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There are various approaches which can be taken to translation in Japan. We can look at it descriptively : that is, translated works can be described chronologically one by one. But these descriptions do not in themselves help us to understand the true aspect of translation in general, unless each specific rendering is considered in relation to the integrated whole of Japanese culture. Translation, as someone has put it, is like opening a new window into the mind of the Japanese people. It may also be called a cushion between Japanese culture and foreign ones.

Generally speaking, there are four distinct stages in the history of Shakespearean translations. The first period, when Shakespeare was first introduced in the early Meiji era (c.1870-1890) when there was a strong desire to absorb Western civilization, was the period of free translations and adaptations of his plays for the Japanese whose knowledge of English was still too rudimentary to appreciate them in their original form. The free translations and adaptations, as well as partial direct translations of this period, were primarily intended for popular reading, rather than for stage production.

The second stage began around 1900, when Tsubouchi Shōyō started translating Shakespeare's plays. Shōyō, a distinguished figure in both Japanese and Shakespearean literature, stood foremost among the pioneers of his day. He attempted to translate Shakespeare's complete works and gloriously completed this task in about forty years. Unfortunately, Shōyō could not withdraw himself from the influence of the Japanese literary and dramatic style, and Japanese spoken language has undergone remarkable changes since his day. His translations, however, widely surpassed those of his predecessors and are still exerting a great influence on his successors. It must also be remembered that his translations were intended for stage production. The first complete presentation of a Shakespearean play on the Japanese stage was the production of *Hamlet* in 1911, performed by the members of the Bungei Kyōkai organized by Shōyō.

Besides Shōyō, other hands also dealt with Shakespeare. Tozawa Masayasu and Asano Wasaburō ventured the translation of Shakespeare's complete works from 1905 to 1909, although they were actually able to translate only ten of them. The third stage, which includes Tozawa and Asano's translations, covers long years of strenuous efforts extending to the present. Although Shakespeare's works were admired and presented on the stage from time to time, the theatre world of this period favored current dramatists like Ibsen, Hauptman, Strindberg, and Pirandello to meet the demands of the times. The Shakespeare translators, therefore, were largely well-qualified Shakespeare scholars who tried to bring their studies within the reach of well-educated people. They tried to give the exact meaning of every line and every sentence in the original plays, and nothing was omitted that should have been translated. Naturally, their translations were intended for the reading public, who wished to understand what Shakespeare had written, and were generally unfit for the stage.

After a long period of sterility in literary activities during the War, Shakespeare was revived, leading to many translations and annotations from the latter half of the 1940's to the present. A great number of translations, including the earlier ones, such as those by Shōyō were reprinted in many editions, most of them in complete-works series, anthologies and the like. Contemporary Shakespeare translators and annotators are Honda Akira, Suga Yasuo, Nakano Yoshio, Kinoshita Junji, Fukuda Tsuneari, Fukuhara Rintarō, Ōyama Toshikazu, Ōyama Toshiko, Mikami Isao, Fuhara Yoshiaki, Kurahashi Takeshi, Ozu Jirō, Odajima Yūshi,

and many others. Most of them are not professional translators, but rather scholars translating for the reading public in a more colloquial style than before.

While other countries, especially in Europe, had enjoyed Shakespeare for centuries, Japan came to know his plays very late. For some two and half centuries before the Meiji era, Japan had closed her door to Western civilization. Up to this time, the name of Shakespeare had been practically unknown except possibly to a few. Some critics have observed resemblances to *Romeo and Juliet* in a play titled *Kokoro no Nazo Toketa Iroito*(A Jangled Love Story with a Happy Ending), performed in Edo (now Tokyo) in 1810. However, there is no evidence which proves the relationship between the two plays.[1)]

Shakespeare's name first appeared in Japanese in 1841 in Shibukawa Rokuzō's translation of the Dutch version of Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* . Several years later his name reappeared in books on the history of England, such as Ch'ên Fêng-hêng's short Chinese *History of England* (1853), and in the Japanese reprint (1861) of the Rev. William Muirhead's Chinese version of Thomas Milner's *History of England*.

After the dissolution of Japan's long-established feudal structure, the Meiji era began in 1868 with the return of the Emperor to power (hence the name of the Meiji Restoration). It was a period of great confusion as well as enlightenment, which may be characterized by an increased awareness of the need for new outlooks and approaches. Hence, Western civilization exerted a great impact on the minds of Japanese intellectuals.

Along with this desire to absorb Western civilization, Shakespeare was gradually introduced in the early 1870s. The first line from original Shakespeare appeared in Nakamura Masanao's translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (*Seigoku Risshi-hen*, 1871) : part of Polonius'advice to his son, Laertes, who is about to leave for France. The line is as follows :

> Neither a borrower nor a lender be ;
> For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
> And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
>
> (I, iii, 75-77)

The second line was mistranslated,[2)] but it is interesting to note that this worldly wisdom of Polonius was the first Shakespearean line ever translated into the Japanese language. This *Self-Help* was enormously successful in those days, together with other works by J. S. Mill, Spencer, Disraeli, Lord Lytton, and others, and was widely read by people who were eager to know more about Western things.

A Shakespearean character was first portrayed in Japan in a translation of the fourth soliloquy in *Hamlet*. A bizarre figure of 'samurai', in a kimono with a sword on his side, spoke Hamlet's celebrated "To be or not to be" soliloquy. This rendering, spelled in 'rōmaji' characters, was published in *The Japan Punch* in 1874, by Charles Wirgman, a correspondent of *The Illustrated London News* in Japan. It was head-lined, "Extract from the new Japanese Drama Hamuretu san, 'Denumarku no Kami', Proving the plagiarisms of English literature of the 16th Century." Then, the strange translation follows : "Arimas, arimasen, are wa nan deska:——" Unfortunately, not much is known about this rendering : who the translator was, whether it was performed on actual stage, or whether it was intended as a caricature. This strange figure in the translation, however, was certainly different from the original Hamlet with his weary metaphysical speculation.

About the same time , people in the theatre world started outlining and adapting Shakespeare's plays. Kanagaki Robun, a leading dramatist of the day, first published his partial adaptation of *Hamlet* in the *Hiragana Eiri Shimbun*, a serial, in 1875. This serial adaptation, titled *Seiyōkabuki Hamuretto*, however, was not accepted favorably by the readers, and Robun apparently never completed his adaptation. Unfortunately, it is unavailable now and we do not know how well or poorly it was adapted.

About ten years later in 1886, Robun published his second adaptation, a complete version, in the *Tokyo*

Eiri. Shimbun. The setting was in fourteenth century Japan and the characters had Japanese names, such as Hamuramaru (Hamlet), Mikariya-hime(Ophelia), and the others. As far as the plot was concerned, the adaptation more or less followed the original play, except for the deletion of all the soliloquies. This deletion shows that Robun's interest in the play centered around the revenge plot rather than Hamlet's metaphysical speculation. Later this adaptation was rewritten as a stage version for Kabuki actors by Kawatake Shinshichi, titled *Hamuretto Takumi no Engeki*, but it never materialized on actual stage.

