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The History of Russian-to-Japanese Translators from the Edo Period Onwards

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The History of Russian-to-Japanese Translators from the Edo Period Onwards

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in Applied Linguistics

by

Yoshiko Fukuyasu

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The History of Russian-to-Japanese Translators from the Edo Period Onwards

by

Yoshiko Fukuyasu

Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Shoichi Iwasaki, Co-chair

Professor Olga Kagan, Co-chair

This dissertation presents the history of Russian-to-Japanese translation, from the end of the Edo period to the present through descriptions of translators' lives and activities. It's specific concern focuses on the methods of translation used by the translators.

It has been argued that recently a free style of easy-to-read translation has become more common, while the importance of word-for-word translation has been decreasing. These two dominant methods – "word-for-word, literal" and "free" translations – are defined after examinations of firstly, the historical distinctions of the two opposing notions, and then, the translators' preferred methods, with a goal of clarifying the processes involved in the development of "free" style translation. This examination covers literature and song, both of

which have influenced Japanese culture.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the early history of Russian education in Japan, and describes the roles of the Russian Orthodox Church and Narodniks in establishing the foundation of Russian language and literature education. Chapter 3 deals with Futabatei Shimei's methods of translation and his work for the Genbun-itchi movement which modernized written Japanese. The chapter also reviews the activities of Futabatei's contemporaries and later generations of translators. Chapter 4 covers the leading translators who worked actively after World War II, including former POWs in Siberia. A dispute on the two translation methods is also analyzed. In Chapter 5, as a result of examinations of present-day translators' activities through interviews, I demonstrate two processes that lead to a "free" type of translation: the 'audio source' process, which directly leads to contents-based "free" translation, and the 'written source' process which incorporates the "word-for-word, literal" translation process as well as the "process of assimilation to contemporary Japanese."

In conclusion, the new, easy to understand "free" type of present-day translation usually begins with the process of "word-for-word, literal" translation, but the end result appears to be "free" style due to the tendency of present-day translators to emphasize their originality in the pursuit of assimilating the text to natural, contemporary Japanese, as style which is demanded by readers and publishers.

The dissertation of Yoshiko Fukuyasu is approved.

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1999 "*Ty* kara *vy* he — Ninshō-daimeishi nininshō tansū keishou-kei no toujou to hensen [From *ty* to *vy*: The Appearance and Transition in the Honorific Terms of Second Person Singular Personal Pronouns]." *Roshia 18-seiki ronshū* [Studies in 18th Century Russia]. pp. 27-46. The University of Tokyo, Department of Slavic Languages and Literature.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

Indra Levy states that "Modern Japan is a culture of translation" (Levy 2011: 1). A study of Japanese history from the viewpoint of translation shows that the modernization of Japan was aided by the efforts of translators who introduced Western knowledge in the areas of science and culture, as well as in political and ideological spheres (Maruyama and Kato 2004: 3-23, Karatani 2004: 42, Komori 1998: 45-72). However, studies of the influence of Western countries on Japanese society have generally been inclined towards the United States and Western European countries. In Japanese people's consciousness also, the influence of other cultures has been mostly overlooked and has been gradually fading away, and Russian culture is no exception. As recently as the 1980s, a Russian influence could still be easily found in Japanese society: Russian songs, translated into Japanese, were taught at elementary schools; translations of Russian classical literature were displayed prominently in bookstores, and Russian movies, with Japanese subtitles, were shown on TV.

Although memories of a past Russian cultural influence in Japan have faded in the past 20-25 years, there has been a very recent renewed interest in Russian culture and literature. For example, in 2006-2007, an unexpected resurgence of interest in Dostoevskii resulted in a Russian classical literature boom. The trigger for this was the publication of new translation of *Karamāzofu no kyōdai* [The Brothers Karamazov] by Ikuo Kameyama, published as part of a project of new world classical literature translations by Kobunsha. The book, which used a rather "free" style of translation, became a best seller in 2009, and the publication of

Dostoevskii's complete works continued with *Chikashitsu no shuki* [Notes from the Underground] (2007), *Tsumi to batsu* [Crime and Punishment] (2008-2009), *Mazushiki hitobito* [The Poor] (2009), Akuryou [The Possessed] (2010-2011) and *Shi no ie no kiroku* [The House of the Dead] (2013).[1]

The sudden Russian culture resurgence in the field of literature translation did not extend to other spheres, but the attention of new readers towards Russian classics was captured by both the publishers' and translators' efforts to publish new translations of the classics in everyday Japanese so that readers could easily read and enjoy the famous, but lengthy Russian classics.

This cross-cultural communication from the very beginning of the relationship between Japan and Russia has been sustained by the efforts of translators who after learning the language aimed to introduce Russian culture to Japan. In this study, we will delve into the activities of these translators, which started in the Edo period and have continued to the present time, for the purpose of presenting the history of translation activities in Japan. Our investigation of translation history will target the genres which have influenced Japanese culture – literature (novels, drama, short stories, children's literature), and song.

Throughout this study of Russian-to-Japanese translation history, there will be a special focus on preferred translation methods, at particular points in time, and by specific translators. This is because the style of translation affects the reader's reception of the work, as is clearly shown by the present day popularity of Dostoevskii, written in a new "free" style of translation. The main goal of this examination of translation methods is to clarify the processes involved in the development of "free" style translation.

[1] The translations were performed by Kameyama and other leading translators. Kobunsha's project included not only Dostoevskii, but also Gogol, Chekhov, Tolstoi and Turgenev. The interviews with these translators can be found in Chapter 5.

In chapter 2, we will look into the foundations of Russian study which was established as part of the foreign language education system. Overviewing the history of Russian education in Japan, we will also try to find who first introduced Russian literature to Japan. In Chapter 3, we will overview translation history from Meiji up to World War II, examining translators' lives and activities. Chapter 4 will continue this examination, looking at the period after the war. And finally in Chapter 5, we will survey present-day translators via interviews, through which the details of their activities, including their specific methods of translation, will be clarified. The purpose of this study is to present all the history of Russian-to-Japanese translation describing the lives and activities of translators up to the present time.

The first section of this introductory chapter will present an overview of the translator's role, which has become a topic of investigation, in the field of translation studies, in the past few decades. In section 2, we will examine translation methods, especially the two major competing methods – "word-for-word" and "free" translation – which have long been dominant in Russian-to-Japanese translation. The origin of the notion of translation styles will be clarified in the section covering the history of translation studies. We then will see how Japanese translators differentiated between the two methods, and why they became known as the opposing two methods. Considering the historical distinctions, we will define our terminology for the opposing notions. And finally, section 3 of this introductory chapter will describe Russian-to-Japanese translation activities from the Edo period (1603-1868), as well as the role of translators at the beginning of Meiji period (1868-1912).

2. Overview of Translation Studies

2. 1. The Role of Translators

Having emerged onto the world stage in the late 1970s, Translation Studies[2] had a decade of consolidation as a scholarly field in the 1980s, followed by a decade of global expansion, especially in Europe and Asia in the 1990s (Bassnet 2002: 1). In the United States, an interest in this field has risen markedly during the past decade, which is evidenced by the fact that in the past three or four years, at least one academic program in Translation Studies has opened up per year.

Specifically within Translation Studies, the role of the translator has been conceptualized differently in recent studies compared to those carried out in the 1970s. In the past decade especially, there has been a tendency to view the translator in the role of a mediator of cross-cultural communication. Tonkin and Frank describe translators as follows:

> Holding this world together, or keeping it apart, is language. At the boundaries of languages are the translators – mediators of cultures, enablers, but also gatekeepers. They are what we might call professional or committed bilinguals. Behind them stand what Milton and Bandia (2009) call the "agent" of translation – those individuals and organizations who set the terms of the processes of translation and in some sense determine the forms that linguistic traffic will take.
>
> (Tonkin, H. and M. Frank 2010: viii)

Nida Eugene, one of the early founders of the study of translation[3], describes the role of a translator as follows:

> In addition to competence and skill in verbal communication, a translator must have at least three other characters if he is to excel in his work. First, he needs to have a sincere admiration for the formal features of the work to be translated, for without this he is unlikely to possess either the patience or the insights necessary to reproduce a fully adequate equivalent. Second, he should have a respect for the content of the text, or he is likely to shortchange the message. Third, he must be willing to express his own creativity through someone else's creation.

[2] The name Translation Studies was used for the first time at the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics (Copenhagen, 1972) by James S. Holmes in his presentation on "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies." Since then, the name has been gaining more and more ground in academic circles (Toury 1995: 7).

[3] Prior to the official development of the title "Translation Studies," Nida advocated for the names "Science of Translating" (Nida 1964), and "Science of Translation" (Nida 1969).

(Nida 1976: 58)

In accordance with this profile, strong language ability to produce "a fully adequate equivalent" is necessary to excel in translation work. The second characteristic suggests that respect for the source text is essential, otherwise the translated text is likely to be inadequate.

Although the core part of a translators' work is to translate, the role of the translator and the purpose of translation have been contested. According to Bassnett (2002), two contrasting images of the translator emerged in the 1990s: one that is more positive or affirmative, and another that is more negative or suspicious. In the positive vision of the translator's role, "the translator is a force for good, a creative artist who ensures the survival of writing across time and space, an intercultural mediator and interpreter, a figure whose importance to the continuity and diffusion of culture is immeasurable." Norman Shapiro compares this affirmative image of translation to a pane of glass, "I see translation as the attempt to produce a text so transparent that it does not seem to be translated. A good translation is like a pane of glass. You only notice that it's there when there are little imperfections – scratches, bubbles. Ideally, there shouldn't be any. It should never call attention to itself" (Venuti 1995: 1).

In contrast, translation has also been viewed as a negative or highly suspect activity, one in which inequality of power relations (inequality of economics, politics, gender and geography) is reflected in the mechanics of text production. As Mahasweta Sengupta argues, "translation can become submission to the hegemonic power of images created by the target culture" (Bassnett 2002: 4). This latter negative image is often represented in colonial or neo-colonial translations. In accordance with Eric Cheyfit's (1991) interpretation:

> The quintessential colonizer begins by repressing the political conflicts inherent within their own language and projecting those conflicts outward onto the relation between

> languages – specifically, between the language of the colonizer and the language of the colonized. These languages are organized into a hierarchy according to which the colonizer's language is somehow inherently superior (richer, more civilized, etc.) and the colonized language is thus inherently inferior.
>
> (Robinson 1997: 64)

Furthermore, Tymoczko (2000:23) states that translations under these circumstances are "inevitably partial; meaning in a text is over determined, and the information and meaning of a source text is therefore always more extensive than a translation can convey." According to the studies above, the translator's own worldview – their belief system, presuppositions and prejudices – are inevitably coded into the target text. Because of this, a translator's stance toward the source text is a crucial factor for deciding which method of translation to use.

In the next section, we will explore the history of the distinction between the two methods of translation – "word-for-word" and "free" style – which have been dominant throughout the history of Russian-to-Japanese translation.

2.2. "Word-for-word" and "Free" Translations

2.2.1. The Origin of the "Word-for-word" and "Free" Translation Methods

According to Munday (2012: 30), distinctions between "word-for-word" and "free" translation trace back to Cicero (106-43 BCE), the Roman rhetorician and politician, and St Jerome (347-420 CE), a Latin translator of the Bible. At that time, though, the wording used to describe "free" translation appeared to be "sense-for-sense." Cicero was the first to use the idea of "word-for-word" translation and the following passage gives an outline of his approach:

> And I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and forms, or as one might say, the 'figures' of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language.

(Cicero 46 BCE/1960 CE: 364)[4]

The distinction between "word-for-word" and "sense-for-sense" translation appears in the following statement from St Jerome:

> Now I not only admit but freely announce that in translating from the Greek – except of course in the case of the Holy Scripture, where even the syntax contains a mystery – I render not word-for-word, but sense-for-sense.
>
> (St Jerome 395 CE /1997: 25)[5]

Both of the translators disparaged the "word-for-word" translation.[6]

Munday (31) states that St Jerome's statement is now usually taken as referring to what came to be known as "literal" (word-for-word) and "free" (sense-for-sense) translation. Munday explains: "Jerome rejected the word-for-word approach because, by following so closely the form of the Source Text, it produced an absurd translation, cloaking the sense of the original." On the other hand, "the sense-for-sense approach allowed the sense or content of the Source Text." Munday also asserts that "in these poles can be seen the origin of both the 'literal vs. free' and 'form vs. content' debate that has continued until modern times."

We now understand that "literal" translation originated from "word-for-word" translation, and "free" translation from "sense-for-sense."[7] The next subsection will describe three categorizations, used in the 17th century, which might have directly influenced the Japanese translators.

---

[4] *De optimo genere oratorum* (46 BCE/1960 CE) in which Cicero introduced his own translation from the Greek of speeches of the fourth-century BCE Attic orators Aeschines and Demosthenes (Munday: 30).

[5] *De optimo genere interpretandi*, a letter addressed to his friend, the senator Pammachius in 395 CE (Munday: 31).

[6] In the case of the Bible, however, St Jerome stated that a literal method paid attention to the words, syntax and ideas of the original (Munday: 31).

[7] We understand "sense-for-sense" translation as content-based translation, freed from the style of the original text and also from the "word-for-word" meanings.

2.2.2. "Metaphrase," "Paraphrase," and "Imitation"

In the 17th century England "when translation had come to be valued as an exercise in creativity and novelty, some of the renderings became extremely free," it caused a reaction from the English poet and translator, John Dryden (1631-1700). He reduced all translation to three categories[8] (Munday: 41-42):

(1) 'metaphrase': 'word by word and line by line' translation, which corresponds to literal translation;
(2) 'paraphrase': 'translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense'; this involves changing whole phrases and more or less corresponds to faithful or sense-for-sense translation;
(3) 'imitation': 'forsaking' both words and sense; this corresponds to Cowley[9]'s very free translation and is more or less what today might be understood as adaptation.

According to Munday, Dryden preferred paraphrase, advising that metaphase and imitation should be avoided.

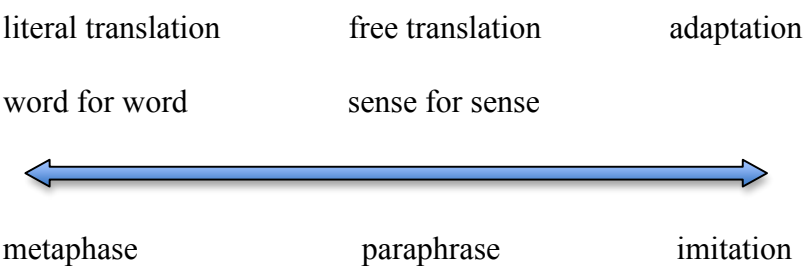
In order to understand 'imitation,' it is helpful to overview translators' approach to the original texts. For example, Copeland's (1991) interpretation of translation during the Roman times was thought to be "a rhetorical project of achieving differences with the original text." Similarly, medieval translation of the classical *auctores* into the current vernacular grew out of exegesis, commentary and textual appropriation (65). For instance, translation of England's greatest medieval poet, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400), was considered a relatively ordinary and simplistic activity. Referring to "imitation," Susan Bassnett also used the example of Chaucer who had a "range of texts that include acknowledged translations, free adaptation, conscious borrowings, reworkings and close correspondences." She explains that the status of '*imitatio*'

[8] In the preface to the translation of *Epistles* written by Ovid (Dryden 1680/1992: 25).

[9] Abraham Cowley (1618-1667). English poet. In his preface to *Pindaric Odes*, he attacked poetry that is 'converted faithfully and word for word into French or Italian prose' (Cowley 1640, cited in Munday: 41).

in the medieval canon was high, because it was considered that "originality of material was not greatly prized and an author's skill consisted in the reworking of established themes and ideas" (Bassnett 2014: 62).

Munday represented all of the methods of translation graphically as follows (42):



Now, in the next subsection, we will look into the theoretical reception of the three categorizations of translation method in Japan.

2.3. Three Methods of Translation in Japan : "Word-for-word," "Literal" and "Free"

Sugita Genpaku, a Dutch-to-Japanese translator in the Edo period, and the Russian-to-Japanese translator Futabatei Shimei mentioned the existence of different translation methods, and two English-Japanese translators Takahashi Goro and Ikuta Choukou, theoretically differentiated the three methods.

2.3.1. Sugita Genpaku

The first Japanese who referred to the three different translation methods was Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817), a doctor and one of the translators of the Dutch anatomical work *Kaitai-shinsho* (*Tāhel Anatomia*, 1774) during the Edo period (see 3.1.1). He wrote in the

introductory notes of the translation of *Tāhel Anatomia* that "there are three types of translation: (1) Hon-yaku [literally: Translation], (2) Gi-yaku [literally: Translation of the meaning] and (3) Choku-yaku [literally: Direct translation] (cf. Naganuma 2010: 164). Note however that the three differentiations used by Sugita are different from the ones we examined in 2.2. Sugita explained his three methods of translation as follows, using Dutch words as his examples: (1) It is called "Honyaku [Translation]" when the Dutch word, for example, *beenderen* [bones] is translated into Japanese *hone*.[10] (2) When *kraakbeen* [cartilage (which means soft bone)] is translated into *nankotsu* [soft bones], it is called Gi-yaku [Translation of the meaning]. (3) It is called Choku-yaku [Direct translation] when a word, which does not exist in Japanese is transliterated into Kanji, using the Japanese *Katakana* syllabary (Sugita 1998: 30-31).

2.3.2. Futabatei Shimei

In 1906 (Meiji 39) Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909) mentioned two types of translation that he attempted to use in his essay titled "Yo ga honyaku no hyoujyun [My Criteria of Translation]": one is "word-for-word" translation, and the other is "free" type of translation, although he did not mention the terminologies for categorization:

> "...if the original had three commas and one period, I tried to put three commas and one period in the Japanese, so that I could convey the prosody of the original sentences."

This passage of Futabatei became one of the criteria of the "word-for-word" translation style that has been followed by many Russian-to-Japanese translators up to the present time.

He also mentioned "free" translation, using Zhukovskii's translation of Byron's poem into Russian as an example. He said that Zhukovskii's translation was free from the form of the original but yet conveyed the thoughts of Byron better than the original. Futabatei added that

[10] Words translated into Japanese were represented by Kanji (Chinese characters).

this method can be risky if the translator happens to misunderstand the thoughts of the writer (Hasegawa and Yazaki 1928: 461). We will examine the finer details of Futabatei's essay about his methods of translation in chapter 3.

2.3.3 Takahashi Goro's Approach

In 1908, Takahashi Goro (1856-1935), a translator, English researcher and critic published *Eibun yakukai-hou* [Methods of Translating English Sentences], in which he differentiated three methods of translation, referring to the English words "Word-for-word translation," "Literal translation," and "Free translation." Takahashi explained the distinctions of the three methods:

> There are three methods of translation. (1) Chikuji-yaku, (2) Choku-yaku, (3) Gi-yaku. In English, (1) Word-for-Word translation, (2) Literal translation, (3) Free translation:
>
> > (1) This method has a goal to show beginners the meaning of each word, the context and usage, and the sentences produced by this method are not necessarily grammatical Japanese sentences. (2) Translate using Japanese words which are equivalent to the original words as much as possible; keep the original structure of the sentence as much as possible, and make a rule not to add any unnecessary luxurious words or changes to the original sentences except when unavoidable. (3) As the word shows, after grasping the meanings of the original sentence, translate it freely: it is not necessary to stick to the words and structure of the original sentence.

Takahashi then recommended (2) – Literal translation as the best translation method because it suits the most essential conditions of translation, about which Takahashi stated:

> Investigate the "seishin [spirit]" of the original text first, then describe the tone of the words and the special sense. Reproduce the style of the original text on the paper as much as possible.[11]

[11] Cited in *Nihon no honyakuron* [Translation Theories in Japan] (2010: 156).

2.3.4. Ikuta Choukou's Approach

Ikuta Choukou (1882-1936), an English teacher, English-Japanese translator, writer and critic, devoted a chapter of his book on learning English on one's own, *Eigo dokushu hou* [The Method of Learning English by Yourself] (1910) to "Choku-yaku" and "I-yaku." In this chapter, Ikuta recommended "choku-yaku [literal translation after word-for-word process]" as a necessary process for learning English. He also mentioned that those who reject "choku-yaku" are often returnees from the Western countries, and they often prefer to teach "i-yaku [free translation]," which has more problems than "choku-yaku" itself. Ikuta asserted that it is because they have no ability to do an accurate "choku-yaku." He recommended that students of English practice both "choku-yaku" and then "i-yaku" to attain a natural Japanese translation, maintaining as much of the original English structure as possible (Ikuta: 132-138).

He also mentioned that "Chikugo-yaku [word-for-word translation]" had been assimilated into "Choku-yaku [literal translation]." In early English education at the beginning of the Meiji period, English was taught as translation of sentences, and it was taught like *Kanbun kundoku* [classical Chinese reading in the Japanese way] using a "Chikugo-yaku [word-for-word translation]" method.[12] Ikuta explained that because of the differences of language structures, word-for-word translations often do not make sense in Japanese. Although this method of translation had been used at the beginning for "Choku-yaku [literal translation]," the term "Chikugo-yaku [word-for-word translation]" has been integrated into "Choku-yaku [literal translation]" that has been widely used in English education since the middle of the Meiji period. We see that as a result of this process of integration, the original three types of translation methods – "word-for-word," "literal," and "free" evolved into two opposing styles, "literal" and

[12] This way of teaching English was called *Hensoku* [irregular] English Education, as opposed to *Seisoku* [regular] English Education from the middle of Meiji period which emphasizes pronunciation and conversation.

"free." Translators in Japan have long argued about which of these two is the better method of translation.

2.3.5. Our Definition

Considering the above mentioned historical distinctions of translation methods, we will use the following terminology for the opposing notions:

"Word-for-word, literal" vs. "Free" translations

"Word-for-word, literal" reflects both the history of the translation process in Japan and the attitude of Futabatei, who was the first great Russian-to-Japanese translator. Also, we will define "free" translation as interpreted by Takahashi in (3) in 2.3.3.

3. Translation Activity from the Edo Period

Now let us turn to the beginning of translation history in Japan. In this section we will find that the first translations occurred because of the need to import Western knowledge into Japan at the end of the Edo period. We will first look into the activities of the first Russian-to-Japanese translators in the Edo period, and then overview the role of early translators at the beginning of Meiji.

3. 1. Russian-to-Japanese Translation

In this subsection we will overview the nascent stages of Russian-to-Japanese translation from the end of 18th century.

3.1.1. Dutch-to-Japanese Translators and Baba Sajūro

The history of Japanese translation of technological and scientific texts from Western countries began with the translation of a Dutch anatomical work, *Tāhel Anatomia* (1774),[13] into Japanese. The translators, three Japanese doctors – Maeno Ryoutaku (1723-1803),[14] Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817) and Nakagawa Junan (1739-1786) – were astonished that the description of inner organs, found in a copy of the *Tāhel Anatomia* they had obtained in Nagasaki, was consistent with what they had witnessed during a dissection of an executed criminal in Edo.

Among the people who studied Western science using Dutch language materials (people known in Japanese as Ran-gaku-sha), there is one translator, Baba Sajūro (1787-1822), whose name does not appear in any history textbooks despite his important contribution to both Dutch-Japanese and Russian-Japanese translations. As a translator for the Tokugawa Shōgunate (Bansho wage goyou), he translated a wide variety of medical books. He was the first to translate a Russian-language medical book, *Tonka Hiketsu* (a description of smallpox vaccination: 1820) into Japanese and the first to create a Russian-Japanese dictionary, *Oroshia-go shōsei*.

3.1.2. Daikokuya Koudayu and Laksman

The opening of Japan to the West is commonly described in history books as being prompted by American Admiral Matthew Perry's (1794-1858) visit with his four "black ships." However, this describes only part of the history. The first Western country, other than Portugal and Holland, to knock at Japan's door in search of trade was Russia. In 1792, the Russian sea captain and envoy, Adam Laksman, arrived in Nemuro (Hokkaido) with two Japanese seamen,

[13] The Original title of the book is *Ontleedkundige Tafelen*, written by Johan Adam Kulmus.

[14] Maeno Ryoutaku, the eldest of the three translators, was said to have been dissatisfied with the translation and withdrew his name from the text, which resulted in Sugita Genpaku becoming known as the translator of *Tāhel Anatomia*.

Daikokuya Koudayu (1751-1828)[15] and Isokichi. The two seamen had been stranded in Russia for ten years after their ship had been blown off course by a typhoon and inadvertently drifted into Russian territorial waters where it was shipwrecked on the Aleutian Islands. Despite Catherine II's strong desire to establish trade relations between Japan and Russia, the Tokugawa Shōgunate made no concessions to Laksman, and Koudayu was confined by the Tokugawa Shōgunate out of fear that he would contaminate the common folk with his knowledge of the outside world. However, the Shōgunate was also eager to obtain knowledge from the West, so Baba Sajūro was assigned to learn Russian from Koudayu during his confinement. Although Koudayu is not known on the world stage, he inadvertently helped lay the foundation for Russian-to-Japanese translation, especially since Baba Sajūro became the first official Russian-Japanese translator.

3.1.3. Murakami Teisuke and Golovnin

Vasilii Golovnin (1776-1831), sea captain of the ship *Diana*, entered Japan illegally in 1811 and was confined in Matsumae (Hokkaido) for 26 months because of this border violation. In order to communicate with Golovnin, Baba Sajūro was sent by the Tokugawa Shōgunate to serve as an interpreter. Through interactions with Golovnin, Sajūro greatly deepened his knowledge of Russian.

Golovin's confinement led to the appearance of yet another *ad hoc* interpreter when Murakami Teisuke (1780-1846)[16] was ordered by the Matsumae (Hokkaido) magistrate's office

[15] There is evidence that a friendship between Kiril Laksman (father of Adam Laksman, 1737-1796) and Koudayu enabled Laksman to plan the voyage to Japan. Cf. *Hokusa Bunryaku* written in 1794 by Katsuragawa Hoshū – physician, translator from Dutch to Japanese, based on the travelogue by Koudayu.

[16] Murakami's letter to Golovnin, written in Russian (1813), was found in the National Public Library in St. Petersburg in 2002.

to take charge of eight Russian prisoners (including Golovnin) in order to learn Russian from them. Golovnin writes in his travelogue[17], published in 1816 in St. Petersburg, that young officials were so eager to absorb knowledge of Russian that they would come to his residence in the morning, bringing their lunch with them in anticipation of long sessions with him. At a time when information about Japan was restricted because of Japan's self-imposed isolation from the Western world, Golovnin's detailed descriptions of Japanese people and life were considered very useful by the West and the book was quickly translated into several European languages, including German, Dutch and English, and became a best-seller. Baba Sajūro was commissioned by the Shōgunate to translate the Dutch version of Golovnin's book (published in 1817) into Japanese, with his translation appearing in 1825 under the title of *Sōyaku nihon kiji*.

3.1.4. Perry's Success in Opening Japan to the West

People in the West who were interested in Japan at the end of the 19th century used Golovnin's book, translated into Western languages, as a precious resource for the study of Japan. Perry wrote in his memoir (Perry 1997: 136) that he also learned about Japan and the Japanese people through this book. Furthermore, the repeated attempts by Russia to open Japan were used by the Americans to develop their strategy for eventually undermining the Japanese Shōgunate. According to the memoir, Perry also learned from the Russian ambassador Rezanov's failure to negotiate a trade treaty with Japan after the Japanese had kept him waiting in Nagasaki from 1804 to 1805 (Perry: 132-135).[18] At that time, Perry realized that there was

[17] *Journey of the Russian Emperor's Sloop Diana from Kronstadt to Kamchatka* (1816).

[18] Rezanov was kept waiting for six months, from September, 1804 to March, 1805. He brought with him to Japan four Japanese who had been shipwrecked in Russia (Tsudayū etc.) and one Japanese interpreter, Zenroku, one of the members of the shipwrecked Japanese who decided to remain in Russia. The Tokugawa Shōgunate, however,

no use in entering Japan via Nagasaki, which was the only place foreign ships were allowed to dock in Japan:[19] The port city was situated far from Edo (Tokyo) and thus Edo would not be affected in any way by the arrival of ships in Nagasaki. Forty-nine years after Rezanov's visit to Japan and thirty-six years after Golovnin's publication, Perry appeared at Uraga, only 47 km away from Edo with four "black ships." With this fleet, Perry succeeded in threatening the Shōgunate to the point that it finally opened the country to the West. Thus, it can be argued that Perry's success in opening Japan to the West can be partially attributed to the contributions, both through publication and experience, of his Russian predecessors.

Perry's successful negotiation with the Tokugawa Shōgunate resulted in the treaty of peace and friendship at Shimoda in 1854; Japan opened Shimoda and Hakodate to the United States and the US received most-favored-nation status. Japan soon concluded treaties of peace and friendship with England, Russia, and Holland, but the relationship with the US was primary, as the US became, in affect, "first among equals" among the countries that had been granted most-favored-nation status by Japan.[20]

3.1.5. After Japan's Opening to the West

The status of individual foreign countries within Japan was reflected by the status of each country's language. During the Edo period, Dutch was the main foreign language in Japan, and gave access to Western knowledge. However, after the Shimoda treaty, – English –

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simply took back the four and refused to negotiate with Rezanov. The travelogue by Tsudayū and other sailors, *Kan kai ibun* was written by Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827 physician/ translator from Dutch to Japanese) in 1804.

[19] Portuguese, Dutch and Chinese ships were permitted to dock only in Nagasaki. Laksman, who arrived at Nemuro in September 1792, was kept waiting for nine months until he was finally given permission to dock in Nagasaki. Rezanov came to Nagasaki with permission according to the official protocol for visiting Japan.

[20] In June 1858, Japan signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce (Nichibei shūkō tsūshō jyōyaku), which was an unequal treaty in the sense that Japan had no tariff autonomy and Japan admitted extraterritorial rights to the US. Treaties of Amity and Commerce were later established with Holland, England, France and Russia.

became the prioritized foreign language in Japan, and Japanese people began to absorb knowledge from Western countries through English.

English also became a focus of study at schools.[21] Many English language textbooks were published and many native speakers of English were invited to come and teach in Japan,[22] which in turn, trained a new generation of English-language Japanese scholars and translators. Thus, learning English became a necessity for the educated classes of the Meiji period. However, this then begs the following questions: 1) What was the motivation for learning Russian – a minor language – for those who had achieved such a sophisticated command of the language that they could translate the works of the great Russian writers? 2) Where could they have learned the language to a level that they could translate Russian literature? 3) How did the translators get to know which literature was worth translating? In light of these questions, the research in my dissertation will start with a clarification of the Russian-language education system established in the Meiji period and its background history. I will then provide an overview of Russian-to-Japanese translators' activities up to the present time.

Before starting the examination of Russian language education in Japan in Chapter 2, we will examine the role of translators at the beginning of the Meiji period in Japan, in order to better understand the need for people with foreign language skills at that time.

3. 2. The Role of Translators in Japan

As we have seen in the previous subsections, translation activities in Japan started from an unbalanced power relationship between the source and target cultures. Especially with

[21] According to the education system established in Meiji (1872), children could study English from the age of fourteen.

[22] For example, James Summers (1873-1876) and William Houghton (1872-1874) in Tokyo Kaisei gakkō (predecessor of the University of Tokyo).

the translation in practical fields, the source language was considered to be superior to Japanese because the original texts contained information the Japanese readers wanted to access. Therefore, knowledge of Western languages (especially English) became a prestigious tool for success in life that was open to anyone, irrespective of social status, during Japan's period of modernization. Fukuzawa Yukichi, the founder of Keio University, is a good example: After coming back from a trip to the United States in 1860, Fukuzawa was appointed as an official translator for the Tokugawa Shōgunate. Researchers have found that some sections of his bestselling book *Seiyō jijyō* [Circumstances of the West: 1866-1870] contain translations of Western publications and lectures. In particular the volume called "Gaihen" was found to be the translation of a primer on economics written by John H. Burton (Haga 2000: 63). Yoshida Tadashi points out that "this kind of 'non first rank original book' changed to be an 'innovation' to the new readers of Japan by the interpretation and the efforts of the translator" (Haga 2000: 66). In this way, translators gradually introduced new Western knowledge to readers in Japan.

Translators played an important role in deciding not only *what* to convey to the new readers but also *how* to convey the new information. One innovation was the coinage of new vocabulary, another was the use of a new style. The translators produced new words to translate western words whose meanings they could not find in Japanese. The newly coined words mostly consisted of two Kanji characters such as "社会 shakai (society)," "会社 kaisha (company)," and "銀行 ginkō (bank)" (Yanabu 2010: 12). For example, the word "哲学 tetsugaku (philosophy)" was created by a philosopher-translator Nishi Amane. On the other hand, the *Genbun itchi style* –"unifying spoken (*gen*) and written (*bun*) languages" (Karatani 1993: 45) was established by a Russian-to-Japanese translator Futabatei Shimei through the translation of Trugenev's novella *Svidanie* ("The Rendezvous" from *A Sportsman's Sketches*) in

1888. Futabatei is considered to be a pioneer of the *Genbun itchi* style.[23] It is remarkable that this style came from a Russian-to-Japanese translator rather than from the dominant group of English-to-Japanese translators. This study will examine the special features of Russian literature and Russian literature translation at that time.

Futabatei's achievement is so significant that not only his methodology of the *Genbun-itchi* style and his criteria for translation, but also his biography became a serious topic of study and this may be one of the reasons why other Russian-to-Japanese translators around the time of Futabatei have been overlooked. We will look into Futabatei's work and activities in detail, first focusing on the Russian language education in Japan in Chapter 2, and then on the *Genbun-itchi* movement and the criteria for translation in Chapter 3.

Our investigation will start with background information about Futabatei's time and his activities, then we will delve into the activities of other leading Russian-to-Japanese literature translators, gradually shifting our focus forward to the present time.

[23] It is suggested that the establishment of Futabatei's *Genbun itchi style* was linked with nationalism in Japan through the process of spreading newspapers to the common people in the 1880s, and the publication of government-designated Japanese language textbooks started in 1909. (Cf. Komori 1998: 51-55).

CHAPTER 2

Establishment of the Russian-Language Education System

1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the early stages of Russian language education, during the Meiji-Taisho period. We will investigate the breeding ground for the Russian-to-Japanese translators, whose biographies are part of this study. We know that one of the translators Futabatei Shimei, who played a pivotal role in the history of Japanese literature, the establishment of the Genbun-itchi style (see Chapter 1), learned Russian at Tokyo Foreign Language School, the first government-run Russian language school in the country. And it was a Russian-to-Japanese translator who discovered the Genbun-itchi style, not an English-to-Japanese translator, even though they were the majority group at that time. This chapter will focus on the characteristics of the Russian Department of Tokyo Foreign Language School, leaving the question about what was exactly done by Futabatei Shimei for the Genbun-itchi style, for the next chapter.

It is important to examine the education literature available from the school, because the Genbun-itchi style was first attempted in the translation of Russian literature. This chapter will also attempt to answer the questions: who first introduced Russian literature to Japan and what education did the earlier translators receive.

Section 1 of this chapter will look at the role of the Russian Orthodox Church as the first institution to provide Russian language education in Japan. The next section will give a detailed history of the establishment of the Tokyo Foreign Language School. It includes information about the people involved in its establishment. The final part of the chapter will

present information about other institutions, such as Osaka Foreign Language School, the Harbin Institute, and the predecessor of Waseda University, all of which played pivotal roles in training Russian language specialists, including translators.

2. The Russian Orthodox Church

The first institution that played an essential role in educating Japanese people about the Russian language was set up by the Russian Orthodox Church. It was established by a Russian priest Ivan Dmitrievich Kasatkin, better known as Father Nikolai, who founded the Russian Orthodox Cathedral in Kanda, Tokyo, which is known by the name of Nikolai-do. It is said that Kasatkin first became interested in Japan after reading Golovnin's travelogue when he was a seminarian, which led him to apply for the position of priest at the chapel attached to the Russian consulate in Hakodate (Nakamura 1996: 27). He first arrived in Hakodate in 1861, then moved to Tokyo in 1871 and founded Nikolai-do, the center of his missionary work and education, at Kanda in 1891. He started to teach Russian language in Hakodate, soon after his arrival in Japan.

Nikolai took eight years to master the Japanese language, but while he was still learning, he had some Japanese mentors who helped him not only to learn Japanese but also to propagate Christianity. His first convert was a *samurai* (warrior) who originally believed in the expulsion of foreigners, and came from Tosa (present day Kōchi prefecture) in order to kill Nikolai. The warrior's name was Sawabe Takuma. After talking with Nikolai, Sawabe became interested in the doctrine of the Russian Orthodox Church and ended up becoming the first priest in Hakodate. He, along with two other samurai, was part of the first baptism ceremony in Hakodate in 1868. The men who helped Nikolai translate the Bible from Chinese to Japanese

were mostly from the Sendai clan, and they appear to be scholars of Confucianism who had a profound knowledge of Chinese classics.

Nikolai gradually established his missionary work in Japan with three sections of education: 1) a missionary school, 2) a school for teaching both the Russian language and general education (the forerunner of the divinity school), 3) the Translation Center, which translated books related to the Russian Orthodox Church, mainly from Chinese and English to Japanese. In September 1876 it became a Russian language school (Ushimaru 1978: 58-62).

