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WILLIAM O. GARDNER

Mongrel Modernism: Hayashi Fumiko's *Hōrōki* and Mass Culture

Abstract: This article examines Hayashi Fumiko's novel *Hōrōki* (Diary of a vagabond) as a personal and historical narrative of Japanese modernity. Arguing for an acknowledgment of *Hōrōki* as a modernist work, it analyzes how Hayashi positions her work with regard to the developing idea of mass culture. Through a consideration of the early mass cultural forms recorded in Hayashi's narrative, it shows how gender and regional identity contribute to the formation of a mass subject who retains the prospect of critical agency.

Adapted many times over for theater, radio, television, film, and even *anime*, Hayashi Fumiko's debut novel *Hōrōki* would seem to have become a minor but persistent fixture of twentieth-century Japanese popular culture. Yet while its narrative of a provincial girl struggling to make her way in Tokyo may have acquired a nostalgic patina in the postwar years, a careful look at the novel's original 1930 edition reveals an aggressively disjunctive montage aesthetic and a bold attack on the conventions of *genbun itchi* literary prose that begs a reappraisal of Hayashi as a modernist writer. Moreover, the novel's subsequent appropriation into various popular or mass culture forms assumes a new dimension when we more fully appreciate *Hōrōki* itself as an ambitious personal narrative of the dawn of modern Japanese mass culture and a canny response to the developing interwar discourse on "the masses."¹

1. Based in part on journals that Hayashi kept throughout the decade, the novel was first published in installments in the feminist literary journal *Nyonin geijutsu* from 1928 to 1930. Serialization in *Nyonin geijutsu* of the chapters collected in *Hōrōki* continued from October 1928 until July 1930; three chapters collected in *Zoku hōrōki* were also published in *Nyonin geijutsu* from August to October 1930. When published in book form as part of Kaizosha's "Shin'ei bungaku sōsho" (Innovative literature series) in July 1930, it became an instant best-seller, lifting Hayashi out of poverty and obscurity. The novel was quickly followed by a sequel, *Zoku hōrōki*, in October 1930. In the postwar period, Hayashi published a second sequel or "part three," "*Hōrōki*" *daisanbu*, in the journal *Nihon shōsetsu* (1947). This textual history

As Japanese cities expanded and the reach of media broadened in the 1920s, the masses (*taishū*) came to take a central place in the national discourse. Following the economic boom brought by World War I, accelerated industrialization and population growth transformed Japan's urban landscapes. This process was particularly dramatic in Tokyo, which underwent large-scale destruction and reconstruction in the wake of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. Accompanying this transformation of Japan's urban infrastructure was the rapid growth of communications media, including the development of aggressive new advertising techniques; the burgeoning cultural prominence of film and recorded music; a leap in the speed, scale, and technical possibilities of the print media; and the birth of radio. Amid this urbanization and media growth, social and cultural commentators began to articulate a new conception of "the masses" bound by the shared consumption of information and goods and to speculate on the possibilities and dangers of a new mass culture.²

Together with this new focus on "the masses," writers, editors, and critics began articulating a new generic category of *taishū bungaku* (mass literature) in the mid-1920s. The term *taishū bungaku* encompassed both a new generic category and a new conception of audience. As a generic category, *taishū bungaku* joined previously popular or "lowbrow" (*tsūzoku*) genres such as adventure stories and swashbuckling historical fiction with new genres associated with contemporary urban settings, such as detective fiction. The concept of *taishū bungaku* also posited a new social imaginary, cutting across previous class or regionally based constructions—a social aggregation made possible by the spread of literacy and primary education and by the nationwide dissemination of media products (including *taishū bungaku* itself) from the metropolis.

is further complicated by the fact that the author made a number of revisions to the text of *Hōrōki* even after it was published as a novel. The most significant revisions came in 1939, when Shinchosha published a *ketteiban*, or "definitive edition" of the text. Most subsequent editions of *Hōrōki*, including the readily available *Shinchō bunkō* edition (which combines *Hōrōki* and its two sequels), follow the *ketteiban*, which differs markedly from the first published edition. Close examination of the first edition reveals a much more aggressive (and transgressive) literary style, highlighting *Hōrōki*'s character as a modernist work. Although I consult both versions of the text, my translations are based on the first edition. For an analysis of the differences between the first edition and the *ketteiban*, see Imagawa Hideko, "'Hōrōki'—seisei to sono sekai," *Hōrōki arubamu*, ed. Nakamura Mitsuo (Tokyo: Haga Shoten, 1996), pp. 65–76; see also Joan E. Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 69–71.

2. Two pioneering Japanese studies on the cultural history of the prewar and wartime periods are Minami Hiroshi, ed., *Taishō bunka* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965), and Minami Hiroshi, ed., *Shōwa bunka: 1925–1945* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1987), both of which discuss the transformation of media practices and the shifting, contesting attitudes toward cultural production and consumption in this period.

This essay investigates Hayashi Fumiko's novel *Hōrōki* as a complex response to the developing discourse on "the masses." Throughout her novel, Hayashi keeps a keen eye on the role of modern media and incipient forms of mass culture in the formation of her protagonist as a subject. Yet while she shows how these mass cultural forms helped to mold her protagonist's consciousness, she also asserts her protagonist's subjectivity as a cultural producer as well as a perceptive and often cynical judge of the mass cultural products that surround her. She performs this destabilization of the cultural consumer/producer duality through a highly fluid and eclectic novelistic style that defies the distinction between the rapidly consolidating categories of "mass literature" and "pure literature."

Hayashi offered the best description of her own work in the postscript-like final section of the novel's sequel, *Zoku hōrōki* (Diary of a vagabond continued), stating that the novel was an "admixture" or "adulteration" (*kyōzatsubutsu*), with "nothing pure in it."³ In a work that features a particularly strong correspondence between the literary form of the text and the subjectivity of its protagonist, this self-avowed quality of the text as an "admixture" mirrors the protagonist/narrator's own declaration of personal identity as a "mongrel" (*chabo*) in the opening paragraphs of the work. While Hayashi appears to renounce her own work in this final section of *Zoku hōrōki*, and deleted her self-identification as a "mongrel" in later editions of the text, it is precisely the novel's aggressively hybrid quality as an "admixture" that links it with the works of contemporary modernist and avant-garde writers and marks its special significance in Japanese literary history.

I begin my exploration of Hayashi's work with a discussion of the historical and biographical contexts for Hayashi's novel, examining *Hōrōki*'s position within the Japanese modernist movement. My analysis proceeds with a look at the novel's first chapter, which frames the protagonist's adult experiences in Tokyo with an account of her childhood in provincial Kyushu. This chapter provides a revealing account of the relationship between the provinces and the metropole in early twentieth-century Japan and chronicles the extension of early forms of modern mass culture into rural areas. After this introductory chapter, Hayashi's text follows the protagonist as she moves to Tokyo and attempts to secure the basics of physical and emotional sustenance while embarking on a career as a writer. My analysis here observes the multiple, shifting roles the protagonist plays within the metropolitan labor market, including the prominently featured role of café waitress. In particular, I examine Hayashi's strategic citation of contradictory literary and ideological discourses that vied to represent the café as a paradigmatic site of modern labor and consumption. Finally, I return to the

3. Hayashi Fumiko, *Shinpan hōrōki* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1979), p. 295.

questions of how Hayashi's "admixture" of shifting subjectivity and heterogeneous language styles responds to the contemporary discourse on the masses and the nascent genre of "mass literature." Throughout my analysis, I trace a number of the text's acute references to material culture and popular entertainment, including clothing, popular novels, plays, films, and songs, as well as the literary intertexts to which Hayashi's novel responds. It is my hope that this strategy will confirm the work's contextual richness and highlight the critical sensibility with which Hayashi responded to her material, economic, and linguistic environment.

Hōrōki, *Modernism, and Montage*

While Hayashi's works may have been for years "segregated and effectively stigmatized by their categorization as 'women's literature,'" as argued by Joan Ericson,⁴ there has recently been a revival of interest in Hayashi, including a new appreciation of her contribution to the modernist movement of the 1920s and early 1930s. Commentators such as Unno Hiroshi and Watanabe Kazutami have noted the importance of Hayashi's depiction of the modern city of Tokyo, particularly the fresh perspectives of her female characters as they claim new freedoms of movement and expression in this rapidly transforming urban space.⁵ Seiji Lippit, in his recent study *Topographies of Japanese Modernism*, has placed Hayashi's *Hōrōki* alongside the writings of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Yokomitsu Riichi, and Kawabata Yasunari among the key works of 1920s modernism that "record the internal, formal dismantling of the structures of the modern novel." This dismantling included the rejection of the conventions of narrative fiction and the language of *genbun itchi*, the form of written Japanese held to fuse written and spoken languages, which had been established as the standard language of the modern novel by the turn of the century.⁶

As Lippit argues, the distinguishing formal quality of *Hōrōki* is its extreme fluidity: the novel constantly moves through multiple styles and genres of writing.⁷ Hayashi's writing courses between prose journal entries and poetry, as well as regularly interspersed "reality fragments," such as songs heard or recalled, conversations overheard, or shopping lists drawn up by

4. Ericson, *Be a Woman*, p. 92.

5. Watanabe Kazutami, "Mō hitotsu no toshi shōsetsu: Hayashi Fumiko 'Hōrōki' o megutte," in Odagiri Susumu, ed., *Shōwa bungaku ronkō: Machi to mura to* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1990), pp. 3–20; Unno Hiroshi, *Modan toshi Tōkyō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1988) pp. 197–223.