Preceding the above adaptation, in about 1888, Kawatake Mokuami, another leading dramatist of the day, wrote a synopsis of *Hamlet* intending to adapt and stage it later. For reasons unknown, Mokuami gave up on his synopsis and stopped working halfway through, leaving it stored in one of his drawers.[3] Mokuami was a very prolific playwright but it should be noted that no hint of *Hamlet*'s influence has been observed in any of his plays.[4] These theatre people, Robun and Mokuami, outlined and adapted *Hamlet* within the framework of the existing Japanese dramatic art. Their knowledge of the play was second-hand, as neither of them knew any English. They were probably interested in only the external difficulties of Hamlet carrying out his revenge.

Many adaptations followed in the early years of the Meiji era, some of them mere outlines which were very popular with the public. For the most part they were drawn from Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. Though rendered from the Lamb's versions, these adaptations were intended not for children but for adults whose knowledge of Western culture was still too rudimentary to appreciate Shakespeare's works in their original form.

The Merchant of Venice, *Hamlet*, and *Romeo and Juliet* were adapted and outlined from the Lamb's versions several times. Inoue Tsutomu, for instance, translated *The Merchant of Venice* in 1883 and *Hamlet* in 1888, and titled them *Ninniku Shichiire Saiban* (Judgment with Regard to the Pledging of Human Flesh) and *Yūrei* (The Ghost), respectively. It is interesting to note that Inoue's translations were introduced with a short comment by Emil Hausknecht in Germany, and later in the United States. The translations probably appeared quite peculiar to Western readers. Hausknecht wrote as follows in 1886:

> The books written by Sekisupia, though numerous, are all pearls and diamonds. This little book, lying before me, is not, of course, of the same grade as Juriyas Shisa, Kin Ria, etc.; it is, however, an imcomparable example of the art of writing: The wickedness of S(s)airoku (Shylock), the humanity of Antonio, the wisdom of Poru-(t)cĥiya (Portia); the actions and ways of every one of these is full of change; now it (this little book) makes the reader fall into a passion, now weep, now laugh. Throughout the book, the purpose of advancing the good and punishing the evil is evident on the surface. However, though he illustrates the best of life, even Sekisupiya cannot escape the report, that he misleads the reader, at least so I think. [5]

Hausknecht was right when she wrote that "Throughout the book, the purpose of advancing the good and punishing the evil is evident on the surface." In this period there was no attempt at full translations; they were simply sketches of Shakespeare's original stories. In addition, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *As You Like It*, and others were also adapted from the Lamb's.

In general most of these adaptations were zealously read by those eager to understand Western civilization, the state of affairs in Western society and Western customs and manners, which were quite novel and startling to the Japanese of this particular period. Shakespeare, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, and others offered guide books to Western culture rather than as literary works. Naturally, they were generally intended not for stage production but for popular reading.

Brief mention should be made about an interesting series of articles which appeared in 1879 in *Kibidango*, a weekly magazine in Meiji, Japan. The series consisted of four short pieces, covering the Danish court at Elsinore in Act I, scene ii in *Hamlet*. The articles, based on Edwin Booth's *Hamlet*, performed in Booth's

Theatre in New York, were a playgoer's record, as he saw the performance. The writer Sōsō-dōjin described Booth's movements, gestures, and facial expressions. Strangely, however, *Kibidango's* version of Booth's Hamlet does not agree in detail with numerous other versions of his performance recorded in the States. The effects of Booth's Hamlet in the Japanese articles, it should be noted, are very physical, entirely different from his actual production. The question still remains as to why this performance was interpreted so differently.[6] The year 1879, when the articles appeared, was still at the dawn of Shakespeare translation in Japan. A Japanese, who probably knew nothing about Western drama, saw the actual production of *Hamlet* performed on a New York stage and wrote about it. In view of this, the articles, however short and unsatisfactory, are important in the history of Shakespeare translation in Japan.

The real introduction of Shakespeare began in the 1880s when several people made serious adaptations and partial direct translations of his works. An epoch-making event was the publication of *Shintaishi-shō* (An Anthology of New-Style Poetry) in 1882 and *Shintaishi-Ka* (A Collection of New-Style Poetry) in 1883, the first two collections of English and American poems in translation. In these volumes, together with poems by Tennyson, Gray, Longfellow and some others, was included Hamlet's celebrated "To be or not to be" soliloquy rendered by Toyama Shōichi, Yatabe Ryōkichi, and Inoue Tetsujirō.[7]

There was an interesting episode in connection with this translation of the soliloquy. One day in March 1882, Yatabe Ryōkichi, a professor of botany at the Imperial University of Tokyo, visited Inoue Tetsujirō, a professor of philosophy at the same institution, in his office. He showed Inoue his rendering of the soliloquy. Toyama Shōichi, a close friend of Inoue's and the dean of the Department of Letters at that time, happened to be in Inoue's office and read Yatabe's rendering. Toyama took a particular interest in it, because he had also tried to translate *Hamlet* into Japanese in a work titled *Reigen Ōji no Adauchi*.[8] The following day, therefore, Toyama showed his manuscript to Inoue. This incident resulted in the publication of the above two volumes, a joint production of these three professors.

This is a well-known event meaningful to the history of modern Japanese literature. Indeed, the translations of this foreign masterpiece, though done by amateurs, gave Japanese intellectuals of that day a chance to discuss the need to create new-style poetry. The soliloquy, therefore, was important to both the introduction of Shakespeare and the beginning of new poetry in Japan.

Why then did their choice of poems for translation fall not on contemporary poetic masterpieces in Europe and America, but rather on Shakespeare's "To be or not to be" soliloquy? There appears to be a few reasons for this selection. To begin with, the prestige of the soliloquy as a masterpiece in the Western literary tradition may have played an important role in their choice. The three professors, all typical men of the enlightened Meiji era, certainly wanted to show their fellow Japanese something which best represented Western civilization. *Hamlet*, in this respect, was the most suitable choice.

Probably of more significance were certain qualities inherent in the soliloquy. Revenge, the main concern in *Hamlet*, is one of the most popular themes in the Japanese literary tradition. Take *Kanadehon Chūshingura* for example: both Hamlet and the forty-seven retainers experience the same cultural demand to avenge the crimes of their enemies, and in both plays they are not held back by social conditions.[9] The difference lies in how the characters take action to gain their revenge. The protagonists in the Japanese play are not plagued with Hamlet's dilemma of moral choice, nor do they suffer from unresolved doubts about life, such as existence versus non-existence. This big thematic difference, especially Hamlet's introspective and psychological state of mind, appealed to the three professors. They probably found a spiritual food in the "To be" soliloquy. Their translations, at any rate, deserve to be remembered as pioneer exercises in making Hamlet's inner suffering comprehensible in Japanese.

