the study. Translations licensed to the United Kingdom publishing firm of Secker and Warburg, as well as those licensed to the Charles Tuttle Company, sold in Japan, are further examples of target text products.

#### 3.4.5 Miscellaneous Materials

These include bibliographical data online and in book form, research papers, public commentary and publicity materials, peritextual data from translations by other publishers, articles and reviews of Japanese literature in English translation. Taken as a whole, the above materials will be used in the following study to address the research questions.

The following section investigates the early translations and practices of note which developed thereof during the decades between the opening of Japan and World War II. These early translations and the introduction of the novel to Japan from Europe provide a background to the translations under study.

## **4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE LITERATURE IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION**

This chapter focuses on an overview of how the first English-speaking translators worked with the language and literature of Japan, a country that was both deliberately closed off to most of the outside world and was geographically isolated in the centuries prior. The activities of the translators, and the academic societies that published such early translations, are investigated. In addition, this part of the dissertation will also examine the emergence of the Japanese novel in English in the late nineteenth century, its transculturation and reception, and conclude with a summary of the issues which emerged through these translations in the decades that led up to World War II.

### **4.1 Overview of Japanese Literature in English Translation**

The Japanese language has evolved rapidly in recent centuries, at times integrating outside influences. The written language has changed greatly since Japan was opened to the West in the 1850s. A previously imported system of classical Chinese writing was employed for the scholarly work of men; education was not commonly available to Japanese women at the time. However, neither classical Chinese nor classical Japanese writing itself is commonly read today, regardless of gender. Modern Japanese now has a writing system which uses a combination of logographic and phonographic elements: one based on Chinese ideographs and two indigenous syllabaries. Reforms of the written Japanese language began in the late nineteenth century, based in part on the perceived need for standardization of speech and writing (*buntaiika*) as well as the increase of lexical items required to accommodate imported or newly coined words and phrases.<sup>5</sup> This complex period of transformation coincided with the introduction of the European novel to Japan in translation—in part by Japanese writers of the day who had taken to translation into Japanese themselves.<sup>6</sup>

The 165-year history of Japanese literature in English translation can be broadly split into two periods. The first came after the opening of Japan in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and focused on classical literature, poetry, plays, children's stories, and some novellas—texts most likely recommended by Japanese people with some facility in English to visitors curious about literary works. Translation of Japanese into English became a practical endeavor soon after a British delegation arrived and took up residence in the 1860s.

Members of the delegation had lived in China and were already familiar with the practice of reading classical Chinese, which bore some resemblance to the modified system of writing then used in Japan. In addition, a number of scholars, missionaries, and other new arrivals to the country were soon at work learning classical Japanese and the Japanese language as it had come to be spoken and written at the time, which in turn facilitated the attempts at translation in the coming decades. Such contact formed literary exchanges between people in Japan and those from English-speaking nations, who worked on early translations of Japanese literature into English. A more detailed discussion of this first period, which lost its momentum in the twentieth century as war in the Pacific loomed larger, appears in the sections that follow. The second period begins in the 1950s, and is treated in the following chapters.

#### 4.1.1 Early translation

Although basic Japanese grammars and dictionaries had appeared in European languages in the 1600s, it was only after Japan was opened to the West in the 1850s that the growing number of resource materials and English translations of various kinds gained momentum. A noteworthy fact is that the majority of the translations were published in Japan. A number of these were plays, excerpts of classics, folk tales, proverbs, or poetry pieces published in magazines such as the *Chrysanthemum*, *Orient Hansei Zasshi* and *The Japan Magazine*, printed in Japan and sold overseas, or *The Cornhill Magazine* and *The Phoenix* published in London. The magazines and journals also include a commentary on the trends and schools of Japanese literature and literary criticism, including its history, authors, and defining characteristics. The most comprehensive bibliography of the early translations in foreign languages through 1934 was provided by Numazawa (1934 178-206).<sup>7</sup> Borton et al. compiled a select bibliography of translations in 1940, as did Morrison in 1955, and Yabuki in 1957. In addition, Inada (1971) compiled 106 important literary translations published in Western languages between 1868 and 1912. A more recent bibliography of note was compiled by the International House of Japan Library in 1979. This was followed by the Japan chapter of the PEN club publications on Japanese literature translated into foreign languages in 1990 and 1995, which now appears online as the Japanese Literature in Translation Database. These are the main sources, along with those catalogued by Brown (1957), Beauchamp (1975) and Rogala (2001), which are used to quantify the number of Japanese novels in English translation published over the course of this study.

The individuals responsible for the earliest translations were young diplomats, scholars and missionaries—many of whom were with the British legation—who had arrived in Japan before the age of thirty, spent years in residence, and were active in founding the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1872. The transactions of this society (TASJ) are an early source of translations and papers on Japanese literature in English, as is the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (JRAS), which issued from the Royal Asiatic Society, founded in 1823. Prominent among the early scholars in Japan are William George Aston (1841-1911), Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929), Frederick Victor Dickins (1838-1915), and Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935).<sup>8</sup> Their writings are part of the foundation of what became the field of Japanese Studies in English-speaking countries. Satow's books are now housed at the Cambridge University Library while Dickins' are at Manchester.

These early efforts at translating Japanese literature got underway at the same time Japanese scholars were advancing their studies of the English language. As a result, many of the publications that followed were collaborations between Japanese scholar/translators and their foreign visitors. In the decades after Japan was opened to the West, a dozen or so books about Japanese literature were written in English (e.g Riordan & Takayanagi, 1896; Aston 1899; Wadagaki 1919; Bryan 1927; Kunitomo 1934), some with translated excerpts, and were published overseas and in Japan. The Japanese government agency, The Society for International Cultural Relations (1936; 1939), sponsored the publication of a series of books intended to describe the writers and the modern literature of Japan. This early subvention network was established in an effort to put Japanese literature on an equal footing with its international counterparts. Taken as a whole, such publications are a mix of introduction to and description of Japanese literature, Japanese literary criticism in English translation, literary criticism written in English, translations, and bibliography.

#### 4.1.2 Early works

The works of Japanese literature in English translation referenced below illustrate the early translation practices, some of which hold sway today, and exemplify issues that continue to be debated.



#### 4.1.2.1 The primary role of English

The earliest English translation of Japanese literature that I have located appears in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1851 41-52).<sup>9</sup> It was an indirect translation by William Turner from the German of Austrian scholar August Pfizmaier (1808-1887), whose 1847 translation of the work *Ukiyo gata rokumai byōbu* by Riutei Tanehiko, now more commonly rendered as Ryūtei Tanehiko, is the earliest extant example of Japanese literature translated into a European language.<sup>10</sup> Turner entitled his 1851 English abridgement of Dr. Pfizmaier's translation "Account of a Japanese Romance." He presented the paper in 1849, and it was later published in the Society's journal in 1851. This document is important for reasons beyond simply being the earliest translation published in English. First, Turner's introductory article contains rare biographical data on Pfizmaier and on how he taught himself Japanese, composed a dictionary of 40,000 entries and divined rules of grammar.

The article also provides a detailed account of the failed attempts by the United States to return shipwrecked Japanese sailors and the prevailing view in the West that it was necessary to open trade relations with Japan as Turner explains:

Events are now in progress which clearly indicate that the energetic, intelligent, and in many respects interesting nation which people the islands of Japan—the Englishmen of Asia, as they have not inaptly been termed—will not be allowed to remain much longer in the isolated position which they have preserved for the last two centuries. The rapid settling of the northwestern portion of the American continent by the enterprising inhabitants of this country must lead in the natural course of events to a speedy extension of the intercourse of Europeans and their descendants with the countries of Eastern Asia, among which Japan, in consequence of its prominent insular position, the abundance, variety, and desirableness of its natural productions, and the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants holds a most important rank. To the gradual but sure operations of this cause are to be added the efforts which are continually repeated from time to time by various nations to open an intercourse with the Japanese, dictated chiefly by commercial rivalry, and partly by scientific curiosity and missionary zeal. (1851 29)

His analysis indicates that Japan was being pressured by a number of nations. The polite and complimentary tone also indicate a degree of certainty his words would reach Japan's shores. Turner's translation is accompanied by a substantial peritext that argues for the eventuality of the opening of Japan. The marriage of cultural interchange to trade and diplomatic relations was spelled out clearly, and sooner rather than later would be of benefit to all.

Second, Turner's article has not been recognized as the first translation in English bibliographies. The title of Turner's translation, which was placed at the front of the reissued Japanese source text, has been mistakenly identified by the bibliographer Inada (1971 13) as a translation by an unknown translator published in 1867. Commons (2006 366) also lists it in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, 1790-1900*, presumably based on Inada's bibliography, though no such translation appears to exist. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that when Tanehiko's Japanese work was reprinted years later in Yokohama in 1867 and again in 1869, Turner's English title, "Account of a Japanese Romance," was printed at the front of the book as an alternative title. This was done seemingly to grant it status as a Japanese work that had been translated into a foreign language—in this case English—and thus the English title was added to the reissued Japanese original for flair. It is most likely Inada later mistook Tanehiko's work as a translation because of this English title. However, these are the only five English words that appear in the reissued Japanese book.<sup>11</sup> Bibliographers since have relied on this rare error in Inada's bibliography. Nonetheless, this mistake represents something more than a bibliographical error; it elucidates a perception that translation into English adds stature to a Japanese literary work. The use of German as a medium for translation into English was short-lived. Pfizmaier was prolific and his translations were used to reach a number of other languages, but by the 1880s, the English language became the primary medium of indirect translations from Japanese.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.1.2.2 Directionality and the tension amongst practitioners

Literature about translation specific to Japan has traditionally addressed the challenges associated with a language so remote from English. One of the earliest issues to surface in print was that of directionality. It has long been argued that a translator should be working into their native language in any language pair.<sup>13</sup> In 1882, the literary scholar Walter Dening made it plain:

It is universally admitted that the best translations are produced by those who undertake to translate into their own language. It is next to impossible for any foreigner, however skilled he may be, to produce a translation of an elaborate work, in an acquired language, so idiomatic and perfect in every way as to lead to a shrewd native scholar actually mistaking it for a purely native production. We may then lay it down as a law that in all translations from Japanese into a European language, all other things being equal, that the foreign scholar who is translating into his own language will never be surpassed by any native of Japan, however thoroughly the said native may have studied English. And that on the other hand in all translations into Japanese, that the native scholars of this country must furnish us with models. (1882 8)

Dening's comments have since been echoed by George Aston (1899), Harold Strauss (1954), Arthur Waley (1959), Edward Seidensticker (1987), and Donald Keene (1972). The subject has been a sensitive one since the turn of the twentieth century, when English became increasingly important for Japan as a link to the outside world. Japanese scholars and translators apparently resented the ridicule of their efforts to engage with the international community in English:

In spite of many unmannerly taunts and gibes which English editors of outlandish papers and English writers of things Japanese have cast from time to time from their own vantage-ground upon Japanese scholars of English, on the score of some gross violation of the English grammar and of faulty diction, the injured recipients of their wholesale ridicule have good-naturedly pocketed all the wrongs done them" (Sakuma 1897 38).

One source who supported translation by a native speaker into the second language was L. Adams Beck (1930 10). She wrote the introduction for and edited Naoko Kobayashi's translation of *The Sketch Book of the Lady Seishōnagon*, and argued that only a Japanese woman has the sensibilities to find expression for such a work.<sup>14</sup> The 'native speaker principle' still finds a number of exceptions, particularly in specialized subjects, in less translated languages such as Finnish and Japanese.

#### 4.1.2.3 Team translation, camouflaged collaboration and retranslation

In addition to the preference for translators working into their own language, team translation has been looked upon as an inferior practice, particularly among publishers stateside, as will become evident throughout the study. The role of cultural and linguistic informants, or those who assist with translations or collaborate, often goes unacknowledged. For example, Frederick Dickins' annotated translation of what is considered the earliest classic tale of Japan, *The Story of the Old Bamboo-Hewer: A Japanese Romance of the Tenth Century*, appeared in *JRAS* (1887 1-58). Dickins revised his translation years later after receiving critical comments from the Japanese scholar Minakata Kumagusa, whom he would later collaborate with on other translations—at times crediting him, and at times with only a passing mention.<sup>15</sup> This work has been retranslated and adapted in numerous publications, including two versions by Japanese literature scholar and former Knopf translator Donald Keene, in 1955 and 1998, who found Dickins' work outdated. Keene's second attempt at retranslation is based on a translation to modern Japanese by Yasunari Kawabata, making it an interlingual translation of an intralingual translation, to use Roman Jakobson's terminology (1959). Among the translation practices in evidence, camouflaged collaboration and retranslations are two of the oldest.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4.1.2.4 Translation, international relations and language prestige

The early translation of another Japanese classic became intertwined with international relations and language prestige. Suematsu Kenchō's (1855-1920) partial translation of the thousand-year-old work by Murasaki Shikibu, *Genji Monogatari: The Most Celebrated of the Japanese Classics*, was published in England by Trübner and Co. in 1882. In the book, the translator's name was rendered under the spelling Suyematz Kenchio. He was one of the early government-sponsored exchange students sent to Cambridge. In recent decades, scholars have speculated on the motives for Suematsu's translation (e.g. Ury 1976; Mehl 1993; Ruxton 2002; Henitiuk 2010). Ury, for example, dismissed it by stating its primary merit was being out of copyright. Emmerich takes an entirely different view of the legacy of Trübner's publication of Suematsu's translation, and Suematsu's introduction in particular, which he argues set in motion an extensive *Genji* discourse: "Suematsu and Trübner highlighted the figure of Murasaki Shikibu as a woman writer, making her an image of her

work, and that Suematsu argued that *Genji* might be best appreciated not for its story, but as a historical romance affording insight into ‘the true state of society’ in ancient Japan” (2013 270). Whether or not the translation was read, or read as literature, does not appear to diminish the view that the image projected by the book and by its peritext. Suematsu’s work itself was also being used for indirect translations into French and German. The scholar Clements’ research on Trübner and Co.’s accounting records reveals the first edition sold 242 copies from 1882 to 1892, and had a total distribution of only 320 copies, including complimentary copies (2011 41-2). It may have found a larger audience of readers in Japan where a second edition was published Tokyo in 1894, with a further printing in 1934, again in Japan. Clements analyzed the text, the quality of the 1882 publication, the book’s reception and also factored in the translator’s other fictional works to support her analysis: “Thus Suematsu’s *Genji* can be seen as more than an attempt to demonstrate the parity of Japanese and European civilization by introducing Japanese history and culture to an English audience. Suematsu was also trying to demonstrate that he, and by extension Japan, could write as Englishmen did” (35). Her argument adds an important new layer to the issue of directionality, and makes clear the political significance of linguistic parity at a time when the growing territories of colonial powers such as Great Britain and Japan had an intimate connection with conceptions of language and authority.

#### 4.1.2.5 Adaptation and domestication

It was not long before translators were experimenting with early modern texts that resembled the format of a novel. The popular genre of *gesaku*, or light reading for the masses, became widely available in Japan in conjunction with advances in woodblock printing. A work in this genre from Kyokutei Bakin (aka Takizawa Sakichi, 1776-1848), was translated into English with the title *Captive of Love* and published in 1886. The writer/translator Edward Greey gave thanks to two Japanese collaborators, and stated in the preface that his English version “while not a translation, follows Bakin’s charming romance as closely as possible, in his own quaint style, and contains many details that the author would have given had he written for foreign readers” (1886 3). Even though Bakin had died years before Japan was forced open, it did not relieve his translator(s) of the choice of bringing the reader closer to the writer or vice versa. Foreignization and domestication are still seen as a core challenge of translation, and can be a key indicator of power dynamics (e.g. Schleiermacher 1813/1963; Venuti 1995).

Translation practices, such as adding details and domesticating a work, grew in tandem with the increase of cultural contacts, trade, and printing technology.<sup>17</sup> The élan of Japonism, the vogue of travel writing, and the emergence of new markets for the publishing industry produced a cache of artifacts representing a Western vision of Japan—one that was actively welcomed in Japan as a form of favorable publicity. In addition, many of the important issues relevant to translation studies today were in evidence when Japanese literature was introduced to the West: English becoming the primary language for indirect translations, translation into English adding status to a Japanese work, cultural interchange used to advance a diplomatic or trade agenda, translators crediting (or failing to credit) collaborators and cultural or linguistic informants, the issue of language parity, adaptation and domestication for the target audience.

#### 4.1.3 The emergence of the Japanese novel in English translation

The modern European novel format gained an influential position in the literature of Japan near the turn of the century, according to research by Kondo & Wakabayashi (2005 489-90). Japanese literature scholar and Knopf translator Donald Keene succinctly describes the circumstances: “By the end of the nineteenth century no Japanese writer of significance remained unaffected by a knowledge of the European literature, and before long some writers were insisting that they felt closer to Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, or Stendahl, all read in translation, than they did to any work of the Japanese tradition” (1998 71). Such a reliance on foreign literature is what Even-Zohar predicts when a weakness or lull occurs in a literary polysystem. The Japanese literary critic Isoda Kōichi (1983) argues the influence of literature in translation was far-reaching. He cites examples of the Ministry of Education introducing songs with Western melodies into elementary schools, in which Japanese imagery was merged with that of the Western poets. Isoda also provides examples of passages from numerous authors active in the Meiji era (1868-1912), and the proletarian writers who followed, and argues all were offspring of foreign thought, which illustrate that westernization is part and parcel of Japanese tradition, in much the way aspects of Chinese and Korean culture were assimilated in the mid-fifth century onward. The early English translations of Japanese novels, many written under the influence of European literature, also found an unexpected audience in Japan.

One early complete work, *Nami-ko: A Realistic Novel* by Kenjirō (aka Roka)

(1868-1927), which appeared as a team translation by the English teacher and translator Sakae Shioya (1873-1961) and the American editor and writer Edwin Francis Edgett (1867-1946), was published in 1904 in Boston and in London. The novel is based on Tokutomi's 1899 work *Hototogisu*, a story of family struggle and heartbreak that takes place during the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. In the introduction, the translators echo the comments of Greey quoted above: "Literal accuracy has, of course, not been attempted, the endeavor being especially to reproduce the spirit and general effect of the story as an example of Modern Japanese fiction" (1904 7). Edgett wrote an autobiography decades later and commented on the translation and its reception in the United States:

My name also appears on the title page of a novel entitled *Nami Ko* as its co-translator with Sakae Shioya, but I fear that that is somewhat misleading, since I do not know a word of the language of Japan. My work was simply to put my associate's Japanese English into a normal English version of the original. One example I remember was 'he shuddered his shoulders.' Since the novel was intended to arouse the interest of a book buying audience that was reading the front-page newspaper accounts of the Russo-Japanese War ravaging the Far East in 1904, its publishers hoped it would be avidly sought by a public eager for more reading about that conflict; but they were mistaken, and the book came dead from the press, being now utterly forgotten. (1940 220)

Edgett was apparently unaware of that the book acted as an actant, taking the relay and being inscribed in networks overseas. The English translation of *Nami-ko* was not forgotten in Japan. This development was reported in *The New York Times* two months after the translation was released in the United States:

Of all places in the world the translation of "Nami-ko" is successful in Japan and the mails bring Messrs. H. B. Turner and Co. little groups of pleasant letters announcing that it has been adopted in various colleges and schools as the book to be translated into modern Japanese, and as the standard whereby to judge the pupils' translation of the original into English. (18 June, 1904)

This edition of *Nami-ko: A Realistic Novel*, released in Japan in 1905, came with a 62-page glossary of English words with Japanese equivalents, and eight favorable “Critics’ Opinions” of the book. The *New York Times*, *Saturday Review of Books* and the *Boston Herald* referred to Tokutomi as the Tolstoy of Japan. The rights appeared to have been transferred to the Seibundo Company of Tokyo in 1905, and by 1919 the translation was in its twenty-fourth edition in Japan. The number of copies per production run is not available, but it seems likely that this translation was read by more readers in Japan than anywhere else in the world. As a result, the coupling of literature that glorified the nation with foreign language acquisition made for a larger audience in the source culture than in the target culture.

Indirect translations from this English version appeared in several European languages, including a Finnish translation (1906) entitled *Kyyneleitä*. Shioya’s translation remains faithful to the intent of the original text, which extols Japan’s rise to power in East Asia. Thornber explores the translinguistic recasting of the novel’s English translation in Chinese and Korean adaptations, translations, and intersemiotic renderings on stage and the nuanced undermining of Japanese narrative authority. The motivation for creating a Chinese version from this English translation is an interesting example of transculturation in action: “It perhaps stemmed from assumptions that the translation would be taken more seriously if it was associated with a Western configuration” (2009 154). This idea of granting status to a Japanese work by associating it with a Western element was noted earlier with Turner’s translation of “Account of a Japanese Romance.”

The English-reading public did not have to wait long for an account translated from Japanese of the Russo-Japanese War. A saga of a bloody siege by Lieutenant Tadayoshi Sakurai (1879-1965), *Human Bullets: A Soldier's Story of Port Arthur*, was published in October of 1907. The translation was credited to educator, journalist, and translator Honda Masujirō (1866-1925), and was edited by the American writer and Christian educator Alice Mabel Bacon (1858-1918), who taught English in Japan at the turn of the century. Honda had traveled overseas and lectured widely, including a series of lectures at Columbia University. The book includes an introduction by the founder of Waseda University, statesman and twice future Prime Minister Shigenobu Okuma (1838-1922), and provides insight into the prevailing mindset of Japan: “They [the Russians] seemed to believe that the civilized Russian army was to crush into pieces the half civilized forces of Japan...it has added one great glory to the history of our race” (1907 ix-xi). Russia had disrespected Japan and underestimated their military. The author’s preface is written in the same vein: “Throughout



the abundant grace of heaven and the illustrious virtue of His Majesty, the Imperial forces defeated the great enemy both on land and sea. Our arms were crowned with an unparalleled success and our country with awe-inspiring dignity and world-wide glory” (1907 xv). Sakurai expresses the need for the Japanese people to be accepted as equals and the reverence for their emperor in words that hardly seem probable in the rhetoric of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At the time, however, with territorial disputes in the Pacific region, including the United States laying claim to Hawai’i and the Philippines, this type of nationalistic rhetoric was welcomed by some parties in Japan. The translation sold well enough to reach a third impression that year.

Moreover, the translation so impressed the sitting president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, who had had a hand in the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the Russo-Japanese war, that he wrote to the author Sakurai, after he received copies of the book from Count Okuma, to commend him.<sup>18</sup> Roosevelt praised the heroism and found the graphic writing inspirational. His letter to Sakurai had a diplomatic purpose that sought to emphasize cooperation between the countries at a time when both nations were acquiring new territory, and also to recognize the Japanese sense of pride.

Chinese and Russian versions of Sakurai’s work followed in 1909. As had become commonplace, indirect translations appeared in German and French in 1911 and 1916 respectively. More noteworthy is the English edition in Japan which appeared in November of 1907, only one month after the original publication, and which by 1925 was in its 15th edition, indicating that this translation had a wider distribution in Japan than in the United States. Had the numbers of reprinted editions not been so continuous and overwhelming, these translations might be dismissed as isolated examples of chrestomathy—simply selected passages from an author designed to help in learning a language. However, the consumption of English translations of Japanese novels in Japan, whether based on classical imagery or on narratives that supported a nationalistic agenda, and where contact with the English language was inculcated in the university through the translations published in Japan noted above, led to a growing mindset that the understanding of the English language should be viewed through a Japanese context. Considering the stature of the novelist Natsume Sōseki, for example, one might not be surprised he was widely translated before the Pacific War, but it is surprising that not one of these five titles came to print outside Japan. Thus, it is clear that at this early period the source culture had an active internal target culture of its own.

In addition to the publication of Japanese novels in English translation in Japan, a

novel by the author and translator of Russian literature, Hasegawa Tatsunosuke (1864-1909), who wrote under the pseudonym Futabatei Shimei, was also published in the United States. He is often credited with writing Japan's first modern novel *Sono Omokage* (Cockerill 2006 9), which was published in translation first in Japan and then revised for the American market as *An Adopted Husband*. This work was also a form of team translation, by onetime lecturer at the University of Minnesota, Buhachiro Mitsui, and onetime English teacher in Japan, University of Minnesota and Columbia University alumnus, and future University of Hawai'i's president, Gregg M. Sinclair. Glenn Shaw also translated Futabatei's works.

The English translation of *An Adopted Husband*, first published in Tokyo in 1915 by the Eigo-Kenkyu-Sha, reached printing in five editions.<sup>19</sup> The novel was released in 1919 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., a rising young publishing house in New York that specialized in English translations of world literature. The text was revised for the American market, but not significantly. Since the Knopf firm had just gotten underway, it is likely Alfred Knopf himself handled these edits. Common revisions included replacing a character's name with the pronoun she or he, and combining chapters for the probable reason of improving cohesion. For example, the original has seventy-seven short chapters, while both English editions have twenty-five chapters that on average are comprised of three original chapters.

The introduction to the first English edition ends with an acknowledgement to Professor Kumamoto of the Peers' School "for his scholarly and careful comparison of this translation with the original text and for his invaluable suggestions, without which the work could never have been completed" (1915 viii). When Sinclair reworked the introduction for the Knopf edition he omitted this acknowledgement, but the translation remained a close rendering of the original. Sinclair was also of the opinion that Futabatei benefitted from engaging in translation: "There can be no doubt of the fact that because of his work as a translator he improved as a novelist" (1919 10), highlighting the tradition of Japanese writers' involvement with translation. Sinclair states in the peritext that the novel was selected for translation because it presents a balanced view of society and family in Japan: "we feel as we conclude our reading that we have seen them not in their dress-clothes in their beautiful gardens or enjoying the fragrance of the cherry tree, but in their everyday garments—sleeves rolled up—tackling hard life" (1919 12). The novel attracted some interest from American readers, sold well enough to reach a second printing that year and was released again in New York by Knopf in 1923. However, Knopf's prewar experiment with the Japanese novel in English was short-lived.

Alfred Knopf also published two American editions of Chinese poetry translated by Arthur Waley, but later rejected Waley's English translation of the classical work *The Tale of Genji* because he foresaw little popular interest in classics. This rejection remained a sore point with Waley for years, and was perhaps one of Knopf's less profitable business decisions.<sup>20</sup> Waley's *Genji* soon enjoyed a wide readership in several British and American editions, but unlike the novels discussed above, Waley's version, originally published in a series of volumes from 1925 to 1933, took liberties with the original. The work attracted a great deal of attention in England after receiving glowing reviews from Virginia Woolf. The twentieth-century Japanese novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, who embarked on three modern Japanese versions of the work himself, found Waley's version an achievement of literary excellence and inspiring, but of little help to his work on this classic due to the numerous mistranslations.<sup>21</sup> Waley's *Genji* has also long been sold in Japan, and recently was the object of a most curious phenomenon. The first of the six installments was translated back into modern Japanese in an effort to reproduce Waley's stylistics (Samata 2008). Readers of this reverse translation into modern Japanese are promised to experience the English of Waley.

Thereafter, translations were infrequent and promoted an image favored by the authorities. Tsurume Yūsuke's *The Mother* was one such title released stateside in 1932, which lauded the structure of the Japanese family unit. Tsurume, a protégé of the diplomat Nitobe Inazō, lectured widely and had a series of works published at the Columbia University Press. He was purged during the Occupation for his work as a spokesman for the Japanese government.

One of the last translations published in New York was the wartime journal *Wheat and Soldiers* (1941), by Hino Ashihei (1907-1960), translated by Tsurume's niece, Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto (1897-2001), who is best-known by the name Katō Shidzue, the family planning advocate who helped establish the Japan Family Planning Association and served as a member of parliament. Numerous editions of this work based on Hino's war diary and letters to his family during his time at the front lines had appeared in English by Japanese publishers. However, he was purged by the occupation authorities and later took his own life. In the 1930s, Kato wrote two books in English for Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., about her childhood in Japan so it is likely she made the arrangements with the publisher for the English translation of Hino's diary, thus highlighting the active role of the translator in getting a book to press. Other English translations of Hino's books remained in print in Japan as late as 1943, at a time when the use of English was actively discouraged in Japan.

#### 4.1.4 A summary of the Japanese novel in English translation before World War II with special reference to aspects of translation relevant to the study

The trends and practices noted above will be shown to have a direct link to the research questions being examined in this study. In the first decades of Japanese literature in English translation, the following phenomena were in evidence: team translation or instances where translators credit collaborators and informants, an instance of camouflaging such contributions, retranslation, adaptation, explication, partial translation, annotation, omission and a trend toward domestication based on the anticipated audience. Several of the early novels were close renderings of the originals produced by Japanese native language translators and revised by Americans, notwithstanding the long-held belief that translation should proceed into one's first language. The translations were published and distributed overseas in the key publishing cities in the English-speaking world, i.e. Boston, London, and New York, but in larger number in Japan, i.e. Tokyo and Yokohama. An analysis of the bibliographic sources listed above, based on location of publisher, shows that the number of titles that fit the general description of a novel (e.g. novel, novella, classical tale, etc.) published for an English-reading audience from 1851 to 1944 numbered twenty-nine titles published in Japan, seventeen in the United States and the United Kingdom combined, and three published in a magazine simultaneously distributed in Japan and overseas. A clear majority of these forty-nine texts produced ostensibly for an English-reading target culture were published and sold in Japan. In addition, English translations of Haiku and poetry anthologies (e.g. Miyamori 1932; 1936) were also widely published in Japan. Thus, this trend of the source culture hosting an internal target culture was not limited to the prose format.

The Japanese government's promotion of the national literature to an English-reading audience through The Society for International Cultural Relations was also an established practice. In the 1930s, this governmental organization financed the publication in English of a series of volumes intended to inform the outside world of Japan's literature, a subvention with motives beyond the artistic. As Ogawa explains, the Society had been established in part because of the international isolation in the 1930s, and because "Tokyo felt it was necessary to improve its damaged national image" (2008 273). The recognition of their national literature as a world literature was a matter of pride for many Japanese and a sign of standing equal with the other colonial powers.

Over the eighty years from the opening of Japan to the effective shutdown of

international relations, scarcely fifty titles that might fit under the classification of a novel in English translation were published. A majority were published in Japan, where discourse communities in Japan came to understand the English language in the context of translations from Japanese literature. It is certain that the international community in Japan would have accounted for some portion of the sales, particularly for the earlier publications appearing in Yokohama, where this community had been given permission to locate. It is also equally certain that the largest market for English translations was made up of Japanese readers in Japan. A similar finding was reported by Hekkanen in her 2010 study of Finnish literature in English translation, indicating this might be a feature of less translated languages.

After the literary event that was Waley's *Genji*, one of the last translations published before World War II, few translated Japanese novels reached the English-reading public inside or outside Japan as the conflict intensified. Widespread censorship soon became the order of the day. As a result, many simply refused to write, or took to translation, presumably the safer option, while others joined ranks and wrote propaganda. After a detailed investigation Cather reports: "In wartime, members of the Pen Army and the Japanese Patriotic Literary Association (Nihon Bungaku Hōkoko Kai) had at least ostensibly, and sometimes rabidly, supported Japan's war effort" (2012 44). Tyler argues that the modernism movement during the years 1913-1938 has been overlooked as an important era in the development of Japanese literature. "Only as a greater range of primary materials become available in English will it be possible for Japan's modernists to emerge from the closet, so to speak, and let us hear how they thought to express themselves in their *modernist* [italics in original] prose" (2008 14). This is certainly an era that deserves more critical attention, but that Tyler seems to be implying translation into English is a prerequisite for scholarship to advance also suggests that the trends noted above are little changed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As diplomatic relations worsened, expatriates from the Allied nations either left Japan or were jailed. Eventually the war allowed for no such luxury as literary translation. Ironically, it was World War II that was responsible for the Japanese language training in the West that set in motion the reintroduction of the Japanese novel in English translation, and reinvigorated the debates over the trends and practices noted above.

## 4.2 Postwar Discourse on Japanese Literature in English Translation

A number of articles on the topic of translation from Japanese into English since the end of the war have been written, many by individuals associated with Knopf, Inc. For example, Editor-in-Chief Harold Strauss wrote an early piece entitled “Unusual Problems Involved in Translating Japanese Novels,” which appeared in *Publishers Weekly* in 1954 and was aimed at book retailers and wholesalers whom Strauss had hoped would help market these novels. Perhaps the most internationally visible commentary on the translation of Japanese into English appeared in *The Craft of Translation* (1989). It is a reprint of a 1958 article entitled “On Trying to Translate Japanese,” written by American translator Edward Seidensticker, a contributor to the Knopf Program. One year later, Arthur Waley, British translator of Chinese and Japanese classics and poetry, wrote “Notes on Translation,” which appeared in 1959 in an American literary magazine, *The Atlantic*. In 1964, a set of articles appeared in *The Journal-Newsletter of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* entitled “Problems of Translation from Japanese,” written by contributors such as Howard Hibbett of Harvard University, Donald Keene of Columbia University, Edwin McClellan of the University of Chicago and later at Yale University, Ivan Morris of Columbia University, and Edward Seidensticker of Stanford University and later at the University of Michigan and Columbia University. The scholars listed above also contributed to the founding of the American Association of Teachers of Japanese. This transition from a group of scholars to a formal society of academics raised the profile of Japanese studies. Interestingly, all but McClellan had already translated for the Knopf Program.<sup>22</sup> The association published a series of articles in 1964 which emphasizes ‘problems’ and identifies key areas where translators grapple with two languages and cultures so distant. The articles above provide important background reading. Seidensticker’s article, for example, addresses the concept of the general reader and the specialist, and how scrutiny from colleagues on both sides of the oceans may influence a translator’s decisions (1964 21).

The debate of literal versus free translation was also a central focus in these writings on translation.<sup>23</sup> The term “faithful translation” was put forward and proposed as a guiding principle by James Araki in “A Note on Literalism,” an article from the above-mentioned journal issue. Araki, a second-generation Japanese-American, was optimistic: “Fortunately, we now have a crop of established translators whose reputations are not tarnishable. We look to them—the Keenes, the Seidenstickers, and others—to produce faithful translations that

will give readers of English a real taste of what Howard Hibbett once referred to as the ‘Japanese’ quality of Japanese literature” (1964 29). Exactly what was meant by this quality is not explained in any detail.

Araki derives his conception of the faithful translation from Nida’s view of adequacy, and quotes Nida who argues “a good translation should not reveal its nonnative source” (1973 83). The faithful, idiomatic and domesticated translation “should ideally be the equivalent of that of a native Japanese reading the original Japanese text” (78). On the surface, this goal is laudable and benign. Faithfulness and fidelity have since been problematized as gendered rhetoric in translation studies (e.g. Simon 1996; Margala 2009). Feminist translation theorists would now argue for an explicit awareness of any concepts that minimize or devalue women’s contributions in social and literary spheres. These implications will be addressed in the course of this study.

The reemergence of Japanese literature in English translation provided materials for the growing field of Japanese studies at a time when Asian studies were booming.<sup>24</sup> The postwar development of Japanese literary studies in the United States at Harvard University, Columbia University, and the University of Michigan in particular was in large part supported by the appointments of Howard Hibbett, Donald Keene, Ivan Morris, and Edward Seidensticker, all of whom translated for the Knopf Program and held professorships at the universities above, and by Edwin McClellan, who was active at the University of Chicago and Princeton. As this group of scholars coalesced into a recognized academic society, Japanese studies became an entrenched feature of the modern university system.

Worldwide, Japanese studies scholars in this budding discipline were not always on the same page. For example, there was a published debate between the Australian scholar Joyce Ackroyd (1964; 1965) and then-American scholar now Japanese citizen Donald Keene (1964) on the extent to which translations from the Japanese into English should be literal. Ackroyd questioned whether Japanese could actually be translated into English, and Keene took this as an affront to his colleagues. The debate spilled over into responses by both parties in subsequent publications. Nothing was resolved, but both scholars continued to make contributions to the emerging field of Japanese studies. More recent publications have centered on the range of challenges faced in the translation of Japanese into English (e.g. Rimer 1986; Phillippi 1989; Edström 1991). In 2001, *The Japan Times* art critic Donald Richie moderated a roundtable discussion featuring three scholars who had translated at least one novel for Knopf (Howard Hibbett, John Nathan, Edward Seidensticker) and Edwin

McClellan. This forum, which offered four individual views of translation, was then transcribed, edited, and published (Richie 2001). Thus, although there is widespread agreement on the problem areas of Japanese-English translation, this consensus is often overshadowed by the variety of individual approaches to the practice.

Several papers have attempted to link the translation of Japanese into English with the field of translation studies. Edward Fowler wrote a wide-ranging article in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, asks a number of important questions:

How is it that certain authors and certain kinds of literary texts get translated more readily than others? How have the translations now in circulation shaped our perceptions and expectations of Japanese literature, and how well do they coincide with the vast body of literature not available in translation? What is the relationship of translator, publisher, and reader to the text, and to each other? Is the enterprise of translations something that can be managed (through academic or bureaucratic patronage, for example) in a way that either improves the ‘product’ or expands the ‘market’? (1992 2)

Fowler also wonders who is reading these translations. He argues that the early Knopf translations in particular exoticized and aestheticized the Japan of old, neither representing it as the threatening power it had been during the Pacific War, nor the reality of contemporary Japan. As a result, he argues these early translations hindered later efforts at popularizing Japanese fiction. He refers to three Knopf authors in particular—Kawabata, Mishima, and Tanizaki—who “emerged as the reigning triumvirate of modern Japanese fiction,” and apparently were all contenders in the 1960s for a Nobel prize (8). According to the official Nobel Prize web site, the names of nominees are not revealed until fifty years later, so this would have been speculative at the time. Data is available now and will be discussed below. The article raised several questions for the growing community that came to rely on these translations as a basis for academic coursework and scholarly inquiry.

Fowler’s 1992 article provoked a rebuke from Frank Gibney of the Pacific Basin Institute, who was then leading the *The Library of Japan Series*, against what he felt were inaccurate claims concerning the selection of texts to be represented in the series (1993 279-84). The disagreement over textual selection bordered on the acrimonious, as above, on the issue of translatability. Gibney’s objections were followed by a reply from Fowler (1993



285-88), in a subsequent issue of the journal, which shows the subject of text selection was also a sensitive topic among Japanese studies specialists.

Venuti has since extrapolated on Fowler's work suggesting translations catered to a nostalgic image of a lost past and "the canon did not undergo any significant change during the 1970s and 1980s" (73). More recently, Hasegawa summarized the postwar state of Japanese literature in English translation:

The canon created under the cultural authority of corporate publishers and academics translators did not undergo significant changes during the 1970 and 1980s; however, by the end of the 1980s, it was being criticized by a new generation of translators, and new anthologies began to emerge, such as *Monkey Brain Sushi: New Tastes in Japanese Fiction* [1991] edited by Alfred Birnbaum." (2011 22)<sup>25</sup>

Another anthology entitled *New Japanese Voices*, which appeared in 1991, is used as another example of canon reformation by Venuti (74). While the appearance of these works is laudable, such analyses will be investigated with more detailed research.

The differences of opinion on Knopf translations are not limited to literature from Japan. Bogic has researched and presented important materials from the Smith College Archives related to controversy in the translations of the French writer Simone de Beauvoir published at Knopf (2009).<sup>26</sup> Questions raised over the Knopf's editions of Thomas Mann were discussed by the translation studies scholar Hermans (2009), who studies the treatment of German author in translation at this firm. These accounts show due cause to review the epistolary evidence available in the search for answers. Hermans has suggested "trying to figure out why they look the way they do, what factors and conditions account for their production, why they were received as they were, what actual impact they had," among other questions which, "focus less on what translation should have been, could have been, or might have been, than on what it *is*—or better: how it appears to be, how it presents itself to us" (1-6). Hermans, for his part, accepts that not all questions will be answered or answered in the same way. With a more comprehensive set of data, this study will now seek to clarify areas of this obviously heated debate among Japan specialists and others by concentrating on how translated texts were actually selected, the mediation of the texts, and their diffusion.

Other writings about Japanese literature that refer to the currents in translation studies can be found. Much of this writing concerns the traditions that have developed in Asia, and the need to view these contexts and trajectories as distinct from those in Europe and North America. Wakabayashi explores the major themes in Japanese translation historiography (2012), and Wakabayashi and Sato-Rossberg edited a volume on Japanese practices of translation where the articles mainly concern translation into Japanese but also address aspects of literature and video game localization in English (2012). *Translation in Modern Japan* has a focus on theory and practices primarily based on translation into Japanese (Levy 2010). In addition, materials written in Japanese and in English that are critical of literary translations into English, with a primary focus on microtextual analysis, are not uncommon (see e.g. Hōjō 2004, Miller 1986), nor are compilations of errors of works translated into Japanese (Bekku 1993). Hōjō and Bekku's critiques may in part be accounted for by the prescriptive manner of instruction and strong uncertainty avoidance prevalent in the Japanese learning environment (Garant 1997 207).

Other writings focus on translations into English. Jaime Harker challenges the concept of foreignization advanced by Venuti, and offers her own prescriptive middlebrow formula for Japanese literary translations into English after comparing the work of two translators (1999).<sup>27</sup> Tobias compares five English translations of a short story and evaluates the strategies used for translating metaphor, grading the differences and stressing the need to decipher intertextual networks and to maintain them in sub-texts (2009). In 2003, de Gruchy looks at the life of Arthur Waley and argues "that translation is as much an act of creation as original writing and that a translation can and should be read and studied as an original," though with no direct reference to developments in translation studies.

In a 2004 book review of a work on Japanese literature in translation, De Wolf expresses open hostility toward translation theorists:

Like linguists, translation theorists have no shortage of data as grist for their mills, but whereas the former regularly introduce new analyses, new frameworks, a new mumbo jumbo, the latter tend to recycle familiar themes and issues. Above all, there is the age-old question of whether literary translation constitutes genuine linguistic alchemy or is ultimately no more than an illusionist's legerdemain. As the future of such discussion depends, of course, on coming up with no answer, none is ever provided, the trick being to

teeter on the edge of one extreme before drifting back towards the other.  
(2004 78)

De Wolf's dissatisfaction with literary translation discourse echoes the field's general agreement on problem areas; the solutions, however, often seem to be imprecise, overly individualized or dependent on an elusive and subjective sense of style. Emmerich addresses the need to decentralize Eurocentric views and the waves of theory emanating from literary studies: "We should be looking back at the intertwined histories of translation, translations, and discourse about translation *as they pertain to Japanese literary studies*, trying to re-create translation studies anew from within" [Emphasis in original] (2013 402). This work is one of the few that recognizes the development of the academic structures in which Japanese literature in translation has evolved; namely, the conceptual confines of literary studies, comparative literature and Japanese studies.

A disconnect between fiction and nonfiction practitioners, interpreters, and translation scholars is also apparent. Interpreters working between Japanese and English, like their counterparts in technical translation, are said to be mainly native speakers of Japanese, while literary translators tend to work into their native language.<sup>28</sup> People earning their living in work that involves technical translation or interpretation perhaps have little time to keep up with developments in the field of translation studies. A book along the lines of *Can Theory Help Translators* has not appeared with regards to English translations of Japanese literature (Chesterman & Wagner 2001). The scholar Kumiko Torikai notes that the topic has not yet been fully explored: "While literary translation in Japan has always been considered part of literature, the theory of translation has not been fully appreciated or addressed" (2009 46). A handful of scholars have written books in Japanese which address translation.<sup>29</sup> Textbooks, written in English, on this subject (e.g. Refsing 2009; Hasegawa 2011) have recently been published reflecting a need for further understanding of both the theory and the practice of technical and literary translation in the Japanese-English language pair.<sup>30</sup>

According to the Japan Book Publishers Association, "translated publications account for some 8–10 percent of all publications in Japanese. Some 70 percent of titles are translated from English-language works first published in the UK and the USA. Fiction bestsellers from American publishers account for most of these translations" (2012 17). The association further notes that: "In the past, many translations into Japanese were handled as second jobs by authors, journalists, magazine and book editors, and university professors, but with the

establishment of a system for translation royalties and growth in demand for translated works, there has been an increase in the number of professional translators, many of who[m] are women” (17).<sup>31</sup> A royalty system used to compensate translators, modelled on the practice in Japan for translations into Japanese, was also employed in the Knopf translations discussed in this study (Strauss 1953d).

A number of protégés of the early Knopf translators have gone on to have translations published at Knopf and elsewhere. Numerous writings by this generation of translators, many of whom hold, or held, academic posts, discuss the nuts and bolts of their work in forums such as the *Society of Writers, Editors and Translators Newsletter*. As was common to the first postwar generation of translators, these informative accounts address, for example, textual issues through the lens of introspection based on personal experience, fidelity in translation, the role of intermediaries involved in the editing process, and the market for translations. The process today is therefore more transparent, but it also is clear that it remains individualistic in nature.

The postwar wave of Japanese literature in English translation has interesting parallels with its prewar roots. For example, the country was closed off, specialists were few in number, the publishing industry was in new stages of development and a changing geopolitical landscape had emerged. Both periods resemble Crane’s seminal concept of the invisible college phenomenon (1972), which was central to Hermans’ study of the formation of the field of translation studies (2009 10-11). That is to say, in the same manner that translation scholars later coalesced into an academic field after a formative period, the academic societies noted above were partly made up of translators of Japanese active during the pre-Pacific War period. Their efforts in turn supported the development of Japanese Studies and provided textual materials for courses at universities in the postwar era.

As shown above, writings that address both the field of translation studies and Japanese literature in English translation are few in number. Nonetheless, foreign literatures in translation reach a substantial number of students in area studies and cultural studies, and comparative literature in university courses, as well as the broader public. A more flexible approach to this research might well be found in the sociology of translation, which studies the *habitus* of the actors, their interrelations in networks, the role of capital and their efforts at transculturation. The study of the postwar introduction of the Japanese novel to an English-reading audience, including the historical backdrop of the prevalent issues in Japanese literature in English translation during the prior decades, offers a new framework of

analysis for data that has recently come to light. These developments were in part facilitated by the publishing firm of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., and are discussed in the next chapter.

## 5. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART I – THE LAUNCH

American publishing grew dramatically in the twentieth century, and the firm of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. figured prominently. The contributions of this publishing house are noted in nearly every comprehensive history of publishing concerning the United States in the last century, as will be shown below. Their strong tradition of literature in translation is documented by its list of authors, which includes numerous Nobel laureates. Success on this scale is rarely accomplished without controversy, and Alfred Knopf himself was notoriously opinionated and outspoken. More research regarding the firm's relationship to the field of translation studies will surely be forthcoming—research that the publisher himself must have encouraged, or the archives and fellowships for studying these materials would not be available today.

The present dissertation uses a rich set of data to study the inner workings in one literary publishing house, including thirty-four publications, and spans the course of more than two decades, which allows for a careful look at the actors' evolving *habitus* over the flow of time. The focus is on tracing the actions and interactions of people and artifacts in the hope of seeing more clearly the relationships in the process as it developed. The unbinding of the translations under study begins with the deliberations over the perceived suitability of the text. Special attention is given to the selection of texts, the mediation of the texts—including the interplay between editors, translators, and authors—as well as the appearance, the promotion, and the reception of the titles in line with the product, process, function distinction of translation studies.

Hereafter begins the four-chapter study which will follow editor-in-chief Harold Strauss and his early activities, and lead to the two debut titles. Encouraged by this limited success, and because the firm was enjoying continued expansion and could afford riskier ventures, Strauss leveraged his role as editor-in-chief. This resulted in the flurry of titles from 1956 to 1960, which are covered chronologically in Part II. The novels of the 1960s are covered in Part III, which saw more cautious efforts toward expansion. The introduction of two new authors and four new translators saw only marginal success. In Part IV, from 1970 onward, the novels related to the awarding of a Nobel Prize, the suicide of an author and related publications are discussed. The dissertation is structured to follow the translations of the authors individually in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, which offer a better overall focus. The substantive differences between these periods will become more apparent as the

study proceeds. This wide time frame will also allow for a fuller investigation of the dispositions of the individuals involved, as well as the ability to trace the nature of the networks, which developed over this time period, and explore how capital, in the sense Bourdieu proposes, was affirmed and denied through these cultural products. In order to understand the environment in which these translations were produced, an introduction to the firm and its editor-in-chief is provided below.

### **5.1 The House of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.**

Alfred A. Knopf (1892–1984) graduated from Columbia University in 1912 and intended to pursue a career in law. He wrote to the British author John Galsworthy in the course of working on an essay for a literature course, and later in Europe that year he met with Galsworthy, further developed his interest in literature, and then set his sights on the publishing industry. He found a job at the publisher Doubleday, Page & Company when back in New York to learn the trade and worked on the promotion of Joseph Conrad's *Chance*. He became acquainted with Conrad, and their correspondence is now preserved in the Knopf archives. Knopf then worked for Mitchell Kennerly, as an assistant, but was discharged when it came to light that he intended to branch out on his own with one of Kennerly's prospective writers. With his savings and a loan from his father, he founded his own press in 1915 with the encouragement of his fiancée Blanche Wolf (1894-1966), who in later years served as company president. In 1916 they married, and together they built one of twentieth-century America's leading publishing houses, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Knopf sought to publish literature in translation from the outset as a way to distinguish his firm from others: "We decided to specialize in this area: this would serve to give us some sort of a distinctive cachet; we wouldn't seem like another small publisher" (Henderson 1995 4). Alfred and Blanche Knopf would develop and refine this approach to the literatures of countries in Europe and Latin America. John Tebbel described the workings of the Knopf house in his history of American publishing:

In 1921, on one of the famous trips abroad to Europe and South America that always seem to result in more distinguished names added to the list that always seem to result in more distinguished names added to the list, Knopf had made a connection with the Danish publishing firm of Gyldendal, which

led to the publication of Knut Hamsun's *Growth of the Soil* and to the appearance in Scandinavian editions of Knopf's American authors: Willa Carther, Joseph Hergesheimer, Floyd Dell, and others. The house entered the college textbook field in 1922, led by the historian Charles Beard. However, it was their trade list and the production of the books by the best typographers and designers that made the name of Knopf a standard for excellence in publishing. (1978 114)

In addition to the emphasis on quality in craftsmanship, importing new talent in translation was a mainstay of their business, as was exporting writers in editions published overseas. Non-fiction works also appear in great numbers, as do biographies and works by Pulitzer prizewinners, which testify to the breadth of the firm in American publishing. The presentation of each title, from typesetting to binding to artwork, is attended to with great detail. For most of his publishing life, Alfred Knopf published books only in hardcover. The colophon of a Russian wolfhound is the trademark of a Knopf publication.

Blanche Knopf was named Chevalier in the Brazilian National Order of the Southern Cross for her role in promoting a better knowledge of Brazilian culture in the United States. In her research on Latin American literature in English translation, the translator Margaret Sayers Peden concludes "much of Knopf Publishing's contribution to Latin American literature can be ascribed to Blanche Knopf," and that the contribution of Blanche Knopf points to "the largely invisible, but truly powerful, role of a dedicated editor in shaping a publisher's list" (1996 28-29). The salience of this is borne out by the decrease in these titles after her death.<sup>32</sup>

Alfred and Blanche Knopf cultivated personal relationships with their writers, particularly those that they brought to the reading public in English translation. Knopf, Inc. has published twenty-one Nobel laureates to date, fifteen of them in English translation, according to the Ransom Center site. The appearance of these translations raised the awareness of these writers to readerships worldwide in English, and certainly played a role in facilitating prize winning, which naturally spurred on sales. The Knopfs were on intimate terms with their American, Brazilian, British, Chilean, Cuban, French, German, Russian and Spanish authors, and more were added to their growing list over the decades. Authors befriended by the Knopfs include Isabel Allende, Jorge Amado, Leonid Andreyev, Pio Baroja, Albert Camus, Alejo Carpentier, Raymond Carver, T.S. Elliot, E.M. Forster, Khalil Gibran,



Langston Hughes, Franz Kafka, D. H. Lawrence, Thomas Mann, H.L. Mencken, Jean-Paul Sartre and John Updike, all of whom have been published under the Knopf imprint. Alfred and Blanche Knopf have passed on, but their corporate namesake, now part of the Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, is still actively publishing world literatures in English translation.

#### 5.1.1 Editor-in-chief Harold Strauss

The organization and management of the Knopf Program of Japanese literature in English translation was under the aegis of Harold Strauss (1907-1975), who sought to emulate the Knopfs' success with other world literatures. However, the role the Knopfs personally played in this Program was minimal, by choice. Strauss joined Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. in 1939, and served as an associate editor, and rose to editor-in-chief at Knopf in 1942. Much of the focus on actors and their *habitus* in translation studies focuses on translators. The role of the editor is also taken up for analysis in this study as Strauss acted as the catalyst that drove the project forward. A Harvard graduate in 1928, he started his career in the publishing house of Alfred H. King, Inc., where he translated *Fashions in Marriage* from the French novel of Claude Farrère, and then moved on to the firm of Covici-Friede, which specialized in the production of high-end limited edition books. Strauss was promoted from production manager to editor-in-chief at Covici-Friede, in part because he argued strongly against the decision to reject John Steinbeck's *In Dubious Battle*, which turned out to be a profitable title. Pascal Covici (1888-1964) and Donald Friede (1901-65) both became legends in the publishing industry, but the Covici-Friede company was unable to survive the Depression and went out of business in 1937. In 1938, Strauss became director of the New York City Federal Writers Project. From 1942 to 1966, he was editor-in-chief at Knopf and continued as a consulting editor and director until his retirement in 1974. Strauss presided over the more successful decades of the firm, which at the time of the launch of this Japanese program numbered eleven Nobel laureates. He was the editor of Jacquetta Hawkes and of John Hersey, who notably became a bestseller in Japan after the war with his books *Hiroshima* and *A Bell for Adano*. Hersey's works were licensed for use as textbooks in Japanese universities, and were among the first publications allowed during the Occupation.

Soon after Strauss joined Knopf, military service called and altered the future course of his life. With the war raging and the publishing industry at a standstill, Strauss enlisted in

the armed services in 1943. He had fully expected to be stationed in Europe because of his language aptitude. For reasons unknown, he was assigned to the study of Japanese in the Army Language School at Northwestern University and then spent ten months in Japan, from December 1945 to September 1946, serving the Allied Occupation as a publication monitor based in Kyoto. His duty was to report on the trends and contents of the print media. This experience on the ground contributed further to his ability to speak and read Japanese.

He described to Fred Warburg, of the publishing firm Secker and Warburg that published Knopf translations in the United Kingdom, how this period of his life formed the basis of his interest in modern Japanese literature:

In 1943 I was an Air Force lieutenant assigned to excruciatingly dull publicity duties. When a routine bulletin inviting applications for military government service was posted, I applied, thinking that my moderate knowledge of French and German, and shaky knowledge of Spanish and Italian would eventually take me to Europe. ... I was informed that the European quota had been filled, and that I would be shipped to Northwestern University in Chicago to learn Japanese. I was 35 at the time, and the whole thing seemed like a great waste to me. I could not have been more wrong. ... two divisions were established, one to scan and summarize newspaper editorials, and the other to scan and summarize magazines and books. I was in charge of the latter, and through this I came to not only know a good many Japanese writers and publishers, but to realize that a contemporary literature of considerable importance existed in Japan at the time. (Strauss 1972a)<sup>33</sup>

The quirk of fate sent Strauss to Japan and provided an opportunity to emulate the success the Knopfs had with European literature. Strauss had previously entertained the idea of being a writer himself. In an affectionate letter to Alfred Knopf on the occasion of his 60th birthday, Strauss explained the resolve behind this career decision:

I think I told you that ever since I came back from Europe in December, 1929, knowing that I would rather be in publishing than write, my mind was made up that I wanted to work for you, although I had sense enough to learn the business at someone else's expense. This decision was rooted in a simple and

self-evident proposition: that any editor, no matter what his talents, would be a far better and more effective editor with your prestige behind him. (Strauss 1952a)

Strauss was fully cognizant of the symbolic capital that Alfred Knopf had accumulated, and he looked to Alfred Knopf as a mentor. As Strauss was approaching the peak of his career, Knopf, Inc. entered its fourth decade and was still growing in stature. If Strauss had been a junior editor at a less profitable firm, it is unlikely that he would have been able to marshal the capital to develop a sustained program of Japanese literature in English translation in the 1950s and carry it forward for more than two decades.

### 5.1.2 Strauss' early activities and contacts

After he returned from military service in Japan to Knopf and resumed his post as editor-in-chief, in the autumn of 1946, Strauss began writing reviews again for the *New York Times*, positioning himself as an authoritative commentator on the arts and literature of Japan. One of his first pieces, entitled “Japan, the Tradition and Reality,” was an unflattering review of Ruth Benedict’s *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), which he found out of touch with what he had observed in Japan. Benedict had based her observations on Japanese living outside Japan, and for Strauss such anthropological assessments were dated. While he actively wrote reviews, he actively solicited reports and advice on Japanese novels that might be suitable for an American audience.

One of his earliest contacts was Yokokawa Nobuyoshi, an editor of *Mainichi Shinbun*, a newspaper of long-standing capital in Japan. Strauss wrote to him in 1948, asking whether he would write a critical appraisal of *Shayō* by Osamu Dazai with regard to literary merit, appeal and comprehensibility to American readers, and the nature of the story. Strauss was informed by Yokokawa that it was the writer’s suicide that made his works sell best. Comments from others had convinced him not to publish the book. However, he did like the report: “I particularly like what you say about the writing—that ‘it is sort of static and does not contain much movement—call it moody, if you will.’ This weakness often occurs in Japanese writing, and I do not think that a Japanese novel which is static and moody would be very successful here” (Strauss 1948). In hindsight, he could not have been less prophetic. The novel referred to above as *Shayō* by Osamu Dazai was put out by another New York

publisher, New Directions, under the title *The Setting Sun* in translation by Donald Keene in 1956 and is still in print.<sup>34</sup>

Yokokawa also told Strauss about a book by Ōoka Shōhei, which he rendered as *An Account of a War Prisoner*. He found the psychological description of the feelings as a soldier in the Philippines altogether readable but wondered if Americans were tired of works centered on war. Strauss encouraged him to send a summary, and wrote that it was not safe to generalize about the subject matter of novels, and that, “the psychological reactions of a Japanese soldier in the Philippines would offer a distinctly fresh point of view” (Strauss 1949). Several years later a war novel by this author (*Fires on the Plain* 1957) was published in the Program. They also discussed the popularity of a work by Tanazaki Jun’ichirō in correspondence: “I have obtained very good advice on it, and have finally decided that American readers will most likely be unable to understand it sufficiently well to make it worthwhile publishing here” (Strauss 1951a). Where the advice came from is not clear, but concerns over the dialect used in the *Sasame Yuki* and its length were mentioned in the letter above. In the formative stages of the Program, the perceived challenge the work presented in translation was a factor in the selection process. Information started to flow, but Strauss was evaluating works based on the opinions of others, some of which in retrospect would be considered off the mark.