After finishing higher elementary education,[1] at age 15 or 16 students were eligible for seven years of study at the Divinity School. The subjects were taught in both Japanese and Russian. The following subjects were taught in Japanese – Nihon gai-shi (Japanese history), Hachi-tai-ka bunshō (the literature of eight great Chinese writers), Jyūhasshi-ryaku (Chinese history), Shisho (the four books of Confucianism), Bunsyō kihan (selected famous writings of the Tang and the Sung periods), Wabun (Japanese writings), Saden (the chronicle of Zuo: the commentary to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) and mathematics. The following subjects were taught in Russian: Russian language, The History of the Old and New Testaments, Catechism, History of the Russian Orthodox Church, World Geography, World History, Ethics, Study of Old and New Testaments, Liturgy, Sermons, Physics, Psychology, Neo-Orthodoxy (Dialectical Theology), Dogmatic Theology, Moral Theology, Comparative Theology, Ecclesiastical Law and Philosophy.[2]

[1] The education system in Japan began in 1872 (Meiji 5) with the promulgation of an educational system. Elementary schools started in 1873, and by 1875, 24000 elementary schools had been founded, but according to statistics in 1874 (Meiji 7), the school attendance rate was only 32% (46% for boys and 17% for girls). By the time the compulsory education system, which had four years of lower elementary school and two to four years of higher elementary school, was established in 1886 many of the schools had moved on from the old clan private school customs. The criterion for finishing elementary education was measured by their ability to read and write. Cf. <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/小学校>, <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/尋常小学校> (accessed May 29, 2013).

[2] *Seikyō shinpo* (the newspaper of Russian Orthodox Church in Japan). September 1, 1899. (Cited in Ushimaru

After seven years of study, the best students were sent to Russian seminaries in St. Petersburg, Kazan or Kiev. According to Naganawa (2007: 210), 18 students were sent to Russia during the Meiji period, and 3 in the Taisho period. The dispatch of the students to Russia began in 1882 (Meiji 15) and ended in 1893 (Meiji 26). Mii Michiro (1858-1940) was one of the successful students: he was sent to Kiev in 1883 (Meiji 16), and after coming back to Japan, became a professor, then principal of a divinity school. He was born in Morioka (Iwate prefecture), the son of a Nanbu-clansman, and after being educated at an English school run by the clan, went to Hakodate and was baptized when he was 16 years old. He took the Christian name of Simeon. Following the recommendation of the priest, Anatoly Tikhai, Simeon went to Tokyo to visit Archimandrite Nikolai in 1873, and he began to work as a translator of church documents. Simeon completed his studies at the seminary in 1883. Next he was sent to the Kiev Theological Academy, where he studied for four years, and in 1887 he gained a degree in divinity. After coming back to Japan, he was appointed a professor at the school, and later became the principal. In January 1894, he became a deacon, and soon after that, he was ordained as a priest by Nikolai. For his first parish, Simeon was assigned to a church in Kyoto, where he contributed to the good relationship between Japan and Russia: He helped out as an interpreter after the Otsu Incident when a Japanese policeman attempted to assassinate the Russian Crown Prince Nicholas. Simeon also worked as an interpreter during and after the Russo-Japanese War. He helped Russian prisoners in the internment camps around Kyoto and Nagoya.

This example of Mii Michiro shows that the school system established by Nikolai was able to prepare students who had a good command of the Russian language.

2. 1. The First Russian Language Textbooks, and the Russian School

1978: 59-60).

The first Russian textbook was written by Nikolai's predecessor, Ivan Vasilievich Makhov, the son of Vasilii Meliyanovich Makhov, the first priest of the Russian Consulate in Hakodate who came from Irkutsk in 1858. Ivan Makhov came to Japan to help his father as a choir director in 1859 and stayed for two years. He published the first Russian language textbook, titled "Roshia no iroha [The Russian Alphabet]." Ivan Makhov wrote to the Most Holy Governing Synod in St. Petersburg: "I have sent more than one hundred copies of the book to the children in Hakodate, one hundred copies to the children in Edo, Kyoto and Nagasaki as presents from me; I sent it to the magistrates of the cities. Also more than fifty copies of Azbuka [a textbook of Russian Alphabet] were distributed to the children and adults who came to me today and yesterday" (Naganawa 2007:107).

The second textbook "Ro-wa wayaku [The Russian-to-Japanese Translation]" was edited by Nikolai in 1867, in Hakodate with the assistance of his students, Onodera Roan (from the Sendai clan), Saga Anjyu (from the Kaga – Kanazawa clan) and Miwa Rodon (from Edo) (Naganawa: 108).

The clan most eager to learn about Russia and the Russian language was Sendai, as they were appointed by the Tokugawa Shōgunate to guard the Russian border. Judging from the list of items that Nikolai asked Goshkevich[3] to send him from Russia in a letter written in 1865 (September), we see that during the first period of Nikolai's stay in Japan, he helped Japanese people who were eager to study Russian as well as general knowledge. He was interested in educating Japanese people, not just in converting them to Orthodoxy. This is evident in his request for things such as: 1. Two copies of a Russian dictionary 2. A textbook on the art of navigation 3. A textbook on gunnery instruction and 4. A textbook on physical science. Nikolai

[3] Iosif Antonovich Goshkevich (1814-1875). He served in the Efim Putiatin mission in Japan as a Russian-Chinese interpreter (1852-). He was appointed the first Russian representative in 1857.

also asked for textbooks on world history and arithmetic as teaching materials for a school. He explained that these materials were wanted for a school run by the Lord of Sendai (Naganawa 2007: 49). To ask for such a diverse variety of books, Nikolai must have been convinced that Japanese people were thirsty for knowledge, and that a school for teaching high level Western knowledge could attract students. The following letter dated the 2nd of May 1866, and sent to Goshkevich shows that Nikolai had already established his school at his own expense at this time:

> The following books are necessary for my school:
> Ten copies of printed readers for the general public, ten copies of a grammar book, ten copies of an arithmetic book, five copies of an algebra book, five copies of a geography book, five copies of a geography book with atlas, five copies of a World History book, five copies of a Russian history book, three copies of a physics book, three copies of a mechanics book, three copies of an astronomy book, ten copies of the Japanese-Russian dictionary that you wrote, the Russian dictionary written by Gebor, a French dictionary, a German dictionary, the dictionary edited by the Science Academy, five copies of a copybook, an anthology of prose for reading.
>
> These books are absolutely necessary. Now I have three students as well as the interpreters. They are highly educated adults, over 25 years old, who have the desire to learn. Another extra student is going to come to Hakodate in a couple of days. That is to say, I am not going to stop my effort for founding the school. I will establish the school for sure. If the Asian bureau will not support me, I will do it on my own. The school will be established at all costs.
>
> (Naganawa 2007: 51)

The phrases I underlined show that at this point in time, there existed a Japanese-Russian dictionary written by Goshkevich. It was co-written with Tachibana Kōsai, who stowed away to Russia from the period of the Putiatin mission,[4] and was published in St. Petersburg in 1857. Its Japanese title was *Wa-ro tsūgen hikou* [A Comparative Dictionary between the Japanese and the Russian Languages].

[4] Tachibana Kōsai worked as an interpreter for Putiatin's mission when they were staying in Toda-mura, Izu, for the construction of a new ship, to replace the one damaged by an earthquake. He succeeded in reaching St. Petersburg where he worked as an interpreter, and later as a language teacher under the name of Vladimir Yamatov. Tachibana Kōsai came back to Japan in 1874 (Meiji 7).

It is noteworthy that Nikolai's Institute accomplished the editing of a Russian Japanese dictionary "Ro-wa wayaku 魯話和訳" in 1867 in Hakodate, with assistance from Ono Shōgorō and Mayama Onji, a Confucian scholar from Sendai. The dictionary appears to be the only Russian-Japanese dictionary in Japan until the publication of "Ro-wa jii 露和字彙" by the government in 1887.

After two years of stay in Russia (January, 1869 - February, 1871), Nikolai became an Archimandrite, and came back to Japan as the head of the missionary organization. In 1873, Nikolai established his base of missionary work in Tokyo, first in Tsukiji until he moved to Kanda, Surugadai. According to the recollections of a student, about 140-150 students lived together in two row houses in Surugadai.[5]

2. 2. Effect of the Establishment of Tokyo Foreign Language School

In 1873, a Russian Language department was established at the Tokyo Foreign Language School, and many students who were only interested in the Russian language, not theology, moved from Nikolai's school to the government school. Nikolai's school finally became a true divinity school at this point. He reported the number of students to a missionary society in 1873: 10 students in the translation division (for the translation of divinity related materials), and 14 students in the divinity division. Nikolai wrote in the same letter that previously he had been accepting students who were only interested in the Russian language, because there was no other school that provided Russian language education, and that, now, he became free from the tremendous numbers of people who took much of his time and effort (Naganawa 2007: 109-110).

[5] Jyo Hokusei (1913). "Roshia-go gakusha no onjin [A Benefactor of a Russian Linguist]." *Seikyo jihō*. P.25. Cited from Naganawa (2007: 109).

Nikolai played a significant role in the initial stages of Russian education in Japan. He concentrated on the missionary work from 1873 onwards, and it was continued until 1912. As a result he established one Cathedral, 8 Churches, 175 Chapels, 276 Ecclesia. He also fostered one Bishop, prepared 34 Priests, 8 Deacons, 115 Catechists, and converted 34110 Believers (Naganawa 2011:41).

2. 3. The Divinity School for Girls and Publications at the School

In 1881-82 Nikolai established the Tokyo Divinity School for Girls. It educated future gentlewomen and wives in the believers' families. According to Nakamura and Nakamura (2003: 384), the school taught not only the subjects commonly taught at girls' schools such as Japanese, drawing, music, calligraphy, bookkeeping, sewing, and cooking, but also the doctrine of Christianity, interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, and the history of Israel as recorded in the Bible. Also noteworthy is the inclusion of stenography and speech practice, which took place every Saturday evening after prayers: In the Meiji period, it was considered that women ought to be silent and subservient to men. Girls from Orthodox families, from the age of ten were eligible to attend the school. Almost all of them lived in the dormitory. The younger girls were taught by female teachers (who in later years were graduates of the school), and the older classes were taught by male teachers. Russian was not taught in the girls' school, but if any of the students were interested, it was possible to study the Russian language individually with teachers or students at the divinity school. A Russian literature translator who graduated from the girl's school, Senuma Kayou, whose biography will be examined later, learned Russian in this way.

After the establishment of the Holy Resurrection Cathedral in 1891, there was an

intense interest in the publication of translated material: a lithograph that Nikolai brought from Russia made it possible to publish not only books, but newspapers as well. The girls' school began publishing a monthly journal "Ura nishiki [The Back Side of Brocade]" in 1892, while the divinity school published the journal "Shinkai [The Sea of Heart]" also a monthly journal, from 1893. The publication stopped in 1899, with issue No. 70. "Ura nishiki" was continued until 1907, with the last issue No. 178, published in August that year. These journals served the role of introducing Russian literature directly from the Russian original.

2.4. Hardships Experienced by the Church

The Holy Resurrection Cathedral had a library which held more than ten thousand books. Nikolai was apparently very proud of the collection (Naganawa 2011: 46). After Nikolai's death in 1912, Georgy Tikhomirov (1871-1945) succeeded to Nikolai's post. The library, which was a treasure chest of Russian literature was, unfortunately, destroyed by the fires that followed the catastrophic Kanto (The region includes Tokyo and surrounded prefectures) earthquake in September 1923 (Taisho 12). No details about the collection survived the fires, nor is there any information about the Russian literature the library contained.

The cathedral was reconstructed in 1929 (Showa 4), but the Japanese government's movement toward the Pacific War brought more suffering to the Russian Orthodox Church: the director of the divinity school was arrested on suspicion of spying in 1936 (Showa 11), as was Georgy in 1945 (Showa 20), although the church was never forced to close[6] (Naganawa 2011: 62).

[6] After the World War II, the church opened Russian and English School under the support of the American Orthodox Church (Yoneshige 2000: 317).

3. Tokyo Foreign Language School

This section will focus on the school system, established by the government at the beginning of the Meiji era, for the study of the Russian language. The foundation of Russian studies that prepared translators, will be clarified by an examination of the school curriculum and the accounts of a variety of people who were deeply involved in the establishment of this first government run Russian language school. This section will also refer to the publications of the standard Russian-to-Japanese dictionaries, which were essential tools for quality translation.

3. 1. The Establishment of Tokyo Foreign Language School

Tokyo Foreign Language School – Tokyo gaikokugo gakkō – was first established in 1873 (Meiji 6). It merged with Tokyo Business School (now known as Hitotsubashi University) in 1885 (Meiji 18) under the initiative of the Minister of Education, Mori Arinori.

At the beginning of Meiji era the Japanese government recognized the necessity of learning the Russian language. A letter written by Kuroda Kiyotaka – an assistant secretary of the Land Development Bureau – and addressed to the Grand Council of State (Dajyōkan), demonstrates that the government felt that the Russian language was important. The letter also makes it clear that the request to establish a Russian language school in Hakodate, Hokkaido:

The purpose of the establishment of a Russian language school in Hakodate.
(Feb. Meiji 5)

> "In regard to the pioneering of Hokkaido and Karafuto (Sakhalin), as Karafuto appears to be the mixed living region, many troubles have happened by reason of misunderstandings of the Russian language. I request to found a Russian language school in Hakodate, and to hire a Russian teacher for the school."
>
> (Akizuki, 1979: 39)

The Hakodate Russian Language School was established in October 1873 (Meiji 6) at the same

time as Tokyo Foreign Language School, and according to Akizuki, due to the difficulties in finding teachers,[7] the Russian school was soon forced to close, and the Tokyo school became the only official language school where students could study Russian seriously.

Tokyo Foreign Language School was originally affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but the authority of the school was transferred to the Ministry of Education in July 1872 (Meiji 5) after the English Department became independent.[8] The next subsection will refer to the people involved in the history of the Russian department of Tokyo Foreign Language School. Two people affiliated with the school were important for the further development of Russian studies in Japan.

3. 2. **Ichikawa Bunkichi** (1847-1927)

Ichikawa Bunkichi was one of the first teachers in the Russian Language Department at Tokyo Foreign Language School. In order to tell his story, it is necessary to go back into the Edo period. According to Miyanaga (1991), in 1865, six young students of Bansho-shirabesho (Foreign Language School for the Tokugawa Shōgunate) were sent to Russia for the purpose of studying Russia and the Russian language. They were: Ozawa Seijirō (13 years old), Tanaka Jiro (15), Ōtsuki Hikogoro (16), Ichikawa Bunkichi (19), Ogata Jōjiro (22),[9] and Yamanouchi Sakuemon (30). These students rented a house in St. Petersburg and began to study the Russian

[7] First, the Land Development Bureau had counted on Nikolai, the priest of the Russian Orthodox Church who had been in Hakodate for 10 years, as a Russian teacher. But, as he was planning to move to Tokyo, Hakodate Russian School employed some Japanese teachers. Later a Russian monk Vissarion Saltov was hired, but after his premature death in January 1874, the school operation was virtually suspended.

[8] Akizuki (1979: 41) wrote that English and French courses were abolished and the school taught German, Russian and Chinese. Only the English department was moved to another campus, and became the predecessor of the present-day University of Tokyo.

[9] A son of Ogata Koan, a famous physician who studied Western sciences by means of the Dutch language. Ogata Jōjiro later wrote a small Russian-Japanese dictionary "Rogo sen" in 1873 (Meiji 6) (*Roshiajin to roshiago:* 27).

language. In 1867, Yamanouchi returned to Japan due to health problems. The remaining students, with the exception of Ichikawa, returned to Japan in July 1868. Ichikawa moved in to a house belonging to Admiral Putiatin and studied Russian language and history, as well as mathematics with four teachers including Ivan Goncharov, a well known Russian novelist who also wrote a travelogue of Japan. Ichikawa later married a Russian woman. After living in Russia for eight years, he returned to Japan in September 1873, leaving behind his Russian family.[10] Ichikawa Bunkichi left Japan to study in Russia at the end of Edo period and returned to Japan after the Meiji Restoration. In December 1873 he was appointed as a Russian teacher in the newly established Tokyo Foreign Language School, and in February of the following year he was appointed as a secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accompanied by Enomoto Takeaki, the vice-admiral of the Imperial Japanese Navy, Ichikawa returned to Russia to assist with negotiations regarding the Treaty of St. Petersburg.[11] The successful negotiation of the treaty was in a large part due to Ichikawa Bunkichi's role as interpreter (Miyanaga 1991: 121-122). Following the signing of the treaty, Ichikawa remained in St. Petersburg with Enomoto Takeaki and his party for five years.

Upon his return to Japan, Ichikawa was appointed to the post of professor at Tokyo Foreign Language School in 1879. He also served as an interpreter in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also Ichikawa was one of the main authors of the first printed Russian-Japanese dictionary published in 1887 (Meiji 20) by the Ministry of Education.[12]

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[10] Students who followed Ichikawa were required to live alone in order to maximize their ability to focus on studying the Russian language (Miyanaga 1993: 136).

[11] The Treaty of St. Petersburg was signed on May 7, 1875. As a result, Japan gained 18 islands from Urup island northwards in exchange for relinquishing all claims on Sakhalin Island. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Saint_Petersburg_(1875)> (accessed May 24, 2012).

[12] Other Authors were: Furukawa Tsuneichiro, Saga Anjyu (1840-1898), Kurono Yoshibumi (-1917) and Tōdo Shiro (1858-1909) (Yoneshige 2000: 339). The dictionary had 110,000 words, but it had few examples and was an

Ichikawa Bunkichi and Furukawa Tsuneichiro, among the first professors in the Russian Department, invited Futabatei Shimei to the Tokyo Foreign Language School to serve as a professor in the Russian Language Department.[13]

The next subsection will explore the contributions of Kojima Kurataro, who was one of the first students of the Russian Department, and who supported the exchange of information between Primorski Kri, Russia and Hokkaido as a correspondent.

3. 3. **Kojima Kurataro** (1860-1895)

Kojima Kurataro's father had been working for a law court in Hakodate at the end of Edo period. He was subsequently assigned to an affiliated law court in Kusunkotan, Sakhalin. Because of that Kurataro grew up in an area where there were many Russians. When he was 11 years old, he began to study the Russian language in the home of a Russian merchant in accordance with the request of a Japanese official from the Hakodate Development Bureau. The merchant had wished to take Kurataro to St. Petersburg, however, the official had decreed that Kurataro should be educated at a Japanese institution. Kurataro lived at the merchant's house for one and half years,[14] and was then sent to an institute affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, the Hakodate Russian Language School, and then finally to Tokyo Foreign Language School. Kurataro entered the Russian department of Tokyo Foreign Language School in 1874, and graduated from the school in 1881. Only eight students had graduated from the Russian department prior to Kurataro (Akizuki 1979: 38-43).

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insufficient tool for translation activities.

[13] Furukawa, Ichikawa and Hasegawa (Futabatei) were known as "San-sen (three rivers)" of Russian language, because all three of them had "river (kawa)" in their family names. Futabatei served as a professor at Tokyo Foreing language School from 1899 to 1902.

[14] A letter from the merchant to the Development Bureau, written on March 15, 1873 remains in the library at Hokkaido University (Akizuki 1979: 38).

Kurataro's activities can be summarized in four points:

1. He took precise lecture notes at Tokyo Foreign Language School, and they were well preserved. The notes provide valuable information about the contents of the lectures at the school.

2. He recorded the forced migration of Ainu in 1884, from Shumshu Island to Shikotan Island, one of the Kurile Islands, in his diary (Zajac 2000).

3. He volunteered to be a correspondent of the local newspaper "Vladivostok" from 1883 to 1906. He not only contributed articles to this paper, which covered the entire Far East, but also translated the paper into Japanese and provided information to the local Japanese paper "Hakodate."[15]

4. As a public official of foreign affairs at Hakodate, he sought to promote mutual understanding between Japanese and Russian people. This dedication is reflected in the Russian emperor Alexander the Third awarding Kurataro the Order of St. Stanislas 3rd Class, because he helped investigate the shipwreck of a Russian transport ship in Soya Strait in 1890.

These voluntary activities demonstrate both his aptitude for the Russian language and his dedication to promoting international relations between Japan and Russia (Hara 2012). Kurataro appears to have been one of the best interpreters of the Russian language in Japan at the beginning of the Meiji era. Because of the requirements of his profession, Kurataro used his knowledge of the Russian language for practical purposes only as a journalist, and did not become involved in translation of Russian literature after his graduation from the school.

While Kurataro made many valuable contributions to the early study of the Russian language in Japan, this study will mainly focus on Kurataro's notes of the lectures at Tokyo Foreign Language School.

The next subsection will examine a report on Tokyo Foreign Language School written by Mechnikov, a Russian teacher. The report provides detailed observations of the school from

[15] The city of Vladivostok, established by Russia in 1860, had a good relationship with the city of Hakodate, established during the Ansei period (1854-1860), at the end of Edo era. The warship "Gleeden", a corvette, arrived in Hakodate on October 1, 1860 (according to the old Russian calendar), and bought 28 living cows and some hay. This is considered to be the first trade between Hakodate and Vladivostok (Hara 2012). The regular liner between Nagasaki and Vladivostok was inaugurated in the 1880s, and in the 1890s the Hakodate-Vladivostok route was launched for the trade of salmon and trout.

an insider's point of view.

3. 4. Lev Ilich Mechnikov (1838-1888)

Watanabe (2000) stated that the destiny of Tokyo Foreign Language School was closely intertwined with the government's efforts to Europeanize Japan at the beginning of the Meiji era. A Russian scholar, Lev Ilich Mechnikov, a geographer, sociologist and revolutionist-anarchist got this job with the help of Oyama Iwao, a military officer of Meiji government originally from the Satsuma clan (present Kagoshima prefecture), whom he met in Geneva.

The Satsuma clan helped Mechnikov find a job in Japan teaching mathematics and history in the Russian language department at Tokyo Foreign Language School. Mechnikov taught at the school for one and half years beginning in 1874 (Meiji 7). Upon his return to Geneva, he wrote an article of his recollections about Japan to the newspaper «Russkie vedomosti [The Russian reports]» from 1883 to 1884 under the title of «Vospominanija o dvukhletnei sluzhbe v Iaponii [Memories of Two-years' Service in Japan]». This article reveals much about the school, and about the Russian department, in which he was a professor. The next subsection summarizes his reminiscences about the school.

3. 4. 1. Mechnikov's Reminiscences about Tokyo Foreign Language School

Mechnikov's description of the school system was published in 1876 in the journal of *Dela* and translated by Watanabe Masaji in 1982 (pp. 271-290). It is summarized below.

Japanese government gave a warm reception to students:

Students were provided not only with free accommodation and meals, but also with a small allowance (a dollar per month). This financial assistance was put in place by the Japanese

government to assist the school in competing with private language schools, such as those run by religious orders.

However, because of the cost of purchasing armaments (on the assumption that there would be a war between Japan and China),[16] the Japanese government gradually fell into financial difficulties. Eventually, these difficulties led to the restriction of student financial assistance and it was only made available to the seniors.

The most popular language among students was English:

According to a register of students in March 1874 (Meiji 7), the number of students in the English department was 321. It became necessary for the government to re-locate the English department to another schoolhouse due to these large numbers. It was during this time that the Tokyo Foreign Language School was re-named Tokyo English School. The English curriculum later provided the core materials for a preliminary English course at the University of Tokyo – Tōdai yobimon.

More than half of the foreigners in Japan around 1874 were either British or Americans, and they were employed in almost all industrial fields including the production of naval and military munitions. For example, expatriates from England led projects building Japanese railways. Japanese students who learned English at school did not have any problems in securing jobs upon graduation.

Foreign teachers abused employment contracts with the school:

Japanese people were very respectful towards foreign scholars. The employment contracts for the foreigners were written somewhat ambiguously and some of the foreigners from Europe and the USA abused these ambiguities. For example, the teachers were allowed to be absent from school for up to 10 successive days, but the contract did not specify how many times a year the 10-day vacation could be repeated. Another clause that was often abused was that, after having concluded a 5-year contract, the foreign teachers tried to induce the Japanese government to fire them during the first year of their new contract. If the teacher was fired, he would instigate a lawsuit against the Japanese government for a lump-sum payment of the wage for the remaining term in the contract. Usually the foreign teachers won the court cases thanks to their rights as expatriates.

The information in Mechnikov's reminiscences provides a detailed depiction of Japan during the confusion soon after the adoption of a foreign education system with foreign human

[16] Mechnikov asserted that it was because of the Japanese Expedition of 1874 to Taiwan.

resources.[17] The English department of the Foreign Language School was very popular among the students because many of the foreigners who worked for the construction of the new government system were British or Americans.

The next subsection examines the characteristics of the Russian Department from Mechnikov's point of view.

3. 4. 2. Characteristics of the Russian Department (Based on Mechnikov's recollections)

The Level of Russian Interpreters

By the time that Mechnikov arrived in Japan, there were already great numbers of Japanese interpreters who could translate from English, French and German. Nonetheless, Mechnikov was of the opinion that, although small in number, the interpreters who knew Russian were more highly trained and professional than the interpreters of the other three languages. According to Mechnikov, Ichikawa Bunkichi was one of the best interpreters. Mechnikov noted, however, that there were interpreters who though they had never been to Russia, spoke excellent Russian. He stated that this was due to the Russian language school's links with the Russian Orthodox Church in Hakodate, which opened under the initiative of the superintendent priest Anatorii.[18] Mechnikov believed that another reason the interpreters of Russian were more highly trained and professional was that a larger Russian school opened in Tokyo shortly thereafter. A dedicated Russian teacher, Nikolai Kasatkin who taught at this

[17] Japan was in a disadvantageous position because of the unequal conditions afforded foreigners under the treaty regarding expatriate rights. The Europeanization was one of the methods that the Japanese government took for the dissolution of unequal treaties.

[18] According to a chronological table of the Russian Orthodox Church in Hakodate, Anatorii Chixai came to Hakodate in 1871 as a replacement for Nikolai, and he was in a leadership position within this church from 1872 to 1879. <http://orthodox-hakodate.jp/history> (accessed April 4, 2012).

school had a thorough knowledge of not only Japanese language, but also Japanese history and Shintoism. Mechnikov added that Hakodate satisfied all the conditions for Russian language study, because there were Russians residing in Hakodate who interacted with the Japanese people in the region. Russian warships also frequently entered the port in Hakodate. In addition, Mechnikov mentioned a small village in Nagasaki which did not have a missionary organization, nor a Russian school, but because Russian naval vessels were often moored in the village port, half of the residents in the village could speak Russian.[19]

Relationships between Japanese and Russian people that were established earlier

Mechnikov was surprised to see the Japanese people's rapid adoption of European culture, and their ability to cope with international events. He highlighted the following events:

1. When a Finnish freighter, transporting grain to Vladivostok, was shipwrecked, Vladivostok was cut off from food supply until Japanese people began transporting grain to the port.

2. When naval vessels of the Siberian fleet experienced difficulties, they were repaired by Japanese workers in a shipbuilding company in Yokosuka.

3. Japanese traders came up with the idea of transporting merchandise, imported to Japan at a low price from Europe, to Vladivostok. This idea led to the establishment of regular shipping lines between each open port and Vladivostok. Japanese people expected from the beginning that the Sakhalin and Ussuri regions were capable of becoming regions that would fully realize their business potential.

Mechnikov stated that the above listed events provided some of the motivation for opening a Russian language department in the newly established Foreign Language School in Japan.

Students Majoring in the Russian Language were Indifferent to Standard Perceived

[19] Watanabe (translator into Japanese) commented that this port must have been Inasamura in Nagasaki prefecture.

Markers of Success in Life

Mechnikov estimated the intake of students to the Russian department in the first year was 150. The ages ranged from early teens to adult samurai. Mechnikov commented that the future was not always bright for those students who majored in Russian, in contrast to the future of graduates of the English, French and German departments. Nevertheless the majority of the Russian students did not appear to be worried about future careers. Watanabe saw this tendency of the Russian students as having been influenced by the lectures about "Superfluous Men" in Russian literature given by Mechnikov and later by Andrei Kolenko who was Mechnikov's successor. According to the lecture notes written by the student, Kojima Kurataro, Andrei Kolenko taught seven poems, which were all written by exiled Narodniks,[20] through recitation in class for two hours per week (Watanabe, 1983: 5-7). It is quite possible that the ideology of liberalists and revolutionists, who did not express career aspirations, to which the students were first exposed through classes in the Russian department, significantly influenced their later lives.

The Pedigree of Russian Narodniks

As previously mentioned, Mechnikov was succeeded by the exiled Narodnik, Andrei Kolenko, who was in turn was succeeded by Nikolas Gray, who came to Japan in June 1884 from the United States. Judging from the lecture notes taken by Kojima Kurataro, Watanabe felt that it was these Russian teachers who most influenced and developed the students' thinking. He called these teachers "the exiled Russian teachers" distinguishing them from the teachers sent by

[20] The Narodniks (Народники) were a socially conscious movement of the Russian middle class in the 1860s and 1870s. Their ideas and actions were known as Narodnichestvo (Народничество), which can be translated as "Peopleism," though it is more commonly rendered as "populism." The term itself derives from the Russian expression "Going to the people" (Хождение к народу) (Pedler 1927: 130-141).

The poems are the followings: "Oh, I Cannot Bear" by Kondratii Ryleev (1795-1826), "Pilgrims" by Dmitrii Davydov (1811-1888), "God! If We have Happiness in This World" by Petr Viazemskii (1792-1878), «A Bar» by Nikolai Ogarev (1813-1877), "Four Races" by Aleksandr Polezhaev (1804-1838), "A Flame up out of a Spark" by Vladimir Odoevskii (1803-1869) and "A Double-headed Eagle" by an unknown poet.

the Russian Consulate. The characteristics of these "exiled Russian teachers" were described by Watanabe as follows: "Placing trust in the students' Russian abilities and spiritual maturity, they enthusiastically provided the teenagers with the most up-to-date, advanced information about Russia" (Watanabe 1983: 2).

This study adopts Watanabe's position that it was the exiled Russian teachers who mostly influenced the development of the Japanese students. In order to test the validity of Watanabe's hypothesis, we will examine the influence of these teachers' ideology in Futabatei Shimei's essay regarding his school life. Nonetheless, before exploring Futabatei's memoirs, it will be useful to first examine the curriculum of the Russian Department in 1881-1882, at the time when Futabatei started school, and Kojima Kurataro graduated from school.

3. 5. The School Curriculum in the Russian Department

When Tokyo Foreign Language School was established in 1873 (Meiji 6), the length of the course was initially four years. The following year it was extended to six years, and then reduced to five years in 1876 (Meiji 9) when it consisted of three years of lower division (Ge-tou) and two years of upper division (Jyō-tou) courses (Watanabe 2000: 39-40). The school catalogue of the five-year-system is available at Hitotsubashi University. It contains the syllabi for 1881-1882 (Meiji 14-15),[21] the time when Futabatei Shimei was studying as a freshman and a sophomore. The school followed the semester system.

3. 5. 1. The Syllabus of the Russian Department (1881-1882)

In the Russian department, 30 hours per week were required, the same number of

[21] Digital data provided by Hitotsubashi University:
<http://hermes-ir.lib.hit-u.ac.jp/da/bitstream/123456789/7480/2/ichiran18810010.pdf> (accessed July 1, 2012).

hours that were required in the French and the German departments. The system and curriculum of the French, German and Russian departments were adopted from the European middle school, and the textbooks were selected from each of the countries. All the departments had native-speaking instructors and in the Russian Department almost all the language classes were conducted in Russian from the first year.

According to Ryan (1965: 24), applicants were required to take an entrance examination which included questions from general academic subjects as well as Russian. Of the 250 applicants in 1881, 48 passed the preliminary entrance examination and were permitted to begin studying Russian. After three or four weeks of the study of Russian, they were tested again on their ability to correctly pronounce Russian words. Of the 48 students who reached the second examination point, only 25 were allowed to continue.[22] Hasegawa Tatsunosuke (Futabarei's real name) was at the top of the list. In this subsection we will examine the curriculum from the first to the fifth year of 1881 (the complete curriculum is listed in Appendix).

It was previously thought that all lectures in this course were given in Russian (Ryan, 1965: 25, Momiuchi, 2006: 83). However, a detailed examination of the catalogue suggests that besides the subject as Ethics, Japanese and Chinese studies (six hours a week, 6/30 hours) that were delivered in Japanese throughout the five-year course, it appeared that some of the subjects were translated into Japanese by the Japanese teachers, depending on the abilities of the students.

3. 5. 2. Analysis

A detailed examination of the subjects in the Russian syllabus 1881-1882 (in the Appendix) suggests the following three characteristics of the department of Russian language.

1. Students learned not only language-related subjects, but also science, history, logic, and practical subjects for business.

[22] Cited in Nakamura (1958: 45, 52-53, 220) and Kuwabara (1954: 122).

The course also included gymnastics and ethics to promote the students' physical and mental health. In addition, the school considered that study of Japanese and Chinese languages fundamental.

2. The subjects which had the greatest number of hours per week were:

   Translation (3-5 hours/week)
   Composition (2-4 hours/week)
   Recitation (2-3 hours/week)
   World history (2-3 hours/week)
   Geography (2-3 hours/week)

   In the fourth and fifth years the students also studied rhetoric and oratory skills (2 hours/week) in order to improve the quality of their speech in Russian.

3. There was no Russian literature class.

   Russian poems and fables were used in recitation classes, but there was no specific class for studying Russian literature. As was mentioned earlier Andrei Kolenko for example taught poems in the recitation classes (3.4.2.). It appears that teachers introduced students to Russian literature through the recitation classes (which were held two hours per week).

The Russian department offered the same curriculum as the French and German departments. Despite students' protests, the Minister of Education merged the French and German departments with the preparation school of Tokyo Imperial University in 1885, and the Russian department with a Tokyo business school, together with the Chinese and Korean departments.

We know that Futabatei left the school due to his opposition to the government's policy towards the merger a few months before his graduation. According to Nakamura Mitsuo, the issue of the Japanese Ministry of Education closing down the school made Nicolas Gray so indignant that he spoke out against the Ministry of Education stating that their actions were too cruel (Nakamura 1958: 51).

In the next section, the effect of the Russian teachers' lectures, particularly those that

explored Russian literature, will be analyzed through Futabatei's essays.

3. 6. Futabatei Shimei and the Changes in His Thinking

Futabatei's essay "Yoga hansei no zange [A Confession of Half My Life]" allows us to assess the influence of lectures at the school on the students. What follows hereafter is a summary of part of Futabatei Shimei's "Confession" (Futabatei 1938: 314-317).

3. 6. 1. Summary of Futabatei Shimei's "Confession of Half My Life"[23]

The first part of Futabatei's "Confession of Half My Life" can be summarized as follows:

1. Why Futabatei learned the Russian language.

   The exchange of the Kuriles with Sakhalin, as a result of the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1875, resulted in the feeling that Russia would become a great threat to Japan. In order to protect Japan, Futabatei began to study the Russian language at Tokyo Foreign Language School.

2. Why Futabatei began to read Russian literature.

   In a Russian history class, a professor had been scheduled to read representative literary works. Having an interest in arts from his childhood, Futabatei was unconsciously influenced by Russian literature, and eventually, his anger against imperialism cooled, while his passion for Russian literature grew vigorously.

3. Futabatei became interested in the social problems that Russian literature depicted, problems which an ordinary East Asian citizen could not envisage. Futabatei understood the authors intent to observe and analyze society, and also predict social problems. He called it "Shakai shugi" which means "socialism."

4. He was also interested in people's attitudes toward life and destiny, and his "socialism" developed into criticisms of civilization and society's social system or organization.

5. Russian writers who influenced Futabatei's notion of "socialism" are numerous, and included

[23] Published in a journal "Bunsho sekai [A Writing World]" in June 1908.

the character of Bazarov in "Fathers and Children" by Turgenev, many works of Chernyshevskii, Herzen and Lassalle,[24] although the latter was not a Russian writer.

6. As a result of the "socialism," Futabatei opposed the government administration and left the school. Also he felt annoyed by parents' interference, and decided to become independent. That is the reason why he visited Tsubouchi Shouyou and under his guidance, wrote the novelette "Ukigumo."

3. 6. 2. Analysis

The essay "A Confession of Half My Life," which is part of an autobiography, provides an understanding of the contents and influence of the literature education on the students majoring in Russian language at the Tokyo Language School. First, Futabatei's motivation in choosing the Russian language as his specialty is made clear. It was because he perceived the need for "national defense" to confront the menace of the Russian empire. "National defense" was a common motivator for the majority of the students who studied the Russian language as is seen in a letter written by the secretary of the Land Development Bureau (3.1.) when he requested the establishment of the Russian language school in Hakodate.

It also provides us insight into the substance of the Russian literature lectures. We see that the Russian literature provided the students with detailed information regarding the social problems in Russia in the 19th century, which, as is clearly stated by Futabatei, no Eastern person would dare to depict. There are two details that are worth exploring regarding the contents of the literature: one is the concept of "socialism" (#3,4) and the other is the authors who shaped his ideology (#5). As was observed by Futabatei himself, "socialism" was a way to protest against the existing political systems. He used the word "socialism" here in the meaning of the process "to observe, analyze, and predict the social problems." He names Bazarov as one of the

[24] Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864). German-Jewish jurist, philosopher, and socialist political activist. He is best remembered as an initiator of international-style socialism in Germany.
Cf. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferdinand_Lassalle> (accessed Nov. 18, 2013).

characters in Russian literature who gave him an inclination for "socialism." Bazarov is a character created by Turgenev as a representation of nihilism. Judging from the other writers to whom Futabatei referred – Chernyshevskii, Herzen and Lassalle, it seems that Futabatei was studying various styles of thoughts including nihilism, the Narodniks, the practical social movement and international-style socialism, as presented in Russian literature. Futabatei appeared to have grouped these ideas all together under the umbrella term as "socialism" during his school years.