The ground was also fairly well-prepared for serious direct adaptations or translations of Shakespeare's plays. Kawashima Keizō opened a new phase by publishing his complete direct translation of *Julius Caesar* in 1883. It was first published in *Rikken Seitō Shimpō* in a serial, and later compiled in a book form titled *Rōmaseisui-ki* (The Rise and Fall of Rome) in 1886. He also took pains to translate *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and others several years later between 1883-1886. Unfortunately, his translations were not published, and

they are not available now, except for *Romeo and Juliet* (*Shunjō Ukiyo-no-Yume*) published in 1886.

As far as direct translations from Shakespeare's original works are concerned, Toyama's *Reigen Ōji no Adauchi* (*Hamlet*), from which the rendering of the "To be" soliloquy was taken, deserves special mention. Toyama translated *Hamlet* with a mixture of ballad drama (Jōruri style), the style of Takizawa Bakin, a famous author of popular stories, and the like. Toyama made strenuous efforts to render the play into Japanese, as shown in the translation of Horatio's passage, "a piece of him," into Japanese.[10] This and Kawashima Keizō's works, mentioned above, were pioneer exercises in the history of Japanese direct translations.

Of all the translators, however, Tsubouchi Shōyō stood foremost among the pioneers of that day. A distinguished literary figure both in the field of Japanese literature and in his introduction of Shakespeare, he published a translation of *Julius Caesar (Shīzaru Kidan : Jiyū no Tachi Nagori no Kireaji)* in 1884. It was a free adaptation rather than a direct translation, in the style of Japanese ballad drama. This translation was long set aside as a politically motivated work and dictated by a mere caprice on Shōyō's part. Hence a work of minor importance in the field of literature. However, this rendering became a stepping stone to Shōyō's later literary activities, especially the complete translation of Shakespeare's works.[11]

It is worthwhile to remember that the translation was started soon after a well-known episode with Houghton, an important turning point in Shōyō's career occurring at the end of his third year at the Imperial University of Tokyo (Sept.1880-Aug.1881). The episode runs as follows. In the final examination of the school year William Houghton, a teacher of English literature, asked his students to analyze the character of Queen Gertrude in *Hamlet*. Shōyō,who had had a considerable amount of knowledge about old and new Japanese literature, felt at a loss as how to answer at first, and finally analyzed the Queen's character from a Japanese point of view based on moral justice. It goes without saying that Shōyō got a poor mark in the examination and could not receive credit for the course. No doubt it gave him a serious shock as well as a good lesson, since he had been very proud of being a man of literature among his friends. This episode has a significant meaning for the history of Japanese literary criticism, because Shōyō criticized Western literature using the criterion of Japanese didactic fiction. Japanese literature was brought face to face with Western literature in Shōyō's mind. Consequently, at this period of his career he was forced to face a difficult problem: the fundamental difference between Japanese literature and Western literature and how Japanese literature could be changed for the better.

Thus, the period when Shōyō was rendering *Julius Caesar* corresponds well with the period when he was groping for the appreciation of the essence of Western literature. It was also the period when he wrote *Shōsetsu Shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel, published in 1885), one of the first important critical works of the time. Consequently, the translation lies side by side, in point of time, with *Shōsetsu Shinzui*, and should be properly reevaluated in the light of its relation to the work.

Following *Julius Caesar* in 1884, Shōyō published his version of the first scene of the first act of *Hamlet* in *Chūō Gakujutsu Zasshi* (No.9,11) in 1885, though he left it incomplete. This translation had many points in common with that of *Julius Caesar*, compared with his later translations. They were both in the style of Japanese ballad drama, and not only the title but also the characters and places were Japanized, provided with Chinese phonetic equivalents.

After finishing a complete translation of Shakespeare's works, Shōyō made it known that five major shifts in viewpoint on translation could be observed in his works.[12] The general trend was from free to more literal translations. These translations of *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*, of course, belong to the first stage. To be sure, compared with other works of the early Meiji era by other translators, the so-called irresponsible "Gōketsu-yaku," with many mistranslations, Shōyō's translations were rather faithful to the originals. From the strict perspective of translation, however, we have to admit that they were quite free translations, with emphasis on content rather than on form.

Besides Shōyō, other literary figures also dealt with Shakespeare's works. One of them was Mori Ōgai, the most noteworthy man of letters in Japan, and another was Yamada Bimyō, who contributed a great deal to the unification of the written and spoken language. Bimyō's translation of *Hamlet* appeared in *Iratsume*

in 1888. It was a short rendering of the first scene of the first act of *Hamlet*, but it is still noteworthy for the colloquial style employed in it.

The following year in 1889, distracted Ophelia's passage was translated by Mori Ōgai, who later translated *Macbeth* in a thoroughly contemporary colloquial style in 1913. His translation of *Macbeth* will be treated in more detail in a later section ; mention is made of it here to emphasize the fact that Ōgai's approach to translation of Ophelia's passage was very different from that of *Macbeth.* Ophelia's lines ("How should I your true love know…,""He is dead and gone, lady,…""White his shroud as the mountain snow…" (IV, v, 23) were rendered and published in "Omokage," a collection of poems, in 1889. The translation was very lyrical and romantic in the style of seven-five syllable meters, the traditional poetic style of Japanese.

Mention should be made here briefly about publishing Shakespeare's texts with annotations. As early as 1878, *The Merchant of Venice* was published with notes by W.G. Clarke. Shakespeare's works were used as texts for students at the Imperial University of Tokyo,Tsubouchi Shōyō being one of them. In time many of the texts were published with annotations : the trial-scene from *The Merchant of Venice* by Isobe Yaichirō (1891), *Julius Caesar* by Ōkura Motozumi (1892), *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* and others by K. Deighton (1893, 1896, 1900, respectively). The later faithful direct translations by scholars of English literature owe a great deal to the above annotated texts.

As already mentioned, in the early years of the Meiji era Shakespeare's plays were for popular reading rather than for stage production. The record shows that there was only one performance of *Nanja Kaja Zeni no Yo no Naka* (The title may be read as Sakuradoki Zeni no Yo no Naka, meaning "All for Money"), an adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* based on the Lamb's story and rendered by Udagawa Bunkai. Being the first Shekespearean play performed on the Japanese stage, it was seen 1885 in the Ebisu Theatre, Osaka. For about fifteen years or so there was no performance worth mentioning except for the same *Nanja Kaja Zeni no Yo no Naka.* After 1900, however, the theatre world was flooded with freely altered, Japanized adaptations of Shakespeare's plays.

