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Scenario writers and scenario readers in the Golden Age of Japanese cinema

ABSTRACT

This article seeks to open discussion on the history of Japanese scenario (shinario). It examines the notion of scriptwriter as author and the unique working spaces assigned for writers during the flourishing of the studio system in the 1950s. It also addresses the appearance of scenario reader that was prompted by extensive script publishing that placed the scenario in a focal position in film culture. Presented and consumed in this manner, scenarios both complemented and contested screen-viewing experience and the emerging canon of Japanese cinema.

KEYWORDS

authorship
film canon
Japanese cinema
publishing
scenario
script department

Amidst the recent surge of scholarly interest in international screenwriting, the case of one of the biggest national cinemas, Japan, has been hitherto overlooked. This gap is all the more striking considering the large number of critical studies in Japanese and a long tradition of making film scripts available for wider audiences by diverse publishing strategies. Previously (Kitsnik et al. 2015), I have discussed the work of several women writers such as Mizuki Yōko and Tanaka Sumie who made considerable contribution to Japanese cinema in the 1950s. In this article, I will argue that scriptwriters in general and the texts they produced garnered both critical and popular attention in Japan over the best part of the cinematic century. I will first examine how the spatial conditions implemented by the studios have sustained a particular public image and an authorial status for the scriptwriter. In

- Henry Kotani, a repatriated Japanese film director who worked for the Shōchiku studios in the early 1920s, is credited for introducing the word *shinario* in the industrial context (Tanaka 1980: 160–61). Unlike the English ‘screenplay’, which gestures to the film screen on the one hand and to the drama play on the other, *shinario*, which is used for both the writing process and its result, seems to block appeal to these spheres. The use of ‘scenario’ rather brings the textual aspect of the script to the surface while refuting the ambiguity of ‘screenwriting’ that has prompted some scholars to ruminate whether it could also include the act of film-making, writing on-screen, so to speak. Therefore, in this article, I have made a deliberate choice to use ‘scenario’ and ‘scriptwriting/writer’ rather than ‘screenplay’ and ‘screenwriting/writer’.

- Other such histories include ‘Shinario hattatsushishō’/An Extract from the History of the Development of Scenario’ (1959), a joint effort by Iida Shinbi and Kobayashi Masaru, and Kishi Matsuo’s recurring column ‘Nihon shinarioshi’/‘History of Japanese Scenario’ in the journal *Eiga Hyōron/Film Criticism* in 1962–1963.

order to show how scenarios (*shinario*)¹ have played a vital part in film reception in Japan, I will look at the abundant publishing and reading culture that culminated in repeated attempts to serialize and canonize film scripts.

SCENARIO AUTHOR

Since the late 1950s, there have been several attempts to write a history of Japanese cinema with scripts and writers in their focus, most notably Shindō Kaneto’s *Nihon shinarioshi*/‘History of Japanese scenario’ (1989).² From this



Figure 1: *Shinario sakka gurinpusu*/A glimpse of scenario authors (Shigeno Tatsuhiko et al. 1952).

and other similar accounts emerges an understanding of different types of scriptwriters, a kind of taxonomy based on a discursive constellation that takes into account writers' backgrounds, thematic preoccupations, genre diversity, capacity for innovation and so on. As such, this comes close to (and predates) the typology employed by Richard Corliss (1974) in his bid to present a canon of 'golden age' screenwriters against the backdrop of New Hollywood. In addition, Japanese historiographies often seem to hinge at the use of the notion of *shinario sakka*/scenario author as juxtaposed to that of *shinario raitā*/scenario writer; this has clear political implications in the context of film authorship.³

This trend to look at the work of individual scriptwriters through a quasi-auteurist prism with the term *shinario sakka* strongly displayed can be seen as early as 1952. An extended issue of the leading Japanese film journal *Kinema junpō*/*The Movie Times* offers a series of sketches of fourteen scriptwriters under the title 'Shinario sakka gurinpusu'/'A glimpse of scenario authors', including short essays complete with friendly caricatures.⁴

In a later special issue of the same journal dedicated to scriptwriting, the critic Kitagawa Fuyuhiko makes a clear distinction between two types of writers: 'In the Japanese film world, there are many *shinario raitā* but extremely few *shinario sakka*' (1959: 52). Singling out fifteen such scenario authors, Kitagawa puts one of them in limbo due to his recent mediocre output: 'Will he stay *shinario sakka*, or descend as *shinario raitā*: we can say that Inomata Katsuhito is presently standing at such perilous crossroads' (1959: 56). It seems, then, that anyone can become a *raitā* but one has to earn the *sakka* status. And even then there remains the possibility of downward mobility.