Secondly, the authors who influenced Futabatei will now be considered. Russian writers, rather than his Russian teachers, led to his interest in "socialism." Futabatei wrote as if the teachers merely followed a fixed curriculum, and as was made clear from Kojima Kurataro's lecture notes, the content of the lectures did not have to be approved by the supervisors, and the Russian teachers introduced their ideologies by way of the materials they incorporated in the school curriculum. This study will seek to demonstrate that this is how the Narodniks' doctrines were brought to the attention of Futabatei and influenced the development of his own philosophy.

The concepts from Russian literature which had the most influence on Futabatei Shimei, were summarized by Futabatei himself as "an attitude toward the real world." Russian literature, which depicted the disparities, caused by differences in social status or morals, of the real world stimulated Futabatei's sense of justice. Out of this sense of justice grew his ability to analyze the real world in Japan – this thought process is evident in his Confessions of his life. Thus it is clear that Russian literature had a strong influence on Futabatei Shimei as it fascinated him with its depiction of social problems, and with its analyses and criticisms.

Russian teachers played a significant part in Futabatei's introduction to Russian literature. These educators appeared to have been exiled Russian Narodniks, whose terms of

service during Futabatei's years of schooling are as follows:

1881-83 Andrei Kolenko;

1884 Nikolai Gray

Due to the merging of the Russian department with the business school in 1885, the syllabus for 1885 does not exist. We see that, at the closing down of the school, Futabatei's last Russian teacher was Nikolai Gray.[25] The details of the influence of Gray's lectures on Futabatei will be described in Chapter 3 in relation to Futabatei's work in the Genbun-itchi style.

3.7. Newly Established Tokyo Foreign Language School

This subsection will briefly describe the characteristics of Tokyo Foreign Language School after its reformation: the school was newly opened in 1897 (Meiji 30), as an attached institution of the Advanced Commerce School (the predecessor of Hitotsubashi University). Initially the school had seven departments – English, French, German, Spanish, Chinese and Korean, and the Italian department was added later in 1899 (Meiji 32). Students attended 24 classes per week in their major language, and the courses took three years to complete; a two-year night school was also offered.[26] Each department was divided into three majors: humanities, foreign trade, and land development (Watanabe 2000: 73). Under this new system, the study of Russian became more academic due to the influence of a new Japanese teacher, Yasugi Sadatoshi (1876-1966), a linguist from Tokyo Imperial University,[27] who created enormous

[25] The oldest data of the school bulletin in 1874 shows that the Russian teacher in this year was Taraktenberg – the teacher introduced by the consulate, according to Mechnikov. Incidentally, the teacher in 1879 and 1880 was also Andrei Kolenko.

[26] In 1902 (Meiji 39), an intensive one-year system was established in the Russian, Chinese and Korean departments.

[27] In September 1900 (Meiji 33), Yasugi started a special course at the newly established Tokyo Foreign Language School, while Futabatei Shimei, who had been invited by his former teacher Furukawa Jyoichiro, was teaching in

amounts of teaching meterials.

In 1935, Yasugi, together with Igeta Sadatoshi, his student at Tokyo Imperial University, published a Russian-Japanese Dictionary, *Iwanami Ro-Wa Jiten* (by Iwanami publishing: a revised and expanded edition was published in 1965) which was a crucial component in promoting higher quality and more efficient translations.

4. Other Institutions

This section provides a short introduction to three other institutions; the predecessor of Waseda University, Osaka Foreign Language School and the Harbin Institute which were considered to be core centers for Russian language education.

4.1. Tokyo Senmon Gakkou (Waseda University)

Tokyo Senmon gakkou [Tokyo Professional School], the predecessor of the present Waseda University was established in 1882 (Meiji 15) with four faculties: politics and economics, law, physical science and English linguistics. Russian education at this school started as a subject of second language education in September 1916 (Taisho 5). The first lecturers were Yasugi Sadatoshi and Nobori Shomu (see Chapter 3, 6.1). It was 1918 when a Russian Literature Major was established. According to Igeta (2000: 96-108), there was a

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the Russian Department. Having been given a government funded scholarship by the Ministry of Education, Yasugi left for Russia to study at St. Petersburg University in November 1901 (Meiji 34). In March 1903, while he was still studying in Russia, Yasugi was appointed as a professor at Tokyo Foreign Language School. Actually, Futabatei had recommended his student, Ida Kouhei for dispatch to St. Petersburg. Nonetheless, the principal of the school at that time –Takakusu Junjiro – who also held a professorship at Tokyo Imperial University selected Yasugi as the government student, and he was the one who later appointed Yasugi as professor. According to Sato (2008: 68) this conflict may have led to Futabatei's decision to leave the school in 1902 (Meiji 35). Nakamura (1958: 223) argued though that the episode was only a trigger for Futabatei's departure from the school.

relationship between the reception of Dostoevskii in Japan and the establishment of the Russian Literature major. The introduction of Dostoevskii in Japan was linked together with the history of the English translation of his novels. The first English translation of *Buried Alive* was performed in 1881 by Marie Von Thilo, and in 1886, the translations of *The Humiliated and Insulted* and *Crime and Punishment* were published by Frederic Wishaw. The latter was translated into Japanese by Uchida Roan in 1892 (Meiji 25). After this introduction, Dostoevskii was forgotten within British society for about 20 years, and also in Japan. From 1912 a collection of Dostoevskii's works translated by Constance Garnett began to be published (-1920), and the first volume, *The Brothers Karamazov* was used as a reading in the faculty of English literature in 1914-1915. The first Russian-to-Japanese translation of the complete works was published by Shinchosha in 1917 by Yonekawa Masao, Nakamura Hakuyo[28] and others (Igeta 2000: 99).

In 1922 (Taisho 11), in accordance with a 1920 imperial ordinance, a Russian department (three-year system) was established at Waseda University.[29]

4.2. Osaka Foreign Language School

Osaka Foreign Language School, the predecessor of Osaka Institute of Foreign Studies was established by a donation from Hayashi Chōko in 1921.[30] The school consisted of nine departments: Chinese, Mongolian, Malay, Indian, English, French, Germany, Russian, and

[28] Biographies of these translators will be presented in Chapter 3.

[29] The number of the students who entered the Russian department gradually decreased, and it was finally abolished in 1937 (Showa 12). The department was revived in 1946 (Showa 21).

[30] Her husband Hayashi Takesaburo, who had made his fortune in shipping, left a will with instructions to donate a million yen (current value, 3-4 billion yen) to a public utility. She decided to use it to establish a new foreign language school in Osaka.

Spanish. Of the first 200 students, 20 were Russian majors. The first Russian department staff members were: Matsunaga Nobunari (Professor) and Nikolai A. Nevskii[31] (Sawada 2000: 109-111).

According to Sawada (2000) the characteristics of Osaka Foreign Language School were as follows: 1. The purpose of this school was to train international businessmen. 2. The school placed importance on Eastern languages. 3. The only goal was practical language acquisition (whereas in the Tokyo Foreign Language School, each department was divided into three majors: humanities, foreign trade and land development).[32]

4.3. The School of the Japan-Russia Association (the Harbin Institute)

The School of the Japan-Russia Association was established in 1920 (Taisho 9) in Harbin, sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the South Manchuria Railway Company.[33] The Japan-Russia Association was founded in 1902 (Meiji 35) for the purpose of "the mutual understanding of Japanese and Russian people and the establishment of trade relations" by the initiative of Enomoto Takeaki (1836-1908).[34] The first president of the school was Ida Kohei, a student of Futabatei Shimei. The school had a three-year system, but also had a

[31] Nikolai Aleksandrovich Nevskii (1892-1937). A Russian linguist who specialized in East Asian languages. After graduating from the Department of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg University in 1914, he was sent to Japan for two years. He stayed in Japan until 1929 due to the revolution and Russian Civil War (The period of posting at Osaka Foreign Language School was from 1922 to 1929). While in Japan, he studied the languages and cultures of Ainu and Ryukyuans (The folklore of Miyako Islands), and also the Tsou people in Taiwan. He was arrested and executed as a Japanese spy together with his Japanese wife Mantani Iso in 1937.

[32] In 1944, during World War II, the school was renamed as "Osaka gaiji senmon gakkou [Osaka Professional School of Foreign Affairs]," because use of the word "gaikokugo [foreign language]" was prohibited during World War II. In 1949 the school was restarted as a new national institute (Hokkyo 2000: 269).

[33] A railway company established by Japan in 1906 after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). Following the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, the south Manchuria Branch (from Changchun to Lüshun) of the China Far East Railway was transferred to Japanese control.

[34] *The Journal of Tokyo Economy*. No.1142, July 26 (Cited in Sato 2012).

special Russian course of 1-2 years. Students were recruited from all prefectures (sponsored by each prefecture or the government), but when the students were less than the quota of 50, private fee paying students were also accepted. The main subject was Russian and students had 18 Russian language classes/week in first year, 14 in second year,[35] and 10 in third year (Watanabe 2000: 140-141). The characteristics of the school were summarized by Gomamoto Choichi, a student/teacher of the school (Watanabe 2000: 146-147):

1. The school aimed to acquire practical, living Russian language skills.
2. The school emphasized the importance of native Russian teachers.
3. The school did not have 'old-boy' networks.

The name of the school changed to the Harbin Institute in 1933 (Showa 8), but the school spirit summarized above had been taken over even after the institute was administered by the government of Manchuria as a Manchuria National Institute of Harbin in 1939 (Showa 14). [36]

5. Conclusion

This chapter examined the foundations of Russian study from the beginning of the Meiji period to the Taisho period. Two institutions, the Russian Orthodox Church and Tokyo Foreign Language School were examined, especially focusing on the people who contributed to the establishment of Tokyo Foreign Language School, which was the first government run Russian language school. The Russian Orthodox Church played a significant role mostly when

[35] Those students who wish to live with a Russian family were allowed to leave the dormitory from the second year. There were almost 80000 Russian people in Harbin, most of them were educated Russians getting away from the revolution (Watanabe 2000: 153).

[36] Being drawn into the midst of the war, the institute was closed in 1945 (Showa 20). The president of the institute Shibuya Saburo killed himself, and many of the students were taken prisoners. Nonetheless, their knowledge of Russian language helped other Japanese prisoners in concentration camps (Watanabe 2000: 159, <http://www.keigado.co.jp/p/haerbin/> accessed January 26, 2013).

there was no official Russian language school, from the end of Edo period to the beginning of Meiji period. Other institutions, the predecessor of Waseda University, Osaka Foreign Language School, and the Harbin Institute were also referred to.

As a result of the detailed study of the beginning stage of the history of Tokyo Foreign Language School, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding motivation for studying the Russian language, and how the Japanese people became aware of Russian literature. Firstly, in the early years of the school, the students' motivation for studying Russian was related to their perception of the need to defend Japan against Russia. Secondly, most of the Russian teachers who showed enthusiasm for teaching Russian literature were exiled Narodniks, and the teachers' ideologies were conveyed to the students through lectures on literature during the Russian history or recitation classes. One of the students who appears to have been most influenced by the Russian teachers' literature lectures was Futabatei Shimei, who later applied what he learned at the school to his writing in the field of Japanese literature.

Russian literature, that was first introduced by the Russian teachers, and later by early Russian language translators, and also via other language translations gradually became popular in Japan. The working conditions for the translators also gradually improved due to the strong foundation of Russian study established by the creation of teaching materials, including the standard printed dictionaries. A detailed history of the introduction of translated materials to the Japanese general public will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Overview of Translation History up to World War II

1. Introduction

According to Masamune Hakucho[1] three novels had a significant influence on Japanese youth in the period prior to the development of naturalism in Japanese writing at the end of Meiji. The first, Turgenev's *Rudin* was translated from the Russian original by Futabatei Shimei under the title of *Ukikusa* [A Floating Plant] and published in 1909 by Kaneo bunsendo. The second, Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* (*Yokusen-ki* [A Memoir on Bathing in Spring]) was translated into Japanese from an earlier German translation by Koganei Kimiko[2] and published between 1892 and 1894 (Meiji 25-27) in *Shigarami-zoushi*. The third novel, Andersen's *The Improviser* (*Sokkyo shijin*) translated from German by Mori Ogai,[3] was published between 1892 and 1901 (Meiji 25-34) in *Shigarami-zoushi.* Masamune explained that the ineffectual Rudin and the masculine Pechorin (protagonist in *A Hero of Our Time*) struck a chord with Japanese youth at that time. They demonstrated that Western youth were also naïve and experienced feelings similar to those of the Japanese young people. Furthermore, it was a revelation to Japanese youth that such feelings could be the topic of writing, as up to that time, they were only accustomed to the samurai spirit literature with its didactic moralism.

In this chapter the role of Russian literature and the translators who contributed to the history of establishing modern Japanese literature will be examined. The translators faced a substantial barrier as they did not have an appropriate written Japanese language style in which

[1] Masamune Hakucho (1879-1962) was a novelist and dramatist.

[2] Koganei Kimiko (1870-1956) was a poet and translator, and was the younger sister of Mori Ogai.

[3] Mori Ogai (1862-1922) was a novelist, critic, translator, dramatist and an army doctor.

to reflect Western thought. Thus the history of translating foreign literature also played a major role in the establishment of the modern Japanese language. Translation of Russian literature, which had such a significant impact in Japan provided the impetus for the development of a new style of writing (Genbun-itchi style) which was largely the result of Futabatei Shimei's trials and errors. This style became the foundation of modern Japanese written language.

After a historical overview of the period prior to the modernization of Japanese writing in section 1, the history of the Genbun-itchi movement will be explored in section 2 along with a study of Futabatei's biography. Section 3 provides further insight into the Genbun-itchi movement through the examination of three contemporaries of Futabatei who were the founders of direct Russian-to-Japanese translation. Section 4 investigates Tolstoi's popularity from the end of Meiji period. Finally, section 5 will consider the work and translation theories of four translators during the Russian literature boom period. This chapter will clarify the history of Russian-to-Japanese translation from its early beginnings in Meiji until the outbreak of World War II.

2. The Transition Period to Modern Japanese Literature

In 1720 (Edo period, Kyoho 5) the 8th Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune lifted the embargo on Western books. From the 1640s when the Tokugawa Shōgunate adopted the policy of seclusion except for trade with the Dutch and Portuguese, Japan had practically no exposure to Western literature because of the ban on Western books. After the ban was lifted, the Edo people's first priority in seeking to obtain Western knowledge was to study science in Dutch texts, as was mentioned in Chapter 1. After Perry's fleet visited Uraga, however, Japanese people rapidly expanded their study of languages to English, French, German, and Russian, and

also became interested in European literature. Readers were first attracted by biographies about great historic figures including Napoleon Bonaparte, George Washington and Peter the Great. The biographies of the latter two heroes were of particular interest and were introduced to children as a play in Edo style by Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894). An interest in Western literature also extended to novels when *Robinson Crusoe* by Defoe became popular. Evidence also exists that *Gulliver's Travels* and *Romeo and Juliet* were introduced in the Edo period (Yanagida 1933: 4-10).

At the beginning of the Meiji period, people's lives were de-stabilized by the Civil War (Boshin Senso), and reading for enjoyment was not, therefore, a common activity. Yanagida indicated that it was only around Meiji 10 (1877), when the Civil War (Seinan Senso) was over, that people became ready to think about constructing a new society. It was at this time when intellectuals started taking notice of Western novels. Yanagida noted that the following novels, which were translated in 1878, were widely read by Japanese intellectuals at this time: *Ernest Maltravers* (1837) and *Alice* (1838) by Lord Lytton (English, 1803-73) and *Voyage Autour du Monde en Quatre Vingts Jours* (Le Tour du Monde en Quatre-Vingts Jours) (1872) by Jules Verne (French, 1828-1905). The first two novels were translated into Japanese as *Oushū-kiji Karyū-shunwa* [A Strange Event in Europe: Love Stories], and the last novel was translated as *80 nichikan sekai-isshu* [Around the World in 80 Days]. Yanagida highlighted three reasons for the popularity of these translations: First, they were translations of Western novels. Second, the content of the stories' met the readers' demand, as the former was considered to be "*Ninjyō shōsetsu*, a story full of human feelings," and its background information provided the readers with practical knowledge of Western style politics and society; the latter was an adventure story, a style which Japanese people favor. It was also a guidebook

to the world and, at the same time, it provided a comparison between civilized countries and those who at that time were considered barbarians. Third, they were translated in a style similar to the Japanese translation of classical Chinese writing (Kanbun kundoku-tai), using only Kanji (Chinese characters), which were used among Japanese intellectuals (Yanagida: 15).

Among the general public at that time there existed a popular writing style, which was used in storybooks written in spoken Japanese from the later Edo period. Even in the second decade of the Meiji period, this genre of Japanese writing was not taken seriously by the intelligentsia. Yanagida proposed that if the above-mentioned novels were translated in such an Edo literary style, they might not have been read by intellectuals, even though they were translations of Western novels.

The dominant writing style changed in the Meiji 20s. In Meiji 18 (1885), Tsubouchi Shouyou (1859-1935) wrote *Shōsetsu Shinzui* [The Essence of Novels] which is considered to be the bible of the literature revolution in Japan (Yanagida: 22). It was a great sensation in the Japanese literary world because Tsubouchi, who held a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Tokyo, proposed the ideal features of Japanese literature. Previously this topic had been considered to be non-academic. Tsubouchi selected two letters for the translation of the English word "novel": *Shō-setsu*, which means "small stories" (Komori: 14), and this new Japanese word continues to be used up to the present time.

Tsubouchi Shouyou specified three main principles when comparing Western and Japanese literature. First, the purpose of writing novels is to express people's feelings, not didactical teaching or moral education, as is more commonly practiced in Japan. Second, the writing should be founded in realism, not idealism. Third, the Japanese writing style should be innovative. The first two principles were practiced by Tsubouchi Shouyou himself, but the

third principle was practiced by one of the first Russian-to-Japanese translators, Futabatei Shimei, and Yamada Bimyou, Futabatei's childhood friend, through their use of the Genbun-itchi style.

In 1886 (Meiji 19) Futabatei Shimei visited Tsubouchi Shouyou soon after Futabatei had left the Tokyo Foreign Language School. As Futabatei indicated in "The Confession of Half My Life" (Cf. Chapter 2), the visit was motivated by Futabatei's need to support himself through his writing. Tsubouchi and Futabatei began to develop the new writing style together, and finally Futabatei launched the style in his translations of Russian novels in the late 1880s.

Thus far the period of transition to modern Japanese literature up to the appearance of Futabatei Shimei has been briefly reviewed. In order to clarify the significance of what Futabatei achieved, it is necessary to explore the Genbun-itchi style that he established. In the next section, the Genbun-itchi movement, and Futabatei's work in founding the modern Japanese writing style will both be examined.

3. The Appearance of the Genbun-itchi Style

3.1. What is the Genbun-itchi Style?

According to Yamamoto Masahide (1971: 41), Genbun-itchi sentences are not simply sentences written in the style of spoken Japanese. A more accurate definition is that the sentences are written in the style of spoken Japanese that appeared in or after the Meiji period. The Genbun-itchi movement arose from an idea developed by the scholars of Western literature that Japanese written language, which at that time was very different from the spoken language, should be simplified so that it would become more similar to spoken Japanese, as was the case in most Western languages.

Yamamoto emphasized that there were materials written in spoken Japanese before the

Meiji period, even in the Muromachi (1336-1573) and Edo periods, which had specific purposes such as instructions or lectures for uneducated people. Nonetheless, Yamamoto argued that the writing style in these materials should be differentiated from the reformation of Japanese written language (Genbun-itchi) in the Meiji Period. He identified the period of all Genbun-itchi movements to be from 1866 (Keiou 2 – beginning) to 1922 (Taisho 11 - completion), and divides it into 6 periods (Yamamoto: 41-46).

In order to clarify that the styles used in Futabatei's Genbun-itchi translations were not new, and to discern what he achieved, a summary of the movement's history up to the appearance of Futabatei's works based on Yamamoto's study follows. The approximate year and the style, author, the name of the book or the article and a brief summary of its contents are listed in Table 1.

Table 1 Movement towards the Establishment of the Genbun-itchi Style

Year	Style	Author	Book/Article	Content
1866 (Edo, Keiou 2)	The end of the sentence: -tsukamatsuru -gozaru	Maejima Raiho[4]	A Petition for the Abolition of Kanji (Chinese characters).	The warrior's *~degozaru* style.
1867 (Edo, Keiou 3)	Spoken style with kanji, ending with old writing style: -nari -beshi	Fukuzawa Yukichi	A Trip to the West: A Guide.	Convenient to supply words that did not yet exist in the colloquial style with Kanji.
1874 (Meiji, 7	Only Hiragana (the Japanese cursive syllabary) Ending with -dearu	Shimizu Usaburo	"Monowari no hashigo": Translation of *Introduction to Science* by Thomas Tate (in Meiroku-zasshi[5]).	For the promotion of knowledge to the general public.

[4] Maejima Raiho was later known as Maejima Hisoka (1835-1919) and was a translator at Kaiseijyo, the Office of Translation in the Tokugawa Shōgunate. He petitioned the last Shōgun (Tokugawa Yoshinobu) to abolish the usage of Chinese characters.

[5] The bulletin of the first academic society in Japan, Meiroku-sha, which was established in Meiji 6 by scholars

1874 (Meiji 7)	Ending with -gozaimasu -mashita -dearimasu -da -desu -gozaru -nanda -ta-toiu -tosa	The Newspaper "Yomiuri"[6]	The third human interest page in a "Small Newspaper" for the general public (including women and children).	Easy to read conversational style.

It is worth noting that the first movement occurred as early as 1866 (Edo period, Keiou 2).

At this time "small" newspapers (referred to as "small" in comparison with the newspapers written in Kanji-style for intellectuals) were written in a conversational manner and provided numerous examples of the new writing style. This tendency to write in a conversational manner that appeared around Meiji 7 gradually became unnecessary, because, as suggested by Yamamoto, literacy standards gradually improved when the educational system became more widely accessible in Meiji 5 (1872). Thus, the need for simplifying written Japanese for the general public decreased.

In the 1870s writers individually attempted to practice their theories in executing the Genbun-itchi style, but no one was able to realize the ideal new style of writing during that period.

3.2. **Futabatei Shimei** (real name: **Hasegawa, Tatsunosuke**)

According to a private memorandum written by Futabatei, he was born in February 1864 in Ichigaya, Edo and was the son of a clansman of Owari (present Aichi prefecture). He liked drawing and listening to old tales told by his grandmother. When Futabatei turned four

such as Mori Arinori, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kato Hiroyuki, Nakamura Shojiki, Nishi Amane and others.

[6] Other newspapers like "Tokyo nichi-nichi" or "Yubin hochi" (first published in Meiji 5) were written in the style used for Japanese translations of Chinese Kanji style for intellectuals.

years old (Meiji 1), his family, with the exception of his father who worked in Edo, moved to Nagoya in order to allow Futabatei to continue his education. He began to study Chinese Classics with his uncle. He was admitted to a school of foreign studies in Nagoya at *Nagoya-ken you-gakkou* [The school of foreign studies in Nagoya prefecture], and majored in French (The school offered both English and French). Futabatei noted that he liked to go to school, not because he liked to study, but because he liked to play with his friends. He left the school after a year, and went to Tokyo in 1872 (Meiji 5). In 1875 (Meiji 8) Futabatei's father transferred to Matsue, Shimane prefecture, and Futabatei began to study Chinese Classics and general subjects at a middle school there. He continued until 1878 (Meiji 11) when he moved to Tokyo with his grandmother. At that time he was 14 years old and sought admission to the Military Academy of the Japanese Army. He was unsuccessful in gaining entry, however, as he had severe myopia. Although he took the examination again in 1879 and in 1880, he never passed. In 1881, when he was 17 years old, he sat for an entry examination for Tokyo Foreign Language School, and then was accepted into the Russian language department. He chose to study Russian language as his profession because, as he wrote in "Yo no shisou-shi [The History of My Thought],"

> It was about Meiji 20 and I was railing against the childishness of imperialism, and thought that we needed to deal with arrogant Russia, otherwise our country would be in trouble. Japan's policy towards Russia would be entrusted to an ambitious person; for this reason it was necessary for me to study Russian language, and thus I entered the department of Russian language at Tokyo Foreign Language School.
>
> (Futabatei 1985: 259)

His primary goal was to become a government officer and assist in national defence, hence he was motivated to study the Russian language in order to better protect Japan from Russia. His interest, however, in what he referred to as *imperialism* developed in other ways while he was studying at Tokyo Foreign Language School:

> On the contrary, I was then influenced by *socialism*. It was because I was so inspired by Russian literature that it had such a powerful impact on me. The socialism that I believed in at that time appeared to be very childish: I was dissatisfied with whatever the government did, and I insisted on freedom in meaningless scenes. Now I come to think of it, it was very stupid, but at that time, I was completely serious.
>
> (The same as above: 260)

The underlined sentence by this author (Fukuyasu) was explained in detail by Futabatei in the same section of his manuscript. It describes how the curriculum of the department, which was examined in Chapter 2 (in the Appendix), impacted on Futabatei's study of the Russian language:

> The Russian language department at that time was very much different from the present day school. It was the same curriculum as middle schools in Russia: they taught not only the Russian language, but also physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography, history; whatever subjects that were taught in the Russian middle school. Among them there were the rhetoric and history of Russian literature. In the literature history class, the teacher lectured on the history of the literature of the eras, let the students listen to the representative works of the writers, and assigned the students to make comments on the works. It was virtually impossible to be in the class without studying the literature, that is why, and also, in part, due to my interest in the work, I studied very hard for the class. I can say that thanks to this regular training, I was able to build up a knowledge of Russian literature, for I read almost all the masterpieces of the great Russian writers in the course.

Nikolai Gray was Futabatei's Russian teacher at the time, and Futabatei noted that Gray was an excellent teacher of recitation skills. Uchida Roan, a friend of Futabatei's, and the translator of Tolstoi's "Resurrection" reported what he had heard about Gray:

> He displayed a remarkable talent for reading aloud the masterpieces of Goncharov and Dostoevskii. He brought the text to life with gestures and by modifying his voice to imitate the different characters … Gray's lectures enabled the students to rise above the limitations of language lessons and savour the wonder of literature. It would have been impossible for anyone not to learn to love literature after hearing him.
>
> (Ryan 1965: 27)

It is apparent that Gray's performance enhanced Futabatei's tone recognition skills in Russian. These skills had already begun to emerge during Futabatei's childhood. His father and mother

were fond of Shamisen (a Japanese three-stringed musical instrument) music, especially Tokiwazu and Shinnai (types of traditional Japanese narrative music Jōruri). Sometimes, Futabatei's mother played the Shamisen, and his father accompanied her through song and narration. The narrative music by his parents, and the story telling by his grandmother must have provided strong foundations that fostered Futabatei's taste for art. He mentions this pursuit in his essay "Confession of Half My Life": "I had an interest in arts that began in my childhood, and Russian literature was the fuel that fanned the flames of my interest." Thus Gray's artistic reading of Russian literature further enriched Futabatei's interest in the musicality of spoken language that had been fostered in his childhood. Another factor that affected the establishment of the new Japanese written style was Futabatei's interest in Rakugo (traditional Japanese comic storytelling). He wrote in his essay "Waga Genbun-itchi no yurai [The Source of my Genbun-itchi]," that his friend and the literature teacher Tsubouchi Shouyou recommended that Futabatei write a story imitating the Enchō's Rakugo (Futabatei 171).

Futabatei attempted to convey the remarkable musicality of Russian language in accurate, word-for-word Japanese translations. As a result, Futabatei achieved a natural Genbun-itchi style which, by the time, was accepted by the large majority of Japanese readers. We will examine his theory of translation in detail in the last subsection of this section.

3.3. Contents of the Genbun-itchi Style

3.3.1. The First Translation Written in the Genbun-itchi Style

Futabatei's first published Genbun-itchi style translation was *Aibiki* [Rendezvous: Svidanie] in the journal *Kokumin no tomo* [Friend of the Japanese Nation] in 1884 (Meiji 21), which also appeared as one of the 25 stories of Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches.* Before this

publication Futabatei had translated Turgenev's *Fathers and Children,* which was titled "*Kyomutō katagi* [The Character of Nihilists]." He had hoped it would be published by Hino shouten in Osaka, but this did not happen. In March 1886, Futabatei showed the translation to Tsubouchi, who wrote the novel of "*Tousei shosei katagi* [The Character of Contemporary Students]." The similarities of the two titles make it obvious that Futabatei translated the title of *Fathers and Children* in reference to Tsubouchi's novel, which followed the practice of his theory (realism) and described the lives of students who had come from all over Japan to Tokyo to advance their careers. Futabatei's first attempt at the Genbun-itchi style in translation concluded with the publication of an advertisement about the translation (in May 1886). He wrote the advertisements using the "-desu, -masu style", which is the polite style of spoken Japanese, and explained what a "nihilist" was, and which style he used for the translation:

> *Kyomutō* sounds like a dangerous concept for the common man, but it is not as bad as it may first seem … This novel is translated in the elegant Japanese style used in gentlemen's society in Tokyo, hence you may find it interesting to read. To put it bluntly, this is a blind imitation of Enchō,[7] or to put it a better way, the first attempt at the new Japanese writing style.
>
> (Yamamoto: 142-43)

It is not clear why the translation was not published, but this "elegant style" of practical Japanese is clearly evident in the first Genbun-itchi style translation of part of the Russian novel *Fathers and Children*.

Russian Nihilism was a subject of concern to the Japanese people in the late 19th century due to its influence on politics.[8] After the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 (Meiji

[7] Sanyūtei Enchō (1839-1900) was a professional comic storyteller who found favor with the public from the end of the Edo period. His ghost story *Botan-dourou* was published in 1884 (Meiji 17) in the same storytelling style.

[8] In the 1880s the Freedom and the People's Rights Movement (Jiyu minken undō) occurred in Japan. Former warriors carried out rebellions protesting against the new government's policies. The largest rebellions were in Kyūshu (*Seinan* civil war) and were suppressed by the government in 1877 (Meiji 10). The outcomes of Russian

14), other countries which had emperors began to watch what was happening in Russia more closely. The concept of Nihilism was introduced from Europe as a potential power of revolt against the emperor. The Nihilists' activities became the topic of novels in Europe, and these novels were translated in Japan, being either rewritten or reproduced Japanese versions of the Nihilists' stories. For example, Paul Vergnir's *La Chasse au Nihiliste* (1880) was translated by Kawashima Chunosuke in 1882 (Meiji 15) as *Kyomu-tou taiji kidan* [The Marvelous Tale of the Nihilists' Extermination], and this translation prompted Sakazaki Shiran to write *The Story of Russian Girl-Anna.* (Yanagida 1933: 17). These translations and reproductions of political stories were written in the style which used Chinese characters (Kanbun kundoku-tai). Translations at that time could only be performed by those Japanese who had knowledge of European source languages as well as knowledge of the target language: Chinese writing. The unpublished translation entitled "The Characteristics of Russian Nihilists (1886, Meiji 19)" considering the time, appeared to be the first translation written in the Genbun-itchi style in Japan.[9]

3.3.2. Three Ending-styles of the Genbun-itchi Sentences

A literary style is identified by its vocabulary, syntax and rhetoric (Komori 1999: 55). As mentioned in Chapter 1, new notions from Western science and literature needed to be translated, which necessitated the creation of new Japanese words. Most of these notions were realized with the combination of two Chinese characters. For example, words like Shinri (心理: a state of mind), and Kanjyo (感情: feelings) appeared in *Ukigumo* written by Futabatei in

political and social movements were matters of concern for both activists and governors in Japan.

[9] According to Tsubouchi Shouyou, Futabatei showed him an attempted translation of Gogol (about 30 pages) before "The Character of Nihilists." It was the first material about which Tsubouchi and Futabatei argued regarding the new style of writing (during January to March in 1886) (Tsubouchi 1933: 24 qtd. in Yamamoto: 144).

1887 and must have had a great impact on readers (Shindo 1981: 406-408). The appearance of these new words in Japanese vocabulary in the literary world played a role for the establishment of modern Japanese society. Arguments about the Genbun-itchi style in the Meiji period had been mainly about sentence-ending styles, which is closely related to syntax, rhetoric and vocabulary. According to Karatani, it was a natural progression to think of the character of the Japanese language because in Japanese, the relationship between the speaker and the hearer appears at the end of the sentence, and that is why it is possible to understand who or what the subject is without having it in the sentence (Karatani 2008: 55). The founders of the new sentence-ending styles at the beginning of Meiji made a great effort to find the appropriate ending style when translating Western languages in which subjects that govern verbs always appear. It was necessary to establish a new style of ending that was free from the relationship between the speaker/writer and listener/reader.

In this sub-section, the kind of rhetoric which the new established ending styles permitted will be examined. Three categories of present tense ending styles: "-desu" (including "-masu"), "-da" and "-dearu," and the past tense style of "-ta" will all be explored.

Futabatei wrote the advertisements for the first translation of "The Characteristics of Russian Nihilists (1886, Meiji 19)" in "-desu" style. This long, polite style was one used often among women writers such as Higuchi Ichiyo (1872-1896), and it was considered to have feminine nuance. Yamada Bimyou (a male writer) established his Genbun-itchi style by first using the "-desu" style, which was equivalent to the polite spoken style.

Later on, Futabatei, who is considered to be the creator of the "-da" style, successfully used it in his translations of "Aibiki [Rendezvous]" and "Kiguu [Unexpected Meeting (The Russian original: Tri fstrechi)]" in 1888 (Meiji 21). The "-da" style sounds as though it does

not use honorifics, and it was gradually accepted as a more neutral style than "-desu" or "-masu." It should be noted that the "-da" style was not originally a spoken style, rather it was the style Futabatei chose for the translation of neutral verbs in Western languages.

Interestingly, in the translation of Turgenev's novella *Katakoi* [Unrequited Love: Asia] in 1896 (Meiji 29), Futabatei used mixed styles of "-desu" and "-da." This translation occurred soon after the Genbun-itchi movement was recovering from a period of stagnation.[10] He also revised and republished *Aibiki* in the same year, using both "-da" and "-dearu" styles. Usage of the "-dearu" style is considered to have begun with Ozaki Kouyou in his novel *Ninin nyōbō* [Two Wives] (1891-92).[11] This style originated from the speech style of politicians in Meiji 10s (from the end of 1870s) and at first sounded self-important, but its usage gradually became established and accepted in the Meiji 30s (Suga 1995: 45). Together with the "-da" style, the "-dearu" style was welcomed by the readers as the new sentence-ending style, which replaced the old styles – "-nari," "-tari," and "-keri" (Yamamoto 1971: 518-19).

Futabatei used "-ta" as the past/perfect tense sentence ending. This usage occurred because the "-ta" style was the only style available for the spoken past tense, although in the old writing style, there were several kinds of auxiliary verbs for the past/perfect tense: "-tari," "-ki" and "-keri."[12] The establishment of the written "-ta" style had great significance in the

[10] Yamamoto defined the period from Meiji 23 to Meiji 27 (1890-1894) as a time when the Genbun-itchi movement stagnated due to a resurgence of the old written style (517).

[11] Ozaki Kouyou (1868-1903) established a literary society "Kenyūsha" together with Yamada Bimyo, Ishibashi Shian and others when they were students at preparatory course for Tokyo Imperial University. After quitting the department of Japanese literature at Tokyo Imperial University, Kouyou secured a job at Yomiuri Newspaper. The *Ninin Nyōbō,* which was serialized in the journal of *"Miyako no hana* [The Flower of the Capital] was written first in the old style of "-nari," "-beshi" (until October 1891), and later used the new Genbun-itchi style of "-dearu."

[12] The verb "-ki" was used when a writer had a clear memory about an event. On the other hand, the verb "-keri" was used when an event happened before the writer's lifetime (Ōno 1988: 140-141). These different kinds of auxiliary verbs in the old writing system were unified into one: the "-ta" style in the new writing system, thus losing their specific functions (Noguchi 1980: 40 qtd. in Karatani 2008: 58-59).

development of the modern Japanese language. The "-ta" came from "-ta・ri" that could be connected with any verb, and spread out over other forms. This is the reason why "-ta" could also connect with all other verbs. Also, "-ta" can be used not only for past/perfect tense, but also to show judgment about past events and to confirm present events (Ōno 129). Futabatei's fearless usage of "-ta" in written language earned him the distinction of being the creator of the Genbun-itchi movement.