The plays were produced by the Shimpa dramatists who took a largely commercial attitude toward Shakespeare's plays. *Julius Caesar (Shizaru Kidan* by Shōyō) and *King Lear (Yami to Hikari* adapted by Takayasu Gekkō) were staged in Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe, respectively. *Julius Caesar* especially had a topical appeal. A month before this performance at the Meiji-za in 1901, Hoshi Tōru, the president of the Tokyo Municipal Assembly, had fallen victim to an assassin. The special performance arranged following this incident naturally experienced great popularity among the general public of the day.

Of all the Shimpa dramatists, Kawakami Otojirō was the most active in producing Shakespeare's plays. A star of so-called political dramas and later "Shimpa" (New school of theatre), he is noteworthy in his innovations which were both spectacular and ridiculous. He is the first man who used real women as actresses, including his wife Sadayakko, as part of the new realism on stage.

In 1903, Kawakami and his company produced several Shakespearean plays in Western style : *Othello* in February and March ; *The Merchant of Venice* in June and July, and *Hamlet*, the first presentation of the play ever performed on the Japanese stage, in November. The adaptation by Emi Suiin was used for the performance of *Othello*, and Kawakami acted the part of Muro Washirō (Othello), Sadayakko the part of Tomone (Desdemona), Takada Minoru the part of Iya Gōzō (Iago), and many others. The other two, *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*, followed the same line of adaptation. As shown in the names of the other characters such as Hamura Toshimaru (Hamlet) and Orie (Ophelia), all the adaptations were in the Japanese setting along modern lines and in colloqnial style.

Unfortunately, Kawakami's performances of Shakespeare's plays were sensational and melodramatic, far from serious productions of the plays. He and his company had made several tours abroad in Europe and the United States, and had a chance to witness Henry Irving's Shylock in Boston. His experience in European plays, however, were not put to practical use for his actual performances. His main concern was to get the stories across to the audience and to show them new and novel things. In view of this attitude, for instance, Hamlet's metaphysical speculation probably did not appeal to Kawakami, a showman, who could

not recognize the artistic value of the play. Hence the complete deletion of the celebrated "To be or not to be" soliloquy, which had been kept in Yamagishi's adaptation.[13] For faithful productions of Shakespeare's plays, the Japanese audience had to wait until the production of *Hamlet* by the Bungei Kyōkai in 1911.

Among Shakespeare's works, *Julius Caesar, The Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet,* and *Hamlet* had the greatest appeal for the Japanese mind. The reason for this preference reflects both the social and political conditions of that period and certain Japanese traits. For example, *Julius Caesar* had a topical appeal for the Japanese public. According to Toyoda, in 1881 :

> an Imperial Edict had been issued for the inauguration of a Diet in nine years' time; political parties were being organized ; and in 1882 Itagaki Taisuke, the Liberal leader, was seriously wounded by an assassin. This had made the names of Caesar and Brutus household words among the "intellectuals."[14]

Concerning three other works Rintarō Fukuhara wrote that:

> a current preference for pettifogging lawyers appeared to be reflected in *The Merchant of Venice*. The Japanese habit of introspection was echoed in the strange revenge story of *Hamlet*, and the popularity of love for love's sake fostered by Chikamatsu's influence was represented in *Romeo and Juliet*.[15]

Then, how much of the substance of Shakespeare's plays could Japanese readers and audiences of the Meiji era assimilate? Take *Hamlet* for example. The essential dramatic situation of the original could be transplanted in a cruder form, but, in the course of translation, the prince lost most of his introspective qualities.[16]

One day in May of 1903, Fujimura Misao, a student of Daiichi High School, threw himself into the Kegon Falls at Nikko. He left a suicide note behind which said: "The truth of everything can be covered by a simple word: that is, 'fukakai' (mystery). This question weighed heavy on my my mind, leading to my final death…" The death of this eighteen-year-old youth, often compared with Hamlet, symbolizes the inner suffering of intellectuals living in the latter half of the Meiji era. They, more or less, felt a dilemma and skepticism about life, which was alien to the early Meiji people. It was just then when Shingeki-Undō (A Theatrical Reform Movement) was started to improve the standard of theatre in Japan and to stage many contemporary dramatic works. Tsubouchi Shōyō took the lead in the movement by translating Shakespeare's plays into stage versions. Hence came the second stage in the history of Shakespeare translation, which began around 1900 with the foundation of Bungei Kyōkai (The Literary and Art Association) and culminated in its first public performance of *Hamlet* in 1911.

Following the translations of *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*, Shōyō translated *Macbeth*; the experimental translation of the first two acts of *Macbeth* with his notes was printed in 1891 in a literary periodical, *Waseda Bungaku*. It is significant that Shōyō entitled this rendering *Makubesu*. For in the previous translations of *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*, the titles and characters were "Japanized" and given different names in the style of that day. For example, his title for *Julius Caesar* was *Shīzaru Kidan : Jiyū no Tachi Nagori no Kireaji* (A Colorful Romantic Story of Emperor Caesar : the Sword of Liberty and Echo of Its Sharp Blade), a seemingly inappropriate phrase. Not only the title but also the characters and places were "Japanized", all provided with Chinese phonetic equivalents.[17]

When Shōyō lectured and translated the first two acts of *Macbeth*, however, the time was ripe for appreciating Shakespeare's plays as literary works and for desiring more faithful direct translations. Shōyō regretted the Shimpa dramatists' largely commercial attitudes toward Shakespeare's plays as well as the

mannerisms of Kabuki drama, a fine dramatic achievement of the early Tokugawa period. Hence he progressed to a more conscientious appreciation of Shakespeare's plays and even organized Bungei Kyōkai in order to put his ideas into practice. His change in attitude accounts for his preservation of the title *Macbeth* rather than making it Japanese. For this important translation of *Macbeth*, he still used the Japanese literary style but originally planned to help sincere students of literature by following every sentence or passage with careful notes. Shōyō wrote as follows in the preface to his *Makubesu* :

> There are two ways of writing notes: one is to explain the language and diction with reference to rhetorical value ; the other is to give a critical interpretation of the ideals the interpreter thinks are expressed in the play.[18]

At first he was inclined to use the latter method, but reflection drew him to the former. He wrote that "Shakespeare is closely akin to Nature, so that the spiritual interpretation of his plays can pursue an infinite variety of methods, according to the disposition and general cultivation of the interpreter."[19]

Some ten years later, his efforts were crowned leading to the productions of the trial-scene from *The Merchant of Venice* in 1906 and, in the following year, the first presentation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* performed by the members of Shōyō's above-mentioned Bungei Kyōkai. The play was again produced at the Teikoku Gekijō four years later in 1911. This public performance of *Hamlet* marked "an important stage in the development of the new theatre in Japan; the play was produced in its entirety, and, adaptations excepted, was the first complete presentation of a Shakespearean play on the Japanese stage."[20]

Shōyō had long sensed the necessity of developing a new dramaturgy for Shakespeare's works. In order to put his ideas into practice on actual stage, he trained amateur actors (mostly his students) and amateur actresses (Itō Umeko for Ophelia at the Hongō-za and Matsui Sumako for the same role at the Teikoku Gekijō). He tried to develop new theatrical elocution suitable for Japanese actors and actresses. Above all, what he desired was to produce the play in a naturalistic style rather than one of a music drama.

