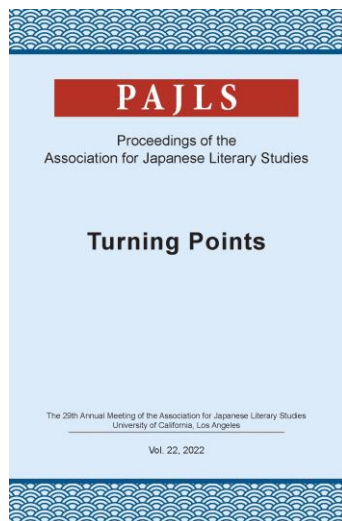


“The Season of the Literature of Madness: Futabatei Shimei, Literary Translation, and the ‘Modern’ in the Post-Russo–Japanese War Period”

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**THE SEASON OF THE LITERATURE OF MADNESS: FUTABATEI
SHIMEI, LITERARY TRANSLATION, AND THE “MODERN” IN THE
POST-RUSSO–JAPANESE WAR PERIOD**

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This essay focuses on the formation of modern Japanese literary language and the concept of the “modern” in Japanese literary discourse as revealed through the representation of madness in literary translations in the post-Russo–Japanese War (1904–1905) period. This time saw the intersection of the language standardization process that had been ongoing since the 1890s on the one hand and the popularity of the representation of madness in literature on the other. Through the prism of the works of the novelist and Russian–Japanese translator Futabatei Shimei (c. 1862/1864–1909), who translated the most representative madness-related stories of the time, and their reception, this essay will examine how the use of language varieties² in the midst of language standardization, the theme of madness, and translation practice are intertwined to both complicate the issue of literary representation and integrate the concept of the “modern” into Japanese literary discourse.

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PSYCHIATRY AND THE LITERATURE OF
MADNESS**

The Russo–Japanese War coincided with, or rather led to, the development of psychiatry in Japan, which defined madness as a mental disease.³ The establishment of the discipline of psychiatry and the reconsideration of related terminology⁴ led to the popularity of the theme

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² The term “variety” is used in linguistics and is defined as follows: “a specific set of ‘linguistic items’ or ‘human speech patterns’ (presumably, sounds, words, grammatical features, etc.) which we can uniquely associate with some external factor (presumably, a geographical area or a social group).” Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 25. See also Charles A. Ferguson and Anwar S. Dil, *Language Structure and Language Use* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1971); R. A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996).

³ For details, see Satō Masahiro, *Seishin shikkan gensetsu no rekishi shakaigaku: “Kokoro no yamai” wa naze ryūkō suru no ka* (Tokyo: Shin’yōsha, 2013); Omata Waichirō, *Seishin byōin no kigen. kindai hen* (Tokyo: Ōta Shuppan, 2000).

⁴ See Kure Shūzō, “Seishinbyō no meigi ni tsukite,” *Shinkeigaku zasshi* 7, no. 10 (Jan. 1909): 1–5.

of madness in the literary field. Below is a table listing the major Russian works translated into Japanese during this period that depict madness as a mental disease, which shows Futabatei's active engagement in the translation of stories related to madness.⁵

Table 1 Major Russian works translated into Japanese in the post-Russo-Japanese War period

Japanese title	English translation from Japanese	Trans.	Translator	Russian title	Author	English translation from Russian	Orig. pub.
六号室 Rokugō-shitsu	Ward No. 6	1906	Senuma Kayō (from Russian) /Baba Kochō (from English)	Палата №6 Palata nomer shest'	Anton Pavlovich Chekhov	Ward No. 6	1892
二狂人 Nikyōjin	Two Madmen	1907	Futabatei	Ошибка Oshibka	Maxim Gorky	Mistake	1895
狂人日記 Kyōjin nikki	Diary of a Madman	1907	Futabatei	Записки сумасшедшего Zapiski sumasshedshego	Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol	Diary of a Madman	1835
血笑記 Kesshōki	An Account of Bloodied Laughter	1908	Futabatei	Красный смех Krasnyi smekh	Leonid Nikolaevich Andreev	Red Laugh	1905
赤い花 Akai hana	A Red Flower	1909	Anonymous	Красный цветок Krasnyi tsvetok	Vsevolod Mikhailovich Garshin	A Red Flower	1883
心 Kokoro	Heart/Thought	1909	Ueda Bin (from French)	Мысль Mysl'	Leonid Nikolaevich Andreev	Thought	1902

⁵ For the proliferation of the theme of madness in media during this period, see also Li Dongmu, "Kyōjin no tanjō: Meiji no 'kyōjin' gensetsu to Rojin no 'Kyōjin nikki,'" *Bungakubu ronshū*, no. 103 (March 2019): 1–25.