3.4. The Second Half of Futabatei's Life

Thus far major events in the literary world in Japan from the end of the Edo period up to the Meiji 20's (1887) including the Genbun-itchi movement and Futabatei's activities have been overviewed. Table 2 provides a chronological description of the latter half of Futabatei's life[13]:

Table 2 Futabatei's biography from 1887 to his death in 1909

Year	Age	Month	Major events
1887 (Meiji 20)	23	June	The novelette *Ukigumo* [A Floating Cloud] (the first part) published by Kinkoudo. The pen name Futabatei Shimei was first used.
1888 (Meiji 21)	24	February July-August October	Publication of *Ukigumo* (the second part) by Kinkoudo. Translation "Aibiki [Rendezvous]" in *Kokumin no tomo.* Translation of "Meguriai [Asia]" a serial publication in the journal *Miyako no hana* – January 1889.
1889 (Meiji 22)	25	July-August	*Ukigumo* (the third part) serial publication in *Miyako no hana*.
1896 (Meiji 29)	32	October	The anthology of translations *Katakoi* [Unrequited Love: Asia] by Shunyodo.
1897 (Meiji 30)	33	January-February March-	Translation of "Shōzōga [Portrait]" – Gogol in *Taiyō* Translation of "Yume-katari [Dreams]"

[13] Cf. Futabatei Shimei and Shouyou Tsubouchi, eds. *Nihon bungaku zenshū* [The Complete Collection of Japanese Literature]. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1974. Print.

		April May- October	Turgenev in *Bungei kurabu*. Translation of "Ukikusa [A Floating Aquatic Plant：Rudin]" Turgenev in *Taiyō*.
1898 (Meiji 31)	34	January November	Translation of "Yudaya-jin [Jew]" – Turgenev in *Kokumin no tomo.* Translation of "Kusare en [The Fatal Tie]" – Turgenev in *Bungei Kurabu.*
1899 (Meiji 32)	35	October	Professor at Tokyo Foreign Language School.
1902 (Meiji 35)	38	April May	Contract with Tokunaga-shouten as an adviser for Harbin branch. (Job title: Temporary worker for a trading association). Resigned from Tokyo Foreign Language School, went to Harbin.
1903 (Meiji 36)	39	July	Returned to Japan.
1904 (Meiji 37)	40	January February March July	Translation of "Kokuryūkou-han no yūfu [A Brave Woman by the Amur]" in *Jyogaku sekai*. Translation of "Yonin kyōsan-dan [The Communist Group of Four People]" – Potapenko in *Bungakukai*. Employed by Osaka Asahi Newspaper at the Tokyo branch office. Translation of "Yokka-kan [The Four Days]" – Garshin in *Shin-shōsetsu.* Published the translation "Tsustu wo makura [Sleeping on a Gun]" – Tolstoi by Kinkoudo.
1905 (Meiji 38)	41	January- February January February- March	*Manshu jitsugyo annai* [A Guide for Business in Manchuria] (13 ser.) in *Osaka Asahi Newspaper* Translation of "Wakarazuya [An Obstinate Person]" – Turgenev in *Bungakukai* (under the name Kakuou). Translation of "Yudayajin no ukiyo [The Jewish World]" – Gorkii in *Taiyou*.
1906 (Meiji 39)	42	January- March February April May	Translation of "Fusagi no mushi [A Case of the Blues]" – Gorkii in *Shin-shōsetsu*. Translation of "Nenashi-gusa [Duckweed]" – Garshin in *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*. Translation of "Haiiro-jin [A Gray Man]" – Gorkii in *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*. Translation of "Mukashi no hito [The Man in the Past: Old-fashioned Landlords]" – Gogol in *Waseda bungaku*.
1907 (Meiji 40)	43	February- August March	Translation of "Shishi no saigo [The End of the Life of a Patriot]" – Polivanov in *Sekai Fujin.* Translation of "Ni-kyoujin [The Two Lunatics]"

			– Gorkii in *Shin-shōsetsu*.
		April	Novelette *Sono omokage* [The Image of a Person].
		May	Translation of "Kyoujin-nikki [The Diary of a Lunatic]" – Gogol in *Shumi*.
		July	Translation of "Kojiki [A Beggar]" – Gorkii in *Shumi*.
		October-December	Novelette *Heibon* [A Common Person] serial publication in *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*.
1908 (Meiji 41)	44	March	Translation of "Ai [Love]" – Nemoevskii in *Sekai fujin*.
		June	Went to Russia as a correspondent for Asahi newspaper.
		July	Published translation "Kessho-ki [The Red Laugh]" – Andreev by Boufu-sha.
1909 (Meiji 42)	45	February	Contracted tuberculosis. Admitted to hospital in St. Petersburg.
		April	Left for Japan on a trading ship.
		May	Died while travelling through the Bay of Bengal.

Futabatei worked for Tokyo Foreign Language School for only two years and seven months. The circumstances of his leaving the school were mentioned in Chapter 2. His sudden, tragic death made his life even more remarkable. Futabatei is most well known for having translated Turgenev, but as is shown above, he also translated Gogol, Gorkii, Garshin, Tolstoi and others. During his later years Futabatei's translations were particularly prolific.

3.5. Futabatei's Methods of Translation

In 1906 (Meiji 39) Futabatei published an essay about his methods of translation in the journal *Seikou* [Success], titled "Yo ga honyaku no hyoujyun [My Criteria of Translation]." Having remarked that these are the methods he used when he was working on translations in earnest, Futabatei pointed out:

1. Sentences in Western languages are "musical" when read aloud, whereas Japanese sentences

are “monotonous” without any distinctive intonation.

2. The first criteria to consider when translating Western sentences into Japanese, is that the tone of the sentence (*buncho*) should be maintained.
3. Through observation of the usage of punctuations in Western languages for the purpose of #2, it is clear that they often add words just to maintain good prosody of sentences (*oncho*). Commas and periods are used not only to emphasize content, but are also often used for prosody of the sentences.[14]
4. Emphasizing only the content of Western texts might destroy the prosody of the original sentences. The prosody of the original sentences should be noted, and translated into Japanese. I believed that a translator should not ignore the number of periods or commas in a text. So, if the original had three commas and one period, I tried to put three commas and one period in the Japanese, so that I could convey the prosody of the original sentences.
5. The translation resulting from #4 appeared odd, but supported by the belief that each writer has his own style of writing which represents his thinking, meaning that the prosody of sentences differs from writer to writer, I continued to cherish the original style of writing.
6. In order to translate the thoughts of a writer, it is necessary to attempt to be the writer. For example, Turgenev has a sense of spring, late spring in his writing. When translating Turgenev, it is necessary to maintain the spirit of his writing, before considering his use of punctuation.
7. Another style of translation was found in the translation of Byron’s poem into Russian by Zhukovskii. His translation was free from the form of the original and yet conveyed the thoughts of Byron better than the original. Nonetheless, this method is risky if the translator happens to misunderstand the thoughts of the writer.
8. For the reasons above, I, being a coward translator, still rely on the method #4, which is not perfect, but it is less risky because the method fully depends on the writer’s original form.

(Hasegawa and Yazaki 1928: 461)

We see from Futabatei’s explanation that the two methods of translation;

[14] Futabatei uses two words referring to the musicality in language: *Buncho* [literal translation: the tone of sentences] and *Oncho* [the tone of sounds]. He sometimes used both these words with the same meaning: prosody of the sentences. Momiuchi (2006: 113), while admitting that he sometimes used the two words with the same meaning, explained his normal usage: *Buncho* is the tone of the sentences which can be percieved without reading aloud, and *Oncho* is the tone which can only be percieved when the sentence is read aloud.

"word-for-word (form-emphasized)" and "free (contents-emphasized)" translations, had already been explored and presented at the end of Meiji period. Futabatei's style of translation is often explained by only statement #4, but there is a lot more to it as we have seen from this explanation of his thoughts on translation.

The next section will provide an overview of the lives and activites of three other Russian-to-Japanese translators who worked in the same period as Futabatei Shimei.

4. Other Russian-to-Japanese Translators – Futabatei Shimei's Contemporaries

4.1. **Takasu Jisuke** (1859-1909)

Takasu was born in Edo (Tokyo) in 1859 (Edo, Ansei 6), the son of an Akita clansman. In 1873 (Meiji 6), he was adopted by a doctor of Dutch medicine who also worked as a translator at the astronomy research laboratory belonging to the Tokugawa Shōgunate. In 1874 (Meiji 7), Takasu began to study at Tokyo Foreign Language School upon the advice of his foster father. In 1880 (Meiji 13), he left the school, and began working as a translator at the Ministry of Finance. By 1883 (Meiji 16), Takasu had published his first book, which was also the first translation of Russian literature in Japan: *Rokoku kibun Kashinchou-shiroku* [A Strange Russian Story – The Love Story between a Flower and a Butterfly]. Takasu's book was a translation of *The Captain's Daughter* by Pushkin broadly translated as a love story in the Japanese translation style of Chinese writing (Kanbun kundoku-tai). The title imitated Lord Lytton's translation"*Oushū-kiji Karyu-shunwa* [A Strange Event in Europe: Love Stories]." All the Russian names of the novels' characters were changed to English names. For example, the narrator and protagonist, Petor Andreevich Grinev, became John Smith, and another character,

Mariia became Mary.[15] According to research by Yasui (2002: 529-530), there is clear evidence that Takasu used the Russian original, which can now be found in the archives of Tokyo Foreign Language School.[16] Another notable change was that the third person was used instead of the first person, which is more typical in a novel. Yanagida Izumi suggested that these changes were probably made because the proofreader who worked with Takasu was Hattori Seiichi (Bushō), an expert on Kanbun kundoku style novels, who was also the editor of Lytton's translation (Yasui 479).

Another translation completed by Takasu is "Furegāto Pararuda [The Frigate Pallada]" from the Russian original by Ivan Goncharov. This translation was included in a volume of *Dai-nihon ishin shiryou* [History of Japan] (1938) (Hiyama 1990: 18).

Takasu's most significant accomplishment was the publication of teaching materials. In 1892 (Meiji 25) he published the first pocket Russian conversation textbook for self-study entitled *Jitaku dokushū ro-wa shuchin kaiwa* [The Russian-Japanese Pocket Conversation Textbook for Self-study at Home]. The book was published soon after Takasu left the Ministry of Finance and began to work as an editor for a publisher in Kanda. He also published the first pocket Russian-Japanese dictionary *Ro-wa shuchin jii* through Maruzen publisher in 1896 (Meiji 29) one year after he went to Nagasaki to work as a translator for Nagasaki Customs. Takasu's pocket, A6 size, dictionary contained about 25,000 words but did not provide any examples of word use or accent marks. Nonetheless, because of its reasonable price[17] and convenient size, it reached its sixth edition by the end of Meiji. It was often compared with a contemporary

[15] In 1886 (Meiji 19) it was republished under the name of *Rokoku haishi – Sumisu Marii den* [A Russian Novelette – The Story of Smith and Mary].

[16] Mamonov indicated that the name of Mary could be from the English translation (Chicago edition) *Marie, a Story of Russian Love* (1877) (qtd. in Kato: 4).

[17] The sixth edition (published in 1907) cost two yen (written on the dictionary).

dictionary *Ro-Wa jii* which was edited by the staff of Tokyo Foreign Language School and published by the government (the Ministry of Education) in 1887 (in two volumes, on B5 paper containing 110,000 words) (Yoneshige 2000: 339-340). This comparison highlights the fact that Takasu was sensitive to dictionary-users' requirements at that time, and that he possessed sufficient knowledge of the Russian language to edit a dictionary all by himself.

From 1899 (Meiji 32) he began to work for the navy, and then, the army. Takasu worked for a prison camp in Shizuoka in 1905 as an interpreter (Hiyama 19-22; Hara 1992: 337).

4.2. **Saganoya Omuro** (real name: **Yazaki Shinshiro,** 1863-1947)

Yazaki Saganoya (using a combination of the two family names) is another pen name often used by Saganoya Omuro. Yazaki also learned Russian at Tokyo Foreign Language School. He commenced studying at the school five years earlier than Futabatei although Yazaki was only one year older than Futabatei.

Saganoya was a writer and a translator, and along with Futabatei Shimei and Yamada Bimyou, was one of the key initiators of the Genbun-itchi movement. The role that Saganoya played in the Genbun-itchi movement was emphasized by Tayama Katai in his essay *Kindai no shōsetsu* (Tayama 1995: 5-7; Nonaka 2008: 128), although Saganoya's name has been largely forgotten due to Futabatei's fame.

According to Saganoya's memoirs ("Harunoya shujin no shuui [The Surroundings of the Master Tsubouchi Shouyou]"), he was born in 1863 (Edo, Bunkyū 3) in Edo, the son of a Sekiyado (present Chiba prefecture) clansman. At the end of the Edo period, Yazaki's father, fought for the Tokugawa Shōgunate, was defeated, escaped from the battlefield, and was then arrested by the clan. While he was imprisoned, the family was kept in the custody of a relative.

During this time, Yazaki's uncle (his mother's brother) taught him to read Mencius. Even after his father was released in 1869 (Meiji 2), due to the ongoing difficulties his family faced, Yazaki was required to work as a servant. His father died in 1876, when he was 14 years old, and in that same year, Yazaki entered Tokyo Foreign Language School as a scholarship student. Majoring in the Russian language, Yazaki learned English from a private teacher (Hasegawa and Yazaki 1928: 556). In the memoirs "Harunoya shujin no shuui [The Surroundings of the Master Tsubouchi Shouyou]," Yazaki wrote, "Hasegawa Futabatei (Futabatei Shimei) was my classmate. I was more advanced in the study of Russian language than him, but there was a period when we were both living in the dormitory. So, sometimes, we played together" (Nonaka 2008: 129). According to Uchida Roan (1924: 289), Futabatei introduced Yazaki to Tsubouchi Shouyou. Yazaki published his first work in 1886 (Meiji 19) *Shimarimise no hara* [The Belly of a Miser] and began using his pen name, 'Saganoya Omuro,' earlier than Futabatei started using his. He chose the pen name 'Saganoya Omuro' to pay homage to his master Tsubouchi's pen name 'Harunoya Oboro,' which means "the hazy spring" (Nonaka: 130). In 1889 (Meiji 22), Saganoya published his novella *Hatsukoi* [First Love], using the same title as Turgenev's novel. It is considered to be one of the earliest novels in Japanese written in the first person. After working for a bookstore, then a newspaper and finally a company, in 1904, with the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, Saganoya was employed by the army. After the war ended in 1906, he began to teach Russian at a military academy and taught until 1923. From 1924 (Taisho 13) he ran a secondhand bookstore until he died in 1947 (Showa 22) at the age of eighty-five.[18]

Saganoya began to produce translations in 1898 (Meiji 29) with Turgenev's *Oshi no koi* [Love of People Who Suffer from Muteness] (January), and *Kakioki* [A Note Left Behind]

[18] Referred to by Nonaka (2008: 128-131) and Momiuchi (2006: 63-65).

(February) for the journal *Kokumin no tomo*. In 1902 (Meiji 35) he translated *Watashi no sofu* [My Grandfather] by Sergei Aksakov for the journal *Taiyo*. In the following year he translated three short stories from Turgenev's *A Sportsman's sketches*: "Gun no isha [A District Doctor]" (for *Taiyo*, April), "Yamaban [A Forest Ranger]" (for *Bungei kurabu*, July) and "Suisha-goya [A Water Mill]" (for *Shin-shōsetsu*, September). Momiuchi (2006: 62) noted that although Saganoya's translation of Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* was published first, it was Futabatei's translation of "Aibiki [Rendezvous: Svidanie]" which captured readers' attention with its beautiful descriptions of nature. Japanese readers, however, first came to appreciate Turgenev's awareness of social issues through Saganoya's works.

Also, Hokkyo (2007: 233) pointed out that Saganoya was the first Pushkin scholar in Japan. Saganoya translated Pushkin's "Tale about the Fisherman and the Fish [Gyofu to sakana to no warabe monogatari]" in 1893 for *Katei zasshi*, as well as a poem "The Winter Road [Fuyu no yo no nomich]" in 1900 for *Chugaku sekai*.

He also translated Lermontov in 1905 (Meiji 38), "Tōhō monogatari [The Tales of the East: Ashik-Kerib Turtskaia skazka]" for *Bungei kurabu*. Saganoya's last translation was Chekhov's "Aibiki [Rendezvous: Agafiia]" for *Shintenchi* in 1909 (Meiji 42).[19]

4.3. **Senuma Kayou** (Senuma [maiden name: Yamada] Ikuko, 1875-1915)

Senuma Kayou was the first female Russian-to-Japanese translator in Japan. Senuma is known for her pioneering translations of Chekhov. She published 22 translations of Chekhov's short stories within the decade beginning in 1903 (Meiji 36). Senuma's first translation of Chekhov appeared in 1903 (Meiji 36) with the short story *Shashinchō* [Photo Album] (in *Shin-shōsetsu*), which was one year after she was permitted to become Ozaki Kouyou's pupil (see

[19] Momiuchi (2006: 259-280) gives detailed information about Saganoya's work.

footnote 12). Ichikawa (1994: 3-5) perceived that she was able to publish her short story because of Kouyou's efforts in revising the translation and due to his strong influence with the publisher. Kouyou [literal translation: Red autumn leaf] prompted his disciple to take a pen name reminiscent of his own: "Kayou [Summer leaf]."

Exposure to the Russian Orthodox Church appears to have influenced Ikuko's decision to become a Russan-to-Japanese translator. Ikuko was born in 1875 (Meiji 8), to a Christian family who bred silkworms in Takasaki (Gunma prefecture). When Ikuko was six years old (in Meiji 14), Nikolai, the bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, visited Takasaki, and Ikuko and her mother, who was ill with tuberculosis at the time, met him. Ikuko wrote in her memoirs[20] that Nikolai invited her to attend his School of Divinity when she was older. Before her death the following year her mother let it be known that she desired Ikuko to study at Nikolai's school. Ikuko went to Kanda in 1886 (Meiji 19) at the age of 10 and completed seven years of study. After she graduated in 1892 (Meiji 25) she began to teach Russian Orthodox religion at the school. In the same year, the journal *Uranishiki* was launched at the girls' Divinity School. This journal provided Ikuko with opportunities to hone her writing skills.

Ikuko began to study Russian in 1896 (Meiji 29) soon after she read Futabatei's translation of Turgenev's *Katakoi* [Unrequited Love (Original title: Asia)]. It was this book which first sparked her interest in Russian literature. Senuma Kakutaro, who returned to Japan from Russia in 1896 (Meiji 29) and was appointed as the principal of the Divinity School, also became a mentor and teacher to Ikuko. Later on, in Meiji 31 Ikuko and Senuma Kakutaro got married. It was four years after their marriage that Senuma Kakutaro approached Ozaki Kouyou to ask if he would be willing to provide Ikuko with training of how to write literary Japanese. Nakamura (1972: 25-26) suggested two reasons to explain why Ozaki was preferred

[20] "Shi no on [What I Owe to My Teachers]," *Jyoshi bundan* (Meiji 41, March). Cited in Nakamura (2003: 280).

to Futabatei as Ikuko's writing teacher. First, Futabatei's attitude to literature was forever changing. At that time, Futabatei had just left his position as professor at Tokyo Foreign Language School (1902, Meiji 35), and gone to work as a business adviser in Manchuria. The second reason was the intractable antagonism between the Russian Orthodox Church's school and the Foreign Language School. Ichikawa (1994: 6-7) highlighted the Kouyou's dominance both in terms of his personality and his reputation in the literature society.

Kouyou had cancer when he accepted Senuma (Ichikawa: 4), but his interest in Russian literature drove him to use his remaining years working with Senuma to produce Russian-to-Japanese translations until he died in October 1903 (Meiji 36). From February 1901 (Meiji 34) when Senuma first brought him her translated manuscripts and he began to correct them until his death in October 1903 (Meiji 36), they collaborated on the translations for two and a half years. Their first joint translation was Turgenev's prose poem "Tousho-ka [Correspondent]" published in March 1902 (Meiji 35) in *Shin-shōsetsu*. After publishing five more translations of Turgenev's other prose poems in the same journal by May 1902, they began to translate *Anna Karenina.*[21] It was serialized in the Journal of Kenyusha *Bungei* [Literature] from September, Meiji 35 to February, Meiji 36. When Kouyou became ill the journal publication ceased, and the publication of *Anna Karenina* was terminated midway. Kouyou was involved in the publication of two of Chekhov's short stories in Meiji 36. One was "Tsuki to hito [The Moon and a Man]" (Russian original: "Dachniki" [Summer in the Country]), and the other was "Shashinchō [Photo Album]" in the journal *Shin-shōsetsu*. According to Senuma's memoirs, Kouyou especially liked "Shashinchō" because he enjoyed Chekhov's humor. He felt that the idea of the story was excellent, and that he also wanted to create a similarly humorous

[21] Senuma Kakusaburo wrote a letter to Tolstoi for the permission of translation of *Anna Karenina* (1902). He wrote the translators' names as Kouyou and himself in the letter. He didn't mention Kayou in any letters. (Nakamura 1972: 33-36).

story set in the supernatural world (Nakamura 36). After Kouyou's death, Senuma presented her translation without her supervisor's corrections. In 1908 (Meiji 41), she published *Rokoku bungou Chēhofu kessaku-shū* [The Masterpieces of the Great Russian Writer Chekhov] (16 short stories: Shishigoshobo), and corrected short stories that she had already submitted for publication in other journals. Without Kouyou's guidance, Senuma's writing was not as highly rated, but the introduction of Chekhov's style was welcomed by the literature society in Japan which was beginning to embrace naturalism. Another young writer, Masamune Hakucho (see Introduction), wrote short stories following Chekhov's style (for example, *Tamatsukiya* [The Billiard Player] in Meiji 41) (Nakamura 1972: 42).

Senuma Kayou visited Russia twice. During the first visit she went to Vladivostok (in 1909) and in 1911 she went to St. Petersburg.[22] In 1915 (Taisho 4) she died of pneumonia at the age of 39, soon after she gave birth to her seventh child.

5. Tolstoi's Popularity

5.1. Tolstoi and the Japanese

The first Tolstoi's novel introduced to the Japanese was *War and Peace* translated by Mori Tei in 1886 (Meiji 19). Only the first 26 chapters of Volume one were translated. The translation was done in the style of light popular literature entitled *Kita Yōroppa ikusa no nagori* (1) [Aftermath of the War in Northern Europe] (Chuaisha). Not much about this first translator is known other than that he was from Okayama Prefecture and studied the Russian language at Tokyo Foreign Language School (Hokkyo 1973: 7; Hokkyo 1987: 137). The next work by Tolstoi *Lucern* was translated by Mori Ogai (1862-1922) from German in 1889 (Meiji 22) and published in the Yomiuri newspaper. In 1890 (Meiji 23), the journal *Kokumin no tomo* [The

[22] Nakamura and Nakamura (2003: 277-368) provided detailed information about these tripvisits.

Nation's Friend][23] prepared feature articles on Tolstoi, introducing his doctrine and activities. This publication was the start of intense interest in Tolstoi. The chief editor of the journal, Tokutomi Sohou (1863-1957), visited Tolstoi in Iasnaia Poliana in 1887 (Meiji 20). Ten years later, the chief editor's brother, Tokutomi Rohou (1868-1927), who published a critical biography of Tolstoi entitled *Torusutoi,* also visited Tolstoi in 1897 (Meiji 30). The first Japanese who met Tolstoi was Konishi Masutaro (1862-1940), who attended the Kiev Academy after graduating from Nikolai's Divinity School. After five years of study in Kiev, he transferred to the University of Moscow to study philosophy and psychology. Konishi was introduced to Tolstoi by Professor Jacov Glot at the University of Moscow and together they translated the Chinese philosopher Lao Zi's *Tao Te Ching* into Russian (1893). In 1894 (Meiji 28) Konishi translated Tolstoi's *The Kreutzer Sonata* with Ozaki Kouyou (for the *Kokumin no tomo* under the name of "Kuroitserow"). It was Konishi Masutaro who later introduced Tokutomi Sohou to Tolstoy. Konishi also attended Tolsoy's funeral in 1910.

Futabatei translated the short story "Tsutsu wo makura [Sleeping on a Gun]" in 1904, and he also provided advice regarding the Russian original of *The Resurrection* that Uchida Roan translated for serialization in the newspaper *Nippon* [Japan] (1905). However, Hokkyo (1973: 6) suggested that Futabatei didn't accept Tolstoi's practice of including politics and teaching in his writing: for Futabatei, the theme of literature had to exist outside the realm of politics.

Tolstoi was introduced to the Japanese readers mainly by translators of languages other than Russian during the Meiji 20s. Throughout the Russo-Japan War in 1904, Tolstoi's anti-war message to the Romanov dynasty, which was printed in the *London Times*, was translated into Japanese and published in *Heimin shinbun* [The Newspaper for Commoners] on

[23] The English title was also printed on the cover page. It was subtitled "The reviews on politics, society, economics, and literature." The chief editor was Tokutomi Sohou and it was published between 1887 (Meiji 20) and 1898 (Meiji 31).

August the 7th entitled "Hansei seyo [Reconsider!]."[24] This article played a significant role in directing Japanese people's attention to Russia.

5.2. Popularization of Tolstoi

There are two main factors which influenced the popularity of Tolstoi among the Japanese public. The first factor was the translation of *Ivan the Fool*: *Ō-akuma to ko-akuma* [The Big Devil and the Small Devil] in 1902 (Meiji 35) by Hasagawa Tenkei (1876-1940). This book has been translated over and over since then until the present time. The Japanese title is now *Iwan no baka* [Ivan the Fool], which was the title first used by Uchida Roan in 1905. Hokkyo (2012: 292) pointed out that no other foreign literary work in Japan has been repeatedly re-published in several styles, and has been read by generation after generation as *Iwan no baka*.

Another popular work by Tolstoi was *Fukkatsu* [The Resurrection], which was staged in 1914 (Taisho 3) by Shimamura Hougetsu (1871-1918). The story, in which the protagonist Katiusha was played by Matsui Sumako (1886-1919), and the song "Kachūsha no uta [The song of Katiusha],"[25] composed by the Japanese director and his pupil and sung by Sumako, all gained public favor, resulting in a total of 444 performances. The play was performed in Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and even Vladivostok (Yamamoto 1994: 29). "Kachūsha no uta [The Song of Katiusha]" became the title of the film *Resurrection* in 1914, and it played a role in

[24] Tolstoi argued that war wastes a nation's fortune earned through labor, and promotes poverty and desolation among workers. He also criticized governments who glorify war, which is, actually nothing more than the promotion of murder, and the Russian Orthodox Church's complicit deception in blessing soldiers as they go to fight (Hokkyo 2012: 264).

[25] Lyrics by Shimamura Hougetsu, music by Nakayama Shinpei (1887-1952). Shimamura inserted the song which was not in the original, following the direction written by Henry Bataille (1872-1922) and presented by Beerbohm Tree company (1852-1917) (Fukuta 2005: 1-20, Furukawa 2006: 88-99). Shimamura watched Tree's *Resurrection* in London in 1903 when he was there studying aesthetics. His study abroad was recommended by Tsubouchi Shouyou, who was studying Shakespeare, and was interested in European aesthetics.

spreading the story of *Resurrection* as the poor Russian girl Katiusha's story via her song[26] throughout the country.[27]

During the production of *The Resurrection,* Shimamura Hougetsu invited a Russian-to-Japanese translator to Waseda University to offer advice as an expert on Russia and Russian language. The translator's name was Nobori Shomu, and his contributions will be explored in the next section.

6. Russian-to-Japanese Translators during the Translation Boom

The interest in Russia from before the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) precipitated a boom of Russian literature translations. Because of limited numbers of Russian-to-Japanese translators, however, translations were made via other languages, particularly English. Uchida Roan (1868-1929), the first translator of Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment* (1892), and *Resurrection* (1905) played a significant role in importing Russian literature from western countries through Maruzen bookstore. Maruzen bookstore first played a role by importing teaching materials from the United States and Europe, but after Uchida, who was interested in Russian literature, was invited to work in Maruzen in 1900 (Meiji 33), the store began to import Russian books as well.[28]

The literary translation boom that gained momentum at the beginning of the 20th century did not cease even after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 (Taisho 12). The

[26] Total sales for the recording of "Kachūsha no uta" reached 40 thousand (Hokkyo 1973: 5-6): The song by Matsui Sumako became the first popular song to be known by every generation in Japan.

[27] The name "Kachūsha" later became a trademark for several products including hair ribbons, cosmetics, sanitary belts, and hair ornaments. Nowadays, "Kachūsha" is the generic name for hair ornaments in Japan. "Kachūsha" was initially a loanword from Russian, but now has a permanent place in Japanese (Fukuyasu 2013).

[28] The book which enticed Uchida to join the company was Tolstoi's *Anna Karenina*. In 1900 (Meiji 33), Uchida bought *Anna Karenina* at the Kerri & Walsh company in Yokohama. Upon returning to Tokyo, he visited Maruzen and said, "Your company is no good, because you do not have such books." Their reply was, "Why don't you join our company and advise us about those books?" (Kimura 1969: 202-203).

earthquake had an impact on the translators in two ways. The first was a positive impact because in order to address the loss of several million books, which had been reduced to ashes, Kaizosha, a publishing company, began to plan the one-yen-book project to sell the complete collection of Japanese literature by subscription. Shinchosha, another publisher, began to sell the complete works of world literature in the same method soon after. Thus the earthquake and the one-yen-book project helped the Japanese literary world, including the Russian-to-Japanese translators. The second way in which the earthquake influenced the translators' lives was that following the event crime rates escalated and social unrest grew,[29] which in turn prompted an increase in ideological control so that public order could be maintained[30]: A knowledge of Russian language invited suspicions of communism, and censorship of translation work became strict.

In this section, the efforts of four Russian-to-Japanese translators who made valuable contributions to the introduction of Russian literature to Japan from the end of the Meiji period through Taisho to the Showa period will be described.

6.1. **Nobori Shomu** (Nobori Naotaka, 1878-1958)

Nobori Shomu was a translator who published more than 150 translations from Russian originals. Nakamura Hakuyou, one of Nobori's disciples wrote the following essay for the *Minami Nihon Shinbun* [Southern Japan Newspaper] on February the 10th in 1956 (Showa 31):

> In the Meiji 40s, when Yonekawa and I had graduated from the Russian department of Tokyo Foreign Language School, Futabatei had already died, and responsibility for the introduction of Russian literature had been assumed by Mr. Nobori

[29] Rumors that Koreans became rioters and began to poison wells and set on fires stirred up people's unease.

[30] The Peace Preservation Law was established in 1925 for the purpose of ideological control.

> alone. Yonekawa and I often visited Mr. Nobori's small house in Yotsuya and asked him to teach us. He was between 31 and 32 years old, in his prime, and he handled translations one after another – Chekhov, Gorkii, Andreev and Zaitsev. It was probably the most prolific translation period of Mr. Nobori's life. This was the time when naturalism was introduced to Japan, and young lovers of literature – Uno Kouji, Hirotsu Kazuo, Aono Suekichi among others were all inspired by his translations. Interestingly, the journals at that time usually opened with a translation, and it was Mr. Nobori's name which glittered at the translation's conclusion. When Tolstoy died in Meiji 43, journalists from newspapers and journals crowded around Mr. Nobori's house. He was, so to speak, in the limelight at that time.
>
> When Yonekawa and I visited Mr. Nobori on our graduation from Tokyo Foreign Language School, he said to us: "Naturally, I like to translate critiques, but I am not good at translating novels. Now two geniuses from our school will go out into the world. Why don't you make an effort to introduce Russian novels, and I will concentrate on critiques." Since then, he remained true to his words, as he mainly worked on critiques, although he did translate some novels. The compilation of his work appeared as "The History of the Russian and Soviet Literatures."

This article demonstrates that Nobori's work influenced not only young Russian-to-Japanese translators like Nakamura Hakuyou and Yonekawa Masao, but also had an impact on the young writers at the end of the Meiji period.

Nobori was born in 1878 (Meiji 11) on the island of Kakeroma-jima in the Amami archipelago. He was baptized in the Kagoshima branch of the Russian Orthodox Church after he finished his elementary education on the island. In 1895 (Meiji 28) he entered Nikolai's Divinity School of the Russian Orthodox Church in Kanda, and graduated from the school in 1903 (Meiji 36). He began lecturing in psychology and ethics at the school immediately following his graduation. From his first publication of *Rokoku bungou Gogol* [The Great Russian Writer Gogol] in 1904, he continued to publish translations of novels, critiques, Russian history and culture for another half-century. In 1955 Nobori received The Prize of the Japan Academy of Arts, and The Yomiuri Literature Prize for *Roshiya-Sovieto bungaku-shi* [History of Russian and Soviet Literature] which was written the same year. The introduction by Nobori stated: "…in order to study Russian literature, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the eternal triangle between literature, time and society" (Nobori 1955: 2). Compared to

Futabatei Shimei, Nobori's research had focused on the systematic study of the whole of Russian literature (Takano 1959: 75-76). Kato (2012: 302) stated that Nobori continued to translate because he wanted to know the natural features of Russia, and she called him a folkloric translator, compared to the translator-writers who translated in order to improve their writing skill during the first half of Meiji period.[31] Nobori introduced Japanese people to contemporary Russian writers, some of whom were still unknown in Europe including: Andreev (1871-1919), Artsybashev (1878-1927), Sologub (1863-1927), Zaitsev (1881-1972), Balmont (1867-1942), and Kuprin (1870-1938). He called them "the six Russian writers" and published *Roshia gendai daihyō sakka: Rokunin-shū* [Six Representative Contemporary Russian Writers] in 1910 (Meiji 43) and *Rokoku shin-sakka-shū – Doku no sono* [A Collection of New Russian Writers' Work: The Garden of Poison] in 1912 (Meiji 45). Nobori chose these writers because they showed an understanding of the suffering of contemporary people. As Nobori writes in the introduction, these people were uptight, stressed and unstable. Nobori selected contemporary writers based only on his judgement. He was indifferent to European comments, in contrast to past translators who translated Russian novels using Western values (Cf. Kato 303-305). Japanese readers empathized easily with the Russian peoples' suffering expressed by the young writers because Japanese youth were also experiencing the de-stabilizing effects of rapid modernization and social disquiet. For example, *Daigyaku jiken*[32] [The Great Treason Incident] in 1910-11, provoked great unease among the Japanese and they smothered in a sense of helplessness.

[31] Nobori researched the history of his homeland Amami, and published *Dai Amami-shi* [History of great Amami] in 1949. Kato (2012: 294) pointed out that the orientalist and folklorist Nikolai Nevsky (1892-1937, See Chapter 2, Section 3) may have influenced Nobori in this activity.

[32] Some socialists, including the writer Koutoku Shunsui were arrested and executed in 1910-11 (Meiji 43-44) on charges of plotting to assassinate the Meiji emperor.

The young Russian writers' novellas which were introduced along with their biographies by Nobori include the following (qtd. in Kato 279):

"The Six Representatives of Contemporary Russian Writers" (1910):

Balmont: *Yoru no sakebi* [The Scream at Night] (original - unknown: 1909)
Zaitsev: *Shizukana akebono* [Silent Dawn] (Tixie Aori, 1904)
Kuprin: *Kan-jin* [A Free Man] (Mirnoe Zhitie [The Peaceful Life], 1908)
Sologub: *Kakurenbo* [Hide and Seek] (Priatki, 1909)
Artsybashev: *Tsuma* [Wife] (Zhena, 1905)
Andreev: *Kiri* [Fog] (V tumane [In the Fog], 1902)

"The Garden of Poisonous Herbs" (1912)

Sologub: *Doku no sono* [The Garden of Poisonous Herbs] (Otravlennyi sad [The Poisoned Garden], 1909)
Andreev: *Chikashitsu* [The Basement] (V nodvale, 1909)
Artsybashev: *Yoru* [The Night] (Noch, year unknown)
Kamenckii: *Byakuya* [White Nights] (Belaia nochi, 1906)[33]
Tolstoi[34]: *San kijin* [Three Eccentric Fellows] (Chudaki [The Odd People], 1911)
Balmont: *Shitto* [Jealousy] (O revnosti, year unknown)
Kuprin: *Uwagoto* [Delirium] (Bred, 1907)
Zaitsev: *Shi* [Death] (Smert, year unknown)

This rapid introduction of contemporary new works directly from Russian literary magazines was advantageous for Russian-to-Japanese translation. During the boom of Russian literature translation in Japan before the Russo-Japanese war, Nobori insisted on the superiority of direct translation from the original language. He criticized Ueda Bin (1874-1916), who first translated Andreev into Japanese from 1906 to 1909 (Meiji 39-42), because he translated from French[35] which led to some errors. After the dispute, Ueda Bin retreated from the front line of Andreev's

[33] Kamenskii, Anatorii P. (1876-1941).

[34] Tolstoi, Aleksei N. (1882-1845).

[35] Ueda translated the following works of Andreev translated into French from the original Russian: "Ryokou [Trip]"(1906, *Geien*), "Korewa moto [Zhili-Byli : Ling time and far away]" (1907, *Shumi*), "Kusaka" (1909, *Shin-shōsetsu*), "Kyoufu [Fear (Russian title: Molchanie [Silence])]" and "Satoko [Russian: Valia]" (1909, *Chuokouron*). The sixth work *Kokoro* [Heart (Russian: Mycl [Thinking])], published by Shunyodo in 1909 also included the preceding five works.

translation which had already become very popular.

