“‘Novels You Can Watch / Movies You Can Read’: Visual Narrative in 1930s Women’s Magazines”

Sarah Frederick

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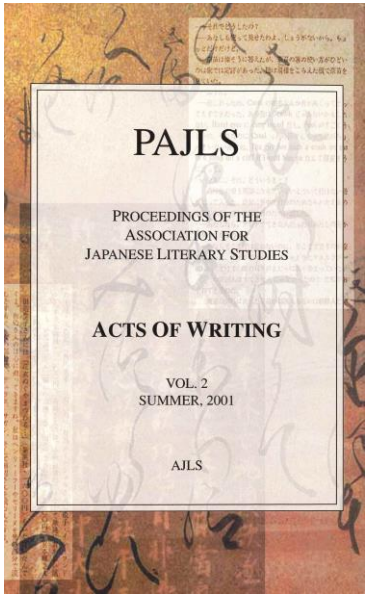

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"NOVELS YOU CAN WATCH/MOVIES YOU CAN READ:" VISUAL NARRATIVE IN 1930S WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

SARAH FREDERICK

The increasing popularity of the cinema in 1920s and early 1930s Japan radically transformed the way visual and written forms were experienced by audiences. Certainly this influenced the character of Japanese fiction of the same period, affecting forms of description of settings and movement, ways of cutting from scene to scene, and, with the advent of talkies, the nature of dialogue as well. Of course there were direct relationships between the literary establishment and the film industry, with Tanizaki Jun'ichirô (谷崎純一郎) one of the best known examples.[1] This paper looks instead at a less well-known, and perhaps more extreme, interaction between cinematic and written forms, the "photographic novel" (*shashin shôsetsu* [写真小説]), which can be found in most popular women's magazines.[2] These texts are not only interesting in and of themselves, but also for what they might tell us about the way that the relationship between the visual and the written was changing dramatically, whether in high literature or popular culture, particularly in the periods referred to as "Early Shôwa" or "Post-Earthquake" Japan. The *shashin shôsetsu* is representative of the increasing visuality of print culture, a trend that predated the prevalence of the moving picture, but which by this time often involved direct reference to the movie industry. This case helps to rethink the dramatic shifts in visual culture and its interaction with literary production from a rather nitty-gritty perspective, where print culture producers (from authors to advertisers) were taking quite literally the idea that visual

[1] See Bernardi, 1997 and 1998.

[2] I have not yet found any examples of *shashin shôsetsu* in "general interest" (in other words not explicitly "women's") magazines, although it is possible that they did appear. Additional research is also necessary to determine whether these were also found in film fan magazines.

materials and technologies needed to be incorporated into their work as reading and viewing practices changed.

This odd genre appeared beginning in the early 1930s in women's magazines such as *Ladies' Club* (*Fujin kurabu* [婦人倶楽部]), *Ladies' Review* (*Fujin kôron* [婦人公論]), and *The Housewife's Friend* (*Shufu no tomo* [主婦の友]), and continued through the fifteen-year war period. Having names such as "Photographic novels" (*shashin shôsetsu* [写真小説]) and "Visual Novel/Read Movie" (*miru shôsetsu/yomu eiga* [見る小説・読む映画]), these generally consisted of a series of posed photographs accompanied by narrative and dialogue to form a piece of short fiction.

Of course, on one level this is a form of photography rather than film. These works were created in the photography studio (*shashinbu* [写真部] or *satsueishitsu* [撮影室]) of the magazines. Obviously, they are photographs or pictures, not "moving pictures," and the differences between photograph and film can not be collapsed. As will be discussed later, however, *shashin shôsetsu* always made direct reference to movie culture in their format, and often had direct links to studios as well. More generally, they also remind us that movies are in fact made up of a series of still images with blanks in between, where the ordering of the images and conventional storylines help the viewer to fill in the gaps and make meaning of them.[3] Here it is in part the written text (along with melodramatic plot conventions) that does the work of filling in those gaps.