6. Seiji M. Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 17.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

the protagonist.⁸ Within both her prose and her poetry, moreover, Hayashi juxtaposes the multiple languages of feminism, anarchism, *shishōsetsu* (the I-novel), proletarian literature, anarchism, fashionable modernism, the sentimentalism associated with the *katei shōsetsu* (domestic novel) and *shinpa* drama, and the classical tradition of *nikki bungaku* (diary literature), to name only a few. The diversity of language types in *Hōrōki* strongly evokes M. M. Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia as the essential stylistic feature of the novel, whereby "the novel can be defined as a diversity of social speech types . . . and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized." In particular, the aggressive challenge *Hōrōki* presents to the unified style of *genbun itchi* demonstrates how the novel can orchestrate the unruly "centrifugal" forces of language into conflict with "centripetal" forces that, in Bakhtin's formulation, work to "unite and centralize verbal-ideological thought, creating within a heteroglot national language the firm, stable linguistic nucleus of an officially recognized literary language."⁹

Nevertheless, it should be recalled that Bakhtin's is a general theory of the novel, not one restricted to modernist or avant-garde works. Indeed, among previous generations of Japanese novelists, even those associated with the development of *genbun itchi*, we find instances of diverse and contrastive language types being "artistically organized." What is truly distinctive about Hayashi's *Hōrōki* is not the coexistence of different language types—although it must be admitted that Hayashi takes this practice to the extreme—but the novel's unique temporality, which is fragmentary and fast-moving, juxtaposing language types in a radical fashion and often "jumping" and "cutting" between genres of writing and digetic temporalities. This quality links *Hōrōki* with the technique of montage, particularly cinematic montage, which was a focus of keen attention among modernist and avant-garde artists, writers, and filmmakers during the 1920s.¹⁰

8. I have borrowed the phrase "reality fragment" from Theodor W. Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor, ed. Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

9. M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 262, 270–71. I am grateful to one of my anonymous JJS referees for urging me to make my implicit debt to Bakhtin a more explicit element of my argument.

10. A strong interest in cinematic montage, and more generally in cinema and film-writing, is seen throughout Japanese modernism. The enthusiastic critical reception for Alexander Volkov's *Kean* (1924), the first of several French impressionist films to be screened in Japan, helped to establish an influential new idiom of film criticism that valorized the use of montage and emphasized the qualities of speed, rhythm, and musicality. This critical vocabulary was echoed in the literary criticism and manifestos of Japanese modernists, such as Kawabata Yasunari's "Shinshin sakka no shin keikō kaisetsu" (*Bungei jidai*, January 1925). An interest in montage was also shared by Japanese modernist poets such as Iijima Tadashi and

For example, in the first section of the novel after the introduction, Hayashi narrates the first-person protagonist's movement through the city of Tokyo by train and on foot as she searches for work by day and returns to her Shinjuku lodgings at night. This section, entitled "Inbaifu to meshiya" (Prostitutes and mess halls), consists of four journal entries, each broken up by a temporal shift from day to night. The prose of these entries is further fragmented by the insertion of two poems, a *tanka* by Ishikawa Takuboku that begins the section and one of Hayashi's own free-verse poems quoted in the second journal entry. Within 16 pages of the generously spaced first edition, the scene changes 12 times as the protagonist wanders from the home of a writer in the Hongo neighborhood where she's briefly employed as a maid, to a deserted "culture house" (*bunka jūtaku*) real estate development in a western part of the city, to a mess hall on the Ōme Kaidō highway, an employment agency in Kanda, the Italian embassy in Kōjimachi, through the city on foot again to Hongo, and back again regularly to her rooming house in Shinjuku—a tour through the city's various socioeconomic and cultural strata as well as its geographic space.¹¹ The kaleidoscopic effect of this movement—marked by sudden jumps in the narrative flow and mediated by the urban technology of the electric streetcar—is remarkably similar to that of progressive cinematic montage, particularly the modernist genre of the city symphony, exemplified by works such as Walter Ruttmann's 1928 film *Berlin, Symphony of a City* (1928) and Dziga Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera*, also from 1928.¹²

Kitagawa Fuyuhiko, two writers who doubled as film critics and poets who were both founding members of the important modernist journal *Shi to shiron* (Poetry and poetics, founded 1928). Several modernist poets, including Kitagawa, Iijima, and Takenaka Iku, experimented with the *cinépoème*, a hybrid of poetry and film scenario. On the introduction of French impressionist film criticism and its cultural significance, see Yamamoto Kikuo, *Nihon eiga ni okeru gaikoku eiga no eikyō: hikaku eigashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1983), pp. 144–66.

The related artistic practices of photomontage, collage, and assemblage were explored extensively by the Mavo group of avant-garde artists in the mid-1920s, with whom Hayashi had contact through her acquaintances at the Café Lebanon (Hayashi published poems in the fifth and sixth issues of the Mavo journal). For information on the Mavo group, see Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde, 1905–1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

My use of the term montage with regard to Hayashi Fumiko's writing has two interrelated aspects. The first is temporal, referring to Hayashi's fragmentation and permutation of the narrative diegesis, contributing to an effect of speed and frequent disorientation. The second is material, referring to the incorporation of disparate elements into the text, including poetry, songs, lists, etc., as well as contrastive prose styles and language types.

11. Hayashi Fumiko, *Hōrōki*, reprinted edition (Tokyo: Nihon Kindai Bungakukan, 1973) (cited hereafter as *Hōrōki* [1973]), pp. 21–37. See Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism*, pp. 182–84 and 187, for additional commentary on this section of Hayashi's text.

12. Extensive discussion of montage in film journals and a few surviving films give an overview of the different types of montage employed by Japanese filmmakers during this

The modernist sensibility that Hayashi brought to her first novel together with her facility in capturing (and sometimes mocking) a number of Showa intellectual and novelistic discourses can be understood in part on the basis of the personal ties Hayashi established as an apprentice writer.¹³ Soon after she moved to Tokyo from her native Kyushu, Hayashi established close personal connections with a group of avant-garde artists and poets, many of whom were involved with the anarchist movement, who frequented the Café Lebanon in the Hongo neighborhood of Tokyo. Many of these writers—including Tsuji Jun, Hagiwara Kyōjirō, “dadaist” Takahashi Shin-kichi, and Hirabayashi Taiko—make cameo appearances in Hayashi’s *Hōrōki*.¹⁴

In addition to her ties to these young leftist writers, Hayashi also sought contact with more established literary and intellectual figures, including the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae and the veteran naturalist writer Tokuda Shūsei, whose works, like Hayashi’s, focus on the everyday life of people of the lower classes.¹⁵ In the late 1920s she was to find another community of support among the writers associated with the feminist literary journal *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women’s arts), where her novel *Hōrōki* was first serialized.¹⁶ Although she later wrote that she was “constantly thinking about political

decade. Itō Daisuke was acclaimed for his bravura use of highly rhythmic, accelerated montage in action-filled period films. The montage of Kinugasa Teinosuke was inspired in part by the French impressionist filmmakers and employed rhythmic principles and psychological association, as demonstrated by his two surviving avant-garde films from this decade, *Kurutta ippeiji* (A page of madness, 1926) and *Jūjūro* (Crossways, 1928). Mizoguchi Kenji’s montage of this period reportedly relied heavily on disjunction and juxtaposition and was compared by contemporary critics to Soviet montage practices. Hollywood continuity editing was also widely studied by world filmmakers and offered another, less disruptive model of montage. The prose of Hayashi’s *Hōrōki*, in contrast to Hollywood continuity filmmaking, consists of many discrete sections, often temporally disconnected. While strictly literary precedents for narrative ellipsis certainly exist—particularly in the Japanese tradition—I would argue that the aggressive, kaleidoscopic disjunctiveness of Hayashi’s text, as well as its close attention to optics and movement, points to its remediation of the film medium. It should be noted that one of Mizoguchi’s narrative films of this period was also entitled “city symphony” or, in Japanese, *Tokai kōkyōgaku* (1929). On this lost film, see Iwamoto Kenji, “Tokai kōkyōgaku: Mizoguchi Kenji to akai senpū,” *Nihon eiga to modanizumu 1920–1930* (Tokyo: Riburopōto, 1991), pp. 150–53.

13. For English-language discussion of Hayashi’s life and its relationship to her works, see Susanna Fessler, *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

14. For more details on the literary and political activities of the Café Lebanon group, see William O. Gardner, “Avant-Garde Literature and the New City: Tokyo 1923–1931,” Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1999.

15. On the literary relationship between Hayashi and Tokuda Shūsei, see Mori Eiichi, *Shūsei kara Fumiko e* (Kanazawa: Noto Insatsu, 1990).

16. On *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women’s arts), see Ogata Akiko, *Nyonin geijutsu no hitobito* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1981) and *Nyonin geijutsu no sekai: Hasegawa Shigure to sono shuhen* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1980).

movements and art” during this period,¹⁷ as she established herself as a writer she resolutely avoided identification with the “proletarian literature” movement or any other clearly delineated literary school or political ideology. Nevertheless, Hayashi’s challenging personal experiences growing up in Kyushu and establishing herself in Tokyo served as the thematic basis for many of her narratives, while her exposure to writers affiliated with naturalism, avant-garde poetry, anarchism, feminism, and proletarian literature formed the intellectual context for the incisive depiction of mass culture achieved in her first novel. Drawing on personal experiences of the provinces and the metropole, she constructs her own narrative of the birth of mass culture, suggesting that this culture was not simply modern and urban, but a product of the complex relationship between rural and urban, past and present.

Framing Modernity

From its first pages, Hayashi’s *Hōrōki* exhibits a strong ethnographic impulse. The narrator’s reminiscences and diary entries display an exacting attention to the details of material culture, the shifting modes and fashions of everyday life, and the local nuances of historical change. Cultural markers of various types—place names; song titles and fragments; reading lists; descriptions of food, clothing, and housing conditions; and the (often ironic) use of popular phrases and slang expressions—are enfolded into Hayashi’s textual montage, not only for their utility in telling a personal narrative, but also in order to construct a narrative of Japanese modernity.¹⁸

These tendencies are strongly manifest in the first chapter of Hayashi’s novel, entitled “*Hōrōki izen*” (Before the diary of a vagabond). Unlike the main body of Hayashi’s text, this introductory chapter does not consist of diary entries, but takes the form of an essay-like memoir of the narrator’s

17. “Watashi no chibeisen” (1931), translated as “My Horizon” by Susanna Fessler, in *Wandering Heart*, pp. 159–62.