At the turn of the decade, when the publication of scenarios in various periodicals reached its all-time high, a series 'Shinario sakka kenkyū'/'Research of scenario authors' ran in *Kinema junpō* between 1959 and 1961. Introducing thirteen individual writers in considerable length, an entry typically comprised an interview with the writer, critical essays and a complete list of works produced.⁵ From all these accounts combined, a list of canonical writers begins to emerge, with the names of Mizuki Yōko, Yagi Yasutarō and Yoda Yoshikata at its core. While commonly not nearly as rigidly determined as by Kitagawa, the use of the term *shinario sakka* served as a device to bring scriptwriters into the limelight, if only in film criticism. However, this had reverberations in subsequent film histories where it has become a standard term to mark the work of notable writers.

Satō Tadao in his authoritative four-volume *Nihon eigashi*'History of Japanese film' (1995, updated 2006) allows much space to scriptwriting, and particularly to the contributions of a number of individual writers. Remarkably, Satō dedicates several sub-chapters solely to discussing *shinario sakka*.⁶ In the overall structure of his history, these sections are part of larger sequences where they follow entries on studios and directors and precede those on actors. By creating separate entries on scriptwriters for each decade from the 1930s through to the 1970s, Satō is in fact restructuring film history around the contributions of writers. Among general film histories this certainly amounts to a radical gesture. Aiding this effort is the exclusive use of the term *shinario sakka* to denote scriptwriters, which in turn is sustained by the recurring pointing out of themes and motifs that permeate (*ikkan suru*) the work of these writers, emanating from what Satō calls *sakkateki shishitsul* authorial capacity (2006: 100, 331, vol. ii).

3. *Shinario raitā*, deriving as it does from English, can be easily translated as scenario writer. *Shinario sakka*, however, poses considerable problems for finding a suitable term. Most commonly, *sakka* denotes a prose writer, a novelist but also writer or author in general. More generally, the term can be used for any artist and as such comes close to the notion of auteur. The main question seems to be about whether and to what extent these two terms are interchangeable. Admittedly, the former is a common, neutral-sounding term while the latter bears implications of aesthetic qualities and social status in the cultural field. It would seem, then, that the use of either of these terms effectively renders certain scriptwriters authors and others mere writers. On the other hand, the term *shinario sakka* is used mostly by film critics rather than by practitioners. Scriptwriters themselves have often preferred the somewhat self-derogatory but affectionate-sounding term *hon'ya*, derived from *kyakuhonka* (the official name of the profession; this parallels the scenario sometimes being called *hon*, an abbreviation of *kyakuhon*). While the notion of *shinario sakka* is predominant among film critics and historians, there is one instance where it has been taken up by writers. Notably, the Japanese version of the name for Japan Writers Guild, established in 1947, reads *Nihon Shinario Sakka Kyōkai* (Japanese Association of Scenario Authors). This union had a pre-war antecedent,

dissolved like other similar unions by the military government in 1941. Founded in 1937, a year later than the Directors Guild of Japan, this earlier version of the writers' guild was named Nihon Eiga Sakka Kyōkai (Japanese Association of Film Authors), suggesting a growing self-awareness of scriptwriters of their own role and status in film production.

4. Featured writers: Hisaita Eijirō, Tanaka Sumie, Mizuki Yōko, Oguni Hideo, Yoda Yoshikata, Yanai Takao, Kurosawa Akira, Kinoshita Keisuke, Shindō Kaneto, Saitō Ryōsuke, Uekusa Keinosuke, Noda Kōgo, Yagi Yasutarō and Inomata Katsuhito. Notably, Kurosawa and Kinoshita, better known now as directors, are included in this list of scriptwriters; out of the fourteen, two (Tanaka and Mizuki) are women.
5. Writers in the order of publication: Hashimoto Shinobu, Yasumi Toshio, Kikushima Ryūzō, Shindō Kaneto, Wada Natto, Yagi Yasutarō, Mizuki Yōko, Matsuyama Zenzō, Hisaita Eijirō, Shirasaka Yoshio, Yoda Yoshikata, Uekusa Keinosuke and Narusawa Masashige.
6. Writers discussed in length in these subchapters include Shindō Kaneto, Uekusa Keinosuke, Hisaita Eijirō, Yagi Yasutarō, Hashimoto Shinobu, Kikushima Ryūzō, Ide Toshiro, Mizuki Yōko, Tanaka Sumie, Yasumi Toshi, Noda Kōgo (Satō 2006: 328–35, vol. ii.), Shirasaka Yoshio, Ishidō Toshiro, Tamura Tsutomu, Ide Masato, Matsuyama Zenzō, Wada Natto, Narusawa Masashige, Abe Kōbō, Hasebe Keiji, Suzuki Naoyuki, Yamada

