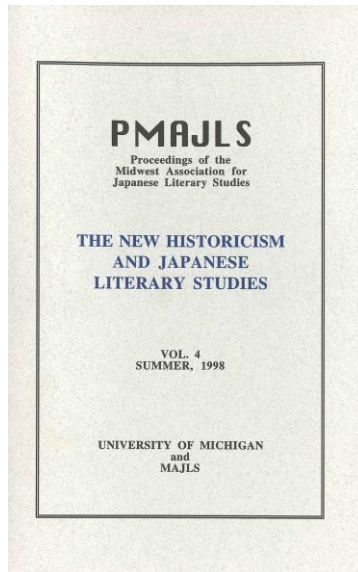


“Postwar Anthologies Remember the Prewar:
Censorship and the Textual Condition of ‘The
Family of Koiwai’”

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**Postwar Anthologies Remember the Prewar:
Censorship and the Textual Condition of
"The Family of Koiwai"**

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I would like to think about the way that the postwar remembers the prewar, in particular, the way postwar anthologies remember prewar texts. The convenience of postwar *zenshū*, or Complete Works, might lull us into forgetting that the various texts assembled in the collection have participated in history before being hermetically sealed in an anthology, but the exigencies of our historical moment demand that we reconsider editorial and reading practices that de-historicize texts. In order to explicate the problem, I will now turn to the example of Miyamoto Yuriko's "The Family of Koiwai" ("Koiwai no ikka").

In January 1934, "The Family of Koiwai" was published in the journal Bungei (Literary Arts) in a version censored for objectionable material.

In 1940, it was published in a book, Asa no kaze (Morning Breeze), in an even more censored form.

In 1947 (after the war), the author herself rewrote the story, purportedly because the pre-publication manuscript was unavailable, and published it in a book with Fūchisō (Weathervane Plant), not just filling in the ellipsed information but reconfiguring much of the prose. This rewritten version was also published in the 1948 Miyamoto Yuriko senshū (Collected Works of Miyamoto Yuriko).

After the author died in 1951, her *zenshū* was compiled and published. The pre-publication manuscript surfaced and was used as the basis for the version of "The Family of Koiwai" included.

Subsequent anthologies, including the 1979 Zenshū and the Miyamoto Yuriko shū (Collection of Miyamoto Yuriko's Works) in the 1988 Nihon puroretaria bungakushū (Collection of Japanese Proletarian Literature), all follow suit in preferring the manuscript submitted for publication in 1934 as the base-text (1979 Zenshū 507-508).

Which text should we evaluate? Should we agree that the pre-publication manuscript is closest to the “true” text?

The issue at stake is the repression by postwar scholars of wartime textual practices of excision and elision. In the course of constructing a postwar narrative of Japanese literature (notice that the anthologies are postwar), the wounds of the prewar and wartime period are elided—in much the same way that “dangerous” thoughts were elided by censors during the war. The censored versions are neither reproduced nor discussed in the postwar anthologies. And recent reproductions of the story—the 1988 Miyamoto Yuriko shū and the 1992 English translation—omit any mention that the story was censored or rewritten. It becomes increasingly difficult to evaluate the life-work of authors or the literary production of an historical era when anthologies recreate stories as *they should have been published* rather than as they were.

“The Family of Koiwai” and the Historical Moment of 1934

“The Family of Koiwai” is a story about Otome and her husband Tsutomu, a poet and revolutionary. Because they have chosen to commit themselves to the Communist movement, Tsutomu is unable to fulfill his filial duties as oldest son. His father, called Grampa, brings the whole family from the countryside to live with them in Tokyo and witnesses what the movement means in practice, and it is then that Grampa comes

into consciousness and suddenly understands why Communism is necessary.

