

**Rewriting Lady Nijō's Story: Transformation, Retelling, and Replacement in Modern
Adaptations of *Towazugatari***

by

Elsa Claire Camille Chanez

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Abstract

Completed around 1307, *Towazugatari*, the work of a Kamakura-era (1185–1333) woman known as Lady Nijō (1258–after 1306), was only rediscovered in 1938. Half court diary and half travel diary, this hybrid work covers the life story of its author from her entry to court at age fourteen to her pilgrimages throughout Japan after becoming a Buddhist nun. Unlike other works of the Heian (794–1185) or Kamakura period, *Towazugatari* has not enjoyed much reception or adaptation after its completion, until the twentieth century when it was uncovered. However, since its rediscovery the text has inspired a short story, four novel adaptations, a movie, a play, and four different manga adaptations. In this thesis, I focus on the four novelizations of the text, arguing that, because of its late discovery, hybrid nature, and unique content, these novel adaptations have acted as replacements of the original for non-academic audiences. I also highlight two different waves of adaptations by separating the four novels into two categories, chronologically and thematically, suggesting that the earlier works focused on retelling the story of Nijō's life while the later adaptations create narratives around the text itself as an artifact.

First, I carry out a survey and analysis of all of the non-novel adaptations in order to provide a background on which to couch my discussion of the novels. As my critical framework, I utilize Linda Hutcheon's *A Theory of Adaptation* and Michael Emmerich's idea of replacement from his *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature*. I rely on close readings of the texts, secondary sources, and personal communication with some of the authors to support my argument. Next, I analyze Setouchi Harumi's (1922–) *Chūsei enjō* and Sugimoto Sonoko's (1925–2017) *Shin Towazugatari*. Finally, I discuss Mori Masako's (1944–) *Kewaizaka* and Okuyama Kyōko's (1966–) *Koi goromo Towazugatari*.

Lay Summary

This thesis explores four novel adaptations of a premodern Japanese woman's work that was completed around 1306 but only rediscovered in 1938. I explore ideas of reception, adaptation, and retelling to argue that both the exceptional circumstances around the discovery of the text and its peculiar content have allowed for the novelizations of the text to act as replacements of the original for non-academic audiences. First, I provide a survey of non-novel adaptations of the text. Then, I analyze Setouchi Harumi's (1922–) *Chūsei enjō* and Sugimoto Sonoko's (1925–2017) *Shin Towazugatari*. Finally, I discuss Mori Masako's (1944–) *Kewaizaka* and Okuyama Kyōko's (1966–) *Koi goromo Towazugatari*.

Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Elsa Claire Camille Chanez.

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Dedication

To my family and friends, thank you for your support.

Chapter One: Introduction

6.1 The Modern Discovery of *Towazugatari*

In 1938, Professor Yamagishi Tokuhei 山岸徳平(1894-1987) discovered a bundle of five books¹ entitled *Towazugatari* (*An Unrequested Tale* とはずがたり)² while perusing the geography section of the Imperial Household Library in Tokyo.³ Upon further inspection, he determined that the books were not a treatise on geography but the diary of a Kamakura-era (1185–1333) woman, Lady Nijō 二条 (1258–after 1306).⁴ The work, a copied version from the seventeenth or eighteenth century,⁵ encompasses thirty-six years⁶ of the life of its author: from her entry to court at age fourteen to her travels as a wandering nun after her expulsion from court. Due to this recent discovery, most of the reception scholarship on *Towazugatari* is modern, starting with Yamagishi’s own article in 1940 in which he describes his wondrous discovery. In his “*Towazugatari oboegaki*” とはずがたり覚書 (A Memorandum on *Towazugatari*), published in the September 1940 edition of the *Kokugo to kokubungaku* journal, he explains how he identified the author of the diary by consulting *Masukagami* 増鏡 (*The Clear Mirror*, after 1338),⁷ a chronicle of events of the years 1180 to 1333.⁸ Yamagishi cites a passage of the “Kusamakura” 草枕 book of the *Masukagami*⁹ and concludes that Nijō must have been the daughter of the middle counsellor (*chūnagon* 中納言) Koga Masatada 久我雅忠 (1228–1272), a young woman referred to as Sanjō 三条.¹⁰ He also determines that she wrote her diary after being expelled from court¹¹

¹ Matsumoto Yasuhi, *Chūsei kyūtei josei no nikki, Towazugatari no sekai* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 1986), i.

² Edith Sarra, “*Towazugatari*: Unruly Tales from a Dutiful Daughter,” in *The Father-Daughter Plot: Japanese Literary Women and the Law of the Father*, eds. Rebecca L. Copeland and Esperanza Ramirez-Christansen (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001), 89.

³ Karen Brazell, trans., *The Confessions of Lady Nijō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), vii–viii.

⁴ 後深草二院条 *GoFukakusain no Nijō*, referenced hereafter as Lady Nijō.

⁵ Małgorzata Citko, “Three Faces of Lady Nijō, the Authoress of *Towazugatari*,” *Silva Iaponicarum*, 21/22 (2009): 12.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Christina Laffin, “Women, Travel, and Cultural Production in Kamakura Japan: A Socio-Literary Analysis of *Izayoi nikki* and *Towazugatari*,” PhD diss. (Columbia University, 2005), 103.

⁸ Małgorzata Citko, “Three Faces,” 11.

⁹ Yamagishi Tokuhei, “*Towazugatari oboegaki*,” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 17, no. 9 (1940): 1.

¹⁰ Yamagishi Tokuhei, “*Towazugatari oboegaki*,” 2.

and, by comparing her work and its similarity with the content of *Masukagami*,¹² discerns that a more conclusive determination of the relationship between the two texts would allow scholars to correct sections of the *Masukagami*.¹³

Yamagishi stresses the importance of the diary as a valuable historical asset that needs to be studied, yet his discussion of the text seems to avoid mentioning some important elements, such as Nijō's depiction of the emperor and their peculiar relationship. This choice might have been motivated by the nationalistic fervour of the 1940s and the fact that Nijō's portrayal of the emperor could have been considered "unpatriotic,"¹⁴ even though the events of the diary took place long ago. Małgorzata Citko argues that Nijō's depiction of the human nature and weaknesses of the emperor may have been seen as scandalous when it was written, and this could have been one of the reasons for its long disappearance from the public sphere.¹⁵ Further studies of the content of the *Masukagami* have shown that "eighteen episodes" from *Towazugatari* were used in *Masukagami*,¹⁶ but the relationship between the author of *Masukagami*, Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388), and Lady Nijō has yet to be established.¹⁷ Due to the lack of textual references to Nijō's existence, the issue of fictionality that is often raised because of her inclusion of historical inaccuracies,¹⁸ and the fact that she painted several events of her life through the lens of tales (*monogatari* 物語),¹⁹ one wonders if the Nijō depicted in *Towazugatari* might just be a fictional character.²⁰ Nonetheless, as underlined by Hitomi Tonomura, the presence of an actual

¹¹ Ibid., 3.

¹² Ibid., 11.

¹³ Christina Laffin, "Women, Travel, and Cultural Production," 103.

¹⁴ Ibid., 104.

¹⁵ Małgorzata Citko, "Three Faces," 23.

¹⁶ Hitomi Tonomura, "Coercive Sex in the Medieval Japanese Court: Lady Nijō's Memoir," *Monumenta Nipponica* 61, no. 3 (2006): 295.

¹⁷ Małgorzata Citko, "Three Faces," 11.

¹⁸ Christina Laffin, "Women, Travel, and Cultural Production," 105–106.

¹⁹ Edith Sarra, "*Towazugatari*: Unruly Tales," 89.

²⁰ Hitomi Tonomura, "Coercive Sex," 295.

record of her life in the *Masukagami* highlights the possibility of her existence as a “historically plausible ‘Lady Nijō.’”²¹

Further debates exist regarding Nijō’s possible production of paintings, as emphasized by Joshua Mostow in one of the chapters of his *Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation*.²² Indeed, he mentions that scholars such as Aihara Mitsuko have identified the author of *Towazugatari* as the artist responsible for the drawings of a particular scroll of paintings illustrating *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (*Tales of Ise*, 905), going as far as to identify one particular illustration as depicting Nijō herself and one of her lovers.²³ Furthermore, in his 1966 article, “Toyo no akari no ezōshi to *Towazugatari*,” Nakamura Yoshio argues that Nijō might be the creator of a painting titled *Toyo no akari ezōshi* (*Picture Scroll of the Festival of Abounding Lights*, 豊明絵草子, 14th century) because of the similarities between the text accompanying the work and *Towazugatari*.²⁴

However, such claims are difficult to fully verify, and, in the case of the *Ise* painting, Mostow argues that the issue of dating might suggest the impossibility of the work being Nijō’s, as she would have been travelling away from the court and could not have participated in an imperially sponsored work at that time.²⁵ Therefore, it is almost impossible to prove that the author of *Towazugatari* left other texts or images that would allow any type of connection to be made to her and her work. It is also important to note that Nijō’s full name is not completely known, similar to other women writers such as Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (ca. 964–after 1027) or Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (ca. 973–ca. 1014).²⁶ Indeed, she most certainly used the name Nijō at court and was called Akako あかこ or Agako あがこ as a child

²¹ Ibid.

²² Joshua Mostow, *Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 124–26.

²³ Ibid., 126.

²⁴ Nakamura Yoshio, “Toyo no Akari no Ezōshi to *Towazugatari*,” *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 247 (1966): 53

²⁵ Joshua Mostow, *Courtly Visions*, 126.

²⁶ Matsumoto Yasuhi, *Chūsei kyūtei josei no nikki*, 3.

and by the emperor, but the name she was given at birth still remains unknown.²⁷ The appellation Nijō means “Second Avenue” and denotes the relatively high position of the author of *Towazugatari* at court.²⁸

Moreover, the content of the *Masukagami* might corroborate the idea that the copy of Nijō’s diary that was found by Yamagishi is incomplete or censored. Also, at least two scenes that include Lady Sanjō in the *Masukagami* are not described in the diary,²⁹ and the abrupt four-year gap between Books Three and Four have led scholars to wonder if a missing volume was supposed to cover this period of the author’s life.³⁰ Yet Christina Laffin points out that Nijō could simply have chosen not to include the episodes and highlights the fact that other gaps in time occur in other parts of the diary.³¹ In addition, the gap between Books Three and Four might have been intentional, as it is a noted occurrence in other types of works from the Heian (794–1185) and Kamakura period, such as in fiction and memoirs.³² For example, Karen Brazell compares it to the death of Prince Genji, which occurs outside of the main narrative in *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, 1008).³³

Thus, the *Masukagami* and its relationship to the diary allow us to draw several conclusions about Lady Nijō and the limited circulation of her work. Furthermore, if both texts had enjoyed the same level of circulation, readers would have immediately understood similarities between the two texts, and, thus, this proves that they did not enjoy the same level of circulation.³⁴ In addition, it should be noted that there are two entries in the *Sanetaka kōki* 實隆公記 (1497), the diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537), which make reference to *Towazugatari* and state that a copy was commissioned

²⁷ Ibid., 2–3.

²⁸ Karen Brazell, *Confessions*, viii.

²⁹ Christina Laffin, “Women, Travel, and Cultural Production” 118–119.

³⁰ Edith Sarra, “*Towazugatari*: Unruly Tales,” 94.

³¹ Christina Laffin, “Women, Travel, and Cultural Production,” 118–119.

³² Edith Sarra, “*Towazugatari*: Unruly Tales,” 94.

³³ Karen Brazell, *Confessions*, xviii.

³⁴ Małgorzata Citko, “Three Faces,” 11.

³⁴ Christina Laffin, “Women, Travel, and Cultural Production,” 123.

by Emperor GoTsuchimikado (1195–1231, r. 1198–1210).³⁵ Hence, we can conclude that the work was read and circulated amongst aristocrats, but the original manuscripts and many of its copies were lost.³⁶ Overall, very few premodern writings make mention of Nijō and *Towazugatari*, and the copy discovered by Yamagishi might be her only extant work that has reached us today.

6.2 Two Waves of Academic Reception

In 1950, Yamagishi Tokuhei published the first complete transcription of the text he uncovered as part of a twenty-three-volume series entitled *Zushoryō shozō Katsura no Miya-bon sōsho* 圖書寮所藏桂宮本叢, edited alongside Hashimoto Fumiyo.³⁷ As part of the “Tales” (*monogatari* 物語) section of the series, *Towazugatari* is compiled in Volume 15, alongside a short story called *Mukura san* むくら三. Together with a short introduction and pictures of the text found by Yamagishi, this version of *Towazugatari* is presented to the reader without annotations. Subsequent publications of the text such as Tomikura Tokujirō’s 1966 *Towazugatari* tend to include not only the original transcription of the text with annotations but also a modernized translation, or *gendai goyaku* 現代語訳, allowing readers without knowledge of classical Japanese grammar to access the work.³⁸ In addition, versions of the text in modernized Japanese, such as the one published in 1973 by Setouchi Harumi 瀬戸内晴美 (1922–),³⁹ emerged alongside academic articles and books, allowing a larger audience to access and understand *Towazugatari*.

Laffin argues that after Yamagishi’s publication of the text in 1950, numerous scholarly works about the text quickly emerged in two distinct waves: the first ranging from immediately following its

³⁵ Hitomi Tonomura, “Coercive Sex,” 374.

³⁶ Ibid.,

³⁷ Yamagishi Tokuhei and Hashimoto Fumiyo, *Zushoryō shozō Katsura no Miya-bon sōsho*, vol. 15, *Monogatari ichi* (Tokyo: Hibonkaku, 1950).

³⁸ Tomikura Tokujirō, trans., *Towazugatari* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1966).

³⁹ Setouchi Harumi, trans., *Gendaigoyaku Towazugatari* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1973).

publication up to the 1960s, and the second beginning in the 1980s.⁴⁰ Both waves were concerned with different aspects of the text. The first focused on its literary history while the second, occurring during a resurgence of interest around women's writings, situated *Towazugatari* within women's literature and placed a greater emphasis on the issue of fictionality.⁴¹ In addition to academic books and articles, Lady Nijō's text was also translated into foreign languages, including English translations such as Karen Brazell's 1973 *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*⁴² and Wilfrid Whitehouse and Eizo Yanagisawa's 1974 *Lady Nijō's Own Story: Towazu-Gatari: The Candid Diary of a Thirteenth-Century Japanese Imperial Concubine*.⁴³ Other versions include translations into German,⁴⁴ Bulgarian,⁴⁵ and French.⁴⁶ Furthermore, reception and scholarship of the text abroad followed Karen Brazell's 1971 article "Towazugatari: Autobiography of a Japanese Court Lady," and several English articles written on the subject used her translation.⁴⁷

6.3 Novelizations and Other Modern Adaptations

Beyond the academic reception and translations that followed the uncovering of the text, *Towazugatari* has enjoyed several examples of modern adaptations through different mediums, such as the manga, film, and play versions that I will explore briefly in Chapter Two. *Towazugatari* has also inspired four novels spanning from 1973 to 2009, written by four women writers, that will be analyzed in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis. I will be looking at all the adaptations of the text chronologically, starting with the first instance of adaptation, a short four-page story by author Kitabatake Yao 北畠 八穂 (1903–1982) published in the October edition of the literary magazine

⁴⁰ Christina Laffin, "Women, Travel, and Cultural Production," 104.

⁴¹ Ibid., 105.

⁴² Karen Brazell, *Confessions*.

⁴³ Wilfrid Whitehouse and Eizo Yanagisawa, trans. *Lady Nijō's Own Story: Towazu-Gatari: The Candid Diary of a Thirteenth-Century Japanese Imperial Concubine* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1974).

⁴⁴ Rainer Krempien trans., *Towazugatari. Übersetzung und Bearbeitung eines neu aufgefundenen literarischen Werkes der Kamakura-Zeit* (Freiburg i. Br.: Schwarz, 1973).

⁴⁵ Kristeva Tzvetana, trans., *Нечакана повест* (Plovdiv, Bulgaria: Plovdiv Khristo G. Danov, 1981).

⁴⁶ Alain Rocher, trans., *Splendeurs et misères d'une favorite* (Arles: Editions Philippe Picquier, 2004).

⁴⁷ Karen Brazell, "Towazugatari: Autobiography of a Kamakura Court Lady," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 31 (1971): 220–233.

Bungei 文藝 in 1956.⁴⁸ Kitabatake's story was published during the first wave of academic reception of the text, eighteen years after the discovery of *Towazugatari* but only six years after Yamagishi's publication of the first full transcription. The next adaptation, Setouchi Harumi's novel *Chūsei enjō* 中世炎上 (*Medieval Scandal*),⁴⁹ began serialization in 1971, occurred alongside the second wave of scholarship of the text, and was published fifteen years after Kitabatake's story. Adaptations followed steadily from the 70s to the 90s, with one or two works every decade, before accelerating slightly during the 2000s with the publication of five works between 2000 and 2009. It appears that the first wave of academic reception of *Towazugatari* may have enabled the emergence of the earliest adaptations. Later, the second wave of academic reception slowly stimulated the second wave of adaptation, which then slowed down significantly in the 1990s before perking up again in the 2000s.

In this thesis, I examine the four novel adaptations of *Towazugatari* chronologically, starting with Setouchi Harumi's *Chūsei enjō* which started serialization in 1971. The author, who changed her name to Setouchi Jakuchō when she became a Buddhist nun in 1973, has written extensively about her interest in Nijō's story, published a modern language version of the story in 1973, and used Nijō as an inspiration for several other works. Through a close reading of the novel, other texts written by Setouchi, and academic articles written about her novel, I address some of the reasons behind Setouchi's decision to produce several works directly influenced by Nijō and *Towazugatari*. Setouchi's case is also interesting because her own life seems to mirror Nijō's, as both are women writers who wrote about their love lives and later became nuns. The next novel I examine is Sugimoto Sonoko's 杉本 苑子 (1925–2017) *Shin Towazugatari* 新とはずがたり (*The New Unexpected Tale*),⁵⁰ first serialized in 1989. The book deals with the historical and political background of the story that is less emphasized or

⁴⁸ Kitabatake Yao, "Dainagon no Suke no Hime," *Bungei*, October 1956, 89–92.

⁴⁹ Setouchi Harumi, *Chūsei enjō* (Japan: Asahi Shinbunsha 1973).

⁵⁰ Sugimoto Sonoko, *Shin Towazugatari* (Japan: Kōdansha, 1990).

absent in *Towazugatari*. Sugimoto also chose to create a shift in narrator by having the story told through the eyes of one of Nijō's lovers, Saionji Sanekane 西園寺 実兼 (1249–1322). Due to the author's recent passing, I was not able to collect much material concerning the influence of *Towazugatari* on Sugimoto's work nor her reasons for crafting such an adaptation. I therefore primarily rely on the text itself and the afterword, along with secondary sources, to analyze this adaptation.

The third novel, Mori Masako's 森真沙子 (1944–) *Kewaizaka* 化粧坂 (*Kewai Slope*)⁵¹ published in 2001, is the only novel which is set in modern times, and has, at first glance, a more tenuous link to the original *Towazugatari*. During my time in Japan, I was able to meet with Mori and discuss her writing techniques, along with her intentions in writing such a work. Not unlike Setouchi, Mori's own personal story is strongly imbued in this work, and her interest in mystery and horror stories is also apparent in her text. Finally, I discuss Okuyama Kyōko's 奥山景布子 (1966–) *Koi goromo* *Towazugatari* 恋衣 とはずがたり (*The Robes of Love Towazugatari*),⁵² published in paperback in 2009 and recently republished in a smaller paperback, or *shinsho*, format. This novel imagines the life of Nijō's daughter, Tsuyuko 露子, her encounter with her mother's writing—to which she bestows the name “*Towazugatari*” at the very end of the novel—and her relationship with a young girl she adopts. I was able to meet Okuyama in Japan, and I use findings from that contact, as well as a close reading, to analyze her work.

6.4 Premodern Women's Literature and Adaptations

Due to the late discovery of the work and the lack of non-modern instances of reception, looking at *Towazugatari*'s modern adaptations is a unique opportunity to study reception of a premodern text in isolation. Furthermore, it is an important part of Japanese medieval literary history due to its depiction of

⁵¹ Mori Masako, *Kewaizaka* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shōten, 2001).

⁵² Okuyama Kyōko, *Koi goromo Towazugatari* (Japan: Chūōkōron-Shinsha, 2017).

thirty-six years of a woman's life at court and on the road. Laffin underlines the importance of medieval Japanese women's writings and the fact that such works have been largely ignored and seen as less prestigious than texts produced by women of the Heian era.⁵³ Through Nijō's story, the reader is given a glimpse not only into the culture and traditions of the Kamakura period but also into the lives of many different women, from the female attendants she works with at court to the *yūjo* (female entertainers) she encounters during her travels. Women's voices have tended to be minimized throughout literary history, resulting in a male-dominated canon. Hence, accounts such as Nijō's offer valuable contributions to our understanding of women's lives and experiences.

Towazugatari is a transgressive work due to its format, half personal diary and half travel diary, and does not completely belong in the category of "women's diary literature" (*joryū nikki bungaku*), a category created in the 1920s that separates certain women's works into a new, modern genre.⁵⁴ Thus, *Towazugatari* resists classification, and its unique characteristics highlight how crucial studies of such a work might be. Adaptations of premodern Japanese texts allow for their authors' voices to reach wider and more varied audiences beyond scholars and specialists. Thus, since the text might be less known than other works by women from the Heian period, the golden age of Japanese premodern literature, changes made by authors in their adaptations might not be readily apparent to readers. Focusing both on parts of the work that were changed or ignored and on parts of the adaptations that follow the classical Japanese text will allow scholars to better grasp the intent of the novelists. These choices foreground the authors' purposes in their process of adaptation. The authors of these modern adaptations decided for themselves which parts of Nijō's life were important to preserve and what aspects of her life might be repurposed to suit their creative needs.

⁵³ Christina Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

6.5 Methodology

My approach will be to analyze four novels by four authors with divergent approaches to adapting *Towazugatari* through close readings and analysis of secondary sources, along with personal conversations with two of the authors. For some authors studied in this thesis, *Towazugatari* appears to have been a thread that wound through their lives and their literary careers. My thesis will consider why this premodern text was chosen as the object of adaptation by these authors, as opposed to more popular premodern texts, such as *The Tale of Genji*, and what the authors were able to communicate through their reworkings of the text. Due to its late and mysterious rediscovery and its content, *Towazugatari* has enjoyed a reputation of being a secretive and even scandalous work that contains a human depiction of the emperor and explores the life of a woman who, despite a lack of backing and an expulsion from court, was able to find her own way of life. How did the peculiar rediscovery of the text and its polarizing content contribute to the four authors' interests in reworking it into a different type of narrative? Furthermore, what did those changes allow the authors to communicate? What type of audience did they aim to reach with their work, and how did either transforming the original text into a romance novel or writing a sequel to *Towazugatari* serve the intent of each author?

In order to answer these questions, I will conduct a literary analysis of each of the texts through close reading. I will also use the information that I have gathered through my fieldwork in Japan in 2017 to better understand Mori Masako and Okuyama Kyōko's authorial motivations. Since these works were published over a long period of time, from 1971 to 2009, I will analyze the novels in pairs, separating them chronologically into two categories based on the authors' aims. The first two instances of novelization occurred just after, and greatly benefited from, the first wave of academic reception of the text and aimed to rework the original story in order to better suit their respective authors' literary interests. Their retellings of the story are intended to be Nijō's story. The last two novels take a different

approach to the concept of adaptation by building onto the original telling of Nijō's story and crafting worlds in which *Towazugatari* exists as an original text and influences the characters of the two books. Thus, the first wave of novelization was concerned with the retelling of Nijō's story by focusing on specific aspects of her life: her time at court and her lovers or her path as a Buddhist nun. The second wave's approach to the text, however, either resituates Nijō's story in the modern period or imagines a sequel to her tale.

Towazugatari's adaptations have now spanned more than thirty years, from the first novel adaption in 1975 to the latest manga rendering in 2008 and the most recent republication of Okuyama's novel in 2017. Besides one instance, all of *Towazugatari*'s adaptations produced so far were written by women. *Towazugatari* is a woman's story, told in the first-person by Nijō, a woman whose real name and life outside of her work has been unknown to us during the modern period. Despite the challenges she faced, including expulsion from court, the author of *Towazugatari* offers an inspiring tale that can be interpreted as successfully continuing her family's literary tradition,⁵⁵ albeit, as argued by Brazell, with an audience six-and-a-half centuries later.⁵⁶ Through their modern adaptations of the work, authors continue this legacy, carrying on the story of Nijō and, perhaps indirectly, underlining the prestige of her family's literary tradition. These adaptations also link Nijō to a broader lineage of Japanese women writers who have recorded their lives while making such records and literary knowledge accessible to an audience beyond educated elites.

⁵⁵ In Book Five of *Towazugatari*, Nijō recalls her father Masatada's last words entrusting her with continuing their family's literary tradition. She also sees him in a dream where he re-emphasizes their family's poetic achievements. Brazell puts a particularly strong emphasis on this exchange and argues that Nijō wrote her work "in order to restore her family's waning literary prestige." Karen Brazell, *Confessions*, vii.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

6.6 Adaptation and Replacement

In this thesis, I will be drawing from Linda Hutcheon's notion of adaptation as outlined in *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006).⁵⁷ Hutcheon highlights the importance of adaptations throughout history, an argument that can easily be illustrated by the popularity of adaptations of *The Tale of Genji*, a work that continues to be transformed into new formats despite having been written in the Heian period.⁵⁸ Hutcheon's work is in part a response to the frequent criticism that an adaptation is inferior to the original work on which it is based.⁵⁹ She argues that there are many motives behind adaptation, but faithfulness is very rarely one of them. Yet critics often use similarity between the two works to determine the worth of the adaptation.⁶⁰ According to Hutcheon, the word adaptation itself emphasizes the intertextual nature of the work being produced, and adaptations do not happen vertically but horizontally, as multiple original works can be used as inspiration for the creation of a new work.⁶¹ In *Towazugatari*, Lady Nijō uses elements from other works such as *The Tale of Genji* and *Ise monogatari*. For example, in the beginning of *Towazugatari*, Retired Emperor GoFukakusa consummates his relationship with a young Nijō, who writes of being shocked by his actions. The scene seems to mirror Genji's relationship with Murasaki, a young woman he discovers in the countryside and decides to bring back to his palace. In a similar way to GoFukakusa, Genji forces himself on Murasaki, in a scene that seems to have strongly influenced Nijō's representation of her own experience.

Edith Sarra also draws a parallel between both Murasaki's and Nijō's positions as erotic surrogates for previous lovers of Genji and GoFukakusa: Fujitsubo, Murasaki's aunt, and Sukedai,

⁵⁷ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁵⁸ Haruo Shirane, "The Tale of Genji and the Dynamics of Cultural Production: Canonisation and Popularisation," in *Envisioning The Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 1.

⁵⁹ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, xiv.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, xv.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Nijō's mother as well as "sleeping companion"⁶² to and lover of the emperor.⁶³ Thus, the inclusion of this scene in an adaptation of *Towazugatari* would, therefore, draw inspiration from both Nijō's work and *The Tale of Genji*. Hutcheon also discusses what does or does not constitute an adaptation, and her analysis is useful to consider in examining Mori Masako's *Kewaizaka*, a novel that is set in the modern period yet is not a modernized version of Nijō's story but rather a mystery where her text itself plays an important role. By contextualizing adaptation as part of a larger framework of creativity, and by refusing to look at adaptations as inferior pieces of work, Hutcheon argues that there is value in retelling a story.⁶⁴ Furthermore, through transformations such as simplification or changes in medium, new elements can be brought into an existing work.⁶⁵ What are authors able to bring to their retellings of *Towazugatari*, and what limitations seem to be imposed by their transformation of the story? Since all of the adaptations discussed here are modern, what does this temporal shift allow authors to do?