“Nikyōjin,” for example, is a translation of Gorky’s “Oshibka,” and the change in title suggests a greater focus on the madness of the two characters. This enthusiasm for the translation of stories related to madness posed questions regarding what elements are meant to represent madness in literary texts, how they should be translated, and how language varieties should be used during the standardization of modern Japanese literary language.

**THE PROBLEM OF THE REPRESENTATION OF MADNESS:
TYPO OR MADNESS?**

A comparison between Gogol’s “Zapiski sumasshedshego” (1835) and Futabatei’s translation “Kyōjin nikki” (1907) serves as an example of the representational problem at hand. Below is a date from the last passage of the original text:⁶

Чу 34 с.го Мч гдао. арвдээФ 349.

A literal translation could be as follows:

Da 34 te Mth yare. 4ebnuarY 349.

This example is a representation of madness more friendly to the letterpress, as this kind of inversion is not necessarily caused by madness; it could be an error in the letterpress printing process. “Date” is split into two parts (“Da” and “te”), and the numeral “34” may indicate a day that does not exist. The first letter of “month” is capitalized, and the entire word is abbreviated as “Mth.” The letters making up the word “year” are scrambled: “yare.” The calendar month, “February,” is inverted.

What follows are two Japanese translations of this passage, the first a translation by Imano Gukō in 1899 and the second by Futabatei in 1907.

⁶ Nikolai Vasil’evich Gogol’, *Sochineniia Nikolaia Gogolia*, vol. 3 (Sankt-Peterburg: tip. A. Borodina i ko, 1842), 380. Based on my comparison between Futabatei’s translation and the different versions of “Diary of a Madman” included in Gogol’s *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 3 (Moskva: Izd-vo Akad. nauk SSSR, 1938), 553–571, I use the final revision of Gogol’s lifetime, published in 1842, for my analysis.

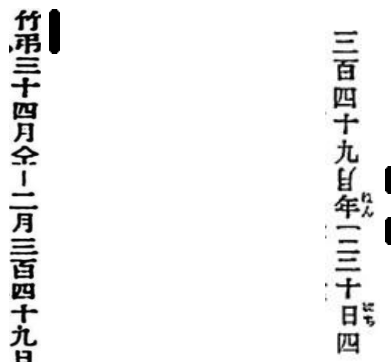


Figure 1: Two translations of “Diary of a Madman.” The first translation (1899) is on the left,⁷ and the second translation (by Futabatei, 1907) is on the right.⁸

The initial two characters, 竹弔, in the first translation (marked by me for emphasis) seem to be an attempt to translate the split “date” by separating the kanji 第 into the elements 竹 and 弔. The inverted February is not translated in the first version. In Futabatei’s version, the inverted February is translated, but divided into two words (二 and 月), with another kanji 年 (year) inserted between them, which seems to be an attempt to translate the scrambled “year” into Japanese.

Futabatei may have been familiar with this kind of play with letters. According to the literary critic, writer, and translator Uchida Roan (1868–1929), Futabatei was so impressed with the work of one of the founders of psychiatry in Japan, Kure Shūzō (1865–1932), that he paid him a visit.⁹ Kure’s *Seishinbyōsha no shotai* (*Graphology of the Mentally Ill*, 1892), with which Futabatei was impressed, contains pictures of texts written by psychiatric patients. The last example from the book engages in a similar change in the orientation of the writing:

⁷ Imano Gukō 今野愚公, “Fūshi shōsetsu Kyōjin nikki (shōzen kanketsu),” *Tenchijin*, no. 18 (June 1899): 69. The identity of the translator writing under this pseudonym is not specified. However, the scholar of French literature, translator, and playwright Osada Shūtō (1871–1915) names him as his friend. See Victor Meignan, *Shiberiya Mōko ryokō: Pari yori Pekin ni itaru*, trans. Osada Shūtō (Tokyo: Shun’yōdō, 1900), 195.