From the abundant theatrical criticism of the day, a picture of the performances may be reconstructed. Doi Shunshō, who once studied in the United States and adopted some Western styles of acting, took the role of the prince. He seems to have succeeded in portraying the prince through external qualities such as his looks, voice, tone of speech, and nobility of bearing. He was more or less free from wide-spread Kabuki influence ; he could speak, cry, and walk rather than sing and dance on stage. He could speak Hamlet's lines with a remarkable degree of elocutionary ability, which was beyond the reach of ordinary Japanese actors of the day. He once wrote concerning Hamlet's "To be or not to be" soliloquy :

> This time I try to be static in my gestures. Lost in meditation, I'll express Hamlet's doubts about life in a philosophical frame of mind. [21]

Doi seems to have understood the inner meaning of his role.

Other actors and actresses were quite unpopular while Doi's Hamlet certainly touched the heart of the audience and won critical acclaim. The ghosts (Hirota Koshū, and Takeda Masanori) made themselves laughable, far from tragic. Ophelia (Itō Umeko at the Hongō-za) was too poor in both her expressions and gestures. Her song in the scene of madness, for instance, was so awkward that from the beginning of the performance a professional singer was employed and sung behind the stage while Itō pantomimed before the audience.[22] Another Ophelia (Matsui Sumako at the Teikoku Gekijō) was no better.

Their unpopularity was partly due to a lack of experience in Western styles of acting, but the script based on Shōyō's translaion must have been responsible as well. In rendering the play Shōyō avoided seven-five syllable meters and employed a more colloquial style to establish a new realism on stage. Unfortunately, however, he could not free himself from the mannerisms of Japanese literary and dramatic tradition. His translation still contained many sentences reminiscent of Kabuki pieces.

The same was true of his style of production. There is an episode which shows Shōyō's attitude toward Shakespeare's plays. When the translation of *Hamlet* was completed, he went through the whole play with actors. Then, he entrusted the teaching of elocutions, gestures, expressions, movements and other stage technicalities to two English instructors at Waseda University who once attended a drama school in England. At the final full dress rehearsal, three days before the production at the Hongō-za, Shōyō saw the performance which was not at all to his liking. The actors, all of a sudden, were forced to part with the acting style taught by the English instructors and take up a completely new style which Shōyō wanted them to perform, "adding some Japanese flavor to the play."[23] This episode may well show Shōyō's preference for his own way of acting based on his interpretations of the play to the realistic Western style of acting. This sounds very paradoxical, since it was Shōyō who wanted to establish new realism on Japanese stage, breaking from Japanese literary and dramatic tradition. In view of this, Kawatake Toshio contends that the production of *Hamlet* reflected well the conflict inherent in Shōyō : the actual being contradictory to the ideal.[24] Except for Doi's brilliant acting, the popularity of the production was moderate. It was favorably accepted by some, but to others it was artistically old-fashioned——this was probably due to the limitations of Shōyō's dramatic innovation. It is possible, then, to say that the production of *Hamlet* revealed the limits of his aesthetic duality : aiming for Western realism while unconsciously committed to Japanese dramatic tradition.

Shōyō's enthusiasm for staging Shakespeare's plays did not last long, however. After the performance of *Julius Caesar* at the Teikoku Gekijō in 1913, the Association was soon disbanded,[25] and Shōyō withdrew himself from theatrical activities. Shōyō,however, continued his attempt to translate Shakespeare's complete works and gloriously accomplished this task in about forty years by the end of 1928. He translated all Shakespeare's works, including his non-dramatic poetry. Shōyō was a strenuous reviser. He not only studied the original texts at great length and with infinite care, but also continued revising them until his death. Unfortunately, as stated above, he could not remove himself from the influence of Japanese literary and dramatic style. In addition, Japanese spoken language has undergone a remarkable change since his day. His translations, however, widely surpass those of his predecessors and still exert a great influence on his successors.

Shōyō's indebtedness to Shakespeare's works, especially the tragedies and historical plays, went far beyond mere literary translations. Shōyō devoted himself to the writing of historical dramas, some of which show Shakespearean influence. Reminiscences and association with Shakespeare's plays have been pointed out by critics and can be summed up in Toyoda's passage :

> The end of Act V, Scene iv, brings to mind both Hamlet and Macbeth : the scene is laid in the bedchamber of Yodo-gimi, widowed consort of Toyotomi Hideyoshi ; in the middle of a conversation she sees a ghost, retreats in alarm, talking wildly like a sleep-walker, and half unwittingly stabs an unprincipled parasite.
>
> Of *Maki-no-kata* the author himself said that vague associations with Lady Macbeth entered into its composition, and Shakespearian memories are faintly stirred by other plays of Tsubouchi's (Shōyō's) written at this time.[26]

Obviously Shakespeare's works greatly influenced Shōyō's historical plays in their construction and the realistic treatment of subject matter and characters.

Besides Shōyō,other literary figures deserve brief mention here, because their translations were employed on stage from time to time. First is Mori Ōgai, whose romantic translation of Ophelia's passage was already mentioned in the previous chapter. He later ventured to render *Macbeth* in a contemporary colloquial style and published it in 1913. That same year it was performed by a company of Kindaigeki Kyōkai (The Modern Theatre Association) at the Teikoku Gekijō and was quite favorably received. It was again taken up by a company of Tsukiji Shō-gekijō (The Tsukiji Little Theatre Association) in 1927.

Osanai Kaoru, founder of Jiyū Gekijō (The Free Theatre), also took pains to translate several of Shakespeare's plays. *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* in 1925. Osanai was interested in staging Western plays and he trained actors to perform modelling Western styles of acting. The predominant trend of the day, however, was toward plays by contemporary dramatists rather than Shakespeare.

Shōyō,in the meantime, continued revising his translations. Though Osanai and Ōgai's translations were used on stage from time to time, most of the stage versions of the day were based on Shōyō's translations which came much closer to Shakespeare's tone and thought in later revisions.

The third stage in the history of Shakespeare translation covers years of long and strenuous efforts, partly overlapping with Shōyō's activities and extending to the present day. Translators were mostly well-qualified scholars of English literature. They regarded Shakespeare's works as literature rather than drama, so their translations became closet dramas of literary interest bearing no relation to public theatres. This period, therefore, offers a clear distinction in the sense that the translations were intended for the reading public who desired to understand what Shakespeare had written. Thus, the plays were mostly unfit for the stage.