Hutcheon argues that the predominance of adaptations nowadays comes from the innate pleasure of familiarity and "repetition with variations."⁶⁶ She also calls adaptations "inherently palimpsestuous"⁶⁷ works haunted at all time by their adapted texts.⁶⁸ However, in the case of *Towazugatari*'s adaptations, the works' intended audiences might not even have been aware of the existence of Nijō's text and its content. Thus, the original text might have a unique appeal for authors who are able to rework an existing story. At the same time, they are being tasked with introducing this same story to an audience who, due to their lack of knowledge regarding the existence of the original text, will be able to experience the adaptation as a replacement of Nijō's work, a concept I discuss below.

⁶² A *soibushi* 添臥 was charged with sexually initiating the imperial prince. For more discussion of the term and Sukekai, see Christina Laffin, "Women, Travel, and Cultural Production," 140.

⁶³ Edith Sarra, "*Towazugatari*: Unruly Tales," 101.

⁶⁴ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶⁷ Hutcheon uses this term, a portmanteau coined by Scottish poet and scholar Michael Alexander of the word "palimpsest," a parchment which has been written over many times, and "incestuous" to define both the echoing and self-feeding natures of adaptation.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

Thus, depending on the reader's knowledge, some would recognize elements, tropes, and references to other texts, while others may not, allowing for different types of reading experiences. As mentioned above, elements of *The Tale of Genji* are present in *Towazugatari* and might be identified by the readers of the novels as part of the process of adaptation. The act of adaptation also requires "(re-)interpretation and (re-)creation" of the original text for different reasons, such as adapting the text for easier consumption by a modern audience who might not react the same way to a text written a very long time ago.⁶⁹ In the case of *Towazugatari*, all adaptations can be seen as contributing to popular culture because of the format of the novels, where they were serialized, as well as the transposition from classical Japanese to a language much more accessible to the masses.

In addition to Hutcheon's work, I will also be drawing from Michael Emmerich's *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature*.⁷⁰ In this work, Emmerich introduces the notion of replacement, arguing that the original *Tale of Genji* written by Murasaki Shikibu is not the work that has received a large amount of reception.⁷¹ Instead, he references the many adaptations, such as translations of the text into a more accessible language, as replacements and argues that these versions of the work are the ones being consumed and, consequently, are new canonical versions of the text.⁷² Emmerich explores how different versions of Murasaki Shikibu's text have constantly replaced each other throughout the ages and have reached new popularity with audiences due to the translation of the texts into a wide variety of media.⁷³

Unlike *The Tale of Genji*, *Towazugatari* cannot be seen as an instance of a "culture text," a concept introduced by Paul Davis who argues that works such as Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (1843) are so intrinsically burrowed into our collective memory through various adaptations and

⁶⁹ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁰ Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

⁷¹ Ibid., 11.

⁷² Ibid.,

⁷³ Ibid., 365.

references that many people are still able to conjure images from it or even summarize the story without having any experience with the text itself.⁷⁴ Moreover, *Towazugatari*'s history of reception is shorter than *The Tale of Genji*'s due to its recent discovery and, perhaps, due to the intent of its author, and, therefore, Emmerich's argument of replacement is even more relevant when looking at *Towazugatari*'s scope of adaptations. Indeed, for some audiences, Lady Nijō's *Towazugatari* might only have been embodied by a novelization or a movie adaptation of her text. In the next chapter of this thesis, I will be briefly analyzing all the non-novel adaptations of *Towazugatari* in order to better situate the four novelizations of the text amongst a larger framework of adaptations to address larger questions such as: What might have compelled authors to choose *Towazugatari* as a topic of adaptation? What aspects of the text were allowed to remain in those new works? And what messages were those authors able to convey through those works? In this thesis, I argue that, due to *Towazugatari*'s very recent discovery, short reception history, and hybrid content, novel adaptations of the text have been able to easily act as replacements of the original for non-academic audiences.

⁷⁴ Paul Davis, "Retelling *A Christmas Carol*: Text and Culture-Text," *The American Scholar* Vol. 59, no. 1 (1990): 110.

Chapter Two: A Survey of Non-Novel Adaptations of *Towazugatari*

In this chapter, I conduct a survey of all the non-novel adaptations of *Towazugatari* in order to preface my analysis of the four novelizations of the text. In each subsection of this chapter, I provide a short summary of the work and a discussion of its most important characteristics in order to understand the works' intended purposes and audiences. Since the authors adopted different approaches to the creation of their works, I was unable to focus on one particular scene from the original and compare how it was depicted in the different mediums chosen for adaptation, as not all works included every scene from *Towazugatari*. However, in my discussion of the manga version of Nijō's story, I use the *Tale of Genji*-inspired concert scene that appears in Book Three of the original text, as well as the scene at the beginning of the text where GoFukakusa forces himself on Nijō, as a way to compare the authors' intents and choices. In this chapter, I have divided all adaptations chronologically and by medium: short text, live action, and manga. *The Tale of Genji* has enjoyed a huge scope of reception in the modern period, especially since the 1950s, thanks to a "Genji Boom" resulting in a wide range of media being influenced by it.¹ In comparison, *Towazugatari*'s reception has been much more modest, yet the variety in scope and the pace of the production of such works since the 1970s have still been significant for a text only discovered in 1938. In this chapter, I explore some of the reasons why that might be.

7.1 "The Major Counsellor Attendant's Princess"

Despite its late discovery and its frank depiction of a Japanese emperor, Lady Nijō's work inspired a short story in a literary reader, four novels, a movie, four manga adaptations (two one-shots² and two multi-volumes series), and a British play featuring Nijō as a character. In 1956, the author

¹ Tateishi Kazuhiro, "The Tale of Genji in Postwar Film: Emperor, Aestheticism and the Erotic," in *Envisioning The Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 303.

² One-shot: stand alone volume, story in one volume.

Kitabatake Yao 北畠 八穂 (1903–1982)³ published a short summarization of *Towazugatari* entitled “The Major Counsellor Attendant’s Princess” *Dainagon no suke no hime* 大納言のすけの姫. The text was published in the October edition of the literary magazine *Bungei* 文藝, which was subtitled “Reader on Beautiful Japanese Women” (*Nihon bijō tokuhon* 日本 美女読本). The only introduction to the text is contained in the one-line commentary of the story provided in the table of contents: “Rejecting Emperor GoFukakusa’s deep affection, this sweet court woman was ruined.”⁴ Interestingly, Nijō is not directly named in the story’s title nor in the commentary, and is instead referred to in relation to her father or by the unspecified word “court woman” (*ōchō josei* 王朝女性).

Kitabatake’s story is a very short, four-page summary of Nijō’s life that does not include any references to the original text, does not refer to Nijō as such, and does not name any of her lovers besides GoFukakusa.⁵ It opens on GoFukakusa’s nineteenth-birthday celebration where he encounters a little girl whom he jokingly calls “Princess Kaguya” after the heroine of the story *Taketori monogatari* 竹取ものがたり (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, 9th century). He also realizes who she is, asking “Oh, is she the memento⁶ of the The Major Counsellor’s Attendant?”⁷ This allows for Kitabatake to explain the emperor’s relationship to Sukedai and how he called her young daughter “Ako” or “Agako” as she grew up.⁸ From this point in the story onward, Kitabatake uses the appellation “Princess” (*hime* 姫) or “The Attendant’s Princess” (*suke no hime* すけの姫) to refer to Nijō.

³ Kitabatake Yao (Sometimes written as Kitabatake Yaho) was born in Aomori under the name Kitabatake Miyo 北畠美代. In 1922, she attended Jissen Vocational School in Tokyo and studied in the department of literature but had to leave after her first year due to a health issue, returning to Aomori. From 1946 to 1947, she serialized her story *Jirō Būchin nikki* ジロー・ブーチン日記 (*The Journal of Jirō Būchin*) in the children’s magazine *Ginga* 銀河. In 1972, she received the Sankei Children’s Book Award (Sankei Jidōshūpan Bunkashō 産経児童出版文化賞) for her book *Oni o kau Goro* 鬼を飼うゴロ (*Goro, the Keeper of Ogres*). Kitabatake is not only well known for her works in children’s literature and her poetry but also for her relationship with author Kyūya Fukada 深田 久弥 (1903–1971), who plagiarized some of her work.

⁴ *Bungei*, October 1956, np. “後深草帝の深い愛情を却けて、落ちぶれて行く可憐な王朝女性.”

⁵ Kitabatake Yao, “Dainagon no Suke no Hime,” 89.

⁶ GoFukakusa uses the word *wasuregatami* 忘れがたみ which may be translated as “memento,” “keepsake,” or “orphan.”

⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

The young girl grows quickly, becoming an adult when she turns fourteen, and receives a letter and clothing from GoFukakusa who is now the retired emperor.⁹ Here, Kitabake transforms a poem exchange present in *Towazugatari* where Sanekane is the implied sender but transposes GoFukakusa in his place.¹⁰ Lovers of the Princess are introduced later, when it is noted that one of her children, a girl, was not conceived by GoFukakusa.¹¹ Then, Kitabake presents her second lover by calling him “[a] well-known priest” instead of “Ariake no Tsuki,”¹² the nickname used by Nijō in *Towazugatari*.¹³ At age thirty-two, the Princess becomes a nun and goes on pilgrimages throughout the country “to her heart’s content” (*kokoro yuku ni shitagatte* 心ゆくに従って),¹⁴ even traveling as far as China. She then learns of GoFukakusa’s passing and follows his funeral procession barefoot.¹⁵ The story ends there, but the last page also contains a story from *Kokon Chomonjū* 古今著聞集 (*A Collection of Notable Tales Old and New*, 1254), a collection of anecdotes (*setsuwa* 説話) compiled by Tachibana Narisue 橘成季.¹⁶ The text, entitled “Sannen kakatta koi no hanashi” 三年かかつた恋の話 (*A Three-Year-Long Discussion of Love*), tells the story of a monk who falls in love with a nun.

Kitabake Yao’s text is the first example of an adaptation of *Towazugatari*, published only six years after Yamagishi’s publication of the entire text, yet it does not acknowledge its relationship to Nijō’s work. Intended for an adult audience, the story notes that the Princess wrote about her life, but nothing fully explains what happened to her writing nor that it became the source for this particular adaptation. Kitabake mentions important events of Nijō’s life, such as her first night with GoFukakusa,

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See the original exchange in Tsugita Kasumi trans, *Towazugatari* vol.1, (Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko: 1987), 28–30.

¹¹ Ibid., 90.

¹² Nijō uses nicknames for two of her lovers in *Towazugatari*: Yuki no Akebono (Snow Dawn) and Ariake no Tsuki (Dawn Moon). These nicknames seem to have been bestowed respectively to Saionji Sanekane and the Imperial High Priest (Dai Ajari 大阿闍梨) of the Ninna Temple (Ninna-ji 仁和寺) Shōjo Hōshinnō 性助法親王 (1247–1282).

¹³ Ibid., 91.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 92.

¹⁶ Yoshiko K. Dykstra, “Notable Tales Old and New: Tachibana Narisue’s *Kokon Chomonjū*,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 4 (1992): 469.

her father's passing, and her meeting with her lover Imperial High Priest (Dai Ajari 大阿闍梨) of the Ninna Temple (Ninna-ji 仁和寺) Shōjo Hōshinnō 性助法親王 (1247–1282), but she also includes new elements such as the introductory scene where GoFukakusa nicknames the young Nijō, “Princess Kaguya” and reminisces about Sukedai. These references would have been much more understandable for the magazine's readers and suggest that Kitabatake was aware of the lack of general knowledge about *Towazugatari* in her non-academic audience, and her allusion to these more well-known texts might have been used to introduce a certain familiarity to her work.

Kitabatake's story is quite short compared to the other texts included in the magazine¹⁷ and omits many events in Nijō's life while simultaneously altering some aspects of the original text, for example changing the sender of a poem and expanding Nijō's pilgrimages all the way to China. The short time span between the publication of this story and Yamagishi's release of the original text might be responsible for some of these differences, as there were no modern language versions of the text yet available, suggesting that Kitabatake had to use the original text and academic articles in order to produce her adaptation. Of course, these changes could also have been part of Kitabatake's own creative efforts to make the story interesting to her readers. The simplification of Nijō's life and the brevity of the story might be due to the fact that *Towazugatari* was probably not as well known as the other “Beautiful Women” included in the magazine.

Unfortunately, the issue does not contain any comments by Kitabatake that would explain her choice of subject nor how she became acquainted with Nijō. By choosing this topic instead of another more well-known woman, the author is able to create a unique and creative story that might have intrigued readers who did not know about this woman's life at all. But by divorcing the story from its

¹⁷ All the other stories in this section of the magazine are longer than Kitabatake's. For example, a story on Murasaki Shikibu span twelve pages, the story centred on the female poet Ono no Komachi 小野小町(825–900) comprises eleven pages. In addition, several of these stories are subtitled with the names of the literary main woman discussed, presumably to attract the reader's attention.

original title and its author's name, Kitabatake shifts the focus onto GoFukakusa, as illustrated by the introductory scene and the fact that neither her works nor her court name are mentioned in the text.

The inclusion of “The Major Counsellor Attendant's Princess” in the reader marks Nijō's first appearance in a non-academic publication. The story was not republished in any other format and is, therefore, quite difficult to access without owning a copy of the original *Bungei* magazine.¹⁸ Besides being the first instance of adaptation, the story is also remarkable for being the only adaptation released before the 1970s. Due to its lack of direct links to *Towazugatari*, besides its content, I argue that it can definitively be seen as an example of replacement of Nijō's story since it would have been the first non-academic example of the publication of this narrative.

7.2 Live Action Adaptations: Movie and Play

To date, there are only two live action adaptations of *Towazugatari*: a movie and a play. But because the play *Top Girls* has been staged many different times, the character Nijō has been embodied multiple times. In this part of my analysis, I argue that both the director of the movie discussed below and the creator of the play use Nijō's story in different ways in order to best support their adaptations' points of view.

7.2.1 *Asaki yumemishi*

In 1974, Jissōji Akio 実相寺昭雄 (1937–2006)¹⁹ directed the only movie adaptation of *Towazugatari*, titled *Asaki yumemishi* あさき夢みし.²⁰ The poet Ōoka Makoto 大岡信 (1931–2017) is

¹⁸ I was able to find a copy of the magazine online after reading about the existence of the story in Fukuda Hideichi, “*Towazugatari*, *Izumi Shikibu nikki* to Setouchi Harumi: koten to gendai bungaku no mondai no ichi rei,” *Kashiigata: Fukuoka Joshi Daigaku Kokubungaku Bungakukai* 26 (1981): 12–20.

¹⁹ Jissōji Akio was a Japanese director who worked first on television in the 1960s before becoming a movie director. His first full-length film, *Mujō* 無常 (*This Transient Life*) released in 1970, deals with incest and Buddhism. He also directed horror movies, some inspired by the work of novelist Edogawa Ranpo (1894–1965), and is well known for his contribution to the *Ultraman* ウルトラマン television series and 1979 feature film.

²⁰ *Asaki yumemishi*, directed by Akio Jissōji (1974; Japan: Jeneon Entāteinmento ジェネオン エンタテインメント, 2002), DVD.

credited as the screenwriter.²¹ The film’s title makes direct reference to *The Tale of Genji*, where the expression “*asaki yumemishi*” appears after the passing of Prince Genji’s lover Murasaki in the chapter “The Law” (Minori).²² The phrase can be translated as “living in a dream” and occurs at the end of the chapter, when Genji ponders his relationship with Murasaki and tries to go on without her: “[B]ut the days and months somehow passed anyway, and he felt as though he was dreaming them all.”²³ Mention of *The Tale of Genji* occurs once in the movie, but it seems to refer to a chapter unrelated to the film’s title. The emperor, waking up after five days of sickness, tells Shijō²⁴ that since she has read *The Tale of Genji* she must understand how passion can corrupt anyone’s heart, leading to possession by a spirit (*mononoke*). This likely alludes to Genji’s wife, Aoi no Ue, who dies after suffering from an incident of spirit possession following the birth of her child in the chapter “Heart-to-Heart” (Aoi).²⁵

In the film, this comment to Shijō occurs after the emperor mentions that his own brother, the Imperial High Priest, called “Ajari-sama” in the film,²⁶ has visited him in his dreams and confessed his love for Shijō. The link to both dreams and *The Tale of Genji* is, therefore, strongly established without having to mention the famous sentence referenced in the title of the movie. Also, after becoming a nun, Shijō realizes that the world she had lived in up to that point had been a dream-like illusion (*yume maboroshi no yō* 夢幻のよう). Thus, the title of the film is probably a reference to the first part of the movie, in which Shijō is depicted as leading a sinful life, and the guilt she feels about her actions. The

²¹ Ōoka Makoto is a poet and literary critic best known for his poetry column in the *Asahi Shinbun*, “Oriori no uta” 折々のうた (Occasional Poetry), appearing from 1979 to 2007. After graduating from the University of Tokyo, he worked for the newspaper *Yomiuri Shinbun* and taught at Meiji University and the University of Tokyo. Ōoka has published extensively on poetry, including his own linked verse poems. He has received numerous prizes for his work.

²² Patrick W. Caddeau, *Appraising Genji Literary Criticism and Cultural Anxiety in the Age of the Last Samurai* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 13.

²³ Royall Tyler, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Viking, 2001), 763.

²⁴ The movie does not use the name Nijō, literally “Second Avenue,” and instead uses Shijō 四条, literally “Fourth Avenue.” Both are appellations used to refer to high-ranking female court attendants, but perhaps the lower-ranking name of Shijō was given to Nijō to emphasize the pressure she faced with her lack of personal and political backing.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 163–190.

²⁶ I will use “Ajari” when referring to this character throughout the discussion of the movie for clarity. I have followed the name used by the authors of the different adaptations discussed in this thesis, and, therefore, this character may be referred to as “Ajari,” “Shōjo Hōshinnō,” or “the Imperial High Priest.”

film also ends with a close-up shot of the Japanese kanji for dream, “夢,” handwritten on a pink piece of paper, highlighting the centrality of this concept to the entire film.

The front of the DVD cover shows a painting of Shijō, her eyes closed, wearing a colourful gown. Ajari is standing behind her, and both of their faces are also printed on the front of her gown. The Buddhist symbol of the lotus is placed in the background below the moon. Thus, the importance of Buddhism and the central nature of Shijō’s relationship with Ajari are apparent on the DVD cover of the movie. The link to *Towazugatari* appears only in the second paragraph of the text on the back of the DVD cover and does not appear on the front of the box. Based on these design choices, it seems that in marketing Jissōji’s production, there was an effort to distance the film from *Towazugatari* and instead to stress connections to *The Tale of Genji*, a work audiences would associate with classical literature and previously successful *jidaigeki* films (period films). Before analyzing aspects of Jissōji’s filmography and his use of Buddhism in the film, I shall provide a brief summary of *Asaki yumemishi*.

7.2.1.1 *Asaki yumemishi*: The Story of Shijō

The film focuses on the life of Shijō, portrayed by actress Janet Hatta (1953–) in her movie debut.²⁷ *Asaki yumemishi* ignores the first part of *Towazugatari* but elects to introduce a chanting Shijō during the opening credits. Shijō remains unseen in the opening scenes of the movie until she is shown giving birth to her second child, who is believed to be the retired emperor’s daughter. However, the narrator explains Shijō’s predicament, stating that her child was conceived by her lover, a man her female attendants have nicknamed “Misty Dawn,” or Kiri no Akatsuki 霧の暁, and who we learn later is

²⁷ Janet Hatta was born in Detroit, Michigan under the name Hatta Yuka 八田有加. Her father is American and her mother Japanese. She moved to Japan at the age of three and lived in Kyoto. After graduating from high school, she worked as a flight attendant for a short period before being recruited as a model for commercial and print ads for the brand Shiseidō. In Japan she was promoted under the name Janetto Hatta ジャネット八田. She also worked for Nihon TV as one of the “cover girls” of a “wide-show,” a genre of Japanese TV program that covers a wide range of topics such as news, arts discussion, etc., called *IIPM*. Her first and second filmed performances occurred in 1974, in a music video, and in Jissōji Akio’s *Asaki yumemishi*, as discussed in this chapter. She has appeared in several other movies and TV drama produced mainly in the 1970s and 1980s. Notably, she played alongside actor Shin’ichi Chiba (千葉真一) in the 1977 detective film *Doberman Cop* (*Doberman deka* ドーベルマン刑事) and several Edo period dramas on television. In 1981, she married baseball player Tabuchi Kōichi 田淵 幸一. For more information, please consult Nichigai Asoshiētzu, *Geinō tarento jinmei jiten* (Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshiētzu, 1990).

Sanekane. Shijō is depicted as feeling guilty for deceiving the emperor. The baby girl that she bears is sent away to live with the Saionji family, and the emperor is told that the child has died. A few weeks later, her firstborn suddenly dies because of an illness, and Shijō thinks that it must be due to her sins. The audience is introduced to Shijō in these scenes, and the notion of sin and her guilt are elements of her character that are almost inseparable from her portrayal. Indeed, not only is she guilty of lying to the emperor about her child, she is also shown in great pain because of such actions, and her guilt is accentuated by the affection that the emperor shows towards her.

Jissōji takes other liberties in his adaptation, such as introducing the leader of a group of dancing monks: a man with red eyes who reminds Shijō of Ajari. The parallel between these two men continues throughout the film and seems to highlight their differences in attitude and religious beliefs. For example, one of Shijō's female attendants explains that the dancing monks believe that anyone can go to heaven just by chanting the Buddha's name. This statement is repeated to Shijō by a poor woman who survives by sleeping with men; this same woman later helps Shijō in her tonsured life. The woman tells Shijō about the leader of the dancing monks and reiterates the belief that everyone, even women such as herself, will be allowed to reach heaven if they chant the Buddha's name. The inclusion of the dancing monk, who is only credited as "the monk" (*sō* 僧) seems to be a direct reference to Ippen 一遍 (1239–89), founder of the Jishū 時宗 sect of Pure Land Buddhism.²⁸

The film follows the *Towazugatari* episode in which the retired emperor is able to spend the night with the Ise Priestess, who has recently returned from her duties, with the help of Shijō. He falls sick for five days, but, thanks to Ajari's intense praying, he is able to recover. He confesses to Shijō that he saw his brother Imperial High Priest Ajari in his dream, and expresses to her that the priest has fallen in love with her. He encourages Nijō to spend the night with his brother. Later Ajari bursts into her

²⁸ Kasahara Kazuo, *History of Japanese Religion*, trans. Paul McCarthy and Gaynor Sekimori (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2013), 213.

chambers at night and laments his situation and the sin he is about to commit. Shijō bears him a child who is taken away by the retired emperor, further increasing her guilt. Strong epidemics are spreading throughout the country, and Ajari succumbs to illness. Heartbroken, Shijō cries in pain, and the next scene shows her and her female attendant Mei, wearing nun outfits, travelling to a temple. Shijō has stomach pains and collapses, and they are rescued by a poor woman who tells her she miscarried another of Ajari's child. Shijō comes to the conclusion that her life until then has been meaningless and recalls that her father Masatada had advised her to become a nun if she ever felt this way. Shijō and Mei encounter the dancing priests once again while walking up a mountain, and when they meet a man with whom Mei starts a relationship, Shijō leaves her behind. At the end of the movie, Shijō is shown delivering a scroll painting to the Saionji family who has adopted the daughter she gave birth to in the beginning of the film.

7.2.1.2 Framing Characters in *Asaki yumemishi*: Shadow and Light

Jissōji employs careful framing of his characters throughout the course of the movie, using light and darkness to conceal their features or emphasize their shadows. For example, in a scene where the retired emperor is shown chanting with another man, the director chose to seat them in front of a very bright background that renders their hats see-through and transforms them into indistinct black shapes. This is contrasted with a discussion between Shijō and Sanekane which takes place simultaneously, as they converse about the fate of their child, in an adjacent, darker room which obscures their features while highlighting the colour of their garments. The sound of the emperor's chanting also carries over into Shijō and Sanekane's conversation, heightening the feelings of secrecy and shame felt by the two lovers. The framing of the characters serves to contrast the sacred and profane nature of the two respective sets of characters. The first two are chanting in a bright room whereas the others are discussing their shameful actions in the dark.

In addition, when Ajari forces himself on Shijō, the viewer sees a part of the scene through the reflected image that appears on his clear prayer beads. The scene begins with a shot of her room when, suddenly, Ajari, wearing red robes, enters and startles her. The audience is then shown his trembling hands which are holding the prayer beads, and, soon, the beads fall on the floor, scattering. The beads are used in different ways within the scene. First, they are heard while Ajari paces through the room or falls on his knees on top of them. As a symbol, they can also be seen as a representation of his sin and his straying from the path of his religion, since he is not supposed to break his vows to fulfill his desire for Shijō. Finally, when he undresses and begins touching her, the scene shifts to a close up of the beads, reflecting his actions. Once again, the beads seem to symbolize his lost faith and sinfulness. The beads are then seen rolling across the floor while images of lit torches are shown and Shijō calls his name. The scene ends with a shot of the lamp in her room, an open flame again symbolizing their sin and passion, followed by a sequence of the dancing priests praying on a beach next to bonfires. Here, the parallel of the two religious men is once more established as their respective handlings of their faith are putting them in opposition. Ajari has succumbed to his sin by sleeping with Shijō while the faith of the dancing priest with red eyes remains strong and constant.

Fire is a common image in the first part of the film and symbolizes sin in Shijō's life, and water is a recurring image after her tonsure. Indeed, we first catch a glimpse of Shijō and her female attendant Mei on a boat, rowing towards a temple, and afterwards they are shown walking on the seaside and getting caught in the rain. Furthermore, it is during this cleansing rain that Shijō leaves Mei behind and begins to travel alone, shedding the last vestiges of her old life and moving forward on her path to redemption. She later learns of the retired emperor's death and attends his funeral, in a scene from which the opening credits are drawn, with several shots showing flashbacks of Shijō's life. In the final scene of the film, she meets with a man who has adopted one of the children she had to abandon and learns that

her child has grown to be a talented person, renowned for her singing. Shijō gives the man a scroll painting to be presented to her daughter. The man looks at the painting and seems to recognize Ajari, but the figure is depicted wearing rags, a possible representation of the dancing monk. Because of the two men's resemblance, we can conclude that Shijō might have chosen to adopt the dancing monk's religious belief and will, therefore, be able to attain redemption and enlightenment.

7.2.1.3 Shijō's Journey in *Asaki yumemishi*: Buddhism and Salvation

The significance of the director's depiction of Buddhism is clear when looking at Jissōji's filmography. Alexander Jacoby argues that alongside *Asaki yumemishi*, two other movies, *Mandara* 曼陀羅 (Mandala, 1972) and *Uta* 歌 (Poem, 1972), deal with the same theme of "sexual transgression and Buddhist theology."²⁹ Similarly, the *Asahi Shinbun* film reviewer Sugawara Nobuo highlights the importance of Buddhism in Jissōji's work, arguing that Buddhist philosophy strongly imbues the director's work and "the Buddhist view that 'matter is void' is given expression through the director's photography."³⁰ In addition, Sugawara emphasizes that *Asaki yumemishi* "depicts the degeneration and nihilism of the noblemen of the Middle Ages," a concept that is exemplified by the character of Ajari.³¹ However, Jacoby also stresses Jissōji's critical view of Buddhism, stating that he regarded it as an inadequate way to respond to human suffering.³² This might be characterized by Shijō herself, as the narrator explains that women carry sins and are, therefore, unable to attain enlightenment, but she is able to find solace after taking the tonsure and travelling. She also encounters another type of Buddhism that allows women, regardless of rank, to reach heaven if they chant the Buddha's name.

Hence, it seems that Jissōji's focus on Shijō's relationship with Ajari, the inclusion of the similar-looking wandering priest, and the slow pace of the film underline the director's editorial decision

²⁹ Alexander Jacoby, *A Critical Handbook of Japanese Film Directors: From the Silent Era to the Present Day* (Berkeley, CA: Stone Bridge, 2008), 98.