18. In this respect, *Hōrōki* bears comparison with a number of contemporaneous projects that sought to bring Japanese modernity within a new ethnographic and historical framework. One such noteworthy project is that of professor of architecture Kon Wajirō, who in the mid-1920s founded a new discipline to study the practices of contemporary urban life, which he called modernology, or *kōgengaku*, on the analogy of archaeology, or *kōkogaku*. Another such project is that of Yanagita Kunio, who around 1930 turned his attention from interpreting the vanishing folklore and folklife of rural Japan to a historical consideration of Japanese modernity as manifested in the everyday life of subjects in both rural and urban areas. This project culminated in the volume *Meiji Taishōshi: sesōhen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976; originally published by Asahi Shinbun in 1931). See Miriam Silverberg, “Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 51, No.1 (February 1992), pp. 30–54; Harry D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 178–201; Kon Wajirō, *Kōgengaku nyūmon*, ed. Fujimori Terunobu (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1987).

childhood. Whereas action in the main text takes place primarily in Tokyo, “*Hōrōki izen*” is set among a series of small towns and provincial cities in southwestern Japan. Historically, too, the cultural references of “*Hōrōki izen*” are not to the heyday of self-defined *modan* (“modern”) Japan in the 1920s (the late Taisho and early Showa periods), but to an earlier, transitional period of Japanese modernity, the late Meiji and early Taisho periods. Finally, the prose style of “*Hōrōki izen*” also contrasts with the rest of the novel: while the practice of montage, including the incorporation of popular song texts, is conspicuous from the very first lines of this chapter, the prose as a whole is more consistent and subdued than the often fragmentary, unstable, and boisterous prose style employed in the subsequent chapters.

Historically, geographically, and stylistically, then, “*Hōrōki izen*” serves as a frame for the main portion of Hayashi’s text.¹⁹ This framing mechanism does more than simply contrast the urban with the rural, or the Meiji/Taisho with the new Showa culture. Rather, Hayashi’s text points to the intimate relationship *between* rural and urban Japan and *between* the novel’s present and the recent past. It points to the cultural presence of the provinces in the metropolis (and vice versa), as well as to the persistence of Meiji/Taisho elements in the Showa period and conversely to the roots of Showa in an earlier phase of Japanese modernity.

As critics such as Unno Hiroshi and Watanabe Kazutami have pointed out, *Hōrōki* is fundamentally an urban novel—indeed, one of the crucial urban novels of twentieth-century Japan.²⁰ Yet the frame mechanism outlined above establishes the novel not as a native urbanite’s urban text, but as the experience of an immigrant to the city. This essential fact ties Hayashi’s work to trends in Japanese urban development and also to patterns in the development of modernist literatures and the historical avant-garde throughout the world.

In his essay “The Metropolis and the Emergence of Modernism,” Raymond Williams attempts to outline the “decisive links between the practices and ideas of the avant-garde movements of the twentieth century and the specific conditions of the twentieth-century metropolis.”²¹ Among these

19. The first chapter of *Hōrōki*, entitled “*Hōrōki izen*” when collected in the novel, was first published in the journal *Kaizō* (October 1929) under the title “Kyūshū tankōgai hōrōki” (Dairy of a vagabond: A Kyūshū mining town). The other chapters of the novel, as mentioned earlier, were originally published in the journal *Nyonin geijutsu*.

20. Watanabe Kazutami, “Mō hitotsu no toshi shōsetsu: Hayashi Fumiko ‘*Hōrōki*’ o megutte,” in Odagiri Susumu, ed., *Shōwa bungaku ronkō: Machi to mura to* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1990), pp. 3–20; Unno Hiroshi, *Modan toshi Tōkyō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1988) pp. 197–223.

21. Raymond Williams, “The Metropolis and the Emergence of Modernism,” in Edward Timms and David Kelley, eds., *Unreal City: Urban Experience in Modern European Literature and Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 13.

specific conditions, Williams identifies the phenomenon of large-scale immigration to the city as crucial for the development of modernist and avant-garde subcultures, pointing out how “many of the major innovators were, in this precise sense, immigrants”:

Liberated or breaking from their national or provincial cultures, placed in quite new relations to those other native languages or native visual traditions, encountering meanwhile a novel and dynamic common environment from which many of the older forms were obviously distant, the artists and writers and thinkers of this phase found the only community available to them: a community of the medium; of their own practices.²²

Although Williams’s remarks are directed primarily toward the cultural situation of interwar Europe, they resonate equally with Hayashi Fumiko’s experience of immigration from Kyushu to Tokyo and her discovery of a “community of the medium” among the poets of the Café Lebanon.

One of the most acute cultural differences between the metropolis and the provinces was language: the language spoken by the narrator’s parents and other *Hōrōki* characters from western Japan is a dialect very different from that spoken in Tokyo. Aside from direct quotations from such characters, however, Hayashi’s novel is not written in dialect, but in the language of the metropole—a language disseminated in public schools throughout Japan as the language of the nation-state and further spread by the print media including modern literature, by popular song and stage drama emanating from the capital, and by the new medium of radio. The metropole’s language is the language of power, and Hayashi, as an aspiring writer (and a member of the swelling national ranks of female secondary-school graduates), exploited this power.

The “standard Tokyo speech” of *Hōrōki*, however, is anything but standard. Rather, on the level of grammar, Hayashi employs a highly eccentric mix of the *genbun itchi* prose style, classical Japanese expressions and sentence endings, and informal sentence fragments. On the level of vocabulary, Hayashi’s style is equally eclectic, incorporating slang, buzz words (*ryūkōgo*), vulgar expressions (*zokugo*), and a high proportion of onomatopoeia (*gitaigo/giongo*). These incongruities highlight the diversity of actual spoken languages (according to factors such as class and gender) even *within* the metropolis on the one hand, and the constructedness of *Hōrōki* as a written text on the other, inveighing against the transparency of the *genbun itchi* style of prose.

In “The Metropolis and the Emergence of Modernism,” Williams also points to an experience of estrangement from language as a general feature of modernism, and one linked closely to the phenomenon of immigration:

22. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

To the immigrants especially, with their new second common language, language was more evident as a medium—a medium that could be shaped and reshaped—than as a social custom. Even within a native language, the new relationships of the metropolis, and the inescapable new uses in newspapers and advertising attuned to it, forced certain productive kinds of strangeness and distance: a new consciousness of conventions and thus of changeable, because now open, conventions.²³

While Williams's remarks shed light on the experience and achievements of Hayashi and other "immigrant" modernists, his employment of the terms "customary and naturalized" versus "arbitrary and conventional" language fails to elaborate the political and cultural implications of the modernists' defamiliarization of specifically modern, *national* languages—in this case, standard modern spoken Japanese based on the Tokyo dialect and the *genbun itchi* writing style held to reflect this spoken language. Benedict Anderson has argued, in his influential study *Imagined Communities*, for the importance of such semiofficial, vernacular languages to the formation of modern nation-states.²⁴ In deforming the language of the metropolis and disrupting the integrity of *genbun itchi* prose, Hayashi not only challenges the literary establishment, but also undermines a crucial register in which the modern nation-state establishes its hegemony. The challenge posed by her heterogeneous prose style corresponds with the "mongrel" personal identity, as I observe below, Hayashi posits for her protagonist from the opening lines of her novel.

A reading of Hayashi Fumiko's work also allows us to see beyond Williams's Manichean opposition of "the imperial and capitalist metropolis," represented by Paris, London, Berlin, and New York, and "the deprived hinterlands, . . . [and] the poor world which has always been peripheral to the metropolitan systems."²⁵ Like most canonical narratives of modernism and modernity produced by European and American observers, Williams's account fails to fully consider the experience of modernity, or the potential development of modernisms, in such developing metropolises as Buenos Aires, Cairo, Shanghai, and Tokyo. Williams describes the European and North American capitals as sites of a new "complexity and sophistication of social relations," and further notes "not only the complexity but the miscellaneity of the metropolis." This "complex and open milieu" is contrasted with "the persistence of traditional social, cultural, and intellectual forms in the provinces and in the less developed countries."²⁶ The works of Japanese

23. Williams, "The Metropolis and the Emergence of Modernism," p. 22.

24. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983, 1991).

25. Williams, "The Metropolis and the Emergence of Modernism," p. 23.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

artists and writers in the 1920s, however, suggest that cities such as Tokyo, though arguably “provincial” in relation to New York or Paris, were equally possessed of the heterogeneity, mobility, and “miscellaneity” that could foster the development of modernist art and literature.

Moreover, as Hayashi’s *“Hōrōki izen”* makes clear, even “the deprived hinterlands” of the Japanese backwaters were being incorporated into the economic and cultural matrix of “urban modernity” through the fast-developing forms of twentieth-century commerce and mass media. As metropolitan trends were transmitted to the provinces with increasing speed, the experience of “simultaneity” was a defining modern phenomenon that linked not only the world capitals (such as Tokyo and Berlin), but the capitals and the hinterlands (such as Tokyo and the provincial towns of Kyushu) as well.²⁷ By framing the main chapters of *Hōrōki* with the brief memoir “*Hōrōki izen*,” Hayashi explores the reciprocity between province and metropole, between Taisho and Showa, and between early mass-culture eclecticism and avant-garde constructivism.

Peripheral Networks in “Hōrōki izen”

Hayashi begins her novel with the following lines:

When I was in a grammar school in Kita-Kyushu, this was one of the songs I learned:

Under the darkening autumn sky
 Traveling alone, distressed by lonely thoughts
 Yearning for my home town
 Missing Mother and Father

I was fated to be a vagabond.
 I have no hometown.
 I am a crossbreed, a mongrel.

My father, from Iyo in Shikoku, was a peddler of cotton clothing.
 My mother, from Sakurajima, near Kagoshima in Kyushu, was the daughter of a hot springs innkeeper.

After Mother was chased out of Kagoshima for marrying someone from another province, she and my father finally settled down in Shimonoseki in Bakan. And that was where I took my first breath.

27. Komori Yōichi, personal interview, Tokyo, May 11, 1998. A shared metropolitan-provincial experience of “simultaneity” is one of the elements securing the formation of modern nation-states according to Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*. Most studies of modernism, however, emphasize the experience of “simultaneity” (*dōjisei*, *dōjidaisei*) as a privileged experience of urban culture, ignoring the ways the provinces are also implicated in this phenomenon.