Nobori explained his views on translation in the introduction to *Roku-nin shū* [Six Russian Writers], referring to how he tried to differentiate the six writers' characteristics:

> The attitude that I took was to stick to the spirit of 'killing' myself and living in the work. Because of this I think we translators are destined to have difficulties with our native language. For example, I needed to make small changes in some Japanese expressions to ensure they gave the same impression as the original. In some parts I needed to ignore the sentence breaks of the original text in order to fit Japanese writing rules. But these parts are small in number, and as a whole, I tried to put the same amount of emphasis on both form and content. Generally, I do not want to think of form and content separately, I do not want to value them differently. Generally speaking, the contents of people's thoughts are almost all the same. Just small differences can be seen in the way of using words. In literature, also, various combinations of form and content can be found the characteristics of a writer, especially, I have noticed, in modern literature. When it comes to translating a text, if we ignore the form of expressions of the writer's thoughts and just emphasize the content, the translated sentences would look like genuine Japanese, but would lose the characteristics of the original. And conversely, when we stick only to the form, it becomes difficult to convey the content. I think, from my experience, the true work of translation is in finding a good balance with the form and content of a translation.
>
> (Nobori 1910: 3-4)

He emphasized that the translator must differentiate between these small distinctions by making appropriate word choices by attaching importance to both the form and content of the original. We see that Nobori developed his theory of translation presupposing a differentiation between form-emphasized and content-emphasized translations.

Other than the six young writers, Nobori also translated the following major Russian literature classics:

Gogol: *Kensatsu-kan* [A Public Prosecutor] (1913, Daiichishobo)
Turgenev: *Chichi to ko* [Fathers and Children: Fathers and Sons] (1926, Kankoukai)
Tolstoi: *Fukkatsu* [Resurrection] (1927, Shinchosha),
Yami no chikara [The Power of the Darkness],
Ikeru shikabane [The Living Corpse] (1933, Kizousha)
Dostoevskii: *Shiitagerareshi hitobito* [The Insulted and the Injured] (1914, Shinchosha)
Gorkii: *Donzoko* [The Lower Depth] (1910, Shouseidou)

6.2. Three Translators from Tokyo Foreign Language School

Russian-to-Japanese translators' practices were largely established during the period which began with Futabatei Shimei's work and ended with Nobori Shomu. Followers of these acknowledged masters of Russian-to-Japanese translation were able to build on the work of their predecessors. Although the bulk of the work in establishing translation practices had already been completed, problems still remained and were especially obvious during the period when there was a flood of translations, including secondhand translations (i.e. translations of translations of the original Russian).

Many translators at that time wrote detailed instructions regarding what they believed were correct translation practices. This was in contrast to Futabatei who simply described how he had translated his works without prescribing how others should go about translating. The next section will focus on the methods of three Russian-to-Japanese translators: Nakamura Hakuyo, Yonekawa Masao and Jinzai Kiyoshi.

6.2.1. **Nakamura Hakuyou** (Nakamura Chozaburo, 1890-1974)

The first translation of Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment* from the Russian original was made by Nakamura in 1914 while he was a student at the Tokyo Foreign Language School.

Nakamura's translation theories were published by Koseikaku in 1934 as part of a series of writing guidelines in *Nihon gendai bunsho kouza –shidou-hen* [Guidelines for Modern Japanese Writing]. According to Nakamura's theory in "Honyaku-bun no hyougen to shidou [Instructions for Translating Expressions]," <the ability to read and understand detailed content,> and <the ability to translate what one reads into one's own language> are two wheels on the "car" of translation. He continued:

> Broadly speaking, there are two methods of translation: "word-for-word translation" and "free translation"… When translating literature, the most important thing to consider is "the work's form" – how to convey the work, rather than "the contents of the work" – what to convey. In the case of literature translation, it is not sufficient to convey only the spirit of the work – that is, to translate only the contents.
>
> (Nakamura 1934: 302)

Nakamura advocated the word-for-word translation method. He argued that in order to convey the writer's true intentions, it was necessary to determine the work's form first. Using Dostoevskii as an example, he pointed out that if a translator omitted any components of the Russian author's extensive sentences, the shortened sentence would no longer be a true translation (Nakamura: 302).

Nakamura also provided instructions about addressing punctuation issues. Taking the same stance as Futabatei with regards to sentence length as Futabatei tended to maintain almost the same sentence style as the original, Nakamura noted: "I made a rule to translate a sentence from comma to comma" (Nakamura: 304). Nakamura's rule was obviously modeled on Futabatei's practice #4 (see 3.5.) recorded in "Yoga honyaku no hyojyun [The Criterion of My Translation]." Thus, new symbols such as "maru 。" (equivalent to the period), "ten 、" (equivalent to the comma), "dash －", or "shiro-ten 〃" (the intermediate between period and comma), "question mark ?" and "exclamation mark !" began to appear in translations[36] in Meiji 20s.

Nakamura's favorite theory is also evident in the articles written by his son who was also his student: "You cannot expect to obtain information about nutrition from Sushi craftsmen" (Nakamura 1978). Nakamura Yu was explaining that a translator is a translator, not a researcher of literature. Yokota Mizuho recalled Nakamura's instruction:

[36] Yamamoto (1971:138) indicated that Yamada Bimyo was the originator of the Western punctuation system. Yamada often used the "shiro-ten 〃" which has now disappeared from modern Japanese writing.

> Just as each writer has his own individuality, so too does each translator. Good translation results from a well-balanced combination of the two. I'm not good at Gogol or Dostoevskii, so I try not to translate authors who do not fit my own character. Chekhov and Tolstoi suit me well. It is not a good idea to work on a variety of writers.
>
> (Yokota 1978)

In 1929 (Showa 4), Nakamura and Yonekawa Masao published the complete works of Tolstoi, and Nakamura also published Chekhov's complete works between 1919 until after World War II.

A brief description of Nakamura's life:

Nakamura was born in 1890 (Meiji 23) in Kobe. From the age of three to five years old, he lived in Ganzan, North Korea because of his father's business. At five years old Nakamura returned to Japan with his mother and was later adopted by his aunt in Nagoya when he was nine years old. In 1909, he began studying at Tokyo Foreign Language School. After he graduated in 1912, prior to his determination to work solely as a translator in 1927 (Showa 2) he worked for the Japan Railways company, and in a publishing and trading company. He died in 1974 (Showa 49) at the age of 84, soon after delivering a lecture in a summer seminar in Shinano (Nagano) entitled "To Live and to Die."

6.2.2. **Yonekawa Masao** (1891-1965)

Yonekawa Masao was born in Takahashi city in Okayama prefecture in 1891, the fourth son in a pawnbroker's family. He liked to read Turgenev (translated by Futabatei Shimei), and Tolstoi's *Childhood* and *Boyhood*. According to Yonekawa's memoirs (1997: 34), it was an article written by Tolstoi's translator Chikamatsu Shuko, and published in the Yomiuri Newspaper in a Sunday supplement that influenced Yonekawa's decision to study at Tokyo Foreign Language School. The article said that "those who would like to learn literature should

go to Tokyo Foreign Language School, and study Russian." [37] Yonekawa began studying at the school in 1909 (Meiji 42). When he was in his second year of college he started publishing a magazine called "Roshia bungaku [Russian Literature]" in collaboration with Nakamura Hakuyou and others. At that time Yonekawa and Nakamura often consulted Nobori Shomu. Nobori was translating the works of the six young Russian writers at that time, and Yonekawa recalled that Nobori's translations impacted the young literalists as they began to view Tolstoi and Dostoevskii as outdated. Yonekawa translated *Sūji* [The Numeral] written by Ivan Bunin (1870-1953), which was published 1910. The magazine was published for only one year because, according to Yonekawa, he decided to devote all his attention to studying Russian and graduating at the top of his class.

After graduation Yonekawa worked as an interpreter for the Mitsubishi Company in Nagasaki, and then he went to Hokkaido to work as a Russian teacher for the army. In 1917 and 1918 he worked as a financier in Petrograd at the Ministry of Finance.[38] Upon his return to Japan he taught Russian in several institutions including the Military Staff College, Meiji University, Zenrin gaiji senmon gakkou [The Good-Neighbor Foreign Affairs Institute] and Waseda University.

Beginning with the publishing of one third of the novel *The Idiot* in 1913 (Taisho 2) in the Journal *Shincho* [The New Tide], by 1935 (Showa 10), Yonekawa translated four other great novels by Dostoevskii including *The Possessed*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, *The Adolescent* and *Crime and Punishment.* He had planned to publish a complete collection of Dostoevskii's work

[37] Chikamatsu Shuko (1867-1944) was a writer and critic. He translated Tolstoi, including *Childhood* and *Boyhood* from English. In this article, he compared Tokyo Foreign Language School with the Humanities departments at Waseda and Keio Universities (Yonekawa: 35).

[38] Yonekawa provided a firsthand account of what it was like in Russia at the beginning of the Russian Revolution. It is amazing that he was able to visit theaters and see plays such as Ostrovskii's "Thunderstorm" (in the Aleksandrinskii Theatre) and "Giselle" (in the Mariinskii Theatre) while there was gunfire in the surrounding streets. (Cf. Yonekawa: 96-97).

in 30 volumes but his plans were interrupted by World War II.

Yonekawa's attitudes towards translation will be explored in the following paragraphs. When responding to readers' reactions to his first translation "*Hakuchi* [The Idiot]," Yonekawa explained the following:

> Fortunately, when the first volume of *Hakuchi* [*The idiot*] was published, it had a good reputation. Some of the readers commented, however, that the translation lacked the power, to make readers pause and think step by step, because the translated sentences were too fluent, thus forming the impression that the rhetoric took precedence over substance. I needed to respond to this as follows. From the viewpoint of the mediator of the two languages, the Russian novel translated into Japanese should be presented so that Japanese people can read it with the same ease as the Russian people read the Russian original. It is misguided to attack the translator by saying that the reader did not experience difficulties or sense of unease that usually come from reading unfamiliar foreign novels. Whether the substance is captured or not depends on the reader's attitude.
>
> (Yonekawa: 63-64)

Yonekawa's position on this issue was the direct opposite of Nakamura's, who aimed for word-to-word translation. Cockrill (2010: 275) compared the number of commas between Nakamura's and Yonekawa's translations of Dostevskii's novels, and found that Yonekawa's translations contained many more commas than Nakamura's. Yonekawa tended to break up a Russian sentence and translate it as two or three Japanese sentences.

6.2.3. **Jinzai Kiyoshi** (1903-1957)

Jinzai Kiyoshi wrote three essays regarding translation issues: "Honyaku chigi no setsu [Regarding the Indecision of Translation]" (1936), "Honyaku no seiri, shinri [The Physiology and Psychology of Translation]" (1938) and "Honyaku no muzukashisa [Difficulties in Translation]" (1950). Jinzai's translation theory, as expressed in these essays, will be explored in this section.

First, in "Honyaku chigi no setsu [Regarding the Indecision of Translation]," written in

1936, Jinzai posted the following problems with the Japanese language:

1. The Japanese language is not rich enough for abstract, artistic expressions.

2. The Japanese language lacks a variety of rhythms. When translators try to find a fluent style, they often must settle for the traditional 5/7 rhythm.

With regards to the first problem, Jinzai explained, giving an example of a translation of a French sentence, that in the original languages, the musicality of the language comfortably gives support to the readers for a simultaneous understanding of the contents, whereas in the translated Japanese, the awkwardness without musicality causes difficulties in understanding the sentence. Jinzai suggested that problem of poverty of Japanese expressions may have occurred because the dominant Tokyo dialect, which had evolved from a variety of other dialects, was not yet sufficiently mature to allow for the writing of prose.

Jinzai's second essay, "Honyaku no seiri, shinri [The Physiology and Psychology of Translation]," was written in 1938 for Teikoku daigaku shinbun [The Imperial University Newspaper]. This essay criticized the theory outlined in "The Monochrome Translation" by Nogami Toyoichiro (1939).[39] In this theory, Nogami used the metaphor of colored pictures, and compared colored originals with a monochrome translation: translators are a lens, which produces monochrome photos that convey the contents of the original color photo. This theory demonstrates a position between "presenting the Western writing as Western (The original emphasized position)" and "re-making it as a Japanese piece (The target language emphasized position)" and was stipulated in his *Theory of Translation* in 1932 (Nogami: 40). Nogami later abandoned this theory, and changed to "the original emphasized position," in which original style

[39] Nogami Toyoichiro (1883-1950) was an English literature scholar and a Noh (Japanese traditional theatre) researcher. He was also a disciple of Natsume Soseki (1867-1916).

of writing should be more carefly treated (Cf. Yanabu, Mizuno, and Naganuma 2010: 49).[40]

With regards to Nogami's monochrome translation theory, Jinzai discussed two issues of translation in his essay "The Physiology and Psychology of Translation". The first issue appears in the translator's struggle to search for the most appropriate words when there is an intellectual gap between the source language and the target Japanese language (the physiology of translation). Jinzai asserted, therefore, that Nogami's rational theory was always going to be difficult to apply even if the problem of the intellectual gap had been resolved, since issues of equality of meaning, amount and value still create a tremendous number of unresolved problems. The second issue described by Jinzai was that the translators wished to immerse themselves in the writer's state of mind when translating their works (the psychology of translation). Jinzai remarked that he was anxious that the seemingly practical monochrome theory might spoil the translators' desires to penetrate the author's thinking, which is, the only freedom that translators are permitted to have. He was concerned that the translation risked becoming monotonous, lacking in color or tone.

In his third essay "Honyaku no muzukashisa [Difficulties in Translation], contributed to the journal *Aozora in* 1950, Jinzai once again refered to the risk of the monochrome theory and emphasized the importance of color, sound and tone that could be perceived by the translator and thus represented in the target language.

Jinzai's stance towards assimilation with the writer's state of mind (the psychology of translation) has something in common with Nakamura's theory that translators should work on writers whose style suits them, although Jinzai is not a supporter for "word-for-word, literal" translation as Nakamura maintained. We can see that "the assimilation with writer" position

[40] According to Naganuma (2010: 287), Curran (2008) indicated that Nogami's translation theory is closely resembled to Postgate's (1922)'s theory.

also originated from Futabatei's style of translation, which was previously examined in # 6 of 3.5.

A brief description of Jinzai's life:

Jinzai Kiyoshi was born in 1903 (Meiji 36) in Tokyo, the son of a public official of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Because of his father's job, the family moved to Kagawa, Nagano, Shimane, and then to Taiwan in 1912 (Meiji 45, Taisho 1) when Jinzai was ten years old. In the same year, both his grandmother, and his father, who contracted amoebic dysentery, died. The following year Jinzai returned to Japan with his mother, and after his mother re-married, he was adopted by his aunt in Tokyo (1915). Because of his cousin's, Kitamura Hisao,[41] influence Jinzai began to be acquainted with literature, and he became particularly interested in poems. After studying science in Daiichi (his first) high school for six years, Jinzai entered the Russian department of Tokyo Foreign Language School in 1925 (Taisho 14) at 23 years old. When Jinzai was 20 years old, he started writing poems and published them under the pen name Jinzai Seishi. After graduating from the school in 1929, he worked in a library at Hokkaido University (for one year), for a newspaper, and then for the Office of the Soviet Union Trade Representatives. Jinzai left this Office in 1932 (Showa 7) at the age of 30, and began to concentrate on writing and translating.

Typical features of Jinzai's work appear in his translations of poetry. He translated Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov, Nadson, and Gumilev. Furthermore, he published the complete works of Pushkin in four volumes between 1936 and 1937 (Showa 11-12) and the complete works of Dostoevskii in 1939 (Showa 14). After World War II, Jinzai translated various Russian folk tales edited by Afanasev, including the *Tale of Igor's Campaign* and Garshin's *The*

[41] Kitamura Hisao (1895-1982) was a playwright, a writer of children's stories and a disciple of the dramatist Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928).

Red Rose. The quantity and quality of Jinzai's translations of Chekhov's between 1950 and 1960 (Showa 25-35) was particularly remarkable.[42]

Jinzai, who actively developed his theory of translation, as well as Nobori, Nakamura and Yonekawa also continued translation activities after World War II, and played a role in establishing a link with the next generation of translators.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter the history of Russian-to-Japanese translation from its early beginnings in Meiji until World War II has been overviewed by exploring the work of several Russian-to-Japanese translators. Futabatei's life and achievements were closely scrutinized as he was a major contributor to the Genbun-itchi movement and the first contributor who used his translation method.

Various factors that led to Tolstoi's popularity from the end of Meiji period and how they shaped the development of Japanese literature were also considered in this chapter. As the popularity of Russian literature grew, many writers with the knowledge of European languages became translators of Russian literature. Russian-to-Japanese translators, who had previously been a small minority, became more influential in the Japanese literary world as the quality of their direct translations was viewed as being superior to translations of Russian literature from other languages. Russian-to-Japanese translators contributed to the development of translation methods, sharing their beliefs about ideal translation methods. The activities of four translators – Nobori, Nakamura, Yonekawa and Jinzai, who played an active part in the introduction of

[42] Jinzai received a prize from the Minister of Education for the translation of *Uncle Vanya* in 1952 (Showa 27).

Russian literature from the end of the Meiji period to Showa period, and then following a hiatus during World War II (1939-1945) continued on after 1945 were examined.

As already mentioned in Chapter 1, the two types of translation methods: "word-for-word, literal" translation and "free" translation were already in existence in 1906 when Futbatei wrote his essay about his translation methods, and his statement formed the basis of arguments about translation methods for the next generation of Russian-to-Japanese translators. Futabatei also tried to find a way to convey the prosody of the Russian sentences, which represent a writer's style, in the Japanese translation. Nobori took the stance of preserving both form and content in order to best represent the individual characteristics of the writer. "Word-for-word, literal" translation that Futabatei favored for the translation of prosody was also supported by Nakamura. We see that the translation of prosody of the Russian language, i.e. the translation of the form, or writing style, has been continued in the "word-for-word, literal" translation method. On the other hand, Yonekawa had a contrary view and favored free translation which emphasized the content of the text as well as the flow of the Japanese translation. A translation that flows is much easier for the general public to read. It is quite possible that Yonekawa's "free" translation method might have contributed to the popularity of Russian literature translation as evidenced by Kameyama's present day translation (see Chapter 1). We will continue examining how this controversy, of the two translation methods, affected subsequent generations of translators and adoption of the works by Japanese readers.

A contemporary of Nakamura and Yonekawa, Jinzai was also the translator who looked at the question of conveying the prosody of the Russian language, which was represented in his theory as color, or tone. He looked at the translation issues globally including the

inadequacy of Japanese vocabulary (especially in the Tokyo dialect), for finding an ideal equivalent of the original text. The stance of assimilation with the writer's state of mind, in accordance within Jinzai's and Nakamura's theory means that translators should work on writers whose style suits them. The concept originated from Futabatei's style of translation.

In the next chapter we will examine the new generation of Russian-to-Japanese translators who succeeded with their translation activities as well as the translation methods promulgated in the period from after World War II to the present.

CHAPTER 4

Translators after World War II to the Present

1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on translators who actively contributed to translation activities during the period after World War II to the present-day. During this period translators re-translated Russian literature that had previously been translated by the preceding generation as well as introduced to the Japanese readers new work by writers from the Soviet Union. According to Molodiakov (2011: 162), it is rare for several different translations of the same novel to be published at the same time in Russia (whereas, this is not unusual for poems). He pointed out that this situation is very much different in Japan where many translations of, for example, Tolstoi's works such as *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, and *Resurrection* are available. Molodiakov proposed that new translations by subsequent generations could result in the work being reconsidered, or, if it is performed by translators belonging to the same generation as the author, the act of translating could serve to clarify the translator's understanding of the work, and his or her own worldview and values. In Japan between the end of World War II and the present day a vast amount of Russian literature was translated. The translators examined in this chapter are already deceased, but they made significant contributions by retranslating and reconsidering the original in ways that reflect the translator's understanding of the work. This chapter will examine which translation methods continued to be used, as well as examine new methods introduced by the younger generation of translators. Furthermore, this chapter will explore translations of Russian songs that began after World War II, in order to

delve into past and present translation methods used for translating lyrics.

Section 1 will introduce seven translators of Russian literature. The first translator to be presented was Kitamikado Jiro, a Tolstoian who followed Tolstoi's doctrine of non-violence during World War II. The war and its scars on the psyche of Russian and Japanese people had a powerful impact on the history of Russian-to-Japanese translation activities. Solzhenitsyn's work also strongly influenced the Japanese literati. Several Japanese translators had experiences in Soviet prison camps, which were capitalized on in their translations of Solzhenitsyn's work. In this section, the history of one of these translators will be explored. This period also produced translators who had an interest in clarifying the real state of affairs of the Soviet Union thorough their translation activities. Four of these translators produced multiple translations. Additionally this section will introduce Miura Midori, a translator who had a strong awareness of problems inherent in Soviet society and translated a "whistle-blowing" non-fiction work. In the last subsection of section 1, a controversy surrounding Kitamikado's nonliteral translation method will be presented, and two typical methods – "word-for-word, literal" and "free, nonliteral" translations, which used to be dominant in the translation of Russian literature, will be clarified.

Section 2 will examine the translation of Russian songs which only actively started after World War II. The contrasting translation methods of Seki Akiko and Inoue Yoritoyo, both translators of Russian songs, will be investigated.

2. Translators of Russian Literature

2.1. Kitamikado Jiro, a Tolstoian

When Kitamikado Jiro (1913-2004) was a 17-year-old high school student he

encountered Tolstoi's idea of non-violence in *Iwan no baka* [Ivan the Fool]. Kitamikado stated in the book which introduces Tolstoi's thoughts, *Mune ni te wo atete kangaeyou* [Let Us Think by Putting Our Hands on Our Chest] (1992), that the strongest lesson he learned from reading *Iwan no baka*, and which bound him to Tolstoi for 60 years was that

> Murder is evil, and it contradicts the fundamental principles of any belief.
>
> (Kitamikado 1992: 7)

In 1933, when Kitamikado entered the English literature department at the University of Tokyo, he was still attracted to Tolstoi's work, and was constantly using a dictionary to read *Anna Karenina*. While he was still a student at the University of Tokyo, he moved to Harbin and studied Russian, staying with an émigré Russian family (1936-1937). Kitamikado expressed his anti-war convictions by escaping the conscription examination for the army, which was held in his hometown of Kumamoto. Ultimately, he was able to avoid conscription as he was considered to have mental health issues. He chose not to return to the University of Tokyo, and instead, began to translate Tolstoi's novels and short stories, at the same time working as a farmer.

Kitamikado translated not only the classic novels including *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, and *Resurrection,* but also other works, which Tolstoi himself considered more valuable.[1] Kitamikado's translations of Tolstoi are listed below in chronological order. Valuable works which represented Tolstoi's thoughts and messages to his readers, as well as the full-length novels, were introduced to Japanese people through Kitamikado's translations from the Russian originals:

[1] In the summer 1909, when Tolstoi was talking to someone who was impressed by *War and Peace*, and *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoi became angry and said, "It is just like if you were to say to Edison, 'You are great, because you are good at dancing!' I attach greater value to my other works" (Molodiakov 2011:164).

Ikeru Shikabane [The Living Corpse] (1965). Seidousha.
Zange [A Confession] (1965). Seidousha.
Kami no kuni wa nanji-ra no kokoro ni ari [The Kingdom of God Is within You] (1973). Toujyūsha.
Sensou to heiwa [War and Peace] (1978-79). Toukai daigaku shuppan-kai.
Ni roujin [The Two Old Men] (1978). Niji no kai haiga-shū shuppan jigyou-kai.
Anna Karenina (1979). Toukai daigaku shuppan-kai.
Fukkatsu [Resurrection] (1979). Toukai daigaku shuppan-kai.
Hi no fushimatsu wa taika no moto [The Failure to Put Out an Old Fire Properly Might Cause a Bigger Fire] (1980). Niji no kai haiga-shū shuppan jigyou-kai.
Ai no aru tokoro ni kami ari [Where Love Is, God Is] (1981). Niji no kai haiga-shū shuppan jigyou-kai.
Torusutoi gikyoku-shū [A Collection of Tolstoi's Plays] (1982). Musashino shobo.
Hito ni wa takusan no tochi ga iruka [Do Men Need Much Land?] (1982). Niji no kai haiga-shū shuppan jigyou-kai.
Fumi yomu tsukihi. Kotoba wa kami nari. [The Days of Reading: Words Appear to Be God] (1983-84). Chi no shio shobo.
Jinsei no michi [The Way of Life] (1985). Musashino shobo.
Iwan Ilicchi no shi [The Death of Ivan Ilich] (1989). Chi no shio shobo.
Hikari no aru uchi ni hikari no naka wo ayume [Walk in the Light While There Is Light] (1989). Chi no shio shobo.
Saku-otoko Emerian to karadaiko [The Hired Farmhand Emerian and an Empty Drum] (1992).
Iwan no baka [Ivan the Fool] (1993). Chi no shio shobo.
Yo ni tsumi-bito wa inai [There Is No Sinner in This World] (1996). Poslednik.
Younen jidai [Childhood] (2009). Koudansha.
Shōnen jidai [Boyhood] (2009). Koudansha.
Seinen jidai [Youth] (2009). Koudansha.

Kitamikado's translation of *Sensou to Heiwa* [War and Peace] (1978-79) was the third translation of Tolstoi's original following Yonekawa Masao (1925-26) and Hara Takuya (1963).[2] *Anna Karenina*, which had been translated by Nakamura Hakuyo in 1920, was also translated by Kitamikado in 1979. Hokkyo Kazuhiko judged it to be the best translation of Tolstoi in existence (1979), and Honda Shugo, a literary critic, praised it as the clearest translation

[2] Hara's work will be examined in the next subsection.

compared to other translations (1979). These accolades resulted in a dispute between Hara and Kitamikado which revealed their differing attitudes towards translation work. This dispute will be examined in the last subsection of this section.

2.2. Someya Shigeru, a Returnee from Soviet Labor Camps

Someya Shigeru (1913-2002) graduated from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 1935. After working for the North Sakhalin Oil Company, he became a Russian teacher at the Harbin Institute (see Chapter 2, 4.3.). Someya was taken prisoner just as World War II was ending, and was held in a labor camp in Siberia for 11 years, which was the longest period of imprisonment for any Japanese prisoners of the war.

After returning to Japan, Someya was invited to teach at Jyōchi University (Sophia University in Tokyo) and became one of the leading authorities on Russian language education until he retired in 1984. Someya capitalized on his harsh experiences in the Russian labor camp when translating Solzhenitsyn's works as these related to life in Siberia. Someya translated four of Solzhenitsyn's works:

Shika to rāgeri no onna [The Deer and the Woman in Gulag; The Love-girl and the Innocent] (1970). Joint trans. with Uchimura Gōsuke. Kawadeshobo shinsha.
Iwan Denīsovicchi no ichinichi [One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich] (1971). Iwanami shoten.
Ko-ushi ga kashi no ki ni tsuno tsuita [The Oak and the Calf] (1976). Joint trans. with Hara Takuya. Shinchosha.
Jiyū e no keikoku [Warning to the West] (1977). Shinchosha.

Someya also translated some of Vasili Shukshin's short stories of which are edited in the following two books:

Vasili Shukshin *Nichiyoubi ni oitaru haha wa* [On Sundays, My Old Mother...] (1983). Gunzousha.
Gankomono [The Obstinate One] (1984). Gunzousha.

Someya seldom wrote commentaries to his translations, with the exception of *Iwan Denisovicchi no ichinichi* [One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich], for which he wrote an afterword. He used this opportunity to clearly declare his stance as a translator of this work:

> Looking into translation of literary works in the Soviet Union, it is quite rare that translators write commentaries on the work. Usually, it is done by other specialists, which might be because the distinction between "the literati" and "the craftsman of translation" is kept clear. In Japan, where the distinction is unclear, there may be no way but for translators to write the commentaries, but for me, for "the person dealing with the language," it is presumptuous even to pretend to be a translator, therefore, how much more presumptuous it is to pretend to be one of the literati...

These words are, of course, his modest introductory remarks which lead into his comments about Solzhenitsyn's work. Someya also plainly asserted his opinion regarding translation activities as follows:

> There are no transparent translations of literary works. Translation work is nothing but the translator's interpretation.

Someya used a tape recording of the text being read by the author as the original text. His use of a recording rather than the printed text was because the original print version published in the USSR had been edited due to censorship. Someya also mentioned that some parts of the commentaries on the texts are based on the way Solzhenitsyn read the text.

According to Uchimura, who learned Russian with Someya at the Harbin Institute, Someya taught students that people's *vyskazyvanie* [utterance] is related to its intonation, and the intonation to the writer's breathing, and his *kultura* [culture]. Furthermore, Someya taught that wisdom is different from knowledge, and *kultura* [culture] is related to wisdom (Uchimura 2008: 256). Thus, the importance for Someya in referring to the recordings of Solzhenitsyn in order to provide a better translation of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* is evident: Someya

grasped Solzhenitsyn's intonation, culture and wisdom, which reflect what the writer really wanted to convey to the readers.

2.3. Four Translators Who Produced Multiple Translations

2.3.1. **Egawa Taku** (1927-2001)

In 1965, Egawa translated *Nina no nikki* [Nina's Diary] by Nina Kosterina (1921-1940), who died while volunteering as a partisan in the Second World War. In the translator's afterword, Egawa states his approach to translation:

> One thing we can say, rather we need to say, is that Stalin's era, which is symbolized by the fear of purges, left a big scar in the minds of people in the Soviet Union. The reason why I pay attention to the literature at the time of the thaw, and place high value on such work as *Nina's Diary* is that I consider it is indispensable to reflect on the people's mentality in Stalin's era for the future spiritual and material development of Soviet people. I believe that this study will be significant for the future of the world, including Japan (279-280).

Egawa's stance is further highlighted in his translation of *Svetlana kaisouroku* [Recollections by Svetlana; Twenty Letters to a Friend] written by Svetlana Allilueva, Stalin's daughter. Egawa wrote in the commentary:

> Curiously, Svetlana's thoughts, which are at the root of her critical attitude to the present state of affairs in the Soviet Union, agree with the views of writers and intellectuals of my acquaintance.

From the beginning of his translation activities, the purpose of Egawa's work seemed to have been to study Stalin's period of Soviet history.

Egawa's father, Sotomura Shiro (1890-1951), whose real name was Baba Tetsuya, was a Russian linguist who went to Manchuria in 1941 as a temporary employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was interned in Siberia after World War II, and died there. Egawa (whose real name was Baba Hiroshi) studied law at the University of Tokyo, and independently

studied Russian language and Russian literature. After graduation, he worked for the Radio Press, where he honed his practical Russian language skills by translating the Radio Moscow news bulletins for Japanese news agencies. Later, he was invited to teach Russian language and literature at Tokyo Institute of Technology. In 1976, Egawa established the Maiakovskii Institute, which provided the general public the opportunity of learning not only Russian but also other Slavic languages.[3] Through his activities at the Maiakovskii Institute, Egawa gained a following of many Russian literature fans from the general public. One of those followers was Miura Midori, a translator of non-fiction literature, who will be presented in the next subsection. In addition to the earlier work mentioned above, Egawa also produced the following literature translations:

Mikhail Sholokhov	*Shizukanaru Don* [And Quiet Flows the Don] (1955-58). Joint trans. Kadokawa shoten.
Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn	*1914 nen 8 gatsu* [August 1914] (1972). Shinchosha.
	Kuremurin e no tegami [A Letter to the Soviet Leaders] (1974). Shinchosha.
	Chūrihhi no Lenin [Lenin in Zürich] (1977). Shinchosha.
Fedor Dostoevskii	*Tsumi to batsu* [Crime and Punishment] (1966-67). Oubunsha. (Iwanami shoten : 1999-2000).
	Chikashitsu no shuki [Notes from Underground] (1968). Shinchosha.
	Akuryō [The Possessed] (1971). Shinchosha.
	Karamāzofu no kyōdai [The Brothers Karamazov] (1979). Shueisha.
Ilia Ilf, Evgenii Petrov	*Jyūni no isu* [The 12 Chairs] (1969). Chikumashobo.
Boris Pasternak	*Dokutoru Zhivago* [Doctor Zhivago] (1980). Jijishinpousha (later Shinchosha: 1989).

Egawa's translation principles – to thoroughly research and present a comprehensive introduction to the work, were adopted by the next generation of translators.

[3] The school is now closed.

Egawa also contributed to the dispute between Hara and Kitamikado. His stance on translation methods will be examined in the last subsection of this section.

2.3.2. **Kudo Seiichiro** (1922−2008)

Kudo Seiichiro was born in Fukushima and studied Russian language at the Harbin Institute from which he graduated in 1943. From 1958 onwards he participated in the Japan-Russia cultural exchange work. He became a lecturer at Bunka Gakuin [Cultural Academy] in 1972 and then a professor at Kansai University in 1975. Kudo started his translation activities in the mid-1950s by translating modernist authors such as Mikhail Artsybashev. Kudo made it a rule to add detailed background information about the story and the author's life. In *Roshia bungaku urabanashi* [Inside Stories of Russian Literature], he gave his readers information that he collected based on his extensive research about Russian culture and history. He felt his mission was to reveal the real Russia, both through his experiences in Russia and his ability to collect accurate information. The same stance is evident in his detailed commentary included as an afterword in his translation work.

Like Egawa, Kudo was also invited to teach at educational institutions, following the publication and critical success of his translation activities. He taught Russian literature as well as the Russian language in Kansai University.

A selection of Kudo's translation work is listed below:

Ilia Erenburg *Pari kanraku* [The Fall of Paris] (1961). Shinchosha.

Fedor Dostoevskii

Tsumi to batsu [Crime and Punishment] (1961). Shinchosha.
Miseinen [Adolescent] (1968). Shinchosha.
Shi no ie no kiroku [The House of the Dead] (1969). Shinchosha.

Lev Tolstoi *Fukkatsu* [Resurrection] (1969). Shueisha.
Sensō to heiwa [War and Peace] (1970). Shinchosha.
Anna Karenina (1973). Oubunsha.

Ivan Turgenev *Hatsukoi, Chichi to ko* [First Love, Fathers and Sons] (1970). Shueisha.

Vasilii Aksenov *Hoshi no kippu* [Ticket to the Stars] (1973). Chuokouronsha.

Nina Berberova *Tetsu no onna* [The Iron Woman] (1987). Chuokouronsha.

2.3.3. **Hara Takuya** (1930-2004)

Hara Takuya was the son of Hara Hisaichiro (1890-1971),[4] one of the great Russian-to-Japanese translators of the previous generation who had studied Russian language at Tokyo Foreign Language School. Hara Takuya also graduated from the Russian department of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 1953 and began to teach Russian language there in 1966. He served as the president of the university for 16 years from 1989 to 2005.

In his extension course materials about translation of foreign literature at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (2000), Hara Takuya noted that it is very rare in Europe for translations of complete works of Tolstoi, Dostoevskii or Chekhov to include letters and diary, but that this is common in Japan. Moreover, he said, it might be difficult to find another country which had two or three complete translated works of such authors as, for example, Dostoevskii. He also added that in Japan, the translators' names are printed on book covers along with the authors, whereas in Russia, for instance, the names of translators are printed in fine print at the back of the book. Hara observed that it is very encouraging for Japanese translators to have such a custom (Hara and Nishinaga 2000: 132-133).

In the same course materials, Hara introduced Futabatei's theory of translation as he

[4] Nakamura Hakuyou, Yonekawa Masao and Hara Hisaichiro were called "Dan-Kiku-Za of Russian literature" making a parody of the names of three great Kabuki actors (Hara and Nishinaga 2000: 149).

tried to translate the prosody of the original text by using the same number of commas and periods in translated Japanese sentences as were in to the original sentences (see Chapter 3), and that he also considered the different writing styles of each author. Hara stated that Futabatei's theory had key points that present-day translators should take into account. Hara's own opinions about best practices when translating are below:

> Some translators think that in order to make readers understand the author's thoughts and the story's themes, it is necessary to make the Japanese translation easy to read. For example, Dostoevskii's novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, has one sentence that continues for seven to eight lines, punctuated only by commas, and is sometimes translated into several sentences, which makes it easier to read. But I think, this kind of translation cannot convey Dostoevskii's essence.

According to Kameyama Ikuo, one of Hara's student and a present-day translator, Hara had such a prodigious memory that he was able to remember long original Russian sentences of works he had once read and was able to quickly finish the translations into Japanese.[5]

Hara's first translation was "And quiet flows the Don" by Mikhail Sholokhov, which he translated in collaboration with his father. The translated work was completed in 1954, soon after his graduation from the university, which was also close to the beginning of his career as a researcher of Russian literature. At that time, the translation of Russian literature began to be considered a scholarly achievement, which may be the reason it became necessary for translators to include comprehensive commentaries in order to demonstrate their knowledge about Russia and the author, and providing their readers with background information.

Hara's stance towards translation method will be further examined in the last subsection of this section.

Hara's large body of translation work is summarized in the following list:

[5] According to an interview with Kameyama in July 2013.

Aleksei Tolstoi *Kunou no naka wo iku* [The Road to Calvary] (1955). Shinchosha.

Wanda Wasilewska *Niji* [Rainbow] (1957). Shūdousha (later Shinchosha).

Ilia Erenburg *Nihon inshou-ki* [An Impression of Japan] (1957). (Joint trans.) Chuokouronsha.

Mikhail Sholokhov *Hirakareta shojyochi* [Virgin Soil Upturned] (1958). Shinchosha.

Aleksandr Beliaev *Dowel kyoujyu no kubi* [Professor Dowel's Neck] (1958). Tokyo sougensha.

Anton Chekhov *Chēhofu zenshū* [The Complete Works of Chekhov] (1960-61). Chuokouronsha.

