

The Rhetoric of *Rubi* in Tsubouchi Shōyō's Translation of *Henry IV, Part 1* (1919)

——坪内逍遙訳の『ヘンリー四世第一部』（1919年）
におけるルビの遣い方——

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Synopsis: Tsubouchi Shōyō's technique of inserting *furigana* symbols (*rubi*) to indicate phonetic readings of *kanji* and *kanji* compounds is one of various strategies he deploys in his Shakespeare translations to reproduce an illusory depth in the source texts that is central to his view of Shakespeare. Similar to the translations, which were completed mainly between the late Meiji and early Shōwa eras, *rubi* is a temporary device that looks forward to a more literate age, and thus compensates for the limitations Tsubouchi felt with regard to the emerging modern Japanese language to convey Shakespeare's depth and nuances. This article gives examples of Tsubouchi's use of *rubi* in a scene from his translation of *Henry IV, Part 1*, and reference is made to one of the seminal works in Tsubouchi's early reading of Western criticism as evidence of the rhetorical qualities that he hoped to convey in his translations.

Rubi as a compensatory strategy

When Tsubouchi Shōyō first tried to translate Shakespeare in the mid-1880s he did so in the style of traditional Japanese drama, but this was just before the rise of the *genbun itchi* movement, when through the influence of a group of literary pioneers classical Japanese was replaced by the colloquial vernacular as the written standard. By the time Tsubouchi was translating Shakespeare for serious in the late 1900s, most new novels were being written more or less as Japanese people spoke their language rather than in the classical style, whose use had been limited to a small educated elite.¹

The *genbun itchi* movement was led initially by young novelists such as Futabatei Shimei and Yamada Bimiyō looking for modern styles with which to portray the lives of Japanese people of the 1880s and 90s in the grip of modernization and Westernization. It can therefore be considered an example of what Werner Wolf describes as literature's role as 'an element in a historical process of remediation [...] by which media merge or become differentiated thus leading to the emergence of new media'.² Yet Tsubouchi (who was born in 1859) came of age a few years before the *genbun itchi* pioneers, and was always on the periphery of the movement. Tsubouchi went along with *genbun itchi* but had his own ideas about language reform and literary style, and although eventually adopting a style for translating Shakespeare that he called 'colloquial and contemporary', it is above all what he calls 'the warmth' (*jōmi*) and 'flavour' (*chōmi*) of Shakespeare's writing to which he responds, and for which he felt archaism and classical style could, in places, offer more effective equivalents than the modern vernacular.³ In an era of language modernization, classicism also relates to Tsubouchi's aesthetic view of the hiddenness of Shakespeare's genius, or what Seth Jacobowitz calls 'his desire to read literary texts as invested or encoded with illusory depth'.⁴

Tsubouchi's translating style is better seen, therefore, as hybrid rather than as strictly classical or modern. He had little wish to translate Shakespeare into the Yamanote dialect of the Tokyo middle class, which even in Tsubouchi's lifetime became accepted as 'standard Japanese' (*hyōjungo*), but he did want his translations to be read by a larger section of the population than the educated elite, and as an offshoot of *genbun itchi* adopted the practice of inserting *rubi* (or *furigana*) to indicate his preferred phonetic readings of *kanji* (Sino-Japanese characters) and *kanji* compounds in his translations (but much less so in his Shakespeare criticism, which was intended for a more highly educated readership).⁵

The convention of inserting *rubi* in printed texts dates from the

early Tokugawa period in the 17th century, and became widespread in the Meiji era as literacy rates grew with the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1872, and a reading public established itself. Since the use of *kanji* was not fully standardized until after 1945, and writers such as Tsubouchi would often use *kanji* that exceeded the knowledge of readers educated even to high school level, the *rubi* convention was clearly one that helped both writers and readers.⁶ Tsubouchi may have had a subordinate purpose of promoting literacy in Japanese through his translations, since he emphasizes the breadth and diversity of Shakespeare's vocabulary in comparison to the nascent Tokyo dialect,⁷ but his purpose is also literary, and he uses *rubi* to indicate alternatives to the standard, expected reading. These alternatives are usually both more rhythmical and speakable in their context than the standard reading, and (like Shakespeare's tropes of juxtaposition and repetition) can function metaphorically to defer meaning. This technique survives in *manga* cartoons and synchronized lyrics on Japanese karaoke videos, where occasional deviations are said to add a conventionalized literary touch to the performance, and even if (as is usually the case, even in Tsubouchi's translations) there is no deviation, the use of *rubi* creates a rhetorical impression by default. Friederike von Schwerin-High observes that *rubi* glossing, like Tsubouchi's repetition of key words, serves to heighten 'the general strangeness and complexity of the text'.⁸ Tsubouchi avoids the wholesale rendition of Shakespeare's language in classical style for the same reason as the Meiji novelists, namely that it was too allusive and suggestive for the pace of a modern narrative, but by way of compensation he finds in *rubi* and other devices a means of asserting the symbolic richness (and strangeness) of Shakespeare's poetic drama. *Rubi* visualize the rhetoric of the source.