At times, Satō even attempts to revise the long-held notion of the undivided authorship of directors – for instance, suggesting that Ozu Yasujirō's celebrated late-career shift to depicting only middle- to high-class people, clearly at odds with most of his pre-war work such as *Umarete wa mita keredo/I Was Born But ...* (1932), could plausibly be traced back to his collaboration with the scriptwriter Noda Kōgo who preferred to steer clear of deeper and more disturbing social issues. Arguably, the disagreement over *Tōkyō boshoku/Tokyo Twilight* (1957), the only film that stands out from Ozu's late work in its stern seriousness, almost broke up this writing team that continued uninterrupted from *Banshun/Late Spring* (1949) to *Samma no aji/An Autumn Afternoon* (1962) (Satō 2006: 335, vol. ii). Satō also underlines the importance of the script department at Shōchiku Studios where both Ozu and Noda spent their entire careers, pointing out its innovative 'scenario system', which suggests a principle different from the more common types of production built around stars, producers or directors (Satō 2006: 211–25, vol. i).

THE SCRIPT DEPARTMENT

Shōchiku's script department (*kyakuhonbu*) is considered an epitome of its kind, adding to the studio's reputation as major innovator in film production and genre-shaping since the 1920s. Kido Shirō, who became the head of Shōchiku in 1924, is particularly famous for his unfaltering advocacy of the script, which he saw as

the blueprint [*sekkeizu*] of film. If the blueprint for a house is not proper, only a shaky thing can be built. In film, too, if the script is bad, even a talented director cannot make a decent picture from it.

(Ishizaka 1995: 36)

Kido demanded scriptwriting skills also from his directing staff, which at times led to assistant directors who turned out to be good writers being quickly promoted to full rank (Ishizaka 1995: 37). Apart from his working place in the studio administration, Kido kept a chair at the script department; he stopped by whenever he had spare time to engage in lively discussion with writers and to brainstorm ideas for new films (Satō 2006: 216, vol. i).

Isolde Standish has noted that Kido 'broke with the rigid hierarchical systems that governed the traditional theatrical arts by encouraging an open environment where young filmmakers could freely discuss and criticize the works of other directors' (2005: 30). What somewhat undermines such achievements of democratizing ways in which Japanese filmmaking had hitherto operated and still made Shōchiku appear somewhat feudalistic was the practice of training fresh incoming staff under established writers. This structure that seems to mirror that of the directors and assistant directors hints at a traditional master–disciple system of craftsmanship, where skills and knowledge are passed on through conversation rather than through any textual means. One of the most prolific Japanese scriptwriters, Yasumi Toshio, points out that at the time he joined the P.C.L. Studios in 1936 there was no single place where one could learn about scriptwriting and not much in the way of a handbook. He suggests that the best way to learn the skills necessary for the trade was to find a teacher (*sensei* or *shishō*) (Yasumi 1964: 30–34).⁷

In his directorial debut, *Aisai monogatari/The Story of a Beloved Wife* (1951), Shindō Kaneto provides both a depiction of the master–disciple system in action and an alternative to it. In this semi-autobiographical film, a fledgling scriptwriter is put through much stress by the demanding film director Sakaguchi-sensei (a thinly disguised take on Mizoguchi Kenji).⁸ In a telling scene, the director says after reading the first draft: ‘This is a story, and not yet a scenario’. After being made to rewrite, the protagonist takes an entire year off to read through the collected plays of world literature. Here, Shindō points at another possibility of learning about scriptwriting: appropriating the dramatic aspect of film through theatrical tradition. However, a third method, that of ‘observe and learn’, was often regarded as the most effective one for immersing oneself in the art of writing film scripts. Yoda Yoshikata recalls how a big part of professional training for his generation of scriptwriters was attending in-house screenings of foreign films at the studio and writing down continuities for careful scrutiny on how films were put together (Bernardi 2001: 21–22).