Lev Tolstoi *Fukkatsu* [Resurrection] (1963). Chuokouronsha.
Sensou to heiwa [War and Peace] (1963). Shueisha.
Anna Karenina (1964). Chuoukouronsha.
Yōnen jidai, Shyōnen jidai, Seinen jidai [Childhood, Boyhood, Youth] (1971). Shincho sekai bungaku.
Kroitseru Sonata, Akuma [The Kreutzer Sonata. The Devil] (1971). Shincho sekai bungaku.
Jinsei ron [What Men Live by] (1975). Shinchosha.

Vladimir Tendriakov *Gekiryu* [A Violent Stream] (1965). Shueisha.

Vasilii Aksenov *Doukisei* [Colloquies] (1965). (Joint trans.) Hakusuisha.

Fedor Dostoevskii
Mazushiki hitobito [The Poor Folk] (1967). Kaiseisha.
Karamāzofu no kyōdai [The Brothers Karamazov] (1971). Shincho sekai bungaku.
Tsumi to batsu [Crime and Punishment] (1978). Sekaibunkasha.

Leonid Andreev *Kiri no naka* [In the Mist] (1979). Shueisha.

2.3.4. **Kimura Hiroshi** (1925-1992)

Kimura Hiroshi studied Russian at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Working for a publisher, he continued to observe Russian society by frequently visiting the USSR. He became acquainted with distinguished Soviet intellectuals of the time, and was on intimate terms with Solzhenitsyn, who asked Kimura to translate *The Gulag Archipelago*. From 1974, when

the first volume of the translation was published, until 1987, the Soviet authorities refused to issue Kimura a Soviet visa.

Kimura wrote essays about Russian landscape, food, art, churches, Russia's culture and offered an objective portrait of Russian people. He mentioned that he gained insights into many facets of Russian culture through his large network of contacts, particularly due to his friendship with Iurii Vasiliev (1925-), an abstract artist, with whom he became acquainted in Moscow in 1965 (Kimura 1984: 96, 1992: 260). Kimura gradually became very well versed in Russian art, and thus, Russian aesthetics as well.

Kimura's writing explored the aesthetics of Russian language. Referring to the Russian custom of authors reading their work in public, Kimura noted that Solzhenitsyn read 14 prose poems, and that the readings seemed to breathe new 'life' into the prose. Offering an explanation for why authors read their own works in front of an audience, Kimura clarified that the reading presents the prose in the manner in which the author wishes it to be read by readers, highlighting each character's distinct manner of speaking. When it comes to translating the written work into other languages, Kimura asserted that much of the attractiveness of "Russian language and its link to the aesthetic world of Russia" would inevitably be lost as new translators would be unlikely to have a deep understanding of Russian aesthetics. According to Kimura, good translation requires that translators should not rely solely on the content of the original texts (Kimura 1992: 155-158).

Kimura emphasized the artistic aspect of Russian language, which is embedded in the everyday lives of Russian people. He contended that it was the power of Russian language that stirred the souls of Russian people, and moved them with aesthetic inspiration. Furthermore, he noted that Russian language has a mysterious power that is beautiful to strangers (Kimura 1992:

169).

Kimura also wrote an essay about the titles of translations of Russian literature. He pointed out that the care authors take in choosing titles of their works is similar to the care parents take in naming their children, but that sometimes title translations have different nuances, and once the translated title is accepted, it is usually difficult to change it. He gave examples of some successful titles and also pointed out some titles with problems. He explained, for example, that he translated the title of Solzhenitsyn's novel "V kruge pervom [The First Circle] to *Rengoku no nakade* [In Purgatory], taking into consideration that the title was originally derived from Dante's *The Divine Comedy* (Kimura 1971: 342).

Kimura was closely acquainted with Russian writers, particularly with Solzhenitsyn, who personally introduced Kimura to his work.

Kimura's main Russian literature translations are as follows:

Ilia Erenburg *Waga kaisou*: *Ningen*, *Saigetsu*, *Seikatsu* [Memoirs: Men, Years and Life] (1961-68). Asahi Newspaper.

Lev Tolstoi *Anna Karenina* (1961-62). Heibonsha (later Shinchosha).
Fukkatsu [Resurrection] (1971). Shincho sekai bungaku.
Iwan no baka [Ivan the Fool] (1988). Kodansha.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn
Iwan Denīsovicchi no ichinichi [One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich] (1963). Shinchosha.
Rengoku no nakade [In Purgatory; The First Circle] (1969). (Joint trans.) Time Life International.
Shūyousho guntou [The Gulag Archipelago]. (1974-77). Shinchosha.
Solzhenitsyn tanpenshu [The Collected Short Stories of Solzhenitsyn] (1987). Iwanami bunko.

Vasilii Aksenov *Hoshi no kippu* [Ticket to the Stars] (1965). Shueisha.

Iurii Olesha *Senbou* [Envy] (1967). Shueisha.

Fedor Dostoevskii
Mazushiki hitobito [The Poor Folk] (1968). Shincho sekai bungaku.
Hakuchi [Idiot] (1969). Shincho sekai bungaku.

Aleksandr Pushkin
Evgenii Onegin, *Taii no musume* [The Captain's Daughter],
Belkin monogatari [Tales of the Late Ivan Petrovich Belkin],

Supēdo no jyoou [The Queen of Spades] (1970). Shueisha.
Anton Chekhov *Kamome* [The Seagull] (1979). Gakushu kenkyusha.

2.4. Miura Midori, a Translator of Non-Fiction Works

Miura Midori (1949-2012) was a freelance interpreter. She was interested in the Russian language and was influenced by four volumes of a beautiful Russian dictionary in her father's library, which she dreamed of reading someday. It was *The Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language* written by Vladimir Dal in 1912. In 1968 she began studying in the Russian Department of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, but because of the student riots, she was only able to study the declension of the Russian Language for a few months. She then decided to attend to Nisso gakuin (The Institute of Japan-Russia Relations), now Tokyo Institute of the Russian Language[6] where she learned practical Russian. After finishing at the University, she worked for a trading company for three years, then, as she was seeking a job in which she could use her knowledge of Russian more, she became a freelance interpreter. While working as a guide for Russian tourists, and as the interpreter for a company that exported plants, she supplemented her knowledge of Russian language as she began to study Russian literature at the Maiakovskii Institute.[7] Under Egawa Taku's instruction, she began to translate her first work *Bubunowa san to iu hito* [The Woman Called Bubunowa-san], a book about an artist, Varvara Bubnova, who lived in Japan, which was written by Irina Kozhevnikova. This translation was published in 1988, after Miura's 18-month stay in Voronezh as one of the interpreters for the plant exporter, where she had ample opportunities to improve her practical

[6] This institute was established by Nisso shinzen kyōkai [The Japanese Society for Friendly Relations between Japan and Russia] in Tokyo in 1949.

[7] Established under the initiative of Egawa Taku in 1967 in Tokyo.

Russian skills.

Miura gave modest answers in an interview for a special edition about the translation activities by the ALC press (2012: 85) as follows:

> My vocabulary of Japanese is not sufficient for translating literary work of great artistry. I think my calling is to translate literature that requires a strong sense of justice and to capture the grief or pain of unknown people...

Having a powerful sense of social justice and empathy with the oppressed, Miura translated documentaries and nonfiction work including *Kōkasasu no kin iro no kumo* [The Gold Cloud in Caucasia; The Inseparable Twins] (1995) by Anatolii Pristavkin; *Afugan kikanhei no shougen* [Testimony of Soldiers Returned from Afghanistan; Zinky Boys] (1995); *Botan ana kara mita sensou* [War Seen from Button Holes; The Last Witnesses] (2000) by Svetlana Aleksievich; *Chechen: Yamerarenai sensou* [Chechnya: an Endless Dirty War: a Russian Reporter in Chechnya] (2004) by Anna Politkovskaia; and *Sensou wa onna no kao wo shite-inai* [Wars Do not Have Women's Faces; The Unwomanly Face of War] (2008) by Svetlana Aleksievich.

In the aforementioned interview, Miura also said that in translation work it is very important to study the background of the time, most particularly the culture and lives of the people. She added that information gleaned from the background study might only be a small amount, but those who feel that this process is ineffective may not be suited to translation work. Furthermore, she had a policy of making her translations easy for any reader to understand. Miura's mother, who was born in the Taisho period, was a good test-reader for her translations, and Miura always tried to ensure that her translated stories were understandable to her mother.

Miura Midori died in 2012, and, as of the beginning of 2014, there are no Russian-to-Japanese translators who are working on non-fiction or documentaries about present day social and political issues in Russia, although some interpreters, as Miura also did, are

working on translating modern Russian literature as a sideline.

2.5. Dispute between Hara Takuya and Kitamikado Jiro

Hara Takuya wrote an essay in 1979 entitled "Torusutoi honyaku no gendai-teki imi [The Translation of Tolstoi and Its Present-day Meaning]." In this essay he argued against Kitamikado's reputation, gained through his new translations of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina,* saying that although Kitamikado's translation made it easy to understand Tolstoi's meaning, Kitamikado's work was not based on accurate analysis of the original text. Quoting a sentence from *War and Peace* (description of the scene of the death of Andrei Bolkonskii) that was praised by Honda Shugo, a literary critic, and comparing it with the equivalent sentences from Yonekawa's translation and his own, Hara criticized Kitamikado's translation as follows:

> When comparing only translated Japanese sentences, we can say that Kitamikado's translation is easiest to understand. Quoting Mr. Honda's words, it is surely "clear at first glance." But now I need to raise a question as to whether the translation of literature should be always "clear at first glance."
>
> ... It is well known that Tolstoi's sentences sometimes flow very smoothly, like words in a lecture, but when it comes to the description of death or god, Tolstoi's expression is often more convoluted. The sentence concerned appears to be a case of the latter. Mr. Kitamikado completely ignored Tolstoi's writing style and rhythm, and dared to translate the sentence freely, which could be criticized as mistranslation from the linguistic point of view.
>
> (Asahi Journal: 11.16.1979: 65-66.)

In this essay Hara declared that he had a principle of "adhering to the original text." Hara quoted Futabatei's stance in dealing with commas and periods: "If the original had three commas and one period, I tried to put three commas and one period in the Japanese." Moreover, Hara reminded his readers that Nakamura Hakuyo also observed the principle of word-for-word

translation.[8]

In response to Hara's criticism, Kitamikado also submitted a paper to the Asahi Journal on December 14, 1979, which included the following:

> At the heart of Russian language, represented by symbols or sounds — by forms of substance, there exists something which can be no longer called solely Russian or Japanese. What is left might be called "words themselves." To use Kant's expression, "the words" might be referred to as "the thing itself." Suppose that "the words" are *x*, then, translators need to take the *x* from his reading of the text, and then, transplant it to the apparent feature of Japanese language. Nonetheless, when a translator cannot understand the *x*, he often needs to rely on grammatical features. The translator can only directly translate a Russian subject to a Japanese subject and a predicate to a predicate; a practice which could be compared to "cutting corners" in the construction industry, and which often results in a made-up a sentence which has the same negative construction or imperative construction as the original sentence, but its meaning is not intelligible even to the translator.
>
> (Asahi Journal: 12.14.1979: 41.)

Kitamikado also supported his argument by referring to Tolstoi and Konish Masutaro's translation into Russian of Lao-tzu's "The Sutra of Ethics":

> "As was recommended by Professor Glot, Konish's practice was to translate word-for-word. On the other hand, Tolstoi took the stance that, if the translator adhered too strictly to the letters, he might risk losing the original meaning, and, therefore, it is sometimes necessary to be daring when translating and to maintain some distance from the original wording."
>
> (Asahi Journal: 12.14.1979: 41.)[9]

Kitamikado asserted that it was not his intention to "ignore Tolstoi's writing style and the rhythm in his words," as he had carefully considered what Tolstoi wanted to say, and then translated it into Japanese. Kitamikado stated that he completely agreed with Tolstoi's opinion on this

[8] In addition to the problem of 'incorrect' translation, Hara pointed out two more issues: First, the names of places should be translated phonetically to ensure translations are as accurate as possible. Second, he noted that texts are sometimes different depending on the date of publication.

[9] Quoted from *Torusutoi Zenshū* [The Complete Works of Tolstoi] 5 (1978) by Hokkyo Kazuhiko.

matter and he would continue to use this translation method.

Egawa Taku contributed to this dispute by declaring himself a follower of Hara's principle of "adhering to the original text" in a paper entitled "Jyuyaku – Roshia bungaku no baai [Secondhand Translation[10]: the Case of Russian Literature]" in *Honyaku* [Translation] published by Iwanami Shoten in 1982. Focusing on the history of translation in Japan, in which many writers worked on the translation of the Russian literature from the Meiji period to the beginning of the Taisho period, Egawa showed that, mistranslations frequently occurred as a result of the secondhand translation. He concluded by stating that because of the long history in Japan of incorrect, nonliteral translations of Russian literature, it was imperative from then on to ensure that translations were accurate representations of original texts. Defending his argument against Kitamikado, Egawa quoted Viktor Shiklovskii's passage from his essay "Art as Technique" which became a basic tenet of Russian formalism that developed from a passage of Tolstoi's diary. This technique is used to lengthen the time taken and difficulty experienced in perceiving something, because in art, the goal is to have the audience engage in the process of perception, and that is why the process should be lengthened. Egawa argued that the sentence in question in *War and Peace* which Kitamikado translated was understood and translated by Kitamikado so smoothly and simply, actually, ignored the technique described above as it was Tolstoi's intention to have his readers deeply engage in the process of perceiving meaning in the roundabout expressions.

In the same paper Egawa raised a question about "translation of writing style." He quoted Nobori Shomu who stated that significant differences between the translation from the original Russian and the secondhand translation may exist in "color," or "smell," or "tone" or

[10] Translation from a translation of the original Russian. For example, a Japanese translation of an English translation of the Russian original.

"taste." Egawa understood these elements as "the style of writing." He opined that "the style of writing" which is represented by these elements can only be translated "word-for-word" from the original text.

Two opposing attitudes towards translation methods were raised in this dispute: "word-for-word, literal" translation and "free" translation. Both of these methods were used by translators of the generation which preceded Hara, Egawa and Kitamikado. Hara and Egawa's "word-for-word, literal" translation method was previously used by Nakamura Hakuyo, and Kitamikado's free translation method was similar to Yonekawa Masao's method. Although the two methods initially appear to be polar opposites, they share a common aim: to produce a translation which reflects the author's intention as faithfully as possible. It should be noted that the two methods of translation can be traced back to Futabatei's methods that we examined in the previous chapter.

3. Two Translators of Russian Folk Songs

The detention and use as forced labor of Japanese prisoners of war in Siberia at the end of World War II had an unexpected effect, as Japanese prisoners of war went on to become experts in Russian music. Those who had musical skills or talents became members of "Consolation Music Bands," which performs for soldiers visiting many labor camps. Through these activities, the musicians learned not only many kinds of Russian folk songs, but also Russian people's attitudes towards music.

The introduction of Russian songs to Japan was closely related to the labor movement in Japan, which first appeared at the end of 19th century, but was repressed in Japan after the establishment of the Soviet Union. The repression increased after the Great Kanto Earthquake

of 1923, especially after the Peace Preservation Law was enacted in 1925 when the Japanese government cracked down on the left-wing idealists whom the government saw as reactionary members of society who disturbed the peace. After World War II, the labor movement was recognized as a legal activity in Japan, and the introduction of Russian songs also began in earnest as a number of musicians returned from the Russian labor camps and participated in translating Russian songs (Cf. Shimamura 2003: 20). A trigger for the rising popularity of Russian songs among the Japanese public was the release of the Russian movie «Skazanie o zemle Sibirskoi [Ballad of Siberia]» in 1948, through which people became acquainted with the theme tune «Brodiaga [The Wanderer]». They were charmed by the sorrowful Eastern music (Inoue, 1955: 167). Russian songs were enthusiastically taken up by amateur choirs. In Eastern Japan in 1952, there were 180 choral groups, with a total of 10,000 members.[11] Nowadays choral groups still hold music festivals regularly,[12] although there is only a branch of the Utagoe-Kissa – Sing-along café that remains active in Tokyo (Cf. Fukuyasu 2012: 52).

The next section will focus on two translators of Russian songs, who took different stances on translation methods.

3. 1. **Seki Akiko** (1899-1973)

Seki Akiko was a soprano and the organizer of the massive Central Choir. In 1956, she won the International Lenin Peace Prize[13] for her peace activities via the choir. In 1964, she performed with the Choir in Russia. She was invited to be a judge in the Chaikovskii Vocal

[11] The Japanese Asahi Newspaper, May 25th 1953. Cited in Inoue (1953: 11).

[12] During the 65th anniversary concert held in Osaka on Nov. 2, 2013, there were more than 10,000 participants who came from all over Japan.

[13] The International Lenin Peace Prize was awarded by a panel appointed by the Soviet government, to notable individuals whom the panel indicated had "strengthened peace among peoples." It was the Soviet Union's equivalent of the Nobel Peace Prize. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lenin_Peace_Prize> (accessed October 7, 2013).

Competition in 1966 and 1970.

The daughter of an art critic, Seki Nyorai, Seki was raised in an environment with easy access to Western culture and art. After Seki graduated from a vocal music course at Tokyo Music School in 1921, she was active on the stage as a vocalist. According to her autobiography (Seki 1996: 68-69), it was during this period that she became acquainted with Russian musicians. Seki wrote:

> Following the example of Miss Brutskaia, an opera singer attached to the Imperial Theatre who visited Japan on her way to seeking refuge in the United States, the number of exiled musicians from Russia visiting Japan increased after the Russian revolution. Being introduced to them by Konoe,[14] I saw them and performed in concerts with them frequently. A piano accompanist Ryamin-san and a baritone Aleksandorov-san (whom my mother called Riya-san, Ale-san) came to my house often. The same kinds of Russian musicians also came from Shanghai and Harbin, and later on (in 1924 – Fukuyasu) the Japan-Russia Friendship Symphony Orchestra conducted by Yamada Kosaku[15] came into being. The Russian opera also performed in Japan during this time (69).

Seki's statement suggests that her encounters with exiled Russian musicians and the language in their songs in the 1920s were crucial to the development of music arts in Japan. After her marriage to the actor Ono Miyakichi in 1926, Seki began to be involved in the proletarian art movement. In 1929, she became the first president of the Proletarian Musician Association. Following World War II, after the labor movement had been recognized as a legal activity, she assembled the massive Central Choir in 1948. Russian songs that had been translated into Japanese were frequently performed during this period. From 1952, she became chair of the

[14] Konoe Hidemaro (1898-1973) was a conductor and composer.

[15] Yamada Kosaku (1886-1965) was a composer and a conductor in the Japan-Russia Friendship Symphony Orchestra which was established by Yamada Kosaku and Konoe Hidemaro and became the basis of the Japan Association of Symphony Music (1925), which was the predecessor of the NHK (Japan Broadcasting Cooperation) Symphony Orchestra.

Music Center and expanded the Sing-along Movement in Japan.[16]

In 1948, Seki presented her first translation of «Katiusha» in her booklet *Nihon to Sovieto no shin minyō* [New Folk Songs in Japan and the Soviet Union]. After providing some background information about the song, she commented:

> This is a lovely piece which has the smell of the East."... "I faithfully translated the text from the original and was bound by the words, because I did not have time to complete a non-literal, more poetic translation using my subjective judgment."

Seki's process in translating songs is evident in this passage. Later on, her second "non-literal, subjective translation" became popular throughout Japan as it was performed by amateur choirs in many Sing-along Cafés. Between 1968 and 1979, Seki's translation of «Katiusha» appeared in the music textbook in the junior high school curriculum, and was used for introducing Russian songs (Cf. Fukuyasu 2013: 128).

Besides «Katiusha», Seki translated «Gimn Demokraticheskoi molodyozhi mira [Sekai minshu seinen no uta: Democratic Youth of the World]», «Uralskaia Riabinushka [Uraru no gumi no ki: The Ural Oleaster]», «Ne korite menia, ne blanite [Watashi wo semenaide: Don't Blame Me, Don't Scold Me]», «Oi tsvetet Kalina [Kalina no hana ga saku: The Flower of Kalina Is Blooming]»,[17] among others.

3. 2. **Inoue Yoritoyo** (1912-1996)

Inoue Yoritoyo was a cello player and music teacher. He began teaching at the Toho Gakuen School of Music in Tokyo in 1951. He was also one of the leaders of the Sing-along

[16] The American Occupying Army started the Red purge in 1950 as a result of intensified labor movements. Many artists, including Seki Akiko, and Inoue Yoritoyo, another translator that we will examine in the next subsection, were expelled from NHK, as well as from national theaters or orchestras.

[17] A joint translation with Inoue Yoritoyo.

movement. Inoue had been imprisoned in Siberia at the end of World War II until 1948. While he was in the camps along with Kuroyanagi Moritsuna[18] and Kitagawa Takeshi[19] he organized the Premorskii Krai Music Theater and went to visit not only camps in Siberia, but also Russian factories and workshops (Nakasone 2001: 122).

Inoue introduced Russian folk songs with detailed explanations and comments on their histories in *Roshia no minyou* [The Russian Folk Songs] (1951). There he described what he believed to be the ideal translation method:

> ...It is almost impossible, especially for Russian songs, to express what the original lyrics say by simply translating the words and applying them to the original melody. Using this method sometimes results in several Japanese words having to be applied to a single note, although in the original song, there was only one word to be sung on that note. Nevertheless, the translated lyrics should correctly represent relations between the original lyrics and the melody. (i) First of all, pauses in the melody and pauses in the lyrics should match, and the words should be on the notes, and also if the original lyrics contain a lengthened word ending, then, the translated word should also be lengthened, if possible. Otherwise, the original unity of the rhythmical sense and the sense of words is broken, and the result will be something far from the original Russian folk song. Of course, this kind of issue should not be solved solely by translators. More than half of the existing translations of Russian songs are performed expediently in a manner that lacks musicality, as evidenced by the numerous poor translations, exampled by «Sekai minshu seinen no uta [Democratic Youth of the World]». (ii) Translation of lyrics should be faithful to the music, and then the opinions of Russian language specialists should be sought.
>
> (Inoue 1951: 80)
>
> (Text underlined by this author)

There are two noteworthy points in the statement above. First, in the underlined sentences (i), Inoue shared Futabatei Shimei's opinion put forth in his "Yo ga honyaku no hyoujun [My Standard of Translation]," in which he wrote that "when the original sentence has three commas

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[18] Kuroyanagi Moritsuna (1908-1983) was a violinist. Kuroyanagi Tetsuko (an actress and TV personality) is his daughter. Upon returning to Japan, he became a concertmaster with the NHK symphony orchestra.

[19] Kitagawa Takeshi (1921-1986) was a vocalist. In Russia, he learned how to sing Russian folk songs in Russian. After returning to Japan, he became a leading instructor of the Central Choir.

and one period, I tried to put three commas and one period in my Japanese sentence so that I could transfer the prosody of the original sentence" (#4 of Futabatei's methods of translation that we examined in 3.5. in chapter 3). It is clear that Futabatei perceived the musicality in Russian literature similarly to that which is found in Russian song lyrics. Furthermore, 'How to translate the prosody of the original sentence' appeared to have been the question Kimura Hiroshi was seeking to answer. Egawa Taku was also seeking to answer a similar question when he considered issues around translation of writing style. It is evident that earlier translators experienced difficulties translating the melody of Russian language. Second, Inoue suggested collaboration with linguists for more accurate translations (ii). Traditionally, lyrics translation had been considered the field of poets or musicians. It is quite significant that he proposed opening the field to linguists.

Taking this opportunity, he also criticized the way in which translations had been performed that did not accurately or faithfully represent original works. In his book, Inoue provided a more accurate translation of «Katiusha», but this more faithful version did not become as popular as Seki's translation, which flows better in Japanese.

Inoue translated more than 20 Russian songs, including «Kalinka», «Vo pole bereza stoiala [A Birch Was Standing in the Field]», and «Kogda ia na pochte sluzhil iamshchkom [When I Was a Coachman for the Mail Service]». His translation of «Kalinka» was especially popular, and was included in the school curriculum as a typical Russian folk song.

4. Conclusion

Translation activities in Japan after World War II to the present-day have been significantly impacted by political and historical issues associated with the Soviet Union. For

example, some translators attempted to clarify what society was like inside Russia through their translation activities. Furthermore, imprisonment in Soviet labor camps fostered translators of Solzhenitsyn and Russian songs.

Although the amount of contemporary Soviet literature translated into Japanese was relatively small, as translators also re-translated classics, they produced great numbers of translations during this period. The translators during this period sometimes expressed their opinions by referring to the commentaries in the original translations, drawing upon the background information about the story and the writer. One of the key characteristics of translation practices at that time was the inclusion of long and detailed commentaries that were written by translators themselves. This practice was in contrast to that of the previous generation's when commentaries were generally written by critics or researchers of Russian literature. The differing practices between these two generations of translators can be explained by the increasing ambiguity in the roles of translators and researchers in the post-World War II generation as translators started engaging in academic research.

Futabatei's translation theory was still highly valued and quoted during this time. His method of using periods and commas was accepted as the theory of word-for-word translation (see Hara Takuya). This chapter discussed a dispute between Hara and Kitamikado represented two opposing translation methods: "word-for-word, literal" and "free" translations.

This chapter linked translation of songs and prose by examining a translator of Russian folk songs who applied the same method to the translation of lyrics as Futabatei had applied to prose translation. This practice is reminiscent of Kimura Hiroshi who expressed regret in the afterword of his essay regarding the aesthetics of Russia and Russian language, saying that it was only partially complete as he had not been able to refer to Russian music in his research on

Russian aesthetics. In the translation of lyrics, as well as prose translation, "word-for-word (including punctuation), literal" translation had been used in the search for an ideal translation which reflected the prosody/melody of the original Russian. We also observed that in the translation of lyrics, free type of translation which appeared to be "beyond the contents" of the original had been often expediently used.

The case of Someya Shigeru, who used a unique method of translation, using a recorded reading of the text made by the author for his translation, was reviewed. It was evident that the intonation of the text reading was useful for making an accurate translation.

It has become evident in the previous two chapters that the question of translation of Russian prosody had been dealt with by translators as a differentiation of "writer's style," and that the "word-for-word" translation method had been considered an efficient way of illustrating the writer's style. We observed that the form emphasized, "word-for-word, literal" translation that had been used as a method of representing each writer's style from the time of Futabatei Shimei, through Nobori Shomu, Nakamura Hakuyo and Jinzai Kiyoshi (analyzed in the previous chapter), continued to be used by Hara Takuya, Egawa Taku and Kimura Hiroshi.

The next chapter will continue to explore how present-day translators approach issues around translation of color, tone, prosody – writing styles from the original Russian texts. Specifically, we will examine how present-day translators approach the two major methods of translation: "word-for-word, literal" (form emphasized), and "free" (contents emphasized) translations.

CHAPTER 5

Today's Russian-to-Japanese Translators: Their Activities as a Continuation of the History of Translation

1. Introduction

In this chapter, nine present-day translators of Russian literature and two translators of Russian songs are interviewed with the aim of examining their preferred methods of translation, their translation activities and challenges, and their plans for the future.

In September 2009, *Karamāzofu no kyōdai* [Brothers Karamazov], translated by Kamayama Ikuo, the chancellor of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and published by Kobunsha in 2006/2007, sold its millionth copy. In 2007, when the sales had already exceeded 250,000, an essay titled "The Masterpiece Made 'Modern Literature' by an Epoch-making New Translation" written by Numano Mitsuyoshi, a professor at the University of Tokyo, was published in the Mainichi Newspaper[1]: "Kameyama led present day readers to Dostoevskii's extraordinary world via a new translation with easy-to-read Japanese." Numano also pointed out that this tendency towards an easy-to-read style of Japanese could be perceived as unrefined, and might be due to the poverty of the modern Japanese language.

The publication of a new translation of Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye,* by Murakami Haruki (2003, published by Hakusuisha) can be seen as the trigger of the new translation boom. The novella gained new readers, having sold 350,000 copies by 2006 (*Ronza*

[1] Mainichi Newspaper, July 29, 2007.

Sep. 2007).[2] Sato (2009: 12-14) indicated that academics, who traditionally supported the faithful-to-the-original stance on translation, started to take notice of translations in which the translator's identity was more apparent than the original writer's. Sato also believed this was triggered by Murakami's translation of *The Catcher in the Rye* in 2003.[3] Yanabu Akira wrote in the above mentioned article (in footnote 2) in *Ronza*: "The time has passed when readers appreciate the work of famous masters of translation even if they have weird Japanese sentences: Readers now want to be able to understand the original work easily" (214-215).

In the previous chapters of this study, tracing the history of Russian-to-Japanese translators' activities, we examined two methods of translation, "word-for-word, literal" and "free" types of translation that have dominated the field of translation. We observed that the "word-for-word, literal" style of translation has been supported by scholarly translators as more accurate, faithful to the original method of translation. And as already stated above, recently the relative importance of "word-for-word, literal" translation has decreased as "free" translation has become more common. In this chapter, we will examine today's Russian-to-Japanese translators to see if they prefer the "free" method of translation, and to clarify the process involved in the development of "free" style translation. Before the examination, let us confirm the meaning of "free" translation that was defined in chapter 1 (2.3.5):

> After grasping the meanings of the original sentence, translate it freely: it is not necessary to stick to the words and structure of the original sentence.

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[2] According to "Naze ima shinyaku nanoka [Why New Translations Are Necessary Now?]" in the magazine *Ronza* (published by Asahi Newspaper) Sept. 2007, the tendency to produce new translations of classics to capture readers' attention, had already began at the end of 1990s: the first such translation was of Proust (1871-1922)'s *In Search of Lost Time* translated by Suzuki Michihiko (1996, Shueisha), *The Phenomenology of Spirit* by Hegel (1770-1831) translated by Hasegawa Hiroshi (1998, Sakuhinsha), Balzac (1799-1850)'s *The Series of Human Comedy,* edited and translated by Kashima Shigeru et al. (1999-2002, Fujiwara shoten), and translation of Zola (1840-1902)'s selection by Miyashita Shiro et al. (2002-, Fujiwara shoten).

[3] Sato exampled the reviews by Nakajo Shohei (Gakushuin University) contributed to Asahi Newspaper (May 11, 2003) and by Numano Mitsuyoshi (The University of Tokyo) to Mainichi Newspaper (May 4, 2003).

In addition to the preferences of translators there are factors that determine the style of translation. According to the article "The Publication Rush of New Translations of Masterpieces" in the Asahi Newspaper's *Saturday Be Report* on October 22, 2005, the new style of translation activities began with the initiative of publishing companies, which had the following three goals:

1. Provide new easy-to-read translations to modern readers, because the translations done soon after World War II have become outdated.
2. Economize on publishing expenses by publishing classics whose copyright has already expired (5-8% royalties).
3. Retranslate well known classics, which will sell well on the internet because of their name recognition.

As a result, Russian literary classics began to be translated by several publishing companies, one of which, Kobunsha, a relatively new publisher, undertook a large new project to translate classics into present-day Japanese. Five translators out of 11 interviewee-translators worked on Kobunsha's project.

Section 2 reports on the interviews, as well as summarizes the challenges these translators face, as well as their plans. Section 3 analyzes the translation methods that present-day translators use, along with a summary of present-day features of translation activities. The conclusion will sum up the history of Russian-to-Japanese translators from the Edo period to the present time.

2. Interviews with the Living Translators

The following eleven translators who are all actively involved in the fields of literature, drama, and song, and who have helped introduce Russian culture to Japanese people, were interviewed:

[Literature]

Kameyama Ikuo	Chancellor, Nagoya University of Foreign Studies (former chancellor of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
Mochizuki Tetsuo	Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University
Yasuoka Haruko	Professor, Research Institute of Comprehensive Culture, The University of Tokyo
Numano Kyoko	Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

[Literature and Drama]

Numano Mitsuyoshi	Professor, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, Faculty of Letters, The University of Tokyo
Ura Masaharu	Professor Emeritus, Research Institute of Comprehensive Culture, The University of Tokyo
Horie Shinji	Chief, Theatre Communication Laboratory in Osaka; Professor Emeritus, Osaka University (integrated Osaka University of Foreign Studies)
Shimizu Ryuichi	Director, Mingei Theater; Interpreter

[Song]

Kato Tokiko	Singer
Yamanouchi Shigemi	Singer, Lecturer in Russian culture, Waseda and Chuo Universities

[Children's Literature]

Tanaka Yasuko	Professor Emeritus, Osaka University of Foreign Studies

2.1. The Process of Interviews

I first sent a letter to the translators asking if they would be willing to be interviewed.

I attached the details about the questions I planned to ask (see section 2.2). All eleven translators kindly agreed to be interviewed. Ten interviews were conducted face-to-face, and one interview was conducted via an email exchange. With the interviewees' permission,[4] all the face-to-face interviews were recorded and summaries of the interview were later sent to the interviewees to get their confirmation of the content.

2.2. Questions

The interview questions are below. During the interviews, though, some of the questions were asked slightly differently, or omitted, as needed:

1. Where did you learn Russian?

2. Is there any particular person who influenced you in studying/translating Russian?

3. What was your motivation for translating _____?

4. What approach do you use when translating words or concepts that do not exist in Japanese?

5. Do you have any theory that you use when translating?

6. Do you try to include originality to your work?

7. What translations from previous generations have you found the most important?

8. What is the most difficult when translating?

9. What do you think was particularly successful in your translation?

10. What response did you receive from readers after the publication of _____?

11. What do you think of Russian language education in Japan nowadays? Do you think there is any room for improvement?

[4] The Study Information Sheet made out according to IRB requirement and translated into Japanese was presented before interview or sent before interview via e-mail communication.

Answers to the questions are optional.

2.3. Interview Reports

The 11 interviews are categorized into six groups according to the genres the translators were actively involved in at the time of the interviews (summer-fall, 2013): 1. Retranslations of Classics (3 translators), 2. Literary Works by Women Writers (1 translator), 3. Modernizing Translations of Short Stories and Plays (3 translators), 4. Translation of Russian Songs (2 translators), 5. Bilingual Readers (1 translator), 6. Children's Literature (1 translator). Below I present the information from the interviews. The analysis and summary will follow in section 3 of this chapter.

2.3.1. Retranslations of Classics

The recent classic Russian literature boom which started in 2006 was triggered by Kobunsha publishing company, which planned to translate classical foreign literature into modern "living" Japanese. The company's original plan was to attract the growing number of retired workers who would now have time to read classical literature from around the world, which they had perhaps read in their youth and wanted to read again, or maybe never had a chance to read before. The catchphrase of this project was:

Once again, to you – classic literature in living Japanese.

The new versions were going to be easy to read, with larger fonts than past translations.

The Russian translations were:

Fedor Dostoevskii	*Karamāzofu no kyōdai* [The Brothers Karamazov]	2006-2007
	Chikashitsu no shuki [Notes from Underground]	2007

	Tsumi to Batsu [Crime and Punishment]	2008-2009
	Mazushiki hitobito [The Poor]	2009
	Akuryō [The Possessed]	2010-2011
	Shi no ie no kiroku [The House of the Dead]	2013
Nikolai Gogol	*Hana, Gaitō, Sasatsukan* [The Nose, The Overcoat, The Government Inspector]	2006
Anton Chekhov	*Wānya ojisan, Sannin shimai* [Uncle Vanya, Three Sisters]	2009
	Kamome [The Seagull]	2010
	Sakura no sono [The Cherry Orchard]	2012
Lev Tolstoi	*Anna Karēnina* [Anna Karenina]	2008
	Iwan Ilicchi no shi, Kroitseru Sonata [The Death of Ivan Ilich, The Kreutzer Sonata]	2006
	Kosakku [Cossack]	2012
Ivan Turgenev	*Hatsukoi* [The First Love]	2006

Unexpectedly the 2006 – 2013 translations resulted in a "Dostoevskii boom" and the "Brothers Karamazov" became a million seller in September 2008. Kobunsha had been expecting to attract older readers, but many young people also wanted to read the classics. These new translations reflected each translator's unique characteristics, providing new translations of Russian classics in modern Japanese that was easy to read for all generations. This subsection will provide information about the translators of these new Russian classics.

2.3.1.1. **Kameyama Ikuo** (1949-)

Kameyama translated *The Brothers Karamazov* (2006-2007), *Crime and Punishment* (2008-2009) and *The Possessed* (2010-2011) for Kobunsha.

Kamayama started to learn Russian at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 1968. Due to the student riots, he only had three months of lectures, and after that he, like many other students, studied on his own. Looking back at that time, Kameyama recalled that the history of his Russian study exemplifies his weak point as a Russian learner, as he spent his university life studying on his own, hence failing to learn some important points.

Kameyama went on to study for an MA at the same university, majoring in Russian futurism, under the supervision of Hara Takuya. He wrote his master's thesis on Velimir Khlebnikov. After that, he finished a doctoral program at the University of Tokyo. Kameyama did his first translation in 1978 when he was 28 years old. He translated some short stories of Chekhov for Shufu no tomo-sha [Housewives' Friend Publisher] in the series titled The World of Christian Literature (vol. 16). This work by Chekhov was suggested to him by Hara Takuya, his supervisor and a great master of Russian literature translation. Even though this first translation was successful, translation work was not so attractive for him. He felt that at that time, there was no more great literature worth translating, because after the works of Solzhenitsyn had been completed, other senior translators started to work on mystery stories.