³⁰ Nobuo Sugawara, "Oshima Nagisa and Jissōji Akio," *Japan Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (April 1982): 215.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Alexander Jacoby, *A Critical Handbook*, 98.

to create a contemplative film that aims to convey a message about Buddhism: redemption is possible and all can reach enlightenment, even those who sinned or are of a low rank. The strong focus of *Asaki yumemishi* on Buddhism makes Nijō's story one of redemption, exemplified by the ending where she reaches out to her daughter. This is an interesting approach to *Towazugatari*, as many of the following adaptations chose to end the story almost immediately after Nijō's tonsure, focusing instead on her romantic relationships and struggles at court. In addition, the form in which Nijō's legacy is preserved changes from her writing abilities to her painting talent. It is a skill that is more visually captivating and translates better to film, but it ignores one of the most important aspects of her work: the continuation of her family's literary tradition.

Still, we cannot look at Jissōji's work without mentioning the rest of his films and, in particular, the three other films that constitute the "Buddhist trilogy" that he made for ATG:³³ *Mujō* 無常 (*This Transient Life*, 1970), *Mandara*, and *Uta*. Released between 1970 and 1972, these three movies deal with themes of sexual transgression and Buddhism, themes also present in *Asaki yumemishi*.³⁴ However, they are not set in the Kamakura period, do not focus on a woman character such as Shijō, and were not adaptations but original stories. *Asaki yumemishi* is the last movie Jissōji made for ATG and can, consequently, be seen as the crystallization of the concepts he started in *Mujō* regarding transgression and redemption. Through the character of Shijō, Jissōji displays a message of hope for those who, just like her, have committed acts that they regret. Interestingly, despite cutting out some of the beginning sections of *Towazugatari*, Jissōji follows Nijō's narrative arc quite closely, starting with her time at court and ending with her Buddhist travels. Thanks to the recent discovery of *Towazugatari* the director was able to use Nijō's story as a conduit to channel his own message about Buddhism and redemption, as most audiences had either not yet heard her story or did not grasp what it was about. This repurposing

³³ ATG: Art Theater Guild (1961–1980), a production studio known for its artistic freedom and low budget. See Alexander Jacoby, *A Critical Handbook*, 383.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 98.

is exemplified by the inclusion of the dancing monk, a character inspired by Ippen who does not exist in *Towazugatari* and who, despite never speaking directly to Shijō, is able to influence her redemptive arc and convey the main message of the movie to the audience.

In addition to the influence of Buddhism in Jissōji's work, *Asaki yumemishi* exhibits some elements that seem influenced by the genre of *pinku eiga*, or pink film, that were popular in the Japanese cinema industry between the 1960s and 1980s.³⁵ Characterized by their low-budget and exploitative sexual content, *pinku eiga* often included scenes in which female characters were brutalized and humiliated.³⁶ These elements are present in other films by Jissōji such as *Mandara*, which depicts a “sexually predatory Buddhist sect,” and *Mujō*, which showcases incestuous relationships.³⁷ In *Asaki yumemishi*, the sex scenes can be compared to softcore pornography and exhibit elements of brutalization, such as when Shijō is shown resisting the advances of Ajari. In addition, the camera focuses on Shijō being touched and disrobed by Ajari in an exploitative manner. This seems particularly apparent during the sex scene involving Shijō where her breasts are fully visible, contrasting heavily with the other scenes where she is completely covered, and she is heavily sexualized.

Later in the story, Shijō is given the role of the voyeur when she witnesses Mei's sexual intercourse with a man. Instead of being the passive object of the viewer's gaze, she becomes the viewer and instead chooses to leave the scene, and Mei, behind. This scene takes place after Shijō's ordination, when she has decided to follow a path of redemption. Thus, most of the elements embodying the style and content of *pinku eiga* are used in the first part of the film as a means of contrasting Shijō's life at court with her later life outside its confines. These elements are also used to both attract and titillate viewers, and the choice of a biracial model, Janet Hatta, to play the main character adds a layer of exoticism and eroticism to the story.

³⁵ Ryan Taylor, “Demon(ized) Women: Female Punishment in the ‘Pink Film’ and J-Horror,” *Asian Cinema* 23, no.2 (Jan. 2012): 202.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Alexander Jacoby, *A Critical Handbook*, 98.

As stated by Marshall McLuhan, “the medium is the message,”³⁸ referencing the effects that the format in which information is delivered to its audience has on any communication, and, therefore, we must also consider what Jissōji was able to do when translating *Towazugatari* from text to film. Films and other visual media are able to show their audience instead of telling them,³⁹ a method used by Jissōji extensively in *Asaki yumemishi*, especially in scenes where there is no dialogue and the soundtrack or narration allows the audience to understand Shijō’s situation or emotional state. Additionally, Jissōji’s film is not only the first visual depiction of *Towazugatari* but also the first adaptation that involves live actors. Shijō is depicted as a very beautiful woman who is weighed down by her guilt, as portrayed immediately in the first scene where she speaks and explains that her child is not the product of the emperor but her lover. Jissōji’s choices in depicting Shijō are unique—no other adaptation places so much emphasis on Buddhism, the constant visual representations of Nijō’s guilt, or her redemption. The slow pace of the movie, its strong religious message, and its daring mise-en-scène techniques, however, might attract only certain audiences, such as those already familiar with Jissōji’s work.

7.2.2 *Top Girls*

7.2.2.1 Caryl Churchill’s *Nijo*

The next adaptation of *Towazugatari* did not occur until 1982, with the first performance of Caryl Churchill’s (1938–)⁴⁰ play *Top Girls*, which is set and was created in England.⁴¹ The play, contrary to other adaptations of *Towazugatari*, does not take place in Japan and does not focus entirely on Nijō’s story. She only appears in the first act of the play, during a dinner party celebrating the promotion of the main character, Marlene, to the position of managing director in an employment

³⁸ Eric McLuhan and Frank Zingrone, eds., *Essential McLuhan* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1995), 151.

³⁹ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 38.

⁴⁰ The British playwright Caryl Churchill is well known for her exploration of feminist themes, her risk taking, and her plays that defy classification. Other works by Churchill include *Cloud Nine* (1979), a play about colonialism and sexual oppression, *Serious Money* (1987), a satire about the British stock market written in rhymes, and, more recently, *Seven Jewish Children: A Play for Gaza* (2009), which was released online and which Churchill allowed anyone to perform under the condition that donations would be collected for Palestinian charities. For more information about Caryl Churchill, see Mary Luckhurst, *Caryl Churchill* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

⁴¹ Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls* (London: Methuen Drama Editions, 1991).

agency. Other historical figures and fictional characters such as Isabella Bird (1831–1904),⁴² Pope Joan,⁴³ and Patient Griselda⁴⁴ are also invited and discuss their pasts, their lovers, and their regrets. The rest of the play deals with Marlene’s success in her professional career to the detriment of her own personal life.

During the dinner party of the first act, Nijo⁴⁵ is the second guest to arrive and immediately starts recalling her life story, starting with her first night spent with the emperor.⁴⁶ The conversation between the characters can be challenging to follow. All of the guests are eager to recall their stories and often interrupt each other, asking questions of other characters while yet another is speaking, or continuing to speak without responding to questions. For example, consider the following exchange that occurs at the beginning of the scene when Nijo recalls the night the emperor forced himself on her:

NIJO. Then the emperor passed his sake cup to my father and said, “Let the wild goose come to me this spring.”

MARLENE. Let the what?

NIJO. It’s a literary allusion to a tenth-century epic,/ His Majesty was very cultured.

ISABELLA. This is the emperor of Japan?/ I once met the emperor of Morocco.

NIJO. In fact he was the ex-emperor.

MARLENE. But he wasn’t old?/ Did you, Isabella?⁴⁷

Here, the tales of both Lady Nijo and Isabella Bird begin to intertwine, with Isabella using Nijo’s story

⁴² Isabella Bird Bishop was a British woman and daughter of a clergyman who travelled extensively between the ages of forty and seventy. Her destinations included Australia, the Sandwich Islands, Tibet, China, Japan, and Morocco. She wrote extensively about her travels in such works as *The English Woman in America* (1856), *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), and *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan Including a Summer in the Upper Karun Region and a Visit to the Nestorian Rayahs* (1891). For more information regarding Isabella Bird and her travels to Japan, see Joohyun Jade Park, “Missing Link Found, 1880: The Rhetoric of Colonial Progress in Isabella Bird’s *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, no. 2 (2015): 371–388.

⁴³ Born in Germany during the ninth century, the woman known as Pope Joan is believed to have been living as a man since she was twelve and might have served as Pope from 855 to 856. She apparently was discovered when she gave birth to a child during a public procession. She was then stoned to death and her story declared a myth. For an in-depth discussion of Pope Joan and her legacy, see Craig M. Rustici, *The Afterlife of Pope Joan: Deploying the Popess Legend in Early Modern England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

⁴⁴ A fictional character from *The Canterbury Tales* (1387).

⁴⁵ When discussing Churchill’s character, I follow the play’s spelling of “Nijo” without a macron or indication of the long vowel (Nijō).

⁴⁶ Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, 2–3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

as a way of recalling her own life experience. Note that the usage of “/” denotes that both actresses would be speaking their lines at the same time, highlighting the confusing aspects of the conversation for the audience listening and the difficulties of enacting this scene.

As host of the party, Marlene does not interject her own experiences in this scene, but she encourages both women through her questions and allows this multi-layered conversation to continue. Later on, when Lady Nijo begins discussing her children, Isabella, the only guest without children, interjects that she never had children and starts talking about horses.⁴⁸ Alicia Tycer argues that the contrast between the two women’s focuses, children and horses, could be used as a way to downplay Nijo’s losses or establish a strong contrast between the two women’s stories.⁴⁹ It also underlines the women’s lack of solidarity during certain parts of the conversation, as opposed to other instances where they all react uniformly, such as during Pope Joan’s tale which makes them all laugh or sit silently in horror while she explains how she was stoned to death.⁵⁰ Despite the fact that all the women invited to Marlene’s dinner party have achieved individual success, they remain unable to coalesce as a community to celebrate Marlene’s career success.⁵¹

7.2.2.2 Characterization of *Top Girls*’s Nijo

During the dinner, Nijo is able to explain her entire life story: her experience with the emperor, her lovers and children, as well as her subsequent travels as a Buddhist nun. She sums up her existence by saying: “The first half of my life was all sin and the second all repentance.”⁵² In answering the questions of her fellow guests, she concedes that she enjoyed herself during her life but was very unhappy, adding that “it hurts to remember.”⁵³ As the dinner continues and more guests arrive, the conversation becomes even more layered while the women find topics of conversations that resonate

⁴⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁹ Alicia Tycer, *Caryl Churchill’s Top Girls* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2008), 48.

⁵⁰ Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, 17.

⁵¹ Alicia Tycer, *Caryl Churchill’s Top Girls*, 46.

⁵² Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, 5.

⁵³ Ibid.

with several of them, such as the memories of their fathers, their relationships with men, or their child-bearing experiences and their children. Nijo is interested in Patient Grisleda's story⁵⁴ and cries when she learns that Griselda's children were returned to her, unlike the loss experienced by Nijo.⁵⁵ She is also shown as being able to stand up to injustice when she describes leading other female attendants in taking revenge by attacking the emperor themselves for a beating one of them received with a rice stick.⁵⁶ The dinner ends in a chaotic scene where Pope Joan, after declaiming fragments of *De rerum natura*⁵⁷ in Latin, becomes sick in one of the corners of the stage while Nijo is both laughing and crying, Isabella Bird keeps reminiscing, and Marlene silently drinks Isabella's brandy.⁵⁸

Churchill's depiction of Nijō manages to highlight many important elements of *Towazugatari*, such as her relationship with the emperor, her attachment to her children, and her travels as a nun. Nijo seems saddened by her life's journey, especially her inability to reunite with her children and the fact that she was not authorized to enter the palace to view the emperor after his death.⁵⁹ Alicia Tycer argues that the original Nijō is "hyperaware of her clothes," in her writing, "which are symbolic of social status in the Japanese court."⁶⁰ When she recalls the emperor's funeral, Churchill's Nijo wonders, "If I'd still been at court, would I have been allowed to wear full mourning?"⁶¹ She uses clothes as a way to describe how the emperor forced himself on her, by explaining how "her thin gowns were badly ripped," and also notes the emperor's richly embroidered clothing when he left her bedchambers.⁶² She declares that her two favorite things were "being the Emperor's favorite/ and wearing thin silk."⁶³ Churchill acknowledges that she used Karen Brazell's 1973 translation, *The Confession of Lady Nijō*, as her

⁵⁴ To test her, her husband pretends to have their children sacrificed. Years later, and finally convinced of the blind obedience of his wife, he reunites them with their mother, Griselda.

⁵⁵ Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, 25.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁷ Poem by roman poet Lucretius (ca. 99 BC–55 BC).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶⁰ Alicia Tycer, *Caryl Churchill's Top Girls*, 31.

⁶¹ Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, 26.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 4.

source material for the creation of the character of Nijo.⁶⁴ In addition, Tycer argues that instead of choosing well-known historical figures, Churchill deliberately selected women who might not have been as prominent at the time.⁶⁵ Hence, instead of being overshadowed by their fame, these women's experiences are able to take centre stage.

7.2.2.3 Nijō as a Theatrical Character: Stereotypes and Issues of Representation

In Churchill's play, all the actresses involved in the first act, besides the one playing Marlene, appear in different roles in the subsequent acts of *Top Girls*. For instance, during the first representation of the play in 1982, actress Lindsay Duncan played both Nijo and Win, a co-worker of Marlene who is having an affair.⁶⁶ In another play, *Cloud Nine* (1979), Churchill made clear cross-casting decisions in order to highlight the effects of colonialism by casting a white man in a black character's role.⁶⁷ However, this is not the case for *Top Girls*, and during the first production of the play, Nijo was played by a white actress wearing a kimono. In the 1991 filmed version of the play, actress Sarah Lam played the roles of Nijo and Win, enacting the former in a "full face of geisha make-up."⁶⁸ However, geisha appeared in Japan centuries after the Kamakura period, and Nijo's role at court was not primarily one of an entertainer. Thus, the geisha make-up is entirely anachronistic and does not fit with her life experiences.⁶⁹

The problem of Nijo's depiction in the play is twofold: Firstly, her ethnicity is part of her character, and, therefore, casting her as a white woman seems to detract from the character's identity. Secondly, dressing her in a kimono and using a make-up style of another era contradicts the play itself,

⁶⁴ Alicia Tycer, *Caryl Churchill's Top Girls*, 38.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 90.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ According to Amy Stanley, geisha were a heterogeneous group of entertainers during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) and the first geisha were male entertainers in the Yoshiwara district of Edo. See Amy Stanley, "Enlightenment Geisha: The Sex Trade, Education, and Feminine Ideals in Early Meiji Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 72, no. 3 (2013): 539–562.

which explicitly states that she is from the thirteenth century.⁷⁰ None of the other characters are defined by their clothing or their ethnicities in such a way, and Nijo is the only explicitly Japanese woman at the table.⁷¹ Due to these inaccuracies and a reliance on stereotyping, along with some of the casting and directing choices as analyzed above, it is possible for Nijō's portrayal on stage to reach the level of caricature.

Top Girls underlines Nijō's achievement as a woman, including her ability to rebel against unjust actions and her freedom when she traveled as a nun. But the play also highlights how unhappy her life was and how much her life was controlled by the men around her, exemplified by her inability to raise her own four children. Churchill's play is not a retelling of *Towazugatari*, but instead it borrows the character of Nijō, enabling her to retell her own story in a modern, dreamlike setting. However, Churchill's adaptation is also the only one that was originally written in English, and thus it is indebted to Brazell's translation, emphasizing the obvious importance of the role of translation for wider reception. But this also means that Churchill's Nijo is completely dependant on Brazell's interpretations and, therefore, issues such as her first name or the fact that she might be a fictional person are completely ignored. For British audiences and scholars for whom Churchill's work was their first interaction with Nijō, *Top Girl* presents its version of her story, in a way, as a replacement of *Towazugatari*.

Hutcheon argues that transcultural adaptations "often mean changes in racial and gender politics."⁷² In *Top Girls*, gender politics are at the centre of the play, and they remain a major topic of discussion at Marlene's dinner party. Nijo's life story and regrets are used as a way to introduce themes that are explored later on in the play. Indeed, Marlene's career might be successful, but, similarly to Nijo,

⁷⁰ "Lady Nijo from Japan, Emperor's concubine and Buddhist nun, thirteenth century." Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, 20.

⁷¹ Of course, this is not the case when the production of the play employs Japanese actors such as when stage production of *Top Girls* happens in Japan.

⁷² Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 147.

she had to give up raising her daughter herself. Churchill's imagining of this opening dinner scene, with admirable women from different time periods coming together, was read "as a feminist act because feminists during the 1970s often engaged in the reclaiming of female historical figures who were overlooked by mainstream scholars."⁷³ But this argument gets complicated by scholars who have discussed how most of the women present at the dinner party "have all either assumed male roles or embody archetypal feminine qualities" and thus questioned whether those characters actually "challenge patriarchal values or perpetuate them."⁷⁴ In addition, both *Top Girls* and Jissōji's *Asaki yumemishi* are the only live-action adaptations of *Towazugatari* and are, therefore, able to convey different information to the audience through sound and movement. As a stage production, *Top Girls* is also accessible through both its performed and written forms and can thus be enjoyed in either of its two different formats.

7.3 Manga Adaptations

Besides novel adaptations of *Towazugatari*, manga is the most common genre used by writers to retell Nijō's story. Spanning from 1985 to 2008, four manga adaptations of the story were published. The first two works are both part of larger series on historical women and were tasked with compressing all of Nijō's life into a stand-alone volume, whereas later adaptations are composed of several volumes and were serialized in magazines before being compiled into manga volumes. In this section, I argue that the first two published adaptations were concerned with educating their readers about Nijō's story and did not attempt to change the content of the text much whereas the two multi-volumes series were able to mold the story differently to suit their audiences' expectations.

⁷³ Alicia Tycer, *Caryl Churchill's Top Girls*, 37.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

7.3.1 Miya Chie's *GoFukakusa-in Nijō*

The first instance of manga adaptation of *Towazugatari* can be traced back to the work of Miya Chie 宮千恵 who authored a one-shot volume, published in 1985, entitled *GoFukakusa-in Nijō* 後深草院二条.⁷⁵ Miya's work is part of the larger thirty-volume series "Roman komikkusu jinbutsu Nihon no joseishi" ロマン・コミックス人物日本の女性史女性史 (Novel Comics: Figures in Japanese Women's History) published by Sekai Bunkasha. The series explores the lives of various women, starting with Queen Himiko 卑弥呼 (175 CE–around 248 CE) in Volume One⁷⁶ and continuing through such historical figures as Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部, (ca 966–?, Volume 10), Oichi no kata お市の方 (1547–1583, Volume 20),⁷⁷ and finishing with a volume on the life of Narasaki Ryō 榑崎 龍 (1841–1906, Volume 30), the wife of Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本 龍馬 (1836–1967). Instead of naming her manga after Nijō's work, which might not have been well known at the time, Miya chose to focus on Nijō herself by naming the work after her.

The work starts with a two-page spread of text explaining the life of Nijō and is followed by an illustrated family tree that also includes her lovers and their relationships to each other.⁷⁸ The last pages after the story include a map of the imperial palace and a chronology of the story, starting with emperor GoFukakusa's birth.⁷⁹ Additionally, the story itself contains several annotations that explain in further detail some of the vocabulary used or who the characters are through a system of asterisks.⁸⁰ We can therefore conclude that the volume aims to educate its audience by introducing them to the story of a writer with whom they might not be particularly familiar.

⁷⁵ Miya Chie, *GoFukakusa-in Nijō* (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 1985).

⁷⁶ Ruler of the Yamatai, a chiefdom in early Japanese history. For more information about Himiko please refer to Edward J. Kidder, *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archaeology, History, and Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), xi–xiii.

⁷⁷ Sister of Oda Nobunaga and famous samurai woman. For more information, please refer to Stephen Turnbull, *Samurai Women 1184–1877* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2012), 23–25.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6–10.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 194–195.

⁸⁰ For example, Koga Masatada's first introduction on page 17 is accompanied by such a note.

The first scene of the manga depicts Nijō playing the *biwa* for the emperor; she even appears on the cover embracing this instrument, highlighting her musical talent. The inclusion of the instrument is notable as Tonomura notes that for Nijō it “signifies defeat and humiliation”⁸¹ as illustrated in the latter part of the volume, when she cuts the strings of her instrument after being humiliated at a concert.⁸² The main character’s first name in this manga is Ako 阿子. There are no notes explaining Miya’s choice for this kanji, but, in the first instance of the name appearing on the page, the name Nijō appears in a text box with the name Ako presented in brackets beside it.⁸³ Throughout the manga, many characters, including the emperor, Nijō’s father Masatada, and even some of the other female attendants, refer to the main character as Ako. The story focuses on Nijō and her three lovers: the emperor, Saionji Sanekane, and, later into the story, the Imperial High Priest Shōjo Hōshinnō. Some other important scenes of the original text are included, such as the concert based on *The Tale of Genji*, but her relationships with the three men take centre stage. The story ends shortly after her tonsure.

7.3.1.1 Miya’s Depiction of Nijō and Her Relationships

The style of drawing of this manga is reminiscent of the 1970s style of manga targeting young women. Indeed, the characters are drawn with sharp noses and chins and sparkly eyes that are surrounded by long lashes.⁸⁴ Chie’s work contains many sexually explicit scenes, generally involving Nijō and one of her lovers, in panels that are busy with flowery details or long locks of hair that spill over the page’s gutter.⁸⁵ Nijō’s relationship with Shōjo Hōshinnō and her guilt over having to abandon her children are particularly apparent in the later pages of the manga. Throughout the story, her relationship with the head priest is traumatic for the young woman, and she is reticently coerced into

⁸¹ Hitomi Tonomura, “Coercive Sex,” 323

⁸² Miya Chie, *GoFukakusa-in Nijō*, 175.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸⁴ I am thankful to Professor Sharalyn Orbaugh for pointing out some of these aspects to me and taking the time to discuss visual representations in the book, but any mistakes in the description of the manga artist’s style are my own.

⁸⁵ The space between the panels. For further discussion of gutters and their effects in comics please see Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), 60–93.

participating in this relationship, as exemplified by the scene where Shōjo Hōshinnō catches her sleeves and forcefully brings her into a room and kisses her.⁸⁶ Nijō resists his advances by referring to the Imperial High Priest's position, qualifying his actions as dreadful (*osoroshii*), and stating that the Buddha would not allow such actions.⁸⁷ The scene mentions hell and depicts flames while Nijō reflects on what is happening, clutching herself.⁸⁸ Furthermore, during the second sexual encounter between these two characters, instead of depicting the two having sex, a large snake is shown coiling around Nijō's naked body.⁸⁹ In addition, speech bubbles in the scene read “no...!” (*iya...! いや...!*) and “Someone...” (*dareka...だれか...*) highlighting Nijō's will to be rescued from the situation.⁹⁰ Finally, Nijō asks Shōjo Hōshinnō to “forget her if he truly loves her”⁹¹ and seems concerned about his willingness to go to hell because of his love for her.⁹² Immediately after this scene, the Imperial High Priest is depicted as unable to pray due to his fixation on Nijō and sends a letter to her stating that, because of their interaction, he has failed in his faith and his resentment will follow her.⁹³

In Miya's depiction of this relationship, she strongly emphasizes the difficult position of the Imperial High Priest and underlines his willingness to risk descending into hell. The snake imagery seems to emphasize the immoral nature of their interaction, which is invoked later in a scene where Nijō recalls this relationship with Shōjo Hōshinnō and Miya includes the large snake once more, placing text around it's body, describing Nijō's thoughts regarding the priest's resentment.⁹⁴ The snake can be interpreted as a phallic image but could also be read as a representation of sin in the Biblical sense and might highlight a certain western influence of Miya's work. Nijō and the Imperial High Priest do not

⁸⁶ Miya Chie, *GoFukakusa-in Nijō*, 136.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ わたしをほんとうに愛しているのならどうかわたしを忘れて...! *Ibid.*, 155.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 178.

meet again for the rest of the story, but she receives a letter after he passes away following his illness and gives birth to the child she has been carrying since their last encounter.⁹⁵ Immediately afterwards, she cuts her hair and becomes a nun, leaving her lovers behind.⁹⁶

7.3.1.2 The *Genji*-Inspired Concert Scene

As mentioned above, Miya includes a retelling of the *Genji*-inspired concert scene where, due to his loss at an archery competition against his younger brother the retired emperor Kameyama (1249–1305, r. 1259–1274), GoFukakusa organizes a concert based on *The Tale of Genji* chapter “Spring Shoots II” (Wakana ge).⁹⁷ In Miya’s manga, the scene opens with Nijō discussing the upcoming concert and being certain that she will be assigned the role of the Third Princess (Onna Sannomiya 女三の宮),⁹⁸ but she is instead assigned to play the minor role of Lady Akashi (Akashi no Ue 明石の上).⁹⁹ Miya portrays Nijō as shocked by this revelation, as the reader is able to access her thoughts when she realizes that she was assigned the role with the lowest social status (*mibun* 身分).¹⁰⁰ She also includes the reaction of her two female attendants who are depicted in astonished poses, one with her hand over her mouth.¹⁰¹

To make matters worse she is seated at the concert in front of the lady playing the Third Princess,¹⁰² instead of being placed behind her as the social status of their respective roles would dictate. Lord Takachika is very distraught at the situation, shaking and interrupting the preparation by stepping onto the concert stage and demanding a change of seating assignments.¹⁰³ The scene is depicted quite

⁹⁵ Ibid., 185–186.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 189.

⁹⁷ Royall Tyler, trans., *The Tale of Genji*, 48.

⁹⁸ The daughter of Emperor Suzaku, a step-brother of Genji. She was given to Genji as a wife when he was already quite old.

⁹⁹ One of Genji’s wives who bore him a daughter, later adopted by Murasaki, his principal wife. She is of lower standing than the other wives of Genji.

¹⁰⁰ Miya Chie, *GoFukakusa-in Nijō*, 166.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² The daughter of Lord Takachika (1203–1279?), Nijō’s maternal grandfather. He requested for his daughter, a new comer at court to get this role.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 170.

violently as he seizes Nijō's sleeve and the back of her head, forcefully trying to make her move.¹⁰⁴ In addition, Miya includes him stating that Nijō's deceased father was of a lower rank while men in the background are shown whispering to each other with the onomatopoeia *zawa* ザワ, denoting gloominess and unease.¹⁰⁵ Nijō stands up quickly, pushing Lord Takachika and giving him an angry glare as depicted by the two bright stars placed upon her eyes.¹⁰⁶ In the next scene, Miya shows Nijō cutting her *biwa*'s strings, paralleling her trapped position by inserting a large image of a spider with a prey in its web.¹⁰⁷

In the original *Towazugatari*, the scene is also used as a way to underline Nijō's position at court, but Miya, by including this scene in the later part of her story, is able to effectively crystallize the feelings of unfairness and entrapment felt by Nijō. In addition, it happens in the manga just before she learns about Ajari's passing, and all of these events seem to be at the origin of her decision to leave court. By restructuring events, displaying strong instances of violence towards Nijō, and including strong imagery of entrapment and danger, Miya is able to quickly convey to the reader the situation at court for her main character.

7.3.1.3 *GoFukakusa-in Nijō*: An Educational and Entertaining Manga

While Miya's *GoFukakusa-in Nijō* may not closely follow all of the events depicted in *Towazugatari*, it offers compelling elements to attract a mature, primarily female audience and aims to educate and entertain at the same time. As the first instance of adaptation in a manga format, the fact that it is part of a historical collection and the inclusion of extra information regarding the original *Towazugatari* both showcase the educational aspects of the work. By focusing primarily on her relationships with her lovers, while also including Nijō's guilt over leaving her children and her feeling

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 171.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 172.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 174.

responsible for the Imperial High Priest's fall from grace, Miya is able to present a complex depiction of her main character.