Strauss was surprised to learn that another publishing house in the United States had got the jump on him. His wife had attended college with Mishima Sumie Seo, no relation to the author Mishima Yukio who later found success under that family name. Strauss wrote her directly:

My wife, Mildred Bernstein, was in your class at Wellesley. She was leafing through the class anniversary volume recently published, and noticed you are writing a book about postwar life in Japan. Now it only happens that I am an editor always on the lookout for interesting new books to publish, but I also am tremendously interested in Japan. During the war I was given two years of language instruction by the Army, and then I spent ten extraordinary months from 1945 to 1946 in Japan. As you can well imagine, I have a very special interest in a book such as you are writing. (Strauss 1950a)

Mrs. Mishima replied she had arranged to show her manuscript first to the publisher John Day, which was eventually published there in 1953. She also wrote that she was not permitted to send manuscripts directly to the United States at the time, to which Strauss responded he could perhaps be of help with his friends at Supreme Command of Allied Powers (SCAP). Japan was still occupied by the Allied Powers that exercised control over publications, a division Strauss worked in and stayed in contact with after he returned to New York. In closing his follow-up letter Strauss added a post script: “By the way, since I have hoped for some time to be able to bring a few of the very best Japanese novels to the American public in translation, I would be most interested in hearing your opinion regarding the possibilities of this in general and regarding any particular novels which you think may be worth translating” (Strauss 1950b). Strauss was quick to solicit advice from this chance encounter, but no further record of correspondence was found with this author.

Strauss continued to look for leads wherever he might find them. He wrote friends of friends in search of people who might be able to help him, as in this letter to Komatsu Fumiko:

You may know that this house has a long tradition of translating the best of foreign literature and bringing it to the American public. Because I am personally deeply interested in Japan, I have long regretted that Japanese literature was not represented on our list. I myself read Japanese very poorly, too poorly to make editorial decisions regarding the selection of Japanese novels myself. Therefore I have been looking around for people who know Japanese literature well, and who at the same time may have some understanding of American tastes and interests. Miss Margaret Anderson, who is a good friend of Mine Okubo, has given me your name and address.” (Strauss 1953b)

No further records are found, but they surely remained in close contact. Fumi Komatsu later designed the artwork for several of the dustjackets of the novels in the Program.<sup>35</sup> In the letter above dated 1953, he evaluated his ability to read Japanese as not up a level to make editorial decisions so it is possible Komatsu also helped Strauss with his reading of Japanese in the years that followed. Strauss had unnamed Japanese tutors come to his office. Given

that no other Knopf employees who read Japanese are ever mentioned, it appears that Strauss had to rely on the recommendations of acquaintances at this stage of the Program.

Strauss found himself isolated from modern-day Japan in the early 1950s after six years back in New York. He knew that personal contacts were important so he arranged to spend seven weeks in Japan in October and November of 1952, in an effort to reestablish contact with the writing scene. This is reminiscent of the tours through Europe and South America taken by Alfred and Blanche Knopf to scout talent, as well as evidence of the pull Strauss had with the firm. Being on the ground in Japan was essential to maintain human relations, but international travel was time-consuming and costly at the time. Strauss reported the plane trip to Tokyo from New York via Anchorage took forty-five hours. Yet in order to maintain the social capital, as an insider to all things Japanese amongst his peers and in the leading magazines, such travel was essential. Strauss' activities were not limited to meetings with writers and translators, as he also made inroads with the well-financed cultural projects then underway intended to ease Japan back into the family of nations. He wrote a progress report from Tokyo to Alfred Knopf:

The biggest news of all, as far as publishing is concerned, is that I have definitely arranged for a very substantial amount of Rockefeller money (John D., III) to be made available to finance translations from Japanese into English, beginning in March, 1953. The translations will be experimental, and will be submitted to American publishers (chiefly us, of course). If we accept them and the book, we shall pay nothing for the translation until sales of the book reach a certain figure yet to be set, but above our break-even point. This is being done through Shigeharu Matsumoto, a most important man in Japan, and the managing director of International House, an organization already set up for just such projects (cultural interchange) with Rockefeller and other money. (Strauss 1952a)

Matsumoto Shigeharu studied at Yale and in Europe during the 1920s. He first became acquainted with John D. Rockefeller III at the 1929 conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Kyoto, according to Kamai (2012 42), Matsumoto's biographer. Nitobe Inazō led the Japanese delegation. Matsumoto was a journalist based in China during the war, and like

Nitobe's protégé Tsurumi Yūsuke was purged during the Occupation. When it became clear to the SCAP authorities that Matsumoto worked to diffuse tensions in China, he was allowed to return to public life, but not as a journalist. He worked to establish the International House of Japan in 1952. However, the plan Strauss refers to above did not materialize as the organization did not take form until some years later.<sup>36</sup> A number of Knopf titles were later translated with the assistance of the UNESCO Series of Contemporary Works, which carried the promise to purchase 200 copies. This is most likely the eventual form the initiative took, as it is widely known that Rockefeller backing was behind the establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations—the six-block area of the present headquarters of the United Nations in Manhattan was a gift from the Rockefeller family in March of 1947. In addition, the Ford Foundation in part funded work that led to the first novel by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō in English translation published at Knopf through a grant to Edward Seidensticker, as was a grant to Donald Keene which resulted in the translation of a work by Mishima Yukio at Knopf. The patronage for these translations was in part provided to facilitate bringing Japan back into the family of nations. However, this was happening near the time of the Korean War and during the Cold War, and thus interchange of a cultural nature should not be overstated. The primary bond between Japan and the United States was based on strategic military bases in exchange for a promise to protect the country.

Strauss also learned of something he thought important enough to write William Koshland, Knopf, Inc.'s business manager: "Tuttle's business is booming. He sells fantastic quantities of books in English printed here" (Strauss 1952b). He is referring to Charles Tuttle, whose firm based in Tokyo would later buy the subsidiary rights for the sale of all the Knopf translations in this Program in Japan, and publish a number of translations passed on at Knopf. The market for English books in Japan was a third region for subsidiary rights, after hardcover sales had lapsed at Knopf in the United States and at Secker & Warburg in the United Kingdom. As a result, this extended trip to Japan added much to Strauss' evolving *habitus* and added an air of confidence to his disposition in regards to the Program he had tentatively mapped out in the preceding years.

Upon return from his trip Strauss began to follow up on the leads he had uncovered in Japan. In one exchange with Earl Miner, who suggested a team translation of poetry, Strauss explained his philosophy of translation from the Japanese language emphasizing that "the key to the thing is that, in bringing works of literature from the Orient, not only translation is needed, but transculturation. What I am saying is that the material almost has to

be recreated, and this is the work of an artist” (Strauss 1951b). Transculturation, as noted above, is a concept originated by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, whose work *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* was published in English translation at Knopf in 1947. Here we have the first glimpse of the translation process as Strauss envisions it; beyond the act of translation, a text is made anew by the hand of the artist. The implication is that one person, the translator an artist, is responsible for this transformation of a text. The process is more complex than Strauss lets on, or perhaps was ready to acknowledge at this early stage. In Ortiz’ larger sense the work will have a role in transforming a society. The idea of altering a work in translation for readers in the West echoed clearly in later important works in the field of translation studies. The centrality of these issues was explored respectively by a number of scholars working in such frameworks as the manipulation of literature (Hermans 1985), translation as rewriting (Lefevere 1992), literature prepared for target cultures (Toury 1995), and foreignization and domestication in translation (Venuti 1995).

Strauss’ growing dispositions with regards to his plans and his continued efforts at network formation are evident in a letter to one influential contact, Howard Hibbett, who was then at the Department of Oriental Languages, University of California at Los Angeles and now at Harvard, which summarized the mindset in which Strauss would proceed:

You may know that this house specializes in bringing the best of foreign literature to America, and since I have been long interested in Japan, it has troubled me that Japan has not been represented on our list. ... I am strongly convinced that an American audience will expect a Japanese novel to be characteristically Japanese in flavor or atmosphere. A piece of damn foolishness that I heard all too often in Japan was advice that I should select novels that the American public would be sure to understand. By this of course they meant the least characteristic novels, and they were taking the common but objectionably hermetic view of Japanese culture that you have probably come across as often as I, to the effect that ‘foreigners can’t understand us anyhow.’ Mind you, I admire the Japanese very much, but not this characteristic. The essential problem of the poetic, atmospheric Japanese novel is how to secure a good enough translation. These novels rest upon their style in large measure for their effect, so



that the style of the English translation must in itself be something of a work of art. At this point in my investigations I stopped worrying about the novels themselves, and set out to find a translator equal to this challenge. (Strauss 1952c)

The crucial role of the translator in this language pair made it quite a different matter than literature translated from European languages. Hibbett provided the address of Edward Seidensticker, and arranged for Brewster Horwitz to submit a sample to Strauss of Osaragi Jirō's novel *Kikyō* (1949), later the novel published at Knopf as *Homecoming* (1955). *Tade Kuu Mushi* (1929) was one of the titles that was also mentioned as worthy of translation. It was published at Knopf in 1955 as *Some Prefer Nettles*. Hibbett did not translate a novel for the program until many years later, but Strauss looked to him for advice in the interim and thereafter. These developments from Strauss' 1952 trip to Japan had much to do with the first two novels chosen for publication, and the new advisors and potential translators were soon leveraged into social capital and called upon for publicity material as Strauss set out to emulate Alfred and Blanche Knopf's success with English translations of European literature.

## 5.2 Strauss' Pre-Launch Promotional Articles

Strauss' strategy to cultivate a market in the United States for Japanese novels is well represented in his 1953 account of his travels aimed at the general reading public and entitled "Editor in Japan." He wrote about his time in Japan visiting writers in several localities in his article published in *The Atlantic*. This literary monthly was a likely choice as Knopf, Inc. was a long-time advertiser in the magazine, whose publisher Edward Weeks was a close friend of Alfred Knopf. The lead copy for the article identifies Strauss as an editor that had written many articles about Japan in the hope of directing more attention to the rich literature and art of that country. Throughout the article Strauss emphasized that the literary scene in Japan was growing, and that the characteristic nature of true Japanese literature could, through proper appreciation, be understood by Western readers. Slowly but surely, excerpts of Japanese fiction and poetry in translation began to appear more frequently in journals and magazines.

With the symbolic capital accorded to the editor-in-chief of a major literary publishing house, Strauss also had access to mainstream monthly literary magazines (*The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic*, *Mademoiselle*), a semi-annual literary anthology (*New World*

*Writing*), and a weekly trade paper (*Publishers Weekly*), which he used to promote interest in Japan and its literature. Capitalizing on this momentum, he also wrote about the film industry and topics of current interest in *The New York Times* and *The Reporter*. He addressed readers of different backgrounds in varying approaches with the pieces he arranged to have published, composed mainly of those he had written himself, and translation excerpts from novels that would later be published at Knopf. Strauss had the symbolic and social capital to get these pieces in literary periodicals and newspapers, which he used to convey his expertise of life in postwar Japan, as well as his literary sensibilities, to a wide-ranging audience.

In a 1954 *Publishers Weekly* article, a publication for bookshop retailers and wholesalers, Strauss took up the practical barriers of bringing Japanese literature to the English-reading public. He based the article on the textual obstacles inherent in such translations and concluded the article with a section called “A Hunt for Translators,” recalling his four-year search for a translator equal to the challenge. *Homecoming* was translated by Brewster Horwitz, who had studied Japanese in an Army language training school and went on to earn an M. A. in classical and Oriental linguistics from New York University. Strauss first met Horwitz when he stamped his passport at the Japanese consulate in New York, where Horwitz worked, but only later contacted him about translating after Howard Hibbett’s introduction. As noted above, through Hibbett came the introduction of Edward G. Seidensticker, a former State Department official then in Japan on a Ford Foundation fellowship. Strauss offered his thanks for assistance in locating translators to the Japan Society of New York and the Japanese PEN Club as well as a number of influential individuals, chief among them Columbia University’s Hugh Borton, Harvard University’s Edwin O. Reischauer, former British diplomat and Japanese historian Sir George Sansom of Stanford University, the authors Pearl Buck and James Michener, and Frank Gibney of *Newsweek*. Associations with this array of academics, writers and journalists carried no small amount of academic, social and symbolic capital. Many of these individuals wrote favorable reviews for one or both of the titles that launched the Program in 1955 and some remained for years in the network of supporters who contributed epitextual matter in the form of reviews or promotional blurbs.

Strauss ended his 1954 article with the two-pronged persuasive appeal quoted below. First, assistance from the various actors mentioned was tied to the important task of bringing Japan back into the family of nations. The second intimates that bringing the Japanese novel into the family of world literature may spark new life into lagging book sales at home in the

United States. Both would be advantageous to the audience of publishers and book sellers, and as such a justification for his developing Program:

I can only credit this inestimable help to our new relationship with Japan, with which we shall be associated in military, political, and economic matters for a long time to come. All the people who have given me such unstinting help seem to feel that in such a close association in practical affairs we cannot afford to remain ignorant of the true feelings and inner emotional life of the Japanese. And for the novel, for all its present troubles, has yet to be supplanted as by far the best means of communicating feelings. So many people have helped make these translations as perfect as possible only in order that they shall be true mirrors of Japanese sensibilities. And it is just possible that the fresh and original flavor of these novels may help cure some of the troubles we are having with fiction.” (Strauss 1954)

Japanese literature in translation, Strauss argues, is sensible given the growing ties between the countries, and was an opportunity sense for book sellers. He was also of the opinion that the novel as an art form had entered into a period of stagnation and that perhaps his plan for bringing the Japanese novel in English translation might invigorate the art and the sales of novels in general; a situation not unlike Even-Zohar (1990 47) would elaborate in his Polysystems theory when he hypothesizes a weakness or lull in a literary system makes it more likely to look to foreign literatures for innovations.

Strauss, editor-in-chief of a leading publishing house, exercised his symbolic capital in the publishing world to reach both those involved in the wholesale and retail book industry, as well as a wide-ranging audience of general readers. At the same time, he used social capital to arrange advance publicity with readers, bookshop owners, industry professionals, writers and diplomats for the launch of the Program. The manner in which he was able to leverage this publicity through social capital, expand his network of interested professionals, writers and academics and use this capital to market the translations is explored in the next section of the study.

### 5.3 The Debut Titles

For the build-up to the publication of the two novels in the pipeline, an excerpt of *Homecoming* by Osaragi Jirō was placed in the October 1954 edition of *New World Writing*. It was attributed to translator Brewster Horwitz under the title, “The Garden of Groves and Ponds.” Strauss later claimed to have translated a chapter himself, making *Homecoming* a form of team translation between Horwitz and himself, and the first of the camouflaged collaborations in this Program to be uncovered in the archives.<sup>37</sup> A section of the second title published as *Some Prefer Nettles*, by Tanizaki Jun-ichirō, came out in April 1955 in the magazine *Mademoiselle*, but the translation was not credited to Seidensticker. He was credited for his translations in the January 1955 special issue published in *The Atlantic*. This seventy-eight page supplement entitled “Perspective of Japan” featured essays and translations by other soon-to-be Knopf translators. A page-length sidebar advertisement for the novel *Homecoming* also appeared in this special issue. In the following sections, the preparation and presentation of the debut titles is investigated.

#### 5.3.1 *Homecoming* (1955), *Kikyō* (1949)

The Knopf Program of Japanese literature in English translation was officially launched with the publication of *Homecoming* on January 17, 1955. The first quarter of the novel is set in Malacca and Singapore, where a Japanese naval officer is exiled over an embezzlement scandal. He is arrested and tortured at the hands of the occupying Japanese forces. At the end of the war, he is repatriated to Japan and meets his daughter after many years. The plot takes up the life of this former imperial military officer, who spent years overseas, reacquainting himself with Japan after the war in the settings of Kyoto, and with other scenes in Tokyo and Kobe of the day, eventually reestablishing contact with the young lady that his daughter has since become. The population in the country at the time the book was originally published was just over 80 million,<sup>38</sup> and with an estimated three million expatriated POWs such a character was not particularly rare at the time.<sup>39</sup> The novel was serialized in the *Mainichi Newspaper* in 1948 before its publication in 1949. Osaragi received The Japan Art Academy award for the novel. A film was later made in 1950.

The debut of *Homecoming* would have been awkward for the 1954 winter holiday season because of the unfortunate suicide of its translator Brewster Horwitz soon after

completing his translation in the spring of 1954. The copyright page shows 1954, and Strauss' introduction is dated September 1954. Strauss had arranged for the October 1954 excerpt in *New World Writing* and was aware of the supplement about Japan in *The Atlantic* coming in January. These circumstances, along with *Some Prefer Nettles* approaching completion, are the likely reasons for a delay of its release to January of 1955.

Strauss had put much stock in Horwitz as a key component of the Knopf Program, and as one of his earliest advisers Horwitz wrote reports on novels. Their correspondence also indicates that Horwitz read French fluently and that later some French works he had suggested to Strauss were published in translation at Knopf. However, they were not always in agreement on the merits of Japanese writers. After a string of letters about a novel by Ōoka Shōhei which Horwitz had proposed for translation, Strauss responded that “you are quite wrong in suggesting that I’m looking for the exotic in Japanese literature. I’m looking for the Japanese qualities in Japanese literature—quite a different matter” (Strauss 1953c). What exactly these qualities are is never made clear. As noted above, Strauss himself referred to his own reading ability as poor at the time. However, Horwitz’s abilities are described unambiguously. In both the *Publishers Weekly* article and the introduction to *Homecoming*, Strauss appraises his talent as “the kind of translation genius that appears only a few times in a generation” (Strauss 1954). Yet based on the peritext and reviews of the novels in the decades that followed, Strauss found that rare genius repeatedly in the next twenty years.

The choice of *Homecoming* was based on its topicality as a novel in postwar Japan, in part based on the personal friendship that had developed years earlier between Strauss and Osaragi, and on Osaragi’s being a best-selling author in Japan. They met while Strauss was an officer stationed in Kyoto after the war in 1946, and again on his subsequent trip to Japan in 1952. It is possible they discussed the plot of this novel before it was written when Strauss was stationed in Kyoto, though no evidence was found to support this in either the Knopf or the Osaragi archives. In Strauss’ introduction to the *Homecoming*, he quotes the author: “Osaragi himself had a moment of doubt about being read in English. ‘As I wrote this novel in the disordered time after the war, I am uneasy as to how it will be received by European and American readers. I think it lays bare the inner feelings of the Japanese’” (Strauss 1954 x). The book does not present a sanitized version of Japan, nor is it an example of self-confessional literature. The scenes of Kyoto were charming to readers in Japan and to those overseas, as the dark settings of war-torn Kobe and Tokyo. The exotic scenes noted in the peritext would apply equally to Malacca and Singapore where the novel begins. The dust

jacket is largely textual in appearance and includes quotes from James Michener and Edwin Reischauer among others.

For the translation of *Homecoming*, Horwitz received US\$10.00 per one thousand words for a total of US\$1,000.00, the standard formula based on the target text word count as with translations of European literature. Strauss himself handled the contract with the author. Additionally, as Osaragi was then actively writing, the contract carried an option for exclusive rights in the English language for his next three yet unwritten novels. This provision was a mainstay of the Knopf firm for authors of all nationalities. This can be interpreted as a willingness to stick with an author, but there was no obligation on the part of the publishing house to take up the option.

The translation process used for *Homecoming* is not entirely clear. There is little correspondence with Horwitz overall, perhaps because both translator and editor were in New York. Horwitz died soon after he finished his draft in 1954. Strauss' role in the process included the cuts mentioned below, the final editing and the translation of chapter thirteen noted above. In a letter to Yamata Kikō, Strauss explains some of the strategies employed in the translation of *Homecoming*, which shows the involvement of the author on points of clarification, and that cuts were made.

The American reviews have been very good, frequently complimenting the translation. If you examine the translation carefully, you will find that there are a very few small cuts of sententious moralizing to which the Japanese are very prone. There are also a few small points that were clarified by Mr. Osaragi himself after we pointed out that they were actually unclear in the Japanese original. But otherwise I think you will find it a fairly faithful translation. (Strauss 1955b)

The reviews Strauss referred to are likely the ones he engineered using his social capital when he prevailed upon the academics and the writers mentioned above to support this title. These reviews may have given him more confidence in the style of editing he chose. Unfortunately, the points of clarification are not in evidence. The 'faithful' translations of landmarks in Kyoto are numerous, e.g. Kiyomizu Temple in the original (206) is rendered as Clear Water Shrine (310) in the translation, while Kinkakuji is rendered as Golden Tower Shrine (223/316), although both are temples. Other temples such as Ryōanji rendered as

Temple of Dragon's Peace also appear (208/310); some of the landmarks were reworked in later translations. This initially may have been done to avoid repetition of the word temple in the English sentence. Repetition is a practice that is criticized within the firm throughout the Program. Dialect was handled with expressions which described the manner of speech, as had been done in the original underlined below. It is important to be mindful that the Japanese readers themselves may have never had the opportunity to travel and experience firsthand the national treasures described in the novel. Explication of social convention was added to the translation as underlined below.

格子先から声をかけると、女将らしい中年の女が出て来て、「おこしや  
す。」と、柔らかい京言葉で迎えて「へえ、守屋さんどしたら、今さき、  
そこらへんへ、お行きやしたんどすけど。」(330)

“She called out from in front of the lattice, *as custom requires*, and a middle-aged woman who seemed to be the landlady came out and greeted her in the soft, mellow accents of Kyoto. ‘So you want to see Mr. Moriya. It’s a pity, but he left here just a short while ago.’” (223)

As noted, Strauss later wrote he had ‘translated’ a chapter himself (Strauss 1957i), when *The Journey* (1960) was underway. In the correspondence above and below, Strauss estimates his ability was not sufficient at the time. He states that he read regularly with a native assistant, so this may help to explain how the process to transculturate this work was a team effort. Such consultation is a practice carried over from the earliest translations, but the clarifications with a living author here is noteworthy. Strauss’ role in the translation process and that of his native assistant were camouflaged, but of a different variety from the team translations noted above.

Strauss was able to exercise his social capital in literary circles to garner publicity for use in the peritext, as quotations from published reviews were excerpted on the dust jacket. The appearance of the book and the January 1955 special issue of *The Atlantic* were closely coordinated. The novel also caught the attention of a reviewer in Japan. Uramatsu Samitaro wrote a complimentary review in the *Japan Quarterly*, a new English-language publication sponsored by the Asahi Press, a division of a leading newspaper. Uramatsu praises the translation in general but points out that the identity of the speaker is at times reversed in

translation and that a man is mistaken as a woman. Errors such as *kutsushita* as “shoe sole” instead of socks, or *yakan*, a kettle, rendered as “medicine bottle” were the result of literal translations. He also notes the premature death of Horwitz as a genuine loss (1955 531). Interest in these translations began in Japan with the first title of the Program.

Strauss had hoped to publish a trilogy of novels set in postwar Japan by Osaragi and although the first novel sold well, a translator interested in Osaragi’s work was hard to come by. He asked Seidensticker to read two of his novels and make reports: “Where things have gone at all well, as they have with Osaragi’s first novel, we feel we should try to stick with their authors if it is reasonably possible,” and he noted that “Osaragi is not averse to rewriting the novel a little” (Strauss 1955a). However, Seidensticker showed no interest in translating Osaragi. It took five years before another of Osaragi’s novels appeared in translation.

*Homecoming* went on to sell 12,000 copies in three hardcover printings and was one of the more successful titles in this Program. It was published in hardcover by Secker & Warburg for sale in the UK in 1955 and in paperback by Charles E. Tuttle in Japan in 1955 for sale in Japan. Trade paperback editions of the Knopf translation of *Homecoming* are still in print, as is the Tuttle edition for sale in Japan. Despite the financial success of this first novel, Strauss’ best efforts at network formation and his exercise of social and symbolic capital, the perceived value of translating Osaragi did not attract the interest of the translators presently in Strauss’ network. The sales of a novel and translator preferences as factors in text selection will be investigated further in the literary contact nebulae formed in the Program.

### 5.3.2 *Some Prefer Nettles* (1955), *Tade Kū Mushi* (1929)

The second of the 1955 debut novels examines a couple drifting apart and the patriarch’s attempts to lure them back together, playing on his son-in-law’s interest in his own mistress, with the backdrop of the Bunraku puppet theatre as metaphor to his machinations. Divorce was next to unthinkable in the 1920s in Japan, a practice that was seemingly an influence from contact with the Western world. The protagonist has lost interest in his wife and taken a Eurasian mistress for hire, while his wife is in a relationship with another man. It was written while the author Tanizaki himself was going through a divorce.

The translator, Edward Seidensticker, was assigned to the study of Japanese during the war in 1942 and later served in the diplomatic corps. He began working on translations as part of his scholarly activity related to his Ford Foundation fellowship after the war. In 1952,



he finished a translation of the diary of a tenth-century noblewoman, which he titled *The Gossamer Years*. That did not interest Strauss, who at this stage of the Program had ruled out translations of the classics. Seidensticker thought this work of Tanizaki's would appeal to an American audience as it resembled the format of a Western novel, and he submitted three chapters as a sample to Strauss in June of 1953, before any negotiation with the author Tanizaki.

Strauss promised to write again soon after consulting a Japanese edition of the novel with his teacher and comparing the translation with it. The teacher Strauss referred to is not identified by name and details in the archives are sparse, but subsequent materials reveal that he had Japanese assistants, primarily females, to help him read works in the original throughout his tenure.<sup>40</sup> He soon wrote back to inform Seidensticker that Knopf, Inc. had officially decided to ask him to go ahead with the translation "subject only to final business arrangements with you and with Mr. Tanizaki, about which there should be no difficulty" (Strauss 1953d). With the question of the translation being approved for publication after a recommendation and a trial translation, the negotiations began for a contract that used a royalty formula to compensate the translator.

Strauss sought to reward the translator from Japanese into English in a manner to maintain the commitment of the small pool of English translators of Japanese available at the time. The proceeds that would be brought to a Japanese author would be an economic windfall, even after being shared with a translator, as well as help establish the novelist's international reputation. All of the authors Knopf considered for this Program were best-selling writers in Japan, and Strauss thought them in a position to respect the contribution of the translator. Strauss thought a royalty clause would give a better break to the translator, whose talents were essential to the success of the Program.

The form which this style of contract would ideally take was outlined to Seidensticker a week after the decision to publish:

Our top rate for translators is ten dollars per thousand words. I am well aware of the greater difficulty of translating from the Japanese, but there is nothing in publishing economics to provide an additional margin. This troubles me greatly in a situation such as that of TADE KUU MUSHI, since in my opinion the translator should receive a substantial share of the eventual proceeds, be they

small or large. TADE KUU MUSHI was published a long time ago, and whatever Tanizaki receives from his English language rights will be found money to him. (Strauss 1953d)

He suggested the translator consider a contact with an advance and royalty clause, and requested that Seidensticker send him a cable with either the word “standard” if he wished for the simple ten dollars per thousand words, or the word “royalty” if he wished to work out a royalty arrangement. Seidensticker cabled “royalty” and this ushered in an era of royalty-based contracts for Knopf translators working from Japanese into English. Strauss then wrote directly to Tanizaki at an address that Seidensticker provided. The actor-network was facilitated by the translator.

Strauss introduced himself in his unsolicited letter to Tanizaki as greatly interested in Japanese culture, having an ambition to publish some of the leading contemporary Japanese novels in English. He wrote that:

Up to now, the great bottleneck has been to find a qualified translator. There are many Japanese who know English, and many Americans and British who know Japanese. But very few of them have an English style suitable for catching the subtlety and delicacy of truly literary Japanese style. I’m happy to tell you that I’ve found one such translator who is at present living in Tokyo. His name is Edward Seidensticker (Strauss 1953e).<sup>41</sup>

Strauss then went on to outline the contract arrangement he had in mind. Knopf, Inc. would like to purchase world rights in the English language to the novel with an option good for twelve months on any of Tanizaki’s other novels, in special arrangements with the translator, who would also be entitled to royalties, without whose efforts the project would be untenable:

It is therefore our proposal that he personally buy from you world rights in the English language to TADE KUU MUSHI, including the option for similar rights for your other novels, and that we in turn purchase those rights directly from him. We would pay standard royalties and a standard share of subsidiary rights to him, and he is prepared to divide whatever income he receives with you. The exact

proportion of the division is subject to arrangement between you and him, but I have tentatively suggested that he pay you one-half of all the money he receives from us.

To give you an idea of the money involved, we are prepared to offer Mr. Seidensticker a guarantee of \$750, to be paid one-half on signing various agreements, and one-half on delivery of a complete English translation. In American publishing, the guarantee advance payment is quite often only a small part of the eventual money the author receives. Publishing Japanese novels in translation is still a highly experimental matter. ... Because you are so far away, I think you will simply have to trust the fairness of our offer.” (Strauss 1953e)

In this scheme Knopf would pay the advance and the standard royalties to the translator also, who would then pay the author based on a split of proceeds these two parties agreed upon.

Supporting references are used as social capital when Strauss drops the names of Mr. Kawabata and Mr. Osaragi. In closing, Strauss offers one more incentive for Tanizaki to consider his offer: “While I doubt very much that the publication of Japanese novels in translation will be profitable business, I think that this will be a very great contribution to the cultural understanding between Japan and the United States. For one thing, I would like to see the Nobel Prize in literature be given to a Japanese writer, and the translation of some of his work is no doubt a necessary preliminary to this” (Strauss 1953e). The prestige and sales would also be welcome. This would result in the legitimacy of symbolic capital, such as when Albert Camus had won the award. One of the driving forces of Strauss’ *habitus* was that he sought to emulate Knopf’s success.

One day after writing Tanizaki, Strauss wrote to Seidensticker with an enclosure of various documents to complete the business arrangement. In contrast to the tentative suggestion made to Tanizaki that Seidensticker pay him half of all the money he received, Strauss opened the door for Seidensticker to negotiate the matter, particularly the advance:

Of course you may vary the terms in any way to which you and Mr. Tanizaki agree. But we must be reassured that Mr. Tanizaki receives some share of the royalty proceeds. In view of your investment of time and labor, you may feel

that you are entitled to the greater part of the advance we are paying. If so, it ought to be easy enough to alter the enclosed form to read that, say, the first \$500 received from us will go to you, and all proceeds thereafter will be divided between you and Mr. Tanizaki.” (Strauss 1953f)

The contractual negotiations lingered, but not because of the issue of the advance. In early 1954, Strauss relayed his impatience and implied Seidensticker had additional responsibilities in the matter:

I am now deeply disturbed that we haven't buttoned up the Tanizaki contract. ... In choosing a split royalty arrangement, which I offered you as a most drastic departure from our usual practices, I hope you realize that you let yourself in for certain business responsibilities beyond the purely literary ones translators normally assume. If after a reasonable period of time you don't have a signed, sealed and delivered agreement from Mr. Tanizaki, I may have to deal with him directly. As I have told you before, I am much more concerned in safeguarding the interest of gifted translators from the Japanese, but too much is at stake to hold the royalty split agreement open indefinitely. Of course I don't expect you to do all this single-handed. I am not only writing Tanizaki again directly, urging him to speed things up, but I am also writing to his publisher, whom I know personally. (Strauss 1954a)

On the same day, Strauss wrote Tanizaki that he was “deeply disturbed that I have not received any answer from you to my long letter of October 28” (Strauss 1954b). Strauss anticipated Tanizaki would respond quickly to the symbolic capital attached to the Knopf name in American publishing, as well as the potential social capital he would gain ranked in line with Knopf’s leading authors. As it turns out, the support Strauss was offering Seidensticker and his prior unsolicited letters to Tanizaki were the main cause of the delay in concluding the arrangements. Seidensticker provides valuable insight into the circumstances and personalities in Japan:

There is one small difficulty which I bring up, a little reluctantly, on

the assumption you will want me to be quite frank. Tanizaki seems to have been upset by both of your letters, and at one time was on the point of insisting to Mr. Shimanaka (his publisher) that the whole project be dropped. ... we do have to remember that we are dealing with a man of temperament, and I rather think it would be better if you were not to write to him directly until it comes to seem necessary as a last resort. (Seidensticker 1954a)

Strauss stopped writing Tanizaki directly for the time being, realizing from Seidensticker's timely and tactful admonition that the business manner he had taken lacked the cultural sensitivity the circumstances required for Japan's leading man of letters, and left the matter to the parties on the ground in Japan. This form of third party communication was prevalent only in part because of the technology of the day.

By April of 1954 Seidensticker had finished and sent the translation to New York, but a contract had yet to be signed and returned. Strauss was insistent on the matter of having rights to the entire body of Tanizaki's work as he was an aging author, and the right to excerpt the translation for publicity purposes. Both points were provided for in the final arrangements. Tanizaki specified that he have the right to review the translation, thus adding yet another actor to the network. By May of 1954, the signed contracts were returned to Strauss and the book went into production.

As the contract was being negotiated, many of the questions over the style of the translation were broached after Seidensticker submitted the three sample chapters:

Above and beyond my particular comments, after dipping into TADE KUU MUSHI itself to the best of my ability, I feel quite strongly that you have tried too hard to tighten up the style of the translation, to reproduce Tanizaki's meaning in the minimum number of words. Now the Japanese always is on the wordy side, and rather loose. I certainly do not mean that you should go all the way back toward any kind of literal translation. But I do think that in some cases a somewhat more relaxed feeling, which is the same as saying not quite so dense a succession of images and ideas, would more closely reproduce the flavor. This is both a short and subtle book, and too much condensation is likely to make it harder to understand, as well as even shorter. (Strauss 1953f)

Strauss is concerned about a tightening up of the translation and calls for a more relaxed feeling without so dense a succession of images and ideas.

The topics of concern identified in this correspondence resulted in practices for how such matters would be handled in the future. The Japanese order of names was used in the text placing surname first, but Strauss decided the cover would follow the Western order to facilitate filing in libraries. A short note to that effect was added to the front of the book. Explications were added, i.e. adding explanatory remarks to the text, as such transitions were deemed critical for the reader. The question of natural expression in the dialogue was the result of a literal rendering, according to Strauss and an unknown advisor: "I have checked with another person who reads Japanese far better than I, and he feels that there is just a touch of woodenness in the dialogue here because of an exaggerated fidelity to the text" (Strauss 1953f). Three pages of 'Notes on Conversation' were prepared by Seidensticker to address who was speaking and how. A number of additions to the dialogue were suggested by the translator to clarify who was speaking or to convey a character's emotional state, such as 'he explained' or 'she protested.' As was the practice in *Homecoming*, dialect was compensated with the addition of phrases similar to those noted above.

Due to his stature, Tanizaki was allowed to review the edited translation as he had required. Strauss implored Seidensticker to control any changes Tanizaki might have because of reasons of style and production costs (Strauss 1954c). Seidensticker recalled this in his memoir:

I have a letter from Tanizaki saying that he is passing my *Some Prefer Nettles* on for the scrutiny of a friend who is an English professor, and another letter arranging a meeting between me and the professor. I thought this just a touch insulting, but did not say so. Tanizaki seemed to think it a natural part of our relationship and my education. The professor did not turn up anything that much bothered me. I think that we who translate from Japanese into English have on the whole done better by our originals than have those translators who work in the opposite direction. (2002 125)

Here we are reminded of a tension between translators in this language pair. Seidensticker's introduction acknowledges Mr. Takahashi Osamu, his longtime friend and now a

widely-known writer “who went over the manuscript and was most patient with my questions” (Seidensticker 1955 xvi). The intricate network of contacts involved in the polishing of this translation highlights the manner in which a target text was prepared for presentation to an American reader in the early stages of this Program.

Strauss took considerable time to edit the manuscript and consulted experts in this task. He called upon Arthur Waley and George Sansom for their advice on terminology. The prevailing issues included avoidance of exaggerated fidelity to the source text, in particular with regard to dialogue; explication with the use of transitions or adding descriptions of the manner of speech to accommodate dialect; and consulting cultural informants, other translators or the author on ambiguous developments or characters and their relations. Thus, the textual outcomes were influenced by the input that came out of the formations of the actors in the network. These issues are clearly reminiscent of the early translation practices noted above as well as the modern approaches to essentially the same questions, such as the use of explication as a translation universal as discussed in Mauranen and Kujamäki (2004), and concerns of domestication versus foreignization (Venuti 1995).

The involvement of the author in the process is one aspect yet to be fully examined, but on the ending of this novel itself Tanizaki was not disposed to make any clarification. It is not entirely clear if the couple will divorce, but Seidensticker was of the opinion they would. That being the case, Strauss asked that he make the sentence definitive for the reader because the draft suggested a contrast in their decisions. Seidensticker felt the revised version would not do violence to Tanizaki’s aims. They agreed to explain the uncertainty at this crucial point in the novel in the introduction. The original appears below followed by the draft translation and lastly the revised version in the 1955 publication, with the clause in question underlined.

虫が知らせるとでもいうのか、ちょうど今ごろ、父親の説論に反抗している妻の一途な言葉のはしばしが聞こえて来るような心地がする。  
要はその時、妻より一層強気な決意がいつしか自分の胸の奥にも宿っていることをはっきり感じた。 (1929/1985 283)

For a moment he thought he could hear, as with a sixth sense, Misako’s voice fighting back the old man; and he knew that almost unconsciously he had made a decision even stronger for himself than his wife’s.

(Seidensticker 1954b)

For a moment he thought he could hear, as with a sixth sense, Misako's voice fighting back the old man; and he knew that almost unconsciously he had come to a point where he could support his wife's decision with an even stronger one of his own. (1955 199)

The simile that forms the first clause of the source text—虫が知らせるとでもいうのか (*Mushi ga shiraseru to demo iu no ka*)—does not retain Tanizaki's reference to *mushi* (insect) in the original title. In the English translation, the clause is replaced with a cultural substitute in simile form “as with a sixth sense.” The explanation, which appears in the introduction, about the uncertainty of whether the couple would separate might better served readers as an afterword, but sixty years ago it was thought this was the best way to reach readers.

Seidensticker assisted in obtaining artwork for the novel and offered to write the introduction, which he also did. Strauss also insisted it was important to have full biographical information, and asked for details about Tanizaki's career and travels since 1939, when such information appeared in The Society for Cultural Relations publication referred to above, and a glossy print of a recent photo of Tanizaki. In addition, the ink drawings which the translator procured were used at chapter headings.

The artwork for the original dust jacket was also a subject of negotiation. It is one of the eight views of Lake Shosho by Shoki Kei done in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and was obtained through the help of Harold Henderson of Columbia University. Tanizaki had suggested commissioning artwork by a Japanese artist, Koiso Ryōhei, or using a work by Koide, who specialized in nudes. The expense of a new painting was not to Strauss' liking, and the work by Koide Narashige is never specified or mentioned again. The Shoki classical ink drawing is of a pine tree with its trunk at the edge of cliff, its branches hanging out over the ledge with two travelers crossing a bridge below.

The selection of this ink brush drawing deftly plays into the description of the story on the dust jacket: “One soon perceives beneath the quiet, shadowed surface of the story a terrific and absorbing conflict between the debilitating indecision of the husband and the scheming of the old man. The way the scheme develops, and what happens as a result, will open new vistas of experience to American readers.” Contrast the actual peritext above with Fowler's (1992 7) reformulation: “The dust jacket to *Nettles* also tells of opening ‘new vistas of experience to American readers’ that are linked to the aesthetics of a ‘Japanese tradition’



clearly antedating the Pacific War and events leading up to the War.” In search of support for his contention that Japan was intentionally exoticized and made to appear nonthreatening to readers of the day, he reduces the complex interaction of the characters to a label and ignores the metaphor of the puppet theatre implicitly symbolized in the narrative. Fowler appropriates parts of two quotes from the dust jacket, his use of punctuation indicates that he is quoting the dust jacket, and then arranges this configuration out of context. The use of the phrase “Japanese tradition” is taken from George Sansom’s promotional quote on the dust jacket: “*Some Prefer Nettles* is a fascinating novel which gives an intimate picture of the dilemma of a Japanese family torn between the attractions of modern Westernized life and the strong pull of Japanese tradition.” Here the phrase is used to indicate one pole, the strong pull of Japanese tradition, in conflict with another, modern Westernized life. A careful reading of the peritext, the novels and the archive materials indicates no such considerations entered into the selection of either of the debut titles. Moreover, the novel having been written in the 1920s could not but antedate the Pacific war. Yet throughout the course of the novel both the wife and the husband are involved in extramarital affairs, which is surely more contemporary than traditional. It is possible some readers may have felt as Fowler hypothesizes, but this was in no way intentional. One outcome is certain. The text functions as an actant, a form of objectified capital, and decades later continues to play a role in the discourse of Japanese studies.

Strauss also asked Seidensticker for comments for use in publicity blurbs from Japanese writers, who in turn asked if payments would be provided. “As to payments, I have no financial objections to small fees, for this sort of thing, but it would be perfectly ghastly if the news cut out over here that we were paying for blurbs. Blurbs are supposed to be completely disinterested. Of course when people like Michener and Pearl Buck beat the drum for an Asian book, they’re not disinterested, but their interest is not a financial one. Of course the news may never get out, thanks to the distance; but we would still have our consciences to cope with” (Strauss 1955c). No records of any payments were in evidence. The quotation above shows the overlapping interests of those who wrote about Japan and were concerned about rebuilding the country. From start to finish, the hybrid nature of Seidensticker's efforts in the production of this novel went far beyond the translation of the text, and Strauss had apparently had no pangs to ask him to do more.

Strauss sent out advance copies for reactions with a request for favorable comments to use for publicity and got mixed responses. Hugh Borton of Columbia University commented

favorably. Sir George Sansom and Arthur Waley in England were also written letters similar in content. Quotes from these influential Japan specialists held out the promise of social and symbolic capital because of their influence on potential retail and wholesale customers. A number of epitextual commentaries came of these letters and were used on the dust jacket.

By way of contrast, Frank Gibney of *Newsweek* magazine wrote that he was supportive of the endeavor but liked neither the choice of the novel itself nor the translator's introduction because it explains the plot beforehand. The introduction is eleven pages long and includes four sections which cover the author, the plot, the language and the puppet theatre. I asked Seidensticker about the decision at an interview in Tokyo in May of 2003: "I do them when they seem necessary, and of course it is a very subjective decision whether something like that is necessary or not." The use of introductions was more common in the early titles, ostensibly to orient the reader and introduce the new authors, but the commentary on the plot was unwelcome to some.

*Some Prefer Nettles* was published in May of 1955 on the heels of it being excerpted in the magazine *Mademoiselle* the month prior. The excerpt netted US\$312.00 for Tanizaki and Seidensticker to split. The reviews were equally well coordinated. "I have just heard that Reischauer will review *Some Prefer Nettles* for the New York Herald Book Review, and of course you know that (Donald) Keene is doing it for the Times Book Review—so we've got both big book reviews buttoned up" (Strauss 1955d). Strauss used all the capital at his disposal to arrange for these reviews. Comments from Howard Hibbett, Hugh Borton and the writer Fumio Niwa appear on the back flap of the dust jacket and document the efforts of both those active in American academia and the Japanese literary world in promoting this translation.

The novel was also reviewed in Japan by Ishikawa Kin'ichi, a journalist at the *Mainichi* newspaper and one of the translators of John Herseys' *Hiroshima* and Frank Gibney's *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, among other works. He begins by noting translating Japanese novels into English is "much more difficult than translating English novels into Japanese. This is because we, the Japanese, know more about English or American way of life than an average British or American does about our way of life" (1955 531). He goes on to point out how it was wise of Seidensticker to avoid translating dialect and points out a number of mistranslations, mainly descriptions of food. This type of criticism annoyed Seidensticker and was not easily forgotten, informing his *habitus* enough so that he would remember it decades later in his memoir (2002 125).

Strauss sent reviews of all kinds to Tanizaki, who was interested in how the book was received by the American reading public: “We are quite pleased at the critical reception of TADE KUU MUSHI, and feel that the interest of American readers in your work will grow. But meanwhile the sales of TADE KUU MUSHI are quite modest. You must remember that American readers are used to novels of a very different kind, so that this is really quite a satisfactory beginning” (Strauss 1955e). This was not the beginning that Strauss had hoped for or anticipated. Knopf did not reprint this novel in hardcover as apparently sales never reached 5,000 copies. It was published in hardcover by Secker & Warburg in the United Kingdom in 1956, which netted \$314.00, and in paperback by Charles E. Tuttle in Japan in 1955, which netted \$225.00 for author and translator to split respectively, with a chance for further royalties on reprints at either company. It was repeatedly reprinted in Japan. From the outset, the two subsidiary markets of the United Kingdom and Japan were part of Strauss’ plan to reach markets overseas. The modest commercial success of *Homecoming*, the critical reception of *Some Prefer Nettles* and the apparent interest in these translations on both sides of the Pacific put Strauss in a position to continue his experiment and consider new authors.

In this chapter, the trends noted prior, i.e. the primary role of English in translations from Japanese, an admittedly odd form of team translation with Strauss the translator of chapter thirteen, camouflaging such collaboration and domestication were in evidence. A competitive nature amongst practitioners was seen in the reviews by Japanese reviewers who both pointed out errors. One reviewer went so far as to say translating out of Japanese was much more difficult than vice versa. In all the reviews, however, praiseworthy comments led the way. The affirmation of capital was seen from senior Japan specialists such as Edwin O. Reischauer and George Sansom to writers who shared an interest in Japan, namely James Michener and Pearl Buck. The up-and-coming generation of specialists was also united in their support of the debut titles, which, as objectified cultural capital in book form, supported the growth of the nascent field of modern Japanese literary studies.

## 6. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART II - 1956 TO 1960

This chapter covers the five years of intensive activity that saw the publication of nine titles and added four new Japanese authors to the Knopf list. The firm was expanding after the slowdown in the industry brought about by World War II had abated and the Nobel Prize was awarded to Albert Camus. The house was at this time actively and successfully selling European and South American authors in English translation. Alfred and Blanche Knopf held the top management positions of the company, while Strauss was editor-in-chief of all company operations. In the sections that follow, the network formation of the literary contact nebulae and the transculturation of these nine titles from the Japanese are examined.

### 6.1 *The Sound of Waves* (1956), *Shiosai* (1954)

In January of 1955, as *Homecoming* was coming off the press, an air of optimism was matched with a burst of activity concerning things Japanese. The film *Rashomon* directed by Akira Kurosawa was screened and awarded at the 1955 Venice film festival. The New York premiere of the movie *Gate of Hell*, based on the Akutagawa Ryūnosuke story “Jukumon,” attracted interest and the fashion for the arts of Japan extended to magazines and newspapers as well. Strauss had himself published a piece of fiction in *The New Yorker* entitled “Ayame” based in part on his experiences with a hostess at a Tokyo nightclub (1954 116). He heard that Meredith Weatherby, a former diplomat for the United States who had been interned in Kobe during the war years, had finished a translation of a novel by a young writer named Mishima Yukio, who was a protégé of the Japan PEN Club president and novelist Kawabata Yasunari. Both held the cultural capital associated with an educational background at Tokyo University, and the social and symbolic capital of successful writers. Kawabata had already written a string of successful novels and short stories, and his work was also being considered by Strauss at the time. However, Weatherby’s translation of Mishima’s work was already finished so Strauss could make his decision without commissioning the translation.

Mishima’s first novel at Knopf is set in a fishing village, and is based on the Greek love story Daphne and Chloë. It was a bestseller in Japan, reaching seventy printings in three months, and had been made into a film starring Japan’s then-leading actor Mifune Toshirō. This was the first of five such film adaptations of this novel. The promise of a movie being screened in New York got Strauss thinking, as he noted in a letter to Weatherby: “If by chance

the movie of Shiosai were released here, as it might well be in view of the terrific success of *Gate of Hell*, that may well clinch our decision to publish it” (Strauss 1955f). The potential for a movie release and the publication of a translation was a combination that Strauss calculated to be worth the gamble. He had positioned himself as an authority on Japanese cinema with articles in a number of New York newspapers and magazines. He sought to use this capital to promote Knopf titles and a broader interest in the Japanese arts.

Weatherby handled dealings for Strauss on the ground in Tokyo as Seidensticker had before him. He was an executive partner at Charles Tuttle, Inc. at the time, and also previously assisted with negotiations for Japanese translations of Knopf’s publications sold to Japanese publishers. The two firms of Knopf and Tuttle retained close business ties in the decades to come. Weatherby and Mishima were well acquainted, which afforded the translator the opportunity to discuss the work with the author. Mishima was often a guest at Weatherby’s house in the Roppongi district of Tokyo where they discussed the translation. Strauss met Weatherby and Mishima in New York. The three formed a network that showed promise. This nebula was different from the previous groupings as the author spoke English and was in direct contact with both translator and editor. Strauss had a sample of the translation by April of 1955, and the work was passed to various readers for impressions.

In early June that year Strauss wrote to Weatherby to offer a contract for *The Sound of Waves* “partly because of our pleasant business relationship with you, but even more, to accommodate Mr. Mishima and to obtain the right to publish his future works in view of the high hopes expressed for them in all literary circles in Japan” (Strauss 1955g). The substantial sales and critical recognition of an author in the source culture was a form of symbolic capital Strauss intended to use for Knopf translations into English. To keep the firm liable for only one accounting, Strauss proposed an agreement with the translator, and expected the translator to make a parallel agreement with the author. Weatherby and Mishima had previously agreed to split any income fifty-fifty, but Weatherby was intrigued by the arrangement Tanizaki and Seidensticker had struck with the two-thirds of the advance for the translator and asked for the same terms. This contract assumed an intention that Weatherby would go on translating Mishima, and included the option for works yet to be written.

The terms were similar to those pioneered with Seidensticker and Tanizaki, with the translator keeping two-thirds of the advance and all further payments divided fifty-fifty. The advance offer was US\$500.00 against royalties 17.5% of Knopf’s net receipts to 10,000 copies sold; and 20% of net receipts thereafter. Strauss mentioned that it was possible to fall

back on the European arrangement of US\$10.00 per thousand words, leaving the translator no further financial interest in the matter, but with serial rights, including paperback deals and the licensing of a British edition, royalties would give the translator a better break.

Weatherby was quick to respond and in his letter of June 8, 1955. He agreed to the royalty offer, and sent the substance of it on to Mishima for his consideration. The major sticking point was the division of the advance between the author and the translator. Their prior arrangement to split all proceeds fifty-fifty came about during the translation of Mishima's *Confessions of a Mask*, which was later published at New Directions in 1958. Weatherby inquired as to whether Strauss was interested in this novel. In his response, Strauss diplomatically responds to the question of future rights and the rejection of *Confessions of a Mask* in one stroke: "In fact, it is customary in writing option clauses to have the options refer specifically to books to be written in the future. The reason for this is most writers develop progressively, and no publisher wishes to have his unpublished or at least untranslatable work considered as option work" (Strauss 1955h). In doing so, Strauss extricated himself from any commitment to Mishima's novel with a homosexual theme as his debut title in English. He later wrote to Ivan Morris, then a young Japanese literary specialist trained during the war, that he was not ready to do so. "I am not sure that I want one of his homosexual novels yet. Although eventually I may do one" (Strauss 1956a). Here we see evidence of Strauss sharing information with one party and taking a different line with another. Strauss sought to manage the actors in the network as to have a strong hand in the selection and transculturation of the titles, and positioned himself as gatekeeper.

The option for exclusive rights itself ran for one year after the publication of a novel in translation, which highlights the Knopf policy of translating active writers. The matter of payment was wrapped up soon after with the proviso that Mishima be paid directly by Knopf in US dollars at a bank in New York, and not through Weatherby, as Tanizaki had insisted. The contract followed their original agreement to split all income evenly. Strauss had hoped this pairing would continue, but this was the last work of Mishima's that Weatherby translated, in part because of the disagreement over the division of the advance payment.

Weatherby proved to be a reliable translator and submitted two typed copies of the revised manuscript as agreed. He was concerned about how to handle the tense in the work. In the opening paragraphs he used the present tense up through paragraph four, but became increasingly uncertain: "Maybe I should put in the present all those passages describing things about the island which are as true today as when the story took place, keep the past

only for the actual story itself” (Weatherby 1955a). Strauss addressed his translator’s concern and advised him to use the present tense up to the seventh paragraph of Chapter one, or the ninth paragraph at the longest. After that he advised Weatherby to firmly stick to the past tense: “I don’t really think the sense of immediacy will be sacrificed; and frequent shifts to the present tense for purely descriptive passages would seem awkward. The narrative passages certainly must be written in the past tense; there is nothing worse, to my ear, than narrative in the historical present” (Strauss 1955i). The present tense is used until the eighth paragraph when the description of the island yields to the action of the first character introduced (1956 5). This practice would fall under the umbrella of domestication as this subtle shift in tense is meant to distinguish descriptive prose with the introduction of the characters.

The hardcover edition of *The Sound of Waves* appeared in early August of 1956. Strauss was again able to assemble a group of reviewers in leading magazines. The novel was enthusiastically reviewed in *The New York Times* by the writer and critic Edmund Fuller. Subsequent reviews appeared in *The Nation* by Kenneth Rexroth, by Faubion Bowers in *The Saturday Review*, and it was briefly noted in *The Harpers Monthly* and *The New Yorker*. Sales approached 8,000 to 10,000 copies in hard cover (Strauss 1956b), and the book appeared on a *New York Times* bestseller list. Mishima was young, actively writing, spoke some English and was active socially in Tokyo’s international community. He cultivated friendships with the other translators active in the early years of this Program, thus showing he was aware of the power of network formation and the exercise of capital. Plans were underway for Mishima to visit the United States again on a lecture tour in 1957. Because of the success of this first novel in English, Strauss was eager to get another of his titles in the pipeline. Mishima would have to write that novel, and Strauss would have to find a translator. As it turned out, nearly three years passed before another novel of his would be published at Knopf, but in that time Mishima was actively accruing more capital of all forms in Japan as he wrote not only novels, but also short stories, plays and literary criticism, in addition to the travel writing he did as a newspaper correspondent. Japanese nationals were not allowed passports at the time, so he used the cover of a correspondent to travel the world.

## 6.2 *The Heike Story* (1956), *Shin Heike Monogatari* (1951)

*The Heike Story* is an English adaptation of a modern Japanese adaptation by the writer Yoshikawa Eiji, based on the classic tale of clan struggle in twelfth-century Japan. The series of volumes sold in the millions in Japan and led to his reception of the 1956 Asahi Prize for Literature. The “translation” came unexpectedly to Strauss through the introduction of former interpreter to General MacArthur and Japanese theatre scholar Faubian Bowers, and his wife, the Indian writer Santha Rama Rau, who was a fellow alumna of one Uramatsu Fuki at Wellesley College in the United States before the war. Uramatsu’s letter arrived in November of 1954. Strauss visited Japan soon afterwards, which gave editor and translator the opportunity to meet face to face. He was favorably impressed with her language ability. Moreover, Uramatsu had cultural capital, which appealed particularly to Strauss, as she attended the same prestigious college his wife had. Moreover, her husband, Uramatsu Samitaro, was a literary critic and wrote for the *Asahi Newspaper* and the *Japan Quarterly*.

Uramatsu posted sixty-seven pages of her 400-page translation to Strauss, which he found wonderful. However, the manuscript itself had arrived in poor physical condition because it had been typed on a thin tissue type of paper. He then requested she send her 400-page translation in a more readable form by sea mail, and in turn sent her a copy of his 1954 *Publishers’ Weekly* article noted above, which included his thoughts on translation into a second language. He also responded to her suggestion of the possibility of her translating a contemporary novel, noting he was concerned whether her “rather formal, styled English” could “handle modern dialogue—the single most difficult problem of translation” (Strauss 1955j). Having lost one of his two translators the previous year to a suicide, Strauss was wary but more flexible in his attitude toward a Japanese native translator, particularly one who wrote in such fluent English. As a test of her ability, Strauss asked her to translate the first chapter of *Tabiji* (*The Journey* 1960), which she advised against, noting “Asahi’s literary critics decided not to review this one because it fell so far below the author’s [Osaragi] usual performance” (1955a). She also pointed out errors in the opening lines of *Homecoming*, which were corrected for future printings.

Three months later, Strauss wrote to announce the issuance of a contract for *The Heike Story* and proposed the same terms that Tanizaki and Seidensticker were using—two-thirds of the advance to the translator with royalty payments and proceeds split 50-50 with the author thereafter. For the anticipated 180,000 words, Strauss offered an advance



payment of US\$1,500, with payment of half on the signing of the contract and the other half on the publication date. Royalties were stated as 15 percent of the wholesale price on the first 7,500 copies; 20 percent on the next 7,500 copies; and 23 percent on copies sold thereafter. The option provided for publishing subsequent volumes on the same terms (Strauss 1955k). The details of the agreement appear to indicate that Strauss envisioned a series of titles being released in succession, and that he was confident enough in Uramatsu's abilities to hold this network together. The books, after all, had sold in the millions in Japan.

From Uramatsu's return letter, Strauss learned she had been given a US\$350.00 advance from John Day for the book but had heard no word from that firm since and had signed no contract. This is the publisher who had acquired the rights to the works by Mishima Sumie Seo noted above. Strauss used every form of capital at his hand to persuade Uramatsu to work with the prestigious firm of Knopf. He advised her to return the check and rescind any dealings with John Day, which she did. By July of 1955, Strauss had drawn up a contract for Uramatsu to carry personally to Yoshikawa.