Since my parents couldn't return to their birthplaces, the open road became my hometown. And so, a born wanderer, I learned the song about "yearning for my hometown" with a heavy heart.²⁸

These opening lines, in which the narrator who has "no hometown" declares herself "fated to be a vagabond," are perhaps the best-known lines in Hayashi's oeuvre. Yet readers familiar with later editions of the text may be startled to discover the subsequently deleted line "I am a crossbreed, a mongrel" (*watashi wa zasshu de chabo de aru*) in the original edition.²⁹ This line, like the declaration of having "no hometown," has both a literal and figurative implication. In the literal sense, it refers to her parents being from different provinces of Japan, one from present-day Ehime Prefecture and one from present-day Kagoshima Prefecture. That the narrator's parents would be chased out of Kagoshima because of this "mixed marriage," and that the narrator would consider herself a "crossbreed" (*zasshu*) or "mongrel" (*chabo*), points to the strong sense of regional identity that persisted in parts of Japan well into the twentieth century—an identification with the *kuni*, or local province, over the *kokka*, or modern nation-state. On the figurative level, the narrator's self-identification as a "mongrel" establishes a trope of hybridity or cultural impurity that, like the trope of the vagabond, resonates throughout the text.

As a "vagabond" bereft of a "hometown," the narrator speaks not only for herself but for her parents and dozens of other characters living uprooted and marginal lives who are introduced throughout the text. The narrator's life as a wanderer begins in earnest at the age of eight, when her father, having settled in Shimonoseki, makes a small fortune selling clothes at auction in neighboring Wakamatsu and takes a runaway geisha as a concubine. At this juncture, her mother leaves her father's house and sets out on the road, with the young protagonist in tow. Her mother also takes as companion an-

28. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), p. 3. Hayashi struck the phrase "I am a crossbreed, a mongrel" from the later versions of the text. She also changed the words "Shimonoseki in Bakan" to "Shimonoseki in Yamaguchi Prefecture."

29. *Zasshu* (crossbreed) and *chabo* (mongrel) were politically charged terms in imperialist Japan. Eiji Oguma outlines the debates over the mixed-race versus pure-blooded origins of the Japanese people that continued throughout the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa periods and extended into questions of assimilationist versus eugenicist policies toward colonial subjects, including Ainu, Koreans, and Taiwanese. See Eiji Oguma, *A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-Images*, trans. David Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002).

I have found no explanations of why Hayashi eliminated the *zasshu/chabo* line from her text. One could speculate on the changed political climate, including the increased public emphasis on purity of blood and the influence of eugenic theory, when she produced her "definitive edition" of the text in 1939; direct censorship is one possibility, though I have found no evidence for this. As discussed in my introduction, Hayashi appeared to distance herself from the hybrid formal qualities of the work, and, by extension, the hybridity of the authorial persona projected in it, as early as October 1930, on the publication of *Zoku hōrōki*.

other itinerant peddler, who becomes the narrator's stepfather, and the three wind their way through the provincial cities of Kyushu, living, by the narrator's account, "without a permanent home" in a series of "cheap lodging houses" (*kichinyado*).

In her biography of Hayashi Fumiko, Hirabayashi Taiko points to a whole class of such "vagabonds" who were alienated not only from a "pre-modern" regional identity but also from the organs of the modern nation-state:

At that time, in the cheap lodging houses [*kichinyado*] of western Japan, there were many such Japanese living outside [the purview] of the nation-state. They neither obeyed the law, nor were they protected or restricted by the law. They made their living through their freedom and panache, and through some degree of vice. . . .

Undoubtedly, all countries have such a class of people. But their alienation and rebelliousness is strongest in a so-called orderly society such as Japan—especially in the provincial areas where the sense of social cohesion still has a feudalistic tint. . . . At times, these [socially alienated] people do not even consider themselves Japanese.³⁰

One can extrapolate from Hayashi's text the existence of a diaspora of such wanderers, alienated from both regional ties and national institutions, traveling through the towns of southwest Japan. Yet while these traders and itinerant laborers may have been estranged from local communities and distrustful of state authority, their lives were by no means disconnected from national and international political, economic, and cultural developments. On the contrary, Hayashi's text suggests that the routes established by this itinerant population both followed and reinforced regional economic and cultural ties—ties that were both radial, connecting the province and metro-pole, and peripheral, connecting the provincial cities of western Japan and East Asia.

The names of the towns through which the narrator, her mother, and her stepfather travel are themselves an important part of the linguistic texture of "*Hōrōki izen*": Shimonoseki, Wakamatsu, Nagasaki, Sasebo, Kurume, Moji, Tobata, Orio, and Nōkata.³¹ The name of each provincial region and city Hayashi mentions in her text carries its own historical and economic associations, and their usage in the text suggests a complex economic and social network with its historically contingent flow of people and goods.

For example, the Iyo region of Shikoku (present-day Ehime Prefecture), where the narrator's father comes from, was well known from the Edo pe-

30. Enchi Fumiko et al., eds., *Hirabayashi Taiko zenshū*, Vol. 10 (Tokyo: Ushio Shuppansha, 1979), p. 17.

31. Currently, Nōgata is the preferred pronunciation of this place name. In the original edition of *Hōrōki*, however, the characters of this name are given the *furigana* reading Nōkata, and I follow this reading.

riod onward for its production of cotton goods centered in the town of Imabari. From the middle of the Meiji period, production shifted from hand to machine manufacture, and a variety of new weaves, such as muslin and imitation flannel (*men neru*), were introduced into everyday life. In the Meiji era, simplified clothes made from such mass-produced textiles were associated with the progressive “improvement of life” (*seikatsu kairyō*, *seikatsu kaizen*) and were called “improvement clothing” (*kairyōfuku*).³² Hayashi places a reference to this fragment of linguistic and material history in her narrator’s account of childhood:

It was in Nagasaki that I first had a legitimate place to play—the elementary school. I would set off to school near Nanking Ward every day from our room in the “Grain Shop Inn,” wearing the “improvement clothes” that were popular back then.³³

It was precisely this type of inexpensive, machine-manufactured cotton clothing that the narrator and her parents make a living at selling in the provincial towns of Kyushu. The narrator describes her participation in this business when the family moves to the coal mining town of Nōkata:

In July, we settled down in a place called the “Stables Inn” in Taisho Ward. My father and his gang would leave me behind in the inn, and Mother and I would borrow a cart, fill a wicker case with knitwear, socks, new muslin, waistbands, and such, and go hawking our goods to the mine or the ceramics workshop.³⁴

New weaves and types of cotton clothing were significant not only for their impact on everyday material culture in twentieth-century Japan, but for their central role in Japan’s economic development. Cheap cotton cloth and clothing went from being import items in the early Meiji period to staple export items by the turn of the century; by the Showa period, cotton goods were manufactured by Japanese-owned mills and factories in China. The large, volatile trade in raw cotton, yarn, cotton cloth, and cotton clothing inextricably linked the economies of Japan, China, India, Britain, and the United States.³⁵

32. The significance of textiles and the textile trade to *Hōrōki* was brought to my attention by Komori Yōichi in a series of interviews in Tokyo from April through July 1988.

33. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), p. 5. In later editions, Hayashi changed “improvement clothes” to “muslin improvement clothes,” presumably to clarify this somewhat archaic term.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

35. See Kawakatsu Heita, *Nihon bunmei to kindai seiyō: “sakkoku” saikō* (Tokyo: NHK Books, 1991), pp. 62–94; Peter Duus, “Zaikabō: Japanese Cotton Mills in China, 1895–1937,” in Michael Smitka, ed., *The Textile Industry and the Rise of the Japanese Economy* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998); Shōwa Joshi Daigaku Ifukugaku Kenkyūshitsu, *Kindai Nihon fukusōshi* (Tokyo: Kindai Bunka Kenkyūsho, 1971), pp. 91–93, 201–2.

Many of the place names recorded in Hayashi's text—Shimonoseki, Moji, Tobata, and Wakamatsu in the Kita-Kyushu area, and Nagasaki and Sasebo in northwestern Kyushu—were port cities with roles in the East and South Asian cotton trade, as well as in the international and domestic transportation of coal and industrial products from towns such as Kurume, Orio, and Nōkata. The livelihoods of the narrator, her mother, father, and stepfather depend on this economic network, and their commercial activities, though marginal, are themselves a constituent part of it. In framing her tale of a woman's attempts to survive in the metropolis, then, Hayashi first sketches this network of peripheral relations, before shifting her descriptive axis to the radius of center and periphery.

The Shinjuku *kichinyado*, one of the first places the narrator describes in the main section of *Hōrōki*, forms a link between Tokyo and the regional subculture of "vagabonds" introduced in the first chapter. At that time Shinjuku was on the expanding western edge of Tokyo and just beginning to grow into a major urban center. The liminal space of the Shinjuku *kichinyado*, with its shifting cast of prostitutes and other socially marginal figures, is one indication of the presence of the periphery within the metropolis.

Later, as the narrator's living quarters move to communal bar girls' quarters on the second floor of cafés in Shinjuku and elsewhere, the tales of fellow waitresses woven into the narrative also point to the presence of the provinces in the new city. Indeed, the social and cultural periphery of Tokyo these women represent includes not only the home islands (*naichi*) such as the protagonist's home region of Kyushu, but the outer regions (*gaichi*) of Japan's colonial and semicolonial territories. The waitress Yoshi, for example, comes to Tokyo by way of Sakhalin, Harbin (Manchuria), and Korea; Toshi also hails from the northern territories of Sakhalin and Hokkaido; Okimi was born in Tokyo but claims to have been kidnapped and sold to a geisha house in Manchuria before escaping back to Tokyo; Omiki is from Akita Prefecture; and other waitresses come from Kagoshima, Kanazawa, and Chiba.

The diverse provenance of these waitresses, while exacerbated, no doubt, by their socially marginal profession, was by no means atypical of the metropolitan population as a whole. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Tokyo was a rapidly expanding city of immigrants, its population increasing by over 60 per cent in 20 years. According to official statistics, a full 40 per cent of Tokyo residents in 1920 were born outside the city.³⁶

Like the narrator of *Hōrōki*, such immigrants were both cut off from their rural or provincial roots and largely excluded from the townsman (*chōnin*) culture of longstanding Tokyo residents, which was at any rate re-

36. Japan Statistical Association, ed., *Historical Statistics of Japan*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Japan Statistical Association, 1987), pp. 96 and 274–75.

ceding in the face of cultural and demographic change. In the 1920s, the new Tokyo residents were rewritten into the social imaginary as key constituents of “the masses” (*taishū*), a broad social strata defined less by regional or class affiliation than by shared consumption of cultural products emanating from the metropolitan center. It is these uprooted subjects, experiencing their own losses of a “home town,” who were increasingly the makers, as well as the consumers, of Tokyo’s modern culture.