A striking example of the technique comes in the opening shots of the quarrel between Oberon and Titania in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as Tsubouchi translated it in 1915:⁹

OBERON Ill met by moonlight, proud Titania.
 TITANIA What jealous Oberon? Fairies, skip hence.
 I have foresworn his bed and company.
 OBERON Tarry, rash wanton. Am not I thy lord?
 TITANIA Then I must be thy lady.
 (2.1.46-50)

オビロ ^{けんしきや} 尊^{ところ}大家さん、わるい^あ處で逢^{つきよ}ったねえ月夜に。
Kenshikiyasan, warui tokoro de atta nē tsukiyo ni.
 チテー ^{なん} 何ですって、嫉妬^{やっかみ}家さん！……妖精^{すだま}ら、さっさと
 お跳^とび。わたしゃアあの人とは決^{けつ}して一しょに
 臥^ねたり遊^{あそ}んだりはしない筈^{はず}だから。
Nan desutte, yakkamiya-san! ... Sudamara, sassato otobi,
watashā ano hito to wa kesshite issho ni netari asondari
wa shinai hazu dakara.
 オビロ ^ま 待ちな、向^{むか}う見^みずの淫^{いたづらもの}蕩^{われ}者。予^{おまえ}は汝の
 殿^{との}さまぢやアないか？
Machi na, mukōmizu no itazuramono. Ware wa omae no
tonosama jā nai ka?
 チテー ぢや、わたしは汝の奥^{おまえ}様^{おくさま}でなくッちやならない^{わけ}譯^だ
Ja, watashi wa omae no okusama de nakuccha naranai
wake da

The *kanji* for ‘proud’ is written *sondai* 尊大, one of several possible collocations for ‘pride’, but the phonetic reading is *kenshikiya*, which besides sounding more acerbic than *sondaiya* also means something slightly different, ‘an opinionated person’. In reply, Titania calls her husband *yakkamiya* (written *shittoya*, 嫉妬家), which echoes a popular expression for jealousy, *yakimochi*, literally ‘a roasted rice cake’. The translation seems to characterize Titania as a type of modern woman speaking above her station and Oberon the typical jealous husband

found in classical Japanese comedy, and so the tone is set for the dialogue that follows. 'Fairy' is written *yōsei* 妖精 but pronounced *sudama*, a type of shape-shifting mountain and river spirit from Chinese mythology and Japanese folklore; the word is both more mellifluous than *yōsei* and more specific to its Japanese context. Likewise, Oberon's 'rash wanton' (2.1.64) is translated *mukōmizu itazuramono*: *mukōmizu* 向う見ず means 'not looking where you are going' and *itazura*, the standard collocation for 'mischief maker', is written *intō* 淫蕩, meaning 'degenerate' or 'debauched'. The two characters that comprise this word each contain the radical for 'water' 氵 that would also put Titania in the category of river spirits, as well as expressing her mutable nature.

By visibly differentiating the two writing systems (*kanji* and *kana*), Tsubouchi conveys a historical process of mediality to his readers as they are actively involved in associating sound and image and rewarded for recognizing discrepancies between given and expected readings when those arise. Tsubouchi's purpose is pedagogic and determined by convention, but in retrospect his *rubi* can be said to look forward to some unspecified time in the future when a more integrated mode of Shakespeare translation will be possible, *rubi* no longer necessary, and the genre of literary translation more generally accepted within the mainstream of modern Japanese literature. In fact, modern Japan had seen a proliferation of literary translations since the Meiji era ('the age of translation') and *rubi* were adopted for texts by native Japanese writers as well,¹⁰ and yet it is arguably only through the redefinition of the subject and assertion of popular sovereignty in the post-war constitution of 1947 that this process of mediality becomes complete, and the capacity to associate sound with image assumed to be inherent to all adult subjects rather than in some higher authority.¹¹

Rubi is, therefore, a technique that privileges readers' subordinate status as language learners, and enables the translator not only to indicate preferred readings of individual *kanji* and *kanji* compounds but also to make broader links or patterns across a text, transferring to

readers something of the translator's rhetorical interest in the strangeness and complexity of the source. In a tribute published a few months after Tsubouchi's death, the poet Hattori Yoshika comments as follows on this particular technique:

The frequent use of *furigana* is a preferred strategy of Dr Tsubouchi, and may as such seem a little eccentric as a response to the nuances of Shakespeare's vocabulary. In my own concept of the Japanese language I prefer to write without *furigana*, and yet Dr Tsubouchi's translations would have been impossible without their use, and this is a point borne out by Dr Otsuki in his note on *furigana* in the *Daigenkai* dictionary. Moreover, the *furigana* add depth and colour to the vocabulary.¹²