⁸ Futabatei Shimei, “Kyōjin nikki (Gōgori gensaku) (shōzen)” *Shumi* 2, no. 5 (May 1907): 160.

⁹ Uchida Roan, “Futabatei Shimei no isshō,” in *Futabatei Shimei: Kaku hōmen yori mitaru Hasegawa Tatsunosuke-kun oyobi sono tsuikai*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Ekifūsha, 1909), 190.

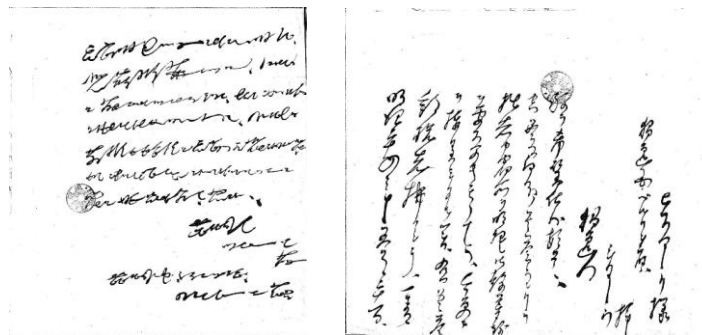


Figure 2: Invented letters from *Seishinbyōsha no shotai*. The original text, to be read horizontally, is on the left, and the same text is turned ninety degrees and seen from the reverse side on the right.¹⁰

Kure explains that the Japanese patient claims to be German and says that he wrote in letters that he invented, which can be read horizontally as Western script and vertically as Japanese by turning the page and reading it from the reverse side.¹¹ This example is an interesting illustration of how deeply the imagination of this patient was imbued with the idea of translation.¹²

The literary representation of madness and its translation thus complicates the practice of translation, interrogating which elements are to be translated as representing madness and whether and how the act of translation should be foregrounded.

“THE DEPRESSION BUG”: COUNTRYSIDE LANGUAGE AS REPRESENTING A SOCIAL STRATUM

In the period after the Russo–Japanese War, Futabatei experimented with varieties of language, such as generic countryside language, or *hyakushō kotoba* (百姓言葉; peasants’ language) in Futabatei’s terms,¹³ and regionally and professionally specific language.¹⁴ For characters

¹⁰ Kure Shūzō, *Seishinbyōsha no shotai* (Tokyo: Matsuzaki Tomekichi, 1892), Appendix. Image retrieved from: <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/en/pid/835073/1/56>.

¹¹ Kure, *Seishinbyōsha no shotai*, 63–65.

¹² Aramata Hiroshi examines in detail Kure’s *Seishinbyōsha no shotai* from the perspective of the creativity of neography (a new way of writing) invented by psychiatric patients. See Aramata Hiroshi, *Paranoia sōzōshi* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1991), 202–215.

¹³ See Futabatei Shimei, “Hōjō o narai renku o yomu,” *Bunshō sekai* 2, no. 9 (Aug. 1907): 3.

¹⁴ For details about Futabatei’s experimentation with language varieties, see my articles: “Shōsetsu no kotoba, hon’yaku no kotoba, inaka no kotoba: Futabatei

depicted as mad, however, such as those appearing in the translations in the list in the previous section, Futabatei never used such language. Yet, as I shall argue, the proliferation of the theme of madness complicates this distinction. An interesting example in this regard is Futabatei's "Fusagi no mushi" (ふさぎの虫; "The Depression Bug," 1906), which is a translation of Gorky's story "Тоска" ("Toska"), named after a Russian term that encompasses a wide semantic spectrum ranging from heartache to longing, yearning, anguish, depression, and melancholy.¹⁵

The plot of the story can be summarized as follows: After going to the city, accidentally seeing the funeral procession of a writer, and listening to a speech given by the writer's friend about the importance of thinking about one's own soul, a wealthy 48-year-old miller named Tikhon becomes preoccupied with the problem of death and suffers from the melancholic feeling called *toska*. He ponders the inevitability of impending death and contemplates what to do about his soul, having committed many wrongs against poor peasants on his land. Tikhon travels to the city by train, encounters an alluring street lady, listens to soul-stirring folk tunes about the steppes, and engages in excessive drinking. He drinks for four days in all, and only then does he return home, still depressed.