Hōrōki and the Dawn of Mass Culture

Although Hayashi employs a relatively subdued and essay-like prose style in “*Hōrōki izen*,” she highlights the technique of montage in this as well as subsequent chapters, incorporating various found texts as her narrative unfolds in time. Indeed, as excerpted above, she begins her narrative with a quotation from the song “*Ryoshū*” (Sorrow in traveling), which became a fixture of Japanese schoolroom music texts after its composition in 1908.³⁷ Throughout “*Hōrōki izen*,” Hayashi focuses an exacting attention on the role played by songs of various genres in shaping the cultural environment of modern Japan; these songs, in turn, become an integral part of her montage text.

Titles of stories and novels encountered by the narrator, as well as poems and passages excerpted from works of literature, also form an important part of “*Hōrōki izen*” and subsequent chapters of the novel. In describing her own self-development, the narrator catalogs the books she read as a child:

Before long, instead of going to grammar school, I was working in a millet cake factory in the Susaki district for a wage of 23 *sen* a day. At that time, I remember clearly that the rice I brought home in a bamboo basket cost 18 *sen*.

At night, from the book-lenders’ I would take home books such as *Ude no Kisaburō* [Kisaburō the arm], *Yokogami yaburi no Fukushima Masanori* [Headstrong Fukushima Masanori], *Hototogisu* [The cuckoo], *Nasanu naka* [No blood relation], and *Uzumaki* [The whirlpool].

What did I learn from tales like these? Like a sponge, my brain soaked up the heroism, sentimentalism, and indulgent daydreams of happy endings.

All around me, from morning to night, there was talk of money. My only aspiration was to become a “woman millionaire.”³⁸

In this passage, the narrator offers a portrait of her own intellectual development, not as a member of the intelligentsia, but as a member of the masses. It is noteworthy that most of the books cited in this passage had

37. Horiuchi Keizō and Inoue Takeshi, eds., *Nihon Shōkashū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), p. 132.

38. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), pp. 7–8.

double lives as novels and plays. One of them, *Ude no Kisaburō*, was based upon a character in a *kabuki* play. Three of the remaining four titles were so-called *katei shōsetsu*, or domestic novels, melodramatic stories centering on the travails of married women. These tales became part of the standard repertoire of the *shinpa* theater groups, a hybrid type of theater that combined modern plots with elements of *kabuki* drama, including *onnagata* (male actors who specialized in female roles). With these titles, then, Hayashi invokes not only a certain literary genre, but an entire episode of early twentieth-century culture.³⁹

In reading this description of the protagonist soaking up the “heroism, sentimentalism, and indulgent daydreams” of these works, we recall that Hayashi herself was sometimes denigrated or dismissed as being overly sentimental as an author. In this passage, her narrator offers a genealogy of her own sentimentality while at the same time establishing an ironic distance from it. Typically, she contrasts the dreaminess of such literature, and her own girlhood dreams of being a “woman millionaire,” with the prosaic financial details of her salary at the millet cake factory and the price of a basket of rice.

Hayashi maintains this dual focus on popular culture and everyday life in provincial Japan in the next section. Here, her protagonist has moved to Nōkata, a town in the coal fields of northern Kyushu:

August.

On the scorching hot streets of Nōkata, billboards of Katyusha began to appear. They were pictures of a foreign girl at a train station, with a blanket wrapped around her head, pounding at a train window in the falling snow.

Before long, the Katyusha hair style, parted in the middle, was the new fashion.

Ah, darling Katyusha, how sad this parting
 Shall we say a prayer to God above
 Before this shallow snow melts

This song brings back memories. This is a song I love.

“Katyusha’s Song” instantly permeated this mining town.

A Russian woman’s pure love—when I went to see the motion picture, I turned into a very romantic girl. I had never been to a theater before, except to see *naniwabushi* folk ballads. Now, I hid out and watched Katyusha’s film day after day. I was completely entranced by Katyusha.

On the way to buy oil, in a square where white oleanders bloomed, I would play games of “Katyusha” and “miner” with the town children.

39. Ude no Kisaburo was the hero of Kawatake Mokuami’s *kabuki* play *Koko ga Edo koude no tatehiki. Hototogisu*, serialized by Tokutomi Rōka in 1898–99, was given its most famous performance as a *shinpa* play by Tokyo’s Hongōza in 1908. *Nasanu naka*, by Yanagawa Shunyō, was serialized as a novel in 1912–13; *Uzumaki*, by Watanabe Katei, was serialized from 1913 to 1914. Both of these novels also became standards in the *shinpa* repertoire.

When we played “miner,” the girls would pretend to push coal cars, and the boys would dig in the dirt while singing a mining song.⁴⁰

Katyusha was the heroine of Tolstoy’s novel *Resurrection* (translated into Japanese as *Fukkatsu*), which was adapted for the stage and performed by Shimamura Hōgetsu’s *shingeki* (Western-style “new theater”) troupe Geijutsuza in 1914. The role of Katyusha was performed by Matsui Sumako, the first major actress of modern Japan, where theatrical traditions had been dominated by males playing both male and female roles. The play was a huge success, performed 444 times throughout Japan, Manchuria, and Vladivostok, from 1914 to 1919. During this period, Hogetsu and Sumako were idolized by Japanese fans, with the hint of scandal from an extramarital love affair between the two only adding to their cultural cachet. The play’s success, as the passage from *Hōrōki* suggests, was clinched by the overwhelming popularity of its theme song performed by Sumako to lyrics cowritten by Hogetsu and Sōma Gyofū.

The recording of Sumako singing “Katyusha’s Song” became the first hit record on a truly national scale in Japan, selling an unprecedented 27,000 copies and saving the struggling Orient Record Company from bankruptcy.⁴¹ The success of *Resurrection* also extended to the cinema, beginning with the release of a filmed version of the Geijutsuza performance. Shortly thereafter, the Nikkatsu film studio came out with its own highly successful version, entitled *Katyusha*, which was quickly followed by two sequels. Interestingly, the Nikkatsu *Katyusha* was performed by *shinpa* actors, including the *onnagata* Tachibana Teijirō as Katyusha. In screenings of this silent film, however, female singers were brought in to perform the indispensable theme song.⁴²

Hayashi’s *Hōrōki*, then, captures a new form of modern popular culture at its very moment of inception. The simultaneous nationwide rage for Katyusha, experienced firsthand by *Hōrōki*’s narrator, indicates the possibility of a mass culture based on the shared consumption of cultural commodities.⁴³ This, in turn, signals a new relationship between the provinces and the

40. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), pp. 9–10.

41. Kiso Tetsu, *Uta no furusato kikō* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1986), pp. 152–57; Harris I. Martin, “Popular Music and Social Change in Prewar Japan,” *Japan Interpreter*, Vol. 7, No. 3–4 (Summer-Autumn 1972), pp. 335–38.

42. Tanaka Junichirō, *Nihon eiga hattatsushi*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1957), pp. 207–9.

43. Harris I. Martin argues, “The new forms of popular music which evolved during the Taisho and early Showa years were more than mere reflections of their times. They appear to have been among the earliest elements in twentieth-century life that contributed to the transformation of traditional Japanese society into one of mass consumption and mass culture.” Martin, “Popular Music and Social Change in Prewar Japan,” p. 335. On the concept and history of mass culture in Japan, see also Marilyn Ivy, “Formations of Mass Culture,” in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 239–58.

metropole, in which a cosmopolitan cultural product generated in Tokyo is quickly available even to a little girl in a Kyushu mining town. Indeed, the strange juxtaposition of children's games described in Hayashi's passage—"Katyusha" and "miner"—suggests an uneven reciprocal relationship between province and metropole, where metropolitan cultural products are dispatched to the provinces and raw materials from the provinces feed the metropole.

Hayashi's next citation of popular song refers to this labor situation in the Kyushu coal fields and how labor strife affected peddlers such as the narrator's parents:

In October, there was a strike in the mine. The town was wrapped in an asphyxiating silence, and only the infuriated miners returning from the mine had any energy. "A strike—now that's hard times." I learned this kind of song too. Strikes were frequent, and the miners would quickly move on to another mine. All their accounts with the peddlers in town would be wiped out, and the goods lent out to miners would rarely be returned. Even so, peddlers would say that selling to miners was quick and easy work.⁴⁴

Intriguingly, the "Song of the Strike" to which Hayashi alludes in this passage took its material not from a coal miners' or industrial workers' strike, but a walk-out by prostitutes in a red-light district. The complete second verse of this song is:

I left the brothel, walking out of my job
Chorus: And what happened then?
 No place to go, picking up rags
Chorus: A courtesan's strike
 Now that's hard times
 So they say

When this song was popularized in 1899 and 1900, prostitutes in Hakodate and Nagoya, who had been held by their brothels against their will, successfully sued for the right to leave their work (*jiyū haigyō*).⁴⁵ The song's lyrics highlight the social incongruities of this moment with the phrase "a courtesan's strike" (*ukareme no sutoraiki*), juxtaposing the time-honored language of the entertainment quarters with the language of the nascent labor movement. Prostitution, it should be noted, was another important link between rural and urban Japan, with labor flowing from impoverished rural areas to urban brothels and a network of procurers extending the economic reach of the cities into the provinces.

44. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), pp. 4–15.

45. Soeda Tomomichi, *Enka no Meiji Taishō shi* (Tokyo: Tosui Shobō, 1982), pp. 106–8; Komoto Nobuo et al., *Nihon ryūkōka shi* (Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1970), pp. 25–26.

This muted allusion to social conflicts accompanying prostitution ties this paragraph to other passages in *Hōrōki* that thematize prostitution more directly, such as the description of a prostitute with a missing thumb whom the protagonist befriends elsewhere in “*Hōrōki izen*,” or, later in the novel, the prostitutes who are rooming in the protagonist’s Shinjuku flophouse.

While the protagonist takes a great variety of jobs in the course of the narrative, including that of a café waitress on the edge of a red-light district, the line between such jobs in the so-called “water trade” and literal prostitution is one the protagonist refuses to cross, no matter how destitute she becomes. Yet the possibility, and at times the temptation, of falling into prostitution remains a constant undertone in *Hōrōki*—an undertone sounded even in this snippet of song from her childhood.