"The Family of Koiwai" was first published in Bungei (Literary Arts) in January, 1934. The political atmosphere of the time was increasingly volatile and radical. The 1925 Peace Preservation Law (*Chian iji hō*) declared that the "*kokutai*" (national essence) was sacred, and that any attempt to change it was illegal (Mitchell, Thought Control 67). Since a Communist revolution was necessarily incompatible with the "*kokutai*," on March 15, 1928 hundreds of suspected Communists were arrested under this Peace Law (Thought Control 81). Mass trials were held from June 5, 1931 to July 2, 1932 (Thought Control 107).

Chūjō [Miyamoto] Yuriko returned with her female companion in 1930 from three years in the Soviet Union (thereby missing the first mass arrests), and in February, 1932 she married the Communist critic Miyamoto Kenji. Two months later a series of arrests began for Yuriko. She was first arrested in April, and then in June, Kenji went underground. Yuriko was again arrested in September and released after a month. She was arrested a third time in February, 1933 when she visited Kobayashi Takiji's mother after his death. Kenji was finally arrested in December, 1933, and he stayed in prison for the rest of the war, a total of twelve years. That January, a month after the arrest of her husband, Yuriko published "The Family of Koiwai" (e.g. de Bary; Tanaka; 1979 Zenshū "nenpu").

It is surprising that a story about coming into Communist consciousness could be published as late as 1934, considering that cultural production with the intent to alter thought was a crime (e.g. Thought Control 119; Rubin 249-250). Despite the constricting grasp of the Special Higher Police, it seems that a sympathetic editor could publish something even as "dangerous"

as "The Family of Koiwai" by taking some risk and negotiating the system of censorship. As the war intensified, publishing pressures became more severe, but it was not until 1942, when a system of prior approval was implemented, and 1943 when paper was rationed, that censorship was almost completely comprehensive (Rubin 270-271).

Censorship was not without precedent. A system of censorship was first implemented in 1698, and by 1717 it was officially recognized (Mitchell, Censorship 4). The Meiji government turned towards a system of self-inspection: the editor would be punished and the publication banned if printed material were found to be objectionable. Since editors were required to take the financial and punitive responsibility on their own shoulders, they assumed the primary burden of censorship (Censorship 25).

Censorship, while "externally" imposed on a text by someone other than the author, was often practiced by editors sympathetic to the esthetic and sometimes political goals of the author. *Fuseji*, or ellipses in place of objectionable words, were the censorship of preference. Their use was outlawed in 1885, but allowed to continue until the military took over the responsibility of censorship from the Home Ministry in the fall of 1941 (Rubin 30). In his Injurious to Public Morals, Jay Rubin argues that editors (he cites the Chūō Kōron editorial staff, in particular) cleverly used *fuseji* as a "counter-measure" against censorship (30).

It seems easy to assume that censorship altered an otherwise pristine, pure text, but this is not accurate. It helps us to see *fuseji* and censorship practices in general in all their complexities if we keep in mind two things: one, *fuseji* were the act of an editor who inscribed his presence bibliographically in a text; and two, *fuseji* were an editorial intervention that was both complicit with and

resistant to wartime authority.

The Effects of Censorship: 1934 version vs. the 1979 Reconstituted Version

Words, phrases, sentences and even whole paragraphs were boldly deleted from the 1934 Bungei version. What remains is sometimes ungrammatical, sometimes illogical, sometimes craftily contrary to the uncensored version. For example, when the grandfather makes his statement of conviction about the cause, his comment is reduced to: "It will be troublesome if...soon as Tsutomu says." (*"hayaku Tsutomu no ifu yao na.....ba komaru!"*) (474; 177).¹ The censored fragment is grammatically incomplete. In another place, the censorship has rendered the sentence subjectless, as when the "....." comes to the door to call on the family (469; 174). And in the case where Tsutomu's activities in the movement are elided, the sentence reads: "In spring, Tsutomu Then it was summer" (451; 157). The ellipses run on for the duration of the paragraph, but the punctuation marks remain intact.

What is the effect of this censorship? Why leave behind the marks of excision--the ellipses? Why not just cut it out so the reader might never know that he or she is reading a mutilated text?