Futabatei employs countryside language to represent the speech of the characters in the village, such as the protagonist Tikhon. Characters in the

Shimei shinshiryō 'Oyagokoro' 'Sakabukuro' teihon shōkai, hon'yaku bunseki to Meiji 30-nendai no kotoba no 'hyōjun,'" *Hikaku bungaku nenshi*, no. 56 (2020); "Shōsetsu no kotoba, hon'yaku no kotoba, inaka no kotoba (zokuhen): Futabatei Shimei 'Yonin kyōsandan' to shōsetsu ni okeru kaiwabun no mondai, tsuketari 'Oyagokoro' 'Sakabukuro' shōkai hoi,'" *Hikaku bungaku nenshi*, no. 57 (2021).

¹⁵ Probably the best-known statement regarding this term in English can be found in Vladimir Nabokov and A. S. Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin: A Novel in Verse, Commentary on Preliminaries and Chapters One to Five*, vol. 2 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1975): "No single word in English renders all the shades of *toska*. At its deepest and most painful, it is a sensation of great spiritual anguish, often without any specific cause. At less morbid levels it is a dull ache of the soul, a longing with nothing to long for, a sick pining, a vague restlessness, mental throes, yearning. In particular cases it may be the desire for somebody or something specific, nostalgia, lovesickness. At the lowest level it grades into ennui, boredom, *skuka*" (Nabokov, *Eugene Onegin*, 141); "*Toska* is the generic term for a feeling of physical or metaphysical dissatisfaction, a sense of longing, a dull anguish, a preying misery, a gnawing mental ache" (337). Emerson notes that it is "one of two Russian words that Nabokov insisted had no "Western' equivalent." See Caryl Emerson, *The Cambridge Introduction to Russian Literature* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 50. These statements clearly illustrate how the discourse around this concept is inseparable from the issue of translation—or rather, untranslatability.

city, in contrast, are depicted speaking Tokyo language. Futabatei's use of this language and his chosen style of translation were widely criticized by reviewers of the time when "The Depression Bug" was first published in the January and March 1906 issues of *Shin shōsetsu*.¹⁶ The following is an example of such criticism issued by the writer, playwright, and theater director Osanai Kaoru (1881–1928):

Shimei's translation of Gorky's "Im Weltschmerz," entitled "The Depression Bug," is first-rate. However, the translation of the title "Weltschmerz" as "The Depression Bug" shows a lack of seriousness. Disappointingly, the overall tone as well is somewhat frivolous, and Shimei's characteristic use of the language of the countryside has also become a bit cloying.¹⁷

A reviewer in *Waseda bungaku* critiques this criticism and advances two arguments in favor of Futabatei's translation: first, that Russian is different from German, and second, that uneducated characters who brood over the problem of life can seem comical:

The original work on which "The Depression Bug" is based is entitled simply "Toska" (Yearning? [*sic*]) in Russian... you see that there is a difference between the Russian *toska* and the German "Im Weltschmerz"... Is it not hasty to judge the work simply on the basis of a comparison with the German translation? ...Generally speaking, in Gorky's oeuvre, there are many works in which the uneducated suffer from the problem of life [*jinsei mondai*]¹⁸... the problem of life itself should be serious and not frivolous. Yet an illiterate worker whose profession is a miller... almost unconsciously contemplates his own spiritual and practical life in the past, present and future, and his feelings undulate. Isn't there something comical about this status itself?¹⁹

¹⁶ For details, see Ishida, "Shōsetsu no kotoba, hon'yaku no kotoba, inaka no kotoba."

¹⁷ Shintarō [Osanai Kaoru], "Shin shōsetsu," *Teikoku bungaku* 12, no. 2 (Feb. 1906): 142.

¹⁸ As Hibi Yoshitaka mentions, *jinsei mondai* was one of the key concerns of young intellectuals in the latter half of the Meiji period. See Hibi Yoshitaka, "*Jiko hyōshō no bungakushi: jibun o kaku shōsetsu no tōjō*" (Tokyo: Kanrin Shobō, 2002), 120.