Although the script department might have appeared family-like and the skills of the trade were initially learnt from the master, producing the script was still the sole responsibility of the writer. In accordance with this, in Japan, more often than not films receive a single scriptwriting credit. Togawa Naoki, when discussing differences between Japanese and American scriptwriting practices, points out the prevalence of the collaborative system (*gassaku shisutemu*) in the United States where several writers are involved in different stages of the process, suggesting that the Japanese film industry has much to learn from this practice (1959: 30). Ironically, joint authorship is precisely what has troubled most scholars of American screenwriting, mainly because it effectively blurs the notion of authorship as such and makes any claims of investing the writer(s) with power over the text problematic. Arguably, Togawa’s juxtaposition of two traditions of film production also sustains the image of Japanese scriptwriter as more authorial and autonomous compared to its American counterpart.

Based on such accounts, Japanese scriptwriters would appear to be a remarkable exception within world film history, but it is debatable whether the Japanese scriptwriter had a completely free hand in developing the script and was adequately credited for his or her work. Still, while script conferences took place where changes to early drafts were proposed by various members of the production team, the same writer was kept re-writing until the end of the process and arguably had more or less integrity for the final draft (*ketteikō*) (Umeda 1955: 93–94). In other words, unlike what often happened in Hollywood, the script was not taken from his or her hands altogether and given to other writer(s) to finish. Notably, although changes were always made to the script in the process of shooting, the final draft that effectively became the shooting script (*daihon*) remained intact, especially as many of these were later published, taking on a different function. Readership will be discussed later in this article.

COLLABORATIVE MODEL AND THE WRITING INN

Despite this seemingly dominant model of assigning a single writer to a project, there are many cases of collaborative scriptwriting in Japan. The most famous of these are associated with the working methods of canonical Japanese film directors such as Ozu, Mizoguchi⁹ and Kurosawa Akira. Much

Nobuo, Yamanouchi Hisashi, Terayama Shūji, Yoda Yoshikata (2006: 86–91, vol. iii), Nakajima Takehiro, Kasahara Kazuo, Kuramoto Sō, Baba Ataru, Saji Susumu, Tanaka Yōzō, Ido Akio, Katsura Chiho, Matsuda Shōzō and Arai Haruhiko (2006: 190–95, vol. iii).

7. This claim about the paucity of scriptwriting manuals is not completely accurate as the 1930s saw the publication of several how-to-do books, both originals and translations such as Mori Iwao *Eiga kyakuhon Nijūkō* / ‘Twenty Lectures of Film Scripts’ (1930), Vsevolod Pudovkin *Eiga kantoku to eiga kyakuhonron* / ‘On the Film Director and Film Script’ (1930, trans. Sasaki Norio), Yasuda Kiyoo *Eiga kyakuhon kōseiron* / ‘On The Structure of the Film Script’ (1935, updated as *Tōkii shinario kōseiron* / ‘On The Structure of the Talkie Scenario’ [1937]) and Frances Marion *Shinario kōwa* / ‘How to Write and Sell Film Stories’ (1938, trans. Sasaki Norio).
8. According to Kishi Matsuo, this aspect of the film depicts the relationship between Mizoguchi and his main scriptwriter, Yoda Yoshikata, rather than Shindō’s own experiences with the legendary director (Kishi 1973: 807).
9. Although Yoda Yoshikata is always credited as the single writer in Mizoguchi’s films, according to virtually all accounts it was the director who was very much in charge of the whole writing process. Infamous for driving actors mad with his demands, the same

thing is mirrored in his relationship with Yoda, whom he tortured by assigning numerous rewrites (Ishizaka 1995: 153–54).

10. With the exception of the first six and the last three films, all Kurosawa's films received joint writing credits. Oguni Hideo (twelve credits), Kikushima Ryūzō (nine), Hashimoto Shinobu (eight) and Hisaita Eijirō (four) were Kurosawa's most frequent collaborators, with several different combinations between them making up the writing credits of the director's most emblematic films.

11. These include: silent *jidaigeki* (period drama), characterized by a focus on rhythmic patterns (Itō Daisuke and Yamanaka Sadao as its representative writers); Shōchiku's *shoshimingeiki* (lower middle-class drama), with its penchant for depicting nuances of everyday life (Ozu, Shimazu Yasujirō); writers coming from theatre who cherish drama and conflict (Yagi, Yasumi, Yatta Naoyuki); and an ironic framework that juxtaposes words and images (Itami Mansaku).