After spending a year in Russia in 1994 Kameyama became aware of the necessity to introduce readers to contemporary literature which revealed the reality of Russian life after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and he was introduced to contemporary Russian writers such as Vladimir Sorokin. He began to translate not only academic work related to Stalin's times,

which he had worked on before, but also started translating novels. In 1997, he translated *Dodaiana* [The Foundation Pit] by Andrei Platonov, and in 1999 he translated Vladimir Sorokin's collected short stories *Ai* [love].

When Kameyama was offered to work on Kobunsha's project, he chose to work on *The Brothers Karamazov*. This was because he wanted to fully understand Dostoevskii's intent in writing the novel: *The Brothers Karamazov* was Dostoevskii's most curious and enigmatic novel for Kameyama, in the sense that he was also raised in a similar family environment as the setting for the Brothers Karamazov. He modestly says that, working on a new project for a comparatively new publisher made him feel at ease, even though he was not a Dostoevskii specialist.

In the translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*, Kameyama intended to translate it into the utmost easy-to-read Japanese, so that young people could also read this novel. Kameyama did not want to interrupt the flow of reading by providing explanatory notes in the texts, so he always tried to find the most appropriate Japanese words for the context. In accordance with Kobunsha's philosophy, the end of each volume contained detailed commentaries written by the translator, in which Kameyama made efforts to make up for the lack of notes in the body of the texts.

Kameyama espouses a theory of translation which he calls "intrinsic translation," in which he emphasizes the rhythm of the words in the novels he translates. He notes that the rhythm of the words can be grasped when the translator puts himself in the shoes of each character. Kameyama says that it is important to sound the original sentences in his head in order to be able to translate into rhythmical Japanese. He makes it a rule to repeatedly read the translated sentences aloud until they sound natural.

2.3.1.2. **Mochizuki Tetsuo** (1951-)

Mochizuki translated Tolstoi's *The Death of Ivan Ilich*, *The Kreutzer Sonata* (2006), *Anna Karenina* (2008) and *The House of the Dead* (2013) of Dostoevskii for Kobunsha Publishers. His interest in Russian classical literature was fostered in his childhood when he was immersed in reading Dostoevskii, Tolstoi and others in translation. He recalls that Yonekawa Masao's translations in particular made an impression on him and are still an integral part of him, like his breathing. Mochizuki studied Russian at the University of Tokyo, and eventually became a researcher of Russian literature.

In regard to the annotations for the translations, Kobusha allows flexibility in the style of annotations, as well as in the use of side notes, while Mochizuki tried to provide detailed information about unknown Russian words in the notes. Having an interest in a broad research area, from Russian history and culture, to Russian philosophy, Mochizuki attempts to share important background information with the readers as he thinks necessary. This tendency can be seen in his other translations such as *Hakuchi* [Idiot] by Dostoevskii for Kawadeshobo. For Mochizuki, the work of a translator is not only to provide a word-for-word, sentence-for-sentence translation, it also involves research of the time, thoughts, and background of the original work if at all possible. He believes that a good translation comes through these procedures.

As his model Mochizuki uses the style of translation proposed by Taku Egawa, a translator whom he admires, Egawa provides detailed explanations for the readers. Mochizuki emphasizes that Egawa did this time-consuming labor-intensive work before the Internet became wide-spread.

One of the trademark features of Mochizuki's work is the names he gives the

characters. Russian names consist of a first name, a patronymic middle name, and a family name. Names often caused confusion for readers when they first started to read Russian novels. Traditionally, translators followed the writer's lead as to how the names were used in the originals. To aid the natural flow of Japanese, Mochizuki occasionally used the honorific "-san" in his translations. For example, he often uses "-san" when in the original the character is called by his first name and patronymic: He, first of all, analyses the characters' relationships in the story, and then uses honorifics to signal the same relationships in Japanese. This process allows for appropriate terms of address in Japanese which also reflect the tone of the characters: for example, Dolly, Anna's sister-in-law in *Anna Karenina* is sometimes called "nee-san," which is a friendly term of address to a 'sister' with no blood relationship.

Also, Mochizuki is interested in contemporary Russian literature and he translated Vladimir Solokin's *Roman* [Roman] (Kokusho kankoukai 1998) and *Aoi Abura* [The Blue Fat] (Kawadeshobo 2012). The latter was a joint translation with his student, and it received "The Prize of Twitter Literature"; it was voted, via Twitter, as the favorite book published that year, meaning that it became highly popular among young readers of the Internet Generation. It also received "The Pic-Bes Prize [The Pickwick Club[5] Best Prize]" (overseas literature category) from the Kinokuniya Bookstore. This event reflects two aspects of the recent developments of Russian literature in Japan: First, the new Russian literature is gaining popularity among young readers through word-of-mouth communication on the web media. Second, the younger generation of translators is steadily growing.

The new translations of classic world literature published by Kobunsha are also influencing theater and drama in Japan. The plot of *The Brothers Karamazov* was used for a

[5] The circle of literature lovers in Kinokuniya Bookstore.

TV drama in 2013. And, also in 2013, *Notes from Underground* was performed in a theater production (Katarushitsu, Tokyo) as a story of a young introverted Japanese man.

2.3.1.3. **Yasuoka Haruko** (1956-)

Yasuoka Haruko is the daughter of a famous writer Yasuoka Shotaro (1920-2013). For *Chikashitsu no shuki* [Notes from Underground] (2007) that she translated for Kobunsha, Yasuoka used the Japanese first person pronoun "ore [I, me]," which is used only by men and sounds very informal. She recalls that the translation of this inner-confession by Dostoevskii required what Haruki Murakami calls "the careful reading" (Murakami and Shibata: 2000). In the second translation of Dostoevskii's *Poor Folk,* also for Kobunsha, Yasuoka emphasized that Varvara was a young girl. This detail was ambiguous in the earlier translations which used a formal 'female style' of Japanese. She feels that translations by male translators sometimes place too much emphasis on female characteristics with exaggerated expressions, and that a female translator is better equipped for this job.

Yasuoka began to translate when she was an MA student at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Together with Hara Takuya she translated the Soviet Siberian writer, Valentin Rasputin: *Ikiyo, soshite kioku-seyo* [Live and Remember] (1980). It was a joint translation, as after she translated the novella, Hara checked her translation. Besides Hara, she also had a supervisor Someya Shigeru, who had been her teacher and whom she greatly admired. She remembers that Someya could often answer very difficult questions that even Russian native speakers struggled to give clear answers for.

In 1980, after she translated *Live and Remember*, Yasuoka was invited to Russia by The Soviet Writers' Association. She met Valentin Rasputin, and was charmed by his openness.

She continued to work on Rasputin's novels, and translated *Money for Maria* (1984) and *Farewell to Matera* (1994). It was because she found in Rasputin's work the same spirit as in the Russian classics and in the conscience of Russian people, that she could continue to translate his work. She was especially appreciative of his descriptions of nature, which, she found, were usually easy for her to work on. For the Siberian dialect, which is spoken by Rasputin's characters and is an essential part of Rasputin's work, Yasuoka used Japan's northeastern (Tōhoku region) dialect.

Yasuoka mentioned that Futabatei Shimei was the first translator to use Japanese dialects as equivalents for Russian dialectal speech. Yasuoka was impressed by Futabatei's usage of Kyūshū (southwest) dialect for the Ukrainian accent in the short story of Ignaty Potapenko "Yonin Kyōsandan [The Four Communists]." Futabatei's theory that translation must convey the "tone of the sentences and rhythm of the thoughts of the original" is the credo that she also strives to adhere to in her translations. The variety of tones and rhythms used by Futabatei in "Aibiki [Rendezvous]" by Turgenev, "Kessyou-ki [The Red Laugh]" by Andreev, and "Yonin Kyōsandan [The Four Communists]" by Potapenko served as examples/models for Yasuoka.

In an essay "Honyaku to watashi [Translation And Me]" written in 2007 for Kobunsha's Journal *Hon ga suki!* [I Love Books], Yasuoka explains what she considers an ideal translation:

First become immersed in the writer's voice, and then, start singing in one's own voice.

Yoidore ressha Mosukuwa-Petushki [The Drunkard's Train Ride Moscow-Petushki] (1996) by Venedikt Erofeev, where she felt on the same wavelength as the writer, was also translated according to this philosophy, because, she felt that it demonstrated how the sense of

value for Russians was different from other 'Western' people.

2.3.2. Literary Works by Women Writers

Women writers who appeared on the Russian literary scene after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990's have been introduced to the Japanese by some interpreters and researchers of Russian literature. Numano Kyoko, a professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies was one of the first translators who paid attention to the work of Russian women writers.

2.3.2.1. **Numano Kyoko** (1957-)

Numano Kyoko's first encounter with the Russian language was when she was a high school student: A Japanese language teacher organized a seminar where students could learn languages other than English. She then became interested in Russian literature and started reading Japanese translations of the Russian authors. After first studying Russian language and Russian literature at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, she studied Russian literature and culture at the Graduate School of the University of Tokyo.

Her first translation of Russian literature was a joint translation (with her husband Numano Mitsuyoshi) of Bulat Okudzhava's *Shipov no bōken* [The Extraordinary Adventures of Secret Agent Shipov in Pursuit of Count Lev Tolstoi]. She said that her husband was her first teacher of translation. Her most recent work has been translating the new generation of women authors, many of whom appeared after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In 1998, Kyoko edited *Majo-tachi no Kyōen* [A Banquet of Witches]. It included the works of ten women writers she selected: Victoria Tokareva, Tatiana Nabatnikova, Nina Katerli, Natalia Baranskaia, Nina Sadur, Tatiana Tolstaia, Marina Palei, Svetlana Vasilenko, Liudmila Petrushevskaia and Valeria Narbikova. Continuing her research, she found that the writers who most appealed to

her were Liudmila Petrushevskaia and Liudmila Ulitskaia. In 2002, Kyoko translated *Sonechka* by Ulitskaia. She decided to translate it because she was so moved by the story. She burst into tears after finishing reading the original and wondered if her translation could have the same impact on Japanese readers. Feedback from the readers indicates that she succeeded. In 2013, she translated Petrushevskaia's *Watashi no ita basho* [Where I Was], a collection of short fantasy stories.

Kyoko translated Turgenev's *Hatsukoi* [The First Love] for Kobunsha in 2006. When translating the memories' section, she used *-desu*, *-masu* style, which is a polite way of ending Japanese sentences. Another change she made was to translate the name "Turgenev" as "Turugenefu" which is closer to the original Russian pronunciation than "Tsurugenefu" which has been traditionally used since Futabatei's time.

In regard to retranslation, Kyoko feels that it is worth retranslating classics, differently from modern literature. She gave the following analogy:

> *The original text is a note, and the translator is the musician. The instrument is the Japanese language, but the tone of the music is different depending on the interpretation of the translators.*

The theory of translation that Kyoko applies to her own work is one of the criteria of "Yoga honyaku no hyoujyun [The Criteria of My Translation]" by Futabatei Shimei. Each writer has their own "tone of writing" ("style of writing" in the present-day words – Kyoko added) that should ideally be reflected in the translation. This theory was reflected in her Japanese translation of 10 women writers. In connection with this, Kyoko also supports Futabatei's word-for-word method of translation, by which "the author's style" is reflected in the translation. As an example, she quoted Kobunsha's project in which the Japanese translations of Dostoevskii's works had more paragraphs than the originals. She explains that it is also

because of Kobunsha's philosophy to have more blank space on a page, which is preferred by young readers. Also, Dostovskii's "rugged" image of writing which might be called "*hetana* [unskillful]," was translated into easy-to-read Japanese. Kyoko questioned this style of translation. She believes the original Russian writing style should be reflected in the Japanese translation.

2.3.3. Modernizing Translations of Short Stories and Plays

In recent years, translations of some short stories and plays that are recognized as classics, have been also reviewed and modernized, mainly from the viewpoint of innovation of the outdated words. I interviewed three translators who were at the forefront of this change.

2.3.3.1. **Numano Mitsuyoshi** (1954-)

Numano Mitsuyoshi is a scholar of Slavic literature, specializing in Polish and Russian literature. He is also a commentator on literary works, and a translator who introduced many of the works of modern Polish, and Russian immigrant writers, some of whom he met during his time as a student at Harvard University.

Numano started learning Russian using the NHK Radio Russian course when he was a student in junior high school. Russian literature was already familiar to him because he had read it in Japanese translation. Polish was the language Numano first learned as an undergraduate at the University of Tokyo. Although Numano's activity in literature is wide-ranging, I will focus on his translations of short stories and a play.

In 2010, Numano published *Chēhofu tanpen shū* [Collected Short Stories of Chekhov] which contains 13 works and detailed commentaries. He modernized the title "Fusagi no mushi [The Worm of Gloom]" to "Setsunai [Gloomy]" for "Toska," using an adjective. Originally,

"Fusagi no mushi [The Worm of Gloom]" was used by Futabatei Shimei for the translation of Gogol's short story "Toska [Loneliness]," and it has continued to be used. Numano thought the word sounds outdated, and changed the title to a simple common word. Although the original title is a noun, he used an adjective, so that the reader understands the feeling of gloom is ongoing. In addition, he renamed "Koinu wo tsureta okusan [The Lady with the Dog]" as "Okusan wa koinu wo tsurete [The Lady (Walking / Being) with the Dog]." He wanted to assimilate the word order with the original, so that the Japanese title would better express the dynamic image of the lady with a dog. The title of the short story "Shūtochka [A Joke]" was also revised to "Itazura [Mischief]," and one of the main characters, Nadia, was called "Nacchan," which is a common nickname of a girl who has a name beginning with the sound "Na." Also, Nadia referred to herself as "Na no ji [The letter Na in Japanese]" in her message, which looks very informal.

When translating *Kamome* [The Seagull] (2012) for a theater performance, Numano kept in mind each actor's voice and manner of speaking. In this way, he could emphasize the comical features of the play. It was a new style of translation: a collaboration between a director and a translator for the specific production of a play.

Leading a class on Art and Literature of Modern Times, as well as Slavic Literature classes at the University of Tokyo, Numano has profound knowledge of world literature and has a vision for the future development of translation activities. Numano defines translation activities as follows:

> *Translation activities are a form of cultural exchange that requires the highest degree of knowledge and minuteness in its analysis.*

He emphasizes the difficulty of translating without "mistakes," saying that translating accurately is as difficult as uncovering the mystery of space. He puts it metaphorically:

A literary work is a linguistic event that happens in only one place, and a translation of the work is a strained reproduction of the event in a different place.

That is why, he says, translators of literature have some freedom in their work. If it were a translation of a doctor's prescription, for example, accuracy would be essential, but in literature, the speaker's surface words may be different from their true feelings, and for example, the surface words "I don't love you" might actually mean "I love you." If the translator reads the original text thoroughly and fully understands it, he/she has the freedom to translate the true meaning. In that way, "mistranslation" can be avoided if translators have a deep understanding of the original text.

2.3.3.2. **Ura Masaharu** (1948-)

Ura Masaharu is a specialist in Chekhov, Meyerhold, and the Russian theatre. For Kobunsha, Ura translated Nikolai Gogol's *Hana* [The Nose], *Gaitou* [The Overcoat] and *Sasatsu-kan* [The Government Inspector] in 2006. He changed the title of "The Government Inspector" which had previously been inaccurately translated as "Kensatsu-kan [The Public Prosecutor]" to *Sasatsu-kan* [The Government Inspector]. Ura translated these three works in the style of Rakugo, Japanese traditional comic storytelling. The first translator to use this style in Gogol's translation was Egawa Taku, one of Ura's translation supervisors. Egawa had translated Gogol's "The Overcoat" for a live performance of Rakugo, which impressed Ura.

Born in Osaka, and growing up immersed in the Kansai dialect, Ura was fond of "Owarai," the art of making people laugh, but, he had to learn the actual Rakugo language for the new translations of Gogol's work, reading many books and listening to CDs. He says the style he used for the translations is based on the style of Kokontei Shinshō (1890-1973), a professional Rakugo storyteller who uses the Tokyo dialect. Ura's translation of Gogol, using Rakugo

language, found favor with the public, and sold well.

Later, from 2009 to 2012, he translated three of Chekhov's plays for the same publisher: *Uncle Vania*, *The Three Sisters* and *The Cherry Orchard*, including "A Proposal" and "The Bear." Meanwhile, in 2010, he translated *A Seagull* for Iwanami bunko, and completed translations of four plays by Chekhov.

Ura studied Russian at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies. He was already interested in translation when he was a student, and he tried to translate Pasternak's (1890-1960) *Doctor Zhivago* because no one had yet translated it into Japanese. He had to translate from the English translation, because the Russian original was hard to obtain in Japan at that time. After graduation, Ura found a job in an advertising agency in Tokyo, and he gradually began to read and appreciate Russian literature in the original. He encountered a phrase in Chekhov's *The Three Sisters* (said by one of the main characters, Irina) which, as it turned out, decided his destiny: "Even in work, we need to find a poem."

Ura quit his job and attended graduate school of Waseda University. He majored in Russian literature and became a Chekhov scholar.

Ura's first published literary translation was Fazil Iskander's *Boku no shuppatsu* [My Departure (Original title: *Nachalo* [The Beginning])] for Gunzosha, which published series of Russian contemporary literature under the initiative of Miyazawa Shunichi, editor and president of the publishing company. Ura studied translation with Egawa Taku, a professor of Tokyo Technical College, and the founder of the Maiakovskii Academy. For example, Ura learned from Egawa that it is permissible to add words which were not in the original to facilitate readers understanding. "To make his readers understand the story" became the minimum goal for Ura's translation.

Sometimes, students ask him "I don't know how to translate this, is it better to do a word-for-word translation, or not to translate literally?" Ura considers that "translation" is "interpretation." In that sense, he thinks that there is no need to find excuses for one's interpretation: "I've read it, and this is how I've interpreted it."

In the book review written in the Bulletin of the Japan Association for the Study of Russian Language and Literature (No. 43), Ura commented, quoting and interpreting Walter Benjamin's theory, that "Translation is, of course, not a faithful replacing of words, but a new creation in the translator's language." This is his philosophy of translation. The following passage which compares Numano's work on Chekhov's short stories with Jinzai Kiyoshi's translation, shows Ura's deep admiration for his predecessor Jinzai, while at the same time espousing the view that old translations need to be innovated:

> If we consider that Jinzai Kiyoshi built up Chekhov's figure with the language of his time, Numano-san modeled Chekhov suitable for this time, extending diversity of both modern Japanese and the interpretation of Chekhov's thought. The new translation should be protected by all means.

2.3.3.3. **Horie Shinji** (1948-)

Horie Shinji is a specialist in Russian theater. He used to teach at the Osaka University of Foreign Studies (integrated into Osaka University in 2007), and in October 2013, he began teaching theater theory at the newly established Theater Academy in Osaka. He is one of the translators of Stanislavskii's *An Actor's Work*, published by Miraisha in 2008-2009.

He got his first Russian education at Waseda University where he majored in aesthetics. His first mentor was Yasui Ryohei (1935-). Under the influence of his mother, who was an actress, Horie studied Stanislavskii at Waseda Graduate School, where his first translation instructor was Nozaki Yoshio, who had studied the Russian language and theater in

Harbin, Moscow and then in Siberia, as a prisoner of war after World War II. When Nozaki translated *The Death of Tarelkin* by Sukhovo-Kobylin, he worked with a Russian consultant, which greatly impressed Horie. Translation work, which traditionally had been done individually, was re-conceptualized by Nozaki as a cooperative work with a native speaker. Horie applied this method in his work on Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*, published in 2011; he changed the Japanese title of the play to "Sakuranbo batake [The Cherry Orchard]" from the traditional "Sakura no sono [The Garden of Sakura (Flowering Cherry)]." Horie has two more translators by whom he was influenced and whom he deeply respects: one of these translators was Kawakami Takeshi (1926-) from whom Horie learned how to verify information, and how to revise drafts. Horie worked with Kawakami when he was working at the Tokyo branch of the Russian Information Agency *Novosti*, before he got a job with the *Raduga* Publisher in Moscow. Kawakami specialized in Polish and Russian, and translated many historical nonfiction works, including *Ashes and Diamond* by Jerzy Andrzejewski. Horie calls Kawakami a walking dictionary and recalls that he learned how to best use dictionaries from Kawakami. The other translator who influenced Horie was Yanase Naoki, an English-to-Japanese translator, whose book *Honyaku wa ikani subeki-ka* [How to Do Things with Translation], Horie considers to be a good model of translation activities.

Horie believes that translation should be modernized. Translators find themselves in a different situation now from the one in the Meiji period when there was little information about other countries. For example, the third volume of Stanislavskii's *An Actor's Work* was not translated originally because of political restrictions at the time. The new translation of the full volume of Stanislavskii's work was completed only in 2009 in collaboration,[6] from the original Russian. Horie aims to translate works he wants to introduce to the Japanese public, that is,

[6] By Horie Shinji, Iwata Takashi, Adachi Noriko, Ura Masaharu.

excellent work by Russian writers, presented in an advanced, innovative form.

Horie tries to make his translations of dramas more "vocal" than "verbal," i.e. easy for the audience to listen to. He also found that standard Japanese (the Tokyo dialect) does not have enough variety for translations. He tried to use many different dialects in his play class with students from different regions in Japan, and he thinks it was successful.

2.3.4. Translation of Russian Songs

I interviewed two translators of Russian songs who have also worked as performers, singing Russian Songs in their own translation.

2.3.4.1. **Yamanouchi Shigemi** (1948-)

Yamanouchi is a singer who has introduced Russian songs to Japan, both in Russian and in Japanese. When Yamanouchi was a junior high school student she felt that Russian folk songs sounded profound and sophisticated, having different kinds of melody from Japanese folk songs. Because she was interested in Russian arts, she entered Osaka University of Foreign Studies. She continued her study at the graduate school at Wasada University in Tokyo, where, at the same time, she worked as an actress and a singer of Russian songs. In graduate school, she studied Vsevolod Meierkhold, a Russian director, who was purged by Soviet authorities in the 1940s.

In 1988, she published a CD album of Russian songs, "Aoi platōku [The Blue Shawl]," sung both in Russian and in Japanese. It included 17 songs, four of which she translated herself: A folk song – "Shirakaba wa no ni tateri [The White Birch Was Standing in the Field]," and three popular songs – "Tsuru [Crane]" by R. Gamzatov and Ja. Frenkel, "Kimi shiri te [For What I Knew You]" (anonymous), and "Aoi platōku [The Blue Shawl]" by Ja.

Galitsuki, M. Makcimov and E. Peterburgskii. A message from the producer highlights her stance as an accurate translator when singing Russian songs:

> "I want to inform the Japanese audience who are familiar with Western music that there are some excellent modern Russian songs. I want to let them listen to the beautiful Russian original sound, and I want to present them with the Japanese translation in simple words. As an actress, I cherish not only the melody, but also the lyrics overflowing with emotions."

Her second CD, "Inori [A prayer]" contained 15 songs, 10 of which she translated herself: "Tsuki-akari [Moonlight]" by E. Iurev, "Kuroki na-ga hitomi [Your Black Eyes]" by O. Strok, "Kokoro [The Heart]" by Lebegev-Kumach and I. Dunaevskii, "Inori [Prayer]," "Aoi fūsen [The Blue Balloon]," "Mayonaka no Tororī-basu [The Midnight Trolley Bus]," "Arubato no uta [Song of Arbat]," "Kami no heitai [A Paper Soldier]," "Waga jinsei no uta [The Song on My Life]" and "Gurujia no uta [The Song of Georgia] by B. Okuzhava, and "Wakare [Parting]" (anonymous).

Detailed commentaries about the songs by Yamanouchi are included in two series of *Roshia aishō-ka-shū* [The Collections of Favorite Russian Songs] published in 2002 and 2004 by Tōyō shoten. The second album reflects her life and experience in Moscow as an announcer on *The Voice of Russia* from 1996 to 1999 when she met Okuzhava, Meierkhold's daughter, and other memorable people.

The event that triggered Yamanouchi's interest in Russian songs happened in 1972, the year she first visited Russia as a student: She sang a song which, in Japan, was thought to be a famous Russian folk song – "Chernobrovyi, Chernookii [Black Eyebrows and Black Eyes] " – and was astounded that her Russian audience did not know the song. That made her realize that some songs known in Japan as Russian folk songs, were not always folk songs, or they may have been popular only at a certain time in Russian history. She became interested in what kind of

songs became popular, at different times, for example, what kind of music was being played on the radio on the morning when Meierkhold was arrested? "The time, and the music accepted by the people at that time" became the topic of her research.

When translating Russian lyrics into Japanese, she tries to use the same vowel sound especially at the start. She believes that the tone-image of the sound that conveys each vowel might be similar even in different languages.

For Yamanouchi, translation of Russian lyrics into Japanese is not so difficult, because, she explains, both languages have a flexible word order, making it easier to fit the words into a melody.

2.3.4.2. **Kato Tokiko** (1943-)

Kato Tokiko is a famous Japanese singer. She was born in Harbin. Her father, Kato Kōshiro (1910−1992) was one of the graduates of the Harbin Institute[7] and worked for the South Manchuria Railway Company. She lived in an environment surrounded by music and Russian language even after coming back to Japan because her father, whose work was related to the music industry, wanted to provide help to Russians who immigrated to Japan after World War II. In 1957 her father opened a Russian restaurant "Sungarī" (named after the river in Harbin) in Tokyo with the goal of providing a place for Russians to work in Japan. In 1972, he opened a second Russian restaurant "Kiev" in Kyoto.

Kato Tokiko's musical activities began in 1965, when she won the first prize in an amateur chanson contest while she was a student at the University of Tokyo. A movement opposing the Japan-US Security Treaty spread widely among university students in 1968 and had a serious impact on her life: She married a student activist and became well known as a

[7] The School of the Japan-Russia Association, which was established in 1920 in Harbin (see Chapter 2, 4).

singer-songwriter who had an awareness of political and social issues.

In 1985 she first listened to the song "Million Roses" by Alla Pugachova. The record was a present from her brother, who wanted Tokiko to sing the song in Japanese. The song had already been translated into Japanese and was sung by several singers, among them Hyodo Nina, who was half-Japanese and half-Russian and whose family was friends with Kato's family. Encouraged by people around her, Tokiko began to sing "Million Roses," but she used her own translation.

When she sings foreign songs in Japanese, Tokiko sings in her own words, except in those cases where she really likes the original translation. When she translates songs, she aims to achieve the following:

1. To tell audience the story of the lyrics, like a storyteller.
2. To make the sounds of the words confortable for singing.

Tokiko explains that her listeners, who have no information about the story, need steps to aid their gradual understanding of the story. So she always tries to inform the audience with ordinary words and expressions. She considers that translations by poets or writers often contain high style words that people seldom use in everyday life. These words often do not sound beautiful when being sung. For this reason, Tokiko considers that it is important to translate the lyrics herself.

She is critical of translations in which the lyrics do not convey the original meaning. She explains:

> It is possible that it is because, in Japan, poems were traditionally expressed in short messages like 5-7-5 or 5-7-5-7-7 syllabic forms, and so, for poets, the long lyrics having long stories tend to be considered unexpressive. That might be why they easily change original longer song stories to shorter ones, with a lot more repetition.

Although Tokiko prefers to sing foreign songs using her own translations of the lyrics, she is not always allowed to do so due to the issue of copyright. Once a copyright has been registered for a translation, others cannot record the song in a different translation unless the copyright has been relinquished. But, in live performances, singers are permitted to use different translations. Tokiko makes it a rule to sing the foreign songs in her own translations in live concerts, and when she has concerts in foreign countries, she sings her original songs in their language too.

As for the Russian songs, she also translated "Kurai yoru [A Dark Night]," "Katyūsha," "Kareta kaede [My Leafless Maple]" and others, among which, "Million Roses" continues to be a hit.

2.3.5. Bilingual Readers/Texts

Translator Shimizu Ryuichi has developed a unique way of introducing Russian literature to Japanese audiences. He produces bilingual readers.

2.3.5.1. **Shimizu Ryuichi** (1944-)

Shimizu Ryuichi is a theater director and translator, as well an interpreter on the NHK BS World News. He is also a lecturer at Tokyo Russian Language Institute, and uses his own unique bilingual method for teaching the language. Shimizu was the first bilingual interpreter to perform both the Russian and Japanese versions of stories.

Shimizu studied in Moscow from 1966 to 1971 at the Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University, majoring in history and literature. Majoring in play directing, he had a chance to train at the Tovstonogov Bolshoi Drama Theatre in Leningrad in the mid-1980's. He worked in a trading company for two years before he went back to Japan work for the Mingei

Theater, which performed many Russian plays.

Shimizu's love of reading was influenced by his father who was an actor. From 2004, Shimizu gave readings of Chekhov's short stories both in Russian and in Japanese, in institutes, societies and circles, and also given lectures on bilingual reading. Shimizu has the following repertoire of Chekhov's work:

"Obake kagami [Crooked Mirror]," "Tokoya-dewa [In the Barber Shop]," "Nazo no hito [A Mysterious Woman]," and "Yorokobi [Pleasure]" (2004-), "Waru-gaki [Rascal]," "Gurīsha [Grisha]," "Nemui [Sleepy]," and "Shōnen-tachi [Boys],"[8] "Kashitanka [Kashtanka],"[9] "Kan-geki go [After Watching the Play]" (2005-), "Banika [Vanka]" (2006-), "Koinu wo tsureta oku-sama [The Lady with the Dog]" (2008-), "Tanima [In the Valley]" (2009-), "Kamome [The Seagull]" (2010-).

In 2011, he made an audio book consisting of the first three short stories listed in the previous paragraph, all written in Chekhov's early years. It was the first attempt in Japan to recite Russian literary works in both Japanese and Russian. He deliberately chose stories that are pleasant, easy for the audience to listen to, and short enough to hold their attention.

Shimizu never uses word-for-word translation for his recitations. He explains that listeners are restricted in how much information they can process in a short amount of time. He also uses the same criteria when he translates plays. For example, in his translations he shortened names such as Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov, to *Iwanofu-san*.

For Shimizu, the most important point in the translation of literature is to read between the lines i.e. appealing to senses and emotions rather than just conveying concepts. He begins

[8] Used existing Japanese translation for an attempt: He found that it is difficult to read aloud when using a text originally translated for silent reading.

[9] Used the translation by Kojima Hiroko for the direction of using the illustrations inserted in the text.

by translating the long list of words (written words) into concrete expressions of human emotions (the sound of language). He believes that the sound of language, i.e. the voice, is the most efficient way to express emotions. Working as a simultaneous interpreter for the World News, he sometimes applies his theory to the interpretation of what Russians say in the news: for example, Shimizu interprets Vladimir Putin's words to emphasize what Putin most wanted to say in the interview. Although the Russian accent (stress) and the Japanese accent (pitch) are different, he finds that he can capture the emotions of the original by using pauses or changing the tempo, for example speaking slowly in Japanese. Shimizu's translations of Chekhov's short stories are read in Japanese following the same philosophy.

Shimizu changed the title of "The Lady with a Dog" from "*Koinu wo tsureta oku-san"* to "*Koinu wo tsureta oku-sama.*" Another version that had also been used in the past was "*Koinu wo tsureta kifujin.*" Shimizu chose not to use *oku-san* [a woman], because "*-san* is a less formal honorific title which has the image of being too common and a little vulgar," and he considers *ki-fujin* [highborn and noble lady] to be too formal, "something like a framed picture." Shimizu considers that *Oku-sama* is the word most compatible with the Russian word "dama [lady]," it implies a touch of Chekhov's sense of humor, and most importantly, is easy and comfortable for him to read. He adds that this is his sense as a reader, so, each reader (i.e. translator) should choose the words most comfortable for them.

2.3.6. Children's Literature

The translation of Russian children's literature, first explored by Saganoya Omuro and Nobori Shomu in the Meiji period, came to a peak after World War II. As for the translators after World War II, we can name several translators, such as Uchida Risako (granddaughter of

Uchida Roan, 1928-1997), Jyuge Takashi (1911-1990), also Matsutani Sayaka (1937-) and Tanaka Yasuko (1938-), all of whom have actively introduced Russian children's literature to Japanese readers. I interviewed Tanaka Yasuko whose family's translation activities have spanned over three generations.

2.3.6.1. **Tanaka Yasuko** (1938-)

Tanaka Yasuko's father, Takasugi Ichiro (1908-2008) was a writer, journalist and translator. In 1945, at the age 37, he was conscripted into the army and was imprisoned in Siberia for five years after the end of World War II. The encounter with "Russia" for Yasuko began the day of her father's sudden return home from Russia when she was in fifth grade. Nonetheless, it was not until she got a chance to read Chekhov's short story "Toska [Loneliness]" in an English class at Tokyo Women's Christian University, that she could finally understand what fascinated her father about Russia despite the merciless treatment he suffered during his years in prison. Soon after this, Yasuko saw an advertisement recruiting students to the Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow. Desiring to see Russia with her own eyes, she submitted an application. After graduating from the Department of Literature in 1965, she returned to Japan with her husband and her son, who was born in Moscow. Her son Kiyoshi is now a Russian-to-Japanese translator of children's literature, after being educated at the Moscow State Pedagogical University.

Yasuko taught Russian Children's literature and Folklore at Osaka University of Foreign Studies, and in 1991 she started publishing a journal of Russian and Soviet children's literature, called "Kasuchōru [A Fire]: Her daughter Tomoko, a graduate of the Russian State University of Cinematography, is now the journal's editor-in-chief. They have a policy to

introduce children's literature, which they believe worthy of translating, preparing special articles and detailed commentaries on Russian culture, with accompanying pictures. They celebrated their 20th anniversary in 2011. Yasuko recalls her activities of the past twenty years as follows:

> "We have been introducing what had been done by people who seriously thought about the future of children in a country with a different political system. To borrow L. Tolstoi's words, "in order to give children the first poetical impression."

In 2012, Yasuko was awarded the Pushkin prize, for her great contribution to the popularization of Russian culture, by President Vladimir Putin. She knows Putin personally because he was working in the foreign affairs division of St. Petersburg University when she was a visiting scholar there 37 years ago. In her speech at the award ceremony at Kremlin, she talked about her father being a POW in the Soviet Union and said that the medal would be dedicated to him.

In Moscow, Yasuko met Samuil Marshak[10] (1887-1964) and Kornei Chukovskii[11] (1882-1969). Chukovskii's family is one of the Russian families the Tanaka's have had contacts with for three generations.

Chukovskii's theory of translation is one of the criteria which Yasuko keeps in mind when translating:

> It is understandable that the interpretation varies from translator to translator, but it is most important to convey the spirit of the author. The translated work should not contain any sort of portrait of the translator.

Also, Chukovskii writes:

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[10] Samuil Marshak (1887-1964). A Russian-Soviet writer and translator. He was one of the founders of Russia's children's literature.

[11] Kornei Chukovskii (1882-1969). A Russian-Soviet writer, poet, critic and interpreter. One of the most popular children's poets in Russia.

"Defective" accuracy and "thoughtless" freedom in translation should be avoided.

Tanaka translated many Russian folktales, including "Mahou no uma [The Magic Horse]"(1964), "Soratobu Fune [The Flying Ship]"(1981), and "Uruwashi no Washilisa [Vasilisa the Beautiful]" (1986). In her work, she also raises questions facing educators and translators; for example, the folk story "Ōkina Kabu [The Big Turnip]," had been wrongly interpreted as a soviet story related to communism, and attempts were made to remove it from Japanese elementary school textbooks. Also, she emphasized that the order of the description of characters in the story should not be reversed or changed from that of the original text, as had been done by an earlier translator. She also found that "Iwan no baka [Ivan the Fool]" by Tolstoi, which is very popular in Japan, was of minor importance in Russia, and has never been published as a single volume.

Yasuko has produced innovative picture books for children as well. She is the first translator who started decorating the initial letters in the fairy tale following the style of Russian picture books. She tried to use original pictures in the translated books as much as possible:

Tatiana Mavrina,[12] who was the only Russian winner of the Hans Christian Andersen Award, drew Japanese initial decorating letters for Tanaka's picture books, "Yuki [Snow]" (1995) and "Choucho [Butterfly]" (1999). "Tsuru [Crane]," the third of a six book series of collaborations by Mavrina and Yu Kovari, was translated by Tanaka in 2009, and the initial letter were decorated by Mai Miturich, who admired Mavrina's artistic style.

As for the difficulties in translating children's literature, Tanaka gave the following examples: 1. rhymed verse, and 2. gender.

1. When it comes to translating rhymed verse into Japanese, the Japanese reads better if it

[12] Tatiana Mavrina (1900-1996). Russian artist and book illustrator.

is 5-7 rhythm style (traditional alternating lines of five and seven syllables). It is difficult to depart from the original style, and yet still convey the rhythm in Japanese.

2. Many animals appear in folktales, and while their gender is clear in the original Russian text, it can be difficult to express gender in Japanese. It is important to clarify the gender differences for Japanese children, and the only way it can be shown is by adding words or particles at the ends of sentence. Many of the differences between the two languages are solved in such a way.

2.4. The Most Difficult Part of Russian-to-Japanese Translation

This subsection will summarize the strategies the translators use when they encounter words or concepts peculiar to the Russian language. There are two categories of issues: 1. The issues that have been solved or, the translators have worked out ways to handle the problems. 2. The problems are still found daunting by some translators.