The Working Woman and the Winds of Revolution

Presently, the series of childhood remembrances designated as “*Hōrōki izen*” ends, and the series of journal entries that comprise the main text begins. When the journal begins, the protagonist has left the provinces and is attempting to make her own way in Tokyo. Despite the numerous, largely unsatisfying liaisons with men the narrator describes in her diary, her approach to life in the city remains one of fierce independence—she writes at one point that depending on a man for her meals was more insufferable than eating mud.⁴⁶

Twenty years before, there would have been few employment alternatives for a penniless young woman from the provinces other than to work as a prostitute, as a domestic servant, or as a factory worker in the textile mills.⁴⁷ But a conspicuous element of 1920s urban Japanese modernity was the increasing number of women performing a wider variety of jobs in the work force.⁴⁸ In fact, the phrase “*shokugyō fujin*” (working woman) first achieved currency in the early 1920s, making its way into the public imagination with songs such as Soeda Azenbō’s “*Shokugyō fujin no uta*” (Song of the working woman).

The verses of this song are sung from the point of view of various working women, including a typist, telephone operator, office worker, nurse, teacher, driver, housewife, model, and aviator:

46. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), p. 78.

47. On the employment choices for rural women in Meiji Japan, see “Alternatives: The Loom and the Brothel,” in E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 174–90.

48. See Margit Nagy, “Middle-Class Working Women During the Interwar Years,” in Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 199–216. For an excellent in-depth analysis of *Hōrōki* and the women’s labor market, see Kanai Keiko, “Hisagame no shuki: *Hōrōki* o megutte,” *Bungaku*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (April 1994), pp. 116–26.

I am a typist, a typist in an office!

Chorus: A typist!

Off to work! My spirit's always dancing

A dancing spirit, bathed in light

The letters I type away, one by one

Exude a flavor that words can't express

Chorus: Oh, this feeling! Girls who depend on a man

Just can't understand.⁴⁹

The jobs performed by the protagonist of *Hōrōki* are even more varied, although not always as fashionable. In different episodes of the narrative, she works as a nanny and a maid, a peddler of cotton goods on the streets of Tokyo, a worker in a factory that produces celluloid dolls, a waitress in *gyūdon* (beef-and-rice bowl) and sushi restaurants, a café waitress, a shop attendant, a pharmacist's assistant, an office worker, an advertising solicitor, and a journalist. She also applies for a job as a bus conductor but is rejected because of her poor eyesight, and toys with the idea of becoming an actress. Moreover, all this time the protagonist is determined to become a writer and devotes much of her energy to trying to sell her poems, short stories, and children's stories to various newspaper and magazine publishers.⁵⁰

The protagonist's employment history cuts across class boundaries and includes jobs associated with preindustrial, family-owned businesses; factory work and other manual labor; and white-collar jobs associated with the emerging service sectors of the urban economy. Yet perhaps because of the very instability of economic and class positions the protagonist occupies in the narrative, many readers seem to have identified the protagonist not as an upwardly mobile "working woman" but as a member of the underclass or "lumpen proletariat."⁵¹ Indeed, poverty and a concern for obtaining the bare minimum of food and shelter are recurrent themes in *Hōrōki*, and it is not surprising that this emphasis on survival amidst adversity resonated with contemporary readers. As the economy stalled repeatedly in the 1920s, even white-collar workers found themselves struggling to meet their living expenses. The situation was even more difficult for women workers, whose

49. Soeda, *Enka no Meiji Taishō shi*, p. 269. The song was published in 1920.

50. Irrespective of the upbeat, forward-looking perspective of Soeda's lyrics and the aggressive montage-based modernism of Hayashi's text, the structure of both "Shokugyō fujin no uta" and *Hōrōki* is also indebted to the premodern rhetoric of *mono-zukushi*, or exhaustive listing, found in Edo-period lyrical and dramatic texts such as Chikamatsu's *jōruri* and, in a more extensive sense, in the exhaustive series of stations in life occupied by the protagonist of Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai onna* (The life of an amorous woman, 1686), to which *Hōrōki* bears a particularly strong resemblance.

51. For a discussion of the contemporary interpretation of *Hōrōki* as a "lumpen" narrative, see Ericson, *Be a Woman*, pp. 63–69.

wages were far lower than men's.⁵² While Soeda Azenbō's song praises the coming of a bright new day for independent working women, the reality for women seeking employment in the new metropolis was more equivocal, and few could have documented the contradictions, ironies, and perils of the new women's job market more thoroughly than Hayashi Fumiko.

Among the many jobs that the protagonist of *Hōrōki* performs, that of the café waitress returns the most frequently, and this occupation carries a particular symbolic weight in the novel. As has been increasingly noted in studies of the interwar period, the café was one of the primary sites for the realization and contestation of Japan's modernity: an indispensable scene for the public performance, as well as the literary and cinematic representation, of so-called *modan seikatsu* (modern life).⁵³ The café, in which, typically, female waitresses (*jokyū*) served drinks to male customers in an erotically charged environment, was seen as the manifestation of a new form of culture in Japan, significantly different from previous sites of erotic and commercial interaction between men and women, such as the geisha house.⁵⁴

By narrating the "daily life" of a café waitress in her novel, Hayashi thus took the position of a figure who was already the focus of much media attention in contemporary Japan. She offered on the literary market an "inside account" of the life of this figure; her novel can thus be seen to reproduce (in an ideological as well as a mimetic sense) the public fascination with the café and its female workers. Hayashi's reproduction, however, performs a

52. According to the statistics cited by Kurosawa Ariko, about 14 per cent of female Tokyo residents were working in 1920; 85 per cent of these women were making less than ¥30 per month, while the cost of living for a single tenant in Tokyo was estimated to be ¥40 per month (although this estimate may be somewhat high). In a survey of the reasons for women working, 76.57 per cent replied "to supplement the family budget," while only 9.83 per cent answered "to support myself independently." Kurosawa Ariko, "Shukkyo suru shojotachi: 1910–20 nendai, Yoshiya Nobuko, Kaneko Misuzu, Ozaki Midori, Hirabayashi Taiko, Hayashi Fumiko hoka," in Ikeda Hiroshi, ed., "*Taishū*" no tōjo: *Hiiro to dokusha no 20–30 nendai* (Tokyo: Inpaku Shuppankai, 1998), p. 91.

53. In "The Cafe Waitress Serving Modern Japan," Miriam Silverberg writes, "The term *seikatsu* was associated with a radically transformed material culture or rationalized lifestyle accompanying new forms of leisure activity, and the cafe, along with the cinema, was the site most often associated with experiences characteristic of the new age, which was defined by a series of 'vanguard' gestures that had ostensibly broken away from any traditional framework." In Stephen Vlastos, ed., *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 208.

54. On the relationship between café waitresses, geisha, and other "women paid to be erotic," see *ibid.*, p. 211. For another look at the representation of café culture in the interwar period, see Elise K. Tipton, "The Café: Contested Space of Modernity in Interwar Japan," in Elise K. Tipton and John Clark, eds., *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910's to the 1930's* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 119–36.

significant reversal, wherein the objectified café waitress—the object of sexual desire and journalistic, literary, graphic, and cinematic representation—becomes the narrating subject, with the ability to represent her own desires.

It is the interest generated by this reversal, together with the general fascination with cafés and waitresses, that may account for much of the novel's initial commercial success. The literary critic Furuya Tsunatake, who was a 22-year-old café patron when *Hōrōki* first appeared, recalls the novel's impact as follows:

In those days, the easiest way for boys like me to freely have contact with a young woman was to drink with a café waitress. I had already become a regular customer in a café. And I had a strong curiosity about the hidden life, that is, the private life, of the women who were working in places like that.

Throughout *Hōrōki*, the job described most often was that of café waitress. At that time, rather than reading it as a work of literature, I should say that I read it to get a glimpse at the side of life waitresses didn't show to their customers.⁵⁵

The account that the *Hōrōki* narrator gives of cafés and their customers is not a flattering one. While working in a setting that objectified and commercialized women's sexuality, the narrator, conversely, comes to see the male customers in the café as objectified and commercialized. "Every customer's face looked like a piece of merchandise," she writes, "every customer's face looked tired."⁵⁶ As the narrator's frustration with this setting of sexual objectification grows, so does her anarchic impulse to resist. Visiting in her fantasies some of the more outrageous popular representations of women, she imagines crossing the border into complete criminality: "Life has become completely meaningless. Working at a place like this I grow wilder and wilder—I start wanting to become a shoplifter. I want to become a female mounted bandit. Or I want to become a whore."⁵⁷

55. From Furuya Tsunatake, "*Seishun no denki*": *Hayashi Fumiko* (1967), quoted in Mori Eiichi, "Hōrōki ron: Sono kisōteki kenkyū," *Kanazawa Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu kiyō: Jinmon kagaku, shakai kagaku hen* 33 (February 1984), pp. 99–100.

56. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), p. 140.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 164. Female criminality, linked with the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency (*furyōshōnenshōjo*), was another significant aspect of the journalistic representation of Japanese modernity. (A parody of this discourse, in which the protagonist seeks aid from a viscountess who has expressed interest in "rescuing delinquent boys and girls," appears in *Hōrōki* [1973], pp. 120–23.) The narrator's idea of becoming a "female mounted bandit" (*onna bazoku*), however, seems linked to the metropole's imagination of romantic outlaws on the margins of Japan's sphere of colonialist influence in Manchuria. Examples of the "mounted bandit" image in Japanese popular culture include Arimoto Hōsui's adventure novel *Bazoku no ko* (Child of the mounted bandits, 1915), and Ikeda Fuyō's *Bazoku no uta* (Song of the mounted

When faced with the thoroughgoing commercialization of sexuality in the café workplace, the narrator makes her most extreme statements of her most anarchic, “free” sexual impulses. For example, in the chapter “Nigori zake,” a certain Mizuno, a hard-drinking college student and regular customer, is drinking and flirting with Hatsu-chan, one of the protagonist’s coworkers. When the protagonist returns to the café from a trip to the public bathhouse, Mizuno claims to have caught a glimpse of her unclothed body by “mistakenly” going through the women’s entrance at the bath. While Mizuno’s peeping is certainly a violation of the protagonist’s privacy, his sexual banter on the subject is arguably within the ground rules of the male-centered erotic space of the café. The narrator’s anger at this incident, however, seems less due to the Mizuno’s original intrusion than at the falsity and hypocrisy of the flirtatious sexuality that is the norm of the café. The narrator records in her diary, “I felt like screaming, ‘You want to see me naked? I’ll strip down naked in the broad daylight!’”⁵⁸

The tensions of the narrator’s situation are effectively encapsulated in one of Hayashi’s poems, which is incorporated as a montage element in *Zoku hōrōki*.