Earlier uses of photographs in these magazines were primarily landscape or portraiture, such as the depiction of an aristocratic couple on their wedding day. As such, these were static figures, in both time and narrative progression. Later in the 1920s there is a move towards more photos that show instants of a person's motion, such as photographs of

[3] It is outside the purview of this article to explore fully the implications of this form from a film theory perspective. One way of looking at the photograph/moving picture relationship might be through the connection Gilles Deleuze makes between the instantaneous photograph or snapshot and the beginning of concepts of cinematic time. Here an altered conception of the instant is reflected in the way the photographs are taken. See Deleuze, particularly 2-5.

someone sitting while writing something for the magazine or a "typical" woman doing something like keeping house or working as a telephone operator. There was an illusion of active movement having been captured in a snapshot but no indication of that movement over time. Later, artistic directors made the housewife or working woman photographs into series of photos of a women doing various activities throughout the day, a "diary" or "day in the life of a..." (often called something along the lines of *Katei no ichi nichi* [家庭の一日]).[4] These are precursors of the "visual novel" form but also became more common and more elaborate at the same time as the *shashin shôsetsu* appeared.

With the *shashin shôsetsu*, the most marked difference from these previous forms is that these are explicitly *fictional* figures. They are performed by actors posing on sets. There is no claim that the people photographed are "real people" or that they are sitting in real-life settings (though in fact many previous pictures of authors and the like were in truth taken in the studio, where the settings and props were in a sense fictional). Here these stories are stated to be fiction, and the posed people called "actors" and "actresses." The purpose of the photograph here was not to show a real person, or even an ideal type (what the housewife and working women photograph series were really doing), but rather a fictional character.

In fact, identifying these "actors" is one place where these stories make direct reference to the forms of film (or more precisely to the way that film was presented in magazine format). A common feature in magazines from around the late 1920s was the introduction of recent films, either American or Japanese, using stills and textual explanation (Figure 1).[5] Sometimes they had one single still, but usually carried a series of pictures from the film that told the story. Often they narrated the entire plot of the film over the course of ten pages with a box

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[4] For one of many examples see *Shufu no tomo*, December 1929, which has photos of wives of authors and politicians in their homes doing activities from cooking to painting. Often, however, these series had photographs not of real housewives, but of models posing as housewives.

[5] For example, see advertisements for Paramount Eiga, "Kyokusen nayamashi," *Shufu no tomo,* December 1929, and Nikkatsu Eiga, "Kare to kanojo," *Shufu no tomo,* February 1929.

containing part of the plot and a still on each page. These served not only to promote the film but also to make use of it as a mini-serialized novel, read by many more than would view the movie in a theater and encouraging the reader of the magazine to flip through more pages and see more advertisements.

These movie introductions always carried a list of the main actors, the director, and the producer, and this was precisely the same format that was adopted for these photographic stories. For example, the writer of a story published in *Fujin kôron* called "A Young Wife's Melancholy" (*Wakatsuma no yûutsu* [若妻の憂鬱]), author Okada Saburô (岡田三郎) is listed as "General Director" (Sôshiki [総指揮]) (Figure 2).[6] The director of photography and the photographers are listed, and just as with the movies the actors are listed along with their characters' names. In this case, it mentions that the extras are employees of Shôchiku, making explicit the connection with the film production company. Usually the actors were not well known, but they were named by name, using the same type of set-off box used when listing the names of movie actors in the sorts of film synopses described earlier.[7] With Okada's story having been almost interesting enough to pass as a feature film (and not all of these were), the cover of the magazine made a point of specifying clearly that this text originated in the magazine and not in the theater. This ultimately suggests the extent to which such a distinction was necessary.