Hattori next quotes a string of *kanji* compounds from the translations, each one glossed prodigiously with its *rubi*, and declares that

Their application is not only interesting in their context, but through their expressiveness and by force of necessity make the translations even more readable than the original text. Of course in actual performance this rhetorical purpose will be completely lost in many cases and as a result, as has been said, will gradually lose their stylistic purpose as directions for reading, and yet they remain a major feature of Dr Tsubouchi's Shakespeare translations.¹³

Hattori was a graduate in English literature from Waseda University where Tsubouchi was professor for many years, later becoming a leader of Japan's free verse movement. *Rubi* must have seemed to him a striking innovation, because he discusses it first among a roster of Tsubouchi's stylistic techniques. Tsubouchi's translations had been criticized for being overly theatrical and lacking in poetic depth, specifically for relying too much on archaisms that got in the way of readers' appre-

ciation of the original Shakespeare, and yet Hattori suggests that *rubi* served to make both the translation and the original text easier to understand, referring also to Otsuki Fumihiko, the pioneer of Japanese lexicography, whose standard *Daigenkai* dictionary had been published in 1932. He also makes the subtle point that far from imposing on readers a way of reading the text, *rubi* are made moribund by theatrical reality. Hattori's article appeared in a monthly periodical published by the Chūō Kōron company to promote sales of the revised versions of his translations Tsubouchi made at the end of his life; his main reason for revising his translations had been to make them more suited for performance.¹⁴

Falstaff, Hal, and the flair of the moment

The rest of this article looks briefly at the interpretive use Tsubouchi makes of *rubi* glossing in a scene (2.4) from his translation of Shakespeare's history play *Henry IV, Part 1*, first published by Waseda University Press in 1919. This is one of the play's memorable lowlife scenes in which the fat knight Sir John Falstaff boasts outrageously to the young Prince Hal about having been attacked and robbed on the highway earlier in the day. Hal knows that Falstaff is exaggerating events because he was in fact one of the robbers. The mood changes dramatically towards the end of the scene when news arrives of civil rebellion, and Hal prepares for his summons the next day before the king, his father, by role playing the dreaded meeting with his mentor. The scene epitomizes the tension between poetic license and historical veracity, and indeed the potential of poetic drama to speak the truth of history, that Tsubouchi found fascinating in Shakespeare's history plays, and like other Japanese Shakespeareans since he was attracted by the character of Falstaff.¹⁵ Moreover, like other Falstaff scenes, this one is written in prose rather than blank verse, and its poetic values are expressed through word play and a lively turn of phrase rather than me-

ter. Tsubouchi would translate even the blank verse of Shakespeare's plays into Japanese prose rather than a metrical equivalent, and as in this scene a technique like *rubi* may compensate for the absence of poetic form. The translation provides striking examples of the technique, starting with the first line, where Hal asks Poin, 'Ned, prithee come out of that fat room' (2.4.1), 'fat' meaning 'stuffy' or 'full of stale air'.

ネッド、おい、頼む、その脂肪臭い^{あぶら}室^{へや}から出て来て¹⁶

Neddo, oi, tanomu, sono abura kusai heya kara dete kite

'Fat' is written *shibō* but pronounced *abura kusai* ('stinking of fat'), which is more speakable, eliding with *heya* for 'room'. Tsubouchi supposes that this stuffy room is one smelling of old food and cooking oil, and thus makes a link with Falstaff's main physical characteristic. Falstaff dominates the scene, its Rabelaisian detail an extension of the grossness (or fatness) of his imagination. In Hal's speech that follows (4-5), 'hogshead' is pronounced *bōdara*, a dried cod, which is a visual equivalent of the sound play on 'loggerheads' (*donkan*) and 'hogsheads' (*ōdaru*). Yet *bōdara* is written as *donkan* 鈍漢, a standard collocation for 'dull brute', and given an additional twist with the substitution of *kan* 漢, meaning 'guy', for *kan* 感 'feeling', as the usual word is 鈍感, 'dull' or 'insensitive'.

POINS Where hast been, Hal?

PRINCE With three or four loggerheads, amongst three or
fourscore hogsheads.

おほだる ぼうだら ひき とこ 17
大樽が六七十、鈍漢が三四頭といふ處にゐた。

Ōdaru ga rokunana-jū, bōdara ga sanyonhiki to iu toko ni ita.