As early as from 1905 to 1909, Tozawa Masayasu and Asano Wasaburō translated ten of Shakespeare's works, including *Hamlet* and *Othello*. Their aim in translation was to stimulate pure literature of Meiji by affording good examples of Western writing. What now seems interesting is their anticipation of a Japanese literary renaissance and their desire to help people develop literature to its highest achievements. For this purpose they ventured to render Shakespeare's works as literally and faithfully as possible.

English and Japanese, of course, are very different in both grammar and vocabulary, and in the spirit of the language and people. It is impossible to attain literal accuracy, since a mere word-for-word rendering based on the grammatical structure of original sentences is almost fruitless and meaningless. Faithful and literal translations, therefore, often fail to deliver the original content and spirit as well as the original poetry and rhythm. Such translations could not be produced with any hope of success or even a patient hearing on actual stage. Though Tozawa and Asano's works were good prose translations into contemporary Japanese, they were not in the line of acting style.

Then followed the translations of scholars, who tried to bring their studies within the reach of well-educated people. The translators and annotators of this stage include Sugano Tokusuke, Yokoyama Yūsaku, Hosoe Itsuki, Sawamura Torajirō, Uraguchi Bunji, Nogami Toyoichirō, Honda Akira, Taketomo Sōfū, Kume Masao, Nakano Yoshio, Abe Tomoji, Doi Kōchi and many others, several of whom are still active in their literary activities. Their translations were unfit for stage production but it is important to remember that all such translations, including Tozawa and Asano's, influenced Shōyō's later revisions and present-day translations.

Though not a translation, the commentaries by Natsume Sōseki, one of the greatest novelists of Japan, are worth noting here. He studied English literature at the Imperial University of Tokyo, and under W. J. Craig, whose scholastic spirit greatly impressed young Sōseki during his stay in London. After his return to Japan in 1903, he took up an academic life at his Alma Mater and taught some of Shakespeare's works: *Hamlet, Macbeth,* and others. The transcript of his lectures on *Othello* was later published by two of his students, Nogami Toyoichirō and Koyama Toyotaka in 1930.

While lecturing about Shakespeare's works to his students, Sōseki published his article on the ghost in *Macbeth* in *Teikoku Bungaku* in 1904. In the article, Sōseki pointed out three questions on the ghost: whether the ghost is one or two; whether the ghost is Duncan or Banquo, if there is one ghost; and last of all, whether Macbeth saw an illusion or an apparition. In those days there was a serious controversy about this subject among critics. Sōseki commented on each question, referring to various critics of the day.[27] He then concluded that Macbeth actually saw Banquo's apparition which the audience also could see on stage. This commentary, as well as the transcript of his lectures on *Othello*, provides a glimpse of Sōseki's view on

Shakespeare and English literature.

Sōseki soon gave up his scholastic life and started writing novels, but he certainly found part of his spiritual food in Shakespeare. His and Shōyō's commentaries led the way to further commentaries by native scholars and dramatists. Articles on Shakespeare and his works came to occupy an outstanding place in periodicals and publications by individual scholars. The activities of scholars led the way to the foundation of the Shakespeare Society of Japan in 1929.

During the War, translations and studies of Shakespeare naturally suffered from the repercussion of querulous nationalism. Nevertheless, the year 1946 marked the revival of Shakespeare in Japanese literary and theatrical world. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* based on Shōyō's translation was produced by Hijikata Yoshi at the Teikoku Gekijō from June 10 to July of the same year. The play was enthusiastically accepted by Japanese people who were thirsty for anything cultural and the production had a run of fifty days. Since then, Shakespeare has been revived among Japanese people leading to many translations and annotations, old and new. They include the earlier ones, such as Shōyō's and Nakano Yoshio's, which were reprinted in many editions and anthologies. Many new translators appeared: Kinoshita Junji, Fukuda Tsuneari, Fukuhara Rintarō, Ōyama Toshikazu, Ōyama Toshiko, Mikami Isao, Fuhara Yoshiaki, Kurahashi Takeshi, Ozu Jirō, Odajima Yūshi and many others. Many of them are Shakespearean scholars who translate for the reading public in a more colloquial style.

Of all the contemporary Shakespeare translators, however, Fukuda Tsuneari stands as foremost, with whom the fourth stage opens. This is the period of translations into the spoken tongue of present-day Japan, intended for the modern stage. Mention should also be made of Mikami Isao and Odajima Yūshi whose translations have been employed for stage production.

Fukuda, a translator and producer of Shakespearean plays, succeeded in assigning fresh, colloquial, fast-moving language to Shakespearean characters so that they might be better appreciated by the public in modern Japan. The following cites one example which focuses especially on his view on the requirements of the stage.

In the Capitol scene of *Julius Caesar*, Caesar refuses a petition for the recall of Publius Cimber from banishment. First Casca, then the other conspirators and Marcus Brutus stab and kill Caesar. The original line runs as follows:

Casca: Speak, hands, for me!

(III, i, 76)

This short line has been rendered in various ways, some of which are:

(1) Mō···kono ue wa···udezukuda!

(Shōyō)

(2) Kōnareba, ude ni mono o iwaseru-noda!

(Nakano Yoshio)

(3) Kono te ni kike!

(Fukuda Tsuneari)

Which rendering suits Casca's quick action best of all? According to Fukuda,[28] translators should assign a fast-moving speech to Casca as originally intended by Shakespeare. With this cry Casca should spring forward and stab Caesar in one quick motion. Shōyō's rendering, however, ascribes two motions with a slight pause in-between to Casca, giving Caesar enough time to be ready for the attack. Nakano's rendering is too descriptive and slow to lead to a quick motion. Fukuda's rendering, on the other hand, is short enough for Casca to suit his cry to his action. This example shows how he has solved the problem of fitting words to actions.

During the fifties and sixties, Fukuda's translations were employed for stage production again and again, primarily by two professional companies organized by him, the Kumo and Keyaki. He has produced many of Shakespeare's plays personally and has contributed much to establish a new way of producing old plays. Though holding an unshakable place on the Japanese stage, his translations have been reviewed both favorably and unfavorably. These critical comments reveal how difficult it is to translate Shakespeare's plays into Japanese.

As mentioned above, Fukuda has succeeded in assigning fresh, colloquial, and fast-moving language to Shakespearean characters. However, some critics doubt that rendering Shakespeare's language into easy and fast-moving Japanese will encourage the proper appreciation of his works in the Japanese audience. Kinoshita Junji, a disinguished dramatist as well as Shakespearean translator, contends that Fukuda's rendering of the above-mentioned passage of Casca is too short and fast-moving, making it almost impossible to bring about the fiery "energy inherent in the original passage."[29]

Interestingly enough, on the other hand, young directors and actors speak highly of Fukuda's rhythmic translations. At the same time, however, they feel some discord with their youthful sensibilities. His rhythm is somewhat old-fashioned to them. Strictly speaking, Fukuda has not been able to dispense with some stylistic affectations that were vestages of former translations; these remind the younger generation of the kabuki style. He studied the productions in the Old Vic Theatre thoroughly and attempted to achieve a style based on these classic productions. His juniors, therefore, feel that Fukuda emphasizes the external style too strongly rather than the internal drama of the characters.