The actors' poses are indicative of acting in a style distinctly different from both the still posed photographs of aristocrat portraits or the naturalistic frozen moment of the "day in the life" form. This can be seen in the exaggerated emotions on the actors' faces, which make use of a theater and film vocabulary of facial expressions, and in the use of lighting to highlight those expressions. The effect of film here goes beyond a technological change and indicates a change in representational conventions affected by filmic forms and extending into the photographic

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[6] See Okada, 37.

[7] I have yet to find an example of film actors appearing in *shashin shôsetsu* based on indexes of film actors, but of course it is possible that there are exceptions.

print medium. Before reflecting on the significance of these changes, I want to take a close look at a few of these "stories."

Usually *shashin shôsetsu* were not written by famous writers, but created by magazine employees. A few did, however, make use of popular writers. The story "The Girl Next Door" (*Tonari no musume* [隣の娘]) by Yoshiya Nobuko is a good example.[8] Yoshiya was an extremely popular writer beginning in the 1920s and continuing into the postwar period who wrote prolifically for girls' magazines, newspapers, and women's magazines. Her works were often adapted to film and radio, and were later made into television dramas. She was truly a master of the mass media serialized novel and well in-touch with popular culture, so it is not surprising that she would try her hand at this new format or that she would be invited to do so, since this is a writer who truly had a finger on the pulse of women readers. At any rate, she appears to have participated in writing this story to be illustrated with these photographs published in *Shufu no tomo* in 1932.[9]

This is the story of a couple who has built a nice house in the suburbs after the husband saved enough money from his position as the head clerk of a Nihonbashi textile store. They no longer have children, because their daughter died recently when her illness was misdiagnosed by a local doctor. One day the father comes home and his wife is agitated. Next door in a more run-down house than their own, there is a little girl who is the spitting image of the one they had so recently lost (Figure 3).[10] After establishing the uncanny similarity, the story has this second girl also become feverish and at risk of losing her life. Because he is the closest to the house, the mother calls the same incompetent doctor. Despite being a mediocre doctor, he refuses to come, fearing he

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[8] See Yoshiya.

[9] I have yet to find "proof" that she wrote the story herself although she is listed as the author. There were some cases of magazine materials being ascribed to an author with the writer simply being paid for the use of his or her name. It does not seem particularly likely in the case of Yoshiya, as she participated in many adaptations of her work beyond straight prose, responding to fans, activities which seem to me consistent with writing a text such as this.

[10] See Yoshiya, 278.

will not be paid by someone in this less-than-wealthy neighborhood.[11] Eventually the richer couple offers to pay and also watches over the doctor to make certain he does not make the same mistake again (Figure 4).[12] Ultimately, the girl is saved. The girl's father, who had not been very financially responsible before, thanks the couple heartily and goes out to find a job. In thanks, the girl and her mother go every day to a local shrine to pray that their kind neighbors will soon be able to have another child of their own (Figure 5).[13]

This story is an interesting case in part because we can see how drastically Yoshiya changed her writing style from her novels. Her serialized fiction was always illustrated with drawings when it appeared in magazines, but here her writing style suggests a different attitude toward the relationship between the images and text. Yoshiya's description is usually heavily laden with rich adjectives, often drawing on words most often used to translate Victorian novels and European children's literature, giving her works a slightly exotic or foreign feel, in that they sound like translations. Her writing, with its baroque sentences, is usually described as "purple prose" (*bibun* [美文]). This aspect of her writing is strikingly absent in this *shashin shôsetsu.* The story is told entirely with dialogue and relatively bare factual description of events: "the father returning home," "two or three days passing"—the type of information you might find in stage directions. The melodramatic effects of the typical Yoshiya novel are here embedded in the dialogue, with much stuttering and sentences halted by deep emotion: "Mi-Mitsuko is suffering terribly;" "Wh-what [*na-nani* (な、なに)] do you mean? How could that, that quack refuse?"[14] The rest of Yoshiya's usual rhetorical excesses are funneled instead into the expressions of the actors or the props. The cuteness displayed by the girl playing the daughter Mitsuko

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[11] The implication seems to be that this is a not-yet-developed area, convenient and inexpensive enough to be appealing to young middle-class couples able to purchase property and build a house there.