Because of its publication within a larger series concerned with highlighting Japanese women's history, this adaptation can be seen as part of a broader scholarly concern in the 1980s about women's history and autobiography.¹⁰⁸ Miya's work can also be seen as one of the first popular culture depictions of Nijō's tale and as part of the first wave of adaptations of the text, amongst the second wave of scholarly reception of the work. Miya's intention with this work was not, it seems, to analyze Nijō's story, however its publication allowed for the text to reach a larger audience as a way to promote women's history and writing in Japan.

Due to its format and visual cues that can be easily understood by audiences who are familiar with the manga genre, *GoFukakusa-in Nijō* is much more accessible and might even reach a larger audience than the original text. Interestingly, the first manga adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* occurred in 1979, and spanned almost fourteen years of serialization, ending in 1993.¹⁰⁹ Despite the very late discovery of *Towazugatari* and the extensive popularity of *Genji*, the first manga adaptation of each is separated by only six years. This might be because of the increasing popularity of *shōjo manga*¹¹⁰ in the 1980s and the multiplication of monthly magazines.¹¹¹ In these works, sex scenes that would have been taboo until then appeared more openly, an element that appears in all manga adaptations of *Towazugatari*.¹¹² According to Yuika Kitamura, manga adaptations of *Genji* were made possible by the publication of modern language translations of the original text.¹¹³ In *GoFukakusa-in Nijō*, Miya does not provide information about which version of the text she used as inspiration, but she might have read

¹⁰⁸ Christina Laffin, "Women, Travel, and Cultural Production," 104.

¹⁰⁹ Yuika Kitamura, "Sexuality, Gender, and *The Tale of Genji* in Modern Japanese Translations and *Manga*," in *Envisioning The Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 334.

¹¹⁰ Manga intended for an audience of girls and young women.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 334.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 335.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 332.

Setouchi's 1973 version. Thus, Miya's version can be seen as part of the first wave of manga adaptations of *Towazugatari*, as part of both a larger concern for promoting premodern women's work but also a larger expansion of manga targeting young women.

7.3.2 Igarashi Yumiko's *Towazugatari*

The next adaptation did not occur until 2000, when Igarashi Yumiko いがらしゆみこ (1950–) ¹¹⁴ produced another manga adaptation simply titled *Towazugatari* とはずがたり. ¹¹⁵ Like Miya Chie's work, this volume is part of a larger thirty-two-volume series entitled *Manga Nihon no koten* マンガ日本の古典 (*Japanese Classics in Manga*) published by Chūō Koron Shinsha. The series starts with a volume on the *Kojiki* 古事記 (*Record of Ancient Matters*, 720), has two volumes on *The Tale of Genji*, and finishes with a volume on ghost stories (*kaidan*). The paper band (*obi*) around the *Towazugatari* volume claims: "If you read classical literature as manga, it suddenly becomes fun." ¹¹⁶ Once again, the purpose of this one-shot manga seems to be both education and entertainment.

The work opens with a small text box explaining what the original work is about, and explanatory notes at the bottom of some of the pages provide further information or backstory. For example, the first panel has a note explaining who Nijō's parents were. The format of the volume mirrors a book, with a table of contents at the beginning listing five different chapters which seem to mirror the five Books of the original, supplemental material at the end, and an afterword by the author. The final pages reference all the texts the author used to create her work as well as a genealogy, making the text appear highly scholarly. ¹¹⁷ Further, the author addresses the audience directly in her afterword,

¹¹⁴ Born in Hokkaido, Igarashi started her career as a manga artist while in her final year of high school and published her first work in 1968. In 1977, she received the first prize of the Kōdansha Manga Award (Kōdansha Manga Shō 講談社漫画賞) for her art in the manga *Candy, Candy* (*Kyandi, kyandi* キャンディ・キャンディ). In 2010, a museum dedicated to her work opened in Okayama Prefecture. The official page of the museum provides further information about Igarashi: *Yumiko Igarashi Museum*, <http://www.aska-planning-design.co.jp/museum/museumtop.html> (accessed March 2018).

¹¹⁵ Igarashi Yumiko, *Towazugatari* (Tokyo: Chūō Koron Shinsha, 2000).

¹¹⁶ マンガで古典を読んだら「古典」が俄然、楽しくなった。

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 270–272.

explaining her working process and how she was able to create this work a believable portrayal of Nijō.¹¹⁸ Finally, she states that Nijō's love lasted for half a century and encourages her readers to challenge themselves by also achieving a "half-century love" (*hanseiki no koi* 半世紀の恋).¹¹⁹

The story starts by summarizing the life of Nijō, here called Akako 赤子, up to the night before her entry to court when the emperor forces himself on her after having reached an agreement with her father.¹²⁰ The story is told directly from Nijō's point of view through the use of boxes of text that spell out her inner monologue. This allows the reader to gain direct insight into the main character's thoughts, and the effect seems to follow the first person format of the original *Towazugatari*. Once at court, Nijō sees the priest Ajari and is mesmerized by his chanting voice but frightened by the way he looks at her.¹²¹ Unlike Chie's depiction which sports a full mane of hair,¹²² Igarashi's Ajari is completely bald. Igarashi's choices in this depiction of the priest makes him a truly frightening character at first, especially as he is often made to grab Nijō suddenly from behind or look intensely at her, but he becomes a rather pitiful character towards the end, repeatedly depicted crying and embracing Nijō. Sanekane appears after the birth of Nijō's daughter, and their relationship seems to blossom when Nijō is saddened and rendered jealous by the emperor's amorous ways. The style of art feels very much like a *shōjo* manga with the inclusion of exaggerated reactions for some of the characters at times, such as the scene where the emperor's eyes disappear when he is hit by Nijō,¹²³ and background designs in the panels of the page, such as flower petals.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 271

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 10–23.

¹²¹ Ibid., 28.

¹²² Miya Chie, *GoFukakusa-in Nijō*, 113.

¹²³ Igarashi Yumiko, *Towazugatari*, 17

7.3.2.1 Igarashi's Concert Scene

Igarashi's didactic approach in her adaptation of *Towazugatari* can be seen in her depiction of the *Tale of Genji*-inspired concert scene. Through the use of text boxes, the author is able to introduce the event by having Nijō herself explain the reason such a concert is happening: GoFukakusa's loss at an archery competition against his younger brother, the retired emperor Kameyama.¹²⁴ Behind the explanatory text are stylized female attendants in the panel's background, their robes and hair flowing throughout the panel, representing the ladies from *Genji*.¹²⁵ After enumerating each woman's role and the instruments they are to play, Igarashi includes a panel that shows Nijō's discomfort about playing the *biwa* as a low-ranking lady, once again giving the reader access to the protagonist's thoughts and showing her distressed state by presenting a close-up of her face with furled eyebrows and her sleeve over her mouth.¹²⁶ The next three panels do not contain any text and are meant to represent time passing while the women are playing their instruments.¹²⁷

In the following few panels, Nijō is humiliated and asked to change where she sits by her grandfather Lord Takachika because she is in front of her aunt who is to play the role of a higher ranking lady, the Third Princess.¹²⁸ Igarashi is able to convey the situation rapidly by including all this information through a character's speech bubbles and pictures Nijō's discomfort and shame by silencing her inner monologue and only including one of her thoughts, when she first recognizes Lord Takachika.¹²⁹ On the following panel, Nijō is shown standing up, the upper part of the panel full of black lines emanating from her back, symbolizing her anger.¹³⁰ Igarashi decides not to depict Nijō

¹²⁴ Ibid., 148.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 149.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 150.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 150–151.

¹²⁹ “Grandfather?” (“おじい様?” *Ojisama?*) Ibid., 149.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 151.

cutting the strings of her *biwa*, but she sends GoFukakusa a poem along with the strings.¹³¹ On the next page, the author provides a modern transcription of the poem as an endnote to allow her readership to fully understand the conversation between GoFukakusa and Kameyama regarding Nijō's poem.

By allowing her reader direct insight into Nijō's thoughts and by providing additional explanations and visual cues, Igarashi is able to present a scene inspired by *Towazugatari* yet easily grasped by an audience who might not be knowledgeable about classical literature. Igarashi's work is particularly successful at depicting Nijō's facial expressions to highlight her emotions, such as in the last scene of the manga where she runs after the emperor's funeral cortege, losing her shoes and her prayer beads. The scene culminates in a one-page panel where a barefooted Nijō, in her nun's clothing, cries in vain after the emperor while younger versions of herself are depicted in the background.¹³²

Here, the text is secondary and occupies very little space on the page. The spread focuses on Nijō's emotions, which are emphasized by her facial expressions, with tears flowing and eyebrows furling. In addition, Igarashi inserts very small panels depicting little details of Nijō's body: the tears flowing on her chin, her foot hitting a stone, pain symbolized by a tiny star rising from her toe, and her hand falling to the ground, breaking her rosary.¹³³ This rapid succession of small panels gives a sense of dynamism to the whole scene and contrasts heavily with the one-panel page that follows, where Nijō is fully represented from head to toe. Interestingly, the last few pages of the manga depict Nijō writing¹³⁴ and reaffirm her love and devotion to the emperor, showing how they managed to remain bonded for life because of their strong attachment to each other.¹³⁵

By providing background information and including key scenes from the classical *Towazugatari* tale, such as the *Genji*-inspired concert or the scene of GoFukakusa's funeral, Igarashi is able to provide

¹³¹ Ibid., 153.

¹³² Ibid., 266.

¹³³ Ibid., 265.

¹³⁴ She calls her work nonsensical or meaningless (*itazuragoto*).

¹³⁵ Ibid., 268–269.

a highly detailed story that is accessible to a wide variety of audiences. There are a few sexually explicit scenes, for example Nijō is depicted topless when the priest disrobes her,¹³⁶ but Igarashi tends to leave much to the imagination of her readers. She is able to convey the difficulties of Nijō's situation by showing men abusing their power over her, such as the emperor forcing himself on her in the first few pages of the story or Ajari suddenly seizing her from behind, in scenes that provide a shock through their violence towards the protagonist.

The manga offers a useful introduction to Nijō's story for new readers because of the numerous explanations presented by Igarashi and her attention to detail within dynamic scenes. Published fifteen years after Miya's work, Igarashi had a very similar purpose with her *Towazugatari*: educating audiences about Nijō's story. However, if Miya's work can be seen as part of a larger movement whose purpose was to promote women's writings, Igarashi's is part of a series with a broader goal of promoting works that span a larger timeframe and that do not focus only on historical women. However, both texts are quite similar in how they summarize *Towazugatari* in a single volume and focus on Nijō's time at court, ending quickly after her tonsure. But, because of Igarashi's popularity as a manga artist, her work likely reached a larger audience than Miya's, and she is also more transparent about her research methods and the works she uses as primary and secondary sources for the completion of her manga.

7.3.3 Umino Tsunami's *Kōkyū*

The next manga adaptation of *Towazugatari* titled *Kōkyū* 後宮 (*Inner Palace*)¹³⁷ and written by Umino Tsunami 海野つなみ (1970–),¹³⁸ was serialized from May 2006 to November 2007 in the *josei* manga¹³⁹ magazine *Kiss* and republished into five *tankōbon* volumes¹⁴⁰ in 2007. Unlike the stand-alone

¹³⁶ Ibid., 143.

¹³⁷ Umino Tsunami, *Kōkyū*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Kodensha Comics Kiss, 2007).

¹³⁸ Umino Tsunami is from Hyōgo Prefecture and debuted her first manga, *A Wish to the Moon* (*Otsukisamani onegai* お月様をお願い), in 1989. Her series, translated into English as *The Full-Time Wife Escapist* (*Nigeru wa haji daga yaku ni tatsu* 逃げるは恥だが役に立つ) and serialized in *Kiss* since 2012, was made into a television series in 2016. Her works tend to be published in *Kiss*, and she writes mainly romance stories. In the afterword of Volume One of *Inner Palace* she states that it is her first work set in such a time period.

¹³⁹ Manga for adult women.

volumes of Miya Chie and Igarashi Yumiko, Umino's work is more expansive and, thus, able to focus on Nijō's story with greater detail while providing more background information about the text. For example, after the chapter's title page showcasing Nijō and a poem, presented in both premodern Japanese and with a modern translation, Umino gives information about the time period in which the story is set. In the first panel, she states the year, 1271, and situates her story by noting that Marco Polo was seventeen and living in Venice with his father while, in Japan, the Mongolian invasions took place.¹⁴¹ She then quickly states the Japanese political climate of the time and even includes a genealogical chart to explain the imperial succession system.¹⁴²

Nijō herself is introduced in detail on the next few pages with a small panel regarding her upbringing, her mother's relationship to the emperor, and a chart to explain the different hierarchical positions of female attendants in the court.¹⁴³ In addition, the name, age, and position of each important person she meets is also provided for clarity, and the first two-page spread of each volume includes an image that depicts the various characters of the story, their ages, and their relationship to Nijō herself. In Volume One, Nijō is fourteen; she is twenty-four at the beginning of Volume Five and turns forty at the very end. Umino's reference material is listed at the end of some of the volumes, highlighting her research methods. The author was also able to select elements that were not present in *Towazugatari*, such as poems from the imperial anthologies (*chokusenwakashū*), to include in her work.¹⁴⁴ Umino includes an afterword at the end of every volume in which she discusses her creative process¹⁴⁵ and some of her editorial decisions, such as the use of Agako 吾子 as her choice for Nijō's first name due to

¹⁴⁰ Independent volume. When referring to a manga volume, this term creates a distinction between chapters of a story serialized in a magazine and the same chapters collected into an independent volume. Tankōbon can be understood as similar to the production of trade paperbacks for English-language audiences.

¹⁴¹ Umino Tsunami, *Kōkyū*, vol. 1, 10.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 12–13.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 191.

¹⁴⁵ She had to extrapolate things from the content of the original text because it did not explicitly denote who said certain things.

the implication of the meaning “my child” (*agako* 我が子).¹⁴⁶ This meaning is also illustrated directly in the manga, where the emperor, upon meeting a young Nijō, tells her, “From now on, you will be my child (*wagako*),” and he compares her directly with Genji’s young wife Murasaki.¹⁴⁷

7.3.3.1 Length and Details

The story follows the original text closely, beginning with a fourteen-year-old Nijō before her entry to court. The entire first chapter deals with the emperor’s attitude towards the young woman, her naivety, and the way he forces himself upon her.¹⁴⁸ The second chapter of the work is a flashback that introduces the reader to Nijō’s mother Suke dai and her relationship to the emperor. The multi-volume format of the work enables Umino to offer more backstory and fully explore the emperor’s childhood and his love of Suke dai. This is the first non-novel adaptation that includes a detailed chapter dedicated to Suke dai and the reasons for GoFukakusa’s strong attachment to Nijō. Because of the number of chapters in the story, Umino does not introduce Ajari until Volume Three, and Nijō’s relationship with Sanekane is only briefly discussed in Volume One, allowing the author to fully expand the character of GoFukakusa. Nijō’s relationship with Sanekane and GoFukakusa’s attachment to Nijō since she was a child are recurring themes throughout the manga, with Umino often using flashbacks to show the emperor’s interaction with young Nijō.

Umino recounts events of Nijō’s life in detail, such as the *Tale of Genji*-inspired concert scene that was also depicted in Miya Chie’s and Igarashi Yumiko’s mangas, to which the author dedicates an entire chapter. She shows some of GoFukakusa and Kameyama’s archery competition and provides, once again, much information about the hierarchical positions of the ladies taking part in the concert with the help of charts.¹⁴⁹ Before the concert starts, Nijō is asked to change places with her aunt and,

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 4, 189.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, 69.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, 10–44.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 4, 20–21.

unlike Igarashi, Umino chooses to present the reader with an insight into Nijō's thoughts directly, highlighting her lack of support at court.¹⁵⁰ Again, unlike Igarashi's depiction of the same scene, Umino places the emphasis on Nijō's distress and humiliation rather than showing her resolve when she stands up. This is depicted by the use of the onomatopoeic terms *gaku* ガク, which shows her trembling, and *biku* ビクッ,¹⁵¹ to show her sudden surprise and recoil when Lord Takachika screams at her.¹⁵² Umino also depicts the scene where Nijō cuts the strings of her *biwa* and sends them with a poem to the emperor.¹⁵³ Umino includes copious information regarding the events that led to the concert, such as background information about *The Tale of Genji* and information related to Nijō herself and why she is placed in such a predicament.

In the last volume, she focuses on Nijō's life after her tonsure, a part of *Towazugatari* that is shortened in both Miya's and Igarashi's works to leave more space for her romantic adventures at court. Umino does not depict the act of tonsure itself and surprises the reader with Nijō's new appearance a few panels after she declares her intentions to become a nun.¹⁵⁴ Finally, Umino's final chapter focuses on Princess Yūgimon-in 遊義門院 (1270–1307), a daughter of GoFukakusa and consort to emperor GoUda (1267–1324, r. 1274–1287) who meets Nijō while praying at Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine.¹⁵⁵ Umino not only illustrates the scene from *Towazugatari* of the two women meeting but also depicts an earlier scene where Yūgimon-in meets the emperor for the first time. She thus incorporates information about events happening at the court even after Nijō's departure and illustrates historical events that were not directly witnessed by Nijō in *Towazugatari*. The inclusion of Yūgimon-in's perspective also presents a certain circularity in women's roles at court as Yūgimon-in's naivety during her first meeting with

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 4, 27.

¹⁵¹ From *bikkuri*, to be startled.

¹⁵² Ibid., vol. 4, 26–27.

¹⁵³ Ibid., vol. 4, 29.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., vol. 5, 106.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, 181.

GoUda can be paralleled with that of Nijō with GoFukakusa. At the end of the story, Nijō recalls her past and is shown writing —presumably *Towazagatari*— while remembering her past experiences and lovers.

7.3.3.2 Authorial Intent

Umino is quite active online and open to conversations with her fans, and I was able to ask her about her work and her choice of adaptation material on her own personal blog in April 2017.¹⁵⁶ The author states that, firstly, she simply found *Towazugatari* to be particularly interesting and deep.¹⁵⁷ For her audience, since there are quite a few people who are not very familiar with classical Japanese literature, she tried as much as possible to craft a work that was easy to understand by including extra information and pieces of trivia. This happens throughout each volume with explanations of ranks and relationships in the panels with the help of charts and drawings, but Umino also includes additional contextualizing material at the end of each volume to explain the historical or cultural significance to be found in the first page illustration of each chapter, starting with Volume Two where she explains such concepts as *mizura* 角髮¹⁵⁸ and *kemari* 蹴鞠.¹⁵⁹ Umino adds that, upon completing the work, she felt like she had experienced the life of someone else and wishes that her readers would, in the same way, be able to experience the history and customs of the past through the life of one woman.¹⁶⁰

Due to the length of her work and her extensive research, Umino’s text succeeds in portraying Nijō’s life in greater detail than previous manga adaptations, and her attention to historical events allows her to depict a story that continues despite the main protagonist’s removal from its main setting. Indeed, Umino is careful in placing her story within a historical timeline, providing the reader with specific

¹⁵⁶ Umino Tsunami, “Umino Tsunami Darekuto,” *Umino Tsunami*Information*, <http://uminotsunami.seesaa.net/article/391079264.html> (accessed March 2018).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Mizura* is a special hairstyle with two buns on the side of the head, worn by aristocratic boys. This hairstyle denotes the fact that the wearer is still a child.

¹⁵⁹ *Kemari* or kickball, was a classical court pastime played by aristocratic men.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

events that occur at the very beginning of her story in order to situate it for the reader, and she also provides information regarding the emperor's succession at the end of the story. By carefully grounding her story in history, Umino presents a narrative that is close to its source material yet part of a larger story that does not revolve solely around Nijō. Indeed, even though the reader is given direct insight into her thoughts, the flashback story about GoFukakusa and Sukedai allows the reader to more fully understand the emperor's motivations as well. Similarly, the inclusion of a chapter titled "Intermission," which centres on Sanekane, allows the reader to also see the source of his strong attachment to Nijō.¹⁶¹ At times Ajari's thoughts are included for the audience to understand his internal struggles regarding his relationship to Nijō and his religion. Finally, although Nijō's romantic relationships are central to the story, Umino takes time to explore other aspects of her main character's life in order for the reader to understand her position at court, her struggles, and, ultimately, her decision to become a nun.

Due to the author's research and the work's long serialization, Umino's story seems to be the most extensive manga adaptation of *Towazugatari*. It is important to note that this text is the first extended serialization of an adaptation of Nijō's story, and while it is not part of a larger series centred on historical figures, it strongly grounds Nijō and her work amongst Japanese history and allows her audience to experience the life of a Kamakura-era woman. Starting with Umino's text, and likely due to the increasing popularity of serialization, the more recent manga adaptations of *Towazugatari* are longer and do not fit within a larger existing collection of other historical works, allowing their merits to stand on their own. The following example of a manga adaptation of the text is also a serialized story, but it is quite different from Umino's due to both its audience and style.

¹⁶¹ Umino Tsunami, *Kōkyū*, vol. 3, 126–133.

7.3.4 Miou Serina's *Towazugatari*

From 2007 to 2008 Miou Serina 美桜せりな¹⁶² serialized *Towazugatari* とはずがたり in the *shōjo* manga magazine *Sho-Comi*.¹⁶³ Her work was then published in three *tankōbon* volumes in 2008.¹⁶⁴ The story centres on fourteen-year-old Akako あかこ, whose life until then and motivations are quickly explained to the reader on the first page: her mother Sokedai died when she was two years old, she entered into the inner palace at age four, and her primary interest is to find love.¹⁶⁵ Immediately after introducing Nijō to the reader, Miou has her come across Sanekane on the next page.¹⁶⁶ Despite the length of this manga, Miou does not spend much time situating Nijō's story and, instead, introduces one of Nijō's love interests on the second page. The main character's reaction to meeting Sanekane follows many conventions of the *shōjo* genre: a heartbeat illustrated by the *dokin* ドキン onomatopoeia and a face flushed in embarrassment. Miou's Nijō has a more pronounced, youthful look that is made to appeal to the younger readership of this manga. The male characters introduced in this volume, Sanekane and GoFukakusa, also appear younger than in any other manga representation so far, due to their large eyes and triangular faces. Despite this, the story depicts many scenes of a sexual nature, and several of these encounters are represented as violent and non-consensual.

By introducing Sanekane so early in the text, Miou creates an amorous connection between Nijō and Sanekane right from the beginning. Indeed, she is depicted thinking of him often, receiving his letters, and even having dreams about him.¹⁶⁷ This relationship is also used as a foil for Nijō and her

¹⁶² Miou Serina was born in Osaka in 1979. Her first work, *Reaching My Voice* (*todoite my voice* 届いて My Voice), was published in 2004 in a special issue of the magazine *Shōjo Komikku* (少女コミック), the former name of *Sho-Comi*. Besides *Towazugatari*, Miou has also written a four-volume adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* (2007). She publishes in other *shōjo* magazines and also in an online erotic *shōjo* magazine called *Mobafura* (モバフラ). More information about Miou's works can be found on her personal blog: Miou Serina, *Miou Serina no Burogu*, <https://ameblo.jp/serina-miou/> (accessed March 26 2018).

¹⁶³ Author's biography included in the first volume of Miou Serina, *Towazugatari* (Japan: Shogakukan, 2008). The Japanese magazine title is published in romanized form as "*Sho-Comi*."

¹⁶⁴ Miou Serina, *Towazugatari*, 3 vols. (Japan: Shōgakukan, 2008).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, n.p.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, n.p.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, n.p.

interaction with GoFukakusa. Her naivety and misunderstanding of his intentions are made clear early on when he seizes her hands, looking towards her father Masatada for approval, while she is depicted as flustered and confused. Later on, she dreams of Sanekane and wakes up to the emperor hugging her and mistakenly confesses her love to him.¹⁶⁸ After rejecting his advances, she muses on the fact that she already has Sanekane and starts writing a letter to him. GoFukakusa enters her chambers again and becomes angry and jealous when he reads the letter. He then forces himself on her while she protests physically and verbally. This scene is echoed later on, when Nijō serves as a go-between for GoFukakusa and the Ise Priestess and stands before the door of their bedchambers; the same type of protestation and screams can be heard coming from inside the room.¹⁶⁹

Overall, GoFukakusa is depicted as a rather forceful and violent man who often physically imposes his will upon his lover, and even if Nijō's feelings towards him change and she starts loving him, his actions are still often depicted as violent. Even in a scene painted as humorous his aggressiveness takes centre stage, as exemplified when he suddenly tries to kiss her and she has to rebuke him with a pillow.¹⁷⁰ Later on, he possessively calls Nijō his woman and allows Lord Konoe to sleep with her as a way of taking revenge on her for sleeping with Ajari. By portraying the emperor as particularly forceful and in competition with Sanekane for Nijō's affection, Miou is able to create an effective triangular relationship, adding tension to her story that is heightened later on with the introduction of Ajari in Volume Two.

Miou's portrayal of Ajari is quite different from all the depictions seen in adaptations of *Towazugatari* so far. Indeed, he is not overly threatening towards Nijō even though he tries to kiss her on their first meeting. He is instead depicted as playful, as illustrated by a scene where he feeds Nijō a

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, n.p.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, n.p.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, n.p.

dango 団子¹⁷¹ by putting it in front of her mouth as she turns her head to look at him after he calls her name. Later, when she refuses his advances, he is able to reassure her by stating that he is ready to assume any type of punishment for his actions, and she turns and kisses him herself.¹⁷² After their relationship has been established, he assumes a protective stance towards her as exemplified when he reassures and consoles Nijō after her night with Lord Konoe. Miou's depiction of Ajari as caring and loving serves as a balancing force, contrasting her depiction of GoFukakusa as controlling and cruel. This is particularly apparent in Volume Three where GoFukakusa is the one who personally takes Nijō and Ajari's child away from her in order to avoid a scandal. Ajari, on the other hand, consoles Nijō and cries with her about the family they could have had.¹⁷³ Later, when Nijō has to leave court, she encounters GoFukakusa accompanied by two women. When she states that she wishes she could have served him until the end, he points at the women and tells her that they are her replacement.¹⁷⁴

In the end, Nijō is shown wondering which of her lovers she loved the most, and, realizing it is the emperor, she sneaks into the palace and spends one last night with him. The next morning, she leaves him and, after recalling her past lovers, realizes that she has had enough. Miou depicts Nijō cutting her hair herself when becoming a nun, a scene that was not shown in any previous manga adaptation. In the last pages, she is writing *Towazugatari*, which she calls a diary or *nikki* 日記, and she reflects on her life, wondering what type of woman the reader of *Towazugatari* would think she was. Here, Miou's focus on Nijō's love story is made quite clear as she completely omits most of Books Four and Five of the original *Towazugatari*, and the reader does not get to see much of Nijō's life after her tonsure.

¹⁷¹ A type of round sweet dumpling made with rice flour.

¹⁷² Ibid., vol. 2, n.p.

¹⁷³ Ibid., vol. 3, n.p.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 3, n.p.

7.3.4.1 Miou's *Towazugatari*: A Contemporary Retelling

When discussing manga adaptation of classics, Nicholas A. Thesein argues that “classics in manga and likewise in Japanese culture are precisely non-classical.”¹⁷⁵ He describes how a manga adaptation of the classical story of Orpheus and Eurydice uses many elements found in *shōjo* manga, such as the setting being a “cloistered academy” and the inclusion of a love triangle.¹⁷⁶ Similar elements can be found in Miou’s story, including the cloistered nature of the court and the different lovers connected to Nijō. The author’s depictions of her three main male characters seem to also be based on love story archetypes overlapped onto Nijō’s lovers: Sanekane is the “first love,” GoFukakusa is the “aggressive and jealous” type, while Ajari is the “more sensitive” type.