12. 'Our Jean Renoir Award, honoring those non-U.S. writers whose work has raised the bar for all of us, this year goes to Akira Kurosawa, Hideo Oguni, Ryūzō Kikushima, and Shinobu Hashimoto, honoring the writing at the heart of the Japanese cinema,'

said WGAW Vice President Howard A. Rodman. These four men, working in loose collaboration, are responsible for writing many, many



Figure 2: Ozu and Noda at Chigasakikan, a Japanese writing inn.

has been written about the *gasshuku*/boarding together model employed by Kurosawa during his most active period from the late 1940s to the mid-1960s.¹⁰ Kurosawa sat several writers together in the same room and had them compete with each other to come up with the best solution for a particular sequence under scrutiny. In a tense atmosphere much like a school exam, the director himself had the final word (Ishizaka 1995: 153–54). The memoir of Hashimoto Shinobu, *Fukugan no eizō: Kurosawa Akira to watashi*/'Compound Cinematics: Akira Kurosawa and I' (1993), recently published in English translation, provides much insight into this practice.

In his typology of Japanese scriptwriting, Okada Susumu has interpreted Kurosawa's model as one bringing together several seemingly conflicting types of traditions. Okada delineates four distinct schools (*nagare*) of writing¹¹ and argues that by employing writers of each type to work together Kurosawa effectively created a space where various strengths of Japanese scriptwriting could interact and result in the best possible results (1963: 190–99). Whether or not we accept Okada's interpretation, the efforts of Kurosawa's group have been widely celebrated, and lately decorated with the highest international recognition yet for Japanese scriptwriting. It might seem ironic that amidst all the individuality attached to Japanese writers the Jean Renoir Award for Screenwriting Achievement in 2013 (given by the Writers Guild of America West) was shared between Kurosawa, Hashimoto, Kikushima Ryūzō and Oguni Hideo (posthumously, except for Hashimoto).¹²

An integral part of the image of Japanese scriptwriting was its reliance on specific working spaces. Despite the above-mentioned exceptional collaborative models, the task of the scriptwriter, especially when compared to the teamwork of shooting a film, has commonly been seen as a lonely ordeal. However, from various accounts emerges a strong sense of community that can be traced back to the family-like atmosphere of the Shōchiku script department as well as its out-of-house practices. The template for the latter is characterized by Ishizaka: 'A scriptwriter teams with a director, and after deciding

on the next project, shuts himself in the *jōyado* [regular inn] and begins the scriptwriting process' (1995: 40). The notion of *jōyado* permeates histories of Japanese scriptwriting, making it inextricable from those of the department and the master-disciple relationship. During the immediate post-war years, all big studios had their regular writing inns, often in quiet rural locations outside Tokyo. Famously, Shōchiku kept one for its writers at the hot spring resort, Hakone Yumoto, and another in the coastal small town of Chigasaki, named Seikōen and Chigasakikan, respectively.

Some writers spent months and, in rarer cases, when writer's block hit, a year or more¹³ in these small hotels tucked away from the bustle of the metropolis. During the Golden Age of the 1950s there were two to three writers or writing teams staying at each of these places. The relative proximity to the Shōchiku studios at Ōfuna and mild winters being the strong points of Chigasaki, Ozu allegedly spent 150 to 200 days a year there during the ten-year post-war period, always using the same corner room Number Two.¹⁴ All expenses were paid by the company. There are numerous accounts of how the first days after entering the inn were spent playing mahjong with other lodging writers; it was only a few days later that any work commenced. Apparently, Ozu spent most of the early part of the day preparing his special brand of miso soup for other lodgers (Shindō 1989: 27, vol. ii). *Jōyado* was an extension of the script department but also something that many writers active during the flourishing of the studio system in the 1950s have thought back to as an idyllic space, a kind of El Dorado for scriptwriting.

While the leisurely pace of working at *jōyado* might have seemed like paradise to some writers like Shindō, accounts by women writers such as Hashida Sugako (noted for writing the popular TV drama *Oshin* [NHK, 1984–1985]) complicate the picture. Hashida too was once invited to write at an inn but she instantly felt less advantaged, not least for being declined as a mahjong player or bathing companion to the lodging male scriptwriters (Hashida and Yamada 1995: 81). *Jōyado*, then, idyllic for some and a site of engaging young writers, could also be seen as one of exclusion. Moreover, if *jōyado* reveals its weakness in gender terms so does the script department itself. The atmosphere there might have been family-like but this notion has certain negative implications as well. This becomes clear from ways in which women were appointed to only certain roles in the industrial hierarchy, mostly as typists at the department who typed the manuscripts created by male scriptwriters into shooting scripts.