At this juncture, Uramatsu wished to make it clear her work was not a translation but an adaptation for English readers. "Regarding the translation of THE HEIKE—for the protection of the author I wish to make it clear that THE HEIKE is not a translation but an English version of the Shin-Heike, since there has been considerable re-writing involved in the 'translation' to adapt it to English readers" (Uramatsu 1955b). Strauss was undeterred and quickly replied that the note about the book being in part an adaptation could be handled in an introduction, something necessary in a work of this nature. A statement about the degree of rewriting could be gracefully inserted in an introduction, which he asked her to prepare.

Strauss later wrote of the two factors that were important for making the decision to publish this title: "She has dropped out minor characters, simplified the narrative, provided essential explanations for American audience—and done it all with the authority and skill that could only come from a Japanese" (Strauss 1955l). This was in keeping with his contention of transculturation, i.e. that a work had to be recreated for American readers, but not that of the rule a translator should be working into their native language. Strauss also noted that another plus was the possibility of the movie being released in the United States.

This translation was completed by the time the contracts were signed. The 786-page typewritten manuscript was ready for the copy editors after retyping. Strauss and Uramatsu worked closely and cooperatively with modifications to the text, which included the naming of the various palaces and villas to match illustrations, handling family or clan names, flora,

fauna and bird names. However, complications in production arose with regards to the length of the text and the artwork for the book. Moreover, Strauss requested a genealogy of the characters as well as illustrated maps of the Kyoto region for that period which could be coordinated with the editing, in addition to asking her to write an afterword. Uramatsu diligently pursued the additional written sections for the book without any discussion of compensation.

In the midst of these preparations, Strauss suggested the novel end at a point earlier than the original, with an eye toward setting the stage for the second volume. He requested that the author Yoshikawa expand the prophetic speech of the character Mongaku by a page or two to suggest the unstable basis of the Heike clan's power as a prelude to the next volume. It was a publishing strategy designed to hint to readers of the first volume that there was more to come (Strauss 1955m). Strauss sought to omit the remaining seventy odd pages in this volume, which introduce new characters and locations prominent in the coming episodes. Uramatsu was inclined to disagree, but did agree to take up the matter directly with Yoshikawa. She reported after careful explanation that Yoshikawa felt strongly the ending should be left as it is in the English version: "Any other ending would rob the opening chapter of Volume II of its particular effectiveness, regardless of whether the reader has seen the first book" (Uramatsu 1956a). After some time, Strauss announced: "I am happy to tell you that it has now definitely been decided to publish all fifty chapters (786 manuscript pages), although this of course increases our financial problems" (Strauss 1956c). Here the Japanese author stood his ground, but given that he spoke no English according to Uramatsu, it is obvious she had a hand in framing the decision-making process.

When culturally distant settings, circumstances or characters appeared problematic to the translator, omission were the strategies employed to accommodate the target audience:

It would be more accurate to call it an English version, since with the author's generous consent *The Heike Story* has been modified considerably for readers. Much that is significant and of great interest to a Japanese audience familiar with the historical setting has been omitted in translation; entire chapters have been condensed and a large number of sub-plots and subsidiary characters entirely left out. (Uramatsu 676)

How this played out is a reminder of the more subtle tensions prevalent in less steeply

inclined hierarchies.

Another hurdle to overcome was the artwork to be employed. For the sake of authenticity Strauss wanted the drawings for each of the fifty chapters of the book to be done in Japan. He calculated that an American artist would receive US\$10.00 per drawing, suggested half this fee for a Japanese artist, and asked if the artist Sugimoto Ken'ichi himself would be able to adapt the drawings he had done for the Japanese publication (Strauss 1956d). This offer did not go over well and Uramatsu expressed her disappointment frankly: "It is inadvisable to suggest in dealing with Japanese people that everything can be had for a fraction of what it costs in America" (Uramatsu 1956b). Strauss encouraged this approach to business, and was equally blunt: "On the other hand, to be frank with you, I am also aware and quite resentful of the fact that there tends to be a two-price system in Japan—one price for the Japanese, and another higher price for foreigners. This probably stems from the belief that all Americans are rich and that the streets are paved with gold, a belief that is as prevalent in Europe as in Japan" (Strauss 1956e). To quell her irritation and settle the matter quickly, Strauss relented and offered US\$500.00 for the fifty drawings. He had momentum on his mind and felt the need to get the book to press. The illustrator Sugimoto Ken'ichi prepared a drawing for each chapter.

The dust jacket painting was designed by Fumi Komatsu, the person Strauss wrote through a friend of a friend in 1953. The artwork was not to Uramatsu's liking. The painting is of a warrior on horseback on the front, and on the back a couple in courtly dress. This medieval epic is deserving of the adjective exotic. Strauss responded: "The jacket is frankly a hybrid. What would suit Japanese tastes might not suit the American public" (Strauss 1956f). Here a visual perception of what might best suit the target audience was at issue and Strauss took the upper hand, announcing it to be a hybrid—a curious choice of expression, suggesting that the artwork was a mixture of American and Japanese influences. Strauss had entrusted the translation to Uramatsu in part because of her familiarity with American tastes.

Uramatsu was also concerned about misprints, to which Strauss had another ready answer: "In America we handle these matters quite differently than they do in Japan. We have excellent information about the stock of our retailers, and this enables us to go to press very quickly, on short notice. Therefore, we ought to have a file of corrections from you as soon as possible. As a matter of fact, even though our first printing was 10,000 copies, it is quite possible that we will have to go to press again before publication" (Strauss 1956g). That eventuality was never realized in hardcover. It was hoped the publication of *The Heike Story*

would tie in with the release of the Japanese movie, which was previewed at Cannes under the title *Taira Clan Saga*, and was the last film by the acclaimed director Mizoguchi Kenji. Its release was put off until 1964 in the United States, when it was shown at the New York Film Festival. Neither the coordination of the publication and the release of the movie, nor the matching of the movie title with the English title of the novel, had materialized as Strauss had hoped.

Support was also expected from sales in university literature courses. Strauss had been in touch with a number of academics, including Alfred Marks at Ohio State University and Earl Minor at the University of Minnesota, about the potential of such sales. The answers came in positive, but such courses were only then being considered for university curricula. Strauss sent out complimentary copies to former ambassador Joseph Grew, John Rockefeller, and James Michener, among others, with the same note reading: "I am taking the exceptional step of writing directly to you, since the problem of discovering how Americans, other than Japanese experts, will react to this book is a difficult one" (Strauss 1956h). The letters went out twice, but response was slow in coming, when it did. His social capital in this circle of opinion leaders appeared to be waning, even with some who supported previous titles. Perhaps it was the length of the book or the choice of this title. The reason for soliciting reactions on how non-Japanese experts might react to the book was because Strauss could not control how the various experts, who might join the literary contact nebulae, would argue the position of this work in reviews and perhaps deny their capital to a title in which he was deeply invested.

*The Heike Story* was glowingly reviewed in Japan by Uramatsu's husband in the *Japan Quarterly*. Reviews for Uramatsu's adaptation stateside were more negative than mixed. Among the reviews were some inaccuracies which appalled Uramatsu, but it was senseless to argue the point with Strauss, who felt the early reviews on the whole were acceptable. His main concern was a review by the rising scholar Donald Keene in *The New York Times Book Review*, and Strauss endeavored to keep it from being published. He opened his letter to Uramatsu as follows: "I enclose herewith a few more reviews, including a very bad one from Donald Keene. I knew this was coming and did my best to stop it. The best I could do was to have it delayed for a month." This made the relationship between Strauss and Keene all the more delicate as "[Keene] is accepted here as the best American authority on Japanese literature" (Strauss 1956i). The extent to which reviews encourage or thwart sales is not something that can be accurately calculated, but Strauss took this very seriously.

After he used his capital to delay the release of Keene's review, Strauss took the matter up with him directly:

The essential question is this: considering only the English text, in Mrs. Uramatsu's splendid rendering, does it not justify itself even in the literary as well as the historical sense? This is an old question in one way. We have often rejected the academic judgments of foreign literary circles. One of the most famous cases is the preference in Germany for the work of Heinrich over Thomas Mann. (Strauss 1956k)

Try as he might, Strauss was unable to convert his capital into the reviews he had engineered for the previous translations, and in particular gain Keene's approval. The review in *The Atlantic* by Charles Rolo was more to Strauss' liking. Records indicate he had the text of this review in hand before publication in the coming issue, which he had relayed to Uramatsu (Strauss 1956i). This is further evidence that *The Atlantic* acted as an agent on behalf of Knopf, Inc., and evidence of Strauss' reach. That reach did not extend to Donald Keene, who was solidifying cultural and social capital to secure his position as the foremost specialist in Japanese literature.

News of Keene's review hit Japan, and it was slammed in the *Asahi Weekly* in a piece by an unidentified writer. This development was reported on by Edward Seidensticker in his *Japan Quarterly* review of Uramatsu's translation: "The controversy began when Dr. Donald Keene wrote an unfavorable review for *The New York Times*. ... Savage and hysterical, the [*Asahi Weekly*] article accused Dr. Keene of being a *poseur* out to show off his smattering of Japanese" (1956 256). The controversy centered on whether Yoshikawa's adaptation itself was a landmark in Japanese literature, acclaimed as such by critics in Japan, according to the translator's note in the English edition. Keene took exception to this. The discussion is complicated by the fact that potentially three texts were under discussion: the original 12<sup>th</sup> century documents, Yoshikawa's adaptation in modern Japanese, and Uramatsu's English adaptation thereof. Seidensticker was at pains to point out that Uramatsu's text calls for praise, but also that the adaptation by Yoshikawa in modern Japanese was no literary landmark. These reviews, epitextual matter, constitute an example of the discourse surrounding the target text, which Toury (1995 65) refers to as extratextual matter; the discourse here having occurred in both the source and target culture systems. The actors

attempted to further transculturate the work in reviews by portraying it in a manner conducive to the interests of their own analyses. By doing so, they provide an image of the work from which they seek to position it in Japanese literature. Consequently, the discourse ultimately played out in the literary contact nebulae of both the source and target cultures, and drew lines between native and non-native parties in both languages.

Uramatsu Fuki implored Strauss to write an article to clear up the many misconceptions in other reviews by Earl Miner and Faubion Bowers in the *Saturday Review* and *Herald Tribune* respectively (1956c). Strauss informed her that specialists had pigeon-holed Yoshikawa as only a popular novelist. “The novel is being reviewed by Japanese ‘experts,’ instead of by qualified American literary critics and reviewers. The so-called experts have somehow or other gotten the idea that Yoshikawa is only a popular novelist, an opinion which does exist in some quarters in Japan” (Strauss 1956q). According to his letter to Keene, Strauss had hoped that the novel be evaluated as an adaptation in English and not predicated on the judgements of literary circles in academia. The publisher and scholars of the nascent field of Japanese studies were at odds in the epitextual discourse in the target culture, and as a result, much of this controversy took the focus off the possible merits of the English adaptation.

*The Heike Story* was published in November of 1956 with lower-than-expected sales. The experience was all the more bitter as Strauss had expected to publish the next volumes of Yoshikawa’s *Shin Heike Monogatari* (The New Tale of the Heike Clan) with Uramatsu as translator, and had spent the extra funds on artwork. The movie was under review by Walt Disney Productions, but nothing came of this potential tie-in of book and film. A month later, Uramatsu wrote to Strauss over the many errors she found in Keene’s review (Uramatsu 1956c). Further letters followed but went unanswered by Strauss. Uramatsu wrote to Random House on behalf of the late Yoshikawa years later, and after some time there was a response from William Koshland of Knopf, Inc., who replied that the book was indeed out of print, but that the plates were available “at one-quarter of their original cost, which would come in this instance to the sum of approximately \$1,380.00” (Koshland 1966a). Uramatsu was grateful. “I am glad indeed that you have clarified a number of points on which I wrote to your editor in the past several years, for I have received no response to my letters” (Uramatsu 1966). She had misunderstood that a print run of 10,000 copies meant that they had been sold out. Koshland clarified the situation. “You are quite right in rehearsing the terms of the contract, and I’m sorry to have to tell you that we never sold more than 5,311 copies. What you asked

me is how many we printed. We had to remainder at less than cost 3,754 copies” (Koshland 1966b). In addition, Koshland followed up on the Tuttle reprint royalties, which in theory continue to be paid to Yoshikawa’s estate to this day as the Tuttle edition is still in print. Secker & Warburg in London passed on this title.

The tremendous success of this historical work in adaptation by a modern Japanese author did not extend to its adaptation in English, and the experiment cost Strauss and the Knopf firm time and money. Moreover, it sparked an acrimonious debate in both source and target cultures about the work and the place of an author in Japanese literature. Yoshikawa was effectively written out of the English canon of Japanese literature by the lack of support from the Japanese specialists who reviewed the work on their own volition. Strauss would have preferred silence over uninvited actors in the network. He had hoped the reviewers, most of whom he was acquainted with, would be more help in the general promotion of his Program rather than use the opportunity to accrue capital themselves by superimposing their critical views on this title.

### **6.3 *Snow Country* (1956) softcover, (1957) hardcover; *Yukiguni* (1937)**

Kawabata Yasunari was one of the writers Strauss had hoped to publish, though he had reservations on how Kawabata would come across in English. This writer was president of the Japan PEN Club (1948-1965), and was also an established best-selling author in Japan. Strauss had solicited Seidensticker’s views on this author when they first corresponded: “I think that Sembatsuru [*Thousand Cranes*] would translate better than Yukiguni [*Snow Country*], and perhaps Yama no Oto [*The Sound of the Mountain*] better than either” (Seidensticker 1954b). Before any negotiations began Kawabata gave the rights for the translation of the novel *Yukiguni* to UNESCO. This required Strauss to position himself between the author and the organization by using his social and symbolic capital to get the job entrusted to Seidensticker. Strauss thought an association with this author would benefit both the firm and the young translator.

At that time Strauss had been corresponding with Yamata Kikō, the daughter of a Japanese diplomat and Swiss mother, who had been asked to translate the novel into the French by UNESCO. She confided to Strauss that her knowledge of the Japanese language was erratic. She suggested a translation method to him: “Tackle the Japanese text with a collaborator. Or set to work with a Japanese whose rendering into French or English you

correct and control” (Yamata 1955a). Strauss expressed some disappointment as he “had some hope that your translation would show us how Kawabata could specifically be translated into English” (1955n). Strauss had translated fiction from French into English himself so having Yamata’s translation available might have helped with his editing.

Seidensticker informed Strauss that “I would like to have a try at the translation—which I am afraid is more likely than not to be a failure” (Seidensticker 1955a). Strauss knew UNESCO was vetting translators and wrote back that: “If there is a possibility of your being chosen by UNESCO, I would naturally back the choice as strongly as possible. There seems no doubt that Yukiguni is the Kawabata novel to choose” (Strauss 1955o). The next month Strauss received a letter from Ivan Morris suggesting that he had been recommended to UNESCO to translate the work into English by David Carter, secretary of the English PEN Club. Strauss intervened directly with UNESCO, and with the use of capital in the form of prestige of the Knopf firm provided the conclusive incentive. He casually wrote to Seidensticker of his plans: “Just a note to tell you that I have told M. Caillois of UNESCO that if he formalizes his agreement with you to translate Kawabata’s Yukiguni, we shall immediately enter into negotiations with Kawabata to publish it here” (Strauss 1955p). This is exactly what happened, and with UNESCO funding the translation, the risk of publishing an author that presented challenges was lessened. Strauss then used his social and symbolic capital to sway the vetting process of the translator. He obviously preferred the translation to be in the hands of someone already working with him and therefore blocked out Morris.

Kawabata gave rights in English to UNESCO, which in turn had commissioned Seidensticker to do the translation for three francs a word (Seidensticker 1955b). He was to provide three carbon copies of the manuscript to UNESCO. The agreement with UNESCO provided that a publisher is guaranteed an order of 200 copies and publicity in UNESCO newsletters. Strauss later wrote he thought of this as a trifling consideration (Strauss 1962a). Knopf made an agreement with UNESCO for rights to publish, but this left the translator out of the loop with regards to further payments: “You understand that under this arrangement it would be paid by UNESCO, not by us. We in turn must pay a royalty to UNESCO on the sales of the book, as well as a royalty to the author” (Strauss 1955q). This meant no royalties for the translator. No further contract data was found in the archives.

Knopf was not paying Seidensticker for the translation, but Strauss retained full editorial control of the production process. UNESCO also had a standing provision that authors approve of their translations, and a note to that effect had to be included in the book.



Kawabata agreed to this, but Strauss was wary of an author having this authority as Kawabata did not seem to have the language skills to do so. The upshot of this was that Knopf agreed to include a note to the effect that the translation had been authorized by Mr. Kawabata, which appears in the peritext.

By November of 1955, Seidensticker submitted his translation of what was entitled *Snow Country*, complete with an introduction of several paragraphs. A number of letters were exchanged over the revisions in the manuscript. Strauss felt the translation had been brought off beautifully, but he was perplexed by the relationship of the two main female characters in a romantic triangle with the male lead: “When I read the original, I was puzzled as to the relationship between Yoko and Komako. I thought it was my faulty Japanese. But I am just as puzzled now that I have read your translation. Have you any words of enlightenment on the subject?” (Strauss 1955r). The response prompted a consultation by Seidensticker directly to Kawabata: “I saw him yesterday, and in general we seem to agree. The details of the romantic triangle in the novel were left purposefully vague, lest it take on clarity out of proportion to its significance” (Seidensticker 1955c). This is an example of the close level of collaboration amongst the editor, translator and author, and the facilitative role of the translator in the actor-network. It led to a rewriting of a paragraph in Seidensticker’s introduction to explicate the subtlety in the characters’ relations. The collective existence of the actors influenced the outcome through their elaborations in the process which brought the final product together.

The translation was further complicated by repetitions in the story. It originally appeared in serial publication but was not revised when published in book form. In fact, Kawabata started the novel in 1935, and it first appeared in book form in 1937, and then was added to and revised in the 1948 and 1952 editions. Seidensticker acquired Kawabata’s consent to abridge the work. With regard to the first draft of the introduction, Strauss pointed out another in-house reader found the tone was a little negative and over-deprecatory. “Please remember that in those few novels that do have introductions, the customer is likely to decide whether or not to buy the book by reading the introduction in the bookshop. So you cannot be altogether objective; you have to be a little bit the salesman,” and added another request of Seidensticker: “Incidentally, when you next see Kawabata, would you ask him to send me two copies of any new novels by him (not short stories or nonfiction) as they are published? I ask for two copies because I generally read aloud with the Japanese girl—thus combining business with the slow but steady improvement of my reading ability” (Strauss 1956k). From these remarks it can be inferred that Strauss was trying to read novels in the original when

possible with the assistance of a native speaker of Japanese, and that this person might have influenced his editing of a manuscript. It is not clear who ‘the girl’ is, but it was likely Fumi[ko] Komatsu, who designed the dust jacket for this book also.

*Snow Country* received a welcome reception upon its publication with reviews by Donald Keene in the *New York Herald Tribune*, and by Charles Rolo in *The Atlantic* that were both supportive. Thus, this translation was granted the capital of both specialists and literary critics. One review Strauss did not welcome was from Faubion Bowers, who was also positioning himself as a Japan specialist. He pointed out in his review that the previous Tanizaki work translated by Seidensticker had not sold well, and that although this was a better and shorter work, Bowers did not identify the theme of the possibility of love described on the dust jacket (1957 14-15). Strauss supervised or perhaps even wrote this copy. Either way, he was increasingly put off by Bowers’ reviews.

It was during the production of this work that a campaign for a Japanese writer to be nominated for a Nobel Prize began to intensify. Strauss knew that the prize had not been awarded to an Asian writer for decades, which boded well for a Japanese writer. Seidensticker thought Kawabata might be a better prospect than Tanizaki for two reasons: “For one thing, he is still young and growing; for another, I think he has considerably more depth than Tanizaki” (1955f). Strauss hoped more than one writer might be considered. “The Nobel Prize Committee does not give out any information, but if they are considering the Tanizaki nomination at all, they would be doing so in the next few months” (1955w). As there is a fifty-year lag on release of information on the nomination process by the organization, any statement on the inner workings is speculation, as Strauss duly notes.

Alfred Knopf, no stranger to the literary capital of the Nobel Prize, was less aloof in his oversight of his editor-in-chief’s time and the firm’s resources after the lack of success with the prior titles in this Program. In a rare intervention into the production process, he decided to release the first printing in soft cover to save on costs. The back cover of the paper binding edition copyrighted in 1956 includes a note from the publisher and is quoted below:

By publishing this first printing of *Snow Country* at about one-third the normal price, we are giving the adventurous reader and writer a break. If the experiment is successful, later additions will be printed and bound in the conventional way and will sell at the customary figure. *Snow Country* is a good book, and I hope readers will take a chance on it. (Knopf, A. 1956)

Alfred Knopf was also aware that, as Casanova (2004 23) argues, “the power of consecration in the world of letters is a struggle for literary capital that utilizes the weapons of critical reception and translation.” *Snow Country* did appear in a second printing in hardcover soon after in January of 1957, but was not reprinted. It was published in hardcover at Secker & Warburg in London and by Charles E. Tuttle in paperback in Japan in 1957, and reprinted in mass market paperbacks. However, not enough readers warranted another edition of this book in hardcover at Knopf until Kawabata won the Nobel Prize a decade later in 1968. Seidensticker later made minor corrections in a 1990 Limited Editions Club printing of 375 copies signed by himself and the book designer.

The unbinding of this translation has shown the network Strauss assembled in the production, design and promotion of this title was considerable. He managed to obtain the cooperation of all the parties with a vested interest. In the wider literary contact nebula, most leading specialists and others threw their capital behind the work and the author, but the result was again a disappointment to the publisher. This indicates that even with all the power-wielding actors within the network working in unison, the English-reading public did not show enough interest to keep Kawabata in print until he was awarded of the Nobel Prize to eleven years later.

#### **6.4 *Fires on the Plain* (1957), *Nobi* (1951)**

The novel concerns wartime experiences of an imperial Japanese soldier in the Philippines and was written by Ōoka Shōhei, a former POW of the American forces there who returned to writing and his scholarship of French literature after the war. As with many Japanese writers, Ōoka studied a particular author, in this case the French author Stendahl, and translated his works into Japanese. Strauss had passed on a novel of Ōoka’s, *Musashino Fujin* (1950), later translated as *A Wife in Musashino* (2005), some years earlier because he thought it to be an imitation of a French novel. The house was already actively translating French literature from France. However, Ōoka wrote a series of successful war diaries considered semi-autobiographical in nature. *Nobi* was adapted for cinema twice; the first film was directed by Ichikawa Kon in 1959, and more recently by director Tsukumoto Shunya in 2014.

Strauss had originally turned to Ivan Morris to translate *The Journey* by Osaragi Jirō, the first novelist in the Program, with the author himself abbreviating portions as he saw fit

for the American audience. However, the revised Japanese manuscript never arrived. In the meantime, Morris prepared an anthology of translations from modern works. Strauss passed on this, but did introduce him to other publishers “because of my personal interest in things Japanese and my contacts with American magazines, I may be able to put some interesting magazine proposals before you” (Strauss 1955s). This anthology was also published with the assistance of UNESCO.

Strauss next raised the question of Ōoka’s novel that centers on the chilling recollections of an imperial soldier in a failed campaign in the Philippines. Morris had a high opinion of the book and hoped to translate it: “I have incidentally discussed this possibility with Mr. Ōoka, whom I first met in Paris, and more recently in Oiso [Japan], and he is in agreement” (Morris 1955a). Strauss responded that Brewster Horwitz had had much the same view and he could not disregard two such informed opinions. This was in line with his soliciting opinions from those he thought more qualified than himself, which prompted Strauss to request a sample.

Morris began the translation at his own risk without a contract. Strauss was pleased with what he read, and Morris was offered a contract for the novel entitled *Fires on the Plain* in April of 1956: “I need hardly tell you how pleased I was to hear that your firm has decided to publish NOBI. As I think you know, I am very much interested in the success of this book (apart from my role in it) and I am delighted to know that a firm of your caliber that will bring it out. NOBI is to my mind a masterpiece of our times and I hope that it will have the reception that I am convinced it deserves” (Morris 1956a). He was fully cognizant of the symbolic capital of the prestigious Knopf firm and this gave his translation of Ōoka’s novel a better chance for the consecration of this text as a recognized and legitimized literary work. The manuscript record indicates it arrived soon after on June 11, 1956.

The office records for the publication of *Fires on the Plains* are more complete than those for other novels in the Knopf Archives and offer an insider’s view of the in-house procedures. The Manuscript Record of June 11, 1956 is accompanied by three reports: one by Strauss, one by an “HR”, and one by Alfred A. Knopf, Jr. The first two reviewers were enthusiastic and complimentary, but Knopf, Jr. was not: “I found this a rather unpleasant novel, written in a quite unsensational manner. Speaking entirely from the sales point of view, I don’t see how this could be a successful publishing venture.” Neither Knopf himself nor his wife wrote a report on their reading; their initials appeared in a column marked not read. This is typical of the general lack of interest the Knopfs showed in the artistic side of the Program.

Strauss was able to exercise considerable influence in an air of indifference, in this case outright condemnation of a novel.

The Trade Editorial Publication Proposal is dated July 19, 1956 and outlined the terms of the agreement as stated below. Morris had retained an agent, Curtis Brown, to represent him for his anthology of Japanese short stories. This did not bother Strauss, except that it added another layer of paperwork. The contractual terms were not subject to change. Morris would simply have to pay the agent from his own share. Strauss felt a strong selling point would be the precedent of German war novels, and that this book from "our other major enemy" (see below) would attract the reading public.

Date 7/19/56

Trade Editorial Publication Proposal

Author: Shohei Ooka Agent: Probably Curtis Brown  
Address: c/o Ivan Morris, Proprietor  
American Express, Tokyo  
Readers: HS, HF, B.K., AAK, AK Jr.  
Other Recommendations, if any: Translator, Brewster Horwitz, Fred Warburg

.....  
TITLE OR DESCRIPTION: PIRES IN THE PLAINS

MATERIAL SUBMITTED: Complete ms, subject LENGTH: 65,000  
to minor revisions  
DELIVERY: Revisions in a few weeks. ILLUSTRATIONS: No  
BOOK SIZE: 4 1/4 x 6 1/2  
PUBLISH: Spring, 1957  
ESTIMATED PRICE: \$3.50  
ROYALTY: 17 1/2% to 7,500; 20% to 15,000; 23% thereafter (whlse.)  
ADVANCE: \$750.00 on signing

.....  
NINE  
EST. ~~WHOLE~~ MONTHS SALES: 5,000, but more EST. ADVANCE SALES: 3,500  
if highbrow reviewers come thru.  
BASIC PROMOTION METHODS: I propose to stick my neck out and to claim that  
this is one of the best novels to come out of World War II in any  
language. I hope that I will get immediate backing from Angus  
Wilson (now reading) and other highbrow British critics, and subsequent  
backing from their American opposite numbers. If the interest in  
German war novels indicates anything, the time is ripe for interest  
in the war novels of our other major enemy.

ESTIMATED PLANT: \$1,600  
ESTIMATED MFR: Copies: 6,000 Cost: 45¢ (\$2,700)

REMARKS: My figures are minimum. If the  
outside support comes through, I hope to  
raise them.

Editor: \_\_\_\_\_

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Strauss again relied on the translator to make the arrangements with the Japanese author. These contractual matters Morris followed through with on the ground in Japan. An option on future rights was included but would prove unnecessary, as this would be the only novel by Ōoka translated at Knopf.

The translation being finished, the matter of editing remained. At this point the literary contact nebula consisted of the writer, editor and translator, but then it grew to include readers from the British house which Knopf worked with on these titles. Morris was educated in England until university, though he was of American and Swedish descent. This translation copyrighted by Knopf appeared first in England from Secker & Warburg as a way to save on the costs of printing plates and copy editing.

Strauss wrote requesting two major changes; to delete any reference to the character's survival, and to cut of approximately two pages in the epilogue. The page numbers below refer to Morris' typed draft, not the original or published translation:

The first serious question concerns the epilogue. Four out of five readers here objected strongly to the greater part of the epilogue, saying that for them it fell quite flat. We were discussing this when we received Fred Warburg's initial enthusiastic comment, specifically endorsing the epilogue. We then thought that under the circumstances we would make no comment. But one of his readers—a very good one—in a subsequent report asked if the postscript is really necessary, saying he found it anticlimax. This naturally provoked new discussions here. We are reluctant to tamper with the original very much, and by careful analysis and close questioning I was able to pin down the offending material chiefly to the passage which begins toward the foot of page 251 and ends virtually at the foot of page 253. In this passage Tamura and his doctor exchange a lot of psychiatric jargon. It seems to us that it is this passage which more or less underscores the rather stereotyped nature of the psychiatric ending. After much thought, I must ask you to discuss the possibility of dropping of two pages with Mr. Ooka. We would not want to drop them without his consent. (Strauss 1956l)

The cut involves the main character Tamura describing a messianic complex and his doctor's resulting analysis of the patient's mental state.<sup>42</sup> Morris responded to Strauss: "I have carefully studied your letter of the 28<sup>th</sup>, and agree entirely with your views on the two major problems mentioned, viz. the omission of the dialog with the doctor and of references to the narrator's survival. I'm seeing Mr. Ooka on Friday and shall strongly urge him to agree to these changes; I agree with you that they are too important to be made without his consent" (Morris 1956c). It is important to note he had to stop and consider this carefully. Morris brought the matter to the author personally: "After some initial hesitation, I am pleased to say that he agreed to both the changes in question, and these can now be made" (Morris 1956b). The changes and the cut in the last section were in time for both the UK and American printing.

Recent research has called into question the omissions in the epilogue section of the translation and extrapolated that these were the doing of Morris. Stahl argues that: "he [Morris] could not resist the temptation to 'fix' it by excising sentences and passages he personally found to be undesirable or extraneous," and thus in fact undermined the work to some extent (2003 347). The letter from Strauss to Morris on this transculturation by omission indicates that this is not what happened. Morris may have consented to the decision taken by Strauss, but he did not initiate these cuts or excise them in his draft of the translation. He had fully expected the text in question to appear in the published translation. In his developing *habitus* as a young translator, Morris was swayed by the opinions of the established publishers, whose symbolic capital was understandably persuasive. Morris wrote later that he made the cuts with the author's permission in an article, which appeared in Japanese translation many years later. The article was republished after his untimely death in 1976 (Morris 1978 110). The original English article has not survived to my knowledge. His recollection is a striking mixture of the commentaries by Strauss and the readers in London, and in contradiction with his correspondence held in the archives. Below are excerpts of his memories of the translation which I have translated back into English:

私自身もふくめ「野火」を賞讃する多くの欧米の読者は、作品の結末に関しては疑問を呈している。というのは、終末に至り、作者はこの小説に冒頭から生気を与えてきた劇的なリアリズムを離れ、調子を変えように思われるからである。

Most of the English-reading public, including myself, who admire the novel *Nobi* have expressed some doubt about the ending. Which is to say, it is thought that as the ending approaches, the author veers from the dramatic realism that he has brought to life from the beginning of the novel. (109)

この冗長な盛り上がりのないエピローグ（英訳に際しては著者の許可を得て、私は数カ所で省略したが）、多くの日本の現代小説に取り憑いている告白体文学への好みを示す典型的な例といえよう。

The wordy and tiresome epilogue (with the author's permission I omitted passages in a few places) is a stereo-typical example of an obsession in the modern Japanese novel, which is indicative of a preference for confessional literature. (109)

精神分析用語がしばしば用いられることが多い。

Psychiatric jargon is often used. (110)

The overlap of the lexical items is strikingly consistent with the correspondence above, as are the criticisms. In July of 1955, when Morris first recommended this novel to Strauss, not a word concerning the epilogue was mentioned. He then translated the novel from start to finish. When Strauss wrote Morris about the proposed changes, Morris had to examine it carefully before writing back to Strauss, making it apparent this was new to him and not something he had thought all along. While some translators might have held a grudge, Morris apparently embraced this change and apparently began to think of it as his own. The influential comments of the publishers had become woven into his *habitus* and eventually appear to form a part of his memories.

This is not a dismissal of Stahl's scholarship. In fact, if not for his mention of Morris operating in the discourse of literary criticism in the source culture, this finding would not have come to light. Stahl's argument concerning Ōoka's imaginative working through of his personal war experience is not predicated on whether the publisher or the translator was responsible for the omissions. On the contrary, he fills in the blanks by adding his own English translations of passages which were deleted decades prior. His research coupled with



the archival correspondence have thus allowed for a more thorough examination of the roles of the actors in the transculturation process. As Thornber suggests (2009 4-5), the text was reconfigured interpretively through critical discourse, as cultural products are subject to reconstruction when relations are unequal.

A number of changes to suit the American vernacular such as corn for maize were made, the substance of which are in the five-page letter quoted above with the major changes. Morris requested that his title, Ph.D. appear in all publicity materials. In response, Strauss pointed out another potential difference in American and British customs at the time: "It is not customary in this country to use the Ph.D. title. In fact it is rather suspect." (Strauss 1956m). The implication was that the title was for lay analysts who had not made the grade in academics. Morris was identified by name only on the title page and on the dust jacket. He was pleased with the eerie cover of the American edition, with its streaks of blood on black background dripping over a ragged soldier in grey etching. "I do hope you have success with this novel, despite the initial difficulty in stimulating advance interest. Your decision to postpone publication until after it has appeared in England is undoubtedly a very wise one. (Morris 1957a). As it turned out, sales stateside were lower than in the United Kingdom.

Strauss was unable to draw support for publicity reviews from the community of Japanese specialists and translators excepting Donald Keene.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps an association with the war put them off lending their capital to the cause. A review in *Time* magazine recommended the book as painful, but rewarding. A quote from the English writer Agnus Wilson was the only one on the dust jacket. The peritext on the jacket is at pains to point out the work has a universality that transcends the inscrutable Orient. Moreover, the dust jacket notes that Christianity is probably "the most striking 'foreign' influence in the novel" (1957). The omission of Tamura's messianic complex suggests that this passage may have been cut in order to have the character's religious beliefs more compatible with a mainstream Christian audience.

As of September, 1957, United Kingdom sales numbered a promising 5,678, but by December of 1957 sales had reached only 1,500 copies in the States. In order to soften the news, Strauss wrote to Ōoka that "this is not a best seller; but it is better than average for the books by writers published here for the first time" (Strauss 1957b). This hardly seems probable. The other titles of Japanese literature in English translation excepting *Homecoming* were not considered a success, but had approached or passed 5,000 copies sold. Tuttle soon had the book in print in Japan. Even so, this was the last novel by Ōoka considered for

translation at Knopf. However, his work has since been studied widely and translated (see e.g. Stahl 2003; Washburn 2005) and it is Morris who initiated this research with his bold decision to start this translation without any guarantee of publication. Morris was a young translator, at the time in his early thirties, and the potential social and symbolic capital held out by this project was impressive, which might be why he came to embrace the editorial changes as his own. Through the course of tracing the many actors involved in the production of this title, the fundamental dynamics of Actor-Network Theory are borne out, i.e. that the artifacts produced in a network are collective constructions with multiple mediators acting in a competitive manner.

### **6.5 *Five Modern Noh Plays (1957), Kindai Nō Gaku Shū (1956)***

No records for the decision to publish, to translate or produce this title were found in the archives. However, Donald Keene wrote in a memoir that this translation too was the result of a Ford Foundation fellowship, and that the publication would serve as something to show for his time spent in Japan then. He also mentioned he received a letter from Mishima: “Harold Strauss, the editor in chief at Knopf, at the time the leading American publisher of translated literature, had written him to the effect that Grove Press would probably be the best place to publish the translation” (1994 170). Grove Press had put out Keene’s anthology of Japanese literature. Strauss subsequently changed his mind after reading the plays in English and decided to publish it as a favor to the young author.

As a friend of Mishima’s, Keene had access to him for questions regarding the text. One character was renamed after the author and the translator consulted each other. Keene noted that “in English one simply cannot say Mrs. without a surname. It is possible to say Madam, but unfortunately there was already another character in the play referred to as *madamu*, Keene explained. Mishima therefore created the name Tsukioka Hanako for the English translation (1990 172). Mishima was also in New York for some months in 1957 and in frequent contact with both Strauss and Keene, who had organized the visit. Mishima had hoped to stage theatre performances of his work.

The archives contain little data on Keene’s translations at Knopf, showing that his growing capital appears to have kept the editor from delving into his work as Strauss had with other translators. Keene’s name appears on the dust jacket, and on the cover page as translator. He was the only translator accorded this recognition thus far. Strauss was

conscious of the growing status of Keene in the field of Japanese studies. Reviews followed from Earl Miner, Kenneth Rexroth and Donald Richie. The work was taken up by Secker & Warburg in 1957, and was published in paperback by Charles E. Tuttle in Japan in 1967. The first reprint was in paperback by Vintage in 1972. Keene had hoped to add a sixth play and omit the original dedication to Faubion and Santha Bowers, but this proved impractical with regard to costs. The pair Strauss had most intently on his mind was Keene and Mishima, whom he hoped would continue to work as a team and bring his firm the potential capital this formidable duo might bring. Keene and Mishima were on friendly terms and it appears in this network they would work out the details of a transculturation and report their decisions to Strauss. This was not the manner Strauss had handled the process with Seidensticker and Morris previously. It also speaks directly to the social nature of translation, and shows how the bond between author and translator kept Strauss, comparatively speaking, at bay in the process.

#### **6.6 *The Makioka Sisters* (1957), *Sasame Yuki* (1948)**

This title was originally released complete in three volumes. It began as a serial in a monthly magazine until it was stopped by the Japanese authorities after two installments in 1942, on the grounds that the privileged class portrayed was inappropriate to the austere conditions of war. Tanizaki continued writing for a time nevertheless and had 200 copies of the first volume printed privately in 1944.<sup>44</sup>

The novel chronicles the lives of four sisters and the efforts to have them married off in the midst of a prosperous family's decline. Tanizaki might have hoped this work would be translated into English by Arthur Waley. According to Donald Keene, Waley found the book rather flat: "Arthur Waley had given me the copy of *The Makioka Sisters* that Tanizaki had sent him. Probably Tanizaki hoped that the translator of *The Tale of Genji* would also wish to translate the 'modern version' of the great classic" (1994 176). Tanizaki had signed and inscribed this edition to Waley.

Strauss had also considered this work in 1951, but decided against it: "American readers will most likely be unable to understand it sufficiently well to make it worthwhile publishing here" (Strauss 1951c). Three years later he explained to Seidensticker how circumstances are subject to change: "At that time I had not read any of it myself, and I was led to believe that the Osaka dialect and allusions would be impossible to translate. ...

Essentially, the old negative decision was always a tentative one, based on testing of the market with less costly experiments. And publishers even change their ‘definite’ decisions” (Strauss 1954c). The concerns of understandability to an American audience and the perceived degree of translatability of a text, as factors in the selection of texts, were in flux as the Program developed.

Before the publication of *Some Prefer Nettles* in May of 1955, Seidensticker had entered into negotiations with UNESCO to translate Kawabata Yasunari’s novel *Yukiguni* (*Snow Country*, 1956), and he was now being pressed to take on another translation. His Ford Foundation grant was gone and he needed to have a viable income to remain in Japan. The slow sales of *Some Prefer Nettles* had led to lower than anticipated payment. The length of *Sasame Yuki* was such that Seidensticker had figured it would require a year or more to complete, so he put the question to Strauss:

A full translation of Sasame Yuki would come to 250,000 words, I would judge, however terse the style. With judicious cutting, under Tanizaki’s supervision of course, this could possibly be reduced to 200,000. I would therefore have to do from three to five times as much translating as for Some Prefer Nettles, probably about four times as much, for less than three times the money; and, since the advance would be larger, it seems not unlikely that chances for later royalties would be reduced—or am I only revealing my ignorance of the publishing business?” (Seidensticker 1955c)

Strauss realized that he was near losing one of his key translators.

The total number of words of English translation was a concern for Strauss, and he relayed his concern to the translator directly: “I have noticed that your translations are very terse and tight. I have not always felt that this is an advantage, although the loose, indefinite endings of Japanese sentences must be boiled down somewhat. In the case of Kawabata’s DANCING GIRL OF IZU, I felt you lost a little of the richness and languor of Kawabata’s style. But I have no hesitation in telling you that the tighter you make the translation of SASAME YUKI the better, not only because of its great length, but because such treatment in English is very appropriate to Tanizaki’s style. Perhaps some of the Osaka-ben [dialect] should not be translated at all, nor some of the pictures of the verbal interplay. You must, of course, not do violence to the original” (Strauss 1955t). The novel is set in the cities of

Ashiya, Kobe and Osaka and written in the dialects of the Kansai region. It was decided that it would be next to impossible to attempt to impose an American or British dialect on the dialog. This is a challenge Seidensticker discussed in his 1958 article, "On Trying to Translate Japanese," and the introduction to the reissued 1993 edition.<sup>45</sup> The original novel, unlike most of the works considered in this study, was not done entirely in installments, which was the common practice in literary monthlies. Accordingly, the primary reason for cuts in the translation was the length, not the repetitions from serialization of the novel.

The offer came within the month: "Mr. and Mrs. Knopf and I have sharpened our pencils, and by very close figuring, we now feel that we can offer you a total combined advance on Sasame Yuki of \$2,500.00. This means you would be guaranteed \$1,700.00 for a 200,000 word translation, and have a fairly decent chance of further income from the project" (Strauss 1955u). Royalties stayed at the same rate of the previous agreement. The contract proposal also revealed the importance of Seidensticker to Strauss' vision of the Program. The terms of the contract are exactly as outlined in the May 1955 letter, and are dated June 8, 1955. Seidensticker had gained Tanizaki's trust so he was now content to leave the details to his Japanese publisher. The extra readers invited by the translator and editor for the first title, and insisted upon by the author, were not part of this translation process. This seems to indicate that the confidence with which the translation was approached, a reflection of the evolving *habitus* of the translator, editor and author, would result in fewer people involved in this literary contact nebula.

The transculturation of the original results in roughly one-fifth of the book being cut in translation. Even with the anticipated cuts, Seidensticker gave a forewarning to the effect that "I fear I will need an editor at this time as I have never needed one before. I am being fairly bold in tightening it up, but even so I fear it is a sprawling mass. Tanizaki, whatever may be the theories we publicize in the introduction of *Some Prefer Nettles*, simply says too much" (Seidensticker 1956a). The dust jacket of that novel described him as a subtle and delicate writer. Here it is clear that transculturation of this novel is effecting a change in the author's style by way of omission, a perceived improvement to his writing, because tightening it up serves both the purpose of making the work shorter and that of making it more reader-friendly. The translation came to 530 pages when first published in hardcover. Seidensticker also prepared a list of descriptions of principal characters to help orient readers.

The manuscript got the full attention of the in-house editors at Knopf, with minor alterations numbering in the thousands. Seidensticker had no objection to nine-tenths of the

detailed changes, but had comments on fifty-six of the revisions, preserved in the archives (Seidensticker 1957a). Many comments were on word choice and resolved without further discussion, but on one point the translator consistently disagreed with the copy editors:

[It] involves a sentence in which a main verb in the past perfect is modified by a temporal clause. You frequently put the subordinate verb in the past perfect, as, for instance, in this sentence: ‘Long before, when the sisters had been girls... he had frequented the Osaka house’ ... I hold that this is not permissible, and that if the sentence were read in the natural order (He had frequented the house when the sisters were girls) no one would even be tempted to use the second past perfect. (Seidensticker 1957b)

Strauss wrote back: “I’m sorry to tell you that our best grammarians—and they are formidably good—insist on the correctness of the pluperfect where it was inserted” (Strauss 1957c). This is the same tactic Strauss used to convince Morris when citing “a very good reader” to support his point of view on a textual issue. The highly qualified entity proves his view beyond doubt. The translator later pointed out a fair number of sentences with exactly the same pattern in which the copy editors did not make the change, but Strauss made the final decisions in the manuscript and applied case-by-case decisions on matters of grammar and style. Strauss arguably had the last say, but this apparently led to quality-related stress in the production network, not unlike that described by Abdallah (2012 33).

As *Snow Country* had already been published, the titling of *Sasame Yuki* was complicated. It was referred to as *The Thin Snow* in Donald Keene’s anthology, and that title was taken up by the reviewer Anthony West, giving it further exposure. Strauss suggests:

I have been under continuous and rather insistent pressure from Donald Keene to use the English title for Sasame Yuki that he has been using, that is, THE THIN SNOW. I certainly don’t feel that this is the best possible title, but on the other hand it is not a bad title. Donald has been writing a great deal, and his little book on Japanese literature as well as his two volumes of anthologies have had quite an extensive circulation. It would seem a real pity not to capitalize on all this advance publicity, which of course is to the advantage of all of us. (Strauss 1955v)

Strauss was hesitant to go against Keene's wishes in light of his growing stature in the academic community. Seidensticker thought this was unwise: "I do not like THE THIN SNOW. I disliked it immediately when I saw it in Donald's book, and I told him so. ... I know, moreover, that there will be objections to it here in Japan, and that I will be held responsible. ... All in all, I must register my opposition. I think the initial saving and publicity will count little against the lingering doubt if Tanizaki does finally come up for an international prize" (Seidensticker 1955d). The translator was concerned about the reception of the English title in the source culture. According to Seidensticker: "Tanizaki has suggested that too much has been read into the title, which came to him at the spur of the moment" and suggests "Gentle Snow, or some variation of it" (Seidensticker 1955e). The question lingered. Strauss was calling it *A Dust of Snow* when it was under editorial review. Seidensticker later said Tanizaki had considered the title *San Shimai* (Three Sisters). Strauss decided on *The Makioka Sisters* after in-house readers suggested this title, which was used for the novel and the movie as well. According to Kai Nieminen, the Finnish translation also uses this title, *Makiokan sisarukset* because Seidensticker's translation had developed a cult following in modernist circles in Finland. He suggested the title *Lumen kuiske*, or *The Whisper of the Snow*, would best match the connotations the old Japanese usage of *sasameku*.<sup>46</sup>

The novel came off the press on Sept 12, 1957. It was also a title published in the UNESCO collection of representative works, but this time the translator was entitled to royalty payments as the firm had commissioned the translation. Strauss had better luck attracting promotional quotations from those with substantial academic and social capital. The jacket design featured blurbs by Donald Keene and by American writer Kay Boyle. It was unfavorably reviewed by Anthony West of *The New Yorker*, who referred to it as a medical novel. Kenneth Rexroth continued his reviews of the Knopf titles in *The Nation*. Strauss generally did not approve of his reviews after Rexroth had offered alternative poetry selections to what Keene included in his anthology in a previous review, apparently in an effort to gain symbolic and social capital as well as to shape the debate over what type of Japanese poetry was best to select for translation into English. Strauss was unable to stop the uninvited reviews by those who sought to influence the trajectory of these titles. He made an effort to placate any worries the poor reception may have had on the author:

My Dear Sensei, I hope that you are not too much disturbed by a few stupid reviews of SASAME YUKI which have appeared. In a peculiar sort of way,

this is a compliment to you. Because your books have become quite famous in America, our reviewers are much more critical than they were at first, when only a few Japanese novels had been published here. (Strauss 1957d)

The logic is questionable. He made further efforts to explain the reception of the novel to Tanizaki as the discourse spread to Japanese literary circles:

I am really shocked at the way Japanese newspaper reporters have distorted and falsified the general impression of the reviews in America. By far the majority of reviews were most enthusiastic, and I am considering only the best newspapers and magazines. For instance, I enclose herewith one from *The Atlantic*, which roughly corresponds in literary quality with Chūō Kōron. (Strauss 1957e)

*The Atlantic* is a magazine Knopf had close ties with for decades. Strauss would usually have Charles Rolo's reviews in hand before they were printed. The reporting of the American reviews in the Japanese press further shows how the Japanese source culture maintained its own sub-target culture for literature in translation. Strauss went to great lengths to explain away and to counter the lack of a quality press by showing indignation towards uninformed reviewers on both sides of the Pacific. He framed it as an important part of building an author's reputation.

The translation, which also had the support of stakeholders and specialists, was not considered a success in the original hardcover edition. It sold 3,800 copies in advance of publication. *The Makioka Sisters* was published in the United Kingdom and the Tuttle paperback edition for sale in Japan also appeared in 1958, and is still in print in Japan. The novel is now part of Knopf's Everyman's Library. This 1993 edition includes a revised introduction by the translator. Seidensticker notes that he made amplifications at the beginning "to ease the alien reader's way into the translation" (1993 xxii). He also recalls the *The New Yorker* review by Anthony West, which lingered in his *habitus* for three decades.



## 6.7 *Thousand Cranes* (1958), *Senbazuru* (1952)

This novel was written after the war and through the guise of the tea ceremony examines the tension of ritualistic practices in the postwar society. It touches on a move toward freedom from prescribed roles for women while they remained objectified in many quarters of society. Strauss wrote to Seidensticker during the revisions of *Snow Country* about the future of Kawabata Yasunari's work in English translation, based in part on Seidensticker's comments that he might make a better candidate for the Nobel Prize:

Until I read your version of Snow Country, I was afraid of the translation difficulties precisely in view of Kawabata's subtlety. The remaining difficulty about Kawabata as a publishing property is that he has written so many unfinished books. Or at least, one never knows when he will decide to add another section to a novel ... But I do hope, just as in the case of Tanizaki, to go on publishing other books by him. It is none too early for us to begin to discuss in an informal sort of way, which of Kawabata's books we should do next. I'd be glad to have suggestions from you. (Strauss 1955w)

In his next letter, Seidensticker (1956b) suggests either *Senbazuru* (*Thousand Cranes*, 1958) or *Yama no Oto* (*The Sound of the Mountain*, 1970). An additional incentive to consider *Senbazuru* was Strauss had learned that it had already been translated into German: "I think there is no doubt that we will want to do Kawabata's Sembazuru next, and of course want you to translate it. Several people have read the German, and it's made a great impression on them" (Strauss 1957f). Directness of translation was certainly a factor in the selection of this text for translation. Yatsushiro Sachiko, a Japanese person residing in Germany, was involved in team translations of the German editions of works by Kawabata among others. If the German translation were subsequently to be translated into English as an indirect translation, the future of Kawabata's English works might be in question. A novel by Hiroshi Noma entitled *Zone of Emptiness* (1956) came into English indirectly through French, and this trend, although not this author, concerned Strauss.

The matter of *Senbazuru* was put off when Seidensticker started the translation of *The Makioka Sisters* soon after finishing *Snow Country*. In the process of galley corrections for *The Makioka Sisters*, Strauss raised the subject again in July of 1957. Seidensticker was

naturally exhausted from having done three novels in succession, but more importantly he was dissatisfied with the translation process itself:

Frankly, the fact that translation has not paid off well is not a serious consideration. It is rather that I am still very tired from Sasame Yuki, and find translating in many ways rather degrading work, if that is not too dramatic a word for what I mean. There must have been a thousand places where I was convinced that I could have improved Sasame Yuki; and the fact that I was not at liberty to do so was, to say the least, dispiriting. (Seidensticker 1957c)

Seidensticker stated in his 1964 article that the translator should not engage in prettifying or tamper with the shape of a work by cutting away inconvenient details (23), and based on the above data it is evident he followed his conscience in this translation with regards to improvements. It would take an intensive contrastive study to make any hypothesis about the omissions in the translation. Seidensticker long insisted he was an amateur translator because he enjoyed the work. An interest in writing fiction was also something which he aspired to throughout his life and something which Bourdieu would have argued informed his *habitus*. Seidensticker's last published work, *The Snake that Bowed* (2006), nearly half a century later, is an openly experimental mixture of translation and adaptation. Although he had only one piece of fictional writing published, Knopf did publish his two major historical works on the city of Tokyo.

Strauss responded deftly to Seidensticker's literary inclinations and pressed for an answer on the Kawabata novel: "The book is much shorter, and surely Kawabata's style does not invite 'improvement.' Furthermore, I think you will find that over the long term your reputation as a writer is being established by your translations" (Strauss 1957g). He goes on to quote a number of reviews of *Snow Country* that praise the English style of the translation. The matter was raised again the following month. "I must ask you once again to give me your decision on translating Sembazuru. This can hardly be a big job for you, and I'm counting on you very much" (Strauss 1957h). It was at this time Seidensticker relayed his dissatisfaction with his name not appearing on the front dust jacket cover of *Snow Country*, as was the case with Donald Keene on *Five Modern Noh Plays*, and on the cover of *Snow Country* itself, where Keene was also identified with the title "Professor" in a promotional blurb. At that time Seidensticker had held no full-time university post, unlike some of his contemporaries.

No document for the title *Thousand Cranes* was located in the archives, but the contract is mentioned in a letter from Strauss: “Both your letter of October 6th and the signed Kawabata contract arrived. I am enclosing herewith a fully executed copy of the contract for you, together with a carbon copy of our letter to your bank indicating a deposit of \$250.00” (Strauss 1958a). If Seidensticker received two-thirds of the deposit as was the case with the Tanizaki novels, with half of his payment up front and half due upon completion, the total advance can be figured at \$750.00. The \$250.00 payment at completion is confirmed in a letter from Strauss in June of 1958. It is unlikely the royalty payments were of a different structure than the preceding direct contracts with Knopf as no author had yet sold well enough to warrant a reconsideration of terms. Strauss again relied on Seidensticker to act as a courier to deliver and return the contracts signed by the author. The multifaceted roles of the translator and the additional responsibilities were treated as a matter of course by Strauss, and the contributions are in line with what Latour postulates in Actor-Network Theory (2007 29).

By April of 1958 the manuscript that Seidensticker had written by hand and paid to have typed arrived by sea mail to New York. Strauss was pleased. “Over the weekend I read your translation of *Thousand Cranes*. It is an absolutely masterly translation, perhaps the best you have ever done” (Strauss 1958b). Strauss also found the use of footnotes skillful, and suggested more. After a second reading Strauss suggested: “Speaking of notes, I wonder if two paragraphs on the tea ceremony might not be helpful? We would not call this anything so formidable as an introduction. We would call it a note, and it could be signed by you. It could be written in the simplest possible terms, for the reader who has no real knowledge of what the tea ceremony is” (Strauss 1958c). The paragraphs which preface the novel are subsequently entitled, “A Note on the Tea Ceremony.” No additional payment was provided for, nor had it been in previous titles, but the translator was credited for this.

A second concern was raised by Seidensticker with regard to the German edition of the novel. It had a design of soaring cranes, not folded origami cranes. Strauss responded that “I shall of course avoid the obvious mistake of using naturalistic cranes on the dust-jacket of Senbazuru” (Strauss 1958d). That was until he received the deluxe Japanese edition from Kawabata which had the naturalized cranes on binding, box, and endpapers. Seidensticker in turned consulted Kawabata about this and, as a result, the important points were said to be that the cranes were in flight, and in large numbers to which Strauss replied frankly: “We do indeed want to please Kawabata if we can—we always try to please our authors—but we cannot make a Japanese looking book for the American market” (Strauss 1958e). The jacket

painting on the first hardcover edition has four cranes flying in various directions, and it was designed by Fumi Komatsu. Here the peritextual matter was another area where transculturation was considered necessary. The translator ferried information between the author and editor and was key to this network, but the final decisions remained the editor's.

A ten-page excerpt of *Thousand Cranes* appeared in the December 1958 issue of *Mademoiselle* Magazine. Strauss also sent a manuscript to William Maxwell of *The New Yorker* for comments. Maxwell commented favorably but refused to be quoted in publicity materials. Strauss was appreciative: "I am doing a pretty lonely job in a pretty esoteric field, and I absolutely have to have a discriminating check on my own judgment once in a while" (Strauss 1958f). Kenneth Rexroth, identified as the editor of *100 Poems from Japanese*, gave a mixed review in *The Saturday Review*, comparing Kawabata's relative merits with Osamu Dazai. The literary review remained a forum where capital was affirmed or, as was the case here, denied, by an actor perhaps seeking to cement their place as an expert in the field of Japanese literature. The judgment of the reading public was not favorable, if sales in hardcover at Knopf or in the United Kingdom were any indication. This was the fourth novel that Seidensticker translated for Knopf that had not yet returned a reasonable profit to the firm. A publisher the stature of Knopf relied on hardcover sales. Tuttle, on the other hand, sold several paperback reprints of this translation in the source culture Japan, which would seem to indicate the continuation of the long-standing trend of the source culture maintaining its own target culture.

### **6.8 *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* (1959), *Kinkakuji* (1956)**

The projected sales of 8,000 to 10,000 copies of Mishima's first work in English translation, *The Sound of Waves*, had Strauss considering another novel. Mishima was in New York several months in 1957. Strauss, Donald Keene and the film critic Donald Richie were all looking after Mishima during his extended stay. Donald Richie was also stationed in Japan soon after the war writing for *Stars and Stripes*. He was the art critic at the *Japan Times* in Tokyo for several decades and reviewed many of the Knopf titles. Richie was studying at Columbia during Mishima's 1957 trip. Mishima was hoping to stage his plays, but unable to find any reliable producers. He also had trouble writing. Strauss explained the stress had taken its toll:

Thank God, Mishima is no longer here. He stayed for six months, fretfully awaiting off-Broadway production of his Nō Plays, and constantly being disappointed. It was no fault of ours, but of course it was a strain for everybody. He himself was particularly under a strain, because he found he could not write here. He is back in Japan, and writing prolifically again. We will publish a new novel of his late next spring—a fine one with a lot of the Zen Buddhism in it. (Strauss 1958k)

Interest in Zen was growing stateside in the 1950s and Strauss hoped to capitalize on it.

He turned to Ivan Morris after Mishima and Meredith Weatherby had broken off their agreement over the division of payments: “It seems Weatherby and Mishima are about to break up on this point. . . . he seems greatly relieved that Mishima refused to give him a larger share of the advance on the next book. He has definitely bowed out of the picture, and I definitely want you to do Mishima’s next book, as you yourself proposed” (Strauss 1956n). Morris had written a report for Mishima’s *Ai no Kawaki* (*Thirst for Love*, 1969), but Strauss wrote that Mishima himself thought his more recent novel was better. *Kinkakuji* (1956) is based on an actual event at the Golden Pavilion in Kyoto, where an act of arson committed by an acolyte obsessed with the beauty of the temple.