[12] Yoshiya, 282.

[13] *Ibid.*, 287.

[14] *Ibid.*, 282.

is the type often described in Yoshiya novels—a bit boyish, but wearing Western dresses. She also vaguely resembles Yoshiya herself as she appeared in magazines, with the androgynous haircut but Western feminine dress. These photographs also provide a more fixed visual image of this common type of female character in her writing. The girl in the photograph carries a rather odd blond doll which may be a substitute for the usual smattering of Western objects in Yoshiya's fiction. The expressions of the couple and the mother at their height of concern provide a peak of tension in the story more dramatic than the written text (Figure 4). In these ways, Yoshiya and the photographers are bringing together the genres of fictional and cinematic melodrama to great effect.

A few differences that this form has on the effect of the story should be pointed out. The photographs of the little girl may have a different impact than a drawing might, because there is a sense that this little girl could be identical to the one who had died since it is a photograph. Significantly, the girl actress is *not* listed as also "playing the role" of the dead daughter. I think that would have been more interesting, but apparently the authors chose not to do so thinking that the exact verisimilitude implied by the photograph would not be realistic. Certainly it would move this story from a sort of melodramatic realism into the realm of the uncanny. Meanwhile drawn illustrations were likely to depict the dead and the remembered more often.[15] The *shashin shôsetsu* in *Shufu no tomo* seldom depicted "memory" or imagination visually, preferring instead melodramatic yet realistic images, where the viewers are encouraged to accept the illusion of truth once they have entered the frame of the fictional events.

A Young Wife's Melancholy (*Wakatsuma no yûutsu* [若妻の憂鬱]) was printed in the magazine *Fujin kôron* in 1932 (Figure 6). This was a highbrow magazine less devoted to household affairs or fashion than *Shufu no tomo* or its competitor *Fujin kurabu*. This is the same *Fujin kôron* that exists today printed by *Chûô Kôronsha*. Insofar as Satô Haruo's *Melancholy in the City* (*Tokai no yûutsu* [都会の憂鬱]) was serialized in the same magazine in 1922, the title of this story might even be a reference to that work.

[15] For one example, see Tsukamura.

Here the magazine enlisted an established writer, Okada Saburô, to write and oversee the story.[16] Along with the usual photos with text below, there is also some text on the intervening regular magazine pages (on regular magazine paper rather than the high-quality, glossier paper for the photographs), making more use of written words than most such visual stories contained. It is also rather unusual in making deliberate use not only of the forms of film (the actors, the cast listing, the type of story), but also those of modern photography, particularly the graphic design aspects of magazine photography and its layout conventions. The photos are often cropped in odd shapes, double exposed, or otherwise altered from the frame of the base photograph (Figures 6-10).

This story tells of a woman, Fuyuko, who is a newlywed in a marriage to a western-style painter (Figure 6).[17] Although theirs was a marriage based on romantic love, blossoming when she had posed on his studio couch in a green kimono, she is quickly ignored by her husband, Jûji, in favor, it seems, of the models he paints in his atelier (Figure 7).[18] The story is from her perspective and she never catches them, so Figure 7 is showing what she imagines might be going on in her husband's studio in the middle of the afternoon when she hears social dancing followed by an odd silence.

The relationship between this photograph and the written narrative is especially interesting. The prose version (which is in fact on a previous page with no photo) reads "Fuyuko remembered the scene (*bamen* [場面]) of herself sitting on that sofa and accepting Jûji's kiss—she could now imagine that woman model sitting there in her place. And that was not all. She painted a mental picture of wild scenes, even scenes showing so much more than kissing."[19] We can see how the prose portion makes use of visual vocabulary. She imagines in the form

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[16] See Okada. Okada Saburô (1890-1954) was a novelist known for such works as *Kage* (影), *Pari* (巴里), and *Haha* (母), which humorously depicted people's struggles in everyday life.