SCENARIO READERS

Steven Price has pointed out how film scripts have been more often than not treated as industrial waste, referring to an anecdote about the sizeable collection of scripts from the Ealing studios surviving only because it was quite accidentally retrieved from a skip (2013: 19–20). The fate of film scripts in Japan could not be further from these pitiful and at times comical accounts. The majority of shooting scripts have survived and are readily available in a number of research libraries and specialist bookstores. However, the unique status of film scripts in Japan is best attested by their continued publication in film journals and anthologization under the category of *shinario*/scenario. Satō Tadao recalls how during his school days in the immediate post-war years, in order to appease his hunger for cinema, he sometimes escaped provincial Niigata and went up to the capital hunting for scenarios.

masterpieces – films that reflect the Japanese culture, and have given all of us a taste of the sublime.
(Mitchell 2013)

13. There is the well-documented case of the scriptwriter Saitō Ryōsuke who developed writer's block while working on the script of *Seido no Kirisuto/Christ in Bronze* at Chigasakikan in 1953. Eventually, it took over a year to finish this single script, even after additional writers were sent in by the studio (Ishizaka 1995: 40–41).
14. Ishizaka Shōzō (1995) has dedicated an entire book to the special place this *jōyado* had in Ozu's life and work between 1941 and 1957; he examines how the particular environment of a quiet coastal resort town with its historical background gave birth to a number of films now considered masterpieces of world cinema.

15. It is estimated that the prints of only about four per cent of all films produced in Japan before and during WWII remain intact today. Although the multiple disasters that befell Japan during this period, such as the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923 and the bombing of Tokyo in the final stages of the war, are partly to be blamed, it is the low regard for cinema during its early decades and insufficient preservation methods that are equally responsible for the poor availability of pre-war Japanese cinema.

In order to read scenarios, I went through a lot of trouble in my youth. At the time, I was a student at a railroad engineering college in Niigata but on a couple of Saturday evenings every year I took my savings and got on a night train to Tokyo. Those were the postwar days of inconvenient transportation, so on most occasions I slept the nine hours it took crouching on newspapers spread along the aisle. Then I walked around the whole Sunday in used book stores in the Kanda area and looked for journals and books that would contain old scenario masterpieces. Old journals and the like were cheap so I could buy a lot. Owing to this, I had no other hobbies but did not mind in the least. After stuffing the journals that I had accumulated in my rucksack, I returned to Niigata on another night train and on Monday morning went straight from the station to my classes.

(Satō 1975: 290)

Aside from the particular train trip, what Satō is describing was no doubt a common practice for many young people of his generation with deep interest in cinema. He adds that, after reading the scenarios of celebrated pre-war films no longer available for watching, he was usually convinced of their historical importance (Satō 1975: 289).¹⁵ Above all, this account attests to the role that published scenarios played for such self-educated post-war film buffs as Satō. He also notes how the reader of the scenario, holding what is basically a shooting script in his hand, is very much in the position of a film director, imagining a yet non-existent film out of the text (Satō 1975: 292). What we have here, then, is a (script)writerly text where the reader takes an active role in constructing meanings. To paraphrase, a scenario could perhaps be even called a directorly, or for that matter actorly or cinematographerly, text.

Okada Susumu, in his editorial for a special issue of *Kinema junpō*, describes this phenomenon brought about by extensive publishing of scenarios that enticed readers from different walks of life.

There is probably no other country besides Japan where scenarios would be so widespread as reading matter [*yomimono*] and introductions to film. At the same time, more people are trying to write scenarios. Students who have serious ambitions of becoming scriptwriters. Salarymen writing in their spare time. Film fans for whom simply enjoying films is not enough. Even among young women the enthusiasm for writing scenarios is spreading.

(1959: 158)

Here, Okada points out that one of the inevitable results of reading scenarios is the desire to start writing them (much like fan fiction is nowadays pushing literary production to hitherto uncharted territories). It is also notable that Okada brings up the gender issue at the time when women writers such as Mizuki, Tanaka and Wada Natto were making their mark on Japanese cinema. Above all, what this trend suggests is that those who are writerly readers conceptually can also become so in actuality. Published scenarios, then, signify the site where script readers can try to become scriptwriters.