Tsubouchi's translation of the Complete Works, starting in 1909, came after two decades of immersion in mainly 19th century Shake-

speare editions and scholarship, and in the case of *rubi* glossing a perspective is suggested by one of those works, Richard Green Moulton's *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker*, published by the Clarendon Press in 1907, in which the University of Chicago professor analyzed the range of Shakespeare's dramatic effects according to an Aristotelian methodology that contrasts with the positivism of Edward Dowden (whom Tsubouchi also admired).¹⁸ With specific reference to the Falstaff plays, Moulton writes as follows of tonal variation in Shakespeare's dramaturgy:

Tones may act in harmony with each other, and they may also clash, when opposite emotions meet with a shock in the same effect. In the physical body such a clash of opposites makes hysteria: the mobile nervous energy relieves itself by laughter and tears together. [...] From these successive conceptions – of dramatic tones, scale of tones, mixture of tones, tone-clash – we may proceed to the final conception of humour as tone-tremulousness, like the shake in music; there is no clash or shock, but diverse or opposite emotions come so smoothly together that they flow into a single delightful impression.¹⁹

Moulton's notion of tonal variation can be said to correspond with the rhetorical effect of Tsubouchi's *rubi*, and of 'tone-tremulousness' with the puns to which his *rubi* sometimes contribute. Where Tsubouchi's *rubi* diverge from their dictionary readings, this is for reasons of speakability and interpretive clarity but may also add a quality of ingenuity or flair he finds in the source text. Within the rest of Hal's long speech, there are two more interesting *rubi*: *dontenkan* (written *ikakeya* 鑄掛屋, 'tinker'²⁰), for 'I can drink with any tinker in his own language' (17-8), and *nobetsu ni* (written *renzokuteki ni* 連続的に, 'continually'²¹), in 'do thou never leave calling 'Francis!'' (30). *Dontenkan* echoes *donkan* ('dull brute') above, and may also pun with *tenkan* ('epileptic'),

besides suiting the phonological context in *mō donna dontenkan to demo* ('with any tinker'). *Nobetsu ni* also suits its context, *sono aida onoshi wa nobetsu ni* ('you never stop'), and through the repetition of the *no* phoneme imitates the rhetorical emphasis made by inverting the verb in the source. In short, the tonal value of these *rubi* is Hal's humorous contempt for Falstaff's lowlife companions.

Tsubouchi frequently uses the character *nanji* 汝 for the Shakespearean 'thou' but with two or more different readings depending on context, for example as *kisama* in 'Wilt thou rob this leathern jerkin, crystal-button, not-pated' Falstaff (68-9), where *kisama* has the derogatory sense of 'you rogue'. Tsubouchi handles this convoluted insult by putting the verbal structure at the beginning.

ぢや、汝^{きさま}はいよいよ引剥^{ひっぱ}いではうてのか？あの柔革胴衣^{なめしらよつ き}の、水晶^{すゐしやう}
鈕^{ほたん}の、五分刈頭^{ふがりあたま}の、瑪瑙指輪^{めなうゆびわ}の、鼠股引^{ねずみももひき}の、毛絲紐^{けいとひも}の、辯口^{くちまへ}の好^いい、
スベインぶくろ²²
西班牙囊²²の……

Ja, kisama wa iyoioy hippaide shimaoute no ka? Ano nameshira yokki no, suishō botan no, gobu gariatama no, menō yubiwa no, nezumi momohiki no, keito himo no, kuchimae no ii, Supein bukuro no
……

Tsubouchi translates Poins' 'cunning match' ('what cunning match have you made with this jest of the drawer?', 87-9) with the word *ganrōmono* 玩弄物, 'plaything' or 'mockery', but pronounced *chōsaibō*, literally 'dandy roving'. He usually writes foreign words like the names of characters in *katakana*, having abandoned the early Meiji practice of rendering foreign names in *kanji*, but makes an exception for Harry Percy's nickname, Hotspur, which he writes *Atsuhakusha*, combining *atsu* for 'hot' and *hakusha* for 'spur', but the pronunciation indicated as *Hotto-*²⁴*supā*. Hotspur thus becomes a legend of time and place, and the nickname is developed in the caricature, 'he that kills me some six or seven dozens of Scots at a breakfast' (100-1); *Sukottorandojin* ('Scots') is writ-

ten with the Meiji compound 蘇國人²⁵ rather than in *katakana*.