No contractual record was located in the archives. However, an offer from Strauss is in evidence: “At this moment I see no reason why we could not pay a somewhat higher advance for a longer book—let us say \$750.00. With these figures in mind, you will be able to decide what you wish to do” (Strauss 1956n). Compared to the length and terms for *Thousand Cranes*, Morris was translating more pages for less money. By September of 1957 Morris wrote to make a progress report: “The work on my rough version of KINKAKUJI is progressing and should be completed by the end of the year” (Morris 1957b). He had also taken on the translation of Osaragi’s *Tabiji* (*The Journey*, 1960) prior to this translation in 1955 and was well behind schedule.<sup>47</sup> Mishima’s translation took precedence due to the social and symbolic capital it might bring.

In the course of this correspondence Strauss was advised by Mishima that Enchi Fumiko, Oé Kenzaburō and Takeda Taijun were authors to watch. Strauss was able to correspond in English with Mishima, which was advantageous for Strauss and led to more correspondence than Strauss had with the other authors. He generally got back letters in Japanese or had to communicate through intermediaries with the other novelists in the

Program. Moreover, Mishima was younger than the other Knopf authors in Japan and was active socially in the literary community. Thus, it is not surprising that Strauss would take the opportunity to consult him on such matters.

Strauss wrote to report on the progress to Mishima: “The translation of Kinkakuji arrived a little while ago. I’m half way through it and it looks as if Ivan Morris has done a splendid job” (Strauss 1958g). Strauss sent the translation to Nancy Wilson Ross, a board member of the Asia Society founded by John Rockefeller III. She was a writer and follower of Eastern religions so Strauss asked her to write the introduction. She was critical of the draft and felt perhaps a Japanese speaker might have written the prose. In correspondence years later, Strauss intimated Morris was assisted by Iwasaki Haruko with this translation (Strauss 1971a). Such collaboration was now commonplace in the networks which formed the literary contact nebulae that transculturated these titles and each new actor would add comments or angles of approach based on their own orientation. If sales are the measure of the success of the work, one might conclude this to be a wise practice as far as this title is concerned. One problematic issue is the assertion in the promotional materials that the translation was the work of one individual. Here it is not the text itself which is problematized but the subordinate role women are relegated to in the translation process, as the female Japanese assistants continually go uncredited for their contributions.

The manuscript for what came to be called *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* was sent to Knopf’s copy editors in September of 1958. Other titles considered were *The Golden Temple*, or *Conflagration*, a direct translation of the Japanese movie title *Enjo*, or the title suggested by the American distributor of the film, *The Firebrand*. Morris preferred *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* because it indicated to the reader that the temple and the pavilion are not the same thing. Strauss decided to use this title but to employ a shorter phrase “The Golden Temple” in the text. He also submitted sixty-eight questions of clarification to Morris about the draft, twenty-two of which Morris agreed to and the rest of which he responded to with alternatives or justifications. The subject matter with its Zen Buddhist background and the writer’s style was the source of the questions. Morris gave an overview of the situation:

In every single case that I have examined the peculiarity, vagueness, contradiction, or sheer nonsense exist in the original Japanese. Frequently I tried to make the English version more comprehensible than the Japanese

version, but of course there is a limit to this type of interpretive translation. Mishima's style, as of course you know, is full of peculiarities and KINKAKUJI has its full share of words, sentences and even whole paragraphs that are extremely startling, and sometimes virtually incomprehensible, in the original Japanese. For people who like Mishima's writing this is one of its charm; for those who don't these oddities appear as infuriating mannerisms. For the translator they present constant difficulties. To translate KINKAKUJI into limpid, logical English would, I believe, be to mistranslate it. (Morris 1958a)

Morris suggested to make the translation clearer or to drop the offending phrases entirely. He had reviewed portions of the text with Japanese friends, who were equally uncertain.

Examples of items they discussed ranged from simple items such as changing *utsukushikatta* from "beautiful" to "handsome" as it referred to a male character, to word choice when the complex phrases in translation were viewed as turgid as in the modifying phrase for the surface of a lake *susamajiku terikagayaku*, which went from "fantastically refulgent" to "glittering." Onomatopoeia adverbials for the cry of birds such as *chirichiri to* were also cut. Many of the expressions were from obscure Chinese characters both Morris and Strauss struggled to identify as some had fallen out of usage. Mishima had done background research and even visited the arsonist in jail, but Morris was convinced Mishima did not understand parts of what he had written (Morris 1958a). The main character stutters which added yet another challenge. Strauss had a different opinion of the stylistic challenges:

I simply cannot agree with you that when you say Mishima's Japanese is obscure, the English must necessarily be obscure. In the original Japanese, the grammar may be very obscure or even totally wrong, but the meaning is more or less clear because of the communicative qualities of the characters. I think Mishima's difficult passages can indeed be put into reasonably grammatical English without doing violence to the original. I have studied your comments carefully and suggested solutions in almost all cases. In a few of the cases I have cut a sentence or a paragraph, which I think is acceptable practice since it does not put words into Mishima's novel. (Strauss 1958h)

Omission had by now become a strategy employed when the network assembled struggled with the transculturation of the text as shown here and illustrated in the titles above. The literary contact nebula here was composed of those recruited by the translator and those by the editor. The number of additional hands in the translation and reading process included Strauss, his teacher, likely the artist/tutor Komatsu Fumiko, Nancy Wilson Ross, two of Morris' Japanese friends, perhaps including Iwasaki Haruko, and later Alan Watts, not to mention in-house readers. The final text was reviewed by Morris and Strauss after copyediting. Due to the thorough readings of the text and amicable relations maintained, the larger number of individuals in the network did not seem to hamper the reception of the text. In fact, the group members who remained in the network could have served to create more of a buzz with the release of the title by having an interest in its success.

Strauss tried two publicity strategies to support the reception of this novel. The first was tying its release to a movie. He turned to Douglas Overton of The Japan Society, Inc. in New York for assistance, and reminded him that he was doing his best to advance the program of translations of contemporary Japanese novels commercially:

While the program began fairly well, I am sorry to say that the last two or three books produced results that were not very satisfactory, and I would like to put the program on the upgrade again. I know that the Japanese Society has frequently been instrumental in having Japanese films released here, or at least securing previews for distributors, to which possibly literary critics and booksellers might be invited. I have just heard from Don Richie ... 'Mishima's Kinkakuji by Ichikawa Kon is 'the most pictorially beautiful film (and one with the strongest style) that I have seen' ... I wonder if there is anything you can do about this, such as prodding the proper people. (Strauss 1958i)

Strauss wrote Mishima about his strategy to promote this novel:

I have invited Nancy Wilson Ross, a very well-known American writer, to write an introduction to your novel. She has become very interested in Zen Buddhism, and in fact her book, "A Primer on Zen for Americans" will be published. Zen has become very much of a fad here. I am afraid Americans



are quite ignorant about it, and their opinions are not always to be taken too seriously. But it is much a fashion just now, and we might as well take advantage of that fact. (Strauss 1958j)

In the letter quoted above, Strauss also asked for two copies of any new novel because “Miss Komatsu” helped him a great deal. Fumi Komatsu is credited for the dust jacket painting of this book also. Strauss had hoped to get a promotional quotation from Alan Watts, who had written extensively on Zen Buddhism in English. Watts declined after reading an advance copy because the book dealt so little with Zen or with Buddhism. However, he did provide a number of suggestions about the terminology for the English titles of the offices in the priestly order of Zen Buddhism.

Nancy Wilson Ross revised her comments about the translation in the introduction: “It has been translated by Ivan Morris, one of the skillful young translators who are, since the war, beginning to make a place for themselves in the niche so long occupied alone by the redoubtable Arthur Waley” (1959 v).<sup>48</sup> That niche was occupied by a network of Knopf translators and Strauss’ trusted advisors, who again were on the same page in the promotion of this translation. The book was reviewed in *The New York Times* by Donald Keene. “This is Mishima’s third book to be published in the United States, making him the best-represented Japanese novelist here, although he is only 34. His earlier works were all of great interest, but *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* establishes Mishima’s claim as one of the outstanding young writers in the world.” Howard Hibbett in turn wrote in *The Saturday Review* that “one leaves the book with a new respect for his powers as a serious writer.” Through these reviews Keene and Hibbett clearly conferred symbolic capital on Mishima, Morris and themselves by solidifying their various positions as writers, translators and specialists. A Tuttle edition and one by Secker and Warburg were issued in Japan and the United Kingdom. This novel was reprinted in hardcover at Knopf several times. It is one of three titles from this Program in Knopf’s Everyman’s Library. A new introduction by Donald Keene was added to this 1995 edition replacing the one by Nancy Ross Wilson. It updates the profile of the work, its author and is indicative of Keene’s long-standing and widely-recognized capital of prestige and expertise.

## 6.9 *The Journey* (1960), *Tabiji* (1953)

The second novel of Osaragi's to be translated by Knopf was initially to be *Munekata Kyōdai*, a bestseller in Japan that had also been made into a movie in 1950 by the acclaimed director Ozu Yasujirō. A sign of how eager Ivan Morris was to do a work at Knopf is evidenced by his proposal to do 20% of the translation as a trial after Osaragi had agreed to cut certain passages that would make it more interesting to Western readers. Strauss concurred: "In regard to cutting MUNEKATA, I am in agreement with everything you say, but I have one thing to add. If Osaragi does not cut enough to suit you, please feel free to make further suggestions" (Strauss 1955x). By the end of August in 1955, Morris was still waiting for Osaragi's shortened version. The abbreviated version of Osaragi's book did not arrive, and was a cause of concern for Strauss. As time passed, Morris came to favor *Tabiji*, (*The Journey*, 1960). In November he wrote to Strauss insisting: "Tabiji is far better than Munekata Kyodai—opinion please" (Morris 1955b). Strauss consulted Howard Hibbett, who was of the opinion that judicious cutting may improve the reading experience. Upon hearing these thoughts, Strauss decided to go along with the translator's preference and offered to publish the book. He relied on Morris to relay to Osaragi the decision. It is described as a novel about Japan in the aftermath of the American Occupation. This eventually became the much-delayed 1960 publication at Knopf entitled *The Journey*.

Morris at this time was preparing his anthology *Modern Japanese Short Stories*. Strauss had freely given the English language rights of the Japanese authors under contract to Knopf. In refusing payment from Morris, Strauss requested cooperation: "Your good will is all I need in return for what little I have done. I would like to feel free to draw on this good will from time to time in asking your advice on the wisdom of translating and publishing other Japanese novels" (Strauss 1956o). The immediate advice he took was to have Morris abandon the translation of *Munekata Kyōdai* and start on *Tabiji* instead. No record of the contractual arrangements were located in the Knopf archives, but a document located at the Columbia University Library, Ivan I. Morris Papers indicates Morris entered into an agreement to translate the work at the rate of US\$10.00 per thousand words, and is signed by Morris and Blanche Knopf (Knopf, B. 1955a). The deadline negotiated with Strauss was October 31, 1957. Morris requested to be paid in installments, because at the time he had no salaried employment, to which Strauss agreed.

After he finished the first installment of *The Journey*, Morris began having second

thoughts about this work and wanted to stop. Strauss was adamant that he continue:

I didn't want even twenty-four hours to pass without notifying you that I could find no way of letting you drop the translation without doing a great injustice to Osaragi. The book is exactly what I expected it to be, and needless to say, your translation is beautiful. I do not for a moment argue that Osaragi is of the literary stature of Tanizaki, Kawabata, or even Mishima. I wouldn't argue that J.P. Marquand is of the stature of Faulkner or Hemingway—yet I would be delighted to publish him... I am in a way sorry to say, but it nevertheless seems probable, that this type of Japanese novel will in the end sell more widely than the more subtle ones. (Strauss 1956p)

Early in the Program, only Mishima and Osaragi were reprinted in hardcover. The translator was given a free hand in cutting the text. In contrast to Strauss' previous comments about putting words in an author's mouth, taking them out posed less of a problem.

Morris was working on several projects at the time, including a Saikaku Iharu translation, which Strauss had also passed on earlier in keeping with his policy of publishing living writers. Morris suggested subcontracting part of *The Journey* to another translator. Upon hearing this suggestion, Strauss responded with the following:

It may amuse you to know that actually this will not be the first time that one of Osaragi's novels has had more than one translator. For better or worse, probably the latter, I myself translated Chapter Thirteen of Homecoming to see how it would read in English before daring to embark on the Japanese program. It was always my intention to have Brewster Horwitz go over this chapter in detail, but, poor fellow, he died before he could do it (Strauss 1957i)

This admission is at odds with his Strauss' statement that he did not yet have the language skills to select novels for translation in May of 1953, when he first wrote to Komatsu Fumiko.

It took two months, but finally Morris responded:

After receiving your letter of May 6<sup>th</sup>, I spoke to John Bester about

cooperating with me in order to speed the completion of Tabiji. He is a very fine translator judging from his work on NARAYAMA BUSHIKO and I am sure that we can arrange things so that the two parts of the translation will be indistinguishable. His work on TABIJI is now underway and a new installment will be forthcoming in due course. (Morris 1957c)

The arrangement was fine with Strauss, but little work was forthcoming. After a couple months had passed, Strauss wrote that he was terribly disturbed that he had not heard of the status on either the Osaragi or the Mishima translation considering “the fact that I agreed to let you ‘subcontract’ part of the job, I am really astonished that the rest of the manuscript is not in my hands by this time” (Strauss 1957j).

Morris made an agreement with John Bester at US\$10.00 per 1,000 words as outlined below. Relations with Bester worsened as not much text was translated, and as deadlines were not being met. The job fell back into Morris’ hands and it grated on him: “Dear Harold, Just a note to let you know that I am working on the second half of Tabiji and shall let you have it as soon as possible. It seems a shame that it should be easier to publish trash like this than the works of Saikaku, but I suppose that is the way of the world” (Morris 1959a). The document for the subcontracting was on file and is shown below. The arrangement was only important to Strauss in that the translation progressed as quickly as possible.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

I, Ivan Morris, hereby agree to pay John Bester for his translation of the second half of TABIJI by Osaragi Jir6 at the rate of ten dollars (\$10) per thousand words, such payments to be made by me on delivery of a double-spaced typescript of all or part of the said translation, accompanied by one carbon copy, satisfactory in both form and substance to me.

Agreed:

Ivan Morris  
Ivan Morris

Date:

August 1st, 1957

In consideration of the above agreement, I, John Bester, hereby agree to deliver to Ivan Morris, for publication by Alfred Knopf Inc., 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y., my translation of the work referred to in the above agreement, one half of such translation to be delivered to him no later than September 15th, 1957, and the remaining half no later than November 30th, 1957. I further agree to read, correct and return proofs within fourteen days of their receipt by me.

Agreed:

John Bester  
John Bester

Date:

August 1, 1957

Strauss was satisfied with the result:

I received the final installment of THE JOURNEY on November 23, and read the whole novel through almost at once. Your translation is impeccable as usual, (Although I can perceive a few of Bester's touches in the middle of the manuscript), and I also quite agree with your estimate of the novel. Certainly

it has no outstanding literary distinction, but the story is lively and the characters are interesting and convincing. (Strauss 1959a)

One of the minor characters, an American in Japan, was modeled after Strauss' wife Mildred.

This follow-up novel of the first writer to appear in this Program took nearly five years to get to press. Strauss told Morris his firm was in a hurry to publish the work: "We have fallen behind on our production schedule ... I hope you will juggle any corrections which are necessary so that they will fit in the same space occupied by the material corrected, allowing only for some flexibility at the end of a paragraph" (Strauss 1960a). No further mention of the revisions was found. In the closing remarks of this letter, Strauss inquired after Morris' interest in another translation of a Mishima novel. Morris was not interested, and this was the last work he translated for Knopf. His career benefitted from his translations at Knopf, but he had endeavors which interested him more and would pay better in all forms of capital. His 1964 work entitled *The Shining Prince*, about court life in Kyoto, was published at Knopf and was reprinted in hardcover.

*The Journey* was released in January of 1960. Howard Hibbett, now at Harvard, again wrote a supportive piece in *The Saturday Review*. The *New York Times Book Review* printed a list of 250 outstanding books of the 11,000 published during the year 1960 in the United States. *The Journey* was included, but sales were still low. The efforts of the two translators and the editor in this network were ineffectual. Strauss broke the news to the author ten months later: "I am sorry to say that it is clear that we shall not do as well with THE JOURNEY as we did with HOMECOMING" (Strauss 1960b). It was licensed for sale in the United Kingdom: "Separately, by sea mail, we are sending you five copies of the British edition of the JOURNEY, to be published by Secker and Warburg ... I am terribly sorry to have to tell you that they have made a very unattractive book, and I apologize for this; but of course we have no control whatsoever over British production" (Strauss 1960b). A similar letter was sent to Ivan Morris.

The reception of this translation would not change the substantial success and the popularity Osaragi enjoyed in his home country. However, this was his last work published at Knopf. Strauss had learned of the poor view of this work by literary critics in Japan from Uramatsu Fuki as noted above, but he felt obliged to try another of Osaragi's works. Strauss maintained his friendship with Osaragi and their correspondence continued after his retirement at Knopf. A literary award was established in Osaragi's honor in 1973, the year of

his death. The future 1994 Nobel Prize winner Oé Ken'zaburō was the tenth awardee of the Osaragi Prize in 1983.

## 6.10 Related developments

Strauss had worked hard to secure a Nobel Prize for Tanizaki and early on thought this to be a realistic possibility. He wrote to Tanizaki that:

I think you know that your name was mentioned as a Nobel Prize candidate this year. This year the price was won by Albert Camus, whose work we have also the honor to publish. In fact Camus was the eleventh Nobel Prize winner whom we publish. I sincerely hope you will be the twelfth. It is quite usual for a man's name to be mentioned several times before he is finally awarded the prize. (Strauss 1957j)

The letter campaign he orchestrated included the biggest names in the field of Japanese studies of the day, and included Arthur Waley, George Sansom and Edwin Reischauer. This is what Strauss is referring to when he mentioned Tanizaki was a candidate. In theory, anyone could be considered a candidate if someone wrote such a letter on their behalf to the academy. As noted above, the names of actual nominees are kept from the public for 50 years. To be a nominee, a recommendation must come from an individual who is invited by the Swedish Academy to make such a recommendation. Kagawa Toyohiko was the first Japanese Nobel Prize nominee for literature in 1947. Tanizaki was first nominated by Pearl Buck in 1958, then by Howard Hibbett and Donald Keene in 1962 and 1963 respectively.<sup>49</sup> It is likely Strauss knew of Buck's official nomination, given that Knopf had published her work.

The first Knopf translator of Tanizaki's novels, Edward Seidensticker, reflected on the possibility of Kawabata being more suited to a Nobel bid than Tanizaki as early as December of 1955: "I would like to suggest something, tentatively, very confidentially, and after much thought: if the Snow Country experiment shows that Kawabata is really translatable, I wonder if he might not be a better prospect for the Nobel Prize than Tanizaki" (Seidensticker 1955f). Strauss did not orchestrate the same type of letter campaign to the Swedish Academy as had been taken up for Tanizaki, who was at the time still living and had sold slightly better than Kawabata in Knopf hardcover editions. Kawabata was out of print at

Knopf for over decade until Seidensticker's insight proved to be true.

Strauss felt the need to reinvigorate the Program only two years after it had launched. He wrote a promotional brochure entitled *On the Delights of Japanese Novels* in 1957 to increase sales and recognition.<sup>50</sup> The cover features a Japanese woman with flowing hair in a kimono outfit. Perhaps because Strauss had his back up against the wall he resorted to classical imagery. In the brochure he specifically addresses Keene's review of *The Heike Story* and suggests Keene might have been mistaken in his low appraisal of the book. Numerous promotional blurbs were quoted from literary luminaries and Japan specialists, but this did not seem to arouse much more interest or boost sales. Strauss was the editor-in-chief of a thriving firm and was using a great deal of time that he could have then spent on other company business. His *habitus* had evolved in a time of struggle as the book market after the war was extremely competitive in the face of the introduction of television and the growing film industry. He was also determined to match the success of Alfred and Blanche Knopf.

Strauss was also under fire from the top management. The following excerpt from an interoffice memo from Alfred A. Knopf himself makes the point bluntly: "The program is a failure and you should admit it like a man—and whatever fun and glory you may have had from these books—certainly has not rubbed off on me or BWK [Blanche Wolf Knopf] or the house" (Knopf 1958a). In light of this pressure, Strauss' persistence and determination must have been quite resolute given the low regard the publisher himself held for the Program.

Alfred Knopf was also checking up on the possibility of these titles for use in university courses and colleges as the firm had expanded to include a textbook division: "Strauss is the never-say-die type where this Japanese business is concerned, yet I remain unconvinced that we are going to do anything worthwhile with these translations in the colleges" (Knopf 1959a). The titles were used in university courses in the years that followed, but in paperback reprints, not the type of hardcover textbook sales that the firm had become used to in the division of their company which specialized in such publications.

Strauss also made strong efforts to establish connections between American and Japanese writers. When Mishima came to New York, a cocktail party was arranged with guests including the writer Tennessee Williams, who had appeared on a television show with Mishima,<sup>51</sup> who then returned the favor when Williams visited Japan. A visit to Japan was arranged for William Faulkner, and at that time Strauss wrote to Kawabata to ask him to look after the American novelist during his stay. Nobel laureate and Knopf author Pearl Buck was welcomed in Japan by Kawabata and Osaragi. Cultivating relationships in the writers'



communities at home and abroad was a long-term strategy of the firm, one which Alfred and Blanche Knopf had successfully employed in Europe and South America.

## **6.11 Discussion**

Strauss was successful in organizing each translation network to his satisfaction, micromanaging the mediations according to his tastes, arranging for extensive peritextual matter, and adding other individuals of influence for publicity and reviews. However, once a particular translation was finished, the network was at risk of unraveling. This is perhaps why early on he had hoped to pair off an author and a translator. Japanese writers entering the English-language market through indirect translation was at one point a possibility. Strauss responded by commissioning another translation from Kawabata to prevent this.

A number of factors emerged which influenced the selection of texts. Strauss made a habit of consulting with a circle of advisers which included translators, Japanese specialists, and native speakers of Japanese whom he believed had knowledge of the literary taste of American readers as a first step during these years, 1956 to 1960. His focus was on works by living, active and successful writers who might have the potential to win a Nobel Prize for literature. In some cases, reports were drawn up and in other cases a trial translation might be required. The selection of the texts cannot simply be attributed to the tastes of these translators, despite suggestions to the contrary. For example, one historical adaptation by a best-selling modern writer in Japan was selected after the editor had previously expressed no interest in classical works. Strauss was impressed with the language skills of Uramatsu Fuki, so much so that he broke the rule about a translator working into their second language. The release of a Japanese movie based on a novel was a factor for this title also. The perceived translatability of a text was also a point of concern, and certain works and writers previously ruled out were eventually translated after more confidence had accumulated in overcoming the challenges associated with the texts.

One of the reasons Strauss gave for the importance of establishing this Program was to engage with Japan and support the economic and security interests at stake, not unlike the time when Theodore Roosevelt looked to Japan to check Russian ambitions in this region, as noted above. Such cultural initiatives were an asset, but it would overstate the point considerably to suggest these novels were holding together the American view of Japan or that they were a significant feature of foreign policy during the Cold War.<sup>52</sup> Americans

might have read as much information in newspapers or heard more news from service personnel than they got from novels. An intentional effort to *exoticize* Japan at Knopf is not in evidence after a close look at the archive and related data, and further played no role in text selection. Some readers may have interpreted the texts as Fowler suggests, given the famous locations or traditional arts which appear in the stories, but they would not have been reading carefully in the sections which described the ambivalence with modernization and the West before and after the war, or the poverty and desolation after the war, which were then a daily reality. In fact, nine of the eleven titles put out at Knopf from 1956 to 1960 were first published in Japan as complete works between 1948 and 1956.

The selection of the titles at Knopf was at its best disorganized. Some fell into Strauss' lap by mere coincidence or by a translator's choice to undertake a sample translation at their own risk. As for why two of the texts were selected from prewar titles, we are reminded that censorship resulted in a substantial decrease of literary output from the late 1930s onwards in Japan, and the Program began near the time writers were allowed to work freely again. The sales of these Knopf titles do not support the notion that the titles reached a wide audience of readers or that any of these writers were burned into the minds of American readers. It rather suggests a foundation of textual resources for the growing field of Japanese studies and related courses in the humanities. It is only by following the actors and tracing their interactions that we are able to contextualize the place of these translations and avoid the labeling and extrapolations that Actor-Network Theory cautions against.

An examination of the translation process brought has to light new information not incorporated in prior analyses. In this time period, 1956 to 1960, the editor exercised considerable power over the entirety of the production process. Camouflaged translation was observed in two of the titles, and Komatsu Fumiko most likely played some role in most titles as Strauss' teacher and advisor. Textual issues concerned choices such as the use of tense and word choice. A frequently used strategy was omission. The strategy had two distinct motivations: the first being cutting out large pieces of text to shorten a novel; the second being intentionally leaving out portions deemed undesirable in the story. The interaction of the authors, the editor, the translator and others that participated in the production of the publications is on a scale yet to be reported upon. This included an information-gathering process for the selection of novelists and novels for translation, in some instances with the use of written reports. Translators negotiated and couriered contracts, as well provided assistance in book design, titling, introductions, prefaces, and footnote usage. Collaboration

in the translation process was camouflaged and the original works were altered substantially in some cases. Strauss was assisted by Fumiko Komatsu and perhaps also by other native Japanese speakers in his reading and eventual transculturation of these novels. The authors themselves or other Japanese speakers also assisted on occasion, which further documents the roles of unexpected actors in these networks.

Publishing data will help to gauge the reception and the function of the translations, and will help to determine if the number of titles translated at Knopf was significant relative to the number of Japanese novels translated in English overall. Knopf published eleven titles, more translations than any other publishing firm during 1956 to 1960. Three other firms were involved: New Directions, three titles; Grove Press, two titles; Henry Regency, one title. Sales at all publishers in the United States were modest. New Directions, for example, did not reprint Donald Keene's two translations of Osamu Dazai novels, nor did Henry Regency Inc. reprint Edwin McClellan's translation of *Kokoro*, until 1968, the year Kawabata Yasunari was awarded the Nobel Prize. Mishima's *Confession of a Mask* was not reprinted stateside until 1972. Only Keene's anthologies at Grove Press were reprinted before 1968. This is the whole of the output of Fowler's "several American publishers" actively involved in translating Japanese literature (1992: 8), hardly to be considered a golden age, but simply a start. Although the translations did not reach a large general readership, Fowler is correct in asserting the early critical reception of the titles was influential in academic circles.

According to the bibliographical sources listed above, twenty-six novels appeared in English translation during the years 1945 to 1960. This figure counts only once the printings of the Knopf translations which were later published in the United Kingdom and Japan. One was a book of plays, so even setting this aside their output still accounts for more than one-third of the total number of novels. If we now exclude translations that were published only in Japan, the total becomes fifteen, and the share of Knopf titles published in North America and the United Kingdom is two-thirds of all titles published between 1956 and 1960.

On the other hand, forty percent or ten of the novels appeared only in Japan, and then were joined by the Tuttle printings of the Knopf translations, making Japan the country with the most titles available for sale, and is further evidence of an active internal target culture in Japan. This trend carried over from the prewar era where readership was also more extensive in the source culture. The reasons behind this may range from a curiosity about the English renditions of Japanese novels, to gauging how Japan literature and culture are represented overseas, or border on cultural narcissism for some.

The sales of a translation were a factor in the continued publication of an author at Knopf, while a lack of sales led to being dropped from the active list, and this was the case with Kawabata, Ōoka and Osaragi. The capital Kawabata held in his own culture as president of the Japan PEN Club may have been why he was given a second chance, in addition to the concern his works might reach English readers in indirect translations. His first title *Snow Country* was going to be done by UNESCO with or without Knopf's involvement, which hastened maneuvers by Strauss to put the translation in Seidensticker's hands. It is important to note that the writer who had less support amongst Strauss' advisors, Osaragi, had one of the most successful titles from the point of view of sales.<sup>53</sup> Strauss was at times able to persuade many of the actors involved in the process to work as one, but strangely enough when support was strongest amongst the community of insiders and specialists, not enough readers were moved by the critically praised works to reprint the translations in hardcover.

The translators who worked on these titles were all growing in stature in the field of Japanese studies, so it does not seem unrealistic to posit a symbiosis between the reception of these titles and the growth of their careers. After all, the translators had been studying or were working at institutions that were sources of substantial cultural capital, i.e. Harvard, Columbia, Tokyo University, Kyoto University, and Cambridge. The institutional capital of these leading universities exceeds the granting of diplomas, and reflected well on Knopf.

Literary critics and translators also joined the network as reviewers in an effort to influence the reception and trajectory of a given text. The discourse was not limited to literary magazines in the United States but also crossed over to Japanese literary circles, with commentaries about these translations in both languages. It was not uncommon for such discourse to appear in the Japanese Press and in English-language publications in Japan. As a result, they were afforded the opportunity to confer or deny capital in the Japanese context as well.

The period of 1956 to 1960 was an intensive effort at transculturation with no shortage of complexity. The literary contact nebulae varied both internally, as variations of team formations or subcontracting, and externally in the discourse surrounding the translations in both the source and target cultures. Identifying the actors in these various networks and carefully examining their interrelationships are essential to unbinding a novel in translation and tracing the trajectory of the textual products.

## 7. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART III - The Novels of the 1960s

The Knopf firm was subsumed under the Random House corporate umbrella in 1960, but maintained its independence and autonomy as a separate division. Blanche Knopf served as president of the company until near the time of her death in 1966, the same year Strauss finished his tenure as editor-in-chief. He stayed on as a consultant editor and a director of the company. The titles in years prior met with critical success, but not the sales figures Strauss had forecast. He was forced to curtail expansion in the 1960s. After the exit of Seidensticker in 1959, due in part to his interest in translating works that Strauss would not commit to, Howard Hibbett became Tanizaki's next translator at Knopf. Ivan Morris too had moved on other projects. It was not until 1965 that Strauss was able to add a new writer and to the Program. The sections below investigate the translations of works by Tanizaki, Mishima, and the newly added writers Abé Kobo and Nosaka Akiyuki in the 1960s.

### 7.1 The 1960s Tanizaki novels

#### 7.1.1 *The Key* (1961), *Kagi* (1956)

Edward Seidensticker had moved on from novel-length translations to pursue other writing, translations and academic opportunities. More accurately, Knopf, Inc. was not willing to do any more of Kawabata novels, or a book of novellas or short stories by Tanizaki, as Seidensticker had suggested. He was not interested in translating the novel *Kagi*. Strauss then offered it to Donald Keene, who in turn suggested Howard Hibbett. Strauss explained the situation with regards to a translator and the racy content of the novel:

Suddenly I am in a jam for translators from the Japanese. Ed Seidensticker is trying to make some money out of translations. Donald Keene is bogged down in some very big jobs for which he has received grants. And Ivan Morris already is very late on a translation due me .... My immediate problem is Kagi, by Tanizaki. ... If you do agree to translate it, please don't worry about censorship. It should be translated as forthrightly as possible. Later on, I'll have our attorneys go over the text, and it is just possible that some mild adjustments will have to be made, but I think not. (Strauss 1959b)

The concerns over censorship involve nudity and sexual activity in the novel, which in a diary format chronicles an aging man's waning virility and his preoccupations with his sensuous younger wife. Strauss responded with another vision of how the translation process might resolve this concern: "While we believe that if a book is worth translating, it should be translated as it was written, nevertheless certain minor adjustments are desirable and acceptable. What we are after is the faithfulness of total effect" (Strauss 1959c). The "faithfulness of total effect" introduces a new concept to cover the practices previously applied to Osaragi's work and Tanizaki's prior work, which Ivan Morris and Edward Seidensticker were allowed to abridge, and Ōoka's novel which was altered. Such a principle could only be unearthed with advanced meta-search of a text that yielded extensive corpus data. Strauss' reasoning follows the line of thought which governs Eugene Nida's dynamic equivalence (1969), but without any clear explanation for the choices to be made, excepting legal requirements here.

Strauss notified Tanizaki of the change in translator, explaining Seidensticker was not available due to his writing of magazine articles: "While I regret this, I have found a translator at least as talented as Mr. Seidensticker. He is Professor Howard Hibbett of Harvard University. Mr. Hibbett has definitely agreed to do the translation" (Strauss 1959d). Tanizaki knew of Hibbett and the academic, cultural and symbolic capital of Harvard were suitably impressive so the change in translator was agreeable. The terms of the contract were an advance of US\$750.00 with two-thirds to the translator, and a 50% split of any subsequent payments above the advance, including subsidiary rights. Royalties above the advance were set at the previously agreed figures of 15 percent of the wholesale price on the first 7,500 copies; 20 percent on the next 7,500 copies; and 23 percent on copies sold thereafter. Reprint rights were later sold for a substantial US\$5,500.00. At a first-rate publisher, Knopf in these days released most titles in hardcover. However, the better a book sold in hardcover, the better the chance the rights to reprint it in paperback could be sold for a larger sum.

After the translation manuscript was submitted, it was referred to Knopf, Inc. attorneys for review concerning possible obscenity charges: "Our lawyers have now read your translation of THE KEY, and I am very glad to tell you that they have asked for only the change of a word or two here and there, in no instance, in my opinion, altering the effect" (Strauss 1960c). Seven revisions were made based on the legal advice, and involved such changes as substituting "climax" for "orgasm," and deleting the phrase "in the nude" twice.

Alfred Knopf read this translation and made five other suggestions for changes, such as using the terms “diastolic” and “systolic” in reference to blood pressure measurement, but nothing concerning sexual content. In addition, a list of fifty-one “changes for ribbon copy” was submitted by Hibbett, revising his own work and incorporating the other suggestions made.

Approaching publication, Strauss relayed to Hibbett he had received an important endorsement—a letter from Tanizaki “full of praise for your translation” (Strauss 1961a). George Steiner wrote a review of the novel that placed Tanizaki in a grouping of writers who delve into the recondite and unexplored provinces of sexual life. He says of the translation that “... although I know no Japanese, Howard Hibbett’s translation sounds just right: intimate and remote, fierce and gentle.” Edwin McClellan (1960) joined this discourse with a review in *Monumentica Nipponica*.

*The Key* sold out the initial run of 6,000 copies and a second run of 5,000 was rushed to print. The print runs were smaller in number than some of the previous titles and show Strauss was under pressure to move along conservatively. Soon a third printing was in the works: “We are now in our third printing, and may soon have to make another printing. Total sales are about 11,000 copies ... All in all, KAGI has clearly been the most successful Japanese novel we have published so far” (Strauss 1961b). A subtitled screening of the movie based on the novel, with the English title *Odd Obsession*, at Preview Theatre on Broadway followed soon after an award at the Cannes film festival.

*The Key* was not only a success in the United States, it sold well in Germany, which raised the issue of compensating indirect translations from the English. Knopf, Inc. contracts were designed to hold publication rights to the works in English translation only, but they would offer advice to foreign authors when the occasion of translation into other languages arose, mainly to protect the integrity of the author’s international reputation. The rules of compensation to the first translator for a subsequent indirect translation had not been set down in the international publishing world. Strauss advised Hibbett on how to proceed: “If they really insist on translating from your English version, I hope you will insist on a substantial fee for the use of your work. ... Even though Knopf has no legal rights in the matter, I have promised both Ed and Donald to use whatever moral persuasion I can to extract such a fee from foreign publishers—for the English translator of course” (Strauss 1961c). A uniform manner to handle such compensation never resulted. The need for this practice of indirect translation through English has since become largely unnecessary with the growth of Japanese studies in Europe, and was less common in Germany.

*The Key* was published in Germany by Rowohlt in translation by Yatushiro Sachiko and Gerhard Knauss in 1961. Yatushiro had teamed up with another German translator on the translation of *Senbazuru*. It is thus unlikely the 1961 German version of *Kagi* was an indirect translation via English.<sup>54</sup> Strauss wasted no time in passing on sales information to Seidensticker: “The German translation of KAGI has sold 35,000 copies in Germany, and its publisher, Rowohlt, want to follow up with a German translation of *The Makioka Sisters*. I am slowly succeeding in establishing the principle that a small fee must be paid to the original translator in such cases” (Strauss 1961d). Perhaps bitter-sweet news at the time for Seidensticker, who had opted out of the Program. Hibbett received US\$200.00 for the Scandinavian rights for *The Key*, but no figures were found for the German translation. This was the most promising news Strauss had in years, although the German sales figures must have deflated his sense of success, as the sales were triple those in the United States in a smaller market of readers. Tuttle and Secker and Warburg took up the title per usual.

#### 7.1.2 *Seven Japanese Tales* by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1963)

With the success of *The Key*, Strauss was eager to get another Tanizaki title out, but his recent writing had been unsuitable to the English-language market in Strauss' thinking. Tanizaki had been ill, and his writings of a medical nature concerned Strauss. Anthony West had already panned *The Makioka Sisters* as a medical novel. Strauss outlined the situation to Hibbett, who he hoped would continue to translate Tanizaki:

If you do agree, I would like to consult you on the selection of the next book. There are some special problems. Recently, as you probably know, he has been obsessed with his high blood pressure, and I find his various stories and articles on the subject quite boring. Furthermore, a while ago he devoted most of his time to a modern version of the TALE OF GENJI, which of course is out of the question for us, because the Arthur Waley version will stand for both. Generally novelettes and stories are difficult to sell, but I am thinking of discussing with the management whether the time is not ripe to do a volume of Tanizaki's best novelettes and stories. (Strauss 1961e)

Such a collection was something Seidensticker had suggested years earlier, but this was



dismissed by Strauss. It remained a sore point for decades for Seidensticker as he told me in an interview: “Harold Strauss told me they didn’t publish collections of short stories. Well I was cheated because then Howard did a collection of short stories which I perfectly well could have done and would have liked to do” (Walker 2003). Much consideration went into which of Tanizaki’s stories would work best in an English collection, or whether a novel from an earlier stage in his career was the safer bet. Among the older novels considered but passed on at the time were *Manji*, later put out using the title *Quicksand* (1994) in a translation by Howard Hibbett, and *Chijin no Ai*, entitled *Naomi* (1985) in a translation by Anthony Chambers (a former student of Seidensticker’s), at Knopf. Another work mentioned was later published as *A Man, a Cat and Two Women* (1992) in a translation by Paul McCarthy (a former student of Hibbett’s) at Kodansha International. Seidensticker had suggested the last two titles to Strauss. The final line-up of the seven stories was left open so that Hibbett could begin with the ones that had been agreed upon.

The advance for *Seven Japanese Tales* was increased to US\$1200.00, with two-thirds going to the translator, and with a 0.5% increase in royalties for the first 7,500 copies, making the advance higher than the prior US\$750.00 paid to the Tanizaki and Hibbett pairing for *The Key*. Strauss wrote Tanizaki’s publisher with the details:

Because THE KEY was reasonably successful, we are following the American practice of raising Mr. Tanizaki’s royalty rates somewhat. On THE KEY and on earlier novels we paid a royalty of 15% wholesale to 7,500 copies; 20% to 15,000 copies; and 23% thereafter. The new rate of royalty which we are establishing is 15.5% wholesale to 7,500 copies; 20% to 15,000 copies; and 23% thereafter. Furthermore, because the collection of novelettes and short stories is considerably longer than THE KEY, we are providing for an advance of \$1,200.00, payable on delivery of the translation, of which \$800.00 will be paid to Professor Hibbett and \$400.00 to Mr. Tanizaki.” (Strauss 1961f)

In response to an increase in sales, and the resulting symbolic and social capital, came more favorable contractual terms for this admittedly longer volume of stories.

An excerpt in a magazine also resulted in some unexpected income: “One bit of minor good news: SHOW magazine is running a Japanese issue in April or May, and we have arranged for them to publish The TATTOOER from SEVEN JAPANESE TALES. They are

only paying \$300.00, of which you and Tanizaki will divide \$225.00, but I imagine the publicity will be of some benefit to the book. They have promised to give full credit to book, author, translator, and publisher” (Strauss 1963a). *SHOW* magazine was published by Japan specialist Frank Gibney, to whom Strauss sent review copies of the novels. Based on the figures above, Knopf, Inc. was entitled to one-quarter of such payments. A point was made to credit all the actors involved. In a business development, Strauss was informed that Tuttle, Inc. was appointed Tanizaki’s sole literary agent and that payments were to be made directly to Tuttle’s Japanese office, where Knopf’s English translations were published and distributed in Japan, relieving Chuō Kōron from these duties.

Because of formal academic responsibilities at Harvard, Hibbett required an extension of the deadline to finish the translations. In the meantime, Strauss had been corresponding on the selection of the remaining stories with Tanizaki directly, as well as his agent Charles Tuttle. He explained to Hibbett his stance on the matter, and his expectations:

Lord knows, I am familiar with that intellectual involution of the Japanese, when they decide what’s best for foreigners. That is why, all along, I have insisted that final control of what is to go into the selection must be ours. Naturally, as I have told Tanizaki several times, we’ll give his wishes and suggestions every possible consideration within this framework. I have been speaking of “we” in the legal sense, meaning you and I. But in point of fact editorially it boils down to you. Many of Tanizaki’s novelettes and short stories I have not read, and I won’t be able to read much Japanese in the next few months. Besides, I trust your judgment completely. But I certainly want SHISEI to be included. (Strauss 1962b)<sup>55</sup>

In this instance, Strauss spells out his dependence upon his translator, as well as his insistence on managing his authors within the framework imposed. He was unable to fully control actors who joined the network and might influence the process. The author and his agents had a say, as later would reviewers, but Strauss was also determined to have some say in text selection, through his trusted proxy for stories the editor had not read.

The translation manuscript was in hand by October of 1962. After reading it through, Strauss suggested the idea of an introduction to Hibbett: “I think 1,000 words would be quite enough, unless you choose to make it longer. The primary function of such an introduction

would be to place each story in relation to the rest of Tanizaki's work" (Strauss 1962c). No payment was mentioned. The subject of cutting passages potentially confusing to an English reading audience was also broached:

I am sure the references were readily recognizable to Japanese readers but they will seem hopelessly obscure to American readers. I am glad you proposed to write to Tanizaki about this, because a question of house policy enters in. Unlike some other publishers, we feel that if a book is worth translating, it should be translated the way the author wrote it, unless he specifically approves changes and cuts. Usually I am reluctant to recommend changes and cuts even if the author approves; but in this case we have a simple and concrete reason—the obscurity of the references for American readers. (Strauss 1962c)

This "house policy" represents another rationale for changes in the target text; the previously cited instances were alteration of the story line, omission of story lines, explication, in addition to the "faithfulness of total effect" principle in prior translations.

On the White Sheet acceptance document Strauss commented most confidently: "Translation is superb. Hibbett is even better than Keene and Seidensticker, and that's saying a lot. The stories themselves, with one exception, I find just as exciting as when I read them in the original" (Strauss 1962d). Some months earlier, Strauss had intimated to Hibbett he would not be able to read many of the stories. After the success of *The Key*, through the process of which Alfred Knopf himself had met with and came to know Hibbett, and with the confidence Strauss and Tanizaki had in Hibbett's abilities, not to mention his considerable academic capital stemming from his post at Harvard, the members in the production network were fewer in number. Fumi Komatsu did the dust jacket for this collection of short stories and we may presume she assisted Strauss again with his understanding of the texts he read.

Reviews from the growing number of Japanese literary specialists were few in number for this title. Sales in hardcover did not reach a number considered successful. It was licensed for sale in the United Kingdom and Japan. Strauss would later write "it was the most unsuccessful of all his books" (1972b). A second edition in hardcover was released by Knopf in 1970, spurred on perhaps by events of the day to be discussed below. Secker & Warburg published an edition in 1964. Tuttle issued several paperback reprints in Japan. At the time,

Tanizaki was still a prominent literary figure, alive and writing, and had a substantial body of work yet unmined.

### 7.1.3 *Diary of a Mad Old Man* (1965), *Futen Rojin Nikki* (1961)

The sales of *Seven Japanese Tales* lagged, but the success of *The Key* had Strauss thinking of another Tanizaki novel before the collection of novelettes had been finished. The topic of *Manji* (*Quicksand*, 1994) was raised again: “Personally, I should think MANJI a better choice for a succeeding translation. However, I'd like very much to hear what you think of FUTEN ROJIN NIKKI, if you have time to read it” (Strauss 1962e). *Manji* was originally published in 1928. A recent novel generally had more appeal to the firm:

I have been rereading FUTEN ROJIN NIKKI slowly, and I am now convinced that this funny, sardonic, and sad novel by Tanizaki is the one we should do next, even though it will be inevitably ridiculed by such as Anthony West for its profusion of medical detail. There seems to be some uncertainty about the proper translation of the title. Without checking on the first two characters I simply translated it as DIARY OF A DIRTY OLD MAN. Then, in an article by Donald Keene in SHOW, in which he remarked that this novel and one by Mishima were the two best of 1962, he translated it as DIARY OF AN OLD LUNATIC. I phoned him about this and he said that he was somewhat uncertain, but there may be an overtone of epilepsy in the title, and that somewhere far in the background there is a conflict in Japanese dictionaries. With Donald in doubt, this becomes far too complicated for me” (Strauss 1963b).

The reliance on suggestions for titles of works under consideration continued. After further consultation with Hibbett, Strauss rephrased the title as *Diary of a Mad Old Man*.

In the contract an option for the next work of Tanizaki's was taken up in a document dated April 12, 1963. A three-clause agreement that modified the original proprietary agreement with Hibbett called for the following additions. First, the manuscript was to be delivered by September 1, 1964. Second, royalties were switched from a wholesale formula to a retail formula for the edition in the United States with 10% on all copies sold up to 7,500

copies, 12% on additional copies sold up to and including 15,000 copies, and 14% thereafter. Strauss had indicated the switch from wholesale to retail royalties would offer a better chance for income because the lower percentage was applied to the higher retail price of the book. Third, the advance of US\$750.00 was to be paid on delivery of the manuscript, complete and ready for the printer, with two-thirds or US\$500.00 to the translator, and one-third or US\$250.00 to the author Tanizaki. This advance was lower than the US\$1,200.00 paid for the collection of stories, presumably because it is a shorter work.

No record is found of the translation and production. Strauss' high opinion of Hibbett's translations recorded earlier indicated he spent less time editing the translations. However, this novel did not sell well in hardcover. Tanizaki died the year the translation was released, and this was the last of his novels taken up in the years Strauss headed up the program. Hibbett later went on to translate Kawabata's *Beauty and Sadness* (1975), and edited the anthology entitled *Contemporary Japanese Literature* (1977), both initiated by Strauss but published after his death, and the previously considered *Quicksand* (1994) under the direction of the editor Charles Elliott who succeeded Strauss.

The considerable investment of time and money in the five titles by Tanizaki resulted in only one novel returning a profit in hardcover. In the 1960s, publishers of the stature of Knopf did not issue their works in paperback and banked on reprints of the hardcover editions. Subsidiary rights that were sold to paperback publishers were a source of income, but the amount generated by these rights was determined in large part by the hardcover sales. In the case of *The Key* the payment was comparatively high, but this was the exception.

After translating Tanizaki, both Seidensticker and Hibbett got national exposure and accrued academic and symbolic capital through their association with the author and Knopf. Seidensticker joined Stanford University in 1965. These Knopf translations spread in paperback reprints and were used in college and university courses, and as objectified cultural capital the translations in book form functioned as inscriptions, i.e. texts which carry influence and which form the basis of new networks as the text migrates, for example, in the fields of Japanese studies and comparative literature in the West. Now under the Vintage International division of Random House, the long tail sales of these reprints continue decades later. These long tail sales have reinforced the stature of these translations in academia and have given shape to the evolving profile of the Japanese novel overseas long after the first editions were released in hardcover. It is only through an unbinding of these translations that this trajectory can be traced from the inception of the process.

## 7.2 The 1960s Mishima novels

### 7.2.1 *After the Banquet* (1963), *Utage no Ato* (1960)

Mishima was a productive writer, and Strauss tried to keep his work in front of the American public as often as he could. Ivan Morris held the proprietary rights for Mishima translations in English, which had fallen into his hands after Mishima and Meredith Weatherby had broken off their collaboration over the division of proceeds. When Morris finished work on *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* (1959), Strauss looked to Morris to vet the next book by Mishima. After reading *Kyoko no Ie*, Morris expressed a preference for an older novel *Ai no Kawaki* published in 1950, eventually published by Knopf as *Thirst for Love* in 1969. Morris' take on *Kyoko no Ie* (1959) was similar to the less than enthusiastic reaction that Strauss received from Donald Keene. Morris also reported on another title, *Kemono tawamure* (1961), which inspired little support among Strauss' circle of advisers. Morris was set to join Keene to take up teaching duties at Columbia, and consequently held off any commitment to translate *Thirst for Love*. Keene was willing to do the translation, but without a deadline.

When announcing that Knopf, Inc. would exercise the option under the contract for *Thirst for Love*, Strauss put the matter to Mishima: "It is quite unconventional to do things this way in America, but I told Donald that the decision would be up to you. We are willing to wait, if you are willing to wait" (Strauss 1960d). Mishima consented. Strauss then made a suggestion to Keene in keeping with the preferences of the firm and using Kawabata's name: "Since we are being so very informal, you might want to read Mishima's new novel currently being serialized in Chuo Koron, UTAGE NO ATO. Kawabata speaks very highly of it indeed. ... and it would have the virtue of pleasing Alfred Knopf that we have chosen a new rather than an old novel" (Strauss 1960e). Invoking the name of Alfred Knopf was something Strauss could do only sparingly as the publisher held this Program in low esteem, but it worked its intended effect. Strauss broached the subject with the author, this time using the translator and publisher's name as persuasive capital: "I also talked with Donald Keene about which novel of yours to do next. ... the reviews of UTAGE NO ATO, and also the private comments I have heard on it have been so wonderful that I think by all means we should do that next. ... and I know it would please Mr. Knopf very much to do your most recent novel" (Strauss 1960f). The private comments Strauss refers to likely originated from his Japanese informants.

One aspect of the novel that was not fictitious was an invasion of privacy suit that was brought against Mishima by a retired diplomat and former gubernatorial candidate in Tokyo in Japan with the surname Arita. His wife was the model for Kazu, the proprietress of an elite Tokyo restaurant. The novel explores the then contemporary political landscape. The controversy gave Strauss cause to consult the firm's attorney, and as a precaution the date of an election was obscured (Strauss 1962h). Mishima lost the first judgment in 1963, and was ordered to pay 800,000 yen in damages.<sup>56</sup> An agreement was later reached with no requirement to change a word of the original text. However, the case was seen as a landmark for privacy rights in Japan according to Inose, who has written the most recent biography on Mishima and his legacy (2011 356). The lawsuit itself is an example of the how unknowns in the process, which Actor-Network Theory holds vital, shape outcomes. The publicity of the lawsuit held out the promise of potentially more publicity, which here played a role in text selection, and the network of American legal advisors suggested adjustments in the text.

The proprietary rights for the translation of Mishima's works in English were passed from Ivan Morris to Donald Keene. Because of time constraints, Keene, who had already joined the staff at Columbia University, held off signing the contract till March of 1961. An advance of US\$1,200.00, with \$800.00 going to the translator and \$400.00 going to the author, was paid against royalty rates paid at 15 percent of the wholesale price on the first 7,500 copies; 20 percent on the next 7,500 copies; and 23 percent on copies sold thereafter. An option provided for publishing subsequent volumes on the same terms. Strauss wrote directly to Mishima to confirm the details: "The contract is identical with the one we signed with Ivan Morris to translate THE TEMPLE OF THE GOLDEN PAVILLION, except that I have arranged, in response to your request, to increase the advance from \$750.00 to \$1200.00, so that Donald Keene's share will be \$800.00. And, of course, there is the possibility of further payments later on" (Strauss 1961g). With Morris or Keene as his translator, the division of advance seemed less important to Mishima.

The manuscript for the translation reached Strauss in May of 1962. In the meantime Mishima had finished two more novels and Strauss sought to make amends: "I think it is quite wrong for us to let so much time go by between novels by you. I think perhaps I must find one or two more translators" (Strauss 1962f). Keene's schedule was interrupted by the announcement of the Kikuchi Kan Prize in 1962 for his contributions to Japanese literature, which prompted an unscheduled trip to Japan. He was the first non-Japanese to be awarded the prize, and Strauss later became the second in 1971. The prize is named after the writer

who founded a publishing company and literary monthly *Bungei Shūnjū*, still in print, and awards the annual *Akutagawa* and *Naoki* literary prizes. Kikuchi Kan himself played a leading role in the 1930s series of English publications on Japanese literature by *The Society for International Cultural Relations* noted above.

The translation had its share of unexpected challenges. Mishima himself was unable to explain to Keene many of the details of menus, clothing, and ceremonies in the novel. Keene looked to other educated Japanese who themselves at times gave conflicting interpretations of the complicated semantics. This created a myriad of complications for the translator, who unlike a reader was not able to skip over parts of passages which were unclear. Strauss was sympathetic to the efforts Keene had made: “I must tell you that I am shocked at the demands that UTAGE NO ATO made on you. If you had this much trouble, I am certain no one else in the world could have translated it successfully. I can only hope it will turn out to have been splendidly worthwhile for all of us” (Strauss 1962g). As with *The Golden Pavilion*, it was suggested Mishima incorporated details into his works without a full understanding of their meaning.

Other aspects of the production concerned the titles given to each of the chapters in the novel, which were translated despite reservations that they were deliberately made to feign an old-fashioned style. Mishima had the symbolic capital and the social capital in the nebula to influence the presentation of his works in translation to some degree. The jacket design is credited to Fumi Komatsu and Strauss wrote the peritext. He introduces the main characters in the novel and gives a brief biography of the author and the translator—thus far the first use in peritext to exceed one sentence describing the translator.

Reviews came notably from Edward Seidensticker, who felt that the passages taken alone might appear clever or brilliant, but did not always square with the characters or their relationships, indicating a disconnect in the threads of the plot. In this witty and critical review, Seidensticker points out: “He is probably too clever for his own good, and his notices have been too enthusiastic. ‘A writer of the first rank.’ ‘One of the outstanding young writers of the world.’ ... One hopes that he will get a good spanking before it is too late, and so be roused to work harder and make himself worthy of such notices” (1963 381). Little is said of the translation except that the word “body” appears too often.

By far the most scathing review of the translation came from the publisher himself in a letter to Fred Warburg, who, as had become customary, had entered into an agreement with Knopf to publish the translation in the United Kingdom:



As I have complained often enough, or we have, about translations prepared under your supervision and that of other English publishers, I think in good conscience I must write to say that I hope you are going to have some work done on Mishima's *After the Banquet* before you send our proofs or copy to the printer. Keene may be a great scholar, but I think he is one of the worst translators I have ever read. There are quite a few expressions in the book that are absolutely out of this world, but what is hopelessly offensive is his absolute allergy to the words "him", "her", "he", "she" and "it". Proper names are repeated over and over again in the same paragraph. (Knopf, A. 1963a)

The criticism goes on, but this excerpt is enough to gather the publisher's expectations of a clearly rewritten and readable text for the target audience. Alfred Knopf did not read Japanese, but he did expect accommodation for basic stylistic devices common in English writing. The main criticism he mentions here, the lack of a use of pronouns after a subject has been introduced, is the same type of textual alteration in Knopf's first title of Japanese literature in English translation, *An Adopted Husband*, back in 1919 when exactly this type of change was made, most likely by Knopf himself, given that at the time the company consisted of himself, his wife Blanche and his father, their accountant.

Soon after the publication of *After the Banquet*, a situation developed while Strauss was in Japan. He reported to Alfred Knopf by post:

I have had a serious misunderstanding with Keene. I thought he said he could not translate Mishima's THIRST FOR LOVE under any circumstances, but it seems that he wants to translate it with out a deadline. I have discussed this at length with Mishima, and he agrees. Besides, I simply cannot afford to offend Keene while we continue to publish Japanese novels, and it doesn't matter precisely when we publish this novel written some years ago. (Strauss 1963c)

Strauss was acutely aware of Keene's growing capital in the growing network of Japanese studies and his stature in Japanese literary circles. Alfred Knopf consented, but did not miss the opportunity to remind Strauss about his opinion of the recent publication: "As for the Mishima program, I am sure you know best, though I am greatly disappointed in the sales so

far of ‘ATB’ [*After the Banquet*]” (Knopf, A. 1963b). The reference to the program as being Mishima’s is consistent with an expectation for a Nobel Prize. Kawabata, Ōoka and Osaragi had been dropped from the active list, and Tanizaki was no longer actively writing. Mishima was Knopf’s sole profitable Japanese writer at the time. His output made him a stronger candidate for a bestseller. He was also the only writer who had traveled widely overseas, and gave lectures and interviews in English.

In keeping with a trend that began with the first title Knopf published, *The Atlantic* could be counted on for supportive publicity. Strauss later reported to Keene that sales had reached 4,500 copies: “I am rather disappointed in this, and I think part of the difficulty is the newspaper strike” (Strauss 1963d). The strikes were a bane to the circulation of information in 1960s America. The novel did not sell well enough to be reprinted and was the last novel Keene translated in the Knopf program. His evolving *habitus* was not guided by an obligation to translate a particular author, even one who was a close personal friend. Strauss, his *habitus* one of increasing resolve, was undeterred, and thought the answer might lie in soon getting another novel of Mishima’s to press. This translation was also licensed for sale in Japan by Tuttle and in the United Kingdom by Secker & Warburg.