¹⁹ "Futabatei shi no hon'yaku," *Waseda bungaku*, no. 4 (April 1906): 3–4

The use of countryside language is associated with humorous depictions, and uneducated characters in Gorky's works are considered suitable for such language and description. The above-quoted argument of the *Waseda bungaku* reviewer must have had an impact on Osanai. Although his argument has some valid points,²⁰ several years later, in the posthumous memorial essay collection *Futabatei Shimei* (1909), Osanai, who greatly respected Futabatei, wrote an essay humbly confessing that he was convinced by the argument in *Waseda bungaku*, and he went on to admit that he regretted writing his partially critical review of Futabatei's translation in 1906.²¹

This process—the levelling of criticism at the Japanese translation of a Russian work based on the German translation (by Osanai) that is dispelled by a counter-argument made based on the Russian version (in *Waseda bungaku*), with Osanai admitting he was persuaded by the counter-argument—may seem logical. Also, the protagonist, who speaks in countryside language, is viewed as an uneducated man from a lower social stratum, at least compared to the reviewers and readers of the translation, who think (and are persuaded by the argument) that his low status justifies the humorous depiction of his suffering. However, in the next few years the general reception of the translation started to change, moving in the opposite direction. As I will demonstrate, through the emerging association of “The Depression Bug” with the concept of madness, “educated” readers came to over-identify themselves with the “uneducated” protagonist Tikhon, and the distinction that had been made between the German, Russian, and Japanese terms—*Weltschmerz*, *toska*, and *fusagi no mushi* (depression bug)—was eventually abandoned.

**TRAPPED IN OR TRANSCENDING SOCIAL STRATA? FROM AN
UNEDUCATED COUNTRYMAN TO A MODERN MAN WITH THE
POTENTIAL FOR MADNESS**

One of the earliest examples of this new view can be seen in the work of the journalist Sugimura Sojinkan (1872–1945) entitled “Wakaranaku naru ki” (分らなくなる記; “On How I Got Lost,” 1906). In this essay, the author identifies excessively with the protagonist Tikhon:

²⁰ There are some parts of Futabatei's “The Depression Bug” that clearly make the story more humorous than it is in the Russian version. For details, see Yonekawa Masao, “Futabatei no hon'yaku,” *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 28, no. 6 (May 1963): 94–95.

²¹ Osanai Kaoru, “Shimei sensei no hon'yaku ni kansuru tsuioke,” in *Futabatei Shimei: Kaku hōmen yori mitaru Hasegawa Tatsunosuke-kun oyobi sono tsuikai*, ed. Tsubouchi Shōyō and Uchida Roan, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Ekifūsha, 1909), 108–109.

...on the train I read Futabatei Shimei's translation of Gorky's work "The Depression Bug"... I was thoroughly engrossed, and by the time the train arrived in Ōmori, I had finished reading it, but then my mind started to wander erratically. I wondered if the beginning of madness [*ki no chigai hajime*] might be like this.²²

What is noteworthy here is that this over-identification occurs as a result of the author's imitation of the protagonist. Just like Tikhon, the author rides the train, wanders around, and then returns home. The author compares this mental and physical wandering to the onset of madness. Curiously enough, when the essay later appeared in a collection by Sugimura Sojinkan published in January 1908, the title was changed to "Ki no chigaikakaru ki" (気のちがひかゝる記; "On How I Was About to Go Mad"),²³ which more clearly focuses on the theme of madness. Moreover, in the preface dated November 1, 1907, Sojinkan comments that publishing the book, made up of essays with no unifying theme or rationale, is like "publishing a medical record of a mad person as a reference for doctors."²⁴ In so doing, he makes explicit the connection between his work and psychiatry.

At the time when the title of this short essay was changed, the popularity of the theme of madness was reaching an early peak. As could be expected, the change in the title of Sojinkan's short essay was successful in attracting favorable attention from several contemporaneous reviewers.²⁵ "The Depression Bug" and its protagonist Tikhon, who seems to have been categorized as "uneducated" and linguistically trapped in a lower social stratum—the peasant class—likewise became associated with the onset of madness and with the overarching concept of the modern that was being articulated throughout society at almost the same time, towards the end of the first decade of the new century.²⁶ The most influential text

²² Sugimura Sojinkan, "Wakaranaku naru ki," *Shin bukkyō* 7, no. 7 (July 1906): 517.