Because it is a power move. (I am saying this to suggest why their use was allowed even though legally outlawed in 1885.) The ellipses call attention to themselves and constantly remind the reader that someone is controlling what they can and can not read. That they leave behind illogical fragments or ungrammatical sentences demands our awe by the arbitrariness of this

¹ References to "Koiwai no ikka" will be presented as follows: (page # of 1979 Zenshū (vol. 4); page # of 1934 Bungei). Translations are mine.

deployment of power. It says, "I can cut what I want, when I want, and I don't owe anyone an explanation." The fear that meaning has not just been omitted but altered is at times justified. For example, the already mentioned example: "It will be troublesome if...soon as Tsutomu says" (Bungei 177). In the reconstructed version, this sentence is the crucial moment where Grampa comes into revolutionary consciousness: "It will be troublesome if things don't happen as Tsutomu says" (1979 Zenshū 474). In the censored version, the sentence is incomplete.

A longer example, at the end of the second section, elides information that alters the meaning of the sentence. "If the world becomes other than it is" is elided so that the remaining sentence reads: "..... Aya can rest assured that her health will be cared for" (461; 166). Then Otome explains to Grampa, "In....., in each ward, there are various hospitals that treat people....." The reconstructed version tells us that "In the Soviet Union" and hospitals treat "for free." In the next sentence, reference to the journal "Soviet Friend" has been elided (461; 166). This exchange is important to the plot development of the reconstructed version because it is here that Grampa and Grandma listen to Otome describe how a world under Communism might be preferable, in particular because their sick daughter would be taken care of; and this will be crucial in section three when Aya falls so ill as to require serious medical attention and the family falls in debt to a wicked, wealthy relative. In the reconstructed version, Otome gives Grampa information about Russia, and therefore communism, which will lead him to declare at the end that he hopes the world becomes more like that. In the censored version, Otome merely tells Grampa that there are various hospitals which will care for Aya. All references to Soviet Russia are absent and so we are left to assume that these hospitals are in Japan—a different meaning

than the reconstructed version. Here, as in the example above where Grampa realizes (or does not) the significance of the social movement, the censorship poses problems of interpretation, and renders it a different text.

While censorship may inhibit the production of certain meanings, at the same time it is a power move that has the potential to subvert itself. Because now I, the reader, have been challenged to finish the text, to plug in the gaps with meaning, my meaning. If I know that the text was censored because it was objectionable will I not plug in objectionable ideas? Rather than distancing me from potentially radical thoughts (crimes), the text has invited me to participate in the act (thought crime) of completing the text. Such readerly texts (i.e. texts that require the reader to complete them in order to signify) actually heighten engagement in the ideas since I am called to think of them myself. For example, in Yūgeshiki no kagami (The Mirror of Evening Scenery, pub. January 1935 in Bungei shunjū) the first printed version of what will later be written and rewritten into the now famous Yukiguni (Snow Country), the censors may have done more harm than good. When Kawabata Yasunari's protagonist returns to the snow country to see the geisha that he had met on his previous trip, he holds up his finger and tells her, "This is what remembered you well." In the censored version, he holds up his "....." and says the same thing (73).² Finger seems relatively innocent in contrast to what a reader might come up with, especially when provoked by a blank to fill in something objectionable.

As in the Snow Country example, when I the reader project meaning onto the text, there is no textual device to hold me in check. So when the "....." comes to the house, the reader is called

² This Zenshū reproduces the text with elisions.

to imagine a subject--and not just any subject, because it must be an objectionable subject. Perhaps I could do worse than "policeman"? And when everything that Tsutomu did in spring is elided, the reader is left with no recourse but to assume that his activities were revolutionary, and perhaps the reader will be guilty of assuming that they were more radical than they really were.