### 7.2.2 *The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea* (1965), *Gogo no Eikō* (1963)

This novel is a disturbing story of a sailor at port who falls in love with a young widow and runs afoul of the dispassionate and psychotic gang to whom her son belongs. The decision-making process leading to the selection of this title was complicated by the introduction of a new writer to the Program, Abé Kobo, whose work will be discussed in the next section. The translator-to-be came to Strauss’ attention after he had heard of the young American, John Nathan, who was studying Japanese literature at the University of Tokyo. This was no small thing in the early 1960s. Strauss was on a visit to Tokyo to reconnect and made his base at the International House, a center of culture under the direction of Matsumoto Shigeharu, whom Strauss had met during his 1952 trip. Nathan had expressed an interest in the writer Abé Kobo, but this came to light only a couple months after the contract for his first novel had been assigned:

If I had known two or three months ago that you would possibly be interested in translating SUNA NO ONNA, I certainly would have given you the

opportunity. But I have already concluded a translation agreement with Dale Saunders ... I try to keep translators and writers paired off, and together as long as possible. In other words, if all goes well, Saunders will continue to translate Abé for a while, Howard Hibbett has definitely committed himself to translating a Tanizaki novel every year or so, and Donald Keene will translate a Mishima novel as often as he can, which means only once every three years. ...As I think I may have told you when I was in Japan, this leaves plenty of room for another translator to work on another Mishima novel, and I would be delighted if you were interested. (Strauss 1963e)

Nathan agreed to take on a Mishima novel, but as yet it was undecided which title. As before, the translator was selected prior to the choice of the novel. Nathan recounts the first meeting of the author, editor and translator in his memoir. The social capital this opportunity offered Nathan was considerable and the wining and dining had its intended effect. The speed and the scale at which this was happening had its own psychological overtones, and the young translator's *habitus* was at odds to process these developments. "I was giddy with self-importance to be hanging out with Mishima as though we were friends. I was also uneasily aware he was counting on me to deliver the goods. ... Working at night until dawn, as Mishima did, alone in the hushed house with my manuscript, I reveled in the feeling I was a literary man, a real writer, an artist in my own right. Or was I? What if the translation exposed me as an imposter? The thought filled me with dread" (2008 65). Such thoughts fueled a desire for the translation to be seen as a work of art, one that approached perfection.

Strauss had Nathan prepare a sample translation of *Kemono no Tawamure* (1961), and made frank criticisms on the manuscript:

When I found more awkwardness than I thought should be there—without ever questioning your communication of the essential meaning of the novel—I went back to the original. I thereupon discovered a great many omissions of things Mishima had written, and here and there a few inventions on your part. Believe me, I know very well that Japanese cannot be translated literally. In the first place, it tends to be redundant, especially when a verb or verbs and an adverb or adverbs say the same thing. In editing the translation, I have tried not to push you back to anything resembling a literal translation, and in

certain passages where you have solved puzzles, which the original presented, very imaginatively, I have marked 'good' or 'excellent' on the margin.” (Strauss 1963f)

It is not known how or with whom Strauss reviewed this translation, and again, unfortunately, this sample translation and the edits are not on file in the archives. In one of his more specific references to the translation process, Strauss seems to be indicating above that when a sentence contains two verbs or two adverbs or more, one pair might be cut, and one English verb and adverb would suffice.

The discussion drifted as this novel had little support from Strauss' network of advisors, nor had the writer's other more recent titles, *Kyoko no Ie* (1959), and *Utsukushii Hoshi* (1962), which had not sold so well in Japan. Nathan early on expressed an interest in the younger novelist Oé Ken'zaburō. In the course of these talks, Oé's name came up but was put off indefinitely by Strauss, who wrote to Nathan that “I don't think I have room for him at the time being so don't go to any trouble to read and comment” (Strauss 1963g). This would turn out to be unwise, particularly if Oé were told this. When Nathan later chose to translate an Oé work instead of one by Mishima, it resulted in the end of their ties. As noted above, Mishima was active in Tokyo's international community. It is not surprising, but perhaps ironic, that Nathan and Oé met at a gathering at Mishima's house (Nathan 2008 76).

Strauss then asked Nathan to read the most recent Mishima novel and give his impression of the work. When Nathan conveyed his preference for this novel, in line with the comments solicited from Hibbett and Keene, another sample translation was requested, and it convinced Strauss: “GOGO NO EIKO will be the next book by Mishima we do. I think you have estimated the problems of translation correctly, and indicated its solution, the language will take some streamlining” (Strauss 1964a). Streamlining is another term used by Strauss meaning to omit parts of the text, but on what basis is not clearly stated here. Strauss relied on his advisors, but only made the decision after seeing the trial translation.

On receipt of the manuscript Strauss reiterated the terms of the advance: “The advance is now due and I am enclosing our check for US\$800.00, or two-thirds of US\$1,200.00, which is your share. As I have already told you this is in all probability only a minor portion of your share of the royalties” (Strauss 1965a). In the hopes that Keene would soon start a translation, Strauss informed Mishima that he obtained a release of this translation as a one-off, and that the rights reverted back to Keene: “Again, for the

convenience of all concerned it is best to continue the line of option agreements in your contract, and to release such books as have to be translated by someone else one by one as the occasion arises. Naturally there is no option agreement in the contract we are making with John Nathan” (Strauss 1964b). This runs counter to Strauss’ stated preference to pair off writers and translators, but Keene’s social and symbolic capital trumped this policy.

A number of titles were suggested for the book, including *Drag Out*, *Afternoon Drag*, or *The Peephole*. None of the titles seemed convincing enough or drew out the play on words in the title for which the words “drag” and “glory” share the same pronunciation in Japanese. Strauss consulted Nathan early in the process and asked: “What would you think of AFTERNOON DRAG? Come to think of it, a lot of homosexuals might be misled into buying the book” (Strauss 1964c). An interest in sales was a top priority to Strauss. He would not be successful in his goal of emulating his publishers without the essential capital that monetary profit brings. The flippant manner in which he makes the suggestion above shows how deeply rooted this is in his *habitus*. Nathan later consulted with Mishima and presented suggestions of longer titles, apparently in the manner of Proust, which included the following: *The Sailor Who Fell out of Grace with the Sea*; *A Fall from Grace*; *The Tow*; *A Lightsome Tow*; *The Beneficent Sea*. Strauss suggested a shorter and the slightly more idiomatic use of ‘from,’ and the first title above suggested by Mishima himself became *The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea*. In the process of selecting the title, the translator again functioned as an intermediary between the editor and author, and although Strauss had the final say, Mishima had titled his own English translation.

Early on in the translation process, Strauss had heard from Mishima how pleased he was with the choice of Nathan. They had agreed to cooperate on each chapter, and he offered to keep Strauss informed on the progress of the translation. The friendly arrangements had Strauss wondering before this novel went to press “whether you [Nathan] are interested in principle in translating another Mishima novel for us” (Strauss 1965b). As Nathan wrote in his biography on Mishima, he was not interested in Mishima’s most recent novel *Kinu to Meisatsu* (1972 204), and shows that Strauss urged him to do it anyway by quoting a portion of a letter dated May 14, 1965. Strauss had balked at a previous novel already, but emphasized the importance of focusing on the body of an author’s work:

It amounts to a respect for Mishima’s wishes, but some hesitancy about translating this novel. In the long run, I think it will be very much worth your

while to become Mishima's official translator. This would involve you in an implied commitment to translate whatever he and I agree is to be his next book, but it also gives you the right to translate anything Mishima does. You know that publishing is a jackpot game, but some first-rate European publishers such as Bonnier of Sweden think that Mishima will win the Nobel prize some day. This will mean a lot to all of us, including you as his translator.” (Strauss 1965c)

Strauss was also aware of Nathan’s interest in Oé Kenzaburō’s work. In an apparent effort to cover both eventualities, Strauss made a further appeal to Nathan in the same letter, which was not quoted, and rather took the edge off the prior one: “If you want to switch your allegiance from Mishima to Oé, you should make a clear-cut decision to that effect. But this would carry with it an implication that you would be willing to translate several of Oé’s novels, and continue with him for a reasonable time” (Strauss 1965c). In fairness, the latter part of the quote does appear in Nathan’s 2008 autobiography, where he reflects on his choice. Oé was not receptive to the idea of being published at Knopf, as it turned out, and decided against it. He opted to work with Barney Rosset from Grove Press, for a contract with a far more substantial advance, and Nathan as his translator. Oé would have no way of knowing how much the advance at Knopf might be unless an author or translator told him, nor would he have known Strauss had put off talk of translating his work. Still, this eventuality never occurred to Strauss, who could not fathom a Japanese writer refusing to be published under the symbolic capital of the Knopf imprint.

The sales of *The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea* faltered after reaching 2,400 in the month it was published in September, 1965. It reached 3,500 copies by late January of 1966. Strauss remained optimistic: “The book has sold thirty-five hundred copies, somewhat disappointing. But I do want to explain that in all probability further payments will be forthcoming. Because of the special sale of movie rights to Kirk Douglas, and the possibility of getting a larger sum for the paperback rights if and when the movie goes into production, we have refrained from offering these rights to any printer” (Strauss 1966a). It was made into a movie set in England under the same title in 1976, but not as originally planned according to an Internal Memo: “Kirk Douglas-option business is now definitely kaput” (Strauss 1967a). The reasons are not clear. The pamphlet which accompanies the DVD released in Japan suggests it was also considered by Burt Lancaster (1978 5). The 1976 deal

came together when the producer Martin Poll acquired the rights and hired Lewis John Carlino to direct and write the screen play. It was released in Japan and overseas the summer of 1976 to mixed reviews. The dissection of the cat that the boys kill was cut in a number of countries in screening overseas. Book sales lagged, and Strauss reported to Mishima that total sales after returns were at only 3,600 copies (Strauss 1967b). This was the last novel for Knopf that Nathan translated. He made his way as an academic, a film maker and translator of Japan's second Nobel laureate, Oé Kenzaburo. Nathan headed to Columbia, and then Harvard, as the doors of cultural capital in academia opened to him after this translation. He was awarded his doctorate in large part for his biography of Mishima (1974).

The peritext of this novel repeats the list of literary awards Mishima garnered in Japan and blurbs associated with previous Knopf titles. It also makes a point to state he lived in Tokyo with his wife and two kids, perhaps to downplay the open secret. However, Strauss was openly flaunting Mishima as a Nobel contender based on a secondhand conversation Alfred and Blanche Knopf had with a Swedish publisher. The translation was reviewed by Earl Miner in the *Saturday Review*, who compared the writer to Henry James and William Golding (1965 106). He also complimented the translation with the caveat that the translator "did not seem to know the meaning of 'disinterested.'" Reviews also appeared in *The Atlantic* and *The New Yorker*. Secker & Warburg took up the translation, as did Tuttle in 1966. This literary contact nebula came unwound by career choices, but it would not keep Mishima out of print at Knopf.

### 7.2.3 *Forbidden Colors* (1968), *Kinjiki* (1951, 1953)

This novel, written years earlier in two volumes, explores the homosexual community of Tokyo in the wake of the Occupation. An embittered aging writer attempts to use a young man of extraordinary looks to take revenge upon women, who the writer blames for ruining his own life. As Keene had not yet begun an option translation for which he held the proprietary rights, Strauss was again forced to look elsewhere for a translator. He offered it to Ivan Morris and later to John Nathan, again, but to no avail. He attempted to engage Geoffrey Sargent at the Department of Oriental Studies, University of Sydney, whom he had unsuccessfully approached in 1963: "I'm afraid the subject is still Mishima, who seems to me to be constantly growing in stature. I am writing you once again at the suggestion of Donald Keene, because he, Mishima, and I have concluded that KINJIKI, which Mishima wrote in

about 1950, ought to be the next novel we publish—and I desperately need a translator” (Strauss 1965d). Sargent also declined so Strauss looked elsewhere.

Earlier in April of 1965, Strauss heard from Alfred Marks, who had learned Japanese at Army schools during World War II and had been studying Heian literature under Ivan Morris at Columbia. He was already professor of English literature at Ohio State University, and later became professor of English at the State University of New York at New Paltz. Strauss had been in touch with Marks as early as 1955 when he was canvassing interest in *The Heike Story* for use in university literature courses. Marks was scheduled to be in Japan on a Fulbright grant to Kanazawa University in Ishikawa prefecture. Strauss then wrote him about his plans: “Are you still interested in translating? I am still looking very hard for a translator for Kinjiki, a novel Mishima wrote some ten years ago” (Strauss 1965e). Marks had the novel in hand and began a sample translation.

In the meantime, Strauss sent a status report to Mishima: “I have made many efforts to find a translator for KINJIKI, but so far have met only with disappointments. At the present moment an American professor of English who is now an exchange professor in Japan is making a sample translation for me. . . . If this test fails, I may try a Japanese woman who is married to an American. I have seen several articles by her, and they are very well written indeed” (Strauss 1966b). The woman Strauss referred to is Cecilia Segawa Seigle, then an advisee of E. Dale Saunders at the University of Pennsylvania, who both made important contributions to the Program. Mishima was hesitant about the possibility of a Japanese native translator, perhaps because of the precedent set by the Yoshikawa novel adapted by Uramatsu Fuki. Strauss sent a letter to Howard Hibbett at Harvard the same day he wrote to Mishima: “This is just one of my unfortunately perennial notes to remind you of my desperate need of at least one more good translator from the Japanese. All my trusted old translators are becoming department heads, for instance, Ivan Morris at Columbia next year. So I will probably have to try younger people who are not quite so busy and whose reputations are yet to be made” (Strauss 1966c). Translating for the Knopf firm helped make a national reputation for an academic as it provided a higher level of public exposure than a journal article or monograph and carried with it the capital of the firm’s name. This contrasts with the view in American academia today that an annotated translation is a substandard credential.

Two months later, Strauss announced his decision to Marks: “Your sample translation from FORBIDDEN COLORS is wonderful! Believe me, I do not say that readily,



because my standards are very high, and I have already turned down three other sample translations from this admittedly difficult novel” (Strauss 1966d). No record was found of the other sample translations. Strauss tempered his enthusiasm with a reminder Marks was to observe when doing the full translation:

You have one stylistic trick that I don't like very much. You use present participles too often, and to make matters worse, when you do so, you often begin the sentence with them. For instance, on page 19, ‘Telling the driver to wait a moment, Shunsuke entered the gate of the park.’ I have just given you one example at random, but you overuse this construction, which at best is not a very attractive one, because it is not immediately clear who did the telling—the usual trouble with all participles. . . . Your translation has grace and rhythm; and what is more important, captures the essential quality of the novel. That's why I feel able to use the word ‘wonderful!’” (Strauss 1966d)

The construction Strauss refers to is a reflection of the *-nagara* ending of verbs, an inflection which indicates the continuous tense. As an alternative strategy, Marks suggested the substitution of a coordinate clause. He agreed to complete the manuscript within one year.

The Manuscript Record is dated 1966 and includes an explanation for the new terms, based on Knopf losing the novelist Oé to the publisher Grove Press: “Word has gotten around in Japan of what Grove advances Oé (\$5,000). I think we'll have to advance \$2,000 to Japanese novelists we have published before, with half going to the translator (there are no other translation charges).” The actor-network at Knopf was thus subject to influence from the economic capital of other players in the publishing industry. Strauss announced the new terms to Mishima, stating the advance was now to be split equally with the translator, and the royalties to remain as before (Strauss 1966e). He was willing to respond to the competition, but only willing to raise the advance to 40% of Grove's offer, which shows that Knopf's symbolic capital exceeded other publishers, at least in Strauss' way of figuring.

He was soon prompted to write Marks at the behest of Mishima concerning the translation process:

In the normal course of events, we do not expect our translators to consult with authors but you know Mishima has an affection for obscure words, and

in some of his books, such as *AFTER THE BANQUET*, he deliberately used esoteric words for foods and materials, etc. Therefore both Donald Keene and Ivan Morris have consulted him on occasion. All this is by way of explaining a letter I have just received from him. He says ‘I have a little bit of uneasiness that I have been never asked any questions from the translator whose address I do not know. Usually I used to be asked numerous questions.’ I don't think you necessarily have to consult with Mishima, but if you do feel inclined to do so, his address is... (Strauss 1966f)

One copy of the letters from Marks to Mishima is on file. Their language of correspondence was English, but Marks wrote by hand in Japanese the words in question. In this letter, Marks asks for explanations on the reading of Chinese characters for locations, shop names, and the source of quotes from Oscar Wilde, and the Greek poet Straton of Sardis. The extent of the author's involvement in clarifying the source text became a regular and expected part of the transculturation process, with this author in particular, and *was* the normal course of events. The notion of the definitive translation by a lone master translator is still very much alive in the marketing of translated texts. This is another occasion where Strauss attempted to spin the notion that collaboration was uncommon. The process today is similar, but translators from the Japanese are far more open about how it works.<sup>57</sup>

Strauss wrote to Mishima to broach the question of monetary figures used in the text, given the age of the novel: “I have also pointed out to Mr. Marks that there may be a problem regarding the inheritance of ten million yen. ... Perhaps two or three times the original amount would be sufficient” (Strauss 1966g). The amount was left as ten million yen in the translation after all, but Strauss made every effort to play down the age of this novel.<sup>58</sup>

Before he left for Japan in late January of 1967, Marks sent the first 290 pages of the translation to Strauss. The age of the novel was again a concern, but this time for stylistic reasons: “This book was written a few years ago, when Mishima's style was much lusher than it is now. I think some discreet slashing and toning down of metaphors is in order. We never tamper radically with our translations but light touches of this kind are in order” (Strauss 1967c). Here Strauss appears to be saying Mishima's style had matured in the fourteen years since this novel was published. The flexibility in the meaning of light touches will soon become clear. Strauss goes on to mention substituting proper epithets for a proper name or to use a pronoun, and to consult Mishima on passages that baffle him. He ends the letter in a

manner which offers the translator some flexibility, within a specified framework: “Incidentally, the translation is yours, and you are perfectly free to reject any of my alterations or suggestions provided you can improve upon them” (Strauss 1967c). No further record of these specific textual issues was found.

Strauss then made a more substantial suggestion: “Just this morning I received a letter from Mishima saying that he has no objection at all to cutting out the next to last chapter. ‘It is a little bit sorrowful but the cleverest way, anyhow’” (Strauss 1967d). An omission of the penultimate chapter of a novel would not likely fall under the category of a light touch, but for this title it did. No stated reasons were given for the cut of this chapter, but a look at the original text shows why this was done. Chapter 32 of the original text finds the aging novelist Hinoki Shunsuke seated at his desk writing an extended critique of his own career. He lays out his early influences and development as a writer, the literary movements of the day and evaluates his individual works. My translation below provides some idea of the source text content in Chapter 32.

少年時代に彼が影響を蒙った作家は泉鏡花であったが、明治三十三年に書かれた、「高野聖」は、その数年間、彼にとって理想の作品であった。(649)

Izumi Kyōka was the writer who influenced him in his youth, but it was the novel *Kōyahijiri* written in Meiji 33 (1900) that was to him the ideal work during those years.

最初の長篇「魔宴」(明治四十四年)は、文学史上孤独な位置を占める傑作である。当時は白樺派文学の興隆期で、同じ年に滋賀直哉が「濁った頭」を書いた。(651-2) His first novel *Maen*, published in Meiji 44 (1911), occupies a place in literary history. At the time the White Birch school of literature was flourishing, and in the same year Shiga Naoya wrote *Nigotta Atama*.

檜俊輔は、谷崎純一郎、佐藤春夫、日夏耿之介、芥川龍之介などと共に、大正初期の芸術至上主義の担い手であった。(656)

Hinoki Shunsuke, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Satō Haruo, Hinatsu Kōnosuke and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, among others, were the guardians of art for art's sake early in the Taishō period.

Strauss probably felt the extensive references to Japanese literary movements and authors were beyond the reach of the average reader. To make matters more confusing, the character

Hinoki Shunsuke is commenting on his fictional works, which do not in fact exist, and his fictional associations with authors who do. This made equivalence and fidelity next to impossible without extensive annotation. Consideration for the target audience was given priority over the preservation of the entirety work, and in this translation the omission was done with the consent of the author, who was again engaged with the artistic contact nebula transculturating his work.

The book was published in April of 1968. It was reviewed unfavorably by two former translators in the Program. The critics, Ivan Morris and Edward Seidensticker, spoke out in their epitextual roles on the translation itself and commented on the selection of this dated novel in their reviews, which implied that this is not what the author had wished. Strauss took issue with Morris on this matter: “I have of course seen your review of FORBIDDEN COLORS. You are entitled to your opinion, but as to why we publish it, you must ask Donald Keene. It was his strong pressure as well as Mishima’s direct request which made me follow the wishes of an author we respect” (Strauss 1968a). He tried to set the record straight with Seidensticker also:

I have just read your review of FORBIDDEN COLORS. It may surprise you to learn that I cannot quarrel with you too much, except for one downright misstatement. You say ‘the choice of FORBIDDEN COLORS for this most recent translation means the slighting of recent works thought more important by the author himself.’ The fact of the matter was that the choice was Mishima’s. Most of the pressure came from Mishima, but since he was supported by Keene, I felt obliged to agree. (Strauss 1968b)

This type of jockeying over insider information and for influence in the larger world of Japanese literature in translation was a function of the epitextual materials which surfaced in the discourse of the literary contact nebulae surrounding these translations.

Mishima himself was concerned about the quality of the translation, as it was being ridiculed in reviews overseas by his acquaintances, and in other reviews, such as one from Grant Goodman of the University of Kansas: “While one might question whether this book should have been translated at all, it can be argued, since it has been done, that Mishima has not been well served. Professor Marks has given the volume a rather fusty, almost Victorian quality which makes the whole thing seem perhaps even more ridiculous than it is” (1968

308). Strauss' secretary was equally forthcoming about his dissatisfaction with the translation in a letter sent to the translator Michael Gallagher, who appeared to be first in line to translate the next Mishima novel: "He was also not very happy with the translation of the current Mishima, (English title FORBIDDEN COLORS, coming out your next spring—early novel of Mishima's homosexuality in postwar Tokyo). The translator is an academic and very precise, very neat—but he plods a bit. No style really" (Hutchins 1967a). Nonetheless, the novel continued to sell well, published in April of 1968 it reached a third printing by June that year, and the rights for paperback followed. Some years later, Strauss wrote to Marks announcing "Berkeley will definitely reissue FORBIDDEN COLORS in paperback. The guarantee will be \$1,500.00 spread over a period of time" (Strauss 1973a). The payment for reissues of paperback printings and long tail sales were profitable to all parties concerned, and as before acted the texts functioned as inscriptions of objectified capital in the field of Japanese studies and comparative literature courses. Arrangements were made for Secker & Warburg and Tuttle as before. Despite the concerns voiced over this title, Alfred Marks was chosen to translate Mishima's next novel.

#### 7.2.4 *Thirst for Love* (1969), *Ai no Kawaki* (1950)

This novel follows the life of a widow who ends up living with her in-laws and the tragic results of her relationship with her father-in-law. Donald Keene recalled in his memoirs that "Mishima had begun to desire the recognition signified by the Nobel Prize, he believed that the more works of his that were translated the better his chances would be of obtaining the prizes. He knew that I admired his novel *Ai no Kawaki* (*Thirst for Love*) and asked me to translate it. I was reluctant to agree because I was fully occupied with my history of Japanese literature, but I promised to make the translation, provided there was no deadline" (1994 169). He goes on to explain that he translated a play by Abé Kobo instead during these years, that this was something that had annoyed Mishima, and that he regretted not doing the translation.

After Keene bowed out, as had Morris years earlier, Strauss turned again to Alfred Marks, who readily obliged. Strauss' tenure as editor-in-chief had passed and as such his influence was waning in the firm. Considerations of time were gaining in importance in his present *habitus*, more important perhaps than perceptions of translation quality in the literary contact nebulae surrounding Japan studies. The mediation of this translation began with the English title. Marks suggested *Dry Love* to which he was told: "As to the title, Donald Keene

and Mishima and I have been referring to it as THE THIRST FOR LOVE for such a long time that it seems a natural title to me” (Strauss 1968c). Ultimately, the definite article was dropped and it appeared as *Thirst for Love*.

Strauss wrote to Mishima about the decision to approach Marks: “Both Fred Warburg and I thought Alfred Marks’ translation of FORBIDDEN COLORS was very good, and therefore I have today written Marks asking if he would agree to undertake the translation of AI NO KAWAKI” (Strauss 1968d). In this he was duplicitous. These are not the sentiments he relayed to his secretary, or shared with Morris and Seidensticker. The financial terms were the same as the previous translation.

In the course of this translation, a procedure suggested by another translator was put in effect: “It will be a tremendous help to me, and possibly to you as well, to note the number of each new page in the Japanese original on the margin of your translation ... Dale Saunders, who translated Abé’s novels, did this of his own accord and says it saves him a great deal of time” (Strauss 1968e). This procedure would prove useful, but for the wrong reasons. On the second in-house White Sheet for AI NO KAWAKI, Strauss commented with finality: “As for the translation it is quite poor, and I have edited it drastically, checking almost every word against the original. As an added precaution, Donald Keene has agreed to read the edited version. I shall not use Marks again” (Strauss 1969a). As with all the other translations, excepting the translation of *Spring Snow* discussed below, no draft manuscript was preserved for the archives. The drastic editing by Strauss and the reading by Keene did not have its intended effect from a critical standpoint. The addition of actors to the network did not result in any improvement in the perception of the quality of the translation by reviewers.

An introduction was added by Donald Keene, perhaps in part for not following through on the translation. As noted above, this regret became a painful memory of his friendship with Mishima and a part of his *habitus* as he recalled this incident decades later in a memoir. *Thirst for Love* was not reprinted in hardcover at Knopf, but the paperback reprints of the many titles by Mishima continue to function as objectified cultural capital. Subsidiary rights for the United Kingdom were sold to Secker & Warburg, where it first appeared in 1969 for an advance of £500 on account of 10% to 3,000 copies, 12.5% to 5,000 and 15% thereafter, giving evidence that these monies were due as long as the title remained in print. Rights for sale in Japan went to Tuttle where it was first published in 1970.

The translation of Mishima’s works in the 1960s was the source of three configurations of literary contact nebulae which sought to transculturate his works. His ornate

style and subject matter made it a common practice for a translator to consult him, as it had been with his earliest works. Many of the actors who wrote reviews were establishing a place in the field of Japanese studies, a network which itself growing in the midst of these works. The scholar Richard Torrance suggested in the following entry from *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English* that:

During a time when many other prominent Japanese writers were being poorly served in English translation, Mishima inspired a commitment and dedication on the part of his many English-language translators that no other modern Japanese novelist has been able to. Perhaps his translators have been moved by the grandeur, gorgeousness and abstraction of his style” (2000 956).

In the works by Mishima translated in the 1950s and 1960s, there certainly was admiration for his writing, but at the same time translators and reviewers alike questioned the maturity of his style, his verbosity, and at times his actual knowledge of the details of what he wrote. The translators were no doubt committed to the novel at hand, but the comparison with other writers seems out of place. Torrance cited ten novels, two of which were passed on at Knopf, and the other eight published in this Program. Mishima having several translators could be attributed to his prolific volume of writings, but, as has been seen, it is more accurate thus far to say he had more translators because of concerns over the division of financial proceeds with a translator as was the case with Meredith Weatherby, or a translator placing a higher priority on another writer or another project as was the case with Ivan Morris, John Nathan and Donald Keene. The community of writers and translators that Strauss strived to cultivate, since the 1950s, were branching out in the 1960s.

At the close of the decade, only Alfred Marks was willing to do another translation at Knopf, but his work was roundly criticized. He was relieved of further work because of concerns over quality. Another question of concern in Torrance’s analysis above is: Who were the many prominent writers that were being poorly served in English translation? It seems unlikely they would have been the prominent writers who were being translated by the same leading translators of the day at Knopf, by far the most substantial project of the day. This is not the first time an incongruity has come about when literary criticism, translation quality and translation history are merged into a single analysis. The archival materials, peritext and reviews have provided a more balanced account of the unpredictability of these networks in

which the actors formed literary contact nebulae and worked to transculture Mishima's writings, affirming and denying capital, while positioning themselves in the growing field of Japanese literary studies.

### 7.3 The Abé novels

Strauss came to know an academic who specialized in romantic languages, Japanese and Buddhism by the name of E. Dale Saunders, who at first wrote reports about novels that might be suitable for translation in the American market. At the time Abé Kobo's name came up, Saunders happened to be available to read and report on what became the writer's first novel in the Anglophone market. Abé matched up well with the factors of the Program's criteria observed thus far. He was a respected writer, actively publishing and selling well in Japan. Recommendations by Mishima and Keene were also on hand. The translation of this writer's novels went as smoothly as any in the program. Strauss found a reliable translator in E. Dale Saunders, this pair of writer and translator continued for five consecutive novels, and the practice of a translator in direct communication with an author concerning the translation of a novel continued.

The Abé novels translated by E. Dale Saunders continued into the 1970s. The pairing of author and translator worked so well together that sadly little paper trail of the process was preserved. A tie-in with a film based on a novel was something that Strauss had always looked for, and was previously a factor in the selection of texts for translation. The social capital of avant-garde director Teshigahara Hiroshi, who worked closely with Abé and had an international following of his own, was a bonus. When Abé arrived in New York in 1964 with Teshigahara for the screening of *The Woman in the Dunes*, based one of Abé's recent novels, they were accompanied in the city by Ono Yoko, who acted as interpreter. She had previously become acquainted with Strauss while in New York. The pairing of Abé and Saunders resulted in five novels in English translation.

#### 7.3.1 *The Woman in the Dunes* (1964), *Suna no Onna* (1962)

As the Knopfs had cultivated personal relationships with their writers of the firm, particularly those that they brought to the American reading public in English translation, Strauss too remained in contact with the literary and artistic community of Japan after he returned from



war duty. He was able to avail himself of information when Japanese writers or artists visited New York; something that was quite the fashion after Japan was readmitted to the United Nations in 1962 and travel restrictions were eased. In a letter to Howard Hibbett, the Harvard University professor then working on a Tanizaki translation, Strauss inquired about a young novelist that had been recommended to him:

This morning Isamu Noguchi, the sculptor, blew in from Israel, and talked to me enthusiastically about a novel he says Mishima also admires. It's SUNA NO ONNA, by Abé Kobo. Have you heard of him or it? A couple of copies are on their way, and if it looks interesting, I may ask you to read it for me. (Strauss 1962i)

Two copies arrived from Abé himself in late December, with a typewritten note expressing his hope that it would be translated into "American." Strauss made a prompt reply to Abé:

I have already read about 30 pages, and find it very interesting indeed, but of course I must read it all before I form a serious opinion about it. Then if I am still interested in the novel for publication in English I shall have to ask the advice of at least two experts, since my Japanese is not perfect enough for me to base a final decision on it. (Strauss 1962j)

Strauss was cautious about taking on a new writer, but the success of *The Key* gave him an opening. By early January of 1963 Strauss had sent a copy of Abé's novel to Hibbett. Within a month Hibbett responded favorably, which pleased Strauss as he was set to embark on a six-week working trip to Japan: "Thank you for your wonderful perceptive letter about SUNA NO ONNA ... It only remains for me to meet Abé and to find out more about his other books. Generally speaking, in beginning to publish a Japanese novelist, I like to know that there are several books worth doing" (Strauss 1963a).

On the same day that Strauss had sent Hibbett a copy of Abé's novel, he offered the other copy to E. Dale Saunders: "Mishima himself is urging me to take on Abé, and the novel does look interesting if strange. I would regard it as a great favor if you would read this one for me also" (Strauss 1963h). By April, Saunders had written back with a sample translation and estimated he could have it done by September of 1963. If anything, Strauss felt Saunders

might be moving too quickly through the trial translation:

I have gone over your sample translation of Abé's WOMAN OF THE SANDS in great detail, and I would like to talk to you about it at your convenience. To tell the truth, I have a somewhat mixed impression. Curiously enough, you have done exceedingly well on those difficult points on which others usually come a cropper. Your text does not sound like a translation from the Japanese. Your solution to difficult translation problems, of which there are plenty, is almost always highly ingenious. And your dialogue is excellent. But I think there are rather too many minor stylistic slips. I have the feeling that it's merely a matter of using a little more elbow grease in polishing your prose. (Strauss 1963i)

Strauss here indicates a preference for domestication, but no further record of the process was found until September of 1963, when Saunders was preparing to deliver the translation manuscript. As Saunders then lived in New York, the contractual matters and production details were most likely carried out in person. Saunders and Strauss shared an educational background at Harvard, and both men translated from French. They were also similar in age, which may have made for a consistency in their approach to literary translation. The terms of the contract included an advance of US\$1,200.00, with \$800.00 going to the translator and \$400.00 going to the author. Royalties and proceeds were to be split evenly by the author and translator. Saunders later took a post at the University of Pennsylvania, traveled to Japan frequently, and became acquainted with Abé.

The novel was published on June 7, 1964 under the title *The Woman in the Dunes* and featured illustrations by Machiko Abé, an artist and the wife of the novelist. The filmmaker Teshigahara Hiroshi adapted the novel to movie form and it won a Special Jury Prize in Cannes. The film was also nominated for Best Foreign Film at the Academy Awards, which spurred on the book sales. Earl Miner joined the discourse with his article in *Saturday Review*, complimenting the novel, the translation and the attractive illustrations. The book had a second hardcover printing in 1964. Secker & Warburg also published a hardcover edition for sale in the United Kingdom that year, and a paperback reprint followed by Charles E. Tuttle, Inc. in Japan. This was a promising start for the new writer.

### 7.3.2 *The Face of Another* (1966), *Tanin no Kao* (1964)

In keeping with the policy of publishing the body of the work of an author, and not simply a novel, Strauss hoped to follow up with a new Abé novel as the first one reached a second printing at Knopf. Abé's next novel follows a man who has a new face molded because of an industrial accident. In his return to everyday life, the anonymity his appearance now allows him leads to unsettling changes in his behavior. Teshigahara was working on his cinematic adaptation of this work soon after it appeared in Japan. However, Saunders had taken up his post at the University of Pennsylvania, and due to various commitments felt unable to translate the next Abé novel. The matter remained at a standstill for some months.

Strauss had considered other options but was not satisfied with the sample translation he had received from an American who was working on the translation with a Japanese colleague. Strauss appreciated the effort and enthusiasm they had put into the work, but found it inadequate: "On the whole, you have translated the original faithfully into adequate English. But "adequate" is not enough. ... Since two-man jobs almost always work out as yours has, there must be something in the process which puts the translator in a straitjacket" (Strauss 1965f). In a follow-up letter, Strauss explained further:

As to whether it is axiomatic that two-man jobs are always merely adequate, I can only say that I've found this to be the case throughout my experience, which now goes back 15 years or so. (This refers to translation from the Japanese only.) I can't really explain this, except to say that translation is an art, and that true artistic creation is something that goes on inside the mind and imagination of a single man. (Strauss 1965g)

Such reflections on the translation process have little in common with the activity in the literary contact nebulae observed thus far under Strauss' direction, which include multiple mediators. The artistic creation Strauss refers to would later be subject to the hand of an editor. Further, it is already well documented that collaboration is a recurring feature in the translation process at Knopf, camouflaged though it was. No reason was given why this would apply to translation from the Japanese only. If so, the proposition would find little support from the law laid down by Walter Dening (1872-8) and the "native speaker principle"

noted above. Here Strauss is perhaps making a distinction in the type of network formation, which is to say that his editing of a manuscript by a native speaker of English with the help of a native speaker of Japanese is not the same as a draft by a native speaker of Japanese then reworked by a native speaker of English. In the latter formation, both members of the team were more likely to be credited based on the novels examined in the era before World War II.

Strauss then got some unexpected news. Saunders would be able to continue translating Abé's works if they negotiated a more flexible timetable. Strauss reported this development to Abé: "Dale Saunders has changed his mind, and has now offered to complete the translation of TANNIN NI KAO by the end of the year ... and needless to say I am much relieved, because, as we all know, Mr. Saunders is a most skillful translator" (Strauss 1965h). Again the advance of US\$1,200.00, with \$800.00 going to the translator and \$400.00 going to the author, with royalties and proceeds to be split evenly

Approaching the completion of the manuscript, Saunders mentioned the inclusion of drawings done by a friend of his, the artist Robert Steele Wallace. Strauss explained how the drawings for the first novel in translation came about: "I have been thinking over your letter of September 15<sup>th</sup> about possible line-drawings in novels. We did use them in THE WOMAN IN THE DUNES because we wanted to attract special attention to a new novelist, and also, quite frankly, because Mrs. Abé volunteered to do the drawings at no cost to us" (Strauss 1965i). When the manuscript was submitted in duplicate, Saunders called attention to the drawings in one of the copies for Strauss to consider for use in the publication. Strauss obviously found them attractive and, as a result, fifty-four drawings by Robert Steele Wallace were used in the volume, each to mark the beginning of a new section. The potential recognition of being associated with a leading publisher with symbolic capital was one reason that the drawings were offered gratis.

When he returned the manuscript in early December of 1965, Saunders noted the translation was more demanding than *The Woman in the Dunes*. Both the translator and the editor had struggled with the title as well. In a Christmas card to Strauss, Teshigahara Hiroshi mentioned his film version of this novel. The title for the subtitled English version was to be *The Face of Another*. The tie-in with a film by a director of international acclaim, a man of social and symbolic capital, appealed to Strauss. He gave the translation the same title.

This did not settle the matter of how the editing of the translation itself would proceed, and matters of policy came into play after Saunders submitted the manuscript of his translation. The difficulty he found was "due in great measure to the abstract passages of

philosophizing which abound and which are not always crystal-clear in the original” (Saunders 1965a). This sent Strauss to work on the editing, but again no records of the process remain. Saunders responded amicably to the work Strauss had done on his translation: “I am impressed, and most grateful, at the vast amount of work that has been put in on the manuscript. I think the editing that has been done is excellent. Things read along much, much better” (Saunders 1966a). It is unfortunate the translation manuscripts were not preserved. Strauss gave justification for what he described as extraordinary circumstances:

I must confess that the novel presented some very severe problems—one might call them problems of policy. Normally, which is to say almost always, we would want to keep much closer to the original than we have done. But some sentences seemed to have little or no meaning in English, or even a contradictory meaning, and I felt something had to be done. I am grateful to you for consenting to this.” (Strauss 1966h)

Here an issue of policy adds a further measure of flexibility when editing the translation for its audience. Abé may have been consulted, but no record of this was found.

The effect was less than anticipated, and after a July publication, sales had only reached 3,166 copies by December of 1966. Abé’s novels were translated into a number of European languages and had sold well in Russian in particular, but this was little consolation to his American publisher. This led to suggestions from both Saunders and Strauss to Abé on how he might overcome further such reactions to his writing. Saunders relayed to Strauss how he had taken up the matter with Abé directly:

I have tried, not very adroitly, I fear, to suggest to Mr. Abé that he stick to good stories, which he tells very well indeed, and let the philosophizing go. But I have felt rather impertinent in doing so and have thus not pressed the case. Perhaps a suggestion from you along such lines would carry more weight. Or maybe if Mr. Abe could read some of the reviews, that might be good. Actually, the Japanese reviews that I have read are not unlike their American counterparts. (Saunders 1966b)

The epitextual matter in the form of reviews in both the source and target cultures was then used as justification for modifying the author's future writings. In correspondence the following month with Abé, Strauss also availed himself of the opportunity to potentially influence Abé's work:

Some reviewers felt that the psychological condition of your narrator should have been indicated in a few bold strokes. They pointed out that in comparison THE WOMAN IN THE DUNES had the same profound psychological overtones, but was set forth in concrete terms, in exciting physical action which could be understood symbolically. ... I am sorry to say that the reservations of the critics have been somewhat reflected in the sales of the new book. It has now sold just about three thousand copies, which is about a thousand less than the sale of THE WOMAN IN THE DUNES at a corresponding time after publication. (Strauss 1966i)

The message both the translator and the editor intended concerning the writer's future work was plainly stated. The criticism of *The Face of Another* that Strauss notes above follows very closely what the poet and English professor Thomas Fitzsimmons wrote in *Saturday Review* that "the seeming inability to present interior states with a few bold strokes of imagery ... the reliance on textbook psychology to painstakingly (and painfully) expound, explain, and exhaust whatever aspects of being can be reduced to linear discourse" (1966 61). Some of the symbols and imagery might be attributed to Abé's *habitus* in relation to his political philosophy. He was formerly a member of the Japanese Communist Party, but quit and then expelled from it. He was once refused entry into the United States based on the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 used to keep out those the authorities deemed undesirable. The decision was later reversed, and Abé was free to travel thereafter to the United States for publicity purposes.<sup>59</sup> Even so, the theme of the individual forever in search of worth in a modern world had not resonated widely with critics. Secker & Warburg passed on this title, but Weidenfeld and Nicolson later published a hardcover edition for sale in the United Kingdom in 1969, and a paperback edition by Charles E. Tuttle, Inc. was released for sale in Japan, as was the case with every title thus far, indicating the receptiveness to the objectified cultural capital of the translations in the source culture.

7.3.3 *The Ruined Map* (1969), *Moetsukita Chizu* (1967)  
*Inter Ice Age 4* (1970), *Dai Yon Kanpyōki* (1958)  
*The Box Man* (1974), *Haka no Otoko* (1973)

Materials in the archive for the titles that followed, *The Ruined Map*, 1969; *Inter Ice Age 4*, 1970; and *The Box Man*, 1974, all in translation by E. Dale Saunders, are sparse. Cecilia Segawa Siegle studied and worked at the University of Pennsylvania with Saunders and was helpful, as will be seen below. The advance for *The Ruined Map* was \$1,200, one-third to the author and two-thirds to the translator, with royalties split evenly at 10% to 7,500 copies sold; 12% to 15,000; 14% and thereafter. The advance was raised to \$1,500 for the last two titles. The novels clearly sold well enough to keep the author in translation at Knopf. Nevertheless, the sales in the United States could hardly be compared to the sales of Abé's novels in Russian. At one point Abé wrote to Strauss to tell him that his novel *Inter Ice Age 4* had sold more than 240,000 copies in the Soviet Union. This must have been unsettling, as that single novel in Russian translation had likely sold more than all the Japanese novels in English translation at Knopf combined. These translations are important areas for further study.

Strauss was concerned that Abé was not writing novels at a fast enough pace because he was also active as a playwright. Strauss took the unusual step of writing to Abé's publisher in Japan to encourage him to make quicker progress. Whenever a new novel was finished, Strauss had a report written and was eager to get it into production soon after. He had Saunders standing by and ready for the English translation. *The Box Man* was the last of the novels of Abé's that Saunders translated because he passed away a year later. Juliet Winters Carpenter, a student of Seidensticker's, became Abé's next translator at Knopf.

Abé had inquired if a book of his short stories might be published at Knopf. An edition of four stories had already been published in Japan. Strauss dismissed the idea: "It is a peculiarity of American readers that they do not like to read collections of short stories unless they are by very famous writers. Your reputation here is rising very rapidly, but has not reached the point at which I can consider you a very famous writer" (Strauss 1971b). The weak sales of Tanizaki's book of short stories may have informed Strauss' decision. However, after Strauss retired in early 1975, he attempted to get a book of Abé's plays published. He had confidential news that Abé was going to receive an honorary doctorate from Columbia University (Strauss 1975a). The new editor-in-chief Robert Gottlieb was not interested, but Tuttle was, and the plays were published in English translation in Japan, where the appetite

for Japanese literature in English translation remained larger than in the Anglophone markets.

Abé Kobo was introduced to the English-speaking world in the 1960s and met with editing and abridgment in translation. The circumstances were considered extraordinary, as such tampering with a work went beyond the supposed boundaries of the prevailing translation policy of the firm. Nevertheless, this was more common than Strauss had let on, given the practices noted in *Fires on the Plain* and *Forbidden Colors*, for example. Furthermore, both Strauss and Saunders sought to steer the writer towards a direction more conducive to an English-reading public in works yet to be written. As such, this is an example of pre-textual agency whereby the members of the artistic contact nebulae, specifically the editor and the translator, worked to influence the content of a future work. This finding shows the extent influence is possible in cultures of less steeply inclined hierarchies, where more nuanced influences are seemingly the rule. Given the lack of information about the process used in these transculturations, Abé's works with Saunders as translator would make for an important study if digital scanning of the texts and search features were enabled to discover the choices made in the production of these texts.

The works of this writer resulted in five publications over the course of a decade. All were reprinted in paperback and thus added a source of new materials for literature courses, inscriptions that are in use to this day, as has been the case with Knopf's other Japanese authors. After the deaths of Kawabata, Mishima and Tanizaki, many considered Abé to be Japan's foremost living writer. His works continued to be published in English under the Knopf imprint in the coming decades, and were translated by a new generation of translators, often trained by Knopf translators in the growing university curriculum.

#### **7.4 *The Pornographers* by Nosaka Akiyuki (1968), *Ero Goto Shitachi* (1966)**

Strauss had been in Japan in February and March of 1967 scouting new talent and keeping up his network of connections. His role as editor-in-chief in charge of company-wide operations had come to a close, but he was still on the board of directors and headed up this Program. He was introduced to Nosaka Akiyuki's writing by Mishima. While Strauss was in Japan, he and Nosaka developed a friendly rapport. Strauss took the then extraordinary measure of having one of Nosaka's novel airmailed to New York, a considerable expense, because he hoped to have a report from John Nathan on this new book ready upon his return. Nathan had enrolled at Columbia, was busy with his studies, and did not produce a written report on the novel.



Strauss turned to his trusted ally at Harvard, Howard Hibbett:

Mishima recommended both the author and the novel to me. I read it while in Japan, but only with considerable difficulty, because it is loaded with Osaka-ben and a lot of slang; and also because it is a picaresque novel with abrupt transitions. ... If you do think we should publish it, would you, by some miracle, have the time to translate it? Nothing would please me more. (Strauss 1967e)

Nearly two months later Strauss sent a follow-up letter to Hibbett: "I still have been unable to get a report out of Nathan, so I am in more desperate need of your advice than ever" (Strauss 1967f). In a letter to Mishima announcing the approval to go ahead with the translation of his novel *Forbidden Colors*, Strauss announced he would publish Nosaka after finding a translator, and that he had hoped to persuade John Nathan to take on the work. It did not go as he planned: "I have had a terrible time with John Nathan over ERO-GOTO-SHI-TACHI. He has broken so many promises to me that I have decided to have nothing to do with him anymore. That's very unfortunate, because he was a first-rate translator" (Strauss 1967g). Nathan's translation days were by no means in the past tense, but he did not continue at Knopf.

At the time Strauss was considering this novel by Nosaka Akiyuki, he received an unsolicited letter from one Michael Gallagher, formerly a Jesuit missionary in Japan who relocated to Malibu, California:

I recently came across an article in a Los Angeles paper centering upon your observations upon Japanese novelists and the task of getting suitable translators. It occurred to me, consequently, that it might be well for me to get in touch with you. I've spent five and a half years in Japan as a missionary of the Jesuit Order and am fluent in the language and able to read it and even write it with comparative ease. Last fall I left the Jesuit Order with the intention of becoming a playwright and translator, and I remained in Japan until the end of April. During this period I translated one novel, and I also wrote a book dealing with my experience as a teacher at Tokyo University and as a day laborer in Osaka. The novel is now being read at Dutton, and the

book will be published in Japanese this coming August. (Gallagher 1967a)

Had Gallagher not been reading the newspaper that day, it would have altered the course of the events that followed. Strauss was quite interested and wrote back, reaffirmed his shortage of qualified translators, inquired after the translation of the novel Gallagher mentioned and informed him that a novel by Nosaka was under consideration: “I sometimes also need editorial reports on Japanese novels I am considering. While I read Japanese quite well, I never accept a novel without a confirming opinion. Once we start to publish the work of a particular novelist, we try to continue to publish his full length fiction” (Strauss 1967g). Strauss had time to spell out aspects of the publishing criteria employed at Knopf and upgraded his assessment of his ability to read Japanese.

Soon Strauss had in his hands a carbon copy of Gallagher’s draft translation of *The Sea and the Poison* (1972), *Umi no Doku* (1958), by the Catholic writer Endō Shusaku. A connection to the literary world in Japan was the best form of social capital, and Gallagher had a translation under his belt. He was also familiar with the film based on the Nosaka novel, and put in a modest word for himself on the point that Strauss considered the most challenging part of the translation, the dialect used in the Western region of Japan centered around Osaka: “Incidentally, I have some [underlined in original] knowledge of the Osaka-ben, since I lived in Kobe for about a year and then later worked as a laborer for several weeks in Osaka” (Gallagher 1967b). Strauss was suitably impressed and appeared to enjoy the serendipity of the chance encounter. A positive report from Howard Hibbett came in on the Nosaka novel, to which he responded: “I have found a translator—an ex-Jesuit, of all things, who has lived in Osaka for five years, and who has shown me an excellent, idiomatic translation of another Japanese novel” (Strauss 1967i). A check for US\$50.00 was enclosed for the report, more than other readers were receiving for reports. With the backing of a trusted advisor and, moreover, having been favorably impressed by Gallagher's translation of the Endō novel, Strauss was ready to move forward.

He sent letters out to both Nosaka and Gallagher the same day with the contractual details he proposed. Gallagher had yet to read the novel, and the agreement was contingent on his willingness to do the translation:

I am very happy to tell you that at last I think I have found a very good translator for ERO-GOTO-SHI-TACHI. He understands the Osaka dialect

very well, and has a beautiful English style. I have seen a sample translation of a novel by Mr. Endō, which is full of colloquialisms, and he has handled these very well indeed. That is always the true test of a translator. I always insist that a translator must be enthusiastic about a book he is translating. ... I will offer you the same contract terms we offer all Japanese novelists, including Mr. Mishima and Mr. Tanizaki. The royalties will be 10% of the retail price on the first 5,000 copies; 12.5% on the next 5,000 copies; and 15% thereafter. We will offer an advance of US\$1,500.00, of which US\$1,000.00 will go to the translator, and US\$500.00 to you. ...If anything in this letter is not clear to you, please discuss it with Mr. Mishima, who will, I am sure, be glad to explain how our contracts work. (Strauss 1967j)

This formula makes a break to higher royalties after 5,000 copies, but the advance is less than that of Mishima's most recent contract so the terms are not the same. In fact, the terms were constantly in flux based on factors such as the length of a work and prior sales.

Nosaka had won the prestigious Naoki Prize, and as a result had been inundated with requests for essays and short stories. These would not be suitable for the American market, according to Strauss, which he made plain to Nosaka: "It is our custom in America, once we start publishing a novelist, to publish as many of his full length novels as possible. This does not include short stories. Therefore, I hope you will let me know about any full length novel you plan to write, and send me two copies when the book is published" (Strauss 1967j). Strauss made it clear that it would only be novels which would lead to the acquisition of the symbolic capital, and emphasizes that it is the publication of a novel that would confer the legitimacy of this capital. The letter above closed in another attempt to influence the genre of writing a younger writer would later produce, as done previously with Abé, with the strong hint of publishing Nosaka again.

The decision to go ahead with the translation by Gallagher was contingent upon his interest in the work, and an above-average sample translation. Gallagher confirmed his interest and submitted a sample. He explicated the text for readability. Overall, Strauss approved, though he was concerned about maintaining the original style of the work:

I realize that some embellishments are absolutely necessary because of the frequent lack of transitions and the extremely terse and even telegraphic

nature of the original. There is a beauty in Nosaka's style, however, which is almost classic, and derives from this very compactness. I think you should do as much as possible to preserve that quality. In other words, I feel your translation is very good indeed but you should try to make it just a little less free. (Strauss 1967k)

The word embellishment is a term that, accurate or otherwise, will surface again. On the next day, Strauss wrote again to Gallagher with the following caveat:

I am also concerned, of course, with a somewhat greater degree of literalness, without by any means urging you to be severely literal. This is impossible in translating from the Japanese. But the novel will undoubtedly be reviewed by Japanese experts who will have something to say about the translation, and too great a departure from the original will invite criticisms. (Strauss 1967l)

This commentary indicates a perception of some type of textual norms at work based in part on perceptions in the source culture, but it is not indicated where a line would be drawn between not being severely literal and too great a departure from the original, as no specific area of the text is referred to as an example. More importantly, from the stand-point of social perceptions, Strauss' concern over the reception of critics in the source culture suggests that the translations were in part conditioned by the long-standing practices noted in the background section above, that the target text held a place in the source culture, and further that there were indeed a body of readers and a discourse community in Japan engaged with these translations. Thus, he would also add considerations of source culture criticism to the mix of the influences of a text in translation.

For the numerous queries that had come up in the sample translation, Strauss suggested putting Gallagher in direct contact with the author, another common practice throughout this Program: "I am writing Nosaka today that I am extremely pleased with your sample translation, and that he no doubt will be hearing from you concerning certain questions" (Strauss 1967m). No hesitation was shown about the practice of consulting the author over the details of a translation. The writer and the translator got on well, and Gallagher was on hand when Nosaka came to New York to promote the book.

Strauss was enthusiastic about the manuscript translation and reported this to the

author: “I am delighted to tell you that Michael Gallagher has finished the translation of ERO-GOTO-SHI-TACHI, and has done a splendid job with it. He has rendered the slang very well indeed, always very difficult to do in translation” (Strauss 1968f). For his part, Gallagher exhibited a willingness to cooperate in the editing process: “Change in whatever way you like if it is still not satisfactory—or give it back and I’ll try again. At any rate, I’m not one of those hypersensitive types, and so don’t feel the least hesitation with regard to me in making any changes here or throughout the book” (Gallagher 1968a). At this point in his translation career, Gallagher was of a disposition that welcomed criticism and edits of his work.

The manuscript, completed in March of 1968, was done at a faster pace than the other novels in the program, as was the publishing of the book, within seven months after it entered the pipeline, on October 1, 1968. Strauss was able to get an advance comment into *Publisher’s Weekly*, which he informed Gallagher was a service journal quite influential in regard to the advance orders of the libraries and booksellers. This is the same journal in which Strauss wrote his article about the unusual problems in the translation of Japanese novels back in 1954, thus indicating that his social and symbolic capital with the service journals and literary periodicals remained strong over the years.

However, the low sales and lack of candidate novels for further translations resulted in this being the only novel of Nosaka’s published at Knopf. The Japanese movie of the original novel was also screened in New York, but once again the tie-in with a film version of a novel did not serve as a catalyst for book sales. After careful consideration of the possible obscenity charges that might be brought against the publication of the book and the resulting risk of prosecution in the United Kingdom, it was taken up by Secker and Warburg for distribution after an agreement of £500 advance on account of 10% to 3,000 copies, 12.5% to 5,000 copies, and 15% thereafter. This called for some changes in the translation to accommodate the British market. Strauss informed Gallagher that “I have agreed to let them do so, since we’ve had similar problems with British translations in the past. I don’t anticipate that you’ll raise any objections to all of this, but I feel an obligation to let you know what is being done” (Strauss 1968g). The obligation he felt was after the fact, but the creative censorship of the British edition, ostensibly to avoid obscenity charges, became no cause for concern to Gallagher in this translation. A Tuttle edition followed for sale in Japan.

## 7.5 Related developments

The decade of the 1960s took on a greater significance because of developments which did not occur within the Program. Naturally the award of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1968 to Kawabata, dropped in 1959 from Knopf's active list, was unexpected. Measures were soon taken to address that surprise development. As noted above, when Keene and Hibbett had the chance to officially nominate a candidate in 1962 and 1963, they both recommended Tanizaki. Keene was especially active in the discourse surrounding the Nobel Prize in Japan. In a leading magazine, *The Shūkan Asahi*, he was quoted as saying Mishima is still too young for the prize in 1962.<sup>60</sup> Both men were then in their mid-thirties. Keene was the only non-Japanese of the twelve leading literary specialists chosen by the magazine.

The 1965 signing of a major Japanese writer, Oé Kenzaburo, to the rival publisher Grove Press was a setback, and caught Strauss completely off guard as he had followed Oé's work since 1958. Strauss wrote to Oé in 1963 and again in June of 1965 noting that he was enthusiastic about his writing but had to limit his program of translating contemporary Japanese novelists to a schedule of only two books a season, and that once they begin publishing a Japanese novelist they stuck with the writer: "It is our policy in America to publish and frequently, and to build up his public reputation here. . . . Now for the first time it looks as if our schedule will permit us to begin publishing your work" (Strauss 1965k). He also noted that he had been in touch with John Nathan, who would like to translate his work.

It was only a matter of days before Oé wrote that he intended to sign with Grove Press so as not "to wedge myself into the lineup of Abé, Mishima and Tanizaki team." Oé's letter is quoted verbatim with an account of this non-signing in a translator's introduction by John Nathan in 1978 (xxiv), and in Henderson (1995 116-7). Oé's handwritten letter is preserved in the Knopf Archives. Strauss was astonished, particularly since he had been sent a copy of the novel in question, *Kojinteki na Taiken* (1964), by Oé himself. He was also dumbfounded by Oé's reasoning:

We [Knopf] are known for publishing in translation the best foreign literature, not only from Japan but from all over the world. For instance, at one time just after the War we published Sartre, Camus, and Beauvoir, and this did not hinder quite a few other French novelists from coming to us. Furthermore, I wonder if you have considered the disadvantages of being published by a

company where no one reads Japanese. Is there any possibility that you will reconsider your decision? (Strauss 1965k)

No reversal of the decision ever materialized. Strauss wrote to Abé Kobo, who was close to Oé, and heard back that the main reason he went with another publisher was the advance of \$5000, which he needed for his upcoming trip to Harvard. Strauss was grateful to Abé for his efforts: “I’m very glad to know the reasons that he withdrew KOJINTEKI NA TAIKEN from us, and of course they are much more plausible than the first reason he gave to me” (Strauss 1965l). The reason noted above seemed beyond Strauss’ ability to process. Monetary considerations made more sense. He was also curious how the translator would share in this contract, but no further communication from Oé is in evidence. Nevertheless, four years later Strauss was still certain that he would sign the author when he explained to Fred Warburg that “I had a mild spat with Oé about giving a novel I wanted to Grove Press. I should have no difficulty in coming to terms with him when the time is right” (Strauss 1971c). Success with other international writers had imbued the editor’s *habitus* to the point that he was unable to conceive of Oé signing at another publisher. The Program was hardly in a position to add an author when Strauss and Oé first met, but perhaps if Strauss had handled correspondence with Oé differently early on, he might have had a chance of signing him. Nathan explained that Oé admired Barney Rossett, the editor who fought alongside Norman Mailor against censorship in the 1960s, and this was another reason for his decision. Oé stayed at Grove Press with Nathan as his main translator, and years later became Japan’s second Nobel Prize winner for literature in 1994.

## 7.6 Discussion

The novels published from 1961 to 1969 have a number of things in common, including evidence of the translation practices noted in the background sections, and not a few surprising turns of events. Themes of a sexual nature were a common thread of the 1960s translations of Tanizaki, Mishima and Nosaka works, and are in line with the movement of sexual liberation of the day in Western countries. Commentary that has been quick to characterize the novels in this Program as quintessentially Japanese has paid little attention to the content of the novels, which in more than one case had to be reviewed by legal counsel before publication.