At the end of Hal's prelude, just before the entrance of Falstaff, 'says' in "Rivo!" says the drunkard' (108) is written with the character for *sakebu* ('shout') 叫 but pronounced *ganaru* ('yell', 'scream'²⁶). In this way, Tsubouchi combines the simplicity of 'says' with the obscurity of the drinking cry 'Rivo!' (which he writes in the original Roman letters). Tsubouchi often gives *katakana* readings for classical gods such as Jupiter and Mars, but in Hal's rhetorical question, 'Didst thou never see Titan kiss a dish a butter' (115), Titan (the red-faced Roman sun god, nodding at Falstaff) is simply *taiyō* (the sun, with the first character *tai*, 'fat'), and 'butter' is written *gyūroku* ('cow's ferment') but read *batā*, the modern word.²⁷ When the butter melts in 'the sweet tale of the sun', 'tale' meaning 'persuasive speech' is translated *benkō* 辯口 but read *kuchimae*. They both mean 'manner of speaking', but *kuchimae* is softer and more humorous than *benkō*, comprising two native words, *kuchi* and *mae*.²⁸

In these examples, Tsubouchi's *rubi* work to lighten the tone of the dialogue. Other typical *rubi* readings with the purpose of speakability are *wake* for *riyū* 理由 ('reason') and *kecchi* for *rettō* 劣等 ('inferior'). Falstaff's 'Zounds' (229, 'God's wounds') is written *seigon* ('solemn oath') but pronounced *Zaunzu*.²⁹ The scene includes numerous more distinct usages, such as when Falstaff suggests that 'If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries' (232-3), and 'plentiful' is translated literally *kata* 夥多 but the reading *fundan* ('abundant') sounds more lavish (and fruity).³⁰ Another example of matching *rubi* to the prosody, and in this case to the pithiness of the source, is heard when Hal reveals that he and Poins were the robbers all along.

We two saw you four set on four, and bound them, and were masters of their wealth. (246-7)

まひ よつたり よつたり もの おそ しほ 物の と
お前たち四人が四人の者を襲つて、それを絞つておいて、物を奪つたの
を、おれたち二人は、ちやァんと見てゐたんだよ。³¹

Omaetachi yottari ga yottari no mono wo osotte, sore wo shibotte oite, mono wo totta no wo, oretachi futāri wa, chanto mite itan da yo.

Yottari ('four people') is the less usual reading than *yonin*, and introduces the string of rhymes on *ott-*.

When Falstaff tells Hal, 'I knew ye as well as he that made ye.' (261-2), the verb for 'make' is *tsukuru* ('create') but read *koshirae-masutta*, which has the rhetorical nuance of 'fashioned' and is in a polite register. In this speech, Falstaff uses the word 'instinct' three times in succession:

but beware instinct. The lion will not touch the true prince; instinct is a great matter. I was now a coward on instinct. (263-6)

けれども本^{インスチンクト}能^{おそ}は恐ろしいもんだ。獅子^しは真^しの王^{ほん}の子^{わう}にア齒^こは觸^はれない
といふが、成程^{なるほど}、本^{インスチンクト}能^{えら}は偉^{そのインスチンクト}いもんだ。おれア其^{せい}本^{おく}能³³の故³³で臆³³しっ
まつたんだ。

Keredomo insuchinkuto wa osoroshii mon da. Shishi wa honto no ō nia ha wo furenai to iu ga, naruhodo, insuchinkuto wa erai mon da. Orea sono insuchinkuto no sei de oku shicchimattan da.

'Instinct' is rendered with the standard collocation *honnō* 本能, but because Falstaff is talking of something rather different from the usual run of human and animal instincts, the reading in all three cases is the English word *insuchinkuto*. Falstaff tries to recover his honour by claiming that even if he did not recognize Hal he knew subconsciously who he was, and 'The lion will not touch the true prince' (263). Tsubouchi may be foreignizing this type of instinct as a myth of kingship unfamiliar to Japanese readers, but it is significant that *honnō* (while unspoken) is echoed by the word *hontō* for 'true' in 'true prince' (263 and 266), as if a Japanese audience hearing the word *insuchinkuto*

for the first time might guess 'instinctively' that that is what Falstaff was talking about.

A few final examples illustrate the value of *rubi* for enhancing the speakability and textuality of Tsubouchi's translations, and in these cases the gist is towards domestication.³⁴ Just as English *insuchinkuto* hints at the potential alienation of Falstaff from the prince, in other words to a time when Hal will have a royal body of his own and thus no need of Falstaff's corporeality, their present relationship is grounded pragmatically in a shared cultural context. It is this context of shared jokes and drinking words that makes the scene a challenge to translate and for Japanese readers to grasp, and so a few choice *rubi* can only serve to point the way. For example, Hal jokes that with the storm clouds of war approaching women's virtue will soon become as cheap as the studs or hobnails on soldiers' boots.

Why then, it is like if there come a hot June and this civil buffeting hold, we shall buy maidenheads as they buy hobnails: by the hundreds. (352-4)

ちや、何だなんね、此この盛暑どようになつて、尚なほ此内亂このないらんが續つづいてるやうだと、沓くつの鉆びよう
 を買かふぐらゐの散財さんざいで、幾いくらも破瓜みづあげが出来でるなう。³⁵

Ja, nan da ne, kono doyō ni natte, nao kono nairan ga tsuzuiteru yō da to, kutsu no byō wo kau gurai no sanzai de, ikura mo mizuage ga dekiru nau.