There are contemporary scenario readers such as the blogger presenting himself as Okamura Hirofumi (2015) who has made a notable effort to introduce both the work of scriptwriters and various scriptwriting manuals through the means of social media. In his profile, Okamura provides a list of his favourite scenarios and scriptwriters ('kono kyakuhonka ga

sunbarashii/'this scriptwriter is wonderful'). Among his favourite writers, Okamura singles out Kurosawa and his early and late work, completely ignoring what is considered the core of his *oeuvre*.¹⁶ Okamura's all-time top three scenarios, *Chikamatsu monogatari/The Crucified Lovers* (Mizoguchi, 1954, written by Yoda Yoshikata), *Shōnen/Boy* (Oshima, 1969, written by Tamura Tsutomu) and *Bakushū/Early Summer* (Ozu, 1951, written by the director and Noda Kōgo), are similarly somewhat atypical choices when weighed against the whole output of their respective writers. However subjective, and precisely for that reason, these kind of preferences point at how reader reception of cinema can vary considerably depending on whether it is based on finished film or scenario.

SCENARIO PUBLISHING AND CANON

Published scenarios (mostly transcribed continuities or translations of foreign material) first began to appear in various periodicals in the mid-1920s, serving as the main source of learning for aspiring scriptwriters. This was a mostly utilitarian approach, but by the mid-1930s, coinciding with the advent of sound cinema, calls to read scenarios as autonomous literary texts began to be heard. The collective effort by a group of leading film critics called the Shinario Bungaku Undō/Scenario Literature Movement sought to draw attention to the cultural value of the scenario. This culminated with the publication of the six-volume *Shinario bungaku zenshū/'Complete works of scenario literature'* (1936–1937), which predates the first comparable American collection, *Twenty Best Film Plays* (John Gassner and Dudley Nichols, 1943), by several years. Although this endeavour can be described as unsuccessful – after all, the scenario never became an established literary genre – it nevertheless created a forum and paved the way for young writers coming from outside the bounds of the film industry, such as Hashimoto Shinobu. More importantly, the conceptual framework that first emerged from this debate on the reception of scenarios in the late 1930s proved to be very influential in the post-war era, leading to an extended publishing and reading culture.

The number of scenarios published in Japan is so large that any attempt to compile a comprehensive bibliography would necessarily run into considerable problems. Coming closest to achieving this goal is Tanigawa Yoshio's *Shinario bunken/'Scenario Resources'* (1979, updated 1984 and 1997), an invaluable piece of bibliographical scholarship and still the main reference book for locating published scenarios in resources ranging from 1920s journals to 1990s anthologies dedicated to individual writers. Strictly excluded are shooting scripts (*daihon*) published by the studios that in most occasions are identical to the scenarios that appeared in journals or anthologies.¹⁷ By such exclusion of semi-official sources and providing information only on 'proper' publications (books and periodicals), Tanigawa reveals a strategy that at once hints at a different status of *shinario* in contrast to other versions of the same text. Along the lines established by the Scenario Literature Movement, scenario becomes reading matter (*yomimomo*) and as such a commodity in the publishing market.

Tanigawa's work clearly suggests that by far the most abundant period for publishing scenarios was the 1950s, coinciding with the Golden Age of the studio system. There are a number of relevant periodicals that came about in the immediate post-war years, some of them published to this day.

The monthly *Shinario/Scenario* is mostly targeted at the practitioners, while creating a forum for their work in progress. *Nenkan daihyō shinarioshū/'Annual collection of representative scenarios'* has been published since 1952, and

16. Included are unproduced scenarios such as *Darumaji no doitsuujin/The German of Darumaji Temple* (1941) and *Yuki/Snow* (1942) but also *Yume/Dreams* (1990) and *Hachigatsu no rapusodi/Rhapsody in August* (1991), which received relatively poor reviews and have failed to earn a notable place in scholarship on Kurosawa.
17. The only marked differences are in the layout, as *daihon* runs in one column and especially those for older films are often additionally organized by reels, the numeration of pages taking the form of A-3, B-17, etc.; in *shinario*, the text is often squeezed into several columns in order to make most effective use of space on the page. As such, this concept of publishing scenarios differs radically from that of the 'one-page-per-minute, generic physical form, user-friendly white space' (Price 2013: 202–03).