If you buy me ten shots of King of Kings [whiskey]
Shall I toss you a kiss?
Ah, a pitiful café waitress

Outside the blue window, it’s raining glass shards
Beneath the lantern, everything turns to liquor
Is “revolution” a wind that blows to the north?!
I’ve poured out all the whiskey.
Above the glass on the table, I open my red lips
And breathe fire
Shall I dance in my blue apron?
“The Golden Wedding” or “Caravan”—
What will tonight’s program be?

Well, now, there are three more glasses
Do I know what I’m doing, you ask
Sure, I’m okay
I’m a clever girl
I’m such a clever girl
To be lavishing my emotions without regret
On men like miserable pigs

bandits, serialized in the magazine *Nihon shōnen* from 1925). A popular song (author unknown) entitled “Bazoku no uta” (Song of the mounted bandits) also appeared around 1922. See Umehara Teikō, “Bazoku no uta: Taishū bungaku no gaishi ni yosete,” in Ikeda, ed., “*Taishū no tōjō*,” pp. 170–94.

58. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), p. 163.

As if tossing cut flowers
Is “revolution” a wind that blows to the north?⁵⁹

In this poem, Hayashi juxtaposes a number of conflicting languages of gender, sexuality, and politics that were a part of contemporary literary and ideological discourse. With such phrases as “blue window” and “red lips,” Hayashi employs common markers of the erotic environment of the Japanese café. Moreover, with the last line of the first stanza, “Ah, a pitiful café waitress” (*ō, aware na kyūjijo yo*), Hayashi draws upon contemporary depictions of the café waitress as a pathetic figure. In this regard, her poem can be compared with the lyrics for the 1930 hit song, “Jokyū no uta” (Song of the café waitress) by Saijō Yaso:⁶⁰

I am a flower of the barscene
blossoming at night
Red lipstick
gossamer sleeves
Floating, dancing
in the neon lights
But lonely when the drink wears off
petals of tears. . . .

Having their way with weak women
then throwing them aside
Those are the vain and empty
exploits of men
The woman loves him
but gives him up
A red blossom flowering
in the bitter floating world.⁶¹

Although Hayashi seems to quote from the repertory of similar depictions of waitresses as objects of pity, the differences between Hayashi’s poem and Saijō’s lyrics are soon apparent. By presenting the song’s “I” as passive and thoroughly resigned, Saijō merely reproduces the image, and

59. Hayashi, *Shinpan hōrōki*, pp. 237–39.

60. This was the theme song for the movie *Jokyū* (Café waitress) released in 1930, the same year as the publication of *Hōrōki* and *Zoku hōrōki*; the movie was based on Hirotsu Kazuo’s novel of the same name, which was serialized in the magazine *Fujin kōron* from August 1930.

61. Kata Koji, *Uta no Shōwashi* (Tokyo: Jiji Tsushinsha, 1975), p. 24. While the resemblance of Hayashi’s poem to this song might suggest that she is referring to it directly, her poem was originally published as part of the collection *Aouma o mitari* in 1929; thus any direct influence would have to be from Hayashi’s poem to Saijō’s lyrics. Rather than suggest such a direct relationship, however, I would argue that Hayashi’s poem and Saijō’s lyrics draw on a shared body of stereotypes and cultural/linguistic constructions.

the ideology, of woman as victim. While Hayashi also alludes to this image of woman as victim, at other moments in the poem she strikes a belligerent tone unimaginable in Saijō's song lyrics, denigrating the café patrons as "men like miserable pigs" (*tsumaranai buta no yō na otokotachi*).

Indeed, Hayashi juxtaposes phrases echoing the popular image of the victimized café waitress not only with a tone of belligerence, but with the language of revolution. It is the repeated line "Is 'revolution' a wind that blows to the north?" (*Kakumei to wa hoppō ni fuku kaze ka*) that serves as the powerful, yet ultimately ambivalent, crux of the poem. With this refrain, Hayashi raises the possibility that revolution will overturn the oppressive situation in which the waitress labors. Perhaps the "I" of the poem will herself be the agent of this change: her red lips signal not only sexuality but violence, breathing fire, and even revolution.

We can imagine that twin associations of the color red—as the color of Eros and the color of revolution—were particularly fresh in the minds of Hayashi's reading public, because the serialization of *Hōrōki* followed soon after Bolshevik feminist and diplomat Alexandra Kollontai's novella "Vasilisa Malygina," translated as *Akai koi* (Red love), touched off a sensation with the reading public in 1927.⁶² With this refrain, then, Hayashi quotes from the language of leftist activism, which was an undeniable aspect of the public discourse of the interwar period and yet one that seems irreconcilable with the sentimentalism of Saijō's song lyrics.

Nevertheless, in Hayashi's poem, the possibility of violent change is raised as a question, not an assertion. The word "revolution" (*kakumei*) is not printed in Sino-Japanese *kanji* characters, which would clarify, fix, and naturalize its meaning, but in *katakana*, as if the poet is quoting a foreign language, or a suspicious term of intellectual argot. While the winds of revolution may blow to the north across Russia, it remains highly uncertain that there will be a change of weather in Japan. The power, and even the meaning, of the word "revolution" remains in doubt when considered against the pervasive commercialization of sexuality, and structural asymmetries of gender, with which the poem's "I" must contend as a café waitress.

Thus, in this poetic montage element and its corresponding prose passages, Hayashi confronts another aspect of the developing "mass culture" of 1920s Japan: the café as a paradigmatic site of the performance of "modern life," heavily promoted in songs, novels, magazines, films, and other popular media. Hayashi places her protagonist at this scene of labor and consumption, which is at once an arena of economic activity and a discursively produced and contested cultural space. Employing her distinctively heterogeneous writing strategy, Hayashi highlights the linguistic fissures around

62. On the reception of Kollontai's work in Japan, see Akiyama Yōko, "'Akai koi' no shōgeki: Korontai no juyō to gokai," in Ikeda, ed., *Taishū no tōjo*, pp. 98–116.

this cultural space, bringing her protagonist's personal trials and rebellious stance into relief amid the conflicting languages of sentiment and revolution.

"Mass Literature" and Mass Culture in Hōrōki

The job of café waitress, featured prominently in *Hōrōki*, is ultimately only one of a bewildering variety of roles that the protagonist performs in the course of the novel. It is this fluidity, rather than any single occupation or class position, that is the most remarkable feature of the protagonist's social "identity." Indeed, there is a protean quality to *Hōrōki*'s narrator-protagonist—as if she were determined to perform with her own body every possible role in the new metropolis. Appropriately, one of the chapter headings in the original edition of the novel is "Hyakumensō" (One hundred faces).⁶³ The suddenness with which the protagonist moves from one role to the next can be disorienting to the reader. In fact, we can identify a tension in the novel between the desire of the narrator-protagonist to present herself as a writer and the equally strong impulse to present herself as the anonymous and ubiquitous everywoman. This tension is related, I believe, to the developing concepts of "the masses" and "mass literature" in the 1920s.

The concept of *taishū bungaku* (mass literature) emerged in the mid-1920s as writers such as Shirai Kyōji and Naoki Sanjūgo sought to redefine and legitimize traditionally "popular" (*tsūzoku*) genres including historical fiction, as well as to establish alliances with writers in relatively new genres, such as the mystery writer Edogawa Ranpo.⁶⁴ The term *taishū bungaku* signaled not only a revision of generic categories, but also a new conception of the audience or market for these writers' literary products, a body of potential consumers of literature unhinged from previous class and regional affiliations and placed within the grasp of the growing advertising and publishing industries operating from the metropolis.

No sooner had the concept of *taishū bungaku* been formulated than the opposing concept of *jun bungaku* (pure literature) also came to the fore. Advocates of *jun bungaku* upheld the value of literature as individual self-expression rather than as a commodity aimed at a mass market. Ironically, one of the clearest articulations of the opposition of *jun bungaku* and *taishū bungaku* came from the developing realm of mass media production itself,

63. Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), p. 71.

64. Ikeda Chosuke, the editor of Hakubunkan's *Kōdan zasshi*, is credited with coining the term *taishū bungaku* (mass/popular literature) for advertising copy in 1924; this was also one of the first recorded uses of the term *taishū*. Shirai, Naoki, and associates formed the "Twenty-first Club" (*nijū-ichinichi-kai*) in 1925 and began publishing a coterie journal, *Taishū bungei*, in January of the following year; meanwhile, Shirai was editing a series of *enbon*, *Gendai taishū bungaku zenshū*, which began publication in May 1927. *Shinchō Nihon bungaku jiten* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1988), pp. 742–43.

in the form of opposing canons of modern Japanese literature marketed as series of one-yen books (*enbon*), namely the publishing house Kaizōsha's *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* (Complete collection of modern Japanese literature, 1926) and Heibonsha's *Gendai taishū bungaku zenshū* (Complete collection of modern popular literature, 1927).

Soon after mainstream writers and editors developed the category of *taishū bungaku*, a debate emerged within the burgeoning camp of communist and socialist writers over the need to enact a "popularization" or "massification" (*taishūka*) of proletarian literature.⁶⁵ In this case, however, the masses were envisioned not merely as a consumer market for a cultural product, but as a potential collective agent of revolutionary political change.

Hayashi's *Hōrōki* presents both a contribution and a challenge to this discourse on mass culture. Her narrative captures certain key moments in the development of Japanese popular culture and links her first-person protagonist's personal growth and cultural awareness to these developing cultural forms, such as the "domestic novel," and the song, advertising posters, and films associated with Katyusha and the *Resurrection* stage play. While the narrator establishes a certain ironic distance from these early forms of mass culture, her work simultaneously serves as an homage to them; indeed, *Hōrōki*, which itself was to become a major popular success, seems to be constructing its own lineage as a mass-cultural artifact. The body of *Hōrōki* extends the equivocal embrace of mass culture found in the first chapter, contributing to the burgeoning repertoire of media representations of the café as a uniquely modern form of culture, yet emphasizing the protagonist's highly individual and skeptical response to this economic and discursive space.