The summer heat is rendered with the word *seisho* 盛暑, but since June is still the rainy season in Japan, where the summer does not begin until the end of July, the reference to June is dropped, and the word is read *doyō*, the so-called 'dog days' when the rains stop and traditionally braised eel (*unagi*) is eaten to store energy for the scorching heat. *Mizuage* (here written *haka* 破瓜, 'defloration') is the coming-of-age ceremony for apprentice geisha (*maiko*) that was sometimes a sexual initia-

tion as the patron sponsoring the teenage girl had the right to take her virginity. Hal's joke is prompted by Falstaff's that 'You may buy land now as cheap as stinking mackerel.' (350-1), and Tsubouchi may be registering the connection with fish, since written differently (but pronounced the same), *mizuage* can mean 'gross profits' or 'a haul of fish'.

Tsubouchi's solution might be criticized for lack of subtlety, but is arguably no less subtle than the source, and affirms a dichotomy between the foreignized and in that sense mystical 'instincts' of the crown and the popular culture that Hal has absorbed under Falstaff's tutelage. Even more than his Shakespeare translations, Tsubouchi is known for a statement in the work of literary theory that made his critical reputation, *Shōsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel, 1885-6), that 'The basic concern of novels is the depiction of human feelings. Social conditions and customs are secondary.'³⁶ Tsubouchi attacked the *gesakubon* novels of the feudal Tokugawa era that were short on psychological depth and high on local, often lurid detail. This is a similar dichotomy to the situation confronting Hal of a popular culture that is sensually gratifying but which he must eventually master if he is to acquire the mystical authority (or, as it were, psychological astuteness) of kingship. This tension is inscribed in the *rubi*.

In the vignette that follows, where Falstaff is pretending to be Hal's father, Hostess Quickly exclaims, 'O the father, how he holds his countenance!' (382).

おやまァ！ほんとに、^{おでこしばひ}下等芝居そつくだわねえ。
はゝゝゝ³⁷！

Oyamā! Honto ni, odeko shibai sikkura da wa nē. Ha ha ha ha ha!

Odeko means 'forehead', implying that Falstaff mimics the king's severity by comic browbeating, but written *katō* 下等, 'inferior' or 'low class', the complete phrase means 'just like in an inferior play'. Shakespeare's Quickly praises Falstaff's skill at keeping a straight face, whereas the

comparison Tsubouchi makes with a type of play may be meant as a cultural pointer for readers wondering whether Falstaff is being serious or not.³⁸

In conclusion to this battle of wits, Falstaff boasts that 'If I become not a cart as well as another man, a plague on my bringing up.' (483-4), referring to the carts that were used to transport condemned men to the gallows, adding that 'I hope I shall as soon be strangled with a halter as another.' (484-5)

すると、おれも^{おな}同じ^{いんがぐるま}因果車^{しやうばん}のお相伴^{たぶん}だ！お多分^もに洩れないで、此首根^{このくびね}ッ
子^こを縊^{くび}られ³⁹ッちまふだらう。

Suru to, ore mo onaji ingaguruma no oshōban da! Otabun ni morenaide, kono kubinekkō wo kubirareccchimau darou.

literally, 'If you let him in, I too will partake of my destiny, and be hanged by the scruff of my neck like all the others.'

This is a free and idiomatic translation in which *ingaguruma* 因果車 means 'wheel of fortune' (the Buddhist chain of cause and effect), connecting with the pun on 'major' (the major premise or logic of Hal's argument) made at the beginning of the speech with the town 'mayor' or sheriff who would accompany a condemned man to the gallows. In other words, by rejecting Hal's premise that he is a coward, he admits his own premise, which is that he is not, and that he is honourable enough to accept the consequences (or 'effect') of his self-belief and be hanged for it. Tsubouchi's rhythmical translation, with the half rhyme on *oshōban* ('partaker') and *otabun* ('the majority' or 'others') and *k* alliteration in the final phrase, bypasses the obscure reference to the hangman's cart and so keeps the humour at the audience's level. Apart from 'major' which is written *daiteian* ('major premise') and read *mējoa*, and 'sheriff' which is also written in *kanji* and read *mēyoa*, there are no divergencies between *kanji* and *rubi* in this speech.

As these examples illustrate, Tsubouchi's *rubi* exhibit a rhetoric of

translation that post-war translators have manipulated by more covert means. The pre-war convention of *rubi* comes between the elaborate woodblock technology of pre-modern Japan, in which the insertion of *furigana* was often as much decorative as functional, and the imported technology of modern movable type that together with the efficiencies engineered by mass education enabled a gradual internalization of the reading process that rendered *rubi* largely redundant. This is also a transition that Tsubouchi could have foretold from his lifelong experience in the theatre where he pioneered the development of modern Japanese drama (*shingeki*), which replaced the elaborate gestures of kabuki drama with the more discrete styles of Western acting. In this respect, his *rubi* glossings may be seen as further evidence of the histrionic quality of his translating style.⁴⁰

This article is based on a paper read at an international conference of the Korean Association of Medieval and Early Modern English Studies (KAMEMES) held at Yonsei University, Seoul, on 19th October, 2019.