18. Usually titled *Meisaku shinarioshū*/'Collection of Scenario Masterpieces', they appeared as special issues (*zōkan*, 23 altogether), then as separate volumes/extra numbers (*bessatsu*, eight) as if to suggest that the regular journal size could no longer accommodate the heightened demand for scenarios.
19. At times a scenario from Shin-Tōhō or an independent studio was included.
20. First, a twelve-volume *Nihon shinario bungaku zenshū*/'Complete Works of Japanese Scenario Literature' (1955–1956) had each volume dedicated to separate screenwriter(s), interestingly aligning them with directors during these early days of *la politique des auteurs*. Two series that sought to provide a definitive selection of pre-war and post-war scenarios, *Nihon eiga daihyō shinario zenshū*/'Complete Representative Scenarios of Japanese Film' (1958–1959) and *Nihon eiga koten shinario zenshū*/'Complete Classic Scenarios of Japanese Film' (1965–1966, 6 vols), appeared as separate volumes of *Kinema junpō*. Arguably the most comprehensive of anthologies, *Nihon shinario taikai*/'Series of Japanese Scenarios' (1972–1979, 6 vols) comprised scripts from silent cinema up to late 1970s' popular comedies and thrillers.

comprises ten scenarios in each volume. Both are edited by the Japan Writers Guild. The most important influence on what I have called 'scenario culture' was the fortnightly journal *Kinema Junpō*. In the course of the decade and beyond, it became the most prolific periodical for scenarios with its numerous special issues and scenario anthologies. The editor Shimizu Chiyota, in his postscript for the inaugural issue, explicitly commits to publishing scenarios.

Each issue of this journal will feature a scenario of an outstanding domestic or foreign film. This has not been tried out in *Kinema junpō* before but as the source material of film, the scenario is suitable for research and we think that it will be useful for strengthening the character of this journal.

(1950: 104)

True to the promise, each issue of *Kinema junpō* included a scenario that usually took up about one-fourth of its volume, alternating between Japanese and foreign texts. In 1952 *Kinema junpō* inaugurated a string of special editions of scenario masterpieces (*meisaku*); these would appear quarterly by the late 1950s.¹⁸ Initially collections of foreign scripts that included an odd Japanese one, this ratio was soon reversed and kept to a 6:1 or 5:2 pattern in favour of domestic scenarios. Arguably, this mirrors the self-confidence in Japanese cinema vis-à-vis foreign films as it grew during the decade. If we take a closer look, the content of scenario collections was more or less neatly divided between the productions of the five major studios of the late 1950s: Daiei, Nikkatsu, Shōchiku, Tōei and Tōhō.¹⁹ This practice stands in the starkest possible contrast to what was occurring in the United States at the time when studios who owned the copyright of screenplays were reluctant to let them be published at all. In Japan, there appears to have been an industrial tie-in (*taiapu* in Japanese) where studios made most of the opportunity to promote their new films while *Kinema junpō* catered to their curious readers.

Since the mid-1950s, alongside the fortnightly publication of recently premiered films there appeared a simultaneous trend to compile anthologies that often reached back to the representative works of the silent era.²⁰ Edward Mack, in his study of the interplay of the Japanese literary and publishing worlds, makes a distinction between 'dynamic canonization' represented by the annual literary prizes and the 'static' mechanism of the anthology (*zenshū*) (2010: 6–7). Following this, it could be argued that the ongoing publishing of scenarios in film journals contributed to the dynamic canon, while anthologizing was enforcing its static counterpart. A preliminary data analysis that combines different anthologies provides a glimpse of something that might be called Japanese scenario canon, which both complements and challenges film canon proper. This in turn attests to the capacity of the Japanese scenario to engage with both cinema history and reception of individual films by the audiences made up of scenario readers.

CONCLUSION

Although this article cannot hope but to have scraped the surface of the phenomenon of popular and critical engagement with scenarios and scriptwriting in Japan – a 'scenario culture' – a synchronic examination of writing and reading practices has enabled me to delineate a number of key

points. An integral part of both the practice and public image of Japanese scriptwriting was its reliance on specific working spaces in and out of studios, exemplified by the regular inn (*jōyado*) that acted both as a site of interaction and as one of exclusion. In film histories, scriptwriters have been endowed with authorial capacity by the use of the term *shinario sakka*, as this notion of 'author' has enabled to tease out the themes and stylistic preoccupations of each writer in order to evaluate their work but also organize film history based on the writers' contributions rather than that of directors, actors, studios or genres. What prompted and supported such understanding of the scriptwriter's role in cinema was the ubiquitous availability of scenarios to the general and skilled readership since the 1950s. One of the remaining issues that should be addressed by future scholarship is the role and function of the scriptwriting manual alongside other methods discussed in this article and its influence on the development of the Japanese version of master-scene script.

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