The selection of the texts was based on consultation with a circle of advisers, which included translators, Japanese specialists and native speakers of Japanese, who Strauss believed had knowledge of the literary taste of American readers. The choice of texts was also influenced by the recommendations of other Japanese writers, a finding not yet considered by other analyses. The basic criteria remained in place and included works by living, active and successful writers, who might have the potential for a Nobel Prize. In the case of the works by Tanizaki, the trusted adviser and translator Hibbett was not required to write reports on works he translated himself, but was given more leeway in the suggestion of the short stories that appeared in one volume, which is an indication of the capital Hibbett cultivated. Reports were drawn up on the Mishima, Abé and Nosaka novels, and trial translations were required for each of the four new translators introduced into the Program.

Strauss was at times able to persuade many of the actors involved in the process to work as one, but strangely enough, when support seemed strongest amongst the literary contact nebulae composed of writers, insiders and specialists as it was for Abé, and Kawabata before him, the English-reading public reacted with less enthusiasm. Abé's novels sold just well enough in hardcover to keep him on the active list. Without the stable pairing with Saunders and the cinematic relationship with Teshigahara, the willingness to continue might not have been there. One reason for expanding the network of translators was to replace those who left after translating a novel by Mishima. When the translations were considered substandard, even after a great deal of in-house editing, Strauss gave glowing appraisals to the author and translator. The title *Forbidden Colors* sold quite well comparatively, though it was criticized by reviewers.

Sales remained a factor with the continuation of an author. The publisher André Schriffirin wrote the following in *The Business of Books*:

When I started out in publishing, the option clause in the contract had real meaning. The author promised to offer his or her next book to an editor, and, in most cases, the editor would feel bound to take it on. Publishers were known for issuing the collected works of major authors, and it was a matter of pride at Knopf, for instance, that the dozens of books written by the most famous Japanese authors were all linked to Harold Strauss, Knopf's very knowledgeable editor in that field. (2001 82)



The books were indeed linked to Strauss, but a lack of sales led to an author being dropped from the active list, as happened to Nosaka, Kawabata, Ōoka and Osaragi, a reality which does not support the broad statement made by Schiffrin above. The data presented in this study show the “dozens of books written by the most famous Japanese authors” published during Strauss’ tenure total thirty novels—a substantial output given the circumstances, but actually less than three dozen. A book of plays, a book of short stories, a combined edition of *Snow Country* and *Thousand Cranes* and an anthology round out the total at thirty-four titles under his direction from 1955 and 1977.

The translation process in the production networks during this time period found the editor continued to exercise considerable power. His *habitus* had evolved with a core belief that he knew best. Strauss was a top executive at a firm that had five decades of success with literature in translation from Europe and South America. His confidence extended to translations from the Japanese. The textual issues in editing primarily concerned revision of the translations by the editor and the practice of omission. This included cutting out a chapter in Mishima’s novel *Forbidden Colors*, and what were considered unnecessary philosophical digressions in Abé’s work.

Efforts were also made to influence the future works of the writers Abé and Nosaka, so as not to include such matter that was considered undesirable or less marketable. Abé was urged to tone down his commentary, while the younger writer Nosaka was cautioned against writing too many magazine pieces which might interfere with his work on novels. In this manner, Strauss and Saunders worked within the actor-network, hoping to produce outcomes they perceived to be more desirable, and in doing so exercise a pretextual influence over a writer’s creative process.

Peritextual matter again was often an additional responsibility of the translator, and was not compensated as noted above. The work included writing introductions and arranging for artwork. None of the translators asked for extra compensation, so perhaps this was by now an accepted part of the process. It was in all the actors’ interest to present a compelling product to the reading public. It is not known how the dust jacket artists were compensated.

At times former Knopf translators outside the production process sought to position the place of a work. Strauss faced a continued challenge from former translators at Knopf, who joined the contact nebulae as reviewers. It was not uncommon for a Knopf translator to write an epitextual review of another translator’s work and these were generally supportive. However, Ivan Morris and Edward Seidensticker, for example, wrote unfavorable reviews of

Mishima's works in English translation, which indicate these titles were not published based on their preferences. In the case of *Thirst for Love*, both Morris and Seidensticker implied that the author wished to have a different novel translated and this is what drew Strauss' ire. Not only was it a trying task to find a translator willing to do a novel by Mishima, three of his novels had received unfavorable written reports in the vetting process. The unbinding of a novel in translation covers considerations which emerge before text selection and extend beyond its publication.

Reviews also were written by scholars advancing their position in the growing field of Japanese studies, by literary specialists in Japan, and by literary critics who treated the translations as works in English. During this decade, the translators continued to make a name for themselves in Japan, and it was not uncommon for their opinions to be aired in the Japanese press. This discourse surrounding the texts circulated in the source culture and the target culture alike, often by a group of actors with ties to, active in and with vested interests in both cultures. Moreover, Strauss continued to ask specialists and American writers to confer their capital by providing blurbs, which were used as epitextual support the promotion of these titles.

One way to gauge the influence of these texts is to determine the number of Japanese titles translated at Knopf relative to the number of Japanese novels translated into English overall. According to the bibliographical sources listed above, thirty-one novels appeared in English translation during the years 1961 to 1969. This figure does not include reprints of Knopf translations published in the United Kingdom and Japan. Knopf published nine novels and one book of short stories. If we now exclude translations that were published in Japan only, the total becomes eight less or twenty-three. The share of Knopf titles published in North America and the United Kingdom is down from two-thirds during 1955 to 1960 to thirty-nine percent of all titles between 1961 and 1969, still a substantial part of the total. Every Knopf translation was published in Japan by Tuttle, and, again based on the number of printings it is safe conclude that more copies, albeit in paperback, were sold in Japan than anywhere else in the world, particularly in light of the eight titles published only in Japan. The interest of the Japanese people in their literature in English translation is a phenomenon that had continued then for nearly 100 years.

Since the beginning of the Program, the translators who worked on Knopf titles were growing in stature in the field of academia, and while they were doing scholarly work as well it does not seem unrealistic to posit a growing symbiosis between these titles and the growth

of their careers. Seidensticker wrote in his memoir about his first post he assumed in 1965: “If it had not been for the modicum of repute the Program brought me, I would probably not have been able to begin my American career at so distinguished a university as Stanford” (2000 136). In addition to this qualitative data, by the close of the 1960s the growth of the field of Japanese studies was addressed in quantifiable numbers.

A publication entitled *Japanese Studies in the United States* (1969) investigates the state of the field and its growth since the year 1934, when an initial survey was conducted.<sup>61</sup> Harvard, Columbia and the University of Michigan then showed the largest concentration. The document traces the stages of development in the field through the early support made by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation and government funding, the influence of wartime training, the development and finance of area studies, Fulbright agreements and Ford Foundation support. By 1969, five hundred specialists were working in Japanese studies at 135 colleges and universities, seventy-five of which offered undergraduate courses in the Japanese language, while twenty offered graduate instruction (13). Ninety-eight of the five hundred specialists working in higher education in the United States in 1969 majored in language, second only to history at 110 faculty members (30).

Of the ninety-five doctoral dissertations in Western languages between 1867-1969 compiled by Shulman (1970), forty-four were published in English, including the annotated translations of Donald Shively, Donald Keene, Francis Motofuji, Ivan Morris, Robert Brower, Edwin Cranston, James Araki, Helen and Craig McCullough, Karen Brazell, Howard Hibbett, Edwin McClellan and Valda Vigelielmo, among others, who played a role in the advancement of Japanese studies in the postwar era. The group of academics listed below taught and/or studied at the academic institutions listed in Table 1, as well as translated and/or edited works in the Knopf Program between the years 1955 and 1977.

Table 1

Academic Affiliations of Knopf Translators

<u>Columbia</u>	<u>Harvard</u>	<u>U. of Michigan</u>
Alfred Knopf	Harold Strauss	William Sibley
Donald Keene	Meredith Weatherby	Edward Seidensticker
Ivan Morris	Howard Hibbett	
Edward Seidensticker	E. Dale Saunders	
William Sibley	William Sibley	
Donald Richie	Jay Rubin	
John Nathan	John Nathan	
Michael Gallagher	Iwasaki Haruko	
Alfred Marks		
Rebecca Copeland		
Kathryn Sparling		
<u>U. of Chicago</u>	<u>U.C. Santa Barbara</u>	<u>Stanford</u>
William Sibley	John Nathan	George Sansom
Edwin McClellan	Iwasaki Haruko	Edward Seidensticker
Jay Rubin		Kathryn Sparling
		Ian Hideo Levy
<u>Yale</u>	<u>Princeton</u>	<u>U. of Pennsylvania</u>
Edwin McClellan	John Nathan	E. Dale Saunders
	Ian Hideo Levy	Cecilia Segawa Seigle

Most of the scholars above were awarded their degree on the basis of an annotated translation, which in more recent years is considered less of a substantive scholarly accomplishment. It is interesting to note that dissertation topics chosen by the individuals above focus on writers of the prose and poetry of the premodern eras to the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa eras, and include writers such as Kunika Doppo, Shiga Naoya, Natsume Sōseki and Shimazaki Tōson, all of whom fall outside Knopf’s publishing criteria. However, this is another area where the digitization of materials and making them widely available would spur on further research.

In the following decade, according to Shulman’s bibliography entitled *Doctoral Dissertations on Japan and Korea, 1969 – 1979*, of the twenty-one dissertations dealt with literature since 1945, eighteen were written in English. Five of the dissertations investigated

the writings of Mishima, four of the works concerned the writing of Abé Kobo, and three dissertations each covered the writing of Kawabata and Tanizaki.<sup>62</sup> Abé's novels in translation numbered twice that of Kawabata's. The translations started to be used in a growing number of undergraduate courses on Japanese literature and comparative or world literature in colleges and universities.<sup>63</sup> The objectified capital of these works in English translation formed the basis for an emerging stock of academic papers written in English, in Japanese, and in other languages about Japanese literature. The translations functioned as actants and took the relay, working as inscriptions in the growing fields of Japanese studies and comparative literature, while the discourse surrounding the texts allows for the affirmation or denial of capital in the form of literary or translation criticism.

The translations were also scrutinized by a wider literary contact nebula of Japanese scholars. The actors engaged in the discourse form a wider artistic contact nebula which appears after the textual transculturation, and clearly affords those actors the opportunity to accrue capital. Here again is noted a symbiosis between the translations and the nascent field of Japanese studies, the field of comparative literature, as well as the discourse communities which emerge thereof. Much of this activity was facilitated by the translation in the Program. By the end of the 1960s, Knopf had published more book-length titles in English translation by more Japanese authors than any other firm, twenty titles by eight authors.

## 8. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY DATA PART IV - The Novels of the 1970s

The translations at Knopf during the 1970s are primarily concerned with two events. The first was the awarding of the Nobel Prize in 1968 to Yasunari Kawabata, which reactivated his works in translation at Knopf. The second was the suicide of Yukio Mishima in 1970, which hastened the translation of his last works. These works and the three other titles to follow were the last initiated under Strauss' direction of the Program.

### 8.1 Post-Nobel Kawabata novels

Despite the claims of inside information on the nomination process, the Nobel Prize for literature in 1968 awarded to Kawabata Yasunari was unexpected. Only two novels that had been published roughly a decade prior were available to go into print. It was decided that a "Nobel Prize Edition" of *Snow Country* and *Thousand Cranes* in a larger format be made available in one volume. Favorable reviews of the new edition soon appeared in various publications from Frank Gibney, Donald Keene and Ivan Morris. It sold well and was reprinted several times in the coming years, leaving little doubt the power of consecration in the world of letters. Many of the translations published at Knopf and those of other publishers were reprinted. The Nobel Prize was also a boost for Japanese literary studies overseas.

Seidensticker accompanied Kawabata to Sweden and acted as an interpreter on his behalf for his lecture. As the author and the translator were still on good terms, Strauss was in favor of continuing the pairing. As before, Strauss made mention to the firm's accounting department that he "is utterly dependent on Seidensticker in regards to Kawabata's affairs" (Strauss 1968h). This reinforces the finding that the role of the translator was indeed multifaceted. The award also played a significant role in the selection of texts as it reopened the question of which of Kawabata's novels to consider for English translation. The three titles selected are taken up below.

#### 8.1.1 *The Sound of the Mountain* (1970), *Yama no Oto* (1954)

Seidensticker had long shown an interest in translating *The Sound of the Mountain*. One of the reasons he stopped translating in the Program in the late 1950s was that Strauss saw no prospect for Kawabata's work in English translation. In 1962, Seidensticker reminded Strauss

of his interest in translating this work: “I reread Kawabata’s *Yama no Oto* on the boat coming over, and was so delighted with it (how many Japanese books stand up on rereading?) that I was on the point of writing to ask whether you would consider a translation” (Seidensticker 1962a). Strauss was still not in a position to make that gamble, though he was leaning in favor of it: “I am thinking very seriously about YAMA NO OTO, but our sales and promotion people invariably go by the author’s previous record, which in Kawabata’s case is very disappointing” (Strauss 1963j). Seidensticker made his stance clear: “Indeed my position in the matter of translating novels remains unchanged, and you are familiar with it: that Kawabata is the only man I want to translate. I would be very happy to do YAMA NO OTO, so happy that, if you continue to be uninterested, I think I may one of these days see if I cannot find another publisher” (Seidensticker 1963a). He did just that through a publisher in England, Peter Owen, Ltd, in 1966. The contract was contingent upon getting an American publisher to sign on for publication in the United States. William Koshland at Knopf, Inc. replied to Peter Owen that “we have done a couple of books by Kawabata, and did not fare sufficiently well to warrant our going on further. We are fairly well committed to our other Japanese authors, and I’m afraid we can’t go along with you” (Koshland 1966c). The discussion went no further.

After the Nobel Prize was awarded to Kawabata, and the resulting capital of his consecration in the world of letters, *The Sound of the Mountain* was the first of three of his works to be taken up for translation into English at Knopf. Seidensticker did the legwork on the ground in Japan, bringing the documents to Kawabata and obtaining his signature. The terms of the contract called for an advance of \$4000, with one-third to the author and two-thirds going to the translator. Royalties were set at 10% retail up to 4,000 copies, 12.5% up to 8,000 and 15% in excess of 8,000 copies, to be shared equally. Subsidiary rights were to be sold to Tuttle, Inc. for Asia, Berkley Medallion for North America and Secker & Warburg in the United Kingdom for 10% of retail sales. The title remains in print in paperback at the Vintage division of Random House. Strauss was able to arrange for reviews in *The Atlantic* and *The New Yorker*. The translation, reviewed by Howard Hibbett (1970 38-9) in the *Saturday Review*, was described as superb due to Seidensticker’s fidelity and sensitivity. It was also favorably reviewed by Ivan Morris in the *Washington Post*. This translation was awarded the National Book Award in 1971. The reformation of the actor-network was seamless after the Nobel Prize was awarded to Kawabata, and with far better sales than before.

### 8.1.2 *The Master of Go* (1972), *Meijin* (1954)

Strauss was interested in getting another new novel in English translation out to the American reading public from the Nobel Prize winner. Before beginning the translation Seidensticker reflected on the choice of titles available: “Yes, I will do another Kawabata novel, but I sort of don’t know which one. I must reread Maihime [no Koyomi 1935], and Mizuumi [*The Lake* 1974] and, going back a long, long time, Asakusa Kurenaidan [*The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa* 2005] are other possibilities. ... And of course I go on having thoughts about Meijin [*The Master of Go*], which would have to be fairly boldly rewritten” (Seidensticker 1970a). *The Master of Go* was the next title selected, and the last work of Kawabata’s that Seidensticker translated at Knopf.

The terms for the contract were the same as for *The Sound of the Mountain* above. Seidensticker was asked to write an introduction for this title also. The signing of the contract by the author was still left to the translator. Seidensticker took the forms to Kawabata for his signature, and returned both signed copies to Knopf in New York by post. Strauss had relied on Seidensticker to make such arrangements since 1954, when he had acted as courier for the contracts with Tanizaki. The translator here is performing the much-needed role of the go-between, who facilitates arrangements before the translation process itself begins.

A substantial amount of correspondence concerns the charts that would be used to explain the game of Go and its basic strategies. It is a two-person game which involves placing black or white pieces on a grid that serves as the game board. It bears a similarity to the popular board game known as Othello. Progress on the translation went along steadily. “I have been able to get a certain amount of work done on Meijin, even though it is not due for another year. There are considerable problems which I will have to have an expert help me with, but I think that making it generally intelligible will prove less difficult than I had feared” (Seidensticker 1971a). The translation challenge was addressed by making diagrams to show the action being described in the text. In order to accomplish the intelligibility he speaks of, the translator adds experts to the network. It is a practice that was employed by Morris and Keene earlier in the Program, as noted above. Without the access to various experts, the accuracy of the translations might have suffered. As is basic to ANT, to follow the action of the actors is to follow the influences within the production process. The translators were able to reach outside their network using social capital and thus were granted the assistance of experts.



In the translator's introduction, the sections of text excised from the book are noted, as well as the expression of a debt of gratitude to two individuals who "were more help in solving mysteries of the text in the game than a platoon of paid researchers could have been" (Seidensticker 1972 viii). Their help resulted in a number of diagrams that were made and added to the text as visual aids to assist the reader. The intricacy of the game led to the inclusion of over fifty footnotes by the translator. Strauss suggested to "add a few words about the way the moves are made," to help reduce the number of footnotes, which in a novel, he argued, were the fewer the better (Strauss 1971d). He wrote back to expound upon this as the translation was being copy edited: "As to footnotes in your earlier translations, and even as to the broader question of explaining certain basically untranslatable Japanese words, you must not hold me rigidly to my past attitudes. As more and more Americans learn more and more about Japan, however superficially, I am less and less inclined to use footnotes or textual explanations" (Strauss 1972c). It was a practice Strauss had frowned upon as he and his colleagues felt it interfered with the reading experience. Strauss was eager to get the titles into print and was less engaged with the process in part due to his age but and because Seidensticker by this time had accumulated considerably more social and academic capital as he was full professor at the University of Michigan, and as his many translations and scholarly articles were and remain widely admired.

The contact nebulae surrounding these titles had fewer members in the community of reviewers, perhaps because the writer was now a Nobel laureate. Sadly, Kawabata was found dead by gas poisoning in April of 1972. In October of 1972, the translation went into a second printing and a few mistakes in the diagrams were corrected after being pointed out by alert readers. A third printing was ordered by the end of the year. In the course of these years, Seidensticker also translated Kawabata's Nobel Prize acceptance speech and *House of the Sleeping Beauties and Other Stories* (1969), both published by Kodansha International, in addition to the two titles above. These new texts added important secondary sources for students of this author, but Seidensticker had no strong affinity for Kawabata's remaining novels and redirected his interest to *The Tale of Genji*.

### 8.1.3 *Beauty and Sadness* (1975), *Utsukushisa to Kanashisa* (1965)

This book had been scheduled for translation and publication earlier but was ultimately delayed because of Hibbett's critical editing of a volume from the Mishima tetralogy, to be

discussed below. Years before in a memo to himself, Strauss noted that the American whose translation manuscript he rejected for an Abé novel was determined to translate a novel by Kawabata, a work prior to 1959, *Mizuumi* (1954), which had slipped into the public domain, or so it was thought: “Since I probably cannot block [Sanford] Goldstein entirely from translating a Kawabata novel, I will try instead to persuade him to translate Beauty and Sorrow, about which Seidensticker, Ivan Morris, and I agree to the effect that while it is written in Kawabata’s popular vein, it is a very good novel by any standard” (Strauss 1969b). As it turned out, *Mizuumi* was not in the public domain in the United States and the discussion with Goldstein was tabled. Seidensticker had no interest in translating either novel. *Beauty and Sadness* was then scheduled for translation by Howard Hibbett. The terms of the contract were the same as those for the previous two post-Nobel Kawabata novels.

Another delay with getting *Beauty and Sadness* to press was caused by the fact that Strauss could not get Kawabata to return the contract. He did not have Seidensticker on the ground to do his follow-up work in Japan. In 1970, hoping to capitalize on the Nobel success, he wrote to Mishima after writing to Kawabata several times, and was anxious as “now time is growing short, and I have just sent Mr. Kawabata a three-party contract already signed by Howard Hibbett and ourselves. If Howard is to put his free time this summer to good use in making this translation, it is necessary that Mr. Kawabata sign all copies and return two of them to me as soon as possible” (Strauss 1970a). Due to the lack of a system of literary agents, Kawabata had no formal representation for foreign rights, and communication technology being what it was in 1970, Strauss would even look to other writers to for help.

The growing stature of Abé Kobo delayed the release of *Beauty and Sadness* further. Abé’s new work was attracting attention in Japan, and Strauss suggested giving this work precedence because it had created a sensation:

The French rights have been sold before the English translation has so much as gone to press. What is perhaps more important, Alan Levy, who has been writing articles about very distinguished writers for the New York Times magazine section, has written a piece on Abé, which will appear early in 1974. ... Because of the forthcoming publicity about Abé, we would like to publish THE BOXMAN in the fall of 1974. (Strauss 1973b)

He added that he hoped Hibbett did not mind, but the editor had obviously made up his mind.

Concern about the translation into French was provided as one reason to prioritize the release of Abé's novel. *Beauty and Sadness* was published in 1975, five years after the contract was prepared. It did not see a second printing in hardcover. It was briefly noted in *The New Yorker*, but not given a full review. The dust jacket features a portrait photograph of Kawabata taken by Strauss and a quote by Ivan Morris. All three of the post-Nobel titles were published at Secker & Warburg and Tuttle in their regions respectively. The influence of the Nobel Prize was immediate but not enduring. Seidensticker predicted the award and his insights into title selection proved accurate, particularly with regards to sales. The significance of the award was seen in the international recognition of Japanese literature in general, and specifically in reprints of other writers also long out of print. The award to a writer from Asia also meant it would be unlikely for the prize to return to the region for any numbers of years.

## 8.2 Post-suicide Mishima novels

The spectacular suicide of this author in 1970 drew the attention of media around the world. He performed a ritual suicide in the office of a Self-Defense Forces commander, whom he and four accomplices had taken captive. Pictures of the gruesome scene were shown in *Life* magazine. Earlier that day, the author had dropped the last pages of his manuscript to his publisher in Tokyo. *The Sea of Fertility* is a set of four volumes.

### 8.2.1 *Spring Snow* (1972), *Haru no Yuki* (1969)

The first novel in this series of works takes place in the early twentieth century. It is a romance set in Japan's newly established aristocratic society, with a grandeur and pageantry influenced by European nobility. The work derives the themes of reincarnation and dream prophecy from a thousand-year-old tale, the *Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari*. The first novel was widely acclaimed in Japan and overseas and remains in print. It was reworked into a movie in 2006.

Michael Gallagher was selected as the translator for the first novel in the series after he had completed his translation of *The Pornographers*. Discussions about this project began in 1969 in coordination with the author. Strauss had thought to turn the first two volumes of the original Japanese into one English book. The process was complicated. By the time this manuscript was sent to the printer, no less than six individuals had a hand in the translation,

and the idea of publishing the first two volumes as one was abandoned. Before his death, Mishima allegedly wrote to Keene and Morris asking them to “look after” the translations (Strauss 1971g).

The initial terms for the contract are laid out in this correspondence from Gallagher, who had moved to New York for his studies at Columbia. He wrote to Strauss that:

As I explained on the phone, I would prefer the type of contract I signed for the Nosaka manuscript rather than receiving a fixed fee. How surprising that Haru no Yuki and Homba come to approximately 750 pages, I would like to propose that my advance amount to 2,500 dollars, half payable when the contract is signed, half payable when I deliver a satisfactory manuscript. Should the business office be reluctant to advance so much, it could be pointed out: (a) these two novels are more than three times as long as *The Pornographers*; (b) it will cost me at least five-hundred dollars to get the translation typed. (Gallagher 1969a)

Strauss was amenable and the terms were agreed upon.

The translation was moving along at a reasonable pace when Gallagher wrote Strauss about a book he had published in Japanese. “Remember that manuscript about my experiences at Todai and in Kamagasaki? Well at long last, Kodansha has brought it out in Japanese (*Bakudan to Ginnan*, 1970) with three introductions: by Mishima, Nosaka, and Endo. My translator tells me that Mishima’s is really good, since among other things he took the trouble to read the book carefully” (Gallagher 1970a). Relations among the editor, the translator and the writer were at a high point, and like other Knopf translators Gallagher participated in the source culture with a publication in Japanese.

Gallagher felt a commitment to make this work in translation the best it could be:

I finished Spring Snow some time ago though some doubtful points remain that may have to be reworked once I do some further research on them either by consulting with a Japanese or writing to Mishima himself as I have already done on two points which I thought only he could answer. I want to go over it carefully and then get it typed and into your hands as soon as possible. (Gallagher 1970b)

Again consulting with the author and related experts was a natural part of the process. Strauss was pleased, telling Mishima that Gallagher was making splendid progress on the translation of the first two novels. He took up the matter of the title with the author: “Based on your excellent suggestions, I think I have worked out a perfect title for the first two volumes (the first volume in English). It is Recurrent Memories. It is vaguely Proustian, and also very delicately suggests the theme of reincarnation, But these are not the main points, the chief of which is that it sounds quite elegant and attractive in English” (Strauss 1970b).<sup>64</sup> The idea of positioning the writer in the company of established European authors was not something new. This is the idea Mishima had himself in his long title of *The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea*.

Gallagher was continuing his efforts to finalize the manuscript when developments began to inform his *habitus*:

I have a couple of new reasons, incidentally, for wanting this to be a first-rate translation in every way. For one thing, I’m extremely grateful to Mishima for his preface to my book. For another, I want very much to make a good showing for my dear, dear friends at Columbia—may they burn in hell. (Please exempt Ivan Morris from any of my diatribes against Columbia). I told him the other day that it was my general impression that most of the people I’ve met at Columbia—at least the successful ones—seemed less interested in helping to establish better relations between East and West than in carving out little fiefdoms of their own. (Gallagher 1970c)

At the time he was in a master’s program at Columbia and could sense the power dynamics in the department. Upon completion of the manuscript, he wrote to Strauss that: “I’m very happy about the translation, a joy I hope you’ll share to an appreciable extent” (Gallagher 1970d). He had kept in close contact with the author and double-checked his work:

Spring Snow was extremely difficult, but I’ve been very careful with it and I’ve consulted a lot of people. There may well be an error here and there, but I don’t think that there are any real howlers. My translation of Buddhist terms was influenced by my own theological background, but I think that I’ve been

accurate and I'm quite ready to defend any seeming liberties. I've been in correspondence with Mr. Mishima, and he knows that Homba won't be ready in time for a spring publication. I'm much impressed with him as a man as well as a writer. (Gallagher 1970e)

The translator's respect for the writer and the work was a plus. He also added those he considered expert to the network.

Strauss wrote back with his initial comments:

My general impression of your translation is that it is very good, but slightly on the loose or wordy side. Let me explain what I mean by this. I realize that in Spring Snow Mishima has deliberately adopted a rather old-fashioned and wordy style, whereas in Homba his style becomes more terse and military. But you remember that the Japanese language lends itself to piling metaphor on metaphor and that therefore there is some danger in rendering these too literally in English. I think it is possible to ride herd legitimately on Mishima's metaphors, not so much by cutting them out as by putting them in the tersest possible form. I don't think this will violate the tone and feeling of Spring Snow that Mishima intended it to have. (Strauss 1970c)

Here is a textual issue that has a slightly more specific definition, i.e. the toning down of metaphors. The only way to do so without cutting them out altogether seemingly would be to cut out adjectives or adverbs. This is another example of how advanced meta-searches would yield insight into the translation process. Gallagher was receptive to this criticism: "I'm happy to hear that you are for the most part content with the translation. As for your general criticism—the slight looseness—I thought that it was better to err in this direction than to attempt to take some of the functions of an editor. I agree that some tightening up along the lines you've indicated is very much in order" (Gallagher 1970f). It seemed that both parties were on the same page as they approached the editing stage, but Strauss was no longer editor-in-chief so there were more hoops to go through.

Robert Gottlieb was the editor-in-chief who succeeded Strauss, and he had plenty to say about this project. He was not of the mind that it made any sense to combine the first and the second volume. His reasoning did not have so much to do with financial or publishing

considerations, but with what he called an editorial reason:

This book is very clearly a distinct, whole novel. It is about one thing—the relationship of the two young people—and it comes to a very defined end. The next volume can only be a sequel [underlined in original] ... Would you like to wait until Vol. 2 to make a decision? There will be time to do so, because ... To be direct: this translation appalls me. First of all, and most important of all, Mr. Gallagher may be a whiz at Japanese, but he has no understanding whatsoever of English style. From first to last, the tone of this translation is lumpy, awkward, unliterary and dull. It has no distinction whatsoever (except, perhaps, accuracy). How you can have given him this job after the awfulness of *The Pornographers* is beyond me. Why didn't I stop you? Laziness or inattention, no doubt. Well, what's done is done. But it must [underlined in original] be partially undone. I imagine you won't agree with me about this. I can't help it, I know [underlined in original] I'm right. And whether other Japanese experts agree or not is not my worry—I am more of an English expert than they are (Keene and Co.) [parentheses in original]. (Gottlieb 1970a)

The addition of this uninvited actor in the contact nebula had Strauss soon seeing the translation in a different light. He found himself caught between a gatekeeper of unassailable authority, the editor who replaced him, and the top Japanese literature specialist. In a matter of days, he now believed it would take more than the toning down of metaphors: “I'm almost at the end of the manuscript and I'm bothered more than ever by a certain looseness and wordiness in your translation. In some cases, perhaps twenty-five percent of them, you seem to me to have embroidered on the original. ... Meanwhile, as far as Homba is concerned, I hope you will condense your phrasing as much as the original permits” (Strauss 1970d). Here Strauss makes no criticism of Gallagher's style. He had in fact praised Gallagher's style in *The Pornographers*, which was why he was chosen for the Mishima translations. The translator was open to Strauss' advice: “I certainly didn't do any conscious embroidering, and I don't think that the Homba translation will bother you this way. At any rate, I won't be in the least upset by any cutting and slashing that you think is called for” (Gallagher 1970g). Strauss was understanding, and agreed in part that the reason for this lay with the author:

“I’m quite aware of Mishima’s use of obscure words and fancy metaphors. I’ve even told him several times that I thought that as he grew older his style would become dryer and more austere. So far my remarks have had no effect whatsoever” (Strauss 1970e). The editor had repeatedly tried to influence the author’s writing style to make it more accessible in translation, yet earlier Strauss suggested Mishima’s style had matured when he discussed *Forbidden Colors* with Alfred Marks two years prior.

Then came an unexpected development. In addition to the unfavorable comments by the new editor-in-chief, Robert Gottlieb, the manuscript for this translation was going to be scrutinized closer than any other:

And now I must tell you that Mishima left with his wife a letter to be sent to Donald Keene after his death. Donald has received the letter and has read it to me over the phone. A great part of it concerns Mishima’s worry over the translation of THE SEA OF FERTILITY, and he asked Donald personally edit it. I hope you will not take this in any sense as a disparagement of your work. It was not so intended by Mishima and is not so intended by me, but this was obviously a request I could not refuse, and I have agreed to it. Because of the circumstances, we now may publish THE SEA OF FERTILITY volume by volume, instead of two by two. But I hope you will not take that as any reason to slow down your work on the second volume. In fact, to the contrary, I hope you will complete your translation as rapidly as possible. One of the less charming aspects of this situation is that both you and we are likely to make a great deal of money out of Mishima’s death. (Strauss 1970f)

The decision to publish the volumes individually had already been taken by Gottlieb. Here Strauss manipulated the flow of information, giving the letter Mishima wrote to Keene as the reason for this decision.

Mishima made another precautionary measure. He wrote Ivan Morris a similar letter asking him to look after the translations. Strauss may have looked to Keene first because of his close relationship with Mishima or because he thought Keene was in a stronger position to ensure the success of the translation. Strauss wrote to Morris that the manuscript would be sent to him after Keene had finished with it: “I have already sent him the complete translation of the first volume, Spring Snow. I do not see much point in sending you a copy until Donald



gets through with his work ...” (Strauss 1970g). But it was not to be.

The next month, January of 1971, Keene decided to go no further after he had revised the first twenty-one pages. Strauss quoted Keene’s comments in a letter to the translator saying on the whole it is all right, but that:

‘The fact that Gallagher’s translation seems so wordy, its worst fault, comes from the innumerable additions to the text, supposedly in the interest of assisting the Western reader. But it also means that the text becomes peculiar, as if Mishima had been writing for the Western reader from the beginning, explaining things that every Japanese assuredly know.’ You remember that I was surprised at the length to which your translation runs. Keene notes that one printed page of Japanese usually reduces to about 5/8 of a page in English, but your version is about as long as the Japanese original, thanks to your additions. (Strauss 1971h)

Comments on the first two chapters as revised by Keene were sent to the translator. This is where the less-than-smooth sailing began.

Gallagher was quick to respond and sent back his revisions of the revisions. He had been a student of Keene’s and found him a qualified grammarian but had concerns about his suggested edits. Strauss was understanding, but only to a degree: “I don’t think I should answer your comments about Donald Keene in detail, although I sympathize with your feelings. He can be difficult. But apart from Mishima’s direct request, Keene is an important and influential man in the field, and I have to get along with him” (Strauss 1971i). Here Strauss reiterates again how Keene’s formidable capital will have to be taken into account. He, like Gottlieb, was another formidable actor Strauss had not invited to this network.

Gallagher sent Strauss the contact information of Iwasaki Haruko, who might assist with this project, for which Strauss was grateful:

I see that I have not acknowledged your letter of February 23<sup>rd</sup>. I expect the Xerox copy of the manuscript on which a Japanese has been working very soon. Until I receive it and can size up the nature of the final polishing I cannot tell you how it will be done or who will do it. Nevertheless, I am very glad to have Miss Iwasaki’s name and address, since she may be useful to me

in other ways, if she is interested in what I have to suggest. For instance, at the moment I have an unusual accumulation of Japanese novels that have been highly recommended to me by people whose judgment I trust. (Strauss 1971j)

The Japanese individual working on the manuscript to whom Strauss referred to was Nobuko Morris, at the time the wife of Ivan Morris. Strauss had enlisted her to check the manuscript against the original after Keene bowed out.

The following month Strauss informed Gallagher how the process was taking shape:

It is high time I told you what is happening to your translation of Spring Snow. In spite of all my blandishments (and offers of money) I could not persuade Donald Keene to continue editing the translation, nor could I persuade Ivan Morris to pick up where Keene left off. At a three-hour meeting at Ivan's apartment about two months ago we thrashed the whole thing out, and we decided as a first step to turn over the checking of your translation against the original to Nobuko Morris. She is perfectly bilingual and is even starting to write a novel of her own in English. But she is only ferreting out errors and embellishments in the original. I am picking up after her, and producing, to the best of my ability, a 'final text.' (Strauss 1971i)

The former translators of Mishima to whom he asked to look after his work responded by declining to do so personally, and it was delegated to a native speaker of Japanese.

Strauss outlined how the editing had continued:

Almost half of Nobuko's suggestions consist of circling long clauses or even whole sentences and marking them 'not in original.' And when I turn to the original, I find that she is right. In other places she points out that what was a brief sentence in the original Japanese has been expanded excessively, and again when I look at the original, I find that she is right. The number of what she considers actual errors are very few indeed. (Strauss 1971m)

Gallagher responded again with counter suggestions which were incorporated into the text, but his argument was not necessarily with Mrs. Morris. He thought in a number of cases the

fault was that of the editorial staff. Strauss called upon Ivan Morris to exercise his capital in support of the editing: “Ivan Morris has gone over the whole translation, and on his recommendation I have accepted about two-thirds of those suggestions you made ... this should not be interpreted as favoring his wife, since they are in the midst of separation proceedings” (Strauss 1971n). What qualifies as going over the *whole* translation is not entirely clear, as Ivan Morris had previously refused to do so, and no evidence in the archive suggests he did. Gallagher was no doubt subject to quality-related stress in this network.

In the midst of this emotionally charged setting, Gallagher prepared thirty pages of “Commentary on the Galleys of *Spring Snow*: How I Suffered Many Things at the Hands of Ill-educated Editors in the Employ of One of the Country’s Most Prestigious Publishing Houses” (Appendix II). He arranges examples from the text in the editing process under the headings of Barbarisms, Mistranslations, Word Choice and Style. It is a fascinating look into the mediation over the text. The examples cited in the commentary are explained with irony and humor. Barbarisms include the redundancy of the adjective “born” to “aristocrat,” or Gallagher’s wry observation on the replacement by an editor of the word “hone” for “polish” as applied to armor. “Think of it: to go into battle with sharpened armor!” References are provided for the hardcover issues of the source and target texts. It is only when both this commentary and the published translation are compared that we may assess the contributions of each party.

Nobuko Morris worked on 140 pages of Gallagher’s translation, at which point she decided to stop, as she was upset by her divorce proceedings. Strauss was delighted with the work she had done:

Your work on the translation of Spring Snow was wonderful, and I’m ever so grateful. I’m really horrified at the embellishments that Gallagher has added to the original, and the occasional mistranslations. It is been hard work for me, but with your help I think I have been able to put the first 140 pages in excellent form. You have even inspired me to check passages which you have not criticized, and to make some changes in these where necessary. I’m glad to tell you that I have found a first-rate person to continue the work you were doing. She is Haruko Iwasaki. Ivan thoroughly approves of my choice. I believe she assisted him in his translation of Kinkakuji. (Strauss 1971k)

This appears to intimate that the team translation process, or some formulation thereof, had long been active, and that the resultant products took form through a network of actors. In keeping with this practice, it was then decided that “Haruko Iwasaki will be paid US\$4.00 an hour to revise the translation—she estimates it will take sixty hours to complete the job” (Strauss 1971o).<sup>65</sup> No provision for royalties was offered to either of the rewriters. Gallagher was kept informed of the developments, but was not pleased when Strauss explained how the work had gone:

I will simply tell you that Miss Iwasaki has used a code in commenting on your translation. The code consists of ‘n.o.’ meaning ‘not in original,’ ‘n.c.’ meaning ‘not correct’ (here in the following she has supplied the ‘correct’ version, although, of course, I’ve had to polish her English style and fit in the correction properly), ‘n.q.c.’ meaning ‘not quite correct,’ and the final symbol, ‘r’ meaning ‘redundant.’ Offhand, I would say that n.o. represents about 40% of her comments. In addition to the revisions I have made of her prompting, I have made a handful of my own. (Strauss 1971p)

The matter was not quite as simple as Strauss described, as many of the points that aggravated the translator were stylistic usages. Consider, for example the last entry in Gallagher’s commentary. The edited version is a participle construction of the type Strauss cautioned Marks against using, and results in a dangling modifier. In the book it reads “Listening to Tadeshina’s speech, a thrill of joy went through him like a knife” (1972 185). In his manuscript Gallagher wrote “When he was listening to Tadeshina’s account, a thrill of joy knifed through Kiyooki.” Another topic that had been raised in prior translations resurfaced. While at the same time the translator was encouraged to translate as literally as possible, he was also being faulted for the repetitions that appeared in the source text, such as repeating the word “beauty.” An example of the revision process is shown below. The first three paragraphs include edits by the hand of Strauss, but the fourth paragraph is left untouched. The changes in the published translation were made later by the editor(s) of the text.

One of the snowflakes that blew in lodged itself upon Kiyooki's (87) eyebrow. Satoko gave a little cry at this, and Kiyooki turned towards her without thinking even as he felt a cold trickle upon his eyelid. Satoko shut her eyes abruptly, leaving Kiyooki ~~thus face to face~~ <sup>with her</sup> with her. Her makeup was as tasteful as ever, her lips a subdued crimson in the shadow. And because of the swaying rickshaw, her features, like the details of a blossom ~~held~~ <sup>shaking</sup> between a trembling thumb and forefinger, were softly indistinct. <sup>trembling at a playful finger tip,</sup>

Kiyooki's heart thumped violently. He felt as if the high, tight collar of his uniform jacket were choking him. Never had he been confronted with anything so inscrutable <sup>unreadable</sup> as Satoko's white face, eyes closed, quietly waiting. Beneath the blanket, he felt her hand grip his just a trifle tighter. She was telling him something, he realized. And so, despite a terrible sense of vulnerability, Kiyooki felt a gentle force drawing him on irresistibly. He pressed his lips against Satoko's.

A moment later, just as the shaking of the rickshaw was about to force their lips apart, Kiyooki instinctively moved his body to counter this pull, making Satoko's lips the focal point of his exertion. And ~~as he felt her lips pressed still more firmly to his,~~ <sup>where</sup> he had the sensation that, unseen to him, a huge, perfumed fan was slowly unfolding, ~~where~~ <sup>where</sup> their ~~firmly pressed lips met.~~

Kiyooki at that moment, though plunged into self-forgetfulness, was still keenly aware of his own beauty. His beauty and Satoko's beauty: he saw that precisely this fine correspondence between the two dissolved all constraint and allowed them to run together

Note that the lines of the last paragraph above are left untouched, but are revised as below in the publication.

At that instant, although totally engrossed, he was still keenly aware of his own good looks. Satoko's beauty and his: he saw that it was precisely this fine correspondence between the two that dissolved all constraint and allowed them to flow together... (88).

The original text repeats the word *utsukushii*, usually rendered as beauty, in reference to both the male and female characters as before in *Kinkakuji*. These edits were a source of confusion to Gallagher, who had been told not to embroider on the text.

Another example taken from Iwasaki Haruko's revisions shows how the process worked through to the final editing of the manuscript:

When he had reflected a bit, however, Kiyooki's mood

altered. He now felt that the letter was a sort of text ~~meant~~ meant (109)  
to spur ~~on~~ his education in Satoko's school of elegance. Her  
intention, he thought, was to give him an object lesson that true  
elegance <sup>dares any wantonness.</sup> (knows no shame, however ~~compromising the circumstances~~). (N.C.)

She indicates a phrase was not correct (n.c.) and adds a phrase. She does not alter the phrase “school of elegance,” nor the second appearance of the word “elegance.” The editors’ revised paragraph reads:

On reflection, however, it seemed more of a textbook exercise from Satoko's classes in the art of elegance. He felt she wanted to teach and that such an art overrides any question of decency.

Lastly, after the back and forth, the publication reads:

On reflection, however, it seemed more of a textbook exercise from Satoko's classes in the art of elegance. He felt she wanted to teach him that elegance overrides any question of indecency. (109)

Gallagher's commentary on page seven of Appendix II contends it is the revision that adds embellishment and he offers several reasons why the edited version of this passage is both further from the meaning of the original and poorly written. A thorough reading of this supplemental text reprinted here in Appendix II provides much insight into the process, at times entertaining, and at times showing how high emotions ran in the negotiation of this translation. Strauss was also under pressure from the current editor-in-chief, who wanted the novel to read better. However, he and Strauss did not share the same sense of style, which introduced another layer of complications.

The Knopf Archives at the Harry Ransom Center hold the entire manuscript of *Spring Snow*, which includes the original typed translation, the revisions and additions by Nobuko Morris in handwriting, and the revisions by Iwasaki Haruko and the edits by Strauss, who made a point of keeping these materials on file and preserving them:

I am perfectly willing to acknowledge that there are mistakes in the final version of Spring Snow, if that makes you feel any happier. But there were a hundred times as many mistakes and embellishments in the translation you originally sent us. ... I have, by the way, kept every scrap of manuscript, including the Xerox copies worked on by others outside this office. (Strauss 1972g)

The materials housed at the Ransom Center along with the correspondence and the “Commentary on Galleys of Spring Snow” prepared by Gallagher will make for any number of textual studies. If the original and this translation manuscript were scanned with optical character reader software to enable a meta-search function, similar to the “Look Inside” feature of online book merchants, a deeper investigation would be possible.

It is essential to the facilitation of corpus research to allow the computing power now available to run searches that researchers now do manually. The other obstacle corpus research faces is copyright law. Once a text is digitized, it can be transferred and copied easily. Publishers are reluctant to give away their properties. However, with the permission of the copyright holder and the cooperation of research institutions, meta-searches of drafts of translations and the works themselves will become a wider object of study, which may add more understanding to the decisions made in these transculturations, have something more definitive to say about the substance of style and may also allow for more reflection on the reception of texts and the discourse communities in which translations were reviewed.

Donald Keene, a close personal friend of Mishima who was asked to look after his last works in translation, wrote a review of *Spring Snow* in the *Saturday Review*. His article primarily addresses the author’s life and death, blending literary history, literary criticism and translation criticism. When *Spring Snow* is discussed as a translation, he repeats nearly verbatim the comments he made of the translation to Strauss, i.e. its wordiness, and then invokes the name of Waley: “Probably only a translator like Arthur Waley, who could effortlessly write an English of the aristocratic distinction of Mishima’s Japanese, could have

overcome the countless difficulties of style and expression found in each paragraph ... *Spring Snow*, even in this translation, confirms Mishima's judgment that he would be remembered above all for this work" (1972 59). Keene questions the translation of a lavish menu, a challenge he faced in *After the Banquet*, another part of the text revised after the translation manuscript was in Strauss' hands. The rendering of *Kokura*, instead of *Ogura*, for the title of *One Hundred Poems by a Hundred Poets* was another change made by the editor that Gallagher had challenged. Keene also makes note of a paragraph of the book, a disputed section of text that appears in Gallagher's commentary (1972 25), and goes on to provide his own "more literal translation." Keene criticizes this passage in the publication by asking: "And what is one to make of 'the hill with the strange name'? (The 'hill' is the surface of the inkstone, the 'shore' as opposed to the 'sea' of the ink in the hollow)" [parenthesis in original] (1972 59). Let us examine the sentences in question. First is the edited and published translation Keene quotes; second is Gallagher's unedited translation; third is Keene's more literal translation in his review:

"And finally was the sea—the well of the inkstone was the sea, and above it rose the hill with the strange name.

And, finally, there was the sea—that sea was the well of the inkstone, above which rose a hill, which had been named with a like fancy.

...the strangeness of the names given the parts of the inkstone, 'the sea' and 'the shore,' a sea where no wave ever rose ...

Gallagher explains view of the passage in his commentary: "The depression in the inkstone, which holds the ink, is called the 'sea,' and the higher part is called 'the hill.' If anyone could gather that from the Knopf version, I'd be greatly surprised" (1972 25). He felt he made an accurate translation of this section, but it was then edited, which resulted in the distortion. This in turn resulted in a mistranslation that implies a hill with a strange name rather than the strangeness of the names given to the surface of the inkstone. Being called out and held responsible for these errors in a public forum by a major figure in Japanese literary studies was disparaging to the translator. Keene notes in his review that minor errors crop up on every page, which seems to imply he had made a contrastive analysis of the source and target



text in full. He later wrote that: “*Haru no Yuki* is the supreme product of the skill Mishima had acquired as a novelist. . . . As Japanese prose it is remarkably beautiful; one feels as if the lyrical style of Mishima’s early works, so long held vigorously in check, had finally burst into full flower” (1994 222). The evaluation of the style of Mishima’s earlier writing, “so long held vigorously in check,” does not correspond to the evaluation of other translation scholars who struggled with his early prose, nor does it agree with the evaluation of his prose as a more mature writer at times made by Strauss. It is unlikely the conflicting opinions over the substance of the writer’s style will be resolved, but one must conclude that serious demands were placed on the actors who sought to transculturate this writer’s works over the years. Moreover, it indicates that corpus analysis has an important role to play in such case studies.

Along with his “Commentary on the Galleys of Spring Snow,” Michael Gallagher was also kind enough to send me original copies of much of his correspondence with Strauss, which I scanned and returned, and with his permission these materials will be forwarded to the Ransom Center for future research. Below is a scan of a letter Strauss wrote to Gallagher.

# Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

P U B L I S H E R O F



B O R Z O I B O O K S

*Cables:* KNOPF NEW YORK  
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*201 East 50th Street*  
*New York, N.Y. 10022*

March 16, 1972

Dear Mike:

Many thanks for your letter of March 9th, with your 21 sheets of comments and corrections and for the additional seven pages sent on March 13th. I have little sympathy for your complaints about the time you have spent on the proofs. In the first place, you are obligated by contract to read proof. In the second place, you have chosen a very strange and difficult way of dealing with the proofs. You had only to mark on the margins, without comment, those passages which contained typos or which for some other reason you wished to see changed. Supplying the changes, of course. In the third place, I am now prepared to guess -- it's only a guess -- that your share of the royalties and income from rights will exceed \$11,000, spread over a period of time, of course. You will have been advanced \$2250 against this, and you should receive something like \$8750 more. I am speaking of Spring Snow only. I am not yet prepared to guess what Homba will earn.

I don't mind your letting off steam about "the Knopfners", but most of them are not Knopfners at all. A score of people have been involved, including Buddhist experts, Japanese lawyers, bi-lingual people, and some very sharp-eyed editors.

Michael Gallagher, Esq.

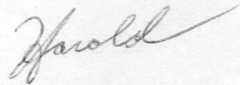
-2-

March 16, 1972

Since your first 21 pages of corrections and comments extended to page 385 of our page proofs, I thought that was the end. From these comments and corrections I have accepted 27 changes, but it was too late and too costly to make more. Of the sheets contained in the package mailed March 13th, I have sent through only the last sheet, covering the three typos the proofreaders are not likely to spot.

When will you have the last quarter of Homba finished? We must move that volume along so that we do not have to publish it on a crash schedule, as we are doing with Spring Snow.

As always,



Harold Strauss

This letter shows Strauss' view of the process and that his primary concern was getting the product out for sale as early as possible, in order to maximize profit and to obtain capital of all varieties. His *habitus* was informed by his resolve to make this venture successful, whereas Gallagher had artistic concerns and at the same time came to resent those in the contact nebula that included experts at Knopf he felt were unqualified to edit his work.

After all was said and done, 38 out of a total of 125 requested changes which were argued for by the translator after the initial editing, or roughly 30% of these requests, were accepted by the editors. The actors working on this title included Michael Gallagher (translation), Nobuko Morris (rewrites), Iwasaki Hiroko (rewrites), Donald Keene (reader-editor), Ivan Morris (reader-arbitrator), Robert Gottlieb (editor) and Harold Strauss (editor), as well as the unnamed experts whom Strauss mentions in his letter above. The appearance of uninvited actors in a network was until now limited to those uninvited from the perspective of the translator. In this case, Strauss was obliged to add Gottlieb and the actors

Mishima had named in his letter, Donald Keene and Ivan Morris. Under usual circumstances Strauss would welcome such help, but in this case the comments by Keene fueled controversy. He then bowed out of the translation process, only to join the discourse again as a reviewer.

The reception of the novel was slated to be one of the best yet. The rights to Secker & Warburg sold for £1000 well in advance of the publication in the United States. “*Spring Snow* will be published on June 23, and we will have an advance distribution to booksellers of approximately 10,000 copies—a far larger advance than on any other Japanese novel we have published” (Strauss 1972h). Bantam Books purchased the rights to publish a paperback for \$15,000, the highest figure ever for these rights. A Book of the Month Club deal was also made. The editor lobbied for and got the title nominated for the translation award category of the National Book Awards. Michael Gallagher was mentioned as one of the finalists. Capital that originated with the status of the author was shared with the translator despite the internal conflict. *Spring Snow* was reprinted in hardcover in 1973, netting the translator and the author’s estate \$3750.00 respectively, and the tetralogy was again released in hardcover in 1980. Tuttle soon printed the title in Japan, and it remains in print in all three markets.

### 8.2.2 *Runaway Horses* (1973), *Honba* (1969)

The decision to publish the works as a series of four novels had already been made by the time this translation was underway. The contractual arrangements were the same as the first volume, with an advance of US\$2500.00 going to both the translator and the author. Michael Gallagher continued to work on the second volume, as the tension over the editing of the first volume continued. This made for a heated situation, and at one time legal action was threatened by both the translator and the editor. In order to avoid a repeat of the timely and often antagonistic process that was played out in volume one, Strauss enlisted the services of Howard Hibbett to act as critical editor for the second installment.

The book was critically edited by Hibbett, but no mention of his name appears in the publication. Strauss did not want to engage in another battle of words over the course of this translation as it was coming to completion. In fact, he had distanced himself from the process: “I myself did not read your translation of RUNAWAY HORSES against the original. ...I have left it to Howard Hibbett to check it against the original. I have done only some minor stylistic editing, leaving the checking to Howard” (Strauss 1972j). In the course of correspondence with Gallagher, he also wrote that “under no circumstances will I allow

myself to be put in a crossfire between you and Hibbett. Hibbett is putting himself out greatly to do the job at all (and is going to cost us a good deal of money), so I can only be thankful to him” (Strauss 1972k). Terms for the compensation of the critical editing are not to be found in the archives. In June of 1972, the translator wrote that “I assure you that there is going to be no arguing back and forth this time” (Gallagher 1972a), and the situation appeared to be stabilizing. However, one month later he was annoyed by a request from Strauss that he help fund the critical editing: “I’m sorry but I can’t see my way clear to giving up 10% of my subsidiary rights to finance Professor Hibbett’s contributions. I’ll return the first 70 pages altered by Professor Hibbett indicating those changes that I approve of—if any. There will be no change made in the manuscript unless I approve each one down to the last comma” (Gallagher 1972b). The translator then suggested legal action and argued that sending installment payments constituted approval of his draft translation.

Strauss responded bitterly invoking the firm’s legal rights, and also because he had sent the installments to Gallagher at his request:

This letter is intended to inform you officially that the manuscript you delivered is not satisfactory to us.

Reviews have been streaming in from all over the country, and with the exception of Donald Keene's review, almost all have praised the style of the translation. Spring Snow has already sold nearly 12,000 copies, and the current Publishers' Weekly lists it as a candidate for the Bestseller List. It's not yet definite, but we expect in August to close a rather sizeable deal for the paperback rights to the tetralogy. I mention these facts only because they point to the obvious conclusion that you eventually are going to be paid a great deal of money for a lot of hard work done by others.

(Strauss 1972i)

The idea of legal action annoyed Strauss, which is what Gallagher suggested was coming next. This provoked another letter showing the editor at the point of exasperation:

Dear Mike:

Oh, for God's sake, come off it. Your letter of August first leaves me totally unimpressed. You were paid various sums at various times after delivering various installments at your request even before I had read them. Therefore these payments cannot possibly be construed as approval.

It is self-evident that you are not the author of either Spring Snow or Runaway Horses, but are simply so designated for the purposes of the financial transaction stipulated by the publishing agreement.

As for your censoring Hibbett's revisions, I find the very idea ludicrous.

(Strauss 1972j) The editor was further dismayed at the thought of the revisions being approved by the translator. The matter was forwarded to the editor-in-chief Robert Gottlieb, who wrote Gallagher a five-page letter in August of 1972. He hoped to defuse the situation but also made it clear that he would rather have a public battle than publish the manuscript of volume two as it was:

Our decision was a painful one, for us as well as you—because it involved a great deal of hard work. But it had to be done, and I would do it again, or rather require it to be done again, because the alternative – to publish work less good than it ought to have been—was unthinkable. ...Perhaps we could have collaborated more while editing, but I don't think it would have worked, because I can tell you and we don't read English the same way—at least the English you translate into ... What disturbs me most is that by now emotion is running so high that collaboration looks impossible. (Gottlieb 1972a)

After this the correspondence tails off for a few months while the manuscript for volume two was being edited by Hibbett. Strauss wrote him that “since Mike’s name will be on the book as translator, I felt obliged to send him a Xerox copy of the retyped manuscript. He has reacted in a very calm and gentle way and says ‘in general, I am pleased with what has been done to it and delighted with what hasn’t been done to it’” (Strauss 1973f). After he received Gallagher’s suggestions, and the recommendation of a new translator for him to consider, Strauss wrote: “I sent on those of your suggested corrections I thought useful or constructive to Howard Hibbett, leaving to him the decision as to which to follow. ... I don’t need another translator, because by good fortune I have found a young and eager one in a former student of Dale Saunders, Cecilia Segawa Seigle. Her translation of a novel by Kaikō needed only the most minor editing” (Strauss 1973g). This was an obvious slight. Gallagher then asked for a dedication page in *Runaway Horses*, but was told there was no room for it.

In the last piece of correspondence between the editor and the translator found, Strauss informed Gallagher that the nominations for the National Book Awards would be announced later in the week: “I have seen them, and you are not among the nominees for the translation award. Sorry” (Strauss 1974a). At this late stage in his career, Strauss still had access to inside information. In my related correspondence with Michael Gallagher, he wrote that despite all their differences, Strauss still wanted him to continue to translate volumes three and four, as is borne out in the archives, and they parted friends. As noted above, the appearance of uninvited actors to the network was for the most part limited to those uninvited from the perspective of the translator. In this case, Gallagher initially resented the addition of another editor, while Strauss extricates himself from the middle and claims to have left the job to a scholar of substantial social and cultural capital. Strauss wrote to Donald Keene that “the only reason that Hibbett’s name does not appear as translator or co-translator is that Howard preferred it that way” (Strauss 1973e). As it turned out, the translator did not feel the need to challenge as many changes in the second manuscript as before and was understandably tired after translating two of the longer works in the Program. It is unfortunate this manuscript did not survive.

The translation did not attract reviews from those actors close to the Program. No sales figures are available, but this title was reprinted when the series was reissued in 1980. The serial rights for the United Kingdom and Japan were handled in the usual manner. The network of actors in this title had to work in an atmosphere clouded by the previous title. In the editing stage, Strauss acted as liaison between the translator and the critical editor to

monitor the flow of the revisions. This was a new configuration, one in which Strauss had insisted he would not be placed in the middle of, were any dispute to arise. The novels were selling well, and Strauss intended to keep the tetralogy in production. It was, after all, his legacy too.