Notes and References

¹ Kristina Hmeljak Sangawa ('Confucian learning and literacy in Japan's schools of the Edo period', *Asian Studies* 5:2 (2017), 153-60) argues that despite the popularity of Neo-Confucian learning in the 18th and 19th centuries the complexity of classical Chinese (*kanbun*), which was the style adopted for much of Japanese literature from ancient times through to *genbun itchi*, was too great for anything more than rote memorization at the temple schools and private academies open to students from outside the ruling nobility and samurai class. Tsubouchi, as the son of a samurai, received a thorough grounding in *kanbun*, which remained in use in newspapers through to the 1920s and in government documents until 1946. His first Shakespeare translation (of *Julius Caesar* in 1884) came before *genbun itchi*, and was in the early modern style of *jōruri* drama rather than classical *kanbun*, although *jōruri* was still an unreformed mode. His pioneering *Hamlet* translation, staged in 1911, is also decidedly classical in inflexion, but after 1914 (when the bulk of his translations were written) his style becomes more recognizably modern and colloquial.

² Werner Wolf, '(Inter)mediality and the Study of Literature.' *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 13:3 (2011), 6.

³ 'Jibun no Shēkusupiya honyaku ni tsuite' (About my Shakespeare translations) (1928), *Shōyō senshū* (Selected Works of Tsubouchi Shoyo), Supp. Vol.3, ed. Shōyō Kyōkai (Daiichi Shobō, 1978), 254-77.

⁴ Seth Jacobowitz, *Writing Technology in Meiji Japan: A Media History of Modern Japanese Literature and Visual Culture* (Harvard University Asia Centre, 2020), 221.

⁵ *Furigana* (also called *yomigana* or *rubi*) are small *kana* symbols printed above or to the right of *kanji* characters to indicate their intended pronunciation. When modern printing technology was imported from Britain for the first time in the early Meiji era, the type size adopted for *furigana* was equivalent to what British printers of that time called 'ruby type'.

⁶ Tsubouchi does not use *rubi* in the Japanese readers he wrote for primary school pupils in the early 1900s for the reason that these were meant to test and develop pupils' acquired knowledge of *kanji*.

⁷ 'Jibun no Shēkusupiya honyaku ni tsuite', 263.

⁸ Friederike von Schwerin High, *Shakespeare, Reception and Translation: Germany and Japan* (Bloomsbury, 2005), 200.

⁹ The source is the Arden 3rd edition, ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri (Bloomsbury, 2017), and the translation, in Japanese *Manatsu no yo no yume*, in *Shōyō senshū*, Vol.4 (1977), 211.

¹⁰ The anthology *Kindai gikyoku shū* (Modern Japanese Plays), ed. Sofue Shōji (Kadokawa Shoten, 1974), indicates the use of *rubi* in a selection of popular plays from the Meiji and Taishō eras. Most of the writers anthologized use *rubi* sparingly, and none for Tsubouchi's rhetorical purpose in his Shakespeare translations. The literary translations of ten Shakespeare plays by Tozawa Koya and Asano Hyōkyo (1905-9) were published almost entirely without *rubi*. Its use is more conspicuous in the articles in *Saō fukkō* (Shakespeare Renaissance), which was a periodical published monthly between October 1933 and May 1935 by Chūō Kōron in tandem with their issue of Tsubouchi's revised translations.

¹¹ After World War II, the use of *rubi* fell rapidly out of favour due to near 100% literacy and the standardization of the written language, such that Japanese adults nowadays would consider the *rubi* of the past a disparagement of their reading ability. Their use is nowadays mainly limited to children's books and school textbooks, and for example words in newspaper articles containing *kanji* that are beyond the 2,136 characters stipulated for teaching in primary and secondary schools.

¹² Hattori Yoshika, 'Shinshūbon to Tsubouchi hakase' (The revised Shakespeare translations of Tsubouchi Shōyō), *Saō fukkō* 20 (May 1935), 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹⁴ Another distinctive feature noted by Hattori and others are Tsubouchi's

extensive stage directions, which in addition to the expected enters and exits frequently contain matter found in editorial notes rather than stage directions in English editions, such as glosses on words and phrases and commentary on character motivation; the latter clearly fulfil the translator's intention of stage performance rather than mere private reading.