[17] Okada, 38.

[18] *Ibid.*, 43.

[19] *Ibid.*, 41.

of "scenes." Meanwhile, the purpose of using photographs here is not to show what is "really" happening in any simple sense, but to depict the thoughts of this character. The use of the fuzzy framing around the studio part of the image formally marks it as an imagined image, though one with a different impact than a drawn image where there would be no sense of living actors and actresses with bodies touching in order to take the picture.

The words of the story and the picture are each titillating in a different way. In a sense, Fuyuko's thoughts as suggested in the written words go further in terms of physical intimacy than this picture. Although it is not made explicit, her imagination—or that of her readers—could certainly extend beyond what any photograph could show: there is heavy censorship at this time after all. At the same time the photograph provides voyeuristic pleasure in showing much of the model's body, what she looks like, and a concrete image of the two touching in a rather odd way. If we think of this in terms of gaze, the focus of attention of the written words is on Fuyuko and her fantasy, her rather wild daydream of what her husband is doing to the model, with the sense that her image is based on things *she* has done with her husband. The identification is between her and the model, and to an extent seems to be more about her own desire and memories of pleasure than her husband's. The photograph, on the other hand, turns the gaze upon the model. It also focuses on the difference in appearance and dress of the two women, rather than on their similar experience.

Much of what the photos provide is a sense of Western-style clothing and furniture, the cosmopolitan lifestyle of an artist, and the accoutrements of "cultured life" (*bunka seikatsu* [文化生活]). For example, the story contains episodes set in Christmas at her husband's rather Westernized family's house (Figure 8).[20] Intimidated by the unfamiliar social setting and the oddly dressed people, she feels much more comfortable when asked to put on an apron and help out in the kitchen, although she also thinks it a bit rude of them to ask her as a guest to do it. The medium of the photograph helps to highlight this unfamiliar setting. The average audience member, more likely to have

[20] *Ibid.*, 44.

Fuyuko's sense of things than to have gone to formal Christmas parties, can experience her surprise at the people's clothing and architecture of the room on a visual level. It makes a difference for such a viewer to see these images of things that one may well never have seen. One would envision the setting differently than if pictured based on a narrative description alone.

A contrast is also developed both visually and through narrative explanation between two women characters: Fuyuko, who wants to be a doting but appreciated wife in a domestically-oriented "*ren'ai kekkon*," and Harumi, who is much more independent of her husband, enjoying any moment she has free from him (Figure 9).[21] Harumi suggests that they go to Ginza and see the places where Fuyuko's husband hangs out. Here Fuyuko sees her husband being clung to by an actress who has been the object of the gossip sheets (Figure 10).[22] This scene makes use of the possibilities of photography and magazine graphics, such as the way the abstract painting in the middle cuts into the photograph above, and in the circular and rectangular cropping of the two photographs. Eventually Harumi's wilder lifestyle goes to extremes. Her husband dies suddenly and so she begins working as a dancer and may be involved in soliciting some audience members, working out of her new apartment. Harumi comments that "all jobs for women are the same...they all lead to degradation of some sort."[23]

Fuyuko's life takes a different path, when she realizes she is pregnant. Jûji, although worried about this affecting his lifestyle, is pleased. Her mother-in-law begins checking in on her every two or three days to make sure she is managing her pregnancy correctly, much to Fuyuko's annoyance. The story ends on the rather depressing note of resignation to a life much more conventional than she had anticipated when she decided on this "love marriage" with a western-style painter. At the same time, she thinks this must be better than the kind of work she would have to do without him given the fate of her friend Harumi.

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[21] *Ibid.*, 50.

[22] *Ibid.*, 56.

[23] *Ibid.*, 60-61.