In this respect, Odajima Yūshi's translations in a fast-moving and rhythmic style are better suited to the tastes of today's young people. For example, he rendered Hamlet's famous passage,"To be or not to be: that is the question:" as follows: "Konomama de iinoka, ikenainoka, sore-ga mondai-da." This rendering readily suggests a precarious aspect of Hamlet's condition, a characteristic particularly appealing to Japan's young generation living in today's pluralistic society. Following Fukuda's steps, Odajima has succeeded in assigning fresh and colloquial language to his characters with topical words, loan-words, abstract noun structures and the like. He also has succeeded in reducing the number of descriptive lines, assigning fast-moving language to his characters by the abundant use of inverted sentence structures.[30] Actors can say the lines rapidly enough, creating a scenic rhythm throughout the play which is well suited to the tastes of Japanese people of today. It is regrettable, however, that there are some awkward and unidiomatic sentences in his translations which are irrelevant to the Japanese language.

The past several years mark an important period in the history of Shakespearean translation and production in Japan because his plays are enjoying an unprecedented popularity on stage. In Tokyo alone, productions by leading dramatic companies number almost a dozen every year. In 1976 season, even *Pericles*, the first performance ever played in Japan, was staged by the company "En" using the translation of Anzai Tetsuo. All in all, Odajima's translations have been most popular and are employed by other companies.

In addition to these Japanese productions, there were the productions by the Royal Shakespeare Company of England to be enjoyed: *The Winter's Tale* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1970, *Othello*, and *Twelfth Night* and *King Henry V* in 1972. Peter Brook's production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the Nissei Theatre was received with evenly divided opinion, both praise and censure, by the Japanese public in 1974.

A brief mention should now be made of Bandō Tamasaburō, young "onnagata" in kabuki (actor of female roles), as Lady Macbeth. He appeared and won high admiration in the production of *Macbeth* under the direction of Masumi Toshikiyo at the Nissei Theatre in 1976. His Lady Macbeth surpassed all other female predecessors in his personification. One critic wrote as follows:

> Tamasaburō has shown the Japanese modern theatre world what it really takes to bring Shakespeare alive. His Lady Macbeth has all the feminine grace, elegance, nobility, strength and poetry, as well as the inherent humanity of the role that one always hopes will come forth in performance but which one seldom sees anywhere and which I, for

one, have never seen complete in a Japanese production before.[31]

It is also reported that Jan Kott, the author of *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, happened to see Tamasaburō's Lady Macbeth in Tokyo and spoke highly of his performance. According to Kott, Tamasaburō was the best Lady Macbeth that he had ever seen on stage.[32]

The casting of kabuki actors in Shakespearean roles has been attempted from time to time. In the Meiji era "onnagata" was employed as there were rarely any actresses in those days. In recent years, male actors from kabuki have acted the parts of Shakespearean roles with modern theatre people and women acting the female roles. In 1969, for example, Onoe Shōroku acted the part of Othello with Iwashita Shima in the role of Desdemona at the same Nissei Theatre. Such productions, on the whole, had moderate success and did not have any fruitful impact on modern theatre in Japan.

At present, it is impossible to tell whether Tamasaburō's success in the role of Lady Macbeth will bring the popularity of the "onnagata", or create a new style of drama by bringing about a happy blending of kabuki and Shakespearean traditions. Tamasaburō will again act the part of Desdemona in April of 1977. The casting of the "onnagata" in female roles in Shakespeare plays must be left to the judgment of the coming generation.

All in all, the Shakespearean productions of recent years have promoted a new public appreciation of Shakespeare, almost creating a Shakespearean vogue among the Japanese. Needless to say, good translations, especially good stage versions, are urgently needed.

As a matter of fact, present-day Japanese translators have a great handicap in understanding and rendering Shakespeare's plays, which are the products of late sixteenth— or early seventeenth-century England. The Japanese language is remarkably different from English in both grammar and vocabulary. The Japanese have a dramatic tradition of their own which often obstructs the oral delivery proper to Shakespeare. A literal translation into Japanese is too long to produce on stage. The translators are trying hard to be as faithful to the original form as possible, but in Shakespeare's plays there are many sentences in which the exact meaning is often uncertain. Is it, then, desirable to give the exact meaning of every line and every sentence in the original?

Translating words and their meaning in the usual faithful manner, however, will not necessarily produce the desired effects on stage. The translated lines must materialize in the atmosphere of the theatre. They should be expressed with speed and rhythm, and match the concrete gestures of the actors and actresses. The gestures must grow out of the lines and vice versa. If we translate Shakespeare's plays into the most familiar style of the present-day spoken tongue, it will certainly be easier for the common reader to read and for actors to deliver the speeches on the stage. Then, can the reader and the audience properly appreciate the real essence, "energy inherent in Shakespeare" in Kinoshita's words, of the lines and Shakespeare's beautiful poetry as well?

Worth quoting are passages written by Fukuda, the same dramatist who produced many of Shakespeare's plays, and Ōyama Toshikazu, a well-known scholar who also ventured to render some of Shakespeare's plays.

Fukuda says:

> We had adaptations at the early stage of presenting Shakespeare's plays. And then fairly accurate direct translations became available. I think that for the next stage we should return to adaptations again, since direct translations have been completed. As far as the production is concerned, it must be quite different from the adaptations of the early days, and still be another kind of adaptation which is based on the exact translation.[33]

Are Tamasaburō's Lady Macbeth and Desdemona in this line of thought?

Oyama says:

I have proposal to make to modern directors and actors. I would like them to work in collaboration with Shakespearean scholars. Adaptations, if they cannot be avoided for modern performances, should be based on the exact translations with a full understanding of the original plays.[34]

As everyone admits the literary arts, especially drama, must be intimately connected with the life and the cultural demands of those who read them or see them on stage. From this point of view, all Japanese productions of Shakespeare's plays will be adaptations in a broad sense. The individual directors decide whether to stage the plays as they are or to re-evaluate them to find something meaningful in them for our modern life and thinking. Whatever the decision may be, Shakespeare should be taken as the sole criterion for their judgment. Present-day adaptations are certainly quite different from the free adaptations of earlier days, but they should still be another kind of adaptation based on exact translations. Sincere efforts are now being made to establish a set of principles for Shakespeare translations in Japan. It is desirable, therefore, that scholars and people in the theatrical world cooperate in achieving more successful translations in the future.