²³ Sugimura Sojinkan, *Shichika hachiretsu* (Tokyo: Heigo Shuppansha, 1908), 342.

²⁴ Sugimura, *Shichika hachiretsu*, 2.

²⁵ See, for example, "Shinkansho ichiran," *Waseda bungaku*, no. 27 (Feb. 1908): 16; Aoyagi Yūbi, "Sugimura-kun no ni chosho," *Shin kōron* 23, no. 2 (Feb. 1908): 8.

²⁶ The word "modern" (近代; *kindai*), which had previously simply indicated a recent period, became a more loaded word that came also to refer to specific essential features characterizing the people and artwork of the era. This meaning started to take on a clear form around 1908 in journals such as *Teikoku bungaku* and *Waseda bungaku* as part of a compound noun, *kindaijin* ("modern person"). As Yanabu Akira points out, *Bunshō sekai*'s feature section, "Kindaijin to wa

in this regard is the scholar of English literature Honma Hisao (1886–1981)’s “Taihaiteki keikō to shizenshugi no tetteiteki igi” (“The Degenerate Tendency and Ultimate Meaning of Naturalism,” 1910),²⁷ an analysis in which the author positions Tikhon in the first phase of “depression-bug-like thought” (ふさぎの虫的思想),²⁸ which encompasses the decadent and nihilistic tendencies of the *kindaijin* (近代人; “modern person”) and can ultimately lead to madness.²⁹ Honma relies heavily on scholar and journalist E. J. Dillon’s explanation of the Russian word *toska*³⁰ and interprets it through social critic Max Nordau’s idea of degeneration (*Entartung*, 1892–1893), describing three phases in the degenerative process. Notably, in Dillon’s book, Tikhon is not treated as a major figure suffering from *toska*. Regardless, this character, who speaks in countryside language, is crucial to Honma’s argument as representing

nanzoya” (“What Is a Modern Person?”), which appeared in a July 15, 1910 issue that gathered essays by writers and critics of the time, was a clear indication of the emergence and popularity—and, at the same time, instability and ambiguity—of this concept. See Yanabu Akira, *Hon’yakugo seiritsu jijō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), 59–62.

²⁷ Honma Hisao, “Taihaiteki keikō to shizenshugi no tetteiteki igi,” *Waseda bungaku*, no. 53 (Apr. 1910).

²⁸ Honma Hisao, “Taihaiteki keikō,” 62.

²⁹ Honma Hisao, “Taihaiteki keikō,” 69. An interesting example showing the connection between “The Depression Bug” and the concept of madness can be found in Tanizaki Jun’ichirō’s *Seishun monogatari* (*Tales of My Youth*). As Minamoto Takashi points out, Tanizaki includes Futabatei’s “The Depression Bug” (1906) in the list of works that caused him deep anxiety and fear when he was young, but he misremembers the title of Futabatei’s “Two Madmen” (1907) and confuses it with “The Depression Bug.” See Minamoto Takashi, “Shinkei suijaku no bungaku: Tanizaki Jun’ichirō to Roshia bungaku,” *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō dai 2 bunsatsu*, no. 43 (1997): 85. Tanizaki describes the plot of “The Depression Bug” as follows: “‘The Depression Bug’ is a story in which a man who watches a madman gradually feels that what he [the madman] says is reasonable and ends up becoming a madman himself,” which actually describes the plot of “Two Madmen.” See Tanizaki Jun’ichirō, “Wakaki hi no koto domo,” *Chūō kōron* 48, no. 3 (March 1933): 164. Tanizaki’s confusion, which may have been due partly to the fact that both stories were published in the leading journal *Shin shōsetsu* with illustrations, shows how strong an association had been established between the title “The Depression Bug” and madness by that time.

³⁰ See Emile Joseph Dillon, *Maxim Gorky; His Life and Writings* (London: Isbister and Co., 1902). For the history of the use of the term *toska* in Japanese literary discourse, see Bruna Lukas, “Nihon kindai bungaku ni miru ‘tosuka’: Bungaku gainen, soshite, bungaku hyōgen no kiseki o tadotte,” *Nihon bungaku* 64, no. 6 (2015): 39–49; Numano Mitsuyoshi, “Tasukā kō: ‘Fusagi no mushi’ kara ‘Setsunai’ e,” *Bungaku* 13, no. 4 (July 2012): 81–96.

the first phase of the “depression-bug-like thought” in which every “modern person,” including the reader, engages.