Especially for readers not living the life of *either* Fuyuko or Harumi, this story provides a way of imagining these scenes visually: what a big leather chair or a Christmas tree would look like in a trendy upper-middle class home. At the same time, identification with the more familiar modern housewife figure of Fuyuko is possible, at the same time as one can observe the less familiar circumstances of a painter's wife. This *shashin shôsetsu* works to span visually those two worlds, from housewife to film heroine and from housework to life at a Ginza club. This rather amusing, but on some levels dark, story domesticates what is often anxiety-producing material in the movie culture of the same time, the anxiety that drives the tension and plot in longer feature films. Still, of the *shashin shôsetsu* genre, Okada's and Yoshiya's works have a relatively strong sense of tension about changing life styles, gender, and class difference, and to some extent the interest of even these very short plots turns on those fears.

Over time, the *shashin shôsetsu* move toward shorter written texts and larger photographs. In the midst of wartime Japan, they generally focused on seemingly benign relationships and plot trajectories. A 1940 *Shufu no tomo* creation entitled, "My Home is Paradise" (*Wagaya wa rakuen* [我が家は楽園]) was called a "humor *shashin shôsetsu*" (Figures 11 and 12). A nice couple has been set up by the man's company president in an *omiai* marriage. We are told that it was only afterwards that they fell deeply in love and had a baby. This story relates a simple misunderstanding, where the man thinks a call from work is his wife saying the baby is sick and rushes home. The company president thinks of the baby as his grandchild because he was the go-between for their marriage, something he does for many people. The "humor" is rather minor, based on one pun that makes him think his baby is sick when in fact it merely concerns something his sister has done. The story calls on wartime themes of praising mothers (the cover of this same issue carried the slogan "Power of Mothers who Create Strong Citizens") and emphasizing non-blood family ties in the community (the company president "adopting" the couple because his own child died in the war). The format helps to promote these themes in a less didactic format than an article by presenting these as the actions of attractive film stars rather than by exhorting the readers themselves to behave this way. Unlike earlier stories such as *Wakatsuma no yûutsu,* no model or actress

characters are found. Such desire and admiration must be directed at the beautiful mother (still in fact an actress/model) instead.

A 1941 *Fujin kurabu* (*Ladies' Club* [婦人倶楽部]) *shashin shôsetsu* called "The Diary of a Young Wife on Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere Day" (*Kôa no wakatsuma nikki* [興亜の若妻日記]) describes how a couple spends "Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere Day."[24] Again the theme is childbearing, with the couple being inspired to procreate by the children they see playing on the beach. Of course there is no direct discussion of the "Asia" involved in this celebration day.

In a final example of *shashin shôsetsu* for the war effort, "Working Siblings" (*Hataraku kyôdai* [働く兄妹]) appeared in *Shufu no tomo* in 1939. It makes the best use of lighting of any of these examples to communicate its message. The brother moves from the dark shadows in photographs of him skipping work and playing *shôgi* to stepping out into the light to walk down a sunny street to work at the gun factory.[25] It especially makes use of the sense of female fans of the male heroine, as his sister and a neighbor look at the hero with delight and admiration.

These 1940s *shashin shôsetsu*, introduced only briefly here in the interest of space, all seem to be making use of the form of popular story lines of film for ideological purposes.[26] Simply the brevity of the genre allows for a more banal story than would sustain a feature-length film. In this way, it was possible for the *shashin shôsetsu* to present these messages in support of the war effort simply, without introducing

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[24] See Kashima.

[25] See Suzuki Hikojirô, 14, 15, and 20.

[26] The status of these texts as "propaganda" is a thorny question, and there is not sufficient space here to delve into the complex relationships between the military, censors, and popular magazines. There were cases when the military would make use of the pages of magazine such as *Shufu no tomo* as a mouthpiece, but they did not determine all of its texts. As paper shortages mounted, those publications that were most helpful were most likely to keep their paper allotment, so there were other pressures to voluntarily produce texts with the proper message. And of course, we must not discount the extent to which stories like this were entertaining, satisfying, and enjoyable to readers under those circumstances.

the crisis-producing figures of modern life that create cinematic suspense, even in films of the same period under tight restrictions.