In the next section when I discuss editorial intervention, I do not mean to collapse censorship into just another kind of editorial intervention. On the contrary it has differences well worth thinking about, and in a longer version of this paper I look at the textual differences of the 1948 rewritten version and the problems that it presents. But perhaps a lesson that we can learn from censorship can be illuminating to textual practices in general. It is this lesson--that an author is not the master of her text--that leads me into the final section of this paper, the section in which I would like to consider the editorial question.

The Editorial Question

In addition to its appearance in the 1934 edition of Bungei (censored), the 1940 Asa no kaze (even more censored), the 1947 Fūchisō (rewritten), the 1948 Miyamoto Yuriko senshū, the 1951 Zenshū (restored based on submitted manuscript), 1979 Zenshū, the 1988 Miyamoto Yuriko shū, and the 1992 English translation, "The Family of Koiwai" has also been printed in the following versions: Ippon no hana (One Flower) 1950, and Banshū heiya, Fūchisō, Futatsu no niwa, sono ta (Banshū Plains, The Weathervane Plant, Two Gardens, etc.), published in 1951 (1979 Zenshū 507), and a 1956 Miyamoto Yuriko senshū (Collected Works of Miyamoto Yuriko). This list is not exclusive.

As should be clear by now, there are many versions of this story--a handwritten manuscript, a censored version, a version reconstructed by the author herself, and a version reconstructed

by an editor based on the handwritten manuscript. And they are all different. How should an editor produce a text taking all of this into consideration? And what should we as readers do about it?

This editorial question is worthy of our thought because of the way that textual versions, like *zenshū*, command our interest and provide us with apparently authoritative and seamless texts--because "producing editions is one of the ways we produce literary meanings" (McGann 33). As Jerome McGann writes: "The illusion is the idea that editors 'establish' the texts that critics then go on to 'interpret.' All editing is an act of interpretation..." (27). By calling attention to the way that literary editions--all editions--come to the reader with biases of interpretation, we are in a better position to interpret them.

In the 1947 version of "The Family of Koiwai" published in *Fūchisō*, Miyamoto Yuriko recreated the story herself. I did not locate that version, but in the 1948 *Senshū* (*Collected Works*), Yuriko writes in the afterword that she wrote this and other stories about the injustice and victims of Japanese fascism. She writes that she has filled in the places where nothing but "vague, slavish words" ("*aimai na dorei no kotoba*") were expressed (1948 *Senshū*. "atogaki" 379). However, not only has she filled in places that were previously excised by *fuseji*, she has rewritten the prose throughout the story: adding and deleting words and restructuring sentences and paragraphs. Her rewritten version begs us to think about censorship in its more complicated, complicit form: self-censorship.³ If, in 1948, Yuriko is at greater liberty to write, does this version represent her true intention? If the author herself has authorized this version, then why three

³ In the longer version of this paper, I look at the issues raised by the 1947/1948 rewritten versions of "The Family of Koiwai" such as self-censorship, theoretical aspects of the textual condition, and the pragmatic issue of editing texts with different lives.

years later, after her death, would the editor of the zenshū prefer the unpublished manuscript?

Editing based on author's intention serves to elide the differences of an author's intent through time, posing the problem of determining--or constructing--a cohesive "author" who does not contradict herself throughout the history of a text's publication. It also serves to elide the differences of the social moments of a text, that is, of a text as an historical artifact.

My final point will be McGann's main point in the Textual Condition, a book which has informed much of this last section: "The point is that authors (and authorial intentions) do not govern those textual dimensions of a work which become most clearly present to us in bibliographic forms" (58). McGann uses the term "bibliographic codes" to discuss texts as "embodied phenomena" (13). The "ink, typeface, paper" trilogy is indeed worthy of our attention as we can see when we look at Illustration 1 of this paper. The 1979 Zenshū and the 1948 Senshū are not only linguistically different, they are bibliographically different. Spacing is different; the title is written differently bibliographically. Now compare the 1934 Bungei version and the handwritten manuscript (Illustration 2). We've now entered another textual dimension: the 1934 version opens with a sketch of a house with smoke in the sky and barren trees; the handwritten manuscript has chunks of words that have been crossed out--and somehow like the published censored version, they invite us to read them. Finally, the 1956 Senshū and the 1988 Miyamoto Yuriko shū (Illustration 3). Both are in two columns (*nidangumi*) unlike any of the other versions. The Miyamoto Yuriko shū has more *furigana* (phonetic reading aids) than the other editions.