These archetypes give the text a very contemporary atmosphere, heightened by the use of modern terms and expressions. Miou’s language is very contemporary as well and much more casual than any other manga adaptations of *Towazugatari*. Although Nijō still calls the retired emperor My Lord (*gosho sama* 御所さま), she uses the very casual and feminine *atashi* あたし to refer to herself, and characters use casual language with each other throughout the entire story.¹⁷⁷ For example, gossiping female attendants employ the very casual and contemporary *majide* マジで¹⁷⁸ to denote surprise. Moreover, Miou uses present-day words in an anachronistic way, creating a schism between the location and appearance of the characters and their ways of speaking. For example, when GoFukakusa tries to sleep with Nijō she calls him a *roricon* ロリコン, a man with a Lolita complex or attraction to very young women.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, Volumes Two and Three contain two extra, unrelated love stories set in the contemporary period, highlighting once again the casual tone of Miou’s story.

¹⁷⁵ Nicholas A. Thesein, “Declassicizing the Classical in Japanese Comics: Osamu Tezuka’s *Apollo’s Song*,” in *Classics and Comics*, eds. George Kovacs and C.W. Marshall (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 59.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁷⁷ For example, the emperor calls Nijō over with a very familiar: “Come over, will you?” (*kokoni kuru ka* ここにくるか).

¹⁷⁸ “No way!?”

¹⁷⁹ Miou Serina, *Towazugatari*, vol. 1, n.p.

In May 2017, I sent an email to Serina Miou asking her about this particular work and why she chose such a text. According to her, Miou's editors requested that she draw a manga based on a piece of classic Japanese literature the main theme of which was love.¹⁸⁰ She started looking on the internet for such a work and came across *Towazugatari*. She mentions tackling the same type of genre previously when she worked on her four-volume adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* (2007). That work was published in a magazine aimed at young, mid-teenage girls, and so she aimed her *Towazugatari* adaptation at this type of audience as well. The text and expression of the characters were composed in a contemporary way, and she aimed to produce a work that would also be enjoyable for those who do not like classical literature.¹⁸¹ Unlike all of the other manga adaptations of the text, Miou's work seems to use the settings and characters of *Towazugatari* as a way to portray a historical love story between one woman and her three lovers. By using archetypes for her male characters, the author is able to present a familiar love story to a 21st century audience, set in an uncommon setting. Interestingly, Miou's 2007 adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* in four volumes is advertised in each volume of *Towazugatari* with the tagline "The classical literature series easiest to read in all of Japan."¹⁸²

7.4 Non-Novel Adaptations: From Written to Visual

By looking at several adaptations of *Towazugatari* in this chapter, I have been able to suggest some of the reasons why the authors created works that reimagine Nijō's story. The first instance of adaptation introduced Nijō's life story but divorced it from the work, essentially replacing the text immediately, as it introduced the story of an unknown woman to a non-academic audience. Jissōji and Churchill use Nijō in two different ways but similarly focused on parts of her life that better helped to convey their message. The former uses Shijō's story as a way to convey the decadence of the Kamakura aristocratic class and the importance of redemption. The latter, however, invites Nijō to interact with

¹⁸⁰ Miou Serina, email message to the author, May 2017.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² “日本一読みやすい古典シリーズ”

other historical and fictional figures in order to highlight the struggle of women's experiences and the difficulties and troubles associated with womanhood.

The two first instances of manga adaptations were part of larger historical series and, despite being published fifteen years apart, take a similar approach to education and entertainment. However, due to the popularity of serialization, the two most recent manga adaptations were able to either include many of *Towazugatari*'s scenes, even those occurring after her tonsure, or focus fully on her love relationships by using romantic archetypes and contemporary language to appeal to a younger audience. Overall, the audiences of these adaptations would probably not have been exposed to the story before encountering these works. Hence, I argue that they act as a replacement for Nijō's story, especially since they are self-contained and do not require a knowledge of the original in order to be understood. Several creators, such as Umino Tsunami or Jissōji Akio, were able to provide extensive background information about the time period that would, once again, negate the need for the audiences to search for the original text. Works that utterly dissociate Nijō from her text, such as Kitabatake's story and Caryl Churchill's *Top Girls*, create new incarnations of Nijō that completely replace the woman presented in *Towazugatari*. In this way, they are able to convey different messages to their audiences using Nijō's story as a conduit.

The order in which these non-novel adaptations have appeared is interesting as well. First, a short written story was published in a literary magazine, and then two live-action adaptations of the text came out one after the other. Finally, manga adaptations were released, first in 1985 and then later in the 2000s. This slow change of medium, from written form, to live action, then to the visual arts, highlights the perceived hierarchy of artistic expression which tends to favor written mediums while neglecting the

performative and visual arts.¹⁸³ The number of manga adaptations also likely benefited from the 1950s' *Genji* boom mentioned earlier and the publication of the first *Genji* manga in 1979.

In the next chapter of this thesis, I will look first at Setouchi Harumi's novel *Chūsei enjō* and explore how the author's attachment to *Towazugatari* has allowed her to produce many works inspired by the text. By revisiting *Towazugatari* in three distinct forms, Setouchi was able to focus on different aspects of the text while inserting her own life experience into Nijō's story. Setouchi's relationship with classical literature spans many other works, most notably *The Tale of Genji* and the diary of Izumi Shikibu (ca. 966–?), and her reworking of many of these stories allowed her to give a stronger voice to female characters such as in her *Nyonin Genji monogatari* 女人源氏物語 (*The Ladies' Tale of Genji*, 1989). In addition, Setouchi's life seems to closely resemble Nijō's: both women are writers, had affairs, and became Buddhist nuns. In the following chapter, I will quickly summarize Setouchi's life and *Chūsei enjō* before examining important scenes, such as the ending, which strongly differ from the original work. In the second part of the chapter, I will be looking at Sugimoto Sonoko's novelization, *Shin Towazugatari*, a historical novel with a shift in the main character, from Nijō to one of her lovers. Like Setouchi's *Chūsei enjō*, Sugimoto's adaptation is concerned with retelling Nijō's story while including many historical and political events that were not mentioned in the original.

¹⁸³ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 4.

Chapter Three: Setouchi Harumi and Sugimoto Sonoko

8.1 Setouchi Harumi and *Towazugatari*

When she serialized *Chūsei enjō* 中世炎上 (*Medieval Scandal*¹) in 1971, Setouchi Harumi's work was one of the first modern adaptations of *Towazugatari*, produced a year before Jissōji's movie version and twenty-years after the discovery of the text by Yamagishi. Setouchi's interest in the text has fueled several of her works of fiction and non-fiction, from the 1970s to the 1990s. By producing a modern language translation of the text in 1973, she helped open up the work to a wider range of audiences who might not have read the text in its original form or found accessible the scholarly annotations of the classical text and its translations into modern Japanese.

Setouchi's approach was to educate the public, as can be seen in works such as *Watashi no sukina koten no onnatachi* 私の好きな古典の女たち (*My Favorite Women from Classical Texts*, 1982) which explains canonical texts to the readers and introduces them to some of her favorite characters.² She has also offered public lectures on *Towazugatari*, as in November 1973 when she presented a talk at Waseda University entitled “*Towazugatari* o megutte: chūsei no jidai to bungaku” 『とはずがたり』をめぐって—中世の時代と文学— (In Regard to *Towazugatari*: The Medieval Period and its Literature).³ Through her production of numerous texts that either reference *Towazugatari* or are a rewriting of the original text, Setouchi may be considered the most ambitious writer to adapt *Towazugatari* into multiple forms. Her dual positioning as an educator yet also someone who empathizes with and sees herself as a double for Nijō results in a variety of texts that replace

¹ I am thankful to Professor Christina Laffin for suggesting such a translation for Setouchi's work. Other proposed translations can be found in Sachiko Schierbeck's *Japanese Women Novelists in the 20th Century: 140 Biographies 1900–1993* as “Blazings in the Noble Ages” and in Masayo Kaneko's “Setouchi Jakuchō: Female Subjectivity in the Exploration of ‘Self,’ Sexuality, and Spirituality” as “The Medieval Era in Flames.”

² Setouchi Harumi, *Watashi no sukina koten no onnatachi* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1973).

³ Machida Sakae, “Setouchi Bungaku to *Towazugatari*: Tsume, Sugimoto Sonoko *Shin Towazugatari*,” *Atomi Gakuen Joshi Daigaku Kiyō* 24 (1991): 57.

Towazugatari, providing interpretations and rereadings that suggest strong parallels between the protagonist and Setouchi herself.

In this chapter, I will carry out a close reading of *Chūsei enjō* by focusing on important scenes modeled on *Towazugatari* that appear aimed at providing both background information and entertainment to the reader, including the two opening chapters that focus on Nijō's mother, Sokedai. I will then analyze the novel's ending, which diverges from *Towazugatari* by introducing a scene in which Nijō murders another character. Finally, I will also briefly look at Setouchi's other works that involve or mention Nijō or her text, in order to understand how *Towazugatari* wends its way through Setouchi's oeuvre and why the author embarked on these multiple adaptations. Did Setouchi's adaptation process change through the roughly twenty years during which she used *Towazugatari* as a source of adaptation? How might her adaptation process be related to transformations impacting her own life, such as her tonsure? I will begin by providing a brief biography of Setouchi.

8.1.1 Setouchi Harumi/Jakuchō

Born Setouchi Harumi in 1922, she is now known as Setouchi Jakuchō, after being ordained as a Buddhist nun in November 1973. Commonly referred to as “Jakuchō-san” she is a familiar face to Japanese today, often appearing on television programs and in interviews. Born in Tokushima, she became infatuated with the works of the poet Kitahara Hakushū (1885–1942) and the novelist Shimazaki Tōson (1872–1943) during her elementary school years and decided to become a writer herself. In high school, she encountered a modern transcription of *The Tale of Genji* and wrote poetry that she submitted to her school's literary journal. In 1940, Setouchi entered Tokyo Women's University where she spent four years studying Japanese literature. Her graduation thesis was about the writings of Okamoto Kanoko 岡本かの子 (1889–1939), whose work and life she would later explore in her 1965 book, *Kanoko ryōran* かの子癡乱 (*Kanoko in a State of Frenzy*). After marrying in 1943, she followed her

husband to his new assignment in Beijing, where she gave birth to their daughter the following year. After the war and Japan's defeat, the family returned to Japan, where Setouchi started an affair with one of her husband's students and eloped, leaving her husband and daughter behind. Her love affair was short-lived because her lover refused to follow her, and she started to pursue a career as a writer, writing fairy tales and stories for young girls.

Her 1956 short story *Joshidaisei Chui Airin* 女子大生・曲愛玲 (College Girl Qu Ailing) won the Shinchō Coterie Magazine Award (Shinchō Dōjin Zasshishō 新潮同人雑誌賞).⁴ In 1959, she released *Kashin* 花芯 (*Stamen*), a novel that caused controversy amongst the Japanese literary circle, or *bundan*, due to Setouchi's frank depiction of female sexuality and common use of the word “*shikyu*” 子宮 (uterus).⁵ Based on her own relationship, her next work *Natsu no owari* 夏の終わり (*The End of Summer*) earned her the Women's Literature Prize (Joryū Bungaku shō 女流文学賞) in 1963 and redeemed her as an important Japanese writer.⁶ After moving to Kyoto in 1966, Setouchi rekindled her interest in classical literature, and it is during this period of her life that she published most of her works with connections to *Towazugatari*. In 1973, she took the tonsure and became a Buddhist nun, changing her name to Setouchi Jakuchō. At this point, she began to include Buddhism as a theme in her writing.⁷ In 1996 she completed a ten-volume modern translation of *The Tale of Genji*, and she has been giving talks in Japan and abroad about this work as well.⁸ Besides writing, Setouchi also gives lectures on

⁴ Masayo Kaneko, “Setouchi Jakuchō: Female Subjectivity in the Exploration of ‘Self,’ Sexuality, and Spirituality,” in *The Outsider Within: Ten Essays on Modern Japanese Women Writers*, eds. Tomoko Kuribayashi and Mizuho Terasawa (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2002), 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁶ Sachiko Schierbeck, *Japanese Women Novelists in the 20th Century: 140 Biographies 1900–1993* (Denmark: Museum Truscunatum Press, 1994), 150.

⁷ Masayo Kaneko, “Setouchi Jakuchō,” 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

Buddhism, offers retreats and sutra-copying sessions, and is a very important public figure in magazines, television, and radio shows.⁹

8.1.2 Publication History of *Chūsei enjō*

In this chapter, I will explore several adaptations of *Towazugatari* written by Setouchi Harumi, focusing primarily on her 1973 book, *Chūsei enjō*. Before being published in book format, the work was first serialized in the weekly magazine *Shūkan Asahi* 週刊朝¹⁰ from 1971 to 1972. The text was accompanied by brushwork for the title and illustrations by the artist Miyata Masayuki 宮田雅之 (1926–1997),¹¹ who was also responsible for the cover illustration of the 1973 book edition. The book was then republished in 1977 and 1989 in a more compact format by Shinchōsha 新潮社 with a cover illustration by Katō Tomiko 加藤登美子 (1936–). Unlike Miyata’s illustration, the pocket version of the story does not have a woman represented on the cover but a red cloud-like shape with a darker red shape in the centre, surrounded by plants and shown as being under clouds. The drawing seems to represent a womb, stressing the sexual nature of the text and its content. Despite being rather abstract, the cover conveys the idea of flames and burning that is present in the title, as the title utilizes the word *enjō* 炎上, which means to go up in flames. Allusions to fire and burning can be seen all throughout the work, from the red cover, to the fire that erupts in the imperial palace in the first chapter, to the allusions to hell throughout the text. Furthermore, the notion of burning can be associated with the passion of love, a theme that is central to the work.

⁹ Ibid., 85.

¹⁰ Established in 1922, the *Shūkan Asahi* is a weekly magazine published by Asahi Shinbun Shūppan 朝日新聞出版 *Asahi Shinbun*. For more information and to see covers of the magazine through the ages, please visit: “Shūkan Asahi,” *Asahi Shinbun Shuppan* <https://publications.asahi.com/ecs/24.shtml> (accessed March 2018).

¹¹ Born in Tokyo, Miyata Masayuki is well-known for his visual artwork and book cover illustrations. Miyata started his career working with woodblock printing, but, from 1965, he focused on a technique called *kiri-e* which consists of cutting paper to create images. Besides working on *Chūsei enjō*, as part of his collaboration with weekly magazines Miyata provided illustrations for author Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's 谷崎 潤一郎 (1886–1965) books and created a *kirie-e* version of *The Tale of Genji*. For more information and to see examples of works by Miyata Masayuki, please consult his website: *The World of Masayuki Miyata*, <http://www.masayuki-miyata-kirie.jp> (accessed March 2018).

Chūsei enjō was anthologized by Kōdansha in 1974 in the twelfth volume of *Setouchi Harumi chōhen senshū* 瀬戸内晴美長編選集 (Long Selections from Setouchi Harumi), together with another story called *Rinbu* 輪舞 (*Round Dance*).¹² The text was also included in an anthology of the author's "complete works" published by Shinchōsha as the *Setouchi Jakuchō zenshū* 瀬戸内寂聴全集 (The Complete Setouchi Jakuchō) in 2001. In total, *Chūsei enjō* has been published five times in three different mediums: as a serialized journal, a book, and in an anthology. This suggests that the story was quite popular since it was republished multiple times over the course of thirty years.

8.1.3 Setouchi's Other Works with Links to *Towazugatari*

Before publishing *Chūsei enjō*, Setouchi worked on two books that share strong ties to *Towazugatari*. From 1967 to 1968 she serialized *Gion nyōgo* 祇園女御 in the daily newspaper *Tokyo shinbun* 東京新聞 and other regional versions of the newspaper.¹³ The story was then published as a *tankōbon* in 1969.¹⁴ The text opens with a chapter discussing *Towazugatari* in which Setouchi explains the plot to her readers and provides translated quotations of the text to support her explanations. Thus, this work can be seen as Setouchi's first explication of *Towazugatari* and her first published attempt at translating *Towazugatari*.

In her article "Setouchi Harumi (Jakuchō) *Gion nyōgo* ni okeru *Towazugatari* juyō ni tsuite," Sugita Yoshie points out all the different academic works on *Towazugatari* that were published in 1966, relatively close to Setouchi's release of *Gion nyōgo*, highlighting the period as an important time for the academic reception of Nijō's work.¹⁵ Similarly, Fukuda Hideichi mentions the numerous scholarly works, annotations, and articles published on the topic of *Towazugatari* from 1966 onward and suggests

¹² Setouchi Harumi, *Setouchi Harumi chōhen senshū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974).

¹³ Machida Sakae, "Setouchi Bungaku," 56.

¹⁴ Setouchi Harumi, *Gion nyōgo* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1968).

¹⁵ Sugita Yoshie, "Setouchi Harumi (Jakuchō) *Gion nyōgo* ni okeru *Towazugatari* juyō ni tsuite," *Shirayuri Jōshi Daigaku Gengo, Bungaku Kenkyū Sentā Gengo, bungaku kenkyū ronshū* 4, (2004), 27.

that Setouchi's interests in those works resulted in her publication of *Gion nyōgo*.¹⁶ When discussing this novel and *Towazugatari* together, Machida Sakae draws a parallel between the notion of a woman abandoning her own child in Nijō's account and the motif of the abandoned child in Setouchi's *Gion nyōgo*.¹⁷ Additionally, Sugita underlines the parallel between characters from the two works by pointing to *The Tale of Genji* characters Genji and Fujitubo and their archetypes that appear in both *Towazugatari* and *Gion nyōgo*, and also to the fact that both Nijō and *Gion nyōgo*'s character Michiko 道子 are represented as being talented at playing the *biwa*.¹⁸ In addition, both Nijō and Michiko share the appellation "Wagako" 吾子 and suffer from the loss of a guardian figure (*higocha* 庇護者).¹⁹ In total, Sugita argues that Setouchi uses Nijō as an inspiration for three different characters in *Gion nyōgo*.²⁰ Based on this, the first chapter of the story can be seen as Setouchi's first published discussion and partial translation of *Towazugatari* and shows her strong interest in the text. Additionally, it is the first instance of her borrowing ideas and concepts from *Towazugatari* and can therefore be seen as her first steps towards adapting Nijō's story.

In 1973, Setouchi was responsible for the modern Japanese translation of *Towazugatari* in the *Nihon no koten* 日本の古典 collection edited by Kawade Shobō Shinsha 河出書房新社. Her translation appeared in the eighth volume, "Ōchō nikki zuihitsu" 王朝日記隨筆集 II (Collected Court Diaries and Essays), as part of a two-volume series containing diaries and miscellaneous writings. It was published alongside modern translations of *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (*The Great Mirror*, 1119), *Hōjōki* 方丈記 (*An Account of My Hut*, 1212), and *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (*Essays in Idleness*, 1332). Setouchi's

¹⁶ Fukuda Hideichi, "Towazugatari, Izumi Shikibu nikki to Setouchi Harumi: koten to gendai bungaku no mondai no ichi rei," 15.

¹⁷ Machida Sakae, "Setouchi Bungaku," 66.

¹⁸ Sugita Yoshie, "Setouchi Harumi (Jakuchō) *Gion nyōgo* ni okeru *Towazugatari* juyō ni tsuite," 30.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

modern translation was then published in a stand-alone volume in 1988.²¹ However, the translation is incomplete as the last two Books, interestingly the ones that focus on Nijō's travels, are abridged. In the afterword written by scholar Yashima Masaharu 八島正治 (1938–), Setouchi's choices are not contested but she is praised for “boldly cutting” (*omoi kitte katto* 思い切ってカット).²² Furthermore, Yashima argues that, despite the abridged nature of the two last Books, the translation is still able to follow the original quite closely and that when Setouchi studied those two Books for the first time she assumed that, during their meeting at the temple, GoFukakusa and Nijō slept together, qualifying the relationship as “Laclos-like”²³ and complicit.²⁴ Yashima also explains how scholarship about *Towazugatari* and ways of qualifying the text have changed, along with the arguments about Nijō's motives for writing such a work.²⁵ He also mentions Setouchi's *Chūsei enjō*, highlighting both the book as well as Setouchi's interpretation of GoFukakusa and Nijō's relationship as a result of all of those changes in scholarship.²⁶

In 1982, Setouchi published a book entitled *Watashi no sukina koten no onnatachi* in which she introduces ten different authors and characters. She includes four historical figures, starting with Princess Nukata Nukata no Ōkimi 額田王 from the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*Collection of a Thousand Leaves*, ca. 759); Lady Nijō; Izumi Shikibu, Michitsuna's Mother Michitsuna no Haha 道綱の母, the author of *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記 (*The Kagerō Diary*, ca. 974); as well as five characters from *The Tale of Genji* and one from *Tsutsumi Chūnagon monogatari* 堤中納言物語 (*The Riverside Middle Counsellor's Stories*, late Heian period). In the book, Setouchi begins each chapter with a dedication to one of her favorite ladies by introducing the text in which the woman appears and offering impressions about their

²¹ Setouchi Harumi, *Gendaigoyaku Towazugatari* (Japan: Shinchōsha, 1988).

²² *Ibid.*, 268.

²³ Yashima uses the expression ラクロ風, presumably based on French writer Pierre Choderlos de Laclos (1741–1803), famous for his epistolary novel *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* (1782) that includes several morally ambiguous relationships.

²⁴ Setouchi Harumi, *Gendaigoyaku Towazugatari*, 269.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

text. In Lady Nijō's section, Setouchi addresses the reader directly, asking them if they have ever heard of an old tale entitled *Towazugatari* and stating that it would not be curious if they never have, since, for a long time, the world did not know this work even existed.²⁷ She explains that she herself read the text for the first time “fourteen, fifteen years ago” from the publication of *Watashi no sukina koten no onnatachi*, marking her first encounter with Nijō's text around 1966.²⁸

Setouchi summarizes the story for the reader, underlining aspects of the writing she finds particularly remarkable, such as the naturalistic voice of Nijō and the confessional aspect of the text. She also makes connections to other works, such as *The Tale of Genji* and *Kagerō nikki*, in order to explain certain aspects of the text, like its title, and hails the work as particularly unique.²⁹ She points out how reading the scene where Nijō is forced to abandon her daughter to be raised by Sanekane's wife, whose own child had passed away at birth, was particularly astonishing and adds that she became completely fascinated by Nijō, going as far as stating that she became obsessed with her.³⁰ She also explains quite clearly that before becoming a nun herself, she found the last Books of *Towazugatari*, those that deal with Nijō's travels, to be quite boring (*heiban* 平板) when compared to the other three previous Books.³¹ After receiving her own ordination and going on pilgrimages like Nijō as a “female Saigyō,”³² Setouchi changed her mind and found those Books much more compelling, even highlighting Nijō's reunion with the emperor as particularly dramatic.³³ She concludes the chapter by stating her attachment to the text and to Nijō herself.³⁴ This chapter is quite important for understanding Setouchi's change in perception

²⁷ Setouchi Harumi, *Watashi no sukina koten*, 26.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 28.

³⁰ Ibid., 32.

³¹ Ibid., 38.

³² Saigyō (1118–1190) is a Japanese poet, renowned for his travels. The expression ‘female Saigyō’ is often associated with Nijō due to her travels and her own mentions of the poet in her work. For a more thorough discussion of the term, see Christina Laffin, “Women, Travel, and Cultural Production in Kamakura Japan: A Socio-Literary Analysis of *Izayoi nikki* and *Towazugatari*.”

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 40.

of *Towazugatari* before and after her tonsure, but it also signifies what parts of the story she finds particularly compelling and wishes to share with her readers and what parts she leaves out.

Finally, Nijō is mentioned in Setouchi's 1992 novel *Hana ni toe* 花に問え (*Ask the Flowers*), a novel where the main character, Hishida Mio, decides at the end of the story to become a Buddhist nun and receive ordination.³⁵ The characters of the story discuss the life of the monk Ippen and his relationship with Chōichi (–1283), Ippen's follower and ex-consort.³⁶ Carnal relationships between religious figures after their ordinations is a central theme of the work. At one point, Mio and her lover, Ryōsuke, discuss *The Tale of Genji*, arguing that Prince Genji did not have any relationships with women after they took their vows and became nuns.³⁷ When asked to provide a counter example to this situation, Mio cites Nijō's relationship with GoFukakusa after they became a Buddhist nun and monk, respectively.³⁸ Besides mentioning Nijō by name, *Hana ni toe* also borrows from *Towazugatari*: Mio's mother Kiwa started a relationship with Ryōsuke while Mio was ten years old, and, after Kiwa's death, Ryōsuke started a relationship with Mio, just like GoFukakusa, Sukedai, and Nijō's relationship.³⁹ *Hana ni toe*'s mention of Nijō is important because it also embodies Setouchi's change in perception of Nijō's story after becoming a nun herself.

Since the serialization of *Gion nyōgo* in 1967, Setouchi has used *Towazugatari* both as a source of inspiration for many of her novels and as a way to educate her readers about classical works that she finds particularly interesting. Setouchi's adaptations and borrowing can be divided into two main categories: first, her creative works that borrow from *Towazugatari* in order to enhance her characters' backgrounds and experiences, and secondly, her educational works that use Nijō's story as a subject of

³⁵ Takeda Katsuhiko, "The Inherent Significance of 'Hana ni Toe,' a Novel by Setouchi Jakuchō," trans. John Munroe, *Japanese Literature Today* 18 (1993): 64.

³⁶ Masayo Kaneko, "Sexuality And Spirituality: Subjectivity and Resistance in The Works of Setouchi Jakuchō" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 43.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 337.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Takeda Katsuhiko, "The Inherent Significance," 64.

study and attempt to spread knowledge about the story coloured by Setouchi's own interpretations and opinions regarding the text. *Chūsei enjō* falls into the first category, however it also contains examples of Setouchi's own interpretation of *Towazugatari* and her speculation on parts of Nijō's life she does not dwell upon in *Towazugatari*, such as Sokedai's story and relationship to GoFukakusa. More surprisingly, Setouchi also completely manufactures a scene in the final part of the book where Nijō commits a murder. *Chūsei enjō* was also published before Setouchi's ordination and, therefore, evidences her opinion about the last two Books of the text as dull and less interesting than the beginning of Nijō's story. I will now discuss *Chūsei enjō* in more detail.

8.1.4 *Chūsei enjō*: A Romantic Retelling

Composed of fourteen chapters, *Chūsei enjō* starts in the autumn of the Kōgen era (1256–1257) during the reign of Emperor GoFukakusa and follows Nijō's mother, Chikako 近子, who is also called Sokedai by the emperor as a sign of endearment.⁴⁰ Sokedai is the emperor's sleeping companion, and she is also the one who teaches him about sexual relationships. After Chikako marries Masatada and becomes pregnant, she and the emperor meet again, and he makes her promise to give him the child if it is a daughter.⁴¹ GoFukakusa adds that the child won't be anybody's but his own, suggesting then that he would call her "my child" (*wako* わこ).⁴² When Chikako gives birth, the child is named Ako 阿子 under the mother's strict orders.⁴³ Later on, Chikako explains that since the emperor told her he wanted to call her daughter "my child" or Ako 吾子, she chose a name that would allow for him to do so and settled on Ako 阿子.⁴⁴ Hence, the child is named following the emperor's wishes but in a concealed manner that does not fully reveal their agreement. Masatada himself ponders that, when the emperor calls his

⁴⁰ Setouchi Harumi, *Chūsei enjō*, (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1977), 5–10.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 58–59.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

daughter Ako, he must be using a different type of kanji instead, referring to the fact that he probably calls her “my child,” or Ako 吾子.⁴⁵

Sukedai dies while Ako is only two, and she is raised in GoFukakusa’s court, growing up to fourteen years old between chapters two and three.⁴⁶ Two female attendants who are discussing Ako’s lineage wonder if the emperor is her biological father, since he was in such a close relationship with her mother, Chikako.⁴⁷ Ako starts a relationship with Sanekane with whom she exchanges letters and poems and receive gifts.⁴⁸ The emperor also reveals to her his relationship with her mother, spends the night with her, and brings her to his court where she takes the name of Nijō.⁴⁹ The next chapters deal with her life at court, her meeting with Ajari, her children, and her tonsure.