In conclusion, it must be asked what the purpose of this genre was. Most obviously, this format made for a more eye-catching article than could be produced with a text-only piece. Of course, illustration could provide a similar function, although in practice it usually did not tell as much of the story as these do.[27] To compete with other magazines and with film itself, no doubt such new types of images needed to be incorporated into the magazine. Within the context of the emergence of a more visual culture this form was one of the ways magazines sought to connect themselves to visual technologies so as not to look out-dated in their emphasis on the written word.

This form was also well suited to work with advertising. From the mid-twenties especially, magazines had begun to make use of serialized fiction, humor, and the like to lead readers through the magazine and through the advertising sections, usually at the front of the magazine. For example, a short humorous story would be placed in the margins of the advertising section to blur the distinction between "content" and "commercial" pages. The photographic fiction discussed here did not generally share pages with ads, but they were placed along with other photos, art, and more expensive advertisements in the front section. Those items were printed on glossy paper, in what came to be known as the "*gurabia*" or (gravure printed) section.

It is also significant that these rather short and easy-to-follow stories were well suited to modern reading habits. They could be taken in during a streetcar ride or a break at work, whether office or factory (many of these magazines were available in the lounge rooms of such workplaces). We might also think of this from the vantage point of reading level. While the education of women was increasing, the numbers of women who were looking at magazines was also increasing more rapidly than the reading level. The content of the magazines (increased inclusion of "children's page" inserts, comic strips) also suggests that younger readers were being called upon to take an interest in such publications in the home. Many personal anecdotes told to me by

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[27] Some recent lectures have shed light on the interaction of illustration and serialized fiction. See Claire Cuccio and Michiko Suzuki.

women who were teenagers in the 1930s and 1940s suggest that such girls often would often sneak off to read some of the racier romance fiction and confession articles printed in women's magazines, visual stories that would also have been easier to read than the average serialized novel. It is also likely that many readers of a magazine like *Shufu no tomo* would have been unable or reluctant to go to movie theaters, whether because they lived in the countryside, overseas (as quite a few readers did), or because of social restrictions against the movie theater as a proper place for a married woman. Factory girls, another large reading population, may not have been able to afford frequent moviegoing. These factors are likely some of the origins of the film synopses discussed at the beginning of this paper.

Finally, the form seemed well suited to espouse certain wartime values in an entertaining way. Such messages are in no way inherent in the form, but the ability to make a movie heroine type out of a character such as the good sister of a soldier-to-be—even when the story would *not* be compelling enough to inspire a feature film—did work well to communicate certain wartime ideologies. It was one of the many ways that popular culture could render messages such as having more children or sending one's brother off to the gun factory seem *both* banal and visually attractive.

The early 1930s was of course a period of intense debate among fiction writers about their potential impact on readers, pointed to by the many debates over audience, popularity, and politicality of fiction, surrounding but in no way limited to the proletarian literature movement. Meanwhile movie culture had a broad effect on print culture, one that went well beyond the area of fan magazines through which this effect is usually examined. Writers were very much aware of the changes in reading and viewing practices that this sort of form represents. As we see here, some writers directly made use of this (Yoshiya Nobuko and Okada Saburô). With this popular form in mind, however, it is worth examining further whether other writers made more subtle use of such formats, or of the broader transformation in the experience of seeing and reading. The role that women readers had in shaping modern writers' view of audience and reading is usually swept aside along with the popular forms that they were reading and with which they were

identifying.[28] This example makes perfectly clear the need to examine more closely the potential connections between popular forms and "high literature," particularly at this time when there was vigorous debate over what that relationship should be, and when the process of reading in general was being transformed by the genres of popular culture.

[28] See Maeda, 211-283, for his ground-breaking discussion of the importance of the woman magazine reader of popular fiction for Taishô and early Shôwa fiction, particularly the relationship between the *bundan* and conceptions of the *taishû*.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

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