Much more attention would have to be paid to the bibliographic codes in order to further develop how they mean differently. Doing so would have the advantageous benefit of reintroducing

the social context into the text: "In the case of bibliographical codes, 'author's intentions' rarely control the state or the transmission of the text. In this sense literary texts and their meanings are collaborative events" (McGann 60). Paying attention to the bibliographic codes might be a way out of the author-based editorial mode which attempts to simplify, organize, and make uniform, and a way into reading the flow of history and the social production of texts. And then we might remember that every text is inherently social, "that texts are produced and reproduced under specific social and institutional conditions, and hence that every text, including those that may appear to be purely private, is a social text" (McGann 21). Casting "texts" back into an historical context and treating them as historical artifacts empowers us to think about intellectual and artistic productions as negotiations in a material world that influences and is influenced by such production.

While author-based editorial practices are not unique to postwar Japan (they were practiced prewar, too), it is because of the particular set of historical problems posed by the postwar era (such as coming to terms with the wartime experience), that editorial practices--interpretive practices--need to be rethought. Confronting the scars of censorship in literature may help restore a link to the past and put the social context back in the text. The case of "The Family of Koiwai" and its history of production and reproduction is not exceptional. Particularly in the case of postwar Japan, it is imperative that critics deals with textual differences, historical differences, and not elide them. We should remember that *zenshū*, Complete Works, are yet incomplete if they do not deal with texts as historical artifacts.

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Appendix

(different versions of of "Koiwai no ikka")

家一の祝小

乙女は、小さい躰へ赤い友禪メリンスの肩當てがすつかり穢れてゐる染緋の掻卷を芝居の縫ぐるみのやうな恰好にはおつて、瀬戸火鉢へへら杓を渡した上に腰をかけ、テーブルの端へ顔を伏せて凝つとしてゐる。

満足な垣根もない六疊二疊のトタン屋根をとほして、厳しい二月の寒さは、星の大きく輝いてゐる淋しい郊外の夜空からぢかに髪の上まで迫つて感じられた。テーブルのところへ低く下げた電燈のあたゝかみだけが、額のところに感じられた。暖いのはそこだけだった。ほかのところは滑らかにニスの光るテーブルの面でも、現に乙女のおつてゐる掻卷の肩や袖でも、火の氣のない空氣の中でしんと凍てゐる。

寒さと森とした明るさとはりつめてゐる、壁ぎわに澤山の本がビールの空箱に並べられてゐるのばかりが目立つた。

やゝしばらくすると、乙女が前髪をきり下げた顔を掻卷の袖の上からあげて

小振の一筋

一

三月の夜、部屋に火の気というものがない。

乙女は肘でしがはれた築碁の板をほおり、灰のたたまった茶色の丸い瀬川火鉢の上へへら台の壘んだのを押ししたところへ腰かけ、テーブルへ顔を伏せて寝っとしてゐる。

暖しい寒気は、頂の燐く黒い雲外の窓から、往來や煙の土を渡らし、トクンと鼠をとおし、夜と一縷に壁の裏にまでしみて来る。

テーブルの隅に低く下った電燈のあたにかみが壁に壁に晒じられた。電灯はすぐ近くに乙女の顔のない髪を照し、少しはなれて壁際に置かれたビールの空箱の中の沢山の飯糰の首筋を照し出している。