### 8.2.3 *The Temple of Dawn* (1973), *Akatsuki no Tera* (1970)

Strauss sent a copy of the third volume to Gallagher to review, at the time confident that the translator would continue working on the series. Gallagher response was unexpected: “It pains me to say this, but I’m afraid that I found it an extremely bad novel, with a haphazard structure and cardboard characters. ...At any rate, I definitely do not want to translate the remaining two novels. Financial as well as artistic considerations enter into this decision” (Gallagher 1970h). His decision was made before any of the contentiousness in the editing process of the previous volumes. He was sent a check for US\$35.00 for his trouble. “Naturally I must accept your decision not to translate the remaining two volumes of the tetralogy, but I'm afraid you underestimate the potential financial rewards of so doing. I feel like a ghoul in mentioning it, but the massive publicity all over this country intended upon Mishima’s suicide is bound to create a much better demand than we could previously expected” (Strauss 1970h). It was a matter of dollar and cents for Strauss, but he was forced to look elsewhere.

Strauss asked John Nathan to take on the last two books, but got no answer. He then made an arrangement with E. Dale Saunders, who was waiting on the next Abé novel. After the translation got underway, Saunders realized he needed help and wrote to Strauss: “I hope you will seriously consider the possibility of a joint translation” (Saunders 1971b). Saunders had already enlisted the help of Cecilia Segawa Seigle, a trusted cultural and linguistic informant for years as seen below. Strauss sent a cablegram to Saunders indicating his approval. It took a couple months for the full admission that this would be a team translation. Cecilia Segawa Seigle had to insist on being credited for her work.

Strauss was ecstatic in announcing his approval:

Your letter of August 11th arrives like the hero in ‘The Perils of Pauline.’ I was really desperate for a translator for The Temple of Dawn. Ed Seidensticker will translate Tennin Gosui, but he feels altogether too



over-committed to translate The Temple of Dawn as well. I therefore accept your offer to translate that book with both relief and enthusiasm. Everyone will benefit from this, including Dr. Seigle. I'm sure that having her name as co-translator on the title page will benefit her academic career. As you say, she has already dealt with the most difficult part. The difficulties in the second part are very minor in comparison. (Strauss 1971q)

The text prepared by Segawa Seigle was intended as a draft translation that Saunders would later polish, as explained in this interview. This process started before the go-ahead from the editor, as seen below:

But Saunders is the one who really asked me to help him with translations and other kinds of things. And then with Mishima's *Akatsuki no Tera*, there was somebody who translated the first and second of the tetralogy of Mishima and that was accepted, but major rewriting was done by Knopf people and Knopf approached [E. Dale Saunders] because he was a steady translator of Abé Kobo and he said, 'This is too difficult, I don't understand what's going on,' and he said, 'Can you help me?' So I did the first translation and he rewrote and edited it and then stupidly I didn't... I should have gone over his editing very carefully but I was too lazy and I had another job with responsibilities so I didn't and after it came out and I read it and... It's not full of mistakes, but some important things were rewritten and misinterpreted, so I was very upset about that. But it was too late. (Segawa Seigle 2006)

This process was thus openly collaborative, but it was not well coordinated.

The translation offered well-deserved symbolic capital to Segawa Seigle, who had been helping Strauss and Saunders for years with reports and questions about Abé's novels. When Strauss introduced her to Kaikō Takeshi, the editor confirms the team translation format under which *The Temple of Dawn* proceeded: "She is a very gifted and intelligent woman, and as a matter of fact, she did the basic research on Buddhist matters and the first draft of the translation of Mishima's Akatsuki no Tera, which Dale Saunders then revised. This arrangement worked very well in the case of Akatsuki no Tera, so I have no doubt it will work well in regard to Natsu no Yami" (Strauss 1972o). Strauss' interpretation of the

arrangement, and his willingness to try it again, contrast with Segawa Seigle's view. The declarations Strauss made about two-person translations, starting in his 1954 article, were again set aside.

Reviews were again few in numbers, and with no commentary and little epitextual data. This may in part be because of the length of this title. Despite its length, it runs to 334 pages in the first hardcover edition, this title was reprinted when the series was reissued in 1980. Reviews by actors close to the Knopf Program were not in evidence, as was the case with volume two. The serial rights for the United Kingdom and Japan were handled in the usual manner. The writer was gone and the Nobel Prize would not likely return to Asia for years, if not decades. The demands this title made on the translators forced Strauss to modify his stance on his long-standing contention that a translation, indeed to transculturate a novel, was the work of a single artist.

#### 8.2.4 *The Decay of the Angel* (1974), *Tennin Gosui* (1970)

The fourth novel in this tetralogy had its share of discord, but this time it was not mediating the content that gave rise to the tension. The translator did not wish to do it, yet was compelled by complicated circumstances. He felt a sense of loyalty to the writer's widow, but at the same time did not admire the work. Edward Seidensticker was not one to mince words when it came to literature he did not find of high quality, and he often wrote so in his reports or reviews of Mishima's novels. In a report on *Bitoku no Yoromeki* (1957), he wrote it was dreadful. He compared it to a short story he translated called "Death in Midsummer." He compares them as so: "The two have the same pretentiousness, the same phony profundity, the same self-satisfaction, the same foppishness, as if Mishima were looking into a mirror and congratulating himself on being the cleverest boy of his generation" (Seidensticker 1957e). He was of the same general opinion when the topic of this novel surfaced.

In his memoir Seidensticker commented on his relationship with Strauss: "We never quarreled, and on the whole he listened to my advice. He handed down the law on only one occasion. He asked when I propose to submit my translation of Mishima's last novel. Never, I replied, because I did not like it. He became a tower of rage. We had had a gentlemen's agreement that I would do it. ... So I was certain that I had agreed to do the translation quickly, and had quite forgotten about it" (2002 111). The events are more complicated as Strauss was trying to ensure these last four titles came out in quick succession.

Strauss wrote Seidensticker about a rumor circulating that he would translate the fourth volume and he told him that Saunders would have enough time to do it (Strauss 1971e). Strauss wrote to Keene to express his distress: “Mrs. Mishima thinks Seidensticker will translate TENNIN GOSUI,” and reasserts Saunders will do it (Strauss 1971f). Seidensticker explained the confusion amongst these various actors:

I am in a bit of a dilemma in my relations with Mrs. Mishima. I must emphasize as strongly as I can that I feel no compelling wish to do Tennen Gosui, and that I have no wish whatsoever to take work away from Dale Saunders; but the other side of the story is that she continues to insist that she wants me and no one else to do the work. The only real problem, as I see it, is a legal one: does she have any say in the matter? I have read the contract carefully and repeatedly, as well as your correspondence with her, and am inclined to think that she does. If this is the case, and she goes on insisting, well, then I think I shall feel duty-bound to do as she wishes. (Seidensticker 1971b)

By the time this letter arrived, Saunders wrote Strauss he was no longer interested in doing volume four (Saunders 1971a). Strauss then wrote Mrs. Mishima telling her of Saunders’ decision and saying he will immediately accept Seidensticker’s offer to do the last book.

Early in 1972, Strauss wrote Seidensticker asking about the translation. The events return to the episode in his memoirs above. At the time of Kawabata’s death and reaching the end of the translation of *The Master of Go*, Seidensticker made a request: “This is perhaps not the best time to bring up the matter that has been much on my mind, but I shall do so all the same. I want desperately to get out from under the Mishima translation, so that all my time and energies can go into the *Genji*” (Seidensticker 1972a). Strauss then writes back and “begs him to honor his agreement,” and that “his agreement to do the fourth volume had played a part in Knopf agreeing to go ahead with *Genji*” (Strauss 1972e). This was disingenuous in light of the fact that he had written Seidensticker in November of 1970 about Knopf’s intent to publish not only the Uji chapters but the entire work. (Strauss 1970j)

The translator replied that he will, “of course” do it (Seidensticker 1972b). The editor was adamant saying he simply must have the manuscript in six months’ time (Strauss 1972f). No progress was being made, so Strauss wrote again: “The last thing in the world I would

propose to do is deal with you in a strictly legalistic way, but the fact is that we do have a contractual commitment from you. I enclose a copy of the letter of agreement” (Strauss 1973c). This got the translator’s attention: “I am at work, industriously if not blissfully, on the Mishima. I wonder if you could let me have as soon as possible a glossary of the romanizations Gallagher and Saunders used for the principal Thai characters. They are already beginning to appear, Jingle-jangle and Finger-fumble and the rest of them” (Seidensticker 1973a). It would appear then he did not have the other translations at hand. The draft was finished in a matter of months. The title they agreed upon was *The Decay of the Angel*.

It was welcomed with praise: “Your translation of THE DECAY is superb. ...I see no reason why we cannot go straight into page proofs” (Strauss 1973d). I asked Seidensticker about his Mishima translations in May of 2003:

I translated short stories including one or two I like very much, but the very last novel published after his death is the only one I translated. I didn’t like the novel, *The Decay of the Angel*, and I don’t think it is a very good translation. I think that follows. If you don’t feel a kinship with the novel or whatever the work is, you should stay away from it. I should have stayed away from that but as I say I was trapped. I didn’t want to do it, and did it as quickly as I possibly could. I dashed that one off. (Seidensticker 2003)

The book was included on *New York Times* list of best books of 1974. It went on to be published in the United Kingdom and Japan as the previous titles had been. As noted, the tetralogy was rereleased in hardcover at Knopf in 1980.

This series of novels was no doubt more of a commercial success than most of the other titles of Japanese literature in English translation put out at Knopf. It was very much a personal endeavor for some of the individuals involved because of the death of the writer. Inside the firm, the nature of collaboration was bitter and antagonistic in the first two volumes and not well coordinated in the third volume. Collaboration was next to nonexistent in the fourth volume, as the editor went straight from the draft to page proofs—a translation for which Seidensticker felt little affinity but was well-received.

Strauss was upset to read in *The New Yorker* a quote from a letter from Mishima to Ivan Morris in which he expressed a fear that it was a policy at Knopf to publish only living

foreign writers. Strauss wrote *The New Yorker* editor to set the record straight:

Mishima read and spoke English very well, and we have a firm contract signed by him to publish all four volumes of THE SEA OF FERTILITY in English. That contract also contains a firm option to publish any of Mishima's previous works which have not yet been translated into English. He was a prolific writer and my translators simply could not keep up with him. (Strauss 1970i)

The Ivan I. Morris Papers at Columbia University hold the letter in question in which Mishima was concerned over how little attention Tanizaki had at Knopf after his death. It would have been more accurate for Strauss to say that he could not find enough translators he felt qualified or were interested in doing the work. As many of Mishima's translators had commented, it was not a simple task to keep up with his style and detail. The textual issues which did surface offer a wealth of inquiry for translation researchers.

The perceptions of the activity in the networks and literary contact nebula in the transculturation of these titles have again made for under informed translation history. A section on Japanese fiction written by Van Gessel in *The Oxford Guide to English Literature in English Translation* adds a summary of the role of Keene and Seidensticker in this series of novels:

Both men, in fact, stepped in after Mishima's sensational suicide by *seppuku* in 1970 to rescue the project of translating his final tetralogy when the first two volumes did not live up to expectations, and Seidensticker himself agreed to translate the final volume. (2001 243)

This interpretation of the events does not correspond with materials in the Knopf archives and interviews with the actual translators. Neither of the scholars had a part to play in the translation of volume three. Rescue is not the word that comes to mind concerning volume four in the interview quoted above. Many of these details had perhaps circulated by word-of-mouth over the years in the field of Japanese studies, which may explain some of the confusion. The archival data and the interviews of those active in the network tell a story of translation history, a narrative which the introductions to Japanese literature, literary criticism

and translation criticism have repeatedly seem bound to confuse.

Through the correspondence, reviews and memoirs or reflections on the process, we see at once three facets of the translator as actor. First, a behind-the-scenes persona appears in the correspondence, with detailed commentary while engaged in the transculturation process. This persona could be that of the primary translator or an actor working on revisions. Second, a public persona as an actor in the literary contact nebula which surrounds the discourse of the translated text, primarily in reviews, active at times in both the source and target cultures. Third, yet another public persona—one who reflected on events decades later—revealing an evolving *habitus* shaped in part by these experiences. The unbinding of the relationship(s) of the actors in this series of novels provides a rare view of the translation and publication process under varied and pressing circumstances.

### **8.3 *Darkness in Summer* by Takeshi Kaikō (1973), *Natsu no Yami* (1972)**

Strauss had been interested in publishing Kaikō's work as early as 1958 when he won the Akutagawa Prize. Kaikō's 1959 novel *Japanese Three Penny Opera* also appealed to Strauss, and he commissioned a report on it from Ayako Morris, then married to Ivan Morris. Strauss asked Michael Gallagher for a report of Kaikō's 1968 novel *Kagayakeru Yami*, (*Into a Black Sun* 1980), about war-torn Vietnam, who responded with reservations. Strauss concurred with the report:

I quite agree. Unfortunately, this has given me great pause concerning publishing his Japanese THREE PENNY OPERA, which I like very much. The difficulty is that we try to publish the whole body of work of authors we admire, and it does not look as if we will be able to do so in Mr. Kaiko's case. Therefore perhaps it is best not to publish him at all. (Strauss 1967n)

Kaikō's 1968 novel was based on the author's experiences in Vietnam as a journalist. The experiences were quite real. A journalist whom Kaikō roomed with was killed before his eyes by rocket fire in Saigon. Previously he had been assigned to cover the United Nations in Belgium. This battlefield experience no doubt influenced his *habitus* as a writer. Strauss laid out his position with regard to Kaikō's writing:

As I tried to explain to you last summer, there's simply too many books about Vietnam, and the public will buy no more of them, no matter how good. ... When we start publishing a novelist as to any nationality, whether American, British, French, German, Russian, or any other, we consider all of his published work with the purpose of judging his career. In Japan it is quite usual for a novelist to have one publisher for one book, and another publisher for another book. It is quite different here. Usually a writer remains with one publisher for a long time, sometimes for his whole life. In return, the publisher publishes everything, or almost everything he writes. The idea behind this is that our real business is not just to publish and to publicize one book, but to build up the name and reputation of the writer. By doing so it becomes easier and easier to publish successive books by him after the first one or two. Now in your case I would have to tell my associates that you have written nothing I admire greatly (that I know about) since 1959. That is a long time and would disturb my associates. ... Meanwhile, I hope our personal friendship will not be affected by all this, and in a year or two I'll be able to drink vodka with you again in Shinjuku. (Strauss 1969c)

This illustrates again that the policy for literature in translation employed by Alfred and Blanche Knopf was not something Strauss came up with specifically for Japanese writers, and that he sought to emulate the Knopf's success using an established formula. Publishing economics, based on the ability to acquire capital of all forms, was at the core of the firm's selection criteria. At the same time, other writers dropped from this Program such as Osaragi, Ōoka and Nosaka, had not benefitted from the commitment Strauss suggested above.

The recent success with the translations of Kawabata and Mishima gave Strauss more room to maneuver. It had been four years since a new novelist was added to the firm's list of Japanese authors. The decision to publish Kaikō's latest novel came after reports had been received from Cecilia Segawa Seigle and Iwasaki Haruko. The story follows a couple reuniting overseas and coping with alienation at several levels. The translator was to be E. Dale Saunders, who had worked on the Abé Kobo novels. Saunders was free because Abé's novel writing had stalled while his theatrical works were being brought to stage. Strauss wrote to Kaikō to announce the decision:

I have very good news for you. We want to publish Natsu no Yami, provided Dale Saunders is willing to translate it. ... We can offer you the usual terms for a first novel to be translated into English. The advance will be \$3,000, of which \$2,000 will be paid to the translator, and \$1,000 to you. (Strauss 1972j)

Kaikō was delighted. Strauss wrote again to announce that some changes were afoot:

You remember that I made the offer to publish the book here conditional on Dale Saunders' willingness to translate it. It now turns out that there are some complications. He will not translate it himself, but recommended that I ask a former student of his, Professor Cecilia Segawa Seigle, to do so. If she agrees, he will edit and revise her translation to make sure it is quite perfect. (Strauss 1972o)

As noted in the prior section, Segawa Seigle was not at all pleased with the outcome of the Mishima novel that had been done as a team translation in the manner which Strauss referred, but she was interested in taking on the next translation by herself.

Strauss trusted her work and wrote to her to inquire formally as to whether she would be willing to do this translation and of her thoughts on the matter. She answered: "I am definitely interested in translating it. I know it is going to be a difficult task. For one, as I had told you, the work belongs to what might be described as the 'Toilet School' of writing. It is impossible to produce an elegant translation; and probably is better not to try. The work depends on thoughts, atmosphere, dialogues and characterization, rather than action or plot" (Segawa Seigle 1972a). Strauss was receptive to her comments and explained the terms of the contract: "You may notice that the contract terms for Kaiko and you are considerably less favorable than in the case of Mishima. The reason for this was that Mishima was very well known among American readers, and we customarily pay lower advances to novelists not yet known here" (Strauss 1972l). Segawa Seigle went to work immediately on the translation.

In the midst of the translation process, Strauss indicated that it would be fine to ask the author about the work: "Since Kaiko's English is quite good, you may want to query him directly during the course of your work" (Strauss 1972m). Later Kaikō requested to see a copy of the typed manuscript in order to check on certain phraseology related to Vietnamese terms: "Ordinarily, I do not encourage foreign authors to supervise the translation of their



work, since their English is too faulty. But I think Mr. Kaiko has a point about such problems as Vietnamese phrases” (Strauss 1972n). Consulting the author about the translation was by now routine, but the author supervising the translation was another matter. It was tolerated to a limited extent for this title because Strauss found it sensible.

Strauss was impressed with the translation manuscript and wrote: “Congratulations on your translation of DARKNESS IN SUMMER. On the whole I think it reads very well, and I see no reason to send it to Dale Saunders. I have done a little editing on the manuscript, consisting of small changes of word order to make the text read more gracefully, and seven major changes where the meaning of the original did not come through” (Strauss 1973e). No indication of the seven major changes was made and is not on file in the archives.

The original dust jacket contains promotional quotations from both Donald Keene and Ivan Morris, who lent their support by joining the network and publicly endorsing the novel. Here is a clear example of the affirmation of capital in a literary contact nebula such as Thornber describes, and evidence that as time went by and circumstances at Knopf allowed, these scholars were supportive of new writers. Strauss was able to arrange a notice in *Publishers' Weekly*, further evidence of his strong relationship with this publication. It was also briefly noted in *The New Yorker*. The Tuttle edition followed in 1974, and a hardcover edition from Peter Owen was published in 1988 for distribution in the United Kingdom. Sales at Knopf did not attract enough interest for another title, but Segawa Seigle continued her translations of Kaikō Takeshi, among other writers, and is Professor Emerita of the University of Pennsylvania.

#### **8.4 *The Tale of Genji* (1976) *Genji Monogatari* c. 1000 CE**

This tale is often referred to as the world’s first novel. It is said to have been written by a noble woman, Murasaki Shikibu, around 1000 CE. It is likely the most widely studied and translated work of Japanese literature. Scholars have argued that the first two English translations were influential in their own ways; Suematsu’s for its role in the *Genji* discourse in Japan and its implications of literary heritage, and Waley’s for popularizing it in the West. It was only a matter of time before someone dared take up a retranslation in the postwar era. The Seidensticker *Genji*, as it has come to be known, began with the translator planning to translate the last ten chapters of the fifty-four chapter classic, which take place following the death of the main character. These are referred to as the *Uji* chapters after the name of the

setting, south of Kyoto city. The shadow of Waley loomed large enough for Seidensticker to consider only a partial translation. He had been occupied with the first of the post-Nobel Kawabata translations when he wrote to Strauss that:

The last 10 chapters are almost ready to send out in search of a publisher, and I think of publishing them first, since they're fairly sufficient unto themselves. I would have no difficulty finding a university press or a publisher in Japan, but I would prefer an American trade publisher. I know that you would not be interested yourself, both because you do not publish classical translations and because Random House has the Waley translation; but I wondered whether you might possibly have words of advice. (Seidensticker 1970b)

It is interesting to see he was confident he could find a publisher in Japan. One would not expect to find a publisher for a Japanese translation of an American or British classic in the United States or England. Contrary to expectation, Strauss showed interest in publishing this work, and moreover was insistent on having a complete translation:

I'm glad to tell you that there is considerable enthusiasm over your proposed new translation of *The Tale of Genji*, and that we want to publish it. ... Perhaps I should point out for practical purposes that I cannot read classical Japanese, and that you cannot count on me for editorial suggestions should you need them, which you probably don't. (Strauss 1970j)

Seidensticker had matured as a translator and was by that time a professor of Japanese literature at the University of Michigan. His own writings about this translation have since been published in both Japanese and English. These books and articles attest to his social and symbolic capital, as well as indicate a confirmation of the status of this work. His diary, *Genji Days* (1977), consists of entries recorded while translating *The Tale of Genji* was his principle concern, during the years from 1970 to very early in 1975. Arthur Waley omitted chapter thirty-eight making this the first complete English edition of the work. The Seidensticker *Genji* invited a new generation of *Genji* discourse on both sides of the ocean as Japanese literature in translation propelled forward the growing field of Japanese studies.<sup>66</sup>

In the preface of *Genji Days*, he reflects on how he went about the process:

It must suffice to say that several things could be going on, simultaneously: translation in the first draft, revision, checking for accuracy against the Waley translation, and writing copy for the lady who checked it against the original. There are also references to seminars at the University of Michigan in which we read extended portions of the *Genji*. If the jumps back and forth are confusing, at least they will have the merit of demonstrating that the translation process was a complex one. (Seidensticker 1977 1-2)

Seidensticker used every resource at his disposal, including a checker and the intralingual translations into modern Japanese by Tanizaki and Yosano Akiko, as well as modern annotations. He took up the matter of his translation with regard to his presentation of the text in this revealing quotation:

And where am I to be found, having all wobblingly made my choice? Nearer Akiko and Waley, I think, though without Waley's stylistic preoccupations. But I grew weary from time to time with Akiko—rather frequently, as a matter of fact. Why should I have wearied so frequently? Maybe I was just tired, or maybe Tanizaki's musical vagueness carries you along better than does Akiko's brisk precision. Now the big question is, which of the two will the reviewers prefer? (1977 40)

The translator was quite open to the influence of previous translations, acutely aware of his audience and the comparisons with Waley to come.

After giving confirmation that Knopf was interested, Strauss may have had a lapse of memory as no contract was forthcoming. A year later Seidensticker wrote to him about just this matter to “importune you for information on what is for me the most important thing: what you mean to do with my *Genji*. It would contribute enormously toward my peace of mind if I might look forward to some sort of contract in the near future” (Seidensticker 1972c). The advance was the highest yet on record in this program, US\$6000.00, half payable at the signing of the contract, with royalties of 7.5% to 7,500 copies; 10% to 15,000 copies; and 12.5% thereafter. It is clearly Seidensticker's bestselling translation as he told me in 2003 that his *Genji Monogatari* translation “sold far and away the best. I think that sold better than all the rest of them combined. So my experience is that Murasaki Shikibu is the most popular

writer in the West. That's not what most people want to hear." As his experience is based on royalty proceeds from the same company where he translated other modern authors, including a Nobel Prize winner, this is solid evidence that the work reached the general public as well as area specialists.

Seidensticker kept Strauss apprised of his progress and had enlisted assistants:

I had the rough draft (of the Uji chapters) gone over by a Japanese competent in Heian Japanese, and am as certain as I can be that it contained no really dreadful howlers. Translatorese will creep in, you know, however you try to guard against it; and in some cases I may have gone too far in the direction of austerity in an effort not to seem to be imitating Waley's sometimes specious lushness. (Seidensticker 1970c)

The correspondence is sparse for this translation, but the network was similar to others in that outside experts and native speakers of Japanese were recruited.

Publicity came in the form of reviews of this title in the specialized journals such as the *Journal of Japanese Studies* and general readership monthlies such as *Saturday Review*. The *Japan Quarterly* ran a review of a Knopf translation for the first time since Seidensticker's review of *The Heike Story*, nearly twenty years prior when the discourse communities within and outside Japan were at odds over the historical adaptation by Yoshikawa Eiji, suggesting personal relations played a role in the review process.

The Seidensticker *Genji* was likely the biggest seller in the Program, going through several reprints in hardcover. Strauss had passed away before this two-volume set was released. The final arrangements were supervised by Charles Elliott, the editor who replaced Strauss for works in this Program. The new editor and the translator benefitted from the scholarly interest in this title. The year after its publication Seidensticker joined Donald Keene at Columbia University, following the death of Ivan Morris. This translation is one of three from this Program included in Knopf's Everyman's Library series, added in 1992. The novel has since been retranslated, in 2001, by Royall Tyler, a former student of Donald Keene, and yet again by Dennis Washburn at Norton Books in 2015. The cycle of *Genji* translations into English has gone from roughly over fifty years between Suematsu and Waley to a fourteen year lag between that of Tyler and Washburn, decreasing every step along the way of the five translations since 1882.

### **8.5 Contemporary Japanese Literature: An Anthology of Fiction and Film Writing Since 1945, (1977) Howard Hibbett (Ed.)**

As might be gathered from correspondence throughout this study, Strauss did not have a retiring personality and stayed on as a consultant editor until very close to the time of his death in 1975. His death was considered a blow to the future of Japanese literature in English translation. Obituaries were numerous and he was said to have done more than any person to promote interest in Japanese writing. As noted earlier, his assessment of anthologists was low and when Knopf was asked permission to publish excerpts of their writers, Strauss would justify this as a form of publicity. However, as a result of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. joining the Random House umbrella in 1960, Strauss gained access to the sales figures of Donald Keene's *Modern Japanese Literature* and saw the potential of a new volume that might introduce some new writers and draw attention to works already published. Plans for this anthology began as early as 1973. Strauss wrote to Keene that he hoped this new anthology might point the way to adding one or two Japanese novelists to Knopf's list:

I am making arrangements to have first readings and reports done by one of three Japanese women who have been here a long time, who know American tastes, and whose judgment I have found consistently good. The program will be supervised by one of our senior editors, Charles Elliott, who tells me that he has met you in Japan. He has a deep interest in the Orient and has some knowledge of Chinese, although he does not read Japanese. (Strauss 1973f)

Strauss was making preparations to have the Program continue after his retirement and attempted to unite the field's most influential scholar with the editor who would replace him. He also speaks frankly about the assistants he used to screen novels, perhaps for the first time to Keene, and makes reference to the three women who had been working with him for years. We may gather that one was Komatsu Fumiko, but the other two are not referred to or identified in any correspondence. He may have meant Cecilia Segawa Seigle and Iwasaki Haruko. He also noted in this letter that Japanese literary agents had begun submitting novels from time to time. With Strauss' readers, Elliott would be in a better position to consider such texts for translation.

Translators in this new volume were paid a one-time fee for their contribution. A list of expenses is shown in the company memo below.

CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE LITERATURE

An Anthology of Fiction, Film, and Other Writing Since 1945

Edited by Howard Hibbett

LENGTH	FEE	
5,000	\$125	ABE Akira: PEACHES (Jay Rubin, tr.)
23,500	500	ABE Kobo: FRIENDS (Donald Keene)
19,000	100	FURUI Yoshikichi: WEDLOCK (Hibbett)
1,500	100	KANEKO Mitsuharu: 3 poems (James Morita)
8,000	300	KAWABATA Yasunari: 7 VERY SHORT STORIES (Seidensticker)
12,000	175	KOJIMA Nobuo: AMERICAN SCHOOL (William Sibley)
6,500	125	KONO Taeko: BONE MEAT (Kathryn Sparling)
20,000	250	KURAHASHI Yumiko: TO DIE AT THE ESTUARY (Dennis Keene)
14,000	250	KUROSAWA Akira: IKIRU (Donald Richie)
4,500	150	MISHIMA Yukio: THE BOY WHO WROTE POETRY (Ian Levy)
4,000	100	NAGAI Tatsuo: BRIEF ENCOUNTER (Seidensticker)
11,000	175	NOSAKA Akiyuki: AMERICAN HIJIKI (Rubin)
7,000	220	OE Kenzaburo: AGHWEET THE SKY MONSTER (John Nathan)
15,000	450	OZU Yasujiro: TOKYO STORY (Richie & Klestadt)
4,000	150	SEKINE Hiroshi: 2 poems (Christopher Drake)
3,500	150	TAKEDA Taijun: TO BUILD A BRIDGE (Seidensticker)
	500 100	TAMURA Ryuichi: 2 poems (Drake)
19,000	135	TANIZAKI Junichiro: THE BRIDGE OF DREAMS (Hibbett)
4,500	150	YASUOKA Shotaro: PET (Edwin McClellan)
700	150	YOSHIOKA Minoru: 4 poems (Hiroaki Sato)
8,000	50	YOSHIYUKI Junnosuke: IN AKIKO'S ROOM (Hibbett)
<u>13,000</u>		Introduction & Notes on Authors
	<u>\$3,905.00</u>	
204,200 words		TOTALS

As editor, Hibbett was entitled to an advance of \$US5000.00, and royalty payments. It was nearly two decades since Strauss first gave Keene permission to use Knopf's Japanese authors in his book. After seeing the lucrative sales figures, Strauss' earlier distaste for anthologies and anthologists mellowed. This anthology was published in hardcover and softcover in 1977.

Strauss wrote to Elliott before his retirement that, "of course we can continue to mine the untranslated work of Kawabata and Mishima for almost as long as we choose" (Strauss 1974b). Elliott did not choose to publish any further titles by those two authors, but he did continue with Tanizaki and Abé, mainly relying on Seidensticker's students, Anthony Chambers and Juliet Carpenter, as translators. In the years after Strauss, Elliott added more authors and translators. The selling rights to Tuttle and Secker & Warburg continued.

Kodansha International, a division of the Japanese publisher Kodansha, under the direction of Elmer Luke, began to publish translations of more titles by writers not under contract to Knopf, or titles Knopf had passed on by their authors. Kodansha International also published Murakami Haruki's in English translation before he was signed at Knopf. The translation process there was composed of a network that included author, translator and editor.<sup>67</sup> Kodansha also had an English Library series for domestic sales of translations. The annotated translation by Alfred Birnbaum of Murakami *Norwegian Wood* (1989) in a two-volume set went through ten printings in Japan before a combined edition of the work in Jay Rubin's translation (2000) appeared years later overseas for Anglophone readers. In the same manner seen in pre- and postwar English translations, the market in Japan remained larger. Murakami's work in English is also the object of study on both sides of the ocean in the fields of Japanese literature, comparative literature and more recently translation studies.<sup>68</sup>

## 8.6 Discussion

Developments of an unexpected nature had a significant influence over the selection of the Japanese titles published in translation during the 1970s at Knopf. The extraordinary circumstances provide an opportunity to explore the product, process and function distinction, network formation in the production process and the discourse communities that further argued the place of the novels. The tracing of the actors and their interactions has unearthed unanticipated outcomes. Hermans (1999 10) and Chesterman (2006 25) have argued that data

on the sociology of translation practice will help explain why translations look the way they do. Merkle in 2008 further adds to the discussion with reference to Bourdieu's terminology:

While we agree that it is important to put greater emphasis on the translator, agency, *habitus* and translation practices, we believe that the interaction of these and other elements, especially the prestige of a translated text as cultural artefact, the prestige of the translator within the target system and the target audience's horizon of expectations, must not be neglected. (177)

Circumstances altered the selection criterion of works by living, active and successful writers, ones who might be considered for a Nobel Prize. It was thrown into confusion by the award going to one and the death of another. A series of yet untranslated works went into production for the prizewinner Kawabata, who previously had been dropped from the active list, and to accommodate the translations of his protégé Mishima, whose death brought a sense of urgency to publish his remaining works. The network of translators for the Kawabata translations were relatively stable, but those for the Mishima translation again grew in number to replace translators who left the network after a work was completed, which consistently prevailed over the two decades his works were translated at Knopf. Unbinding these translations has required an examination of the processes surrounding the production and release of these titles in the 1970s, where the prestige of the artifact and the translator took shape under complex circumstances after the award of a Nobel Prize.

The titles selected in the 1970s were done so in a manner more complex than simply based upon the preferences of the translators. Sales did play a role in text selection and as a lack of sales led to being dropped from the active list, as happened to Kaikō and the others before him in the 1950s and 1960s. Four of the eight living novelists had one or two novels published at Knopf, and Kawabata may have joined that group had he not won the Nobel Prize. Strauss tried various strategies to upgrade his Program, but despite his best efforts it was only marginally profitable as a whole. He was personally involved with each of the novelists and regretted dropping them from the active list, but he did do indeed just that. If he had had his way the Program would have included more writers. That notwithstanding, the Knopf Program was the most extensive of any publisher.

The process in which the texts were translated during this time period saw the editor continue to exercise considerable power over the entire translation process in the first title of



Mishima's tetralogy. Textual issues came to the forefront in a clash where legal action was considered. Gallagher fought to overrule revisions of the translated manuscript of the first volume that had been edited by two Japanese native speakers, two American translators, Strauss and other copy editors. In the first two titles of the four novel series, the network had several other rewriters and editors working on this same project, some invited and some not. The literary contact nebula was in the deepest state of conflict during the translation process of the first title. Moreover, the review by Donald Keene criticized the translation and hit upon areas which were contested by the editor and translator, leaving the translator the blame for decisions he had not made. The second title saw Strauss turn over the critical editing to a proxy, who was not credited by choice. In the third and the fourth novel, much strife was involved in finding the translator(s) finally contracted, but none of the actors seemed satisfied with the final text except the editor.

Two appendixes are included to supplement this dissertation. Appendix I provides an overview of the individuals involved in each translation and their roles. A glance at this appendix will assist with a basic understanding of the role of each actor involved in the translation, and when one returns to the study it should assist with identifying the individuals and their interactions. Appendix I also provides the date of publication for each of the titles and gives an indication of the financial arrangements for each title by listing the advance payment, updated to modern figures in the square brackets under the advance amount.

Appendix II is Gallagher's commentary on the changes in the manuscript, with his wry humor and sarcasm that indicate the process provoked intense emotions. This is a rare document produced by the translator himself to hit back at the misuse of power he felt in the negotiation of the text. Had he not strenuously objected, many of the changes would likely have been left untouched. I was surprised to learn of Gallagher's detailed commentary had been preserved, and remain grateful he agreed to send me a copy. The present study is not intended to argue the merits of the controversy in its entirety, for this is worthy of a book itself, but rather to highlight areas for further research and for use as a supplement to the only draft translation that survived from the Program and is preserved in the Knopf Archives at the Harry Ransom Center.

In an effort to shape an author's work, which is related to both selection and production, Strauss did not hesitate to point out his expectations and what he was interested in publishing. The younger writer Kaikō was encouraged to write on subjects other than the country of Vietnam. Strauss also told him that writing essays and essentially anything other

than a novel would be detrimental to his prospects for future translations at Knopf. This attempt at pretextual influence was something brought to bear on the writer Abé as well, but for Abé it was both the genre, Strauss had hoped he would spend less time writing plays, and the content of the prior novels that he criticized as overly philosophical with a tendency toward digression.

The peritextual matter in the production process was an additional responsibility and was not compensated. The issue of compensation never arose and therefore is something all parties considered a natural part of the process. Payment was not necessarily of a monetary nature, but translators were compensated indirectly for their efforts as this practice added to their social and symbolic capital through the national exposure of the Knopf imprint. Donald Keene wrote the introduction for the *Kaikō* novel, but he was not the translator of this book. It is a sign of both his status and an interest in promoting new authors. The status of Hibbett and Seidensticker was such that Strauss would send along their manuscripts to proofs after a reading and limited edits.

The Knopf anthology was in part intended to usher in a new generation of writers and Kurahashi Yumiko became the first living woman to be translated at Knopf and Kathryn Sparling was the female native English speaker to be credited for a translation from the Japanese at Knopf. Strauss maintained long associations with those who taught him and assisted him, so excepting his disagreements with Uramatsu Fuki, it was not apparent that he had a problem with women. In the correspondence under review, he did not receive recommendations for a woman writer till the 1960s. His standard comment was that he was waiting to see how a writer's career developed. Perhaps he would have been less tentative if he had more success with the other male writers, and not been under the scrutiny of the top management. He had to move cautiously after the weaker sales of the 1956 to 1960 titles, and was able to add only the writers Abé and Nosaka to the Program in the 1960s. The developments with the Nobel Prize in 1968 and the death of Mishima in 1970 essentially exhausted his resources thereafter, and a new writer was not introduced until 1974, in a translation by the trusted advisor and translator Segawa Seigle.

Strauss got recommendations from Saunders for Kurahashi Yumiko and Ariyoshi Sawako, while Hibbett, Tanizaki and Mishima encouraged Strauss to take note of Enchi Fumiko. If Strauss had looked closely Kurahashi Yumiko, he might have been put off by her interest in French literature, as he had before with Ōoka Shōhei, and that her first long novel was said to resemble the existential psychology prevalent in the French literature of the 1960s.

She moved to the United States to study creative writing from 1966 to 1967, and by the time her best-selling work *Sumiyakist Q* was out in 1969, Strauss was committed to the 1970s translations discussed above.<sup>69</sup> Strauss wrote to Tanizaki in 1961 that while he had reread Enchi's *Onnamen*, he found it would be difficult to publish because Knopf's schedule of Japanese novels was "pretty full" at the time, and that the novel with its "ghostliness usually associated with the atmosphere of Noh plays" and references to *Genji Monogatari* were beyond the understanding of American readers, and that he be delighted to see it be put out at another publisher (Strauss 1961h). The records do not indicate extensive reports on women writers so on the whole the lack of attention does result in a form of exclusion. The fact that Knopf did not publish a novel by a Japanese woman until 1980s speaks to the prevalence of inequality taken for granted during the period under study.<sup>70</sup>

Another issue of concern with regards to gender within the translation process is the well-documented concealed collaboration at Knopf. Strauss had Japanese women assist him in the translation process, whose efforts continually went unacknowledged. At the same time, he relied on the support of Japanese women for support during the selection process. Komtsu Fumiko, Iwasaki Haruko, Nobuko Morris, Cecilia Segawa Seigle and presumably others were compensated, but not publicly recognized. The imbalance of credit due is made clear in the archival materials. The myth that the translation is definitive and the work of a single artist would not allow for this.<sup>71</sup> The situation has somewhat improved in general. Jay Rubin, a Harvard University Professor and Knopf translator, for example, has credited his wife Rakuko as his trusted advisor since 1966 for her assistance with challenging texts (2009 ix).

A further issue of concern is the lack of recognition of Japanese translators and translations overseas, specifically in the German translations of Kawabata. Kawai Yuzuru, Kure Misako and Yatsushiro Sachiko were involved as co-translator in 1950s onward of Japanese literature in German translation. The Pre-Nobel Prize Translation of *Tausend Kraniche* (1956), which Yatsushiro worked on, prompted Knopf to translate the work after it was read at the firm. According to biographical sources used in this study, Kawabata's body of work was more widely represented in German translation than in English, six translations including *Yama no Oto* and *Koto*, before the awarding of the Nobel Prize, including all three titles the Nobel committee cited when the award was announced. Only two of these titles were available in English at the time.<sup>72</sup> Kawabata was also awarded the Goethe Medal by the city of Frankfurt in 1959, increasing his recognition in Europe.

When we reconsider that one of Abé's titles reportedly sold over 240,000 copies in Russian translation in the period under discussion, the possibility that only a part of the story of Japanese literature in translation is being told comes to the forefront. Not only must researchers cooperate on translation history in their own language pair, we must also develop ways to connect with other researchers investigating the trail of other target language translations and their translators. In doing so, we would be able to see how and individual titles in translation functioned as the actants that formed the basis of the reception of the authors in various cultures, as well as learn more about the translation process in other language pairs and the status of the texts and of the translators. The technology to do so is now available.

The critical reception from most quarters for the last English translations initiated by Strauss was positive. While fewer in numbers, reviews, introductions and promotional blurbs from former translators were in line with each other, excepting the reviews of Mishima's *Spring Snow*. The award-winner Kawabata was no longer actively writing so prior works had to be mined to further his consecration in the world of letters. *The Tale of Genji*, the anthology, and the Kaikō translations had also progressed without the acrimony or confusion of the Mishima tetralogy. Seidensticker, Kawabata's primary translator, also had success with his rendition *The Tale of Genji*. This is the third title of this Program in the Knopf's Everyman's Library, two of which were translated by Seidensticker. The prestige of the translator and the text, as advanced by Merkle above, was not limited to the target culture, as seen by the launching of an English-language series of translations by Kodansha in the source culture, and expansion at Kodansha to an international division. An active critical discourse in the source culture in turn has shown to be a factor in the translation process, as translators and editors straddled source and target cultures.

To gauge further the scope of the Knopf Program of Japanese literature in English, determining the number of titles translated relative to the number of Japanese novels translated overall is again important and a summary of the periods covered in this study is available in Table 2 below. According to the bibliographical sources listed above, thirty-four Japanese novels appeared in English translation between the years of 1970 to 1977 from various publishers. This figure does not include reprints of Knopf translations published in the United Kingdom and Japan. If we now exclude translations that were published in Japan only, the total becomes twenty-two. Knopf published nine novels and one anthology. The share of Knopf titles published in North America and the United Kingdom is still a

significant number of the total, accounting for 45% of the output if one excludes the anthology. Table 2 below tallies Japanese novels published in English translation from 1945 to 1977 based on the three periods in the study, and is differentiated by location. The totals do not include the book of plays by Mishima, the book of short stories by Tanizaki, the Nobel Prize combined edition of the two previously published Kawabata novels, nor the anthology published in 1977.

Table 2  
Japanese Novels in English Translation 1945-1977

	Japan/US-UK	US-UK/Japan	Both regions	Totals
1945-1960	11/0	15/14	14 (10)	26
1961-1969	12/3	18/16	20 (10)	30
1970-1977	19/7	15/15	22 (10)	34
Totals	42	48	56 (30)	90

Sources: Brown (1957), Beauchamp (1975) International House of Japan Library (1979), Japan PEN Club (1990/1995) and Rogala (2001).

The Japan/US-UK box shows the number of titles that were first published in Japan and then made their way to the US-UK markets. The US-UK/Japan box shows the number of titles that were published first in the US-UK and then made their way to Japan. The box for both regions indicates a title appeared in both countries, and the number in parentheses indicates the titles that originated at Knopf. Every single translation published at Knopf was in turn published at Tuttle in Japan. Tuttle had the advantage of paying only a right to print paperback copies in Asia, not being burdened with the translation costs or the outlay for publicity. The ties between the Knopf and Tuttle firms were long-standing, and the success Tuttle had with these titles is evidenced by the fact they were ready to reprint each title for sale in Japan as soon as the printing plates were available.

Knopf translations consistently accounted for nearly half the translations that appeared in the United States and in the United Kingdom, and one-third the number of translations overall when factoring in the publications that appeared only in Japan. The Knopf translations were all published in Japan by Tuttle, so again on the basis of the number of printings it is safe to conclude that more copies, albeit in paperback, were sold in Japan than anywhere else in the world. Rival publishers stateside were few. Grove Press had the novels

of Oé and Keene's anthologies, and Kodansha International was a growing presence, though it later closed down due to lack of profitability. University presses also added to the output.

The sales figures indicate that even with the considerable forms of symbolic capital that Knopf possessed, coupled with the academic capital of the translators, a title would rarely sell 10,000 copies in hardcover. However, the statistics on paperback reprints paint a different picture. It should be kept in mind that during the time of this study, Knopf was a firm of long-standing prestige, and such houses in that day did not often publish literary works in paperback. An internal company memo prepared by R. Meyer shows the rights sold to Berkeley and Avondale as of December 1971 resulted in sales numbering 76,490 copies of Kawabata's translations (three titles), 62,991 of Tanizaki's translations (four titles), and 205,342 copies of Mishima's translations (6 titles). This information is incomplete, but the use of the paperbacks in university courses was not uncommon. Paperback reprints of the Knopf translations are now under the trademark of Vintage Press, a subsidiary of Random House, and remain in print.

The interest of the Japanese people in their literature in English translation is a phenomenon that has continued since the first translations were published. The Knopf translations and the indirect translations which followed continue to function as inscriptions that form the basis of a growing number of academic papers written in English and other languages about Japanese literature in countries throughout the world. Japan itself is no exception as the study of these translations has drawn the interest of scholars, students and the general reader. The English retranslations of the Japanese classics are a case in point, where the source culture has an active subculture that continues to investigate such translations. For example, a three-year government-sponsored research group entitled *Genji Overseas* is now investigating the extent of the influence of this work outside Japan.<sup>73</sup>

The Japanese Literature and Publishing Project started as a subvention network in 2002, by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, to help popularize modern Japanese Literature to the world. It was the suggestion of former Knopf translator John Nathan to former Tokyo governor Ishihara Shintarō. Nathan's description of the events leading to its founding is recalled in his memoir (2008 299-306). It did not go as planned. Due to budget cuts, management was taken over by a private company in 2009. The number of translations into various languages published under this scheme is numbers 120.<sup>74</sup>

An examination of the selection of texts for translation, the translation process and the function of the texts show that the common threads in these findings are the

unpredictability of the actors through their evolving interrelationships in often complex networks. The results of their efforts retain an enduring influence on the status of these translated texts as cultural artifacts, but we should wary of unfounded generalizations and extrapolations that do not square with the data now available. It is not unreasonable to argue for a symbiosis among the workings of symbolic and cultural capital of the universities, the translators, and their translations. This reflected well on their respective institutions and provided the impetus for an increase in courses related to Japanese studies. The texts in turn were used in curricula, as well as in a growing number of university courses. These developments boded well for area study specialists and a growing number of students in the humanities. The personalities involved clashed at times and such memories remained strong enough for Donald Keene, at the age of 92, to state last year in a Japanese magazine article that while he agreed it probably required someone of Strauss' character to engineer such a series of translations, "he did not like him."<sup>75</sup>

The Knopf translations opened avenues for a modest number of English readers to discover more about a modest number of Japan's contemporary writers, within the constraints of publishing economics at one publishing house, and for a smaller but growing number of students to use the translations as a basis for their studies and research. The same might be said for other less translated literatures as reported above. The Knopf translations meant a great deal to certain groups of English readers in the West and in Japan, and the long tail sales of these works in paperback continue to attract new readers as evidenced by reviews on sites such as Goodreads.<sup>76</sup> Not all of the titles made money for the Knopf firm in hardcover sales, which was the primary goal at a time when books of distinction had not yet been displaced by visual mediums to the degree found today. The translations survive as literature, cultural artifacts and research materials.

## 9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Harold Strauss seems now almost like an old acquaintance. His business card was wedged into a copy of one of the Abé Kobo translations, *The Ruined Map*, which I purchased from an online Japanese bookstore—a fitting piece of serendipity for the years spent on this research project. What we know about Harold outside the office is fairly limited. He was an avid portrait photographer, and was also a gardener specializing in spruce bonsai at the family home in Connecticut. He traveled with wife Mildred as often as not. Their apartment in the city at Sutton Place was not far from Knopf's Madison Avenue office in Manhattan. He was a family man but had no children. He died suddenly of heart failure in 1975 at the age of 67. The couple left a literary award called "The Mildred and Harold Strauss Livings," which provides a five-year stipend for writers so that they may concentrate on their work. Strauss was intensely concerned with the bottom line of his Program, and was clearly inspired by his publisher who he looked to as a mentor.

As editor-in-chief Strauss was involved in all aspects of the firm's publications, and yet had his own mission to emulate the success of his publisher and contribute to relations with a country he encountered as a result of war. The young scholars working on the translations shared a common interest in Japan and from the outset were active in a wide range of other scholarly activity, building their careers as well as fortifying the place of Japanese studies in the American university curriculum. The translation work may not have paid as well as the dividends in academic recognition and career mobility. The findings suggest that such prestige, social and symbolic capital are also visible and influential features of the source culture, and that the actors were able to utilize their capital in both cultures, primarily through the discourse of literary reviews in print. As such, this finding suggests that the actors occupied spaces indistinct of any middle ground, at times active in one culture and at times in the other. The authors too had their own interests in being recognized through these works. This all took place in the enormously competitive publishing environments of both the source and target cultures.

In Japan, the translations circulate as cultural and academic capital as well as models of English language usage, an outcome that has its roots in the earliest translations. The Japanese works in English translation under discussion appear to have had more currency within the source culture itself. On balance, Japanese literature has probably had more exposure in English translation since 1950 than most her neighboring nations, though Taiwan



and South Korea now both have their own subvention networks for literary translation, which indicate further lines of research.

The study assisted in refining the idea of a translation policy at a private firm. The publisher worked with a definition of policy which included a consideration of the translation process at the time of text selection and at times the term policy appears during the translation process. The publishing criteria are well-defined for the selection of writer, but the words used to describe the translation practices, such as faithful when discussing the text as a whole or the use of the house policy as a justification for omission, remain opaque. The focus on the actors and their interactions are in line with both Hermans' (2009) and Chesterman's (2006) analyses, i.e. we have a clearer understanding of why translations look the way they do, and Merkle's (2008) analysis that the prestige of the text as cultural artifact and the prestige of the translator in the target culture are both of key importance to the sociology of translation. The Nobel Prize awarded to Kawabata propelled Japanese literature back onto the world stage, absent since the sensation of the Waley translation of *Genji Monogatari*.

The tracing of the multifaceted role of the translator in the translation process, the preparation of peritextual matter and the contribution of epitextual matter, in the discourse communities of both the source and target cultures, sheds light on the interplay of the actors in the textual mediation process and the affirmation and denial of capital, while adding depth to the spectrum of data collected. The investigation into the literary contact nebulae has provided a useful platform for analysis in regard to post-occupied Japan and its Anglophone allies, where hierarchies in relations remain less steeply inclined. By tugging at the loose threads left behind by the idiosyncratic behavior of the actors, the unbinding of these novels in English translation has provided a rare look at the process of transculturation in complex circumstances.

As research on translation history moves forward, the digitization of texts in the public domain, through copyright expiration, for example, will make lists and databases of translations increasing more valuable and create new starting points for research. When the content of a text is made ready for analysis using the computing power now on offer, the technologies of digitizing works and enabling meta-searches will allow for deeper investigations into translations, or series of translations such as the works under study here, and lead to an explosive growth in corpus studies, all of which may help clarify the elusive meaning of style and lead to more accurate translation history. In addition, putting a face(s) on the individuals involved in these transculturations is essential to understanding how the

works came into being. The compilation of data on networks of production is essential to adding a human dimension to texts as cultural products. Such research would be expedited if publishers were to allow their copyrighted materials to support such research. Access is a necessary stepping stone toward advanced digital catalogues of literature in translation.

Unbinding the texts in the Knopf Program of Japanese literature in English translation has also shown it is essential to separate the mixtures of introductions and descriptions of a country's literature, and volumes part translation and part literary criticism, that have been accepted as translation history. Archive research and digital technology will bring about new forms of interactive databases, replete with texts, and help support opportunities for reflexivity, more accurately informed translation history and advanced textual studies. As it stands now, a substantial amount of text material has to be reviewed to find data relevant to the textual study at hand. It would thus be advantageous for researchers to have access to digitized materials. This will be accomplished in an accelerated manner if archival organizations made searchable digital scans, instead of simply flat image copies of archival materials, when researchers requested and paid fees for individual documents. The process would then in part pay for itself, and not need to be repeated, while at the same time support future research. As many research and archival institutes are now arranging for the procurement of materials from living authors, the same efforts should be made to obtain the vital materials from translators and other individuals involved in the production of translations. Research into translations of every language pair would benefit from such practices.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Polysystems theory aims to outline the structure and evolution of literary systems in which translated literature is also considered an integral and active system (1990 45-51).
- <sup>2</sup> Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender Issued, at Potsdam, July 26, 1945. Article 12.
- <sup>3</sup> We need not look far for examples of Latour's argument within the context of Japanese literature in English translation. Arthur Waley attributed his initial interest in the languages of the Orient to a book of Chinese poetry in English translation (Jones 1999 177). Donald Keene (1994) recalled his interest in the study of Japanese literature was sparked by an edition of Arthur Waley's *Genji*, which he found at a used bookstore in Times Square in 1940.
- <sup>4</sup> Toury's other preliminary norm is 'directness of translation' which takes up the concerns of when, and if, translating from a language other than the source language is permitted. This practice of translating through an intermediary language is referred to as indirect translation in this paper.
- <sup>5</sup> Suzuki (2008) examines these complexities in great detail with specific reference to translations of the *Genji Monogatari* and the evolving language debate that developed during the imperial eras after the opening of Japan, including Tanizaki's retranslations.
- <sup>6</sup> The writer as translator is a well-established feature in the modern Japanese literary landscape, and continues to this day. Murakami Haruki, for example, is also a translator.
- <sup>7</sup> Numazawa was scholar of Japanese literary history and happened to include a listing of translations in foreign languages in his extensive bibliography in Japanese. His collection is housed at Komazawa University in Tokyo.
- <sup>8</sup> The collected works of these scholars have been published respectively in 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000 by Ganesha Publishing Ltd.
- <sup>9</sup> This translation is listed Numazawa's bibliography, but not Inada's. It is available as a free download from the *American Oriental Society* online archive.
- <sup>10</sup> The original *Ukiyo gata rokumai byōbu* was published in 1821. Inada (1971 7) notes: "This trans. [Pfizmaier's] is important because no doubt it was instrumental in giving rise to translations in various languages of this minor Japanese novel." English, French and Italian are the various languages Inada cites.
- <sup>11</sup> Waseda University offers both the 1867 and 1869 publications in Japanese with Turner's English title to view or download in their online digital library. It is still indexed at Worldcat under the alternative English title.
- <sup>12</sup> In Finland, for example, English texts were used until direct translation from Japanese began in the 1960s according to the poet and translator Kai Nieminen. Interview by author. Kyoto, November 2008.
- <sup>13</sup> See, however, contributions to the theme by Campbell 1998; Pokorn 2005.
- <sup>14</sup> When the British translator Arthur Waley was working on his abbreviated translation of *The Pillow Book of Seishōnagon* in 1920s, he was approached by an associate of Kobayashi with a proposal to collaborate on the translation when it came to light that both were at work on the project. Waley declined on the grounds that his translation was only a partial one, and was soon going to press. (see Kitamura 1930)
- <sup>15</sup> See Kornicki (1999 48).
- <sup>16</sup> Research on this theme continues. See, for example, Palaposki & Koskinen, 2010.
- <sup>17</sup> Kornicki (1998 113) noted that while Western-style typography for use in commercial publishing in Japan lagged nearly 200 years behind other nations, it "finally came to dominate at the end of the nineteenth century."
- <sup>18</sup> A facsimile copy of Roosevelt's letter is reprinted in Sakurai's Collected Works.
- <sup>19</sup> It includes forty-eight pages of notes, and an introduction by Tsubouchi Yūzō. A translator of Shakespeare, Tsubouchi also engaged in literary criticism. He shared in a growing trend whereby writers would in the course of their career practice translation or produce a work on what makes a novel.
- <sup>20</sup> Strauss 1953a.

<sup>21</sup> Two letters of thanks from Waley are preserved at the Tanizaki Junichirō Memorial Museum of Literature for copies of *Sasameyuki* and Tanizaki's modern translation of *Genji Monogatari*. Waley wrote: "I feel very ashamed of my own English translation, but I have not the energy to make a revised version" (1948). Tanizaki's comment on Waley's translation noted above (*hijou ni goyaku ga ooi no de sau ifu ten dewa amari tasukaranaiga, shikashi bungakuteki no honyaku to shite soutou ni sugureteiru*) is excerpted in the commentary of the bound facsimile of letters, and is dated 1961.

<sup>22</sup> McClellan and Harold Strauss had a difference of opinion by way of correspondence over whether Knopf should consider the novelist Natsume Sōseki for the Program.

<sup>23</sup> A variety of terms have been used to describe this dichotomy in Japanese to English translation. Fowler (1990 126) writes that: "It has to do with determining just how far to go in 'naturalizing' the foreign text—making it accommodate the target language and its readership—and how much to display it in all its foreignness and strangeness." The terms foreignization and domestication (Venuti 1995) now widely used in translation studies are adopted for use in this paper.

<sup>24</sup> Fukuda Naomi reports a great increase in Asian studies nationwide in the 1950s and 1960s. The strong economy at the time was also a boon for Asian collections.

<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that Hasegawa's work is primarily a textbook.

<sup>26</sup> Howard Parshley was subject to edits and omissions at the hands of Blanche Knopf and Harold Strauss, the editor-in-chief at the time. The issue of cuts was a topic Alfred Knopf inquired after before a contract had been signed (69), and cuts and omissions were a priority to Strauss (96). The approach to French, German and Japanese works in translation at Knopf share these practices.

<sup>27</sup> Harker argues against Venuti's stance on foreignization, but surprisingly enough Venuti (1998 72-5) embraces Harker's concept of a middle-brow audience for translated Japanese fiction, using this as evidence of canon reformation in the 1990s, again based on Fowler's commentary.

<sup>28</sup> According to William Lise in 1997, then President of the Japan Association of Translators, "Contrary to the common wisdom outside Japan, almost all of Japan's J-E translation is done by Japanese writing English as a foreign language, which is then the object of heroic damage-repair efforts by foreign rewriters." The process may have balanced out to some degree in the last two decades, but a precise account of such activity is not likely to be made available by Japan's many private translation agencies. Quoted in Campbell 1998 27.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. Yanabu 2002; 2003.

<sup>30</sup> Prior to 2009, the textbooks I have located were available in Japan were directed at a Japanese audience. See e.g. Maeda 2006, Seidensticker and Nasu 1963, Seidensticker and Anzai 1983.

<sup>31</sup> The most recent JPBA report listed at the same URL omits the final clause about women.

<sup>32</sup> Sayers Peden cites a drop in titles of Latin American Literature in English translation after 1970. Blanche Knopf's efforts in the 1960s laid the groundwork for a number of titles that were published after her death.

<sup>33</sup> Warburg was collecting material for his own memoir. See e.g. Kristiina Taivalkoski-Shilov (2013) for more on tracing an editor's voice in autobiographies.

<sup>34</sup> These titles were not reprinted until 1968.

<sup>35</sup> Komatsu Fuminko, who went by the name Fumi Komatsu (1930- ), won a Rockefeller Foundation for International Young Artists in 1950s and stayed on to pursue her art in the United States. As she did a number of dust jacket paintings for Knopf and was based in New York, she was quite likely one of Strauss' tutors.