Although her work thus thematizes the various manifestations of an incipient Japanese mass culture, Hayashi's novel itself conforms to none of the formulas associated with *taishū bungaku*. Rather, insofar as this eccentric novel fits any established literary categories, it can be deemed a type of *shishōsetsu* (I-novel), the prose genre most closely associated with *jun bungaku*. The novel's prose style, with its mixture of colloquialisms and "vulgar" language with classicisms and literary language, also cuts across the developing distinctions between *taishū bungaku* and *jun bungaku*. Furthermore, whereas citations of popular culture are perhaps the most striking elements of the novel's montage texture, works of classical literature, such as the *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise), the *Sarashina nikki* (Sarashina diary), Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai onna* (One woman who loved love), and the

65. See Kurihara Yukio, "Taishūka to puroretaria bungaku," in Ikeda, ed., "*Taishū*" no *tōjo*, pp. 205–17; Maeda Ai, *Maeda Ai chōsakushū*, Vol. 2: *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbo, 1989), pp. 199–216.

haiku and travel narratives of Bashō, are equally a part of Hayashi's inter-textual frame of reference.⁶⁶

Hayashi's work thus confounds the distinction between *taishū bungaku* and *jun bungaku*, positing itself as neither "pure" nor purely "mass" literature. But the novel's unusual position with regard to the developing category of mass literature lies foremost within the character of the protagonist herself. Previous constructions of literary identity tacitly assumed a binary relationship, with the writer on one side and the masses on the other. In the case of *jun bungaku*, this binary relationship was one of pure opposition; in the case of *taishū bungaku*, it was the relationship between the creator of a cultural product and his or her market; in proletarian literature, it was the pedagogic relationship of a member of the "vanguard" (*zen'ei*) to the unawakened masses. In each case, it was a relationship between a strongly defined artistic subject on one side and an objectified mass on the other.

Hayashi, by contrast, attempts to construct her narrator's subjectivity on both sides of this divide. She narrates both the birth of a modern writer and, atypically, the birth of a modern reader: her protagonist is both a producer and a consumer of culture, a writer and an urban everywoman. Although Hayashi's resistance to these rapidly solidifying categories is remarkable, the strain of challenging the binary of the individual and the masses is evident in the mercurial and fragmentary nature of her protagonist's subjectivity.

Given that an important narrative strand of *Hōrōki* is the story of Japanese mass culture itself, it is worth briefly inquiring into the nature of this culture as depicted in the novel. First of all, we can note that it is extremely heterogeneous or hybrid in terms of its sources and expressions. Among the cultural artifacts incorporated into Hayashi's montage narrative such as "Katyusha's Song" and "Song of the Strike," we can identify no purely Japanese or Western culture, nor is there a clear distinction between traditional and modern. Especially in the early mass culture depicted in "*Hōrōki izen*," there is an extreme fluidity among different genres: novels, songs, different types of theater, and cinema are all combined and mutually reinforced in

66. For example, when the narrator declares in the opening paragraphs that "the open road became my hometown," her words echo the famous opening passage of Matsuo Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi* (Narrow road to the deep north, 1702), in which the poet invokes the lives of the wandering souls who "make travel their dwelling" (*tabi o sumika to su*).

When published in the journal *Nyonin geijutsu*, the novel's installments carried the subtitle *uta nikki* (poetic diary), suggesting its self-conscious ties to literary diaries such as *Sarashina nikki*, as well as classical *uta monogatari* such as *Ise monogatari*. It should also be noted, however, that the number of classical or pseudo-classical sentence endings was substantially increased in the post-1939 revised editions of *Hōrōki* and was a relatively minor element in the first edition. On the classical "lineages of a woman's diary," see Ericson, *Be a Woman*, pp. 59–63.

imaginative ways—what film historian J. L. Anderson identifies as the phenomenon of “commingled media.”⁶⁷

It is no surprise that when the narrator-protagonist moves to Tokyo, she expresses her enthusiasm for the neighborhood of Asakusa, the district that housed both an amusement park and a large concentration of movie theaters, review theaters, halls for storytelling, arcades, cafés, eateries, and other entertainment venues.⁶⁸ Asakusa was thus the site within the capital where precisely the sort of syncretic, genre-crossing mass entertainment identified as “commingled media” flourished. As the syncretic cultural space of Asakusa corresponds strongly with the “mongrel” subjectivity of Hayashi’s protagonist and the “admixture” quality of her text, it seems almost inevitable that Asakusa scenes would be included as set pieces in *Hōrōki* and its sequels.

In his cultural study of Tokyo published in 1987, Yoshimi Shun’ya identifies four primary characteristics of prewar Asakusa as urban space. (1) Its syncretism: it is a space that “digests” every type of person and thing, without losing its own individuality. (2) Its provisional nature: it is a “stage” that is never static or complete but always ready to adopt new characters or scenarios. (3) Its fluidity: people and events in Asakusa are constantly shifting their roles and identities. (4) Its communal and interactive nature: a sense of common identity and purpose exists between members of the Asakusa crowds, or between stage performers and their audience.⁶⁹

These four points can be applied not only to much of the popular culture described in *Hōrōki*, but arguably to the *Hōrōki* text itself, and indeed to the nature of its protagonist’s subjectivity. The syncretism of *Hōrōki* as a text is clear, as is the narrator’s own declaration to be “a crossbreed” or “mongrel.” Also striking is the provisional or incomplete nature of the text, which eschews chronological narrative and constantly embraces new scenarios (a nonlinear development that readily carries over into the novel’s sequels). Similarly, the protagonist’s subjectivity appears to be open, provisional, and constantly shifting.

Finally, although *Hōrōki* is no more intrinsically communal or interactive than any novel, the protagonist’s unusual protean quality offers multiple

67. J. L. Anderson, “Spoken Silents in the Japanese Cinema: Or, Talking to Pictures: Es-saying the Katsuben, Contextualizing the Texts,” in Arthur Nolletti Jr. and David Desser, eds., *Reframing Japanese Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 259–310.

68. The chapter “Hitori tabi” begins with the lines: “Asakusa is great. Asakusa’s a great place to go any time. Amid the fast-paced lights, I’m a swirling, wandering Katyusha.” Hayashi, *Hōrōki* (1973), p. 172. Asakusa set-pieces, each including the refrain “Asakusa is a great place” (*Asakusa wa ii tokoro da*), are also featured in *Hōrōki*’s sequels, *Zoku hōrōki* and “*Hōrōki*” *daisanbu*. *Shinpan hōrōki* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1979), pp. 280–83, 318–19.

69. Yoshimi Shunya, *Toshi no dramaturugi: Tōkyō, sakariba no shakaishi* (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1987), pp. 209–13.

points of identification for the novel's audience, which may help to account for its exceptional popularity. The stories of other women such as café waitresses and factory workers that are woven into the novel, as well as the communal bonds forged between these women in their shared work and living environments, also provide a communalistic counterpoint to the protagonist's otherwise strong individualism and dominating narrative voice.

If *Hōrōki* is partly an homage to new forms of media and mass culture, then the entertainment industry has repaid the compliment—the novel has been repeatedly appropriated by various media, to considerable popular success. One year after the novel's publication, a version of *Hōrōki* was performed by the most famous review theater troupe of the day, the Asakusa Casino Follies. In 1935, *Hōrōki* was adapted for film by the director Kimura Sotoji. The novel and its adaptations were suppressed during the war years, but *Hōrōki* reemerged as a cultural icon in the postwar period. Two more film adaptations were released in 1954 and 1962, the latter a highly regarded film directed by Naruse Mikio. The novel and its many adaptations also received considerable airplay on radio and television.⁷⁰ In addition, the actress Mori Mitsuko had great success as the protagonist of *Hōrōki* for the reconstituted Geijutsuza troupe's theater adaptation—a role she reprised over 1,200 times after her debut in the role in 1961.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the popular success of Hayashi's novel, and its subsequent appropriation into various mass media, should not be allowed to obscure the novel's significance as a critical representation of mass culture, and not simply an example of it. In "*Hōrōki izen*," Hayashi frames her exploration of urban modernity with a prelude that examines the reciprocal relationship between metropolitan and provincial Japan. Incorporating key events in the development of mass or commercial popular culture into her own personal narrative, she suggests the importance of this culture to her first-person protagonist's subject-formation, while maintaining an ironic distance that suggests that this cultural consumption does not preclude the possibility of critique. Her account highlights particularly the important role gender played in the marketing of the new mass culture—how certain cultural products were designed to appeal to, and indeed to produce, a certain kind of roman-

70. Eighteen readings and radio-play versions were broadcast on NHK and other radio networks between 1957 and 1967; *Hōrōki* was also broadcast as a television drama three times in the early 1960s. An animated version directed by Imura Kazuo appeared as part of the 1986 television series *Seishun anime zenshū* (distributed in the United States as *Animated Classics of Japanese Literature*). See Shinjuku Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Hayashi Fumiko: Shinjuku ni ikita hito* (Tokyo: Shinjuku Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 1991), pp. 82–85, 87. Nakagawa Shigemitsu, "Hayashi Fumiko to sono jidai: Naruse Mikio sakuhin kara," *Shōwa bungaku kenkyū*, No. 18 (February 1989), pp. 86–87.

71. Nichigai Asoshietsu, ed., *Gendai Nihon josei jinmei roku* (Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshietsu, 1996), p. 1135.

tic female subject. The narrator's attitude to this subject formation is highly ambivalent: she acknowledges its power, yet asserts, through her ironic tone, her own degree of mastery over it.

In the subsequent chapters, Hayashi places this first-person subject within the urban masses, performing a kaleidoscopic variety of roles as both producer and consumer of material and cultural goods. With this multifaceted subjectivity, she poses her own challenge to the developing discourse on "mass literature" and mass culture, which tended to posit an active culture-producing intelligentsia on the one hand and a passive, objectified mass of culture consumers on the other.

Hayashi Fumiko's modernism is neither strictly of mass culture nor strictly opposed to it. Rather, she shrewdly documents the development of a new mass culture, while boisterously disrupting the boundaries that would separate individual from mass, producer from consumer, and high from low. Hayashi combines a culturally rooted sentimentalism with a new cynicism; her work is both an homage to the dawn of mass culture and an attempt to build something new.

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