Note

In the following pages, Japanese titles, as well as passages from Japanese translations and adaptations cited for textual comparison, are quoted in the original: where commentary or interpretation rather than linguistic comparison is the subject of discussion, the Japanese quotations have been rendered into English. Except as otherwise indicated, the translations are mine.

Japanese names are given in the Japanese order in this paper: that is, the family name preceds the personal name. When translators, novelists and dramatists have pen names, as in the cases of Shōyō, Ōgai, Sōseki and many others, the pen names are used instead of their family names.

When it was known which editions of Shakespeare the Japanese translators, adapters, and critics worked from, this information, when necessary, has been placed in the notes. My own references to Shakespeare's works are to a single edition: *Shakespeare the Complete Works* edited by G. B. Harrison.

Notes:

1. I am greatly indebted for much of the information contained in this paper to Toyoda Minoru's *Shakespeare in Japan* (Tokyo, 1939) and the Special Shakespearean issue of *Eigo Seinen*, and many other reference works.
2. Toshio Kawatake, *Nihon no Hamuretto* (Hamlet in Japan), Nansō-sha, 1972, 45-47.
3. *Ibid.*, 73-81.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Emil Hausknecht,"Shakespeare in Japan", *Poet Lore*, Vol.I, 1889, 466-470. Translated from *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXIV, by Mary Harned.
6. Hisae Niki, "The Hamlet of Edwin Booth," *Researcher*, Vol.8, 1974, 62-80.
7. The following episode is cited from my paper on the fourth soliloquy of Hamlet in Japan. Unpublished.
8. Kawatake, *op. cit.*
9. Hisae Niki, "The mixture of the Comic and Serious in *Hamlet* and *Kanadehon Chūshingura*", *Shakespeare Studies*, Vol.XI, 1972-73, 60-77.
10. Katsuhiko Takeda, "Toyama Shōichi no Hamuretto Yakuhō," (Translation of *Hamlet* by Shōichi Toyama), *Eigo Seinen*, CX,8, August, 1964, 554-55.
11. Hisae Niki *"Shīzaru Kidan : Jiyū no Tachi Nagori no Kireaji :* Shōyō's First Translation of *Julius Caesar*," *Shakespeare Translation*, Vol.I, Yūshōdō Shoten, 1974, 53-68.
12. Shōyō Tsubouchi, *Shakespeare no Kenkyū Shiori* (Notes on the Study of Shakespeare), Shinjū-sha, 1959, 305-10.

13. Kawatake, *op. cit.*, 205-11.
14. Minoru Toyoda, *Shakespeare in Japan*, Iwanami Shoten, 1939, 33.
15. Rintarō Fukuhara, *Nihon no Eigaku-shi* (The History of English Literature in Japan), Vol.111 of *Nihon Bunka Kenkyū*, Shinchō-sha, 1959, 41.
16. Hisae Niki, "To be or not to be", Soliloquy in Japan,' unpublished paper.
17. Chinese characters used in Japanese are ideographs, which often stand for certain words or ideas. In case of translations of the early Meiji, Chinese phonetic equivalents made it possible for the readers to gain their first notions of the original thoughts of the author and the interpretations of the translators. It was also true of Shōyō's translation. Shīzaru (Caesar), for example, stands for a lion-hearted man with majestic dignity, but his name is chiefly interesting for the letter "za"(sa) at the end. Hence Caesar's lion-hearted majesty must be taken with some reservation.
18. Toyoda, *op. cit.*, 75.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, 111.
21. Kawatake, *op. cit.*, 447.
22. Yasuji Toita, *Joyū no Ai to Shi* (Love and Death of an Actress), Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1963, 76-77.
23. Kawatake, *op. cit.*, 288-94.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Hōgetsu Shimamura,who had been collaborating on the productions with Shōyō, left him to organize a new theatrical company, the Geijutsu-za.
26. Toyoda, *op. cit.*, 44.
27. Akira Notani and Ishitarō Tamaki, *Sōseki no Sheikusupia*, Asahi Shuppan-sha, 1974, 54-59.
28. Hisae Niki, "The Present State of Shakespeare Translations in Japan," *Shakespeare Translation*, Vol.1, Yūshōdō Shoten, 1974, 88-91.
29. Junji Kinoshita, *Zuisō Sheikusupia*, Chikuma Shobō, 1969, 28.
30. Hisae Niki, "Notes on *Othello* translations," unpublished paper.
31. *The Japan Times*, Feb.9, 1976.
32. *The Asahi*, the evening edition, January 25, 1977.
33. Ken'ichi Yoshida, Rintarō Fukuhara, and Tsuneari Fukuda, "Zadankai Nihon ni okeru Sheikusupia" (Symposium : Shakespeare in Japan"), *Eigo Seinen*, CX,5, May, 1964, 263.
34. Toshikazu Ōyama, "Honyaku to Hon'an no Mondai," (Notes on Translations and Adaptations), *Teatoro*, No.347, Feb., 1972, 60.

Shakespeare Translations in Japan

Hisae Niki

Japanese translators have a great handicap in understanding and rendering Shakespeare's plays, which are the products of late sixteenth— or early seventeenth-century England. The Japanese language is remarkably different from English in both grammar and vocabulary. In addition, the Japanese have a dramatic tradition of their own which often obstructs the oral delivery proper to Shakespeare. Translating words and their meaning in the usual faithful manner, therefore, will not necessarily produce the desired effects on stage. The translated lines must materialize in the atmosphere of the theatre.

Generally speaking, there are four distinct stages in the history of Shakespearean translations. The first period, when Shakespeare was first introduced in the early Meiji era, when there was a strong desire to absorb Western civilization, was the period of free translations and adaptations of his plays for the Japanese whose knowledge of English was still too rudimentary to appreciate them in their original form.

The second stage began around 1900, when Tsubouchi Shoyo started translating Shakespeare's plays. He attempted to translate Shakespeare's complete works and gloriously completed this task in about forty years. It must be remembered that the first complete presentation of a Shakespearean play on the Japanese stage was the production of *Hamlet* in 1911, performed by the members of the Bungei Kyōkai organized by Shōyō.

The third stage covers long years of strenuous efforts. The Shakespeare translators of this stage were largely well-qualified Shakespeare scholars who tried to bring their studies within the reach of well-educated people. They tried to give the exact meaning of every line and every sentence in the original plays, and nothing was omitted that should have been translated.

After a long period of sterility in literary activities during the War, Shakespeare was revived, leadng to many translations and annotations from the latter half of the 1940's to the present. A great number of translators are trying hard to render Shakespeare's plays into the most familiar style of the present day spoken language. Sincere efforts are also being made to establish a set of principles for Shakespeare translations in Japan. It is desirable, therefore, that scholars and people in the theatrical world cooperate in achieving more successful translations in the future.