The penultimate chapter of the book contains the most baffling addition by Setouchi. On her way back to the capital, Nijō encounters a strange character that Setouchi calls “a dwarf” *wajin* 倭人 and describes in less than flattering terms: his face is compared to the shell of a Heike crab,⁵⁰ and his laughter, expressed with the repetitive onomatopoeia *hehehe* へへへ, is shown as sinister and threatening towards Nijō. After meeting GoFukakusa by chance and spending the night with him, Nijō is reunited with the dwarf character who threatens her, stating that he witnessed her meeting with the emperor. Nijō believes that he is an incarnation of Ajari’s curse.⁵¹ She then murders him by strangling him with her kimono sash in a shocking turn of events.⁵² The emperor becomes sick, and Nijō is able to visit him thanks to Sanekane’s help. His last word to her is the name of her mother, Sukedai, that he laboriously

⁴⁵ Ibid., 75.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 69.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 71,

⁴⁸ Ibid., 85.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 110.

⁵⁰ The Heike crab, (*Heike gani* 平家蟹), is a type of crab found in Japan whose shell has a special pattern that looks like the face of a samurai. The crabs are also mentioned in the *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語, 1371) during the Dan-no-Ura battle, as their shell patterns seem to resemble the faces of dead samurai warriors who were slain during the battle. For more information about the Heike Crabs, consult Stephen Turnbull, *The Samurai: A Military History* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).

⁵¹ Ibid., 518.

⁵² Ibid.

pronounces while smiling.⁵³ Nijō follows the funeral procession, running barefoot and distraught.⁵⁴ She keeps on walking through the night, seemingly hearing the sound of the *biwa* that, she recalls, was taught to her by the emperor.⁵⁵

Setouchi does not provide a list of works she used in writing *Chūsei enjō*, nor does she reference a particular edition of *Towazugatari* that she relied upon as a source. This might be due to Setouchi's own knowledge of Nijō's story or the fact that *Chūsei enjō* was first serialized in a weekly publication that might not have had any space to include Setouchi's references. Interestingly, Setouchi does not mention her base text in her 1973 modern translation of the text nor does she mention which version she first read in her discussion of the text in *Watashi no sukina koten no onnatachi*. As mentioned above, her first encounter with the text must have occurred around 1966 which coincides with the release of Tsugita Kasumi's 次田香澄 (1913-1997) annotated text published by Asahi Shinbunsha⁵⁶ and Tomikura Tokujirō's translation, published by Chikuma Shobō.⁵⁷ Due to Setouchi's strong interest in *Towazugatari*, she most likely used a combination of many different texts, articles and her own interpretation in order to craft *Chūsei enjō*.

8.1.5 *Chūsei enjō*: An Emphasis on The Romantic

Setouchi's novel breaks away from both the first-person narrative and the confessional aspect of Nijō's original story by providing a third-person narrative that follows the character of Ako from her birth, to her transition to female attendant at court, and to her tonsure and travels throughout Japan. *Chūsei enjō* contains many elements that were not present in the original *Towazugatari* and focuses strongly on the romantic and sexual elements of Nijō's life by being much more explicit than the original text. With the beginning of the story, where Setouchi stresses the relationship between Sokedai

⁵³ Ibid., 537.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Tsugita Kasumi, trans, *Towazugatari* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1966).

⁵⁷ Tomikura Tokujirō, trans *Towazugatari* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1966).

and the emperor, and the encounter and murder of the dwarf, *Chūsei enjō*'s story is framed by occurrences at the beginning and end that justify some of Nijō's circumstances. For example, including GoFukakusa and Sukedai's promise for Nijō to be given to the emperor, reinforces the strength of Nijō and GoFukakusa's bond. Similarly, the presence of the dwarf and Nijō's reaction to him are used as a way to highlight the boundary-breaking nature of Nijō and Ajari's relationship and her fear of punishment for such actions.

In addition, the text seems to be written in a way that suggests a strong emphasis on the romantic aspects of Nijō's life. Setouchi is able to convey this with her use of dialogue throughout the novel while in her modern translation of *Towazugatari* she is limited to translating the original. For example, the exchanges between Sukedai and the emperor often include both of them repeating each other's names, heightening both their attachment to each other and the fact that their relationship cannot continue since GoFukakusa is meant to marry one of his older aunts, Higashi-Nijō 東二条院. This is also mirrored by GoFukakusa's repetition of Sukedai's name several times after her death, such as when he first sleeps with Nijō and when he dies.⁵⁸ Furthermore, due to the novelized nature of the work, Setouchi is able to convey the internal feelings of many characters, unlike the original text that focused primarily on Nijō's experience since her work was told from her point of view. For example, Setouchi is able to expand the interiority of Nijō's father Masatada by including some of his thoughts, such as when he ponders which kanji the emperor must be using when he calls "Ako."⁵⁹

Setouchi produced one translated version of *Towazugatari* and a novelization of the story, or, in other words, two almost-complete adaptations of the text that follow Nijō's story in very similar ways. Despite being written quite closely to the year when Setouchi became a nun herself, the novel does not dwell much on the last part of Nijō's story and her travels. In most of her adaptations of *Towazugatari*,

⁵⁸ Ibid., 537.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 75.

Setouchi is much more interested in Nijō's life at court than her life on the road, an observation that is supported by Setouchi's qualifying the last two Books as "boring." This is particularly apparent in her modern translation, where she made the choice to abridge the last two Books of the story, and in *Chūsei enjō*, where Nijō's life is completely changed by the inclusion of the character of the dwarf. Fukuda Hideichi also highlights the omission of two motifs in the later parts of the text: Nijō's ascetic practices and her father's request to continue their family's tradition.⁶⁰ Fukuda either suggests that Setouchi chose to cut out those parts from her text or infers that she might not have noticed the presence of those motifs in the text.⁶¹ Due to Setouchi's initial lack of interest in the latter part of the story, she also might not have wanted to focus on these elements as much as the rest of the story and thus chose to not include them into her own retelling.

The character of the dwarf and Nijō's reaction to him are quite puzzling. Was he included to add more excitement to a chapter that was too dull for Setouchi? Does the addition of such a character emphasize even more the transgressive nature of Nijō's relationship with Ajari? The murder occurs after Nijō and GoFukakusa, now both religious figures, spend one more night together. Does including the dwarf's murder minimize the sacrilegious nature of the two lovers' act? Nijō's religious vows seem to be defiled by her murderous actions, a strange inclusion that is very rarely discussed in academic articles that deal with Setouchi and *Medieval Scandal*.⁶² Setouchi herself does not seem to mention the event in her later discussions of the text.

In addition, the nature of Nijō's carnal relationship with the emperor, even after their respective tonsures, would only be fully examined by Setouchi in *Hana ni toe*, long after her publication of *Chūsei enjō*. Throughout the years, Setouchi's interests in Nijō's story shifted, as exemplified by her change in

⁶⁰ Fukuda Hideichi, "Towazugatari, Izumi Shikibu nikki," 18.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Only Hitomi Tonomura mentions the scene in one of the footnotes to her article "Coercive Sex in the Medieval Japanese Court: Lady Nijō's Memoir," 301, footnote 56.

focus from Nijō's life at court and her relationships in the 1970s to an interest in her nunhood in the 1990s after her own tonsure. Overall, *Chūsei enjō* represents Setouchi's views and interpretations of *Towazugatari* before her own ordination. Interestingly, she chose to publish her own adaptation of the text, since it was not a very well-known nor accessible work, and, by extension, her own replacement of the text before producing a modern translation. Thus, her readers who did not read *Towazugatari* were first introduced to Setouchi's character of Nijō before being able to hear Nijō's voice, once again mitigated or distanced by Setouchi in the modern language translation. Therefore, readers who only encountered Setouchi's work would be influenced by the author's interpretation of *Towazugatari*.

Furthermore, by publishing many texts and adaptations explaining *Towazugatari*, and through her ordination, Setouchi seems to have succeeded in replacing the original text many times and in herself becoming an incarnation of Nijō who is able to explain the text but also extrapolates on it and selects what parts are worthy of interest and which should be cut out. Indeed, Nijō's and Setouchi's life events, such as their writings, lovers, and ordination seem to be similar in many ways. Nijō's life at court is marked by decadence, political schemes, and sexual encounters whereas her life as a nun is strongly focused on redemption. In a similar way, Setouchi's life before ordination can be described as scandalous due to her affairs and open use of words such as "womb" which contrast quite strongly with her life as a Buddhist nun. Setouchi did not renounce her previous work or life nor did she stop using sexual narratives in her stories, but she started including strong Buddhist themes into some of her work.⁶³ Barbara Ruch argues that it is because of Nijō that Setouchi became a nun, stating that "upon reading Nijo's story [she] was so moved that she, too, became a Buddhist nun in order to pursue single-

⁶³ Masayo Kaneko, "Setouchi Jakuchō," 81.

mindedly her artistic and personal freedom.”⁶⁴ This argument is also supported by Kokubo Minoru who argues that Setouchi’s desire for tonsure became stronger while she was writing *Chūsei enjō*.⁶⁵

Moreover, Masayao Kaneko argues that nunhood granted Setouchi a new status as an “asexual being ... that frees her from socially imposed gender restrictions.”⁶⁶ Similarly, Nijō’s new status as a nun allowed for a newfound mobility through her travels and interaction with people of lower ranks she might not have encountered before her ordination. When discussing *Towazugatari* and its adaptations, Setouchi is often mentioned, for example in the afterword of Okuyama Kyōko’s *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, in Umino Tsunami’s afterword of her series *Kōkyū*, and the several academic articles on *Chūsei enjō* mentioned in this chapter. Thus, Setouchi has succeeded in attaching her name to Nijō’s work by producing several adaptations, academic works, and going through ordination herself.

8.2 Sugimoto Sonoko’s *Shin Towazugatari*

Sugimoto Sonoko’s *Shin Towazugatari* 新はずがたり is a rewriting of Nijō’s story from the point of view of one of her lovers, Saionji Sanekane, and Sugimoto’s approach is much more historically oriented and didactic than Setouchi’s work. Indeed, by following Sanekane, the reader is directly introduced to many historical occurrences and political issues, such as the Mongolian invasions and the complexities of imperial succession. Sugimoto’s choice of Sanekane as the character whose point of view the reader follows, is quite understandable, considering her educational focus. He served for more than forty years as “liaison with the east” *Kantō mōshitsugi* 関東申次, a role that required him to transmit messages between the emperor, the retired emperor, and the bakufu government, amongst many other duties.⁶⁷ In addition, Sanekane was strongly involved in the negotiations that dealt with imperial

⁶⁴ Barbara Ruch, “A Book of One’s Own: *The Gossamer Years*; *The Pillow Book*; and *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*,” in *Masterworks of Asian Literature in Comparative Perspective: A Guide for Teaching*, ed. Barbara Stoler Miller (New York: Routledge, 2015), 415.

⁶⁵ Kokubo Minoru, “Hyōden, Setouchi Harumi,” in *Setouchi Harumi no Sekai*, ed. Kokubo Minoru (Tokyo: Sōrinsha, 1980), 49.

⁶⁶ Masayo Kaneko, “Setouchi Jakuchō,” 82.

⁶⁷ Hitomi Tomomura, “Coercive Sex in the Medieval Japanese Court,” 291.

succession.⁶⁸ In order to explain some of these difficult concepts to her readers, Sugimoto provides genealogical charts in her chapters explaining the composition of Sanekane's family and a list of the emperors since Emperor Takakura 高倉天皇 (1161–1181, r. 1168–1180).⁶⁹ She also includes detailed explanations of terms and expressions, such as the emperor's nickname for Nijō's mother, Sokedai, which is explained to be based on her title, Dainagon no Suke no Tsubone 大納言の典待局.⁷⁰

Similar to *Medieval Scandal*, Sugimoto Sonoko's *Shin Towazugatari* was serialized before being published in a book format. It appeared from January to November 1989 in different daily regional newspapers, such as the *Tōkyō Shinbun*, *Chūnichī Shinbun*, *Nishi Nippon Shinbun*, and *Hokkaidō Shinbun*.⁷¹ *Shin Towazugatari* was then published as a hardcover in 1990 by Kōdansha and later in 1993 in a smaller pocket paperback format. Both editions use the same cover art by artist Sata Yoshirō 佐多芳郎 (1922–1997),⁷² representing a man wearing a courtier outfit, presumably Sanekane. The promotional slip around the 1993 edition of the book highlights the unusual nature of the original *Towazugatari* and advertises the fact that *Shin Towazugatari* is a novelization, or *shōsetsuka* 小説化. The larger text presents the story as “The lifetime of love and sadness of GoFukakusa's court lady, Nijō.” Sanekane is presented as someone who was caused to suffer greatly by both GoFukakusa and Nijō, but the fact that the story is presented through his point of view is not particularly advertised on the cover of the book nor in its advertisements.

8.2.1 Sugimoto Sonoko

⁶⁸ Ibid., 192.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 51.

⁷⁰ Sugimoto Sonoko, *Shin Towazugatari*, 13.

⁷¹ Machida Sakae, “Setouchi Bungaku,” 58.

⁷² Sata Yoshirō studied historical paintings, or *rekishi ga* 歴史画, under the guidance of the famous painter Yasuda Yukihiro 安田 鞞彦 (1884–1978). He produced illustrative works for newspapers, magazines and serialized novels. One can learn more about his works at “Sata Yoshirō,” *Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties*. <http://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/bukko/10591.html> (accessed March 2018).

Born in Tokyo in 1925, Sugimoto Sonoko was a stage and radio actor during her preschool years. Her enthusiasm for literature appeared while she attended primary school, and she showed interest in the writings of Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916) and Mori Ōgai 森 鷗外 (1862–1922) and, later on, noh plays.⁷³ After attending Bungakugakuin College where she studied Literature, Sugimoto published “New Notes on a Prototype of a Noh Play” *Sarugaku shinki* 申楽新記, a short story that won the Sunday Mainichi サンデー毎日 prize in 1951.⁷⁴ She met the famous historical novelist Yoshikawa Eiji 吉川 英治 (1892–1962) and became his only disciple, studying under his guidance for ten years.⁷⁵ Sugimoto was a very prolific writer, well known for her historical fiction that explored a wide variety of subjects, such as: samurai loyalty in *Koshū no kishi* 孤愁の岸 (*A Lonely Troubled Face at the River Bank*, 1962); the life of a kabuki actor in *Katamuku taki* 傾く滝 (*The Leaning Waterfall*, 1969); and the actresses Sada Yakko (1871–1946) in several stories, starting with *Madamu Sada Yakko* マダム貞奴 (*Madam Sada Yakko*), her 1975 novel which was later turned into a television adaptation for the NHK.⁷⁶ Her last novel, *Oku no Hosomichi jinbutsu kikō* おくのほそ道人物紀行 (*The Narrow Road to the Interior, Characters, and Traveller’s Journal*), was published in 2005 and deals with Matsuo Basho’s (1644–1694) travels. Besides *Shin Towazugatari*, Sugimoto published other works based on women’s literature, such as her 1986 adaptation of the *Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon* (*Makura no sōshi* 枕草子, ca. 1005) entitled *Sugimoto Sonoko no Makura no sōshi* 杉本苑子の枕草子 (*Sugimoto Sonoko’s Pillow Book*) and her 1996 version of *Kagerō nikki*, *Shikaban Kagerō nikki* 私家版かげろふ日記 (Self-published *Kagerō nikki*).

⁷³ Sachiko Schierbeck, *Japanese Women Novelists*, 267.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

8.2.2 *Shin Towazugatari*: A Historical Adaptation

Composed of thirty-two chapters, the story opens with Sanekane glimpsing a beautiful woman, Nijō, who is masterfully playing the *biwa* during the celebrations of the fiftieth birthday of Emperor GoSaga 後嵯峨 (1220–1272, r. 1242–1246).⁷⁷ After the performance, Sanekane speaks directly to GoFukakusa to enquire about Nijō, learning that he is responsible for teaching her how to play the *biwa*, and he also learns about her life story and her mother, Sokedai.⁷⁸ Due to her young age, Sanekane does not wish to pursue her immediately and decides to wait for her to become older.⁷⁹ This allows for Sugimoto to put Nijō aside and focus on Sanekane’s work and political concerns, such as the Jōkyū War (1221) and his encounter with a tradesman named Mukuri ムクリ in Chapter Two. Other political concerns such as the Mongolian invasions and the emperor’s succession are also explored and explained in detail through the use of charts.⁸⁰

In order to still include Nijō in chapters where she does not appear, Sugimoto allows for Sanekane to interact with other characters that are close to her in order for them to mention Nijō and her life events. For example, after GoSaga’s death, Sugimoto introduces and explains the notion of imperial family headship, or *chiten no kimi* 治天の君, in the seventh chapter.⁸¹ Sanekane encounters Nijō’s father, Masatada, who mentions that his daughter is pregnant and confronts Sanekane directly, accusing him of being responsible.⁸² Because the reader does not hear from Nijō herself, Sugimoto is able to showcase Sanekane’s reaction directly, but at the same time, the change of focus away from Nijō puts her in a much more passive and objectified position. We see the story as it happens to her, and she becomes less of a participant in her own story and more of a motif. This is mirrored later on when we

⁷⁷ Sugimoto Sonoko, *Shin Towazugatari* 7.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 17.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁸¹ Ibid., 100.

⁸² Ibid., 109.

learn about her tonsure through Sanekane's shock in chapter twenty-eight, and the reader is only able to understand her motivations through his questioning of Nijō. Furthermore, since he does not go on pilgrimages with her, the reader does not get to witness Nijō's travels after her tonsure but instead has to hear about them when they are reported to Sanekane.

At the end of the story, Sugimoto includes an afterword that highlights her motivations and the purpose of her adaptation. First, she recognizes that her work and the original text are considerably different before explaining the discovery of Nijō's work.⁸³ She also argues that despite the fact that the events of *Towazugatari* took place during important political and historical events, Nijō was restrained to her living space and left negotiations to be conducted by the men around her.⁸⁴ This is also supported by Karen Brazell who comments that if Nijō did not mention the Mongolian invasions, it was not out of ignorance of those events but due to the fact that it was not proper for women to delve into such political topics.⁸⁵ However, Sugimoto stresses the unique nature of Nijō's perspective, due to her many relationships with high-ranking men who were all involved in several important political events.⁸⁶

Since Sugimoto is well known for her historical novels, it is not surprising that she chose to take a historical approach to her adaptation. According to Sachiko Schierbeck, Sugimoto tried to adopt a neutral point of view in her works, as most history books have had male authors, "and so it [was] necessary for a writer to think like a man."⁸⁷ This attitude would then justify her use of Sanekane as the point of view character of her story instead of Nijō. Throughout the story, the reader has access to Sanekane's thoughts about the situations he finds himself in through the use of brackets. For example, when he first glimpses Nijō, the omniscient third-person narrator informs the reader that, instead of

⁸³ Ibid., 489.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Karen Brazell, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, xii–xiii.

⁸⁶ Sugimoto Sonoko, *Shin Towazugatari*, 489.

⁸⁷ Sachiko Schierbeck, *Japanese Women Novelists*, 269.

noticing the young woman at first, he first noticed her *biwa*.⁸⁸ The reader is then allowed a glimpse into Sanekane's thoughts that confirm this statement, as he comments on her way of striking the strings.⁸⁹ Despite including many scenes and events that are not in the original text, Sugimoto makes sure to insert important events that occurred in *Towazugatari* into her story. For example, her chapter "Akashi no Ue" 明石の上 is an adaptation of the Genji concert recreation, and the reader is also able to hear about Nijō's life events, such as her pregnancies and her ordination, through conversations with Sanekane.

Sugimoto includes poems in her work that are directly borrowed from the original text. For example, in Book One of *Towazugatari*, Nijō receives robes from Sanekane accompanied by a poem. She replies, and later, once her father sees her wearing the robes, she pretends they are a gift from a lady.⁹⁰ In *Shin Towazugatari*, the reader follows the same scene from Sanekane's point of view as he writes the poem, gets his gift sent to Nijō, receives her answer, and replies again himself.⁹¹ In the same way, he witnesses Nijō's lie in person, contrary to the original text where he is not present at the time.⁹² In this fashion, Sugimoto borrows heavily from Nijō's story by reproducing poems from the original but is also able to change the story's point of view by including Sanekane and reporting his reactions to her readers.

Similar to Setouchi's *Chūsei enjō*, Sugimoto does not include a list of her references at the end of her work, and it is therefore impossible to determine which edition or combination of texts she used as a base to craft her story. Since *Shin Towazugatari* first appeared in serialized form, this medium might not have allowed for her to include a list of references. However, when the text was released as a single book, or *tankōbon*, Sugimoto added an afterword discussing her authorial intent. Still, she does not

⁸⁸ Sugimoto Sonoko, *Shin Towazugatari*, 7.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Tsugita Kasumi, *Towazugatari*, 28–30.

⁹¹ Sugimoto Sonoko, *Shin Towazugatari*, 64–66.

⁹² Ibid., 66.

reference her sources, electing instead to provide her own interpretation of the text and her discussion of the adaptation process.

8.3 The First Wave of Novel Adaptations: Retellings and Replacements

Setouchi and Sugimoto's novelizations of *Towazugatari* are the first two complete book versions of Lady Nijō's work, and they represent the first wave of novel adaptations of the text. Both authors benefited from the academic reception of the work and were able to channel their own personal interests, such as romance for Setouchi and political events for Sugimoto, through Nijō's story. Both Setouchi and Sugimoto do not seem to focus on Nijō's life after her tonsure nor on the reasons that pushed her to become a nun. Furthermore, they do not seem to be interested in exploring Nijō's life after the end of her account, nor do they try to modify the setting or time period of the story. Instead, they are concerned with emphasizing elements of the text that are more appealing to their own audiences and most resemble their other works since, at the time, Setouchi was known for her daring romantic stories while Sugimoto had already written several historical novels. Both authors' works do not include reference lists for the material they consulted and therefore do not give their readers a way to go beyond their work and look for the text(s) that may have inspired the authors and served as foundations for the novels.

Setouchi's attachment to *Towazugatari* spans many years and many formats. Through her works, she was able to convey her own opinion of the text and propose a truncated version of Nijō's life in both her novelization and modern language translation. In other words, Setouchi was able to replace the original text by making it more accessible but also more exciting by emphasizing love and relationships, focusing more strongly on Nijō's life at court, and including a peculiar scene where Nijō commits a murder. Nijō's life events, such as her writing, lovers, and ordination, are also strongly paralleled by Setouchi's own life.

When discussing the process of replacement, Michael Emmerich highlights the complexity of such a process, which allows for the “idea of a canonical work’s original text [to be] maintained by the introduction of new images of it.”⁹³ By constantly producing new renditions of *Towazugatari*, Setouchi reinscribed her interpretation and reworking of the text, thus bringing her adaptation to new audience who were often encountering *Towazugatari* for the first time. She also managed to strongly establish herself as an expert on the subject of medieval literature and Buddhism, emphasizing her interpretation of the text as substantial and well supported.

Sugimoto’s adaptation of *Towazugatari* can be seen as a part of her larger interest in Japanese history and fits well amongst her other adaptations of Japanese classical texts. Her change of narrator allows for her work to be both a rewriting of Nijō’s life from a new perspective and a didactic piece allowing her readers to learn more about political events that were not addressed by Nijō in *Towazugatari*. Sugimoto is open about the differences she introduces in her text, but, by changing her main character, she turns Nijō into a passive object whose own life story does not seem to belong to her anymore, as it is witnessed or reported to Sanekane.

In the next chapter, I will be looking at the two most recent novelizations of the text whose authors created works that are both set in worlds where *Towazugatari* exists as a physical object and where Nijō lived as a real person. Both authors’ positions seem to be radically different from Setouchi and Sugimoto, as they try to build a story based on an existing work instead of trying to remodel it according to their own personal preferences.

⁹³ Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature*, 22.

Chapter Four: *Kewaizaka* and *Koi goromo Towazugatari*

9.1 *Kewaizaka*

Following the serialization of Sugimoto's *Shin Towazugatari* in 1989, no new novel adaptations of *Towazugatari* were published until the 2001 release of Mori Masako's novel *Kewaizaka* 化粧坂. Unlike all the previous adaptations of Nijō's story, Mori's book does not simply follow the narrative structure of *Towazugatari* but is set in a contemporary world where Nijō's work exists and was discovered by Yamagishi Tokuhei. Due to this change in setting, can *Kewaizaka* still be considered a full-fledged adaptation of *Towazugatari*? When discussing the meaning of adaptation, Linda Hutcheon defines her understanding as a dual concept of "process and product closer to the common usage of the word and broad enough to allow [her] to treat not just films and stage productions, but also musical arrangements and song covers, visual art revisitations of prior works and comic book versions of history, poems put to music and remakes of films, and videogames and interactive art" as adaptations.¹ In addition, she does not consider sequels or brief allusions to be adaptations.² In my discussion below of Okuyama Kyōko's novel *Koigoromo Towazugatari*, I argue that a sequel can and should be considered an adaptation due to the intertextual nature of such a work and the fact that it takes place in the same universe as the work it follows.

Kewaizaka lacks the notion of repetition that Hutcheon highlights as being an essential aspect of adaptation and would, therefore, better qualify as a mystery novel written with motifs drawn from *Towazugatari* as opposed to a direct adaptation of the text.³ However, *Kewaisaka*'s story might be set in the present but feels strongly inspired by Nijō's position at court and her sexual encounters, and the main character seems to have been inspired by both Nijō and Mori herself. Furthermore, by including a

¹ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 9.

² Ibid.

³ I am thankful to Professor Ootake Hiroko for providing this input about categorizing *Kewaizaka* during our individual classes in spring 2017, at the Inter-University Center for Japanese Studies in Yokohama.

reading group's discussions of *Towazugatari* and an account of the text throughout the book, Mori is able to incorporate Nijō's text as a major plot point of her story. Thus, I argue that *Kewaizaka* should definitely be included in the discussion of the modern reception of *Towazugatari*. Before analyzing the book in more detail, I will be providing a brief biographical account of Mori's life before quickly summarizing *Kewaizaka*.