2.4.1. Issues That Have Been Solved or Handled Adequately

Japanese translators have worked out how to deal with Russian names, gender differences and customs.

(1) Names:

- are simplified
- Japanese terms of address, appropriate for the situation, are added

(2) Gender differences

- are expressed by adding words or particles at the ends of sentence

(3) Unique manners, customs or word plays:

- are explained in the text

- notes are added if necessary

- a new Japanese word is coined using the original Russian pronunciation (to show the original pronunciation by using *katakana*)

2.4.2. Issues Still Being Questioned (among some translators)

1. How to translate swear words, or obscenities, which are rare in Japanese

   Japanese has a limited number of swear words that can be used, e. g. "Chikusho [Damn it] !"

2. How to translate terms of address, like "golubchik" [a small dove, a term of endearment, such as "honey"]," or "marmelad" [marmalade, a term of endearment].

   If these terms are translated only as "you," or "honey" in Japanese, the text is unable to convey to the readers the way that Russian people refer to each other. This problem is especially important when translating drama because it is impossible to add commentaries or footnotes.

3. How to translate rhymed verse.

   If they deviate from the Japanese 5-7 rhythm style, it is difficult to convey the rhythm in Japanese. They need to find a way to avoid using the usual Japanese style of rhythm.

2.5. A Future Vision of Translation Activities and Russian Language Education

Some translators provided responses to the questions about their future vision of Russian-to-Japanese translation and about the future of Russian language studies in Japan. Let us first look at the conditions and challenges present day translators face.

[Present Day Conditions for Translators]

As can be seen from the professional list of the translators, all of them are doing the translation work as a side job. It is common practice because it is extremely difficult to live on the earnings from translation: Royalties on books are only a very small percentage (2-8%, according to the translators I interviewed),[13] and if they are paid a fixed fee, it is very rare to earn more than a million yen[14] even for jobs that take two or three years to complete.

Other issues are:

(1) Even though a revival of interest in Russian classical literature started in 2006, it only resulted in the interest in a few Russian writers such as Dostoevskii and Gogol.

(2) Modern Russian literature does not sell well.

(3) Good children's literature is rare.

(4) The value of Russian, along with some other foreign languages, in the Japanese education system is becoming lower. English has become the only language seen as valuable.

The following subsection will include information about activities that acted as a breakthrough for number (2) above. In her interview, Numano Kyoko spoke about a symposium on Russian contemporary literature that she and her husband were planning to convene in November 2013, prior to the general meeting of the Japan Association for the Study of Russian Language and Literature.[15] Section 2.5.1 is a report of the symposium. Also, 2.5.2 is a clear answer to interview question # 11. "What do you think of Russian language education today," which is proposed as a solution for (4) above.

[13] The rate indicated by publishing companies was 5-8%. (See Introduction).

[14] About 10,000 dollars.

[15] Numano Mitsuyoshi was the chairman of the association at the time.

2.5.1. Future Visions for the Introduction of Contemporary Russian Literature to Japanese Readers

Although the total number of votes was small (35), it is still remarkable that the translation of "The Blue Fat" by Vladimir Solokin won the first prize for overseas literature on the twitter vote in 2012. It shows that the Internet generation is gaining an interest in contemporary Russian literature. The translation was a collaboration between a professor, who is an experienced translator and a young student, hence helping foster the next generation of Russian-to-Japanese translators.

On November 1st, 2013, a symposium on the translation of modern Russian literature was held at the University of Tokyo under the title of "All Words Are from 'Translation': An Introduction to the Front Lines of Contemporary Russian Literature." This catch phrase is actually from the following lines of Mikhail Shishkin's *The Letter* (*Pismovnik*) :

> Don't stick to words. They are, after all, all translated words. As you know, words, all words are poorly translated words from the original. Every idea is from a non-existing language, from the only language that is true.

At the symposium, a panel consisting of eight young translators talked about contemporary Russian literature they have worked on. The translations covered were:

Victor Pelevin

Kyōfu no kabuto [The Helmet of Fear] and *Shindai tokkyu kiiroi ya* [The Express Sleeper: Yellow Arrow] (2010). Gunzosha.
Trans. Nakamura Tadashi.

Vladimir Sorokin

Aoi abura [The Blue Fat] (2012). Kawadeshobo shinsha.
Trans. Mochizuki Tetsuo, Matsushita Takashi.

Mikhail Shishkin.

Tegami [The Letter] (2012). Shinchosha.

Trans. Nakura Yuri.

Tatiana Tolstaia

Kyishi [Kysh] (2012- Appearing serially in *Waseda Bungaku*).
Trans. Takayanagi Satoko, Kaizawa Hajime.

Sigizmund Krzhizhanovskii

Dōkou no naka [In the Pupil of the Eye] (2012). Shoraisha.
Trans. Ueda Yoko, Akikusa Shunichiro.

Grigorii Oster (Poems)

Saikin Pechka [The Bacteria Pechka] (2011). Tosen shuppan.
Iroiro no hanashi [Detailed Stories] (2013) Tosen shuppan.
Trans. Mouri Kumi.

Liudmila Ulitskaia

Tsuyaku Daniel Shtain [Daniel Shtain, An Interpreter] (2009). Shinchosha.
Trans. Maeta Izumi.

Also introduced was the latest translation by Numano Kyoko

Liudmila Petrushevskaia

Watashi no ita basho [Where I was] (2013).

The workshop was organized by Kyoko and Mitsuyoshi Numano. Their purpose was to introduce modern/post-modern Russian literature translated by young scholars. It is noteworthy that they also invited editors from major publishing companies, so that they also could reconfirm the significance of translating modern Russian literature. It was pointed out by Numano Kyoko that publishers are often not willing to publish translation of poems, but as shown by the work of Oster, there have been some successful publications of poem translations in recent years. The publishers in attendance promised to continue working on modern Russian literature in the future, including poems, but they also asked the audience to support them by buying the books.

According to the brochure distributed at the symposium, 52 works of modern Russian

literature have been translated since the end of 1990's. A breakdown of the texts is as follows:

> Marinina, Aleksandra (6); Pelevin, Viktor (5); Ulitskaia, Liudmila (5); Sorokin Vladimir (4); Akunin, Boris (3); Oster Grigorii (2 – poems); Kurkov, Andrei (2); Krzhizhanovskii, Sigizmund (2012); Sokolov, Sasha (2); Tarkovskii, Arsenii (2); Dovlatov, Sergei (2); Tolstaia, Tatiana (2); Petrushevskaia, Liudmila (2); Lukianenko, Sergei (2); Kaverin, Veniamin (1); Kim, Anatorii (1); Glukhovskii, Dmitrii (1); Grossman, Vasilii (1); Shishkin, Mikhail (1); Deneshkina, Irina (1); Tsypkin, Leonid (1); Podolskii, Nal (1); Aigi, Gennadii (1 – poem).

From this list we can see that there were few poems translated.

The symposium was an attempt to highlight modern Russian literature which, compared to the classics, has had difficulty garnering interest among readers.

2.5.2. Future Visions of Russian Language Education in Japan

Numano Mitsuyoshi has a concrete vision of language education for a breakthrough in the present situation which favors English. He suggested in the interview a system of foreign language education in which the number of specialists of less-commonly-taught languages grows in proportion with the number of English specialists:

> If there are 100 students, we need to have 10 experts of English, and at least 2 experts of a minor language. We need to avoid the situation of having 100 students who haven't mastered any language.

This critique of the present day 'English emphasized' educational system has already been sounded in the Yomiuri Newspaper, July 4th 2013. In the interview, Numano emphasized that the current foreign language education system in Japanese universities even has difficulty in fostering English experts.

3. Summary

This section will summarize today's Russian-to-Japanese translators' activities described in section 2 from the following three viewpoints: 1) their preferred translation method – "word-for-word, literal" or "free" translation, 2) the challenges they face and, 3) their future visions of translation activities and Russian language studies in Japan.

3.1. Methods of Translation: "Word-for-Word, Literal" vs. "Free" Translations

Five out of eleven translators I interviewed had worked for Kobunsha's project. As mentioned in the introduction, easy-to-read Japanese translations were welcomed not only by modern readers but also by critics, even those from academic institutions who traditionally supported the "word-for-word, literal" translation, faithful to the original, in opposition to "free" translation methods. At the same time, the easy-to-read, natural Japanese translation approach resulted in what some considered to be translations that were not faithful to the original works, and which became targets of criticism by some academics, who considered the works to be mistranslations.[16] However, in the interviews, I observed a variety of approaches to translation, even in the easy-to-read philosophy of Kobunsha. Taking Kameyama and Mochizuki as examples, Kameyama pursued his stance of allowing his readers to read what were originally long and difficult Russian novels in easy-to-read Japanese, whereas Mochizuki continued providing readers with detailed information about Russia and the original story, and used side notes as much as possible. Mochizuki's method, can be described as "word-for-word, literal" translation, yet he uses his own devices to produce reader-friendly translations. We can call this "an assimilation to the better target language" which is represented by the terminology of

[16] Sato (2009) gives detailed information about the "mistranslation dispute." She quoted examples of the work of French writer Standhal, as well as Dostoevskii.

"word-for-word, literal" translation, that is, the process of changing "word-for-word" to "literal" translation (see Chapter 1). Mochizuki and Kameyama's approaches to Dostoevskii's translation seem to be quite different. So, can we categorize Kameyama's method as "free" translation? In the interview, Kamayama emphasized the rhythm of the words, and he makes it a rule to repeatedly read, and adjust the translated sentences until they sound natural when read aloud. This process of translation might be also categorized as "a process of assimilation to the better target language," because, the procedure of vocally naturalizing Japanese comes after the process of "word-for-word, literal" translation. The end result of this emphasis on having the translation sound like natural contemporary Japanese, however, looks like "free" translation.

The three women translators, Yasuoka Haruko, Numano Kyoko and Tanaka Yasuko, all have a policy of being faithful to the original text. Yasuoka and Numano both admire Futabatei's "word-for-word, literal" method of translation. However, when they retranslate the classics, trying to be faithful to the original, they also use their own devices in choosing the Japanese words, aiming for improvement of former translations, as well as their own originality. This could be called "a process of assimilation to Japanese, in order to produce a better text." Tanaka is mindful of Chukovskii's warning about the pitfalls of both "word-for-word" and "free" methods, that is, "defective accuracy" and "thoughtless freedom." Tanaka's strategy of being accurate to the original text, by adding some words, for example, gender descriptions, is also categorized as "a process of assimilation to make a better Japanese text." A natural, easy-to-read Japanese translation is especially necessary for children's literature. Translators of children's literature have also been contributing to Japanese education through their efforts in "the process of assimilation to make a better Japanese text."

Using the idea that a particular "translation" style has a due date for its appreciation,

innovation of classics in the category of short stories and drama is also carried out by translators such as Numano Mitsuyoshi, Ura Masaharu, and Horie Shinji. Their style might appear to be "free" translation when compared to the work of former generations. They emphasize their own interpretation of the original work, free from their predecessors' translations, and aim to innovate the translation with present-day Japanese. Their method is also "a process of assimilation to make a better Japanese text," which follows the same procedure as "word-for-word, literal" translation. It is possible for the translators to express their originality in a work using this process. Ura's usage of *rakugo* style, the style of a language for entertainment, is an example of representation of his originality, his understanding of the writer's style.

It seems inevitable that song lyrics will be written in a style similar to "free" translation. I asked Kato and Yamanouchi if they could accept the method that was first presented by Inoue Yoritoyo, a translator from a former generation (see Chapter 4), who tried to be faithful to the original as much as possible. They both answered in the negative. For a performer, it is essential to have lyrics which are comfortable to sing, and also comfortable for listeners. However, the procedure appears to be the same as for prose translation. First, they use "word-for-word" translation, and then, comes "the process of assimilation to the better Japanese lyrics."[17] Originality of translation by a performer is apparent in the ease of listening for the audience.

For the translation of recitations, according to Shimizu, the "word-for-word" method is never used. In the sense that words are selected for ease of listening, it shares common features

[17] When making word choices for the natural harmony between the music and the words, it is necessary to consider the differences of the accent ('pitch' – for Japanese and 'stress' – for Russian) and the numbers of morae between Russian and Japanese. (Fukuyasu 2012: 56-57).

with the translation of lyrics. Shimizu's method of "appealing to senses and emotions rather than just conveying concepts" reminds us of the first stage of the "free" translation method: "sense-for-sense" translation (see Chapter 1). This translation method is at its best when Shimizu uses it for the interpretation of the world news, that is, for an audio source. It seems that we need to analyze the contents of "free" translation once again: the translations which seemed to have been done as "free" translations might actually be the result of two processes of translation – The audio source process, and the text data process (see Figure 1).

Audio source tends to be translated as "sense-for-sense" if the translator is highly proficient in both languages, especially when there is no written text.[18] On the other hand, we see from the interviews that the majority of the original source, which are written texts are translated using the following procedure:

Word-for-Word → Assimilation to Japanese Process (Including Literal Translation)

The originality of translators is shown in the choice of Japanese words, and the style of Japanese such as dialects or an entertaining storytelling style. Most of the Russian-to-Japanese translators who were interviewed use the written source translation process, as indicated on the right side of the circle in Figure 1. The present-day translators have a tendency to use more natural, contemporary Japanese. This tendency rises not only from translators' desires, but also because of the demands of the time, as indicated in the introduction to this chapter.

[18] We remember that Someya Shigeru used Audio source process for the translation of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (see Chapter 4).

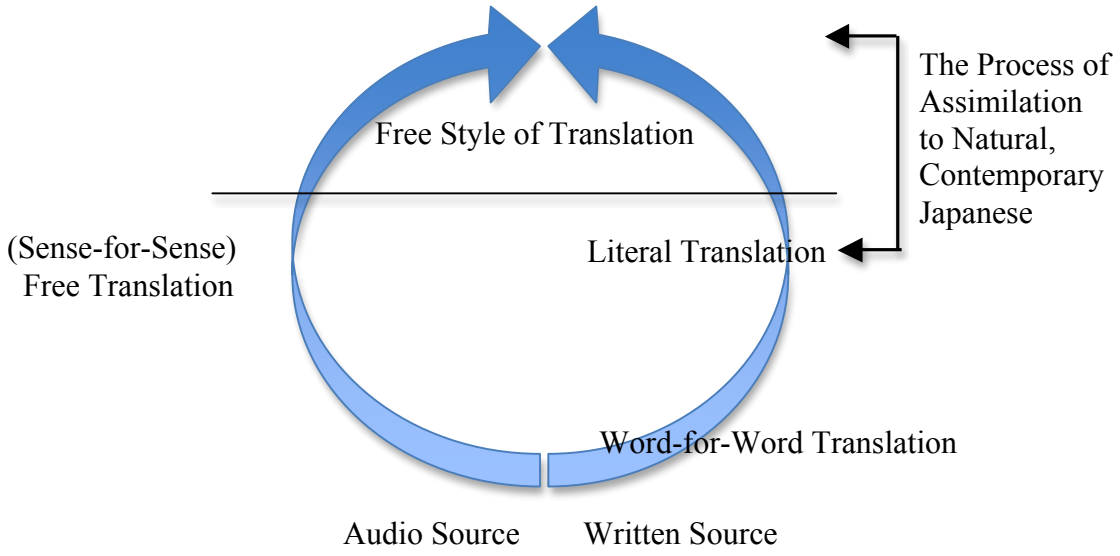

Figure 1. Two Processes that lead to a Free Style of Translation

The challenges faced by recent translators is further evidence that translators strive to be faithful to the original text as much as possible.

3.2. The Challenges Facing Present-Day Translators

The issues that have been solved or handled as indicated in 2.4.1 show that Russian-to-Japanese translators are trying to find ways to make accurate translations as much as possible. The methods they have worked out show that they usually use the process of "word-for-word, literal" translation.

Issues still being questioned among some translators in 2.4.2 can be categorized into two types: 1) issues relating to the characteristics of Japanese language such as the rhythm style and the lack of obscene expressions. 2) issues relating to the differentiation between the translation of drama lines that ought to be represented by voice, and the translation of drama as a

written text.

#2) is similar to Jinzai Kiyoshi's statement in his essay "Honyaku no muzukashisa [The Difficulties of Translation]" (1950) regarding the unsuitability of word-for-word translation for plays. He writes that the audience at the performance of *The Cherry Orchard* laughed at "Sayonara, *jyumoku tachi*! [Goodbye, trees!]": Firstly, as Japanese makes no differentiation between the singular and plural for common nouns, it is strange to add "-tachi [particle for plural marker (usually used for animate nouns)]" for trees. Secondly, '*jumoku*' is generic for any tree, and it sounds strange when talking to trees as an addressee: there should have been more appropriate terms that could have been used in this context. For the translation of drama, it is necessary for the audience to grasp the meaning of the sentence at the same time as it is uttered. When choosing words, the translator needs to review the characteristics of Japanese *Kanji* which carry a lot of information in a single character, and can be read in several different ways. *Kanji* are convenient for personal or silent reading, but difficult to understand for listeners who only hear the sound, especially, when it is read with *Onyomi* (Chinese-derived pronunciation) as in the case of '*jumoku*.' *Kunyomi* (Japanese-derived pronunciation) or original Japanese words are easier to understand when listening. This variety of word choices emphasizes the diversities of translation. This way of thinking also suggests an answer to the question still being discussed regarding the translation of plays, for example: How to translate terms of address, such as "golubchik [a small dove]."

In answering the question here, we need to consider the differentiation of translation between the plays, which require instant understanding, and the texts for silent reading, which allows readers time to process the information.

3.3. Towards the Future: Plans for Translation Activities and Russian Education

The symposium which was held for the promotion of contemporary literature translation reflected present-day issues, in which publishers play a significant role. Also it showed that the number of the younger generation Russian-to-Japanese translators is steadily growing. The event spotlighting the young translators of modern Russian literature seemed to be successful. The symposium for the promotion of Russian contemporary literature held at the University of Tokyo served as a stimulus for the readers, the publishers, and the translators themselves, and it will lead to more translations of Russian literature. The invitation of editors to the academic symposium demonstrated the importance of the views of publishing companies for the release of new publications, especially in the case of unknown modern literature, in contrast to the classics which already has a steady reader base.

Numano proposed his idea of foreign language education as an alternative to today's foreign language studies dominated by English. The foreign language education system, which was established at the beginning of the Meiji period for the purpose of absorbing Western knowledge has been transformed in recent years, with an almost total emphasis on English. The passage of time has changed the role of education, and information from non-English speaking countries seems to be treated as less important, as is the teaching of less-commonly-taught languages. However, as is shown in this study of translation history, we need to remember that a strong foreign language education system is necessary to create excellent translators who can be effective mediators of culture and wisdom, both of which are essential for the mutual understanding of different peoples.

4. Conclusion

In this study, we overviewed the history of Russian-to-Japanese translators' lives and activities from the end of Edo period to the present time. The fact that Futabatei Shimei, the great translator of Russian literature at the beginning of Meiji-period played a pivotal role in the Genbun-icchi, or modernization movement of Japanese language, led me to investigate the specifics of Russian literary translation. First, as background information, I presented the history of Russian literature in Japan and the history of Russian language education. The Russian Orthodox Church, and Russian Narodniks who came as educators, played significant roles in both the introduction of literature as well as Russian thought and culture, and the establishment of Russian language education in Japan. The first government language education system, established in 1873 which followed the Russian elementary school syllabus with native-speaking educators, fostered a great appreciation of Russian literature. Its depiction of the real world had a great impact on the Japanese readers as well as the translators.

When Fuatabatei first translated Russian literature into Japanese in 1888, he tried to be as accurate as possible to the original Russian. This attitude led him to create a new Japanese writing style, the Genbun-itchi style. This style of writing was promoted by Futabatei together with other leading translators at the beginning of Meiji period. It showed that the modern Japanese language was created in part to make up for the absence of vocabulary equivalents of words used in European languages. We have identified what exactly was accomplished by Futabatei Shimei.

Futabatei's attitude of being faithful to the original text soon became the translation criterion for Russian-to-Japanese translators. Futabatei made a reference to the opposite translation style, using an example of Zhukovskii's translation, and differentiating between the

"word-for-word" and "free" types of translation which he had already described in 1906. In this study, after clarifying the history of the differentiation of these translation types, the terminology of the two major competing methods as "word-for-word, literal" vs. "free" types of translation has been defined. We have overviewed the history of Russian-to-Japanese translation examining the preferred translation methods, at particular points of time, and used by specific translators. We observed the disputes between the supporters of both translation methods, and saw that the "word-for-word, literal" style of translation has been supported by scholarly translators as a more accurate, method of translation, faithful to the original.

Nonetheless, the recent interest in the translation of Russian classical literature showed that the relative importance of "word-for-word, literal" translation has been decreasing as "free" translation has become more common. We have examined today's Russian-to-Japanese translators through interviews to see if translators prefer the "free" method of translation, and to clarify the processes involved in the development of "free" style translation. We found that today's translators also use the "word-for-word, literal" method of translation, and, "the process of assimilation to natural, contemporary Japanese" makes the translations closer to the "free" style. Also this analysis made it clear that the "free" style of translation is derived from two opposite processes: "free (sense-for-sense)" translation using an audio source, and "word-for-word, literal" translation using a written source. The new, easy to understand "free" type of translation appeared to be in demand both by publishers and readers. Present-day translators have a tendency to emphasize their originality in the pursuit of assimilation to natural, contemporary Japanese. Many of the translators support the idea that "translation" is "interpretation." This is what is most notable among the Russian-to-Japanese translators nowadays.

This study of the history of Russian-to-Japanese translators also clarified what the rise and fall of Russian culture has brought about in Japan. A boom in Russian songs after World War II was related to the lives of translators who had been POWs in Siberia. We have included a study of Russian song translation in order to understand the history of Russian folk songs that were introduced to Japan and greatly influenced Japanese culture for a period of time. In this study, we have examined the genres of literature (novels, drama, short stories, children's literature) and song, which over the years have had varying amounts of influence on Japanese culture mainly due to the translators' activities.

We found evidence of the impact of Futabatei's work throughout the time span of the study. One of the reasons why Futabatei's criteria is still used in present-day translations is that he tried to translate both words and sounds right from the beginning of his translation work. In this sense we were fortunate to have Futabatei Shimei as the original Russian-to-Japanese translator.

I am very grateful to the translators who agreed to cooperate in this study, sharing their precious time with me. This study of the history of Russian-to-Japanese translators' activities from its beginning in the Edo period to the present time has been completed solely thanks to their kind support.

APPENDIX

The Syllabus of the Russian Department at Tokyo Foreign Language School[1]

(1881-1882)

First Year (first semester)

Subject	Hours a week	Contents / Textbook
Orthography	4	Russian alphabet and words / "Azbuka" by Tolstoi
Reading	3	Pronunciation / "Elementary Russian" by Parison
Calligraphy	4	Brush-stroke practice, upper and lower case letters, handwriting
Memorization	4	Words
Translation	3	Sentences translated into Japanese (by a Japanese teacher) from "Elementary Russian" by Parison
Arithmetic	6	Numbers, numeral system, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division / "A Guide to arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin
Ethics	1	Rotating lecturers who modified the classes depending on the students' levels / *Shūshin sougo shōgaku gaihen* (The words of Ethics), *Rongo* (The Analects of Confucius), *Daigaku* (The Great Learning)
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	Alternating reading and writing lectures / *Nihon gaishi* (Japanese history), *Bunsho kihan* (Japanese grammar), *Koukan ichiroku, Meikan ichiroku* (A History of China), *Shiki* (The Records of the Grand Historian)
Gymnastics	3	Exercises with dumbbells and clubs

First Year (second semester)

Orthography	1	Words and phrases / "Azbuka" by Tolstoi

[1] Digital data provided by Hitotsubashi University:
<http://hermes-ir.lib.hit-u.ac.jp/da/bitstream/123456789/7480/2/ichiran18810010.pdf> (accessed July 1, 2012).

Reading	3	Intonation / “An introduction to reading” by Perelesskii
Calligraphy	3	Handwriting of upper and lower case letters
Dictation	2	Simple sentences
Grammar	3	An introduction to Russian grammar and nouns / “The Russian grammar book” by Ivanov
Memorization	3	The same as in the previous semester
Translation	3	Sentences from “Elementary Russian” by Parison (translated into Japanese by a Japanese teacher)
Arithmetic	6	Compound numbers, weights, measures and divisors / “A guide to arithmetic” by Malinin and Blenin
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

A study-aid book: “Workbook for Arithmetic” by Malinin and Blenin

Second Year (first semester)

Reading	3	Fluent reading / “An introduction to reading” by Perelesskii
Calligraphy	2	The same as in the previous semester
Dictation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Grammar	3	Nouns, adjectives and numbers / “Russian grammar” by Ivanov
Recitation	2	Sentences from Fables / “Fables” by Krylov
Conversation	2	Everyday conversation with translation into Japanese / “Russian-English conversation” by Agakhii Gonchalenko
Translation	5	Japanese translation of “The children’s world, I” by Ushinskii and the reading of “An Ancient History” by Ilovaiskii
Geography	3	The earth, orbits, imaginary planes of the Earth, the Northern and

		Southern hemispheres, the North and South Poles, maps, longitude and latitude lines, the earth's interior and surface, differentiation between land and water, the shapes of the continents, characteristics of the oceans, high and low tides, inland bodies of water, wind and pressure systems; The sun, moon and stars; climate, plants, animals, and human beings / "An Introduction to Geography" by Smirnov
Arithmetic	2	Fractions / "A Guide to Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: "A Handbook for Russian-English Conversation" by Cornette, "Illustration of Natural History" by Bromme, "Workbook for Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin, "An Introduction to Arithmetic" by Liyoue, "Russian Grammar" by Antonov, "A World Map" by Iliin.

Second Year (second semester)

Reading	2	The same as in the previous semester / "The Children's World, II" by Ushinskii
Calligraphy	1	The same as in the previous semester
Dictation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Grammar	2	Pronouns and verbs / "Russian Grammar" by Ivanov
Recitation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Conversation	2	The same as in the previous semester / "A Handbook for Russian-English Conversation" by Cornette
Composition	1	Composition of simple sentences
Translation	5	The same as in the previous semester
Geography	2	Europe: geographical boundaries, topography, mountains, climates, plants, animals, rivers and lakes, populations, religions, industries, products, systems of government, education, prefectures, cities / "The Geography of Europe" by Smirnov

World History	3	Primitive humans; The founding of countries; Ancient Asians and Africans and their history, ancient Greeks and the nations that they colonized, the war between Persia and Greece, Greek enlightenment, the Greek war at the Peloponnesus, and the decline of the Greek Empire, History of Macedonia / "World History" by Velde
Arithmetic	2	Decimals / "A Guide to Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: "Russian Grammar" by Antonov, "Russian Grammar" by Beliaevskii, "A Pictorial Natural History" by Bromme, "Workbook for Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin, "An Introduction to Arithmetic" by Liyoue, "The Geography of Europe" by Mostovckii, "A Geographical Description of the World" by Obodovskii, "A World Map" by Iliin. "The Illustrated Ancient History" by Dobriakov, "An Illustrated Successive History" by Jordan, "The Ancient History" by Ilovaiskii

Third Year (first semester)

Reading	2	The same as in the previous semester / "The Children's World, II" by Ushinskii
Calligraphy	1	The same as in the previous semester
Dictation	1	Dictation of selected sentences
Grammar	2	Verbs / "Russian grammar" by Ivanov
Recitation	2	Selected sentences from famous writers and from other tales
Conversation	2	Everyday practical conversations
Composition	2	Composition of simple essays and letters
Translation	5	Japanese translation of "The Children's World, II" by Ushinskii and the reading of "An History of Middle ages" by Shulgin
Geography	2	The same as in second year (semester two) / "The Geography of Europe" by Smirnov, "Geography of Russia" by Lebezhev

World History	3	Continuation of ancient studies: the Roman Empire – its rulers, the rise of national pride, changes in manners and customs, the decline of republicanism, the state of affairs in the country, and the enlightenment of Rome / "World History" by Berte
Arithmetic	2	Continued fractions, functions, proportions, and the Rule of Three/ "A Guide to Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: "Teaching Russian Language" by Vashiistov, "Russian Grammar" by Antonov, "Russian Grammar" by Beliaevskii, "Workbook for Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin, "An Introduction to Arithmetic" by Liyoue, "The Geography of Europe" by Mostovckii, "Geography of the World" by Mostovckii, "A Geographical Description of the World" by Obodovskii, "A World Map" by Iliin, "An Illustrated Successive History" by Jordan, "Illustrated Ancient History" by Dobriakov, "Ancient History" by Ilovaiskii, "World History" by Sylossel

Third Year (second semester)

Reading	2	Reading practice of selected sentences by Prof. Bashistov
Calligraphy	1	The same as in the previous semester
Dictation	1	Punctuation, and how to write paragraphs
Grammar	2	Adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, parts of speech / "Russian Grammar" by Ivanov
Recitation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Conversation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Composition	2	The same as in the previous semester
Translation	5	The same as in the previous semester
Geography	2	Asia, Africa, America, Australia: geographical boundaries, topography, mountains, climates, plants, animals, rivers and lakes,

		populations, religions, industries, products, system of government, education, prefectures, cities / "The Geography of Four Continents" by Smirnov, "Geography of Russia" by Lebezhev
World History	3	Europe during the migration age; the fall of the Western Roman, Khmer and German Empires; nations established by Germany, Greek and Arabic Empires the Carolingian dynasty period; War between the Roman Emperor and the Pope; The Crusades / "History of the Medieval Period" by Ilovaiskii
Arithmetic	2	The Rule of Three, percentages, reduction of fractions, the chain rule, proportional division, alligation, and miscellaneous problems / "A Guide to Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: "Russian Grammar" by Antonov, "Russian Grammar" by Beliaevskii, "Workbook for Arithmetic" by Malinin and Blenin, "An Introduction to Arithmetic" by Liyoue, "Workbook for Arithmetic" by Ivanitsukii, "A World Map" by Iliin, "A Geographical Description of the World" by Obodovskii, "Geography of the World" by Mostovckii, "An Illustrated Successive History" by Jordan, "World History" by Sylossel

Fourth Year (first semester)

Reading	2	The same as in the previous semester
Grammar	2	Morphology / "Russian Grammar" by Ivanov
Recitation	2	Famous Russian poems
Conversation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Composition	2	Essays, Articles, Monographs
Translation	5	Lectures and Japanese translation of "A New World History" by Shligin
World History	3	Continuation of medieval history: France and England in the second half of the medieval period; Germany, Italy and Scandinavian countries during the age of the House of Habsburg; The fall of the

		Eastern Roman Empire / “History of the Medieval Period” by Ilovaiskii
Physics	2	Dynamics, levers, gravity, free fall, molecular attraction, hydrostatics, fluid dynamics, weight, specific gravity, hydrometer / “Elementary Physics” by Paulsen
Algebra	2	The four fundamental rules of algebra, fractions, functions, proportions / “Elementary Algebra” by Davydov
Geometry	2	Introduction to geometry: planes, straight lines, angles, volumes, parallel lines, proportional lines / “Elementary Geometry” by Davydov
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: “Russian Grammar” by Antonov, “Russian Word Formation” by Galusov, “Practical Russian Grammar” by Pereulesskii, “An Illustrated Successive History” by Jordan, “The World History” by Sylossel, “Physics” by Ganneau, “Physics” by Kraevich, “Introduction to Physics” by Paulsen

Fourth Year (second semester)

Grammar	2	Syntax, usage, word order, idiomatic phrases, orthography, modes of expression / “Russian Grammar” by Ivanov
Recitation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Conversation	2	The same as in the previous semester
Composition	3	The same as in the previous semester
Logic	1	A definition of logic, the essentials of logic, basic thinking, expression of ideas, assertions, “A Guide to Logic” by Sturlue
Translation	5	Translation into Japanese of history written by Ovchennikov (by a Japanese teacher), and lectures on “A new world history” written by Lorenz

World History	3	The history of modern times: great inventions and discoveries; restoration of science; religious reformation; Catholicism and royal authority in Spain, Portugal and France; England during the Tudor Stuart period; Scandinavia, Prussia, Poland, Turkey; the Thirty Years' War / "A history of modern times" by Ilovaiskii
Physics	2	Properties of gases, barometers, thermometers and atmospheric pressure; Equipment that uses gas, including pumps and gas balloons; Sound, music, vibration of strings; Pipe heat theory, expansion and transformation of substances / "Physics" by Ganneau
Algebra	2	Equations: linear, quadratic and composition methods of these equations; Equations in multiple unknowns and composition methods; Power and radical roots, irrational numbers; Square and cubic roots / "Elementary Algebra" by Davydov
Geometry	2	Planes, polygons, and polygons in and out of a circle, linear summation methods, circular approximation methods/ "Elementary Geometry" by Davydov
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: "Russian grammar" by Antonov, "A Series of Biographies of Orthodox Kings" by Putsukovich, "Practical Russian Grammar" by Perelesskii, "An Illustrated Successive History" by Jordan, "World History" by Sylossel, "Physics" by Ganneau, "Physics" by Kraevich, "Problems in Physics" by von Voli, "Problems in Algebra" by Kraevich, "Problems in Algebra" by Ivanov, "An Introduction to Algebra" by Liyoue, "A Collection of Questions in Geometry" Butsuevichi, "Problems in Geometry" by Mozgov

Fifth Year (first semester)

Rhetoric	2	Standard prose forms, the rules and theories of poetry, / "Model Compositions of Russian Languages" by Filonov
Oratory	2	Selected speeches of great masters
Conversation	1	The same as in the previous semester
Composition	3	The same as in the previous semester
Logic	1	The definition and differentiation of notion; The definition of inference;

		Constitution and form; Deduction and induction / "A Guide to Logic" by Sturlue
Translation	4	Lectures on "A History of England's Civilization" written by Bokli and on "A new world history" written by Lorenz
World History	2	Continuation of modern history: France during the reign of Louis XIV and its transition to the imperial period; South-western European countries, England and North America in the 18th century; Germany and north-eastern European countries in the 18th century; A summary of modern world history / "A History of Modern Times" by Ilovaiskii
Physics	2	The theory of steam and steam engines; The theory of humidity, heat and climates; The theory of light and how it can be reflected, plane mirrors, curved mirrors, prisms and transparent mirrors, analysis of sunlight, visual science, organs of vision / "Physics" by Ganneau
Algebra	2	Newton's binominal formula; the solution of quadratic equations; Further study of quadratic equations, solving quadratic equations by factoring, equations in multiple unknowns, imaginary numbers, inequality, and indeterminate equations / "Elementary Algebra" by Davydov
Geometry	2	The ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, squaring the circle / "Elementary Geometry" by Davydov
Bookkeeping	2	Single-entry bookkeeping system / "A Guide to Single/Double-entry Bookkeeping Systems" by Snopov
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: "An Illustrated Successive History" by Jordan, "World History" by Sylossel, "Basic Logic" by Milly, "A Guide to Logic" by Svechilin, "A Guide to Single/Double-entry Bookkeeping Systems" by von Delze, "A Book of Algebra Drills" by Kraevich, "Problems in Algebra" by Ivanov, "An Introduction to Algebra" by Liyoue, "A Complete Course of Physics" by Gano, "Physics" by Kraevich, "Problems in Physics" by von Voli, "A Book of Algebra Drills" by Butsuevichi, "Problems in Algebra" by von Mozgov, "A Guide to Algebra" by Malinin

Fifth Year (second semester)

Rhetoric	2	The history of literature
Oratory	2	The same as in the previous semester
Conversation	1	The same as in the previous semester
Composition	3	Essays, articles, monographs
Logic	2	Evidence, figure and reason /"A Guide to Logic" by Stsulue
Translation	4	Lectures on "A History of England's Civilization" written by Bokli and on "Economics" written by Garn'e
World History	2	Russian history: government systems run by Marquises and the common people; Moscow and St. Petersburg; the Russian Empire / "The History of Russia" by Ilovaiskii
Physics	2	Magnetism; electricity – its production, testing, effects, pantographs, electrical appliances, electrostatic discharge, galvanic cells; Production of electric power, electronic circulation, electromagnetic interaction, fluidity of electricity, electromagnets, magnetic circuits / "Physics" by Ganneau
Algebra	2	Arithmetic series, geometric series, logarithms – logarithmic tables and how to use them, compound interest, and annual percentage yield, questions / "Elementary Algebra" by Davydov
Geometry	2	Solid geometry / "Elementary Geometry" by Davydov
Bookkeeping	2	Double-entry bookkeeping system / "A Guide to Single/Double-entry Bookkeeping Systems" by Snopov
Ethics	1	The same as in the previous semester
Japanese and Chinese studies	2	The same as in the previous semester
Gymnastics	3	The same as in the previous semester

Study-aid books: "The Basic Logic" by Mirl, "A Guide to Logic" by Svechlin, "The Logic" by Vladislavlev, "A Guide to Single/Double-entry Bookkeeping Systems" by von Delze, "World History" by Sirrossel, "History of Russia" by Solovev, "A Complete Course of Physics" by Ganneau, "Problems in Physics" by von Voli, "Physics" by Kraevich, "A Book of Algebra

Drills" by Kraevich, "An Introduction to Algebra" by Liyoue, "Problems in Algebra" by Ivanov, "A Table of Logarithms" by Laland, "A Book of Algebra Drills" by Butsuevich, "Problems in Geometry" by Mozgov, "A Guide to Geometry" by Malinin

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