The same idea is articulated in, for example, *Shin bungaku hyakka seikō* (*Detailed Lectures on Modern Literature*, 1917), in which the scholar of English literature Nogami Kyūsen (1883–1950) begins a subsection entitled “Kindaijin no hiai to kumon” (“The Sorrow and Agony of the Modern Person”) with an explanation of Futabatei’s translation “The Depression Bug,” echoing Honma’s argument: “‘Depression Bug’ is *toska* in Russian and means something like *sekai-ku* [world-sorrow; *Weltschmerz*].”³¹ Like Honma, he maintains that “this ‘Depression Bug’ tendency”³² is not only characteristic of Russia but is shared by every “modern person,” going on to say: “If you want to hear the voice of the sorrow of the modern person, read, above all, the works of Russian writers.”³³ At this stage, the difference between the Russian *toska* and the Japanese *sekai-ku* (“world-sorrow”), which is used here as the translation of *Weltschmerz*, has been abandoned, and *toska* is employed as a synonym of *Weltschmerz* and *sekai-ku*, following Honma’s argument.³⁴ It also continued to be used actively by such literary figures as Masamune Hakuchō (1879–1962) and Ara Masahito (1913–1979) until the early post-World War II period to represent literary modernity in a critical manner.³⁵ Although Futabatei clearly distinguished between stories that are related

³¹ Nogami Kyūsen, “Kindai shisō kōwa,” in *Shin bungaku hyakka seikō*, ed. Satō Giryō (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1917), 75.

³² Nogami, “Kindai shisō kōwa,” 78.

³³ Nogami, “Kindai shisō kōwa,” 86.

³⁴ For examples where these terms are treated as synonyms, see “Bungei kōwa: Seikimatsu to iu koto,” *Shinchō* 17, no. 3 (September 1912): 113; “Bungei kōwa: Toska,” *Shinchō* 17, no. 4 (October 1912): 112; Uno Kōji, “Futabatei Shimei danpen,” *Bungaku* 5, no. 12 (December 1937): 84; and Miyajima Shinzaburō, *Meiji bungaku 12 kō* (Tokyo: Taiyōsha, 1938), 206. See also Bruna, “Nihon kindai bungaku ni miru ‘tosuka’: bungaku gainen, soshite, bungaku hyōgen no kiseki o tadotte.” This tendency continued until the post-WWII period. See, for example, Daiichi Seikei Kenkyūjo, *Shinbun zasshigo jiten: Shinshū kaihan* (Tokyo: Daiichi Shuppan, 1950), 297.

³⁵ For example, Masamune Hakuchō mentions that thoroughly pursuing the issue proposed in “The Depression Bug” would enliven literature and open it to everyone. See “Bungaku no taishūka” in *Chōryū* 2, no. 5 (June 1947): 53. Ara Masahito uses Hakuchō’s favorite term, “depression bug,” as a synonym for “the modern agony of the individual who is in conflict with society” in “Oputimizumu no mōten,” *Hikari* 3, no. 10 (October 1947): 13. Ara Masahito, in a debate with a group of younger writers [Seikinha-ronsō], criticizes them, saying that they had to suffer from the “depression bug.” See “Onēgin o noseta hakobune,” *Ningen* 3, no. 5 (May 1948): 36. Thus, “depression bug” was used as an active and effective critical term in the post-war period, when the problem of the “modern” arose again.

to madness and stories that are not, selecting language he found suitable for each category, the change in the conception of the representation of madness blurred this distinction. The abandonment of the differences among the German, Japanese, and Russian terms thus exemplifies how the overarching concept of the “modern” collapses the boundaries between the countryside, “uneducated” man and the “modern person” in “The Depression Bug,” framing countryside-language-speaking characters as trapped in and yet transcending a social class through engagement with the concepts of madness and the modern. Paradoxically, it is not those characters who are ostensibly depicted as mad and who speak in relatively “neutral” standardized language, but the relatively sound, sane Tikhon who serves as a potent symbol of incipient modernity and who has remained attractive as a character longer than any other.