9.1.1 Mori Masako

Born in 1944 in Yokohama under the name Fukae Masako 深江雅子, Mori was raised in Hokodate, Hokkaido where she remained until high school. She then attended Nara Women's University and worked as a journalist for newspapers and weekly publications. In 1979, she received the New Contemporary Novelist Prize (Shōsetsu Gendai Shinjinshō 小説現代新人賞) for her first published work, the short story "Barādo in burū" バラード・イン・ブルー (Ballad in Blue). Mori's works thereafter often contained elements of horror and mystery. Several of her short stories have been adapted into TV series, starting in 1987 with the Kansai TV production of *Neko to onaji iro no yami* 猫と同じ色の闇 (A Cat-Coloured Darkness). This story has also been recently anthologized in the second volume of a series compiling stories of cats, *Neko no bungakukan II: kono sekai no kyōkai wo koeru neko* 猫の文学館 II: この世界の境界を越える猫 (*Cats Literary Hall II: Cats Who Cross over The Boundaries of This World*, 2017). In 1993, Mori released the first volume of a collection of short horror stories set in a school, entitled *Tenkōsei* 転校生 (*Transfer Student*) and released in publisher Kadokawa's horror collection. Beside her interest in mystery and horror fiction, Mori is prolific in producing historical fiction and has published several multi-volume series in this particular genre, such as her ten-volume *Nihonbashi monogatari shiriizu* 日本橋物語シリーズ (*Tales of the Nihonbashi Series*) published from 2007 to 2013. In addition to her most recent anthologized story, Mori published two volumes in 2017 in

her current, three-volume series *Shigurehashi ajisai tei shiriizu* 時雨橋 あじさい亭シリーズ (The Hydrangea Pavilion of Shigure Bridge Series), a historical story set during the Edo period (1603–1867). Mori currently resides in Yokohama.⁴

9.1.2 *Kewaizaka: A Mystery Novel Centred on Towazugatari*

Set in the city of Kamakura, *Kewaizaka* follows the story of twenty-nine-year-old bank employee Sugano Miwako. During a work assignment, she visits the house of Shinomiya Eiko who runs a women-only reading group that is studying *Towazugatari* and invites Miwako to join. Miwako's life in Kamakura is rather dull. She lives alone, and her only family is her aunt who is bedridden in a hospital. Miwako's aunt has heard of the prestigious Shinomiya family who are quite famous in Kamakura for being a family of professional storytellers or *kataribe* 語り部.⁵ Miwako starts attending the reading group sessions and decides to investigate the Shinomiya family through one of her aunt's acquaintances, Mr. Kamoshita Nobihiko.⁶ She is more and more distraught by a sequence of disturbing events, such as an ominous dream where she associates the name Shinomiya to its homonym “palace of death” (*shinomiya* 死の宮), her aunt warning her against going to the Shinomiya's house, and her own puzzling experience after the reading group where she falls asleep shortly after having accepted a glass of alcohol helping Eiko perform a tea ceremony for a male guest.⁷

In parallel to Miwako's story, the reader is introduced to Shimaoka Koichi, whose wife, Sae, has disappeared under mysterious circumstances after being involved with the same reading group. The reader learns later that she has been murdered, and only one of her bones has been found in the forest.⁸ Looking to question somebody from the reading group, Shimaoka meets with Miwako, and the two start

⁴ More information about Mori can be found on her personal website: Mori Masako, *Mori Masako Worudo*, <https://morimasako-world.jimdo.com> (accessed March 2018).

⁵ Mori Masako, *Kewaizaka*, 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

exchanging information. When Miwako uncovers that Eiko is running a private gentlemen's club and using the women from her reading group, she remembers what really happened after she drank alcohol at the tea ceremony.⁹ Afterwards, the confused Miwako receives a large sum of money.¹⁰

With the help of Shimaoka and Mr. Kamoshita, Miwako is able to learn more about both *Towazugatari* and the Shinomiya family. Mr Kamoshita explains that *Towazugatari* remained undiscovered for a long time, probably because of its problematic content, and suggests that the Shinomiya family have been the guardians of the text. Mentioning their role as storytellers, he suggests that there exists an oral version of *Towazugatari* that includes a book missing from the original text that was passed down through the generations of the Shinomiya family.¹¹ In the end, the three main protagonists are able to uncover the Shinomiya family secrets, including the strange disappearance of their matriarch who has been dead for eight years and was kept as a mummy (*miira* 木乃伊), their relationship to *Towazugatari*, the presence of a white-haired young man who Miwako mistakes for a ghost, and the missing content of the last Book of *Towazugatari*. After the climax of the novel, where they find themselves at a strange religious ceremony centred on Nijō's story, the three main characters are able to escape a deadly fire that claims the lives of the remaining Shinomiya family members.

9.1.3 The Conception of *Kewaizaka*

Unlike the previous two novelizations discussed in this thesis, *Towazugatari* was not the original inspiration for Mori's *Kewaizaka*. During my correspondence with the author,¹² she explained that she enjoyed the works of writers Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) and Edogawa Ranpo 江戸川乱歩 (1894–1965) and wanted to write a horror book with bizarre illusions, a gothic novel set in Kamakura. While visiting Kamakura, she started imagining how a deep-seated grudge (*onnen* 怨念) could have been

⁹ Ibid., 108–111.

¹⁰ Ibid., 115.

¹¹ Ibid., 129.

¹² Mori Masako, email message to the author, April 2017.

concealed in this once capital city and hearing stories about strange inhabitants of the city or unexpected objects being left in the care of the local bank's safe-deposit box.¹³ During our conversation, Mori also mentioned her strong interest in *chirei*, or ghosts that are attached to a particular location, and that Kamakura seemed like a fitting local to set her novel in because of its rich history. Thus, the city of Kamakura was the starting point for the creation of *Kewaizaka* and its elements of horror and suspense.

In my communication with Mori she discussed *Towazugatari* in terms of the historical period in which Nijō was born (the mid-Kamakura period), and emphasized that it was the beginning of the age of the warriors.¹⁴ She added that the aristocracy was starting to sink into the darkness of history and was decadent and degenerating. From this historical setting, she wanted to create a depraved and scandalous “court I-novel”¹⁵ (*kyūtei shishōsetsu* 宮廷私小説).¹⁶ In her email to me, Mori contrasted the period in which Nijō lived with the era when *The Tale of Genji* was composed and noted that Nijō's strong form of self-expression seemed like something that would appeal to modern readers. She compares the frankness of Nijō's work, which was written by a woman from her own bedchamber, with Pauline Réage's¹⁷ novel *Histoire D'O* (1954), a scandalous book that was banned because of its content, judged pornographic by the French authorities.¹⁸ The possibility of *Towazugatari* also being a banned book because of its scandalous content is explored in *Kewaizaka* by the character Shimaoka and serves as an important plot point, justifying the role of the Shinomiya family as guardians and protectors of the text.¹⁹

¹³ Mori Masako, email message to the author, April 2017.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ I-novel, also known as *shishōsetsu* or *watakushi shōsetsu* is a type of Japanese literary genre that became particularly popular during the Taishō era (1912–1926). Written with a first- or third-person narrator, the I-novel is characterized by a strong connection to the author's own life or experience. For more on the I-novel see, Edward Fowler, *The Rhetoric of Confession: Shishōsetsu in Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

¹⁶ 後深草院二条が生きたのは、鎌倉時代のまっただ中。すでに武士の時代であり、京の雲上人（貴族）は歴史の闇に沈んで頹廢していました。そのおかげで、このようなデカタンでスキャンダラスな「宮廷私小説」が生まれたのでしょうか。From Mori Masako, email message to the author, April 2017.

¹⁷ Pauline Réage is the pseudonym of Dominique Aury (b. Anne Desclos). Her identity was not revealed until forty years after the publication of *Histoire D'O*, a novel that tells the story of a young woman named O who becomes a sexual slave for her lover René, and willingly takes part in many degrading acts. In her article, “The End of Pornography: The Story of *Story of O*,” *MLN* 130, no 4 (2015): 980–997, Amy Wyngaard calls the novel “the first modern work of sadomasochistic literature written by a woman” (980).

¹⁸ Amy Wyngaard, “The End of Pornography: The Story of *Story of O*,” 981.

¹⁹ Mori Masako, *Kewaizaka*, 129.

Thus, Mori explains that her story came from her desire to do two things: write a gothic story set in Kamakura and include the story of *Towazugatari*.²⁰

At the end of the volume, Mori provides a list of references (*sankōbunken* 参考文献) that she used to research *Towazugatari*. Her main text was the Shinchōsha annotated edition, edited by Fukuda Hideichi 福田 秀一 (1932-2006) as part of the Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei collection which is dedicated to anthologizing classical Japanese texts. In this edition, the text of *Towazugatari* is presented in classical Japanese with *furigana*,²¹ with modern Japanese translations of expressions considered difficult indicated interlineally next to the respective transcription of the classical text. The headnote area at the top of the page offers further explicatory notes on the text. This edition also includes a larger explanation of the text (*kaishaku*) by Fukuda as well as a timeline of Nijō's life and related events, maps of Nijō's travels, and charts of the relationships between the different characters that appear in the text. The approach of this series is thus to make classical works accessible to non-academic readers by offering tools to engage with the classical Japanese text. On the official website of the Shinchōsha edition,²² a new edition of this *Towazugatari* transcription and annotation is advertised as “easy to read” and understand and states that the reader “won't need a classical dictionary,”²³ highlighting the purpose of the collection: allowing readers to read classical literature on their own.

In addition, Mori also used Yamagishi Tokuhei's research book series (*Yamagishi Tokuhei chosakushū* 山岸徳平著作集) on tales (*monogatari* 物語) essays (*zuihitsu* 随筆),²⁴ an academic book on *Towazugatari* entitled *Towazugatari no shomondai* 「とはすがたり」の諸問題 (*Various*

²⁰ Mori Masako, personal communication to the author, May 2017.

²¹ Furigana 振り仮名: pronunciation of a kanji presented next to or over the word or expression it defines.

²² “Shinchō nihon koten shūsei <shinsōban> *Towazugatari*,” Shinchōsha, accessed April 16, 2018.
<http://www.shinchosha.co.jp/book/620851/>

²³ “読みやすい！わかる！” and “古語辞典は不要です。”

²⁴ Yamagishi Tokuhei. *Yamagishi Tokuhei chosakushū: Vol 3. Monogatari zuihitsu bungaku kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Yūseidō 1972).

Problems of Towazugatari, 1996),²⁵ a book on paganism (*jakyō* 邪教) and the Tachikawa School (Tachikawa-ryū 立川流) of esotericism,²⁶ and, finally, a book on Japanese magic (*jujutsu* 呪術).²⁷ Mori only cites five books, but her choice of base text highlights her interest in engaging with *Towazugatari* in classical Japanese, perhaps due to her strong interest in classical literature, but also as a way to place herself in the same position as the characters of *Kewaizaka*, like the members of the classical reading group she depicts.

9.1.1 *Kewaizaka*: A Novel Haunted by Lady Nijō

Towazugatari and Nijō are essential themes for the story, and Mori utilizes many different techniques in order to include information about Nijō's text, the discovery of *Towazugatari*, and the content of the work itself in *Kewaizaka*. At the end of most chapters, the author includes excerpt from the Shinomiya's reading group sessions that act as a summary of *Towazugatari*, starting with Nijō's first night with GoFukakusa at the end of *Keiwaizaka*'s first chapter, "Naisu uenzudei" ナイス・ウエンズデー (Nice Wednesday).²⁸ Furthermore, through Miwako's attendance at the reading group itself, the reader is able to follow discussions of the text. For example, during her first session, the group is reading the last two Books of the story and discusses Nijō's nunhood. One member asks a question regarding the "disorderly nature of Nijō's sexual life," and Eiko explains that the morals of the Kamakura era were rather different from modern times.²⁹

Here, Mori is able to explain directly to the reader how to interpret some of the content of *Towazugatari* by answering a question that could have arisen from someone unfamiliar with the time period or the sexual politics of the Kamakura era. This is further emphasized when Miwako asks her aunt a question regarding the choice of the reading group's text: "Why *Towazugatari* and not *The Tale*

²⁵ Shimazu Tadao, Kamijō Shōji, Hirota Tetsumichi, *Towazugatari no shomondai*, (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1996).

²⁶ Manabe Shunshō, *Jakyō tachikawaryū*, (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2002).

²⁷ Toyoshima Yasukuni, *Zusetsu Nihon jujutsu zensho*, (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1998).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 58–59.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

of *Genji*?³⁰ This question is particularly relevant to this thesis as one of the major questions I want to explore here is the author's choice in selecting *Towazugatari* and not another, much more well-known classical piece.

Other characters are used to explain *Towazugatari* to Miwako and, by extension, the reader, starting with the aunt who explains the discovery of the text by Yamagishi Tokuhei during one of Miwako's visits.³¹ Moreover, the character of Shimaoka is also used as a way to educate Miwako and the reader, and he is even described as using the Shinchōsha edition of the text, which is the version that was also used by Mori as reference material.³² The creation of the Shinomiya family and the possibility of an oral version of *Towazugatari* are plot points invented by Mori, but she builds on the inherent mysterious aspects of the original text, its modern discovery, and the possibility of missing content in order to create her novel.

Additionally, Miwako seems to be an amalgamation of both Nijō's life story and Mori's own experience. Mori worked in a bank in Kamakura, and her description of Miwako's work is strongly imbued with her own experience as a bank clerk. Moreover, Miwako's entrance to the reading group seems to parallel Nijō's entry to court, especially in the scene where Miwako discovers the existence of the secret club and recalls what really happened when she was asked to assist with the tea ceremony.³³ Similarly to Nijō's first night with GoFukakusa where he forces himself on her, it is revealed that this assault is Miwako's first sexual experience.³⁴ At the end of the novel, Miwako also finds herself in a trance where she seems to be in communication with one of Nijō's lovers, Ajari, who replies to her and calls her Nijō.³⁵ Thus, the two women become one character as Nijō's spirit seems to literally take over

³⁰ Ibid., 37.

³¹ Ibid., 39.

³² Ibid., 332.

³³ Ibid., 109–110.

³⁴ Ibid., 112.

³⁵ Ibid., 310–311.

Miwako's body as the young woman starts to remember memories that are not her own.³⁶ Similarly to Nijō, Miwako is tricked, abused, and used as a sexual object by an important aristocratic family, but she is able to fight back and emerges victorious at the end of the novel.

Kewaizaka is not a direct adaptation of *Towazugatari*. But the novel is strongly infused with the text, and Miwako can be seen as a stand-in for Nijō in certain scenes. Mori's interests in ghosts, mysteries, and classical literature are quite apparent in this work and, combined together, allow for a compelling story that is also quite educational. Indeed, readers who might not have heard of *Towazugatari* before reading this work would not only learn about the context of discovery of the text but also about its content and some interpretations of its meaning. When compared to other novels written by Mori during the same period, this work seems to carry similar themes of mystery, horror, and the supernatural, all themes for which Mori has a predilection. Moreover, the advertising *obi* around the book also highlights the sexual nature of the work, calling it a "Japanese version" of the film *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999), echoing the intertextual nature of this work.

Thus, by creating an exciting work with many mysteries and haunting storylines, Mori is able to provide a much more accessible version of *Towazugatari* to her readership. By introducing the Shinomiya family as a secret group whose purpose is to keep Nijō's story intact, Mori extrapolates on the real mysterious circumstances surrounding the late discovery of the text in order to create an entertaining storyline. Hence, she is also able to replace the original story while reshaping its transmission history and situating her narrative in a modern Japanese city. Mori's main characters are also much more relatable to contemporary audiences, due to them existing in a similar world as the intended Japanese readership inhabits. Miwako's ennui at the beginning of the text, her lack of romantic partner, and her professional situation would resonate with many contemporary readers, while Nijō's situation at court or on the road of Japan doing pilgrimages would not.

³⁶ Ibid.

Similarly to Setouchi and Sugimoto using their genre of choice when creating their own version of *Towazugatari*, Mori's text is strongly influenced by her own style and preferred genre. The difficulty in clearly qualifying *Kewaizaka* as a direct adaptation of Nijō's work is also due in part to its genre, which hints at the presence of supernatural entities and contrasts strongly with the confessional nature of *Towazugatari*.³⁷ Despite this addition, Mori's text shares similarities with the other works discussed in this thesis, and the author seems to have taken a similar approach to her work as the author of the next novel discussed here, Okuyama Kyōko.

9.2 *Koi goromo Towazugatari*: A Sequel to *Towazugatari*

First published in 2009 and then re-released in 2017 in a smaller format, Okuyama Kyōko's *Koi goromo Towazugatari* is a story centred on one of Nijō's children and set after the events of *Towazugatari*. Can we, therefore, refer to this novel as a sequel to *Towazugatari*? Finding a proper definition for this term has proven difficult because of the sparse theorization of this concept.³⁸ William Hinrichs argues that "literary scholars ignore sequels because we do not understand them" and states that "sequels are as ubiquitous in popular culture as they are absent in the Academy."³⁹ When discussing "effects or aftereffects," Tzvetan Todorov states: "many books are sequels to others and tell the consequences of events in the imaginary universe represented in the first text; nevertheless, the content of the second book is generally not considered inherent in the first."⁴⁰ Thus, a sequel takes place after the events of the original story and "must, on the surface at least, tell a different story."⁴¹ Due to *Towazugatari*'s difficult characterization, intertextuality, and having some of its content considered fictional, *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, which is entirely fictional, can be seen as being part of the same

³⁷ Note that *Towazugatari* does include elements of supernatural but they are not as essential to the story as in Mori's work. I am grateful to Professor Mostow, Professor Burk and Professor Laffin for pointing this to me.

³⁸ William H. Hinrichs, *The Invention of the Sequel: Expanding Prose Fiction in Early Modern Spain* (Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 2011), viii.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁴⁰ Tzvetan Todorov, "Reading as Construction," in *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation*, eds. Susan Rubin Suleiman and Inge Crosman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 74.

⁴¹ Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1986), 134.

universe or “world” (*sekai*) as *Towazugatari*. Furthermore, Hutcheon argues that “transposition can also mean a shift in ontology from the real to the fictional, from a historical account or biography to a fictionalized narrative or drama.”⁴² Thus, the time gap, change of author, and change in genre from semi-fictional to fully fictional do not hinder the definition of a sequel established in this chapter, and I will, therefore, consider this work to be a sequel of *Towazugatari*.

Linda Hutcheon does not consider sequels to be adaptations,⁴³ but unlike Mori Masako’s *Kewaizaka*, Okuyama fully utilizes *Towazugatari* as part of her work. Indeed, the text is given to Nijō’s daughter, who reads and comments on her mother’s life while also following her own narrative arc. In addition, the author also borrows a storyline from another woman’s diary, Michitsuna’s Mother’s *Kagerō nikki*. Thus, despite being a sequel, Okuyama’s *Koi goromo Towazugatari* can be seen as a sequel to and an adaptation of *Towazugatari* that borrows from other texts and will be treated as such in this thesis. Before exploring the plot of the story and its connection to Nijō’s story, I shall provide a short biography of its author.

9.2.1 Okuyama Kyōko

Okuyama Kyōko was born in the Aichi Prefecture in 1966. She attended Nagoya University where she studied literature and worked as a high school instructor after graduation. After two years, she decided to re-enroll in Nagoya University in order to study classical literature at the graduate level. Her research subject was women’s diary literature⁴⁴ or, more precisely, “women and writing” (*onna to kaku koto* 女と書くこと). For her master’s thesis and doctoral dissertation, she studied *Kagerō nikki* and also presented and did research on other women’s diaries. At the time, she also became very interested in the study of *Towazugatari*.

⁴² Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁴ When discussing the term women’s diary literature (*jyoryu nikki* 女流日記), Okuyama explained to me that the expression “*jyōryū*” is not as frequently used anymore in the literary field but that it was often used at the time of her studies.

Okuyama explained the difficulties at the time for a female scholar to present her work on women's writings and for such work to be seen as objective.⁴⁵ She stated that, when studying women's literature, a male scholar's argument would be seen as neutral while a female scholar's work would be questioned because of her gender, as others would question their objectivity.⁴⁶ Also, she emphasized the difficulty of finding a fulfilling job as an instructor of Japanese literature, a role not particularly well-respected in Japan and often consisting largely of Japanese language instruction.⁴⁷ After working as an instructor at her university while looking for a job for five years, she became severely depressed and ultimately was forced to resign and end her research. Until this point, Okuyama had prioritized her research and teaching career, and now she found herself in a difficult position. However, upon her partner's suggestion, she started writing novels, taking inspiration from classical literature and historical events.⁴⁸ In 2007, Okuyama's debut work, *Heike gani ibun* 平家蟹異聞 (The Strange Tale of the Heike Crab), won the eighty-seventh Ōru Yomimono Rookie of The Year Award (*Ōru Yomimono Shinjinshō* オール読物新人賞) and was later included in her first book publication, *Genpei rokkasen* 源平六花撰 (*The Genpei's Six Flowers*) in 2009.

Since then, Okuyama has been steadily publishing works including historical novels for adults but also books for younger readers such as her *Hīrōzu!* ヒーローズ! (*Heroes!*) spin-off series, which started after the success of her book centred on Saigō Takamori 西郷 隆盛 (1828–1877), *Saigō Takamori shinnen o tsuranuita ishin no hīrō* 西郷隆盛 信念をつらぬいた維新のヒーロー (*Saigo Takamori: Hero of the Revolution who held firm to his belief*). Okuyama's aim to share Japanese folk tales (*mukashi banashi*) is motivated by her belief that Japanese children are very aware of Disney's stories but are often less knowledgeable about their own country's many traditional tales and works. She

⁴⁵ Okuyama Kyōko, email message to the author, May 2017.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

explains how, when at school, they might read such classical texts as the *Kojiki* or *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, but, when they become adults, they often do not seek out those stories themselves due to their busy lifestyles and occupations.⁴⁹ Okuyama Kyōko is a pen name, based on a line of the famous *Iroha* poem (*iroha uta* いろは歌) containing all Japanese syllables. She lives in Nagoyama with her husbands and her two cats.⁵⁰

9.2.2 *Koi goromo Towazugatari*: A Novel about Nijō's Daughter

Centred on Tsuyuko 露子, Nijō's daughter with her lover Sanekane, *Koi goromo Towazugatari* is a continuation to Nijō's story. Raised by adoptive parents, she only learns the identity of her father when she turns fifteen and is introduced to Sanekane.⁵¹ At the beginning of the story, Tsuyuko is thirty-seven, has a son, and is unaware of the identity of her birth mother. She recalls some of her life troubles, including her marriage problems and how her husband left with their son when she was twenty-nine.⁵² She also remembers when her husband became ill and passed away. One of her husband's lovers, the daughter of a lady named Gojō, gave birth to a little girl while Tsuyuko strongly wished for a child of her own.⁵³

In the first scene of the novel, she receives a bundle of books (*sōshi* 草子) from Sanekane, which we learn later, was written by Nijō. Sanekane, who is now sixty years old, finally offers to tell Tsuyuko about her birth mother.⁵⁴ He explains who she was: the daughter of Koga Masatada, GoFukakusain Nijō.⁵⁵ Tsuyuko starts reading her mother's writings, amongst which she finds a first-person account of

⁴⁹ Okuyama Kyōko, personal communication to the author, June 2017.

⁵⁰ For more information about Okuyama and her most recent work, please see her personal website: *Okuyama, Kyōko, Kefuno Okuyama ~ Okuyama Kyōko desu*, <http://okehuko.blog.fc2.com> (accessed March 2018).

⁵¹ Okuyama Kyōko, *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, 10.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

Nijō's life that follows quite closely the content of the original *Towazugatari*, starting with Nijō's first night with the emperor, his recollection of Sokedai, and the anecdote of Sanekane's letter.⁵⁶

Throughout the rest of the novel, Okuyama weaves Nijō's story with Tsuyuko's comments and thoughts about her own life, recalling what happened to her when she was her mother's age. Tsuyuko learns more about her mother's life, clarifying some of the story's content by asking questions to Sanekane.⁵⁷ Tsuyuko is told that the daughter of Lady Gojō has passed away. Upon finishing the second Book of her mother's writings, Tsuyuko is visited by Sanekane, and they discuss Nijō's poetic talents.⁵⁸ She then continues to read Nijō's work but is informed that an old nun is asking to meet with her.⁵⁹ The nun is not Nijō but the sister of the recently deceased daughter of Lady Gojō, who begs Tsuyuko to adopt her niece.⁶⁰ Tsuyuko finishes her readings, returns the text to Sanekane, and agrees to raise the young child. At the very end of the story, she picks up her ink brush and names her mother's work, which she has just copied: *Towazugatari*.⁶¹

9.2.3 *Koi goromo Towazugatari*: A Hybrid Work

Koi goromo Towazugatari is composed of both a new story and a retelling of *Towazugatari*. The work is a hybrid novel that parallels both Nijō's and her daughter's life stories, allowing the latter to comment on her mother's experience while reflecting on her own life. Ultimately, those reflections allow her to find meaning in her life by both adopting a little girl and naming her mother's work. Similarly to Mori's novel, Okuyama is able to explain Nijō's text to the reader by having characters discuss the work and by providing a rewriting of *Towazugatari*. The text, which is presented in modernized Japanese but includes formal expressions and archaic words to reflect the time period, cannot be classified as a modern translation of the original text since Okuyama takes some liberties with

⁵⁶ Ibid., 36.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 96.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 166.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 248.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 250.

⁶¹ Ibid., 290.

the content. For example, at the end of the first section of Nijō's work, where she explains her first night with GoFukakusa, she ends the section with him saying "Sukedai" lingeringly, reinforcing his strong attachment to Nijō's mother.⁶² In *Towazugatari*, this does not happen. In addition, Tsuyuko is also made responsible for some modifications of her mother's work besides naming it herself. Before returning the booklets to Sanekane, Tsuyuko copies them all and is depicted copying a modification to the Saigyō poem found between Books Four and Five⁶³ and removing the title of this part of the work, which was previously named "Diary of The Travels of a Nun" (*ama no tabi no nikki* 尼の旅の日記).⁶⁴ Thus, the author is also able to imagine a plausible reason for the hybrid nature of *Towazugatari* by suggesting it was crafted so by Tsuyuko. Interestingly, both *Towazugatari* and Okuyama's novel are works that marry different genres together and are therefore difficult to classify.

Okuyama is able to explain much of *Towazugatari*'s backstory through characters' interactions, such as Sanekane's discussion of the Koga family when he reveals to Tsuyuko who her birth mother is.⁶⁵ Besides in-text information, the book also includes a chart at the beginning that explains the emperor's succession line and the genealogy of the Koga and Saionji families. In addition, the 2017 version of the text comes with an afterword commentary, written by the scholar of medieval literature Tanaka Takako 田中貴子 at Konan University, which explains *Towazugatari*'s discovery and content in detail. Notably, the commentary also mentions both Setouchi Harumi's *Chūsei enjō* and Sugimoto Sonoko's *Shin Towazugatari*.⁶⁶

Besides its strong connection to *Towazugatari*, Okuyama's knowledge of Japanese classical literature is apparent throughout the entire novel, as she makes many connections to other works or has

⁶² Ibid., 42.

⁶³ In the novel, Nijō had copied Saigyō's famous poem about dying under the cherry blossoms but changed one word and crossed out the last line. She then provided one alternative end line for the poem at the end of the Book Five. Tsuyuko wrote the entire poem as it was intended to be by her mother in her copy of the text.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 287.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 33.

⁶⁶ Tanaka Takako, "Commentary," in *Koigoromo Towazugatari*, Okuyama Kyōko (Japan: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2017), 296–97.

her characters discuss them. At the very beginning, Tsuyuko realizes that her being thirty-seven years old is particularly unfortunate, as it is supposed to be an unlucky year (*yaku doshi* 厄年) for women.⁶⁷ She states that even in *The Tale of Genji*, two women, Fujitubo and Murasaki, died or became very sick at the age of thirty-seven.⁶⁸ The creation of Tsuyuko as a point of view character (*shiten jinbutsu* 視点人物) was based on one of Okuyama's hypotheses: "Aren't all [Japanese] women's diaries written, in fact, with the author's daughters as the intended audience?"⁶⁹

Okuyama's knowledge of *Kagerō nikki* also played an important role in the creation of this work, as she aimed to join together one of the early instances of a woman's diary, *Kagerō nikki*, with one of its latest examples, *Towazugatari*. The position of Tsuyuko as a woman who is not serving at court nor interacting with the world outside of her house is very similar to the position of Michitsuna's Mother, the author of *Kagerō nikki*.⁷⁰ In addition, Tsuyuko adopting the daughter of her husband's lover parallels Michitsuna's Mother's similar actions in *Kagerō nikki*.⁷¹ Thus, due to its content and intertextual connection to other classical texts, *Koi goromo Towazugatari* is a hybrid adaptation that resembles its source material due to its difficult to qualify nature. Furthermore, Okuyama's expansive knowledge of classical literature enables her to craft a believable novel that is able to educate the reader about *Towazugatari* while also providing interesting plot development through the character Tsuyuko's life.

Like Mori's *Kewaizaka*, Okuyama's *Koi goromo Towazugatari* includes a comprehensive two-page list of her references which encompasses many works, including seven different annotated versions or transcriptions of *Towazugatari*, starting with the 1972 five-volume facsimile version edited by Ijichi Tetsuo 伊地知鉄男 (1909–1998).⁷² Thus, Okuyama did not only engage with the text in its classical

⁶⁷ Okuyama Kyōko, *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, 8.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Personal correspondence with Okuyama Kyōko.