<sup>36</sup> International House formally opened on June 11, 1955. With the assistance of Matsumoto Shigeru's son Hiroshi, I was able to read the *Summary Report of Initial Five Years and New Request*, which makes no mention of a literary translation program, although the organization did sponsor international exchanges, lectures, developed a library of books, largely in English, and published related resources (1957 20), as it does to this day.

<sup>37</sup> "I myself translated Chapter Thirteen of Homecoming to see how it would read in English before daring to embark on the Japanese program." Strauss 1957i.

<sup>38</sup> Statistical Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. Chapter 2, Population and Households. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/chouki/02.htm>.

<sup>39</sup> See Strauss, R. 2003 xii-xiii.

<sup>40</sup> The only individuals identified by name in the correspondence are Okubo Mine and Komatsu Fumiko (Strauss 1953b), both of whom resided in New York.

<sup>41</sup> This style is never defined clearly or specified, but one commonality among most of the Knopf translators was an undergraduate degree in English literature.

<sup>42</sup> Strauss was apparently put off by the religious angle as well. He rejected novel by the Japanese Catholic author Endō Shusaku.

<sup>43</sup> An important document prepared by Nancy Junko Beauchamp includes a comprehensive list of titles and reviews of Japanese novels in English translation after the war to the time of its publication.

<sup>44</sup> A recent discovery indicates that Tanizaki had an unaddressed postcard delivered by means other than the postal system to the individuals he wished to receive a copy. When they brought the postcard to the publisher's office, they were given their copy of the book. *Mainichi* Newspaper. 5 July, 2014.

<sup>45</sup> Seidensticker used no contractions in rendering Osaka speech to contrast it with the contractions used in Tokyo speech. He counted this a failure. "Scarcely anyone, and no reviewer, even noticed that it was there" 1993 xxiii.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Kai Nieminen, (Nov. 2008). The Finnish poet and novelist Eeva-Liisa Manner translated various Japanese authors from German and English. *Sasame Yuki* was optioned to her in the early 1980s. She deferred to Kai Nieminen, the poet and translator who had begun to translate directly from Japanese.

<sup>47</sup> In a document from the Ivan I. Morris papers, Morris undertook this translation in an agreement signed by Blanche W. Knopf, perhaps in an effort to side step Strauss after the Kawabata novel was rerouted.

<sup>48</sup> It is interesting to note that given all the deference to Waley, one of his lifelong friends from Japan wrote that he could not easily converse in Modern Japanese. This is mentioned in defense of Waley to counter those who suggested he translated *The Tale of Genji* from modern Japanese. See Yashiro 1967 365-7.

<sup>49</sup> "Nomination Database." NobelPrize.org. 15 Nov. 2014.

<sup>50</sup> This brochure had a print run of 200 copies and was intended for booksellers.

<sup>51</sup> *Small World*. Narr. Edward R. Murrow. CBS, New York. 8 May 1960. Television.

<sup>52</sup> Venuti extrapolates on Fowler's analysis and hypothesizes that Japanese literature in translation was "designed to contain Soviet expansionism in the East" (1995 73). He repeats Fowler's under informed commentary about how the texts were selected, and how the content was exoticized and aestheticized. The inaccuracies in his essay are typified by the assertion Tanizaki's novels had a "lukewarm reception" in Japan (72).

<sup>53</sup> The discrepancy between critical reception and sales requires further study. Strauss suggests that this follows a pattern similar to European literature in translation.

<sup>54</sup> Yatsushiro Sachiko teamed with German scholars in the translation of several leading Japanese authors. Her work on *Senbazuru* (*Tausend Kraniche* 1956) preceded the Knopf edition and prompted Strauss to put the title out in English.

<sup>55</sup> This story was previously translated by Ivan Morris and was included in his anthology entitled *Modern Japanese Short Stories*. The various translations are taken up by Tobias in her 2009 analysis of this work in English translation.

<sup>56</sup> Approximately US\$16,900.00 in 2013. See Measuring Worth.

<sup>57</sup> *Clouds above the Hill*, a series of four volumes by Shiba Ryōtarō (1923-1996), has been jointly translated into English by three translators (Juliet Winters Carpenter, Andrew Cobbing, and Paul McCarthy) and editor Phyllis Birnbaum. Paul McCarthy wrote that "We worked together well as a team, but when occasional differences of opinion arose, Phyllis Birnbaum as general editor had the final say." The volumes of Murakami Haruki's *IQ44* in English by Phillip Gabriel and Jay Rubin were also divided up, ostensibly to get the works out sooner and capitalize on the buzz of the original.

<sup>58</sup> 10,000,000 was equivalent to US\$27,778 in 1953, which in dollars now is eight times that figure.

<sup>59</sup> *Newsweek*. 26 May. 1975.

<sup>60</sup> See Keene 1962.

<sup>61</sup> A 1934 survey was prepared by Takaki Yasaka of Tokyo Imperial University. It was released in the following year by the Institute of Pacific Relations under the title *Japanese Studies in the Universities and Colleges of the United States*.

<sup>62</sup> Here I include entry 4530 by Anthony Chambers, which cover Tanizaki's work from 1930 to 1950.

<sup>63</sup> See e.g. Kimball 1973.

<sup>64</sup> One consideration Strauss had to contend with was that Knopf had already published a children's book with the title *Spring Snow* in 1963.

<sup>65</sup> The USD 4.00 per hour paid to Iwasaki Haruko would now equate to roughly US\$23.00.

<sup>66</sup> See e.g. Kawakatsu; Midorikawa; Yoshida et al.

<sup>67</sup> The peritext of *Hard-boiled Wonderland and the End of the World* makes note of the process: "Translated and adapted by Alfred Birnbaum with the participation of the author." The translator also acknowledges the assistance of the editor Elmer Luke. 1991.

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. Karashima 2013; Shirahama 2007.

<sup>69</sup> Translator's Introduction. *The Adventures of Sumiyakist Q*. Dennis Keene. 1979 ix-xii.

<sup>70</sup> See Dodd 1999.

<sup>71</sup> Knopf still uses the phrase "definitive translation" in their advertising. See e.g.

<http://www.randomhouse.com/knopf/authors/merwin/>

<sup>72</sup> While Venuti cites such an instance for the recognition of Yoshimoto Banana in Italian translation before her work appeared in English (1998 75), Kawabata's German translations go overlooked.

<sup>73</sup> See <genjito.org>

<sup>74</sup> See <[www.j-lit.or.jp/about-us/](http://www.j-lit.or.jp/about-us/)>

<sup>75</sup> In the article Keene says of Strauss, "*Kare no koto wo suki de wa nakatta*." (2014 27)

<sup>76</sup> A search at Goodreads will show contemporary reviews of all Knopf's Japanese titles, at times numbering in the thousands.

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## APPENDIX I

Updated USD values for the Advance payment in [square brackets] under the date of publication are based on the purchasing power index at Measuringworth.com as of 2013. The calculations reflect an increase in the Consumer Price Index, a guide to purchasing power.

T = Translator, E = Editor, RW = Rewriter, A = Advisor

<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Translator</b>	<b>Actors</b>	<b>Date Advance</b>
Homecoming	Osaragi Jirō (1897-1973)	Brewster Horwitz	Horwitz (T) Strauss (T, E)	1955 \$1,000 [\$8,700]
Some Prefer Nettles	Tanizaki Jun'ichiro (1886-1965)	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T) Strauss (E) Takahashi (A) Hiramatsu (A)	1955 \$750 [\$6,520]
The Sound of Waves	Mishima Yukio (1925-1970)	Meredith Weatherby	Weatherby (T) Strauss (E) Mishima (A)	1956 \$500 [\$4,350]
The Heike Story	Yoshikawa Eiji (1892-1962)	Fuki Uramatsu	Uramatsu (T) Strauss (E)	1956 \$1,500 [\$13,000]
Snow Country	Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972)	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T) Strauss (E)	1956 3 Francs per word
Fires on the Plain	Ōoka Shōhei (1909-1988)	Ivan Morris	Ivan Morris Strauss (E)	1956 \$750 [\$6,430]
Five Modern Noh Plays	Mishima Yukio	Donald Keene	Keene (T) Mishima (A)	1957 ?
The Makioka Sisters	Tanizaki Jun'ichirō	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T) Strauss (E) Hiramatsu (A) Tanizaki (A)	1957 \$2,500 [\$20,700]
Thousand Cranes	Kawabata Yasunari	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T) Strauss (E)	1958 \$750 [\$4,810]
The Temple of the Golden Pavilion	Mishima Yukio	Ivan Morris	Morris (T) Iwasaki (A) ? Strauss (E) Mishima (A)	1959 \$750 [\$5,990]
The Journey	Osaragi Jiro	Ivan Morris	Morris (T) Bester (T) Strauss (E)	1960 \$750 [\$5,900]



T = Translator, E = Editor, RW = Rewriter, A = Advisor

The Key	Tanizaki Jun'ichirō	Howard Hibbett	Hibbett (T) Strauss (E)	1961 \$750 [\$5,840]
After the Banquet	Mishima Yukio	Donald Keene	Keene (T) Mishima (A)	1963 \$1,200 [\$9,130]
Seven Japanese Tales	Tanizaki Jun'ichirō	Howard Hibbett	Hibbett (T) Strauss (E)	\$1,200 [\$9,130]
The Woman in the Dunes	Abé Kobo (1924-1993)	E. Dale Saunders	Saunders (T) Strauss (E) Abé (A)	1964 \$1,200 [\$9,010]
The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea	Mishima Yukio	John Nathan	Nathan (T) Strauss (E) Mishima (A)	1965 \$1,200 [\$8,860]
Diary of a Mad Old Man	Tanizaki Jun'ichirō	Howard Hibbett	Hibbett (T) Strauss (E)	1965 \$750 [\$5,540]
The Face of Another	Abé Kobo	E. Dale Saunders	Saunders (T) Strauss (E) Abé (A)	1966 \$1,200 [\$8,610]
Forbidden Colors	Mishima Yukio	Alfred Marks	Marks (T) Strauss (E) Mishima (A)	1968 \$2,000 [\$13,400]
The Pornographers	Nosaka Akiyuki (1930- )	Michael Gallagher	Gallagher (T) Strauss (E) Nosaka (A)	1968 \$1,500 [\$10,000]
The Ruined Map	Abé Kobo	E. Dale Saunders	Saunders (T) Strauss (E) Abé (A)	1969 \$1,200 [\$7,620]
Thirst for Love	Mishima Yukio	Alfred Marks	Marks (T) Strauss (E) Mishima (A) Keene (A)	1969 \$2,000 [\$12,700]
Inter Ice Age 4	Abé Kobo	E. Dale Saunders	Saunders (T) Strauss (E) Abé (A)	1970 \$1,500 [\$9,900]
The Sound of the Mountain	Kawabata Yasunari	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T) Strauss (E)	1970 \$4,000 [\$24,000]
Spring Snow	Mishima Yukio	Michael Gallagher	Gallagher (T) Morris, N. (RW) Iwasaki (RW) Strauss (E) Keene (E) Morris, I. (E) Mishima (A)	1972 \$2,500 [\$13,900]

T = Translator, E = Editor, RW = Rewriter, A = Advisor

The Master of Go	Kawabata Yasunari	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T) Strauss (E) Gottlieb (E)	1972 \$4,000 [\$22,300]
Runaway Horses	Mishima Yukio	Michael Gallagher	Gallagher (T) Hibbett (E) Strauss (E)	1973 \$2,500 [\$13,100]
The Temple of Dawn	Mishima Yukio	E. Dale Saunders & Cecilia Segawa Seigle	Saunders (T) Strauss (E)	1973 ?
Darkness in Summer	Kaikō Takeshi (1930-1989)	Cecilia Segawa Seigle	Segawa (T) Strauss (E) Kaikō (A)	1973 \$3,000 [\$15,700]
The Box Man	Abé Kobo	E. Dale Saunders	Saunders (T) Strauss (E) Abé (A)	1974 \$1,500 [\$7,080]
The Decay of the Angel	Mishima Yukio	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T)	1974 ?
Beauty and Sadness	Kawabata Yasunari	Howard Hibbett	Hibbett (T) Strauss (E) Elliott (E)	1975 \$4,000 [\$17,300]
The Tale of Genji	Murasaki Shikibu	Edward Seidensticker	Seidensticker (T) Elliott (E)	1976 \$6,000 [\$24,500]
Contemporary Japanese Literature	Anthology		Hibbett (E,T) Elliott (E)	1977 \$5,000 [\$19,200]

## APPENDIX II

Private publication prepared by Michael Gallagher.

Commentary on Galleys of Spring Snow \*

	March 1972
Barbarisms	p. 1
Mistranslations	p. 4
Word Choice	p. 12
Style	p. 22
Appendix	p. 29

The references are designated according to the pages in the hardcover issue. A large number have either been corrected as I demanded or, more often, patched up in some fashion meant to be a compromise. The more incredible errors I've preserved by xeroxing the offenses, and these are available on request.

**\*Or: How I Suffered Many Things at the Hands of Ill-educated Editors  
in the Employ of One of the Country's Most Prestigious  
Publishing Houses**

Michael Gallagher

NB V = change  
 NB: Brackets indicate what change  
 was made in galley if any

SPRING SHOW

\* = outstanding specimen

NB: MS=Gallagher's MS; otherwise text is from polished version enshrined in galley

1. Barbarisms

(Eng./P./Jap.)

Text

[exhorter and leader]

Commentary

14 14 ✓ The role of encouragement and initiative always fell to . . . unidionatic

MS: The role of exhorter and leader, then, always fell to . . .

15 15 workmanlike hand MS sturdy hand Japanese:

岩乘

solid, strongly built; strong, robust.

A workmanlike hand might possibly be an artificial hand that was well made. But otherwise. . .

52 53 he did not bother to light the stove, but began to pace about anxiously, tossing up plan after plan after plan.

MS: he did not bother to light the stove but began to pace anxiously about, tossing over in his mind plan after plan.

(a) no need for comma: after stove  
 (b) It sounds as though he had dined on plans and they didn't sit well. Unidionatic.

★ 95 95! his tone as disinterested and aloof as ever

MS: his tone was grudging and showed little interest

[uninterested]

[aristocrat]

141 137 ✓ mention the red-light district to a born aristocrat

mention the red light district to the daughter of a noble family.

Japanese: 貴婦人

There is no other kind of aristocrat than a born one. The adjective is absurd. Furthermore, aristocrat does not translate kifujin well, especially in this context.

★ 163 157 ✓ He was learning how to use sentiment as a protective armor and how best to hone it. [polish]

MS: He had girded himself with the armor of sentiment, and now he was learning how best to polish it.

彼は感情の鎧を磨き、その鎧を磨き立てることを学んだのである。

② Higaku means polish or burnish.

But here, of course, the trouble is that some Knopf editor did not know what hone meant. Think of it: to go into battle with sharpened armor!

③ And why protective? Unnecessary, and not in Japanese.

NB 185 (Eng) 177

MS: While he was listening to Teshima's account, a thrill of joy

listening to Teshima's speech, a thrill of joy went through him

[this scent]

a classic dangling modifier. (I missed) 2 this is to gallery

166 160 Beyond a doubt, much of it had to do with their scant scent

MS: Its basic component of course was nothing other than the scent of women

Japanese:

おたの匂い

[quiet]

166 160 He had lost Satoko. And with that he was content. For by now he had learned how to quieten even his subsequent resentment.

MS: He had lost Satoko. And with that he was content. For by now he had been able to stifle even his consequent resentment.

["Have ahead, ..."]

192 185 Picking up his shirt, her first words were. . . .

MS: "Here she said, picking up his shirt, "you. . . .

[recovered a little]

238 228 When he had recovered himself. . . .

MS: When he had recovered

[lay]

★ 276 266 survey the lie of the land. . . .

MS: looking down at the ground far below

[just reward]

282 268 just desserts

MS: just recompense

\*quieten:

quiet and quieten: quiet as a verb dates from 1440 at least, and appears in the Prayer Book, Shakespeare, Deke, and Macaulay, besides many good minor writers; it is both transitive and intransitive. For quieten, perhaps the

only -en verb from an adjective of more than one syllable, the most authoritative name quoted by the OED is Mrs. Gaskell. Its antonyms (quietened, quietening, etc.) are ugly, and it should have been dismissed as a SURVIVAL WORD instead of being allowed to usurp the place of the older one. The favour now shown to it is perhaps attributable not so much to a preference for it over quiet as to ignorance that quiet is a verb.

Mod. Eng. Usage

p 160

(a) In the Japanese no adjective modifying scent.

(b) Even if there were one, scant would never go with scent.

② Consequent is always the choice when resultant is meant. (American Heritage)

③ See insert from Modern English Usage. Dangling modifier

Perhaps this is an idiom that I'm unfamiliar with, but it reminds me of the Edogawa short story "Confessions of a Chair."

If the Cold War were still chilly enough, a joke about reading Pravda would fit in here. Lay of the Land

It would be more charitable to think of this ~~as~~ a typo, but in view of the other errors, I can't help but think it was seriously meant. just deserts! Also bad stylistically.

302 291 ✓ As they sat upon the woman, the face of. . .

MS: As they set upon the woman; the face of. . .

315 303 ✓ Inevitably there ensued a hurried conversation between him and his mother. . . . He wondered at the skill he was able to bring to supporting his role in this little pantomime.

MS: Inevitably, there followed a hurried conversation between him and his mother. . . . Kiyooki wondered at the skill with which he was able to hold up his end of this little skit.

Japanese:

芝居

3

Again, maybe a typo, and not a mistake for the past tense of set.

(a) The Japanese word, shibai, means play.

(b) Pantomime: "Dumb show used for expressive communication." It should be used to describe a situation in which words play no role at all or a lesser role.

The Winner: in this category: how best to hone it

Runnersup: disinterested

scant scent

But there were so many good entries, it was hard to pick out three.  
Congratulations to everybody and better luck in the mistranslations competition which will follow.

2. Mistranslated or Vaguely Translated

(Eng./Jap.)	Text	Commentary
3 3	<p>closest friend, Shigekuni Honda</p> <p>NS: Honda . . . the only one of Kiyooki's classmates to whom he would think of putting a serious question.</p> <p>Japanese: <u>最も親しい友たち</u></p>	<p>Honda was not his closest friend; he was his <u>only</u> friend. I translated the idea of <u>nottono shiteashi</u> by a phrase that was deemed an "elaboration", but I didn't beg the question with a false translation.</p>
38 38 [like twins]	<p>The Marquis knew that his wife knew. Their expressions blank, innocent of foreknowledge, they glided downstream, hand in hand on clear waters mirroring blue sky and clouds, to take the inevitable plunge over the crest of the falls.</p> <p>NS: The marquis knew that his wife knew. But neither gave any sign of it, their faces as innocent of foreknowledge and as inexpressive as the clustered fragments of twigs and leaves that glide downstream over a clear surface mirroring blue sky and clouds and then plunge inevitably over the crest of the falls.</p>	<p>By failing to deal with the problem posed by translating <u>gomi</u> or <u>akuta</u>, someone has <u>elaborated</u> things but in doing so he has come up with a metaphor that doesn't quite make sense.</p>
38 38	<p>Just as predicted, the marquis</p> <p>NS: Finally, therefore, the marquis</p>	<p>Perhaps my "finally, therefore" is not strong enough to translate <u>batashite</u>, but as far as getting across the idea of expectation, it is certainly preferable to the Knopf'd version simply because <u>nobody predicted anything.</u></p>
* 56 58	<p>Nor was the assault limited to these forces. Another more blinding light had also threatened it, since natural law had to rigidly exclude the very possibility of a concept of existence based on romantic and irrational <u>REVERGATION</u></p> <p>NS: Nor was it just a matter of the powers of darkness. Light, too, had threatened it, light so powerful that it could blind one. For natural law had to exclude with unbending rigidity</p>	<p>Beside leaving out a great deal that was expressed in the original, this passage--the underlined section--contains something of its own not found in the Japanese. It was my understanding that it was a translator's job to put difficult passages</p>

Vertical text on the left margin, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be a list or index of items, with some characters that are difficult to decipher but may include numbers and Chinese characters.

the very possibility of a concept of existence whose light was brilliant than its own. And how, above all, could a more brilliant light that carried darkness within it be introduced into a world reduced to order by natural laws

into good English as well as he could and not simplify his job by interpreting them. And in this particular case, I think that the interpretation is a blunder. Why should the "light that carried darkness within it" be equated with "romantic and irrational nationalism." I think it more likely that this refers to Eastern mysticism, especially in view of what follows. But even if the interpretation were correct, what would be the justification for making it?

two thousand years of its strong, bright Apollonian humanism had barely sufficed to hold off the assaults of darkness and barbarism. For two thousand years all the strength of its bright Apollonian humanism had barely held off the assaults of the powers of darkness.

Nothing about barbarism in text.

Then, too, sufficed to hold off doesn't make much sense.

He felt as though he were breathing in a new coffin of fresh white wood. Since early childhood, all that he had been taught to revere as honorable and beautiful was to be found, as far as the Matsuges were concerned, in the proximity of death.

This is one that I'm not sure about. I don't see, however, how new, a measuring box, can be translated as coffin, and I think, therefore, that the jump with the next line on the basis of association with the dead is most likely absurd. Since we have nothing like a new in English, I tried to translate the idea of a fresh, woody smell.

He felt like one breathing in the quickening vigor of a pine woods in spring. All the time he had been taught from early childhood to revere as honorable and beautiful he had hope to find exemplified in the Matsuge household. But only here had his expectations been fulfilled: the place set aside for the dead.

Then, too, there are ambiguous points in the first passage: (a) What does breathing in new? (b) It sounds as though time had been with the Matsuges since early childhood. (c) "As far as the Matsuges are concerned" could mean "in the opinion of the Matsuges." And that's a lot of ambiguity for two sentences.



- 71 71 Ogura hakana MS: Kokura hakana  
 167 161 Kokura One Hundred Poets MS: Kokura One Hundred Poets (sic)

小倉

cf. Sat Review review.

We could call this one a draw. For unless I badly misread my Shinchōkokugo Dictionary (p.255 and 694), this tricky little word is read two ways. Therefore it should be Kokura hakana but Ogura One Hundred Poets. I struck out once, Knopf twice, and [redacted] three times. He wrote: "Throughout the translator wavers between Ogura and Kokura. The former is correct." Are you still so content with yaksha, H.S.?

- 84 83 And although he did not follow the great Christian leader, Kanzo Uchimura, he read and admired Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.

Not clear.

MS And though he was not moved to do so by the example of the great Christian leader Kanzo Uchimura, he read and was quite taken with Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.

★ 88

自分も美しさを  
 はたかかると  
 思ふは  
 子も思ふ  
 美しさを  
 思ふは

88 At that instant, although totally engrossed, he was still keenly aware of his own good looks. Satoko's beauty and his: he saw that it was precisely this fine correspondence between the two that dissolved all constraint. . . .

MS: Kiyooki at that moment, though plunged into self-fogetfulness, was still keenly aware of his own beauty. His beauty and Satoko's beauty: he saw that precisely this fine correspondence between the two dissolved all constraint. . . .

If Nishina meant good looks, he would have written good looks and not beauty. Why was this inane substitution made? A reluctance to assign beauty to a male? Or a desire to avoid repetition--that great Knopf bugaboo? Well, for anyone who has any sense of sentence rhythm, it's obvious that the repetition is for effect. And it's in the Japanese. And why drag in "it was . . . that"?

Even his own beauty]

★ 274

自分も美しさを  
 はたかかると  
 思ふは  
 子も思ふ  
 美しさを  
 思ふは

264 he became oblivious of his own poise

MS: Kiyooki forgot even his own beauty.

Utukushisa means beauty. I need go no further but here and now name this particular aberration as the winner in this category. This line will turn up again in the Style category. And where is the translation of even?

109-110

109-110

日本文の... 人の... 心... 手... 指... の... た

Handwritten Japanese notes at the top of the page, including phrases like "art of elegance" and "refined".

In reflection, however, it seemed more of a textbook exercise from Satoko's classes in the art of elegance. He felt she wanted to teach him such an art, overrides any question of decency. . . . His behavior was simply the result of his imperfect grasp of the art of elegance, and was still so immature, almost bordering on vanity, that he envied Satoko her serene freedom, wantonness even, and was made to feel inferior.

NS: When he had reflected a bit, however, Kiyaki's mood altered. He now felt that the letter was a sort of text, one meant to spur on his education in Satoko's school of elegance. Her intention, he thought, was to give him an object lesson that true elegance. . . . He behaved as he did simply because he had misgivings about his grasp upon elegance. For his own elegance was still so immature, so marred by misconceived pride that the serene freedom—even to wantonness—that Satoko's gave her made him envious and afflicted him with feelings of inferiority.

Handwritten note: "knows no shame, no matter how compromising the circumstances"

[checked]

113 a spoonful of rice a day  
NS: a handful of rice a day

119 the English captions would help all his guests  
NS: the English captions would be stimulating

[created for caresses]

171 Thin and supple, on a hand that seemed dedicated to sensuality, it. . .  
That slender and supple finger on a hand that seemed made to give caresses. . .

1. There is nothing in the passage about art of elegance or such an art. It is elegance, pure and simple, just as I translated it. Someone, in effect, translated true elegance by such an art.

2. [Redacted]

3. To write art of elegance is to vulgarise the idea Mishima was trying to convey.

4. In the Japanese, the adjectives immature and vulgarious modify elegance. Here they modify behavior.

5. On reflection is a dangling modifier.

6. Was made to feel: switching from the active to the passive with the same subject is a fundamental stylistic error.

7. Almost bordering: insane. Bordering contains the idea of proximity to.

No comment.

How would they help his guests when they were all Japanese? The verb involved means "to make happy" literally. 幸 (しあはせ)

An outrageous alteration. "Made to give caresses" is what the Japanese says, something quite different from "dedicated to sensuality."

And how inappropriate the word thin!

178

171

... everything came back just as he had experienced it then, in all its lonely elegance. But he realized that he was now slowly admitting one idea that he had never dared entertain before.

NS:

he remember everything just as he had experienced it then, in all its austere yet poignant elegance. But now he realized that he was slowly fastening upon one aspect of its elegance that he had never dared let himself consider before.

Far too vague. Does not link up well with previous sentence. Then admitting is ambiguous.

225

216

Kiyooki's physical elegance

新肉清野の優美

NS: the elegance that Kiyooki's flesh embodied.

[unimaginative]

Physical elegance is Sarin Jabbar sinking a basket. Mishima has something else in mind here. More vulgarisation and flattening out, *thanks to the publishers.*

238

229

his blinker view

NS: his unimaginative view

The word heiban na ~~was~~, according to my dictionary means "monotonous, dull, flat." And what's the warrant for turning blinkers into an adjective?

243

234

But even as she felt herself dissolving gradually into the darkness, she felt afraid that this was nothing more than a shadow that was dependent in turn on the fishing boat beside them. They were not lying in the protection of a solid structure or a rocky ridge, but in something fortuitous that in a few brief hours might be far out to sea.

サトコは暗くはなれてゆく。やがて船の影にたもたれた。

NS: But even as Satoko felt herself dissolving ever more into the darkness, she became afraid at the sudden thought that this darkness was nothing more than a shadow, a shadow dependent upon the fishing boat beside them. They were not lying in a shadow cast by a solid structure or a rocky ridge but in the fortuitous shadow of something that in a few brief hours might be far out to sea.

- (a) The phrases in the protection and in something fortuitous by no means convey the sense of the Japanese. My translation is not only correct but literal.
- (b) But even aside from this, the second sentence does ~~not~~ make sense. It should read "in the protection of something fortuitous" instead of "in something fortuitous."
- (c) This is a minor point, but it's one that annoys me greatly, and it comes up again and again: the antecedent of this in the first sentence is not clear: it could very well refer to "dissolving."





[Inscriptions cut into stone]

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359 He could not help thinking that these words, like chips of stone exposed to the weather, would fall from his mind, flake by flake.

MS: He could not help thinking that these words, like something chipped on a stone exposed ~~to~~ to the weather, would grow fainter fainter in his mind through the years until each one had disappeared.

Literally: He could not help thinking that these words, from his mind like a stone exposed to the weather, one by one would be scraped and fall away.

There is nothing in the Japanese about chips of stone. Where did it come from? From some clod who took it from my verb chipped. In the Japanese, the stone is compared to the mind (as it is in mine); in the "polished version," the "chips of stone" are compared to the words.

[Heavy!]

361 he felt that here in this shadowy parlor at Gesshu he had finally experienced the syrupy sweetness that was the essence of womanhood.

MS: Honda felt that here, in this shadowed parlor of Gesshu, he had at last experienced the heavy sweetness that belonged to the essence of woman.

Literally:

he felt that here in this slightly dark parlor of Gesshu, for the first time, he had encountered the heavy sweetness of women, like boiled-down rice jelly.

Note that Mishina says nothing about the sweetness being the essence of womanhood. He says merely that they have it. I wrote belonged to the essence, and the busy polishers at Knopf took it from there to give us a distorted translation which makes Mishina out to be more of a male chauvinist than he was.

I left out the rice jelly business because I felt that in English "heavy sweetness" conveyed the idea well enough. Perhaps I was wrong in this, but note how the Knopf translation--aside from its main error--leaves out heavy.

or heavy jelly.

月修寺のほり  
 暗い室の向の中心  
 てはじめての  
 詰めた恋のよき  
 に重たい女の  
 甘さに出会う  
 た気がした

## 3. Word Choice

\* = outstanding specimen

- | (Eng.) P. (Jap.) | Text   | Commentary   |
|------------------|--|--|
| 3                | 3 Their classmates who talked so knowingly about the war were for the most part merely embellishing hazy memories with <u>tidbits</u> they had picked up from grownups.<br><br>NS: The stories their classmates told so confidently were for the most part nothing more than uncertain recollections greatly embellished with what they had heard from their parents.<br><br>3 His grandmother still received a pension from the government, thanks to these two sons she lost, but she never used the money.<br><br>NS: His grandmother, however, never made use of the consequent pension she still received | <u>Tidbits</u> simply does not sound right in this context. According to <u>Amer. Heritage</u> : "tidbit: a choice morsel, as of food or gossip." Anything having to do with the war would be something of greater import than that; otherwise their classmates wouldn't speak of it. And there is no basis in the Japanese for this word. It seems to me that <u>thanks to</u> should be used only in a favorable context unless irony is called for, and it certainly isn't here. As I noted before, somebody at Knopf doesn't know the meaning of <u>consequent</u> , and perhaps that's why this line was altered. |
| 4                | 4 For the rest <u>you</u> saw nothing but soldiers, thousands of <u>them</u> .<br><br>NS The rest was soldiers, some thousands of soldiers.<br><br>Literally: As for the rest, it was all soldiers, some thousands of soldiers.  | Two good examples of probable Knopf editing (if the chance had been given): "A specter is haunting Europe, the wrath of Communism". "To be or not to exist: that is the question."<br><br>A second point: I thought it was it was taken for granted that one did not use the impersonal <u>you</u> except in an informal context. Its use here is not at all in keeping with the mood of the passage.  |
| 5                | 5 The many buildings spread out over a hundred acres, their <u>roofs rising in an exciting counterpoise</u> .<br><br>NS: The mansion and its adjacent buildings, <u>roofs bristling with tiles</u> , occupied an immense tract of land, well over one hundred acres.<br><br>Literally: many buildings made their roof tiles compete  | <u>Counterpoise</u> indicates an equilibrium, but the use of the verb <u>kiou</u> (used by Mishima here as a causative verb) rather denotes competition. I'm not satisfied with my translation, but I'm much less satisfied with the Knopfed version. There is no picture given, and there is no mention of <u>iraka</u> , the roof tiles.   |

兵隊 (soldier)
   
 何 (what)
   
 は (possessive particle)

棟 (roof)
   
 の (possessive particle)
   
 瓦 (tiles)
   
 が (subject particle)
   
 競 (compete)

[samurai]

10 10  
は、宮廷と新貴族との間に、  
武士の階級がなくなり、  
結核を患った人々の  
見分けがつかなくなった。

For now, in the person of his own son, the Marquis had seen the ultimate fusion of the aristocratic and the military traditions, a perfect congruence between the court and the new nobility.

MS: For now in the person of his own son, he saw demonstrated how amiable were relations between the Imperial Court and the peers elevated since the Meiji Restoration, manifest evidence that the sons of court nobles and the sons of samurai were one at last.

\* Literally: warrior thing and court noble thing

[fine, wide sloping eyes !!]

★ 46 46 fine, sharply slanted eyes

MS: fine, slender eyes

49 50 It suddenly dawned on Kiyooki  
MS: Kiyooki suddenly became aware

265 255 the moment it occurred something had dawned on her

292 282 And then it dawned on Kiyooki that  
MS: the realization came to Kiyooki that

a) I despair of getting this point across, but: my main objection to this passage has to do with the word military.

Japan had no military tradition until Marshal Yamagata came along in Meiji to start one. What she had was a warrior tradition, the tradition of the samurai. (The Mongols had a military tradition.)

b) Aristocratic does not convey the proper nuances. The Japanese hierarchy was far more complicated than the European.

c) I translated "new nobility" by "peers elevated since the Meiji Restoration" for the benefit of the Western reader.

I lived in Japan for six years, I made many friends there, and now I'll be triply goddammed if I'm going to have my name attached to any book in which an oriental is described as having slanted eyes. Whatever the problems involved in translating kirenaga no me (long-cut eyes), this is not the way to solve them.

I hope that I gathered in all the dawns, but I'm not sure. Not only is this an awkward cliché, but it is the sort of expression you'd be more likely to run into on the Mary Tyler More Show than in great literature. Quite a bit more likely.

And then look at the sequence of tenses in the second example.



\* 73

73 Kiyooki, whose body he saw as a shining grail. . . .

[Iinuma]

[vessel]

ME: Kiyooki, whose body seemed to make him a vessel of shining, unblemished dedication

あのような清麗な白、清肉体の持主の  
清顕には

Literally: As for Kiyooki, the possessor of that unblemished, white, pure flesh

(a) Note that there is nothing in the Japanese about any sort of vessel. That was my idea, because I thought it fit the context of the sentence extremely well.

(b) Someone then got the bright idea of translating "vessel of dedication" by grail, he or she laboring under the handicap of a defective education.

(c) According to American Heritage grail means: (1) the cup used at the Last Supper; (2) the object of prolonged endeavor.

(d) If Iinuma saw Kiyooki's body as a grail, the meaning is that Iinuma hoped someday to find it <sup>or possess it</sup> by means of prolonged endeavor.

96 96 Once the churning water has settled to a calm surface

MS Once the churned-water has settled and the surface calmed

The implication here is that the water settled up, something one does only after losing a bet.

106 106 The Marquis had slept with Mine and still occasionally did.

The truth was that the marquis's hands had strayed in Mine's direction also.

Literally: As for Mine, the marquis's hands had had contact with her.

[Iinuma]

158 ✓ oblique digs at the renegades

MS: cutting obliquely at the slackers

Slept with is nearly as bad as it dawned on. And isn't "still occasionally did" a lovely turn of phrase?

a) The Japanese says merely: party, clique, gang. Renegades implies active, vigorous resistance and thus would not apply to Honda and Kiyooki in their posture towards the military regimen of the school.

b) digs is too weak a word. It implies a certain amount of humor, and the non-coms making the remarks were not joking.

- 160 154 I never dreamed that I could be so resilient No comment needed. (cf. p 16)
- MS: I never dreamed that I could be so thick-skinned
- Literally: be a so hard-to-wound human being
- NB: From now on, I'm not going to give the Japanese original, because it takes too much time.
- 160 154 He belonged not among the victims but among the victors No comment.
- MS: He belonged not to those who suffered wounds but to those who inflicted them.
- Literally: He belonged to the category not of those who were easy to wound but to the category of those who wounded people.
- 166 159 did not let a flicker disturb her expression Bad choice of words. A flicker has to be a flicker of something.
- MS: did not alter her expression in the slightest
- Literally: did not move her expression at all
- 174 167 It was well into the rainy season, and it poured without letup. Why was this sentence changed? To avoid the repetition of rain? But what about the repetition of it and getting two impersonal constructions in the bargain?
- MS: It was well into the rainy season, and the rain fell without letup.
- 244 234 That "No!" was all embracing. Was it a creature of the night--or the approaching dawn? To them it seemed incomprehensible. a) There is considerable more quantity to the Japanese original than appears here. b) The antecedents of them seem to be the dawn and night. c) The idea of the Japanese is not so much that the No is incomprehensible as that it's ~~hard~~ hard to decide where it's more embodied. d) creature of the night: a lovely, new-minted phrase!
- How all-embracing, then, this "No!" Was it embodied more in the night that now surrounded them or in the light of of the dawn that soon would bear down upon them? It was a presence hard to define.

- 251 241 babble of Siamese  
 MS: rush of Siamese  
 Literally: unstopping surge [unstop]
- 252 244 I neglected my mother's warning  
 MS: I didn't profit at all from my mother's ~~warning~~ <sup>admonition</sup>
- 253 243 As your mother, what I most want to convey to you right away. . . .  
 MS: what I as your mother want most to convey to you  
 253 243 please take consolation at least from the fact that the Princess had thoughts for you alone until she breathed her last.  
 MS: please take consolation at least from the princess's having thought only of you up until her final breath.
- 257 247 black satisfaction  
 MS: dark satisfaction  
 Literally: dark satisfaction  
 ✓ [tough as tempered]
- \* 254 251 COLD AND RESILIENT AS TEMPERED GLASS!!! (Emphasis mine)  
 MS: cold and tough as hardened glass
- Babble, with all its adverse connotations can fittingly take its place beside slanted eyes.
- She told him to be brave in the letter and to take the bad news she had to tell him well. It wasn't a warning; it was an admonition. And since no time passed between the admonition, <sup>and the news</sup> the verb neglect does not fit.
- a) Right away is not needed to convey the sense of the Japanese.  
 b) It is not the kind of expression one would expect a dowager queen to use.
- Even if the Strunk-White book had not been available to her, I think that a queen would have been skilled enough in her native language to avoid something like the fact that.
- For some reason all my darks (translating kurai) have been changed to blacks. Why is that? Is it an "in" word this season? Mishima was quite capable of writing kuroi if he meant black. This is only one of several instances.
- This is the crowning aberration and attention must be paid to it. Above (p.15) I took the Knoppers to task for translating hard-to-wound as resilient. Now I see the reason for their error. They simply do not know what resilient means. They've seen the expression "tough and resilient" and presumed that the words were synonyms. I don't think you can speak of "tempering glass," but this point is comparatively minor

- 261 251 The eyes so overflowing with damp devotion to Satoko would, from time to time, run dry, exposing the shoals of criticism beneath.
- MS The eyes so flowing with moist devotion to Satoko would, from time to time, run dry exposing the critical shoals beneath.
- Perhaps moist isn't wet enough for the metaphor, but it's better than damp. Flowing goes better with run dry than overflowing. A river flows (and has shoals); a ~~water~~<sup>rain</sup> or something similar is more likely to overflow.
- 264 254 in her eyes, but in their depths one could see a desperate thirst for the future.
- MS her eyes now alight with the fervent desire to wrestle something or other from the grasp of the future
- "thirst for the future" conveys not enough.
- 275 264 Her voice, moreover, sounded dulled
- No comment
- MS: Her voice, moreover, lacked resonance
- 278 268 intricately formed precociously developed paws
- MS: intricately formed paws
- Literally: prudent-looking paws
- Admittedly a difficult phrase, but precocious just does not fit. If the mole's paws were precociously developed, the meaning would be that this particular mole's paws were more advanced than the paws of his coevals.
- 296 286 she overcome her weakness sufficiently to preserve a slight gap between her forehead and the pillows
- MS: took care, despite her weakness, to preserve a slight margin between her forehead and the pillows.
- a) a gap implies that the space is there because something that should have filled in ~~HERE~~ is missing. (Doesn't anybody ever look in a dictionary at Knopf's?)  
b) Note the awkwardness of the first sentence.
- 313 301 arrogant displeasure
- MS: haughty displeasure
- A noblewoman, if offended, might be haughty to another noblewoman but not arrogant. She'd be arrogant to a commoner.
- 327 313 ploys
- MS stratagems
- Ploy is a word that was popularized with the success of Gamesmanship, but I don't see it fitting into a Japanese novel set in 1914.

- 305 294 an emotion that incorporated the wrath of his ancestors MS: an emotion that embodied the wrath of his ancestors
- It might be stretching things a bit to say that an emotion can embody anything, but in the verb incorporate the solid, physical aspect is still more apparent.
- 324  
297 310 And so, despite her consciousness that her daughter was tossing and turning beside her, she soon fell asleep.
- Clumsy
- MS And so, though aware of her daughter's tossing and turning beside her, Countess Ayakura fell asleep before too long.
- 305 293 To the battlefield MS: To the battlefield  
Torn with steel and fire, Torn with iron and fire  
The fate of the nation's defense In our country's peril,  
Falls on you. At our Emperor's word,  
Forward, brave comrades! Forward, brave comrades!  
Forward, Imperial Army! Forward, Imperial Army!
- Note the stirring power of lines three and four of the knopfed version. *perhaps*  
Yes, steel is an improvement over iron. But then I guess even the Knopfers couldn't be mucking around with an MS for seventeen months without doing something right.
- 315 303 ✓ Her large, beautiful eyes were admittedly wet with tears, but tears quite different. . .
- It's a matter of Satoko and Kiyooki. There is no third person there trying to explain Satoko's disposition to Kiyooki. Therefore admittedly sounds odd.
- MS they were tears quite different  
[certainly]
- 325 311 shorn swatched MS: shorn hair
- First of all, I presume that there's a typo and that swatch is meant. According to my dictionary, this word means: "a sample strip cut from a piece of cloth or similar material." Could switch be meant? A switch is: "a thick bunch of real or synthetic hair used by women in a coiffure." I confess myself puzzled, and perhaps quite a few readers might be to. I don't think it would be too rash a guess to say that neither exotic word is suited to the context.
- 327 313 ✓ [disturbing the Imperial] disruption of the Imperial Family MS: disturbing the tranquility of the Imperial Family
- Even at the most hyperbolic, it would be too much to say that Satoko's becoming a nun would disrupt the Imperial Family



345 320 The engagement had been dissolved "because of circumstances  
in the family of His. . . ."

Clunsky

MS The engagement had been dissolved because such had been  
"deemed propitious by the family of His. . . ."

340  
350

342 ✓ As he read each poem, the languid cadence of his words kept  
pace like a Shinto priest's gleaming black-shod feet climbing,  
one by one, the stone steps of a shrine bathed in the strange  
warmth of the winter sun.

[Keep the part of a]

(a) Kept pace with what? The count was  
reciting a poem; everyone else was  
listening. Therefore, I wrote  
kept to a pace, which was mindlessly  
altered.

MS: . . . the languid cadence of his words kept to a pace like that of  
a Shinto priest's gleaming, black-booted feet climbing, one by one,  
the stone steps of a shrine bathed in the winter sun's uncanny  
warmth.

(b) Why the substitution of strange  
for uncanny? Just for the hell of  
it?

360 342 his voice . . . was never sensual

MS his voice . . . never obtruded upon the listener

Whatever the limitations of my  
translation, sensual is not the  
answer.

Literally: did not sport with people's flesh.

288 278 "Please, that part about 'within the family,' One glance  
should be enough to tell you its an insinuation. . . ."

"A shrewd cut" might be a little  
too strong and colorful, but the  
"insinuation" bit is far, far too  
weak and colorless.

MS: "Please read that 'within the family' part. Just one  
look should tell you what a shrewd cut that is.

The Japanese word: atekosuri: "a sly (indirect) hint;  
an indirect cut (censure). . . ."

375 355 The snowy peaks before his eyes today were the very image  
of the white that had dazzled him that day.

No comment.

MS whiteness

384 364 began to direct an exalted monologue at him

Monologue has unfortunate con-  
notations, ones not called-for  
here.

MS . . . a stream of deep and edifying words into Honda's ear

Literally: letting fall a variety of revered words

- 385 365 The process whereby time is engendered by this moment-to-moment annihilation may be likened to a row of dots and a line. A slipshod, question-begging translation. Brevity is not synonymous with clarity--especially if one leaves things out.
- 385 365 For the phenomenon of continuation that we call time is but our way of viewing this moment-to-moment annihilation, much as we insist on thinking of a row of dots as a line.
- 385 365 Literally: The manner where<sup>y</sup> this continuous thing called time comes about dependent upon this process of moment-to-moment annihilation and passing away could be likened to the relationship between a row of dots and a line.



<u>(Eng.)P.</u>	<u>(Jap.)</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
3	3	This photograph, printed in sepia ink, was quite unlike the usual cluttered mementos of the war. It had been composed with an artist's eye for structure: it really made it seem as if the thousands of soldiers who were present were arranged deliberately, like figures in a painting, to focus the entire attention of the viewer on the tall cenotaph of unpainted wood in their midst.	Among other things, note the awkwardness and ambiguity of "it really made it."
	MS:	This sepia-toned photograph was quite different from the usual picture of that period. There was a peculiar artistry to its composition. However one looked at it, the thousands of soldiers gathered in it seemed to be arranged like characters in a painting about the tall, slim, plain wooden shaft of the cenotaph at its center, the focal point upon which the picture's total effect was concentrated.	
12	12	Iinuma was repelled by these frivolous words, by the absence of responsibility, by the tearful look of rapture in those eyes, by everything.	Again among other things, note the weakness of by everything. (like a sukashibe)
	MS:	The frivolity, the irresponsibility so evident in those words! The blissful rapture so apparent in the moist eyes! Iinuma could hardly control his loathing.	
12	12	The teachers at the Peers School had instilled in their pupils the supremely noble example of the principal, General Nogi, who had committed suicide to follow his Emperor in death; and ever since they had started to emphasize the significance of his act, suggesting that their educational tradition would have been the poorer had the General died on a sickbed, an atmosphere of Spartan simplicity had come to permeate the school.	A graceless mutilation which stifles the wit apparent in my original.
	MS:	The late dean of Peers' College, the great hero General Nogi, had just a short time before sealed his loyalty to his master the Emperor Meiji by following him in death. And the teachers let pass no opportunity to drum into their students' heads the surpassing glory of his ritual suicide. That, then, to General Nogi's having anticipated nature, the already strong martial tradition of the school became all the more powerful and insistent.	Who or what is the subject of suggesting? Unless it's they, this is a dangling modifier. But in any case, it's needlessly awkward.
			Note the clarity of mine.

- 86 he was startled, as if he had been assailed by something nebulous in the torpor of his dreams.
- MS he was startled like a man who wakes from a listless dream to find himself suddenly set upon
- 95 "Yes, of course," Kiyooki replied his tone as disinterested and aloof as ever, yet with a sweetness that was very much in character.
- "Yes, I think you're right," answered Kiyooki. But since he was just then savoring a renewed flow of that pleasant sense of self-sufficiency characteristic of him, he tone was grudging and showed little interest.
- 96 Your slow-witted friends--with their sentimentality, their vicious narrow-mindedness that condemns as effeminate anyone who is not like themselves, their harassment of the under classmen, their fanatical worship of General Nogi, the frame of mind that . . .
- MS: . . . their bent of mind that . . .
- ★ 110 he came to view their maneuvers as inimical to the purity of his feelings. His pride was hurt when he realized that this was all he had to rely on as the fierce pain and agony of love spun their coil. Such pain ought to be fit material for weaving a magnificent tapestry, but Kiyooki had only a tiny domestic loom with nothing but pure white thread at his disposal.
- In Japanese the underlined section above reads as follows in a literal translation: "Kiyooki came to realize that there was nothing else that he could do but to defend his purity entirely and thrust away (entirely) this kind of bite-the-body anguish and anxieties of the imaginative power."
- (See next page for Japanese and Gallagher's MS)
- There should be something like the Stuffed Owl Anthology to immortalize choice pieces of translatese.
- a) I've already commented on disinterested in the barbarisms section.
- b) Frankly I found this line puzzling and I handled it as best I could.
- c) The Knopf version, aside from the barbarism, doesn't make much sense: (1) If K. is as "aloof and uninterested as ever," how can his reply express any sweetness. (2) If the sweetness is indeed "very much in character", how does that square with "as ever"? (3) De facto sweetness is not very much in character for Kiyooki.
- I offer this as an example of how innocent the Knopf's how of one of the fundamental devices of good style: parallelism.
- a) No e on the end of maneuver.
- b) What is the antecedent of this in the second line? c) How does one spin a coil?
- d) What does the line mean?
- e) What's the explanation for it differing so remarkably from the Japanese?
- f) If one is going to take such liberties with the text, it seems one should have them make sense.

内上男に... 色... 164

MS he came to view their maneuvering as the chief threat to his purity of sentiment. His pride was affronted when he realized the effort it would cost him to ward off the harassment and anxiety that their activity would give rise to. The pangs of love may be apt material to weave a many-splendored tapestry, but with the resources at Kiyooki's disposal, he could do no more than spin out a single thread of pure white.

I would have done better had I made these changes: "to guard his purity from the harassment and anxiety. . . ." And: "he could do no more than weave a small one of pure white."

158 Now it waved its antennae cautiously as it began to inch its way forward on its tiny hacksaw legs, which reminded Kiyooki of minuscule jeweler's blades. In the midst of time's dissolving whirlpool, how absurd that this tiny dot of richly concentrated brilliance should endure in a secure world of its own. . . . little by little the beetle kept edging its glittering body closer to him as if its pointless progress were a lesson that when traversing a world of unceasing flux, the only thing of importance was to radiate beauty. Suppose he were to assess his protective armor of sentiment in such terms? Was it aesthetically as naturally striking as that of the beetle? And was it tough enough to be as good a shield as the beetle's?

MS: Now it waved its antennae cautiously as bit by bit it began to advance on its tiny, crooked legs, which made Kiyooki think of minuscule jeweler's saws. In the midst of time's swirling rush of dissolution, how ludicrous that this tiny dot of richly distilled brilliance should persist in a secure world of its own! As he watched, Kiyooki felt a fascination take hold of him. Bit by bit the beetle kept edging its glittering body closer to Kiyooki as though its meaningless progress were meant as a lesson that when passing through a world of relentless flux, nothing else matters but to radiate beauty. Suppose Kiyooki were to evaluate his armor of sentiment in such terms. Was its beauty as striking as that of this beetle? And was it tough enough to protect him from attack as well as did the beetle's?

Finally: my translation leaves something to be desired, but the Knopf translation leaves everything to be desired. (NB: note repetition for effect.)

The main question seems to be why was K.'s pride hurt. And both the Knopfers and I elaborated on the original to answer this question.

I love the poetry of the Knopf "tiny domestic loom," however.

This is a good passage, but what is good about it isn't new, and what's new isn't good. In the general the underlined sections are those that least excite my admiration. In particular:

a) hacksaw legs: the Japanese says: "jeweler's saw legs." I took a liberty, but the Knopfer took a greater one in translating the term twice.

b) protective armor: Why protective? The Japanese says "armor."

c) aesthetically as naturally striking: a phrase that will live, taking its place beside "still occasionally did."

d) shield: To ask if armor would be a good shield is to indicate that one has no feel for words. No shield in Japanese original.

168 161 And, finally, there was the sea--the well of the inkstone was the sea, and above it rose the hill with the strange name.

And, finally, there was the sea--that sea that was the well of the inkstone, above which rose the hill, which had been named with a like fancy.

*cf. Sat Review critique*

The depression of an inkstone, which holds the ink, is called "the sea," and the higher part is called "the hill." If anyone could gather that from the Knopf version, I'd be greatly surprised. Maybe mine is not clear enough, but at least no reader would be led to presume that "the hill" had some sort of undisclosed name that was strange.

190 184 her thighs, which had the faint sheen of a pale dawn horizon

聡子  
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whose thighs now glowed like the pale line of the dawn horizon.

NR: The Japanese says nisomeru, "beginning to be seen," which is, I think, a pivot adjective that looks back to the dawn and looks ahead to Satoko's legs.

Literally: "Like the white line of the dawn beginning-to-be-seen Satoko's ~~thighs~~ I didn't try to put this into my translation, and perhaps I should have.

I'm now addressing myself to posterity, since I'm sure I'm way over the Knopfers' heads: The word sheen is too bright for the context. And it also implies a kind of surface gleam, the kind that hair might give off but not the sort of glow that flesh would.

\* 190 184 Finally, however, he was drawing closer to her body, slowly lowering himself onto her thighs, which had the faint sheen of a pale dawn horizon, when she raised her hands and gently helped him; this intended kindness ruined the moment, for at the instant when he merged with the dawn, whether he was touching her or not, it all ended abruptly.

Literally: Finally at the time that Kiyooki's body was drawing near to Satoko's like the white line of the dawn <sup>dawn</sup> beginning-to-be-seen, Satoko's hands came down gently to support this. This blessing became an enemy. He, at the very touching or not touching of the line of the dawn, finished utterly.

The clumsiness and ambiguity of the Knopfed version speak for themselves. The main excuse for fiddling with my MS for seventeen months was to strike out my "elaborations" and bring the translation closer to the Japanese original.

NS: Finally, however, Kiyooki was slowly lowering his body, drawing it closer to Satoko's, whose thighs now glowed like the pale line of the dawn horizon, when she raised her hands and gently supported him, an intended kindness which provoked an unfortunate reaction. For just at a point when he was not sure whether he had merged himself with the dawn or not, all of Kiyooki's effort came to an abrupt conclusion.

- 204 197 the line of her buttocks, rather too full, dull, and a little cold  
the blunt shape of  
MS /her rather too full buttocks No comment
- 256 246 "Every night when I got to bed, I think: it will end tomorrow,  
something irrevocable will happen tomorrow. And then, strangely  
enough, I sleep peacefully. That's just what we're doing now--  
something that can't be undone." Note that for the Knopfers  
it's only one thing that  
might happen tomorrow;  
whereas I distinguish  
ending and something  
irrevocable as two  
things, one of which may  
happen.  
Now perhaps they're  
right and I'm wrong,  
but my alleged mistransla-  
tion at least has the  
merit of making some kind  
of sense. What, for example,  
is the antecedent of that  
in the last sentence.
- MS: "Every night when I got to bed, I think: Will it end tomorrow, or  
will something more happen tomorrow that I'll never be able to redress?"  
And then, strangely enough, I sleep peacefully. Even though I know  
that it's the thing that can't be redressed that will happen--like  
this,"
- 258 248 A line of new bugles hung there, and they flashed with a brilliance  
more suited to a midsummer parade ground under the extravagance of  
the lights above them. Note the mutilation that  
removes the prepositional  
modifying phrase away from  
bugles and joins it to  
parade ground. I'm sure  
that if I read the galleys  
more slowly, something I  
may never get the courage  
to do, I would find count-  
less little touches like this.  
But since there are so many  
eye-boggling aberrations  
packed into them, I have to  
let the mere infelicities  
go by.
- LS A line of new bugles hung there, and beneath the extravagant bright-  
ness of the lights above them, they flashed with a brilliance more  
proper to a misummer parade ground.

- 263 253 Her actual role, of course, was to protect Satoko from all evil. But something <sup>that</sup> flawed like this was not evil; something that was transformed into poetry was not evil--surely this tenet subtly permeated the ancient tradition of elegance in the Ayakura family?
- MS: Tadeshina's proper role, of course, was to guard Satoko from evil. But as to a passion of so fiery an intensity, as to a love so suited to inspire poetry, did not the tenet that in such there could be no evil subtly permeate the elegance that was of such ancient tradition in the Ayakura family?
- 279 269AS "Why did you do that?" demanded Honda, frowning in disapproval at his friend's heedlessness. It was nothing more than the sort of pointless mischief expected of a schoolboy, but Kiyooki's indulging in it showed Honda just how deep had become his friend's desolation.
- MS: "Why did you do that?" demanded Honda, frowning at his friend's offhandedness. This rough behavior, typical of a student, allowed him to read at a glance the depth of his friend's desolation.
- 331 316 There was no sound of human activity from anywhere else in the house, and the silence seemed to be in deference to the eerie atmosphere in the parlor.
- MS: No sound of human activity came from anywhere else in the house, a silence that seemed in deference to the uncanny mood of the parlor.
- 363 344 a country without shape, full of a pathos, as pervasive as rising mist
- MS: . . . without shape, one filled with a pathos as pervasive as rising mist.
- 373 344 red-painted image of his own, curving like a shrimp against the flank of Asia.
- MS: curving like a small lobster
- Here is a case of my "elaboration" at its most heinous. If it were a grievous crime, grievously have I answered it. (Or should I say "wretchedly have I answered it" to avoid repetition?)
- MS: I put my own version first this time. Other than this: no comment.
- No comment.
- Perhaps the printer put the comma in, but I doubt it. With the comma, the last phrase modifies country. Still another case of some clod working with his mind on something else.
- Ebi: lobster; a prawn, a shrimp. I can't really get too perturbed at this one. It provided a bit of comic relief. Ah! What a feel for words the Knopfers have!

## 4. Typos

NB: I'm only offering those that either a proof reader might miss or, in the one case, that would be disastrous to miss.

- 105 Sin Goddess      Sun Goddess      (Unless this was another bit of Knopf ~~polishing~~ <sup>polishing</sup>.)
- 336 Five Aggregates of the living being  
       Five Aggregates of living being
- 372 eternal reality  
       external reality

## 5. Appendix

Containing such abominations as were overlooked by me in my first frenzied examination and brought to my attention by my wife's exclamation of: "My goodness, you didn't write this, did you?" These were not contained in the version of the commentary presented to the Knepffers in March.

185 177 Listening to Tadashina's speech, a thrill of joy went through him like a knife.

MS When he was listening to Tadashina's account, a thrill of joy knifed through Kiyosaki.

"This means that you should read through for typographic errors only, even if you are shocked at the extent of some of the changes. But I hope you will bear with us. Half a dozen experienced editors have now read the final version, and I'm prepared to stand by it" [ Letter of Harold Strauss, 12/29/71 ]

"I don't mind your letting off steam about 'the Knepffers', but most of them are not Knepffers at all. A score of people have been involved, including Buddhist experts, Japanese lawyers, bi-lingual people, and some very sharp-eyed editors" [ H.S., 3/16/72. After the commentary. Emphasis added. ]

If there is a room at Random House large enough to accommodate all of the above-designated people, I'll be happy to explain to them how to avoid dangling modifiers and introduce them to other mysteries of good English usage.