¹⁵ In his preface to the 1919 translation (*Shōyō senshū*, Vol.4, 309), Tsubouchi describes Falstaff as a greater 'natural' even than Hamlet and Cleopatra, and labels him *goraku tonbō* ('pleasure dragonfly'), which was Tsubouchi's own nickname as a student at the Imperial University in the late 1870s. The role was popularized by Senda Koreya in a modern production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1937; Senda was only 1933 when he played the role, and the production in a new translation by Mikami Isao and Nishikawa Masami was intended as a deliberate departure from the dated Tsubouchi style. Starting in the 1890s, Tsubouchi compared the period plays (*jidaimono*) of kabuki unfavourably with Shakespearean drama, criticizing the former's sensational and melodramatic use of historical events. Going against Aristotelian tradition, Tsubouchi always put history before poetry, insisting that the rhetorical purpose of historical drama was simply to reveal the inner truth of historical events.

¹⁶ The source is the Arden 3rd edition, ed. David Scott Kastan (Thomson Learning, 2002), and the translation, in Japanese *Henrī yonsei daiichibu*, in *Shōyō senshū*, Vol.4, here 368.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Tsubouchi's relationship with Victorian criticism and the Western philosophical tradition is a complex matter. From Dowden he learns the hiddenness of Shakespeare's ideals, which suits his belief that what matters most is his individual reader response, and since this response is triggered by Shakespeare's rhetorical appeal, Moulton's logical schemes suggest a methodology with which to categorize that rhetoric.

¹⁹ Richard G. Moulton, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker* (Macmillan & Co., 1907), 197-8.

²⁰ *Shōyō senshū*, Vol.4, 369.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., 371. The full speech reads: 'Wilt thou rob this leathern-jerkin, crystal-button, not-pated, agate-ring, puke-stocking, caddis-garter, smooth-tongue, Spanish-pouch?' (68-70) See also Note 28.

²³ Ibid., 373.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 374.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Two basic tropes available to Tsubouchi are the distinction between native Japanese words (*wago*) inherited from Old Japanese and *kango*, or words borrowed originally from Chinese, and secondly, the orthographic similarities between different *kanji*. *Wago* are usually more colloquial, and *kango* (like *rubi*) add stylistic flourish, even more so in Tsubouchi's time when the number of *kango* in common use was much lower than it is today. This is described by Yanabu Akira's 'cassette effect' (or 'jewel box') theory of Japanese translation, namely that the use of *kanji* in translations of foreign texts, whether from Chinese in pre-modern times or from European languages since the Meiji era, conveys to Japanese readers an expectation of significance even when the source meaning is unfamiliar to them; for Tsubouchi, this trope may be sufficient in itself to connote Shakespeare's 'illusory depth'. An example of orthographic similarity is found in the translation of Hal's rhetorical question cited above where *suishō botan* ('crystal-button') and *keito himo* ('caddis-garter') end with characters containing the same element, 釦 (*botan*, 'button') and 紐 (*himo*, 'string'); the character 丑 (*ushi*) by itself means 'Ox' in the Chinese zodiac, 金 'gold' or 'metal', and 糸 'thread'. This connection expresses something of the nature of Hal's (and Shakespeare's) rhetoric as being at once both pointed and regular ('buttoned') and 'stringed' or connective.

²⁹ Ibid., 380.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 381.

³² Ibid., 382.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Literary translation in modern Japan has tended either to domesticate or foreignize depending on the priorities of individual translators. Tsubouchi's strategy, emphasizing the priority of the local, individual reader's response, is to domesticate. With regard to his early *jōruri* translation of *Julius Caesar*, Satō Miki (*Nihon no honyaku ron: ansorōji to kaidai* (Translation Theory in Japan), ed. Yanabu Akira et al. (Hōsei University Press, 2010), 67-9) observes that Tsubouchi's strategy is not only domesticating and assimilative but also surprisingly normative given the relative weakness of Japan as the target culture at that time (the 1880s). Tsubouchi's normative role is developed through his position as the pioneer of Shakespeare studies and translation in pre-war and distinctive techniques such as *rubi* glossing.

³⁵ Ibid., 387.

³⁶ Inagaki Tatsurō, ed., *Tsubouchi Shōyō shū*, Meiji Bungaku Zenshū, Vol.16 (Chikuma Shobō, 1969), 16.

³⁷ *Shōyō senshū*, Vol.4, 389.

³⁸ More than in Shakespeare's theatre, traditional Japanese acting styles

are more clearly defined by genres and roles than individual technique.

³⁹ *Shōyō senshū*, Vol.4, 394.

⁴⁰ The rhetoric of post-war translators such as Fukuda Tsuneari and Odashima Yūshi is less overtly histrionic, both on the page and in performance: Fukuda's translations from the 1950s and 60s shaped as a series of speech acts (where Tsubouchi is arguably less aware of the dynamics of Shakespearean speech), and Odashima's from the 1970s and 80s more inherently poetic.