⁷⁰ Tanaka Takako, "Commentary," 298.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ijichi Tetsuo ed., *Towazugatari*, (Tokyo, Kasama Shoin: 1972).

grammar form but she also engaged with a close reproduction of the text discovered by Yamagishi Tokuhei, written in *kuzushiji* 崩し字 (classical cursive style). She also includes the versions of the other classical texts she used such as *The Tale of Genji*, *The Kagerō Diary*, or *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*. The length of Okuyama’s list highlights her extensive research as well as her background in Japanese literature studies and her extensive knowledge of the many texts presented in her reference list. Indeed, unlike Mori, her reference materials consist mostly of primary sources. This extensive research allowed Okuyama to provide direct intertextual links between her work and other classical texts in a way that mirrors Nijō’s own work, where texts such as *The Tale of Genji* or *Ise Stories* are directly alluded to.

9.2.4 *Koi goromo Towazugatari*: A Discussion of Motherhood

Motherhood and mother-daughter relations are essential themes of Okuyama’s novel. Not only do these appear through Nijō’s writings and Tsuyuko’s interpretation of her birth mother’s text, but they are also expressed through Tsuyuko’s relation to her adoptive mother and, finally, through her own action as the adoptive mother of a young girl. Okuyama uses different expressions to refer to Tsuyuko’s adoptive parents who raised her and her birth parents. The author uses the kanji compound words for foster mother (*yōba* 養母) and foster father (*yōfu* 養父) to describe Tsuyuko’s parents, but she gives these words the readings for the words “mom” and “dad” (*haha* and *toto*), highlighting the close relationship of these characters. In contrast, Sanekane and Nijō are referred to as Tsuyuko’s “real” father and mother (*jippu* 実父 and *jitsubo* 実母), respectively, by the omniscient narrator. Sanekane and the narrator also call Nijō Tsuyuko’s “birth mother” (*umi no haha* 産みの母).⁷³ As for Tsuyuko herself, she uses the much more formal *kāsama* 母様 and later the more casual *haha* 母 when talking about Nijō.

⁷³ Okuyama Kyōko, *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, 32.

Finally, Tsuyuko's adoptive daughter is not only referenced as an adoptive daughter (*yōjo* 養女) but also, more simply, as a daughter (*musume* 娘).⁷⁴

Through her use of language, Okuyama is able to underline relationships between characters to the reader, particularly the strong bond between Tsuyuko and her adoptive mother, who, despite becoming a nun, is still a comforting presence in her life. At the end of the novel, Tsuyuko seems to have made peace with her birth mother's abandonment of her but is also able to become a foster mother herself to her late husband's daughter. The former is made clear by a scene where she is confused after calling for her mother in her head and does not know herself to whom she has addressed this call: her adoptive mother or Nijō herself.⁷⁵ In addition, Okuyama creates parallels in Nijō's and Tsuyuko's lives with regards to their upbringing, as both women are raised by at least one adoptive parent. Tsuyuko is unaware of it until she meets Sanekane, but Nijō knows about Sokedai's passing and explains being taken care of by an older aunt and nun who is not directly related to her by blood.⁷⁶

Moreover, the importance of writing and teaching one's daughter how to write are strong elements of the novel. Tsuyuko receives a letter from the old nun who visited her to ask her to adopt the young daughter of her husband, in which she reiterates her pleas for the child's benefit.⁷⁷ With the letter, Tsuyuko finds a copy of the "Naniwazu song"⁷⁸ written by a small child. Remembering using the same poem for writing practice, she recalls her adoptive mother's help and kindness and how she taught her how to write.⁷⁹ Tsuyuko is particularly moved by these memories and believes the nun's act of including the young girl's writing practice with her letter to be a "stratagem" (*sakuryaku*) to get Tsuyuko to adopt

⁷⁴ Ibid., 288.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 253.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 280.

⁷⁸ *Naniwazu no uta* (難波津): poem by "Ōsazaki sovereign" (Nintoku, r. 313–399), present in Ki no Tsurayuki's (872–945) Kana preface of the poetry anthology *Kokinwakashū* (ca. 905). This poem and another are highlighted as being particularly good models for a beginner writer. Torquil Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 119.

⁷⁹ Okuyama Kyōko, *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, 280.

the girl.⁸⁰ In the next chapter, she meets with Sanekane and informs him of her choice to welcome the young girl and raise her, proving that the nun's letter had a very strong effect on her choice.

In addition to this scene, the importance of writing to familial relations is emphasized by the fact that Tsuyuko's relationship to Nijō is almost entirely mediated through text. She learns about her mother through discussions with Sanekane, but she is able to hear Nijō's own life story from her mother's own point of view. Of course, this experience is not particularly comfortable for Tsuyuko who has to read about her mother's lovers in detail. For example, she calls her a "daring, strange personage" (*daitan, fushigina kata*) who continued her relationship with Sanekane while being favored by the emperor.⁸¹ Throughout her life, Nijō gives birth to four children. One of Tsuyuko's early concerns is to understand under what circumstances she was born. When she first learns about Nijō's first born and the death of Masatada, she is able to calculate that it happened two years before her own birth and wonders why her mother, who just gave birth to the emperor's son, would give birth again two years later.⁸² When Tsuyuko finally reads the recollection of her birth, she discovers her mother's feelings of guilt upon having to give her up.⁸³ Particularly, Tsuyuko notes the Buddhist expressions used by her mother, such as her use of the word "retribution" (*mukui* 報い), which she finds particularly sad because her mother was only "a seventeen-year-old girl" (*jūnana sai no mada shōjo*) at the time.⁸⁴ Thus, Tsuyuko is able to strongly empathize with her mother by reading her writings and understanding that the text was intended for her.

The format of the book is also able to showcase the relationship between Tsuyuko and Nijō. Inserted between sections of *Towazugatari*, Okuyama includes Tsuyuko's thoughts and creates parallels between the two women. For example, after reading a section where Nijō loses her father Masatada,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 281.

⁸¹ Ibid., 62.

⁸² Ibid., 51.

⁸³ Ibid., 79

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Tsuyuko reflects on her own life and thinks about when she was the same age. She realizes that when she was fifteen, she attended her coming-of-age ceremony and also met her biological father, Sanekane.⁸⁵ Here, the parallel is particularly painful for Tsuyuko who reflects on her own loss but also on her own anxiety when she was not told the identity of her birth mother.⁸⁶ At the same, she is aware that when she gained a father, Nijō was losing hers, highlighting the harshness of her birth mother's life.

Okuyama's construction of analogies between the two characters also exposes the different lifestyles of the two women, as well as their different social mobilities and experiences outside of their homes. Indeed, as mentioned before, Tsuyuko is a character who, like the author of *Kagerō niiki* is depicted inside her home throughout most of the story. But while Michitsuna's Mother describes frequently going on pilgrimages, Tsuyuko remains home throughout *Koi goromo Towazugatari* and represents a particular type of immobile woman: alone, without any child to raise, and without many prospects in life. While we were discussing the two women, Okuyama compared their respective positions to those of a modern career woman and a stay-at-home mother.⁸⁷ This comparison is also relevant here because of Nijō's inability to raise her own children, due to her "career" at court. In a similar way, Tsuyuko's son was taken away from her when her husband moved away, taking him along and leaving her behind.⁸⁸

9.3 The Second Wave of Novel Adaptations

Both Mori's and Okuyama's novels utilize *Towazugatari* in very distinct ways in works that cannot simply be defined as straightforward adaptations. Mori bases her work in a modern setting where Nijō's text exists and was studied upon its rediscovery in 1938, but she also juxtaposes these real life facts with an alternative timeline where the content of the diary was kept and passed on orally through

⁸⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Okuyama Kyōko, personal communication with the author, June 2017.

⁸⁸ Okuyama Kyōko, *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, 14.

many generations. Hence, she is able to not only create a compelling story with relatable characters but also to educate the reader about *Towazugatari* through her narrative techniques. At first glance, Mori's work does not seem to be an adaptation but a novel that is strongly centred on *Towazugatari*. However, upon reading the text, one can see that Mori's novel is much more intertwined with Nijō's story than it appears to be, as the story arc of the main character of the story, Miwako, is reminiscent of that in *Towazugatari*. Furthermore, discussion of the content of the original text by many different characters and the inclusion of the reading group's notes about it allows for the reader to engage with the text, Nijō's background information, and the circumstances of the discovery of her text. Thus, Mori is able to both entertain the reader by crafting an engaging mystery novel while also educating the reader through her inclusion of information about *Towazugatari*.

Okuyama, in a different way, is able to produce a novel that blends qualities of both sequels and adaptations in a text that is a retelling of *Towazugatari* but is also a new story set after the events of the original. By entrusting the text to Nijō's daughter, the author is able to both rework Nijō's story into a modernized and more concise form while allowing Tsuyuko to comment on her mother's life as a way to advance her own, as she makes peace with her situation. Okuyama's work is, in a way, the perfect replacement for *Towazugatari*, as it reshapes the original while also making it more accessible to a non-academic audience. But *Koi goromo Towazugatari* is also the crystallization of Okuyama's talents as both an author and a researcher, as she includes many references to other classical texts and even borrows a storyline from *Kagerō nikki*. The theme of writing resonates strongly in the work and leaving a legacy to the daughter she could not raise is used as one of the reasons for Nijō's writing of the text. Furthermore, what ultimately pushes Tsuyuko to adopt a little girl is seeing the child's writing practice and remembering her own, which she seems to view as bonding time with her foster mother. Thus the importance of teaching one's daughter how to write is an essential motif of the text. In addition,

Okuyama succeeds at spreading knowledge about Japanese literature through her work, as she is able to teach her audience about the content of *Towazugatari* while, at the same time, creating her own narrative.

Thus, both Mori's *Kewaizaka* and Okuyama's *Koi goromo Towazugatari* are narratives that explore the consequences of Nijō's work being found and read in two different time periods. Both stories are concerned with protecting the text and its content and allowing only a small group of people to have access to it. Unlike Setouchi's and Sugimoto's adaptation, the two main protagonists are women who are not Nijō and who are not as young as she was at the beginning of her work. This allows Okuyama to discuss themes of motherhood in detail while Mori is able to create a character who, even though she was used and abused, is able to stand up for herself and ends up stronger than she started. Similarly, Okuyama's Tsuyuko is able to grow throughout the novel thanks to learning about and accepting her mother's experiences.

Unlike Setouchi and Sugimoto, Mori and Okuyama both include a list of reference of the texts they used in order to craft their stories. Okuyama's list is particularly impressive in its scope and detail, highlighting the many different versions of *Towazugatari* that she used as primary texts and her research of other classical texts, which she incorporated when alluding to other works like *The Tale of Genji* in a method that seems to mirror Nijō's own approach to allusion. Both Mori's and Okuyama's processes of adaptation highlight their interests in directly interacting with Nijō's text in its classical Japanese form. This is seen in their use of a base text in classical Japanese on which to build their novels. Mori and Okuyama can be characterized as having a more scholarly approach to adapting *Towazugatari* through a process inspired by the second wave of scholarship of the text.

Due to its particular reception history, *Towazugatari* is not as well known as other classical texts, such as *The Tale of Genji*, whose images are easily conjured in the minds of people, even those who

have not read the text itself. This lack of knowledge about the actual content of *Towazugatari* as a text may open it up to being easily replaced by adaptations. Mori's novel acts as a replacement because it provides a retelling of Nijō's story even though it is not directly from her point of view and does not solely focus on her life. Despite the strong emphasis on Nijō's story and its mysteries, the protagonist of the novel is not Nijō but rather Miwako, who serves as Nijō's surrogate in parts of the text. Miwako is depicted alongside two partners who investigate mysteries linked to Nijō's text, and, thus, the reader is encouraged to associate the text with *Towazugatari* and Lady Nijō yet focus on the story of the novel's other characters.

Hutcheon's argument that audiences find pleasure in the repetition contained in adaptation⁸⁹ requires the reader to see and understand the patterns of repetition. In contrast, Mori's work is enjoyable for her audience particularly because the outcome of the story is nebulous. The readers of *Kewaizaka* do not need to be knowledgeable about *Towazugatari*—the text is explained to them, but it does not offer answers to the plot's mysteries, such as the disappearance of Sae. It is the lack of perceived repetition that allows the text to function as a mystery novel and provide another type of reading pleasure and satisfaction, that of an unfolding, suspenseful narrative. On the one hand, readers who have not encountered Nijō's text before would not recognize patterns of repetition through the text and would fully enjoy the discovery of a classical text through reading a modern suspense story. On the other hand, readers who are familiar with *Towazugatari* will enjoy the repetition of her story appearing through other characters discussing Nijō's text, but, through Mori's own addition to the lore surrounding the original, they are also able to experience the story in a new, unfamiliar way. Hence, Mori's adaptation of Nijō's story allows for the creation of a contemporary novel that relies on the unusual aspects of *Towazugatari*'s contents and discovery in order to create a sense of mystery or a form of entertainment for her readers.

⁸⁹ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 4.

Okuyama's work is inherently intertextual but does not rely on the readers' knowledge of the original to deliver enjoyment. Audiences who are familiar with other classical texts, such as *Kagerō nikki* or the poet Saigyō's work, would enjoy the intertextual nature of Okuyama's work. By introducing the strong theme of motherhood and abandonment, *Koi goromo Towazugatari* is a novel that easily resonates with modern audiences. Due to its specialized language, it is less accessible than the other three novelizations of *Towazugatari* and the inclusion of the commentary at the end and the very long list of reference material used by Okuyama⁹⁰ underline the extensive research of the author and suggest that she is targeting a readership interested in classical works. Like Mori, Okuyama is able to convey a sense of discovery in her work, as Tsuyuko and the reader follow Nijō's life together and try to understand the reasons for her abandonment of Tsuyuko. This uncertainty feels less unpredictable for an audience who already knows the circumstances of the births of Nijō's children, having read *Towazugatari*. Thus, I argue that both Mori and Okuyama use *Towazugatari* to create a sense of mystery for their respective audiences and by extension, their works become effective replacements of Nijō's work.

⁹⁰ Okuyama Kyōko, *Koi goromo Towazugatari*, 292-293.

Conclusion: Novelization, Replacements, Retellings, and Extrapolations of *Towazugatari*

In this thesis, I have argued that *Towazugatari*'s peculiar discovery, hybrid content, and short reception history have allowed for its modern adaptations, especially the four novel adaptations discussed in Chapters Three and Four, to act as replacements of the original text for readers. Since Lady Nijō's work is not as well known as other classical literary works, nor is it seen as canonical such as works like *The Tale of Genji*, the context of its discovery and dissemination allowed authors to reimagine the work following their genre of choice or focus on certain aspects of the text and not others.

In the second chapter of this project, I discussed non-novel adaptations of *Towazugatari* in order to situate the four novelizations amidst a larger framework of adaptations. The first textual adaptation, Kitabatake Yao's "Dainagon no Suke no Hime," completely divorced its content from Nijō and her work. The film *Asaki yumemishi* focused largely on the Buddhist aspects of Nijō's life and turned her work into a redemption narrative. The British play *Top Girls* created a one-scene-only depiction of Nijō and used her story as a way to connect her to other historical women, producing a message about the universal female experience and the difficulties of being a modern career woman. Manga adaptations of the text occurred in two forms: contained single-volume didactic stories and multi-volume adaptations that were able to expand on certain aspects of the text, such as Nijō's background or her relationships with her lovers.

Chapter Three of this thesis analyzed Setouchi Harumi's *Chūsei enjō* and Sugimoto Sonoko's *Shin Towazugatari*, two works emerging during the first wave of academic reception which were focused on retelling Nijō's story. Setouchi and Sugimoto adapted *Towazugatari* into new literary genres: a romance in the case of Setouchi and a historical narrative in the case of Sugimoto. Both authors

reinvented some aspects of the original memoir and shifted the perspective into that of a third-person narrator.

Chapter Four focused on the two most recent novelizations: Mori Masako's *Kewaizaka* and Okuyama Kyōko's *Koi goromo Towazugatari*. Both works, I argue, are part of the second wave of adaptation of the original and are less concerned with retelling the story of Nijō; instead, they use the existence of the text as inspiration to build narratives that go beyond a simple retelling from a new point of view and imagine how the original text could influence their characters. Because of the fact that *Towazugatari* is not widely known as a classical text, they are also able to craft mysteries, with elements of a murder mystery for Mori's and a family drama in Okuyama's, around the content and discovery of Nijō's story alongside new plotlines that happen in their novelizations. All four of these novelizations act as replacements for the original work by providing the reader with a self-contained reworking of Nijō's story. Once one has read any of these versions, would one need to seek out the original text?

There are many other instances of reception related to *Towazugatari* that would benefit from further investigation. Firstly, a comparison of the multiple modern translations of the text would uncover how the perceptions of the text might have changed along with new translations. For comparison, there is extensive scholarship on the modern translations of *The Tale of Genji*, the intent of such works, and the audiences they reach. Another avenue for productive research may be found in the numerous online reviews of most of the works discussed in this thesis, which sometimes include the reader's impressions of the text on which the adaptation was based. Online reviewers often confess to not having read *Towazugatari* or wanting to read the text after having discovered how it relates to the novel or other work that they have just finished. One of the more interesting discussions arose on an unauthorized manga translation website showcasing Miou Serina's *Towazugatari*. The readers commented widely on the actions of Nijō, often confessing a lack of understanding and attempting to assess her choices, such

as her multiple sexual relationships, based on today's moral values. Further adaptations continue to be released, offering new opportunities to consider how Nijō's tale is retold or replaced. A deeper examination of gender and the process of adaptation would be particularly interesting since, as mentioned before, there is only one instance of *Towazugatari* being adapted by a man. Further exploration of this issue and connecting it to a discussion of fan fiction production would also be enriching.

In her introduction to her English translation, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, Karen Brazell argues that Nijō's work was written in order to "restore her family's waning literary prestige."¹ Nijō's goal was achieved, Brazell suggests, albeit six-and-a-half centuries later, with the redicover of the the text by Yamagishi.² The four novels studied in this thesis and the other adaptations, across various media as discussed in Chapter Two, have also helped continue Lady Nijō's legacy by contributing to the perpetuation of her life story. *Towazugatari* highlights the writings of a remarkable Kamakura-era woman whose work is now read and studied around the world. Even this thesis might contribute, admittedly in a very small and insignificant way, to the spreading of Nijō's story and legacy.

¹ Karen Brazell, trans., *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, vii.

² Ibid.

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Appendix

Appendix A: *Towazugatari* Adaptations from 1956 to 2009

The following is a list of *Towazugatari* adaptations discussed in this thesis, works originally published or released from 1956 to 2009, including reprints and rereleases of these works through April 2018. Although the thesis aims to be comprehensive within this time span, some works may have been overlooked.

Author: Kitabatake Yao 北畠 八穂

Title: *Dainagon no Suke no Hime* 大納言のすけの姫

Translation of title: “The Major Counsellor Attendant’s Princess”

Magazine: *Bungei* 文藝

Publisher: Kawade Shobō Shinsha 河出書房新社

Date of publication: October 1956

Length/page run: 4 pages (89-92)

Description: Short story summarizing Nijō’s life story, beginning with young Nijō and Retired Emperor GoFukakusa. First non-academic adaptation of *Towazugatari*. Not republished following *Bungei* release.

Author: Setouchi Harumi 瀬戸内晴美

Title: *Chūsei enjō* 中世炎上

Translation of title: *Medieval Scandal*

Publisher: *Shūkan Asahi* 週刊朝

Date of publication: November 1971 to November 1972

Description: Told from a third-person narrator's point of view, the story begins before Nijō's birth, focusing on the relationship between Nijō's mother, Sukedai, and young Emperor GoFukakusa. Follows Nijō's life at court and, briefly, her post-ordination travels. Includes a scene in which Nijō murders a dwarf with her *obi* (kimono sash).

Author: Setouchi Harumi 瀬戸内晴美

Title: *Chūsei enjō* 中世炎上

Translation of title: *Medieval Scandal*

Publisher: *Asahi Shinbunsha* 朝日新聞社

Date of publication: 1973

Length/page run: 571 pages

Description: First republication of the serialized *Chūsei enjō* in *tankōbon* (stand-alone book) form.

Author: Setouchi Harumi 瀬戸内晴美

Title: *Chūsei enjō* 中世炎上

Translation of title: *Medieval Scandal*

Series: *Setouchi Harumi chōhen senshū* 瀬戸内晴美長編選集 (*Long Selections from Setouchi Harumi*)

Volume number: 12

Publisher: Kōdansha 講談社

Date of publication: 1974

Description: Republication of the serialized *Chūsei enjō* in a compendium of collected works.

Author: Setouchi Harumi 瀬戸内晴美

Title: *Chūsei enjō* 中世炎上

Translation of title: *Medieval Scandal*.

Publisher: Shinchō Bunko 新潮文庫

Date of publication: 1977; republished in 1989

Length/page run: 546 pages

Description: Republication of the serialized *Chūsei enjō* in *tankōbon* (stand-alone book) form.

Author: Setouchi Harumi 瀬戸内晴美

Title: *Chūsei enjō* 中世炎上 in *Setouchi Jakuchō zenshū* 瀬戸内寂聴全集

Translation of title: *Medieval Scandal*

Series: *Setouchi zenshū* 瀬戸内寂聴全集 (*The Complete Setouchi Jakuchō*)

Volume number: 8

Publisher: Shinchōsha 新潮社

Date of publication: 2001

Description: Republication of the serialized *Chūsei enjō* in a compendium of collected works.

Director: Jissōji Akio 実相寺昭雄

Title: *Asaki yumemishi* あさき夢みし

Translation of title: *Life in a Dream; Transitory Dream*; distributed as *The Life of a Court Lady*

Original release: 1974, Art Theater Guild (ATG), Kodai コダイ

Subsequent distribution: DVD distributed by Jeneon Entāteinmento ジェネオン エンタテインメント (Geneon Entertainment) in 2002; DVD distribution by Kingu Rekōdo キングレコード (King Records) in 2015

Length: 119 minutes

Description: Follows the life of a young woman, Shijō (played by Janet Hatta), her relationship with various lovers, and her redemption after becoming a nun. Strong focus on Buddhism, including the sporadic appearance of a dancing monk in the mode of Ippen Shōnin.

Author: Miya Chie 宮千恵

Title: *GoFukakusa-in Nijō* 後深草二条院

Series: *Roman komikkusu jinbutsu Nihon no joseishi* ロマン・コミックス人物日本の女性史 (*Novel*

Comics: Figures in Japanese Women's History)

Publisher: Sekai Bunkasha 世界文化社

Date of publication: 1985

Length/page run: 195 pages

Description: First manga adaptation. Follows Nijō's life at court and ends shortly after her tonsure.

Author: Sugimoto Sonoko 杉本苑子

Title: *Shin Towazugatari* 新とはずがたり

Publisher: Chūnichi Shinbunsha 中日新聞社

Simultaneous publications: Serialized simultaneously in different newspapers, such as the *Tōkyō Shinbun*, *Chūnichi Shinbun*, *Nishi Nippon Shinbun*, and *Hokkaidō Shinbun*.

Date of publication: January to November 1989

Description: Told from a third-person narrator's perspective, this book follows one of Nijō's lovers, Sanekane, as he navigates political events and his own personal life, including his relationship with Nijō. This novel also includes an afterword written by Sugimoto where she discusses the original text and her adaptation process.

Author: Sugimoto Sonoko 杉本苑子

Title: *Shin Towazugatari* 新とはずがたり

Publisher: Kōdansha 講談社

Date of publication: 1991

Length/page run: 488 pages

Description: Republication of the serialized *Shin Towazugatari* in *tankōbon* (stand-alone book) form.

Author: Caryl Churchill.

Title: *Top Girl*

Publisher: Methuen London

First production: August 1982 at the Royal Court Theater, directed by Max Stafford-Clark.¹

First publication: 1992

Description: Only adaptation written outside Japan; depicts “Nijo” in England, taking part in an imaginary dinner in honor of the protagonist Marlene. Nijo appears only in the first act, where she discusses her life and interacts with other female historical figures in a conversation on women's

¹ Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, vi.

condition. Remainder focuses on Marlene, her family, and other women working at her agency, with attention to the successes, failure, and sacrifices of career women.

Author: Igarashi Yumiko いがらしゆみこ

Title: *Towazugatari* とはずがたり

Series: *Manga Nihon no koten* マンガ日本の古典 (*Japanese Classics in Manga*)

Publisher: Chūō Kōron Shinsha 中央公論新社

Date of publication: 2000

Length/page run: 271 pages.

Description: One-volume adaptation divided into five chapters. Follows Nijō's life from court to tonsure, ending immediately after GoFukakusa's funeral.

Author: Mori Masako 森真沙子

Title: *Kewaizaka* 化粧坂

Translation of title: *Kewai Slope*

Publisher: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店

Date of publication: 2001

Length/page run: 330 pages

Description: Novel in the style of a modern mystery story centering on a mysterious *Towazugatari* reading group and suggesting that Nijō's work was preserved through oral tradition. The protagonist, a bank teller named Miwako, becomes immersed in the reading group and attempts to solve various mysteries, with the help of two men, including the disappearance of a female member of the same reading group. The only novelization set in present times.

Author: Umino Tsunami 海野つなみ

Title: *Kōkyū* 後宮

Translation of title: *Inner Palace*

Publisher: Kōdansha 講談社

Magazine title: *Kisu* キス (*Kiss*)

Date of publication: May 2006 to November 2007

Description: First and longest multi-volume manga adaptation; includes many scenes in manga form for the first time, sometimes inventing new ones following different characters such as Sanekane.

Author: Umino Tsunami 海野つなみ

Title: *Kōkyū* 後宮

Translation of title: *Inner Palace*

Publisher: Kōdansha 講談社

Date of publication: 2007

Length: 5 Volumes

Description: Republication of the serialized *Kōkyū* in *tankōbon* (stand-alone book) form.

Author: Miou Serina 美桜せりな

Title: *Towazugatari* とはずがたり

Publisher: Shōgakukan 小学館

Magazine title: “*Sho-Comi*” (*Shōkomi* 少コミ)

Date of publication: November 2007 to June 2008

Description: Manga adaptation focusing on Nijō's amorous life and interactions with lovers.

Incorporates many *shōjo* manga archetypes, with slang/contemporary expressions and characters depicted in a youthful fashion. Miou serialized a three-volume adaptation of *The Tale of Genji* in the same magazine.

Author: Miou Serina 美桜せりな

Title: *Towazugatari* とはずがたり

Publisher: Shōgakukan 小学館

Date of publication: 2008

Length: 3 Volumes

Description: Republication of the serialized *Towazugatari*.

Author: Okuyama Kyōko 奥山京子

Title: *Koi goromo Towazugatari* 恋衣とはずがたり

Translation of title: *The Robes of Love: Towazugatari*

Publisher: Chūō Kōron Shinsha 中央公論新社

Date of publication: 2009

Length/page run: 260 pages

Description: Novel focusing on one of Nijō's children, Tsuyuko, who is given Nijō's writings by her father, Sanekane. Through Nijō's writing, Tsuyuko understands Nijō's life and reasons for abandonment of her children, leading Tsuyuko to adopt a young girl herself. At the end of the story, she names her mother's work *Towazugatari*.

Author: Okuyama Kyōko 奥山京子

Title: *Koi goromo Towazugatari* 恋衣とはずがたり

Translation of title: *The Robes of Love: Towazugatari*

Publisher: Chūō Kōron Shinsha 中央公論新社

Date of publication: 2017

Length/page run: 300 pages

Description: Republication of *Koi goromo Towazugatari* in a smaller pocketbook format, with an afterword written by professor Tanaka Takako 田中貴子 of Kōnan University (Kōnan Daigaku).