テーブルのニスが指らかに光った。その光沢はいかにも寒げで、とても手を出さず気がしない。――

「――朝たんは、まだ冷えないかい？」

ゆっくりした、一日一日に力をこめたような目線で床の間に訊いた。

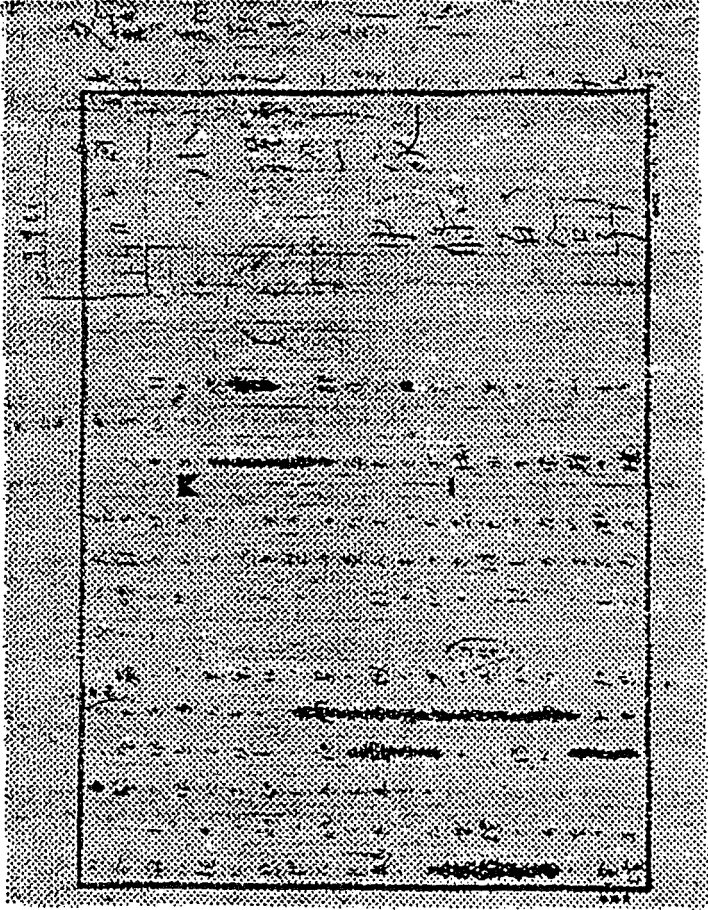


Illustration II: Copy of Handwritten Manuscript



小祝の一家

中條百合子

二月の夜、部屋に火の氣といふものがない。

乙女は肩當てが穢れた染織の掻巻をはをり、灰のかたまつた茶色の丸い瀬戸火鉢の上へへら臺の墨んだのを渡したところへ腰かけ、テーブルへ顔を伏せて凝つとしてゐる。

眩しい寒氣は、星の輝く暑い郊外の空から、往來や畑の土を凍らし、トタン屋根をとほし、夜と一緒に髪に根にまでしみて来る。

テーブルの前に低く下つた電燈のあたゝかみが微に顔に感じられた。

電燈はすぐ近くに乙女の艶のない髪を照し、少しはなれて壁際に積まれたビールの空箱の中の澤山の假綴の書籍を照し出して居る。テーブルのガラスが冷やかに光つた。その光澤は冷かにも凍げず、とても手を出す氣

小祝の一家

二月の夜、部屋に火の氣といふものがない。

乙女は爾常てが換れた染織の裾巻をはおり、灰のかたまつた茶色の丸い顔戸火鉢の上へハラの盞の盞んだのを渡したところへ腰かけ、テーブルへ顔を伏せて寝つとしてゐる。怪しい空気が、星の輝く黒い郊外の空から、往來や烟の土を凍らし、トタン屋根をとほし、夜と一筋に壁の根にまでしみて来る。

テーブルの前に低く下つた電燈のおたたかみが微かに顔に感じられた。電燈はすぐ近くに乙女の儼のない髪を照し、少しはなれて壁際に積まれたビールの空箱の中のとくさんの假綴の書籍を照し出してゐる。テーブルのニスが滑らかに光つた。その光澤はいかにも感げで、とても手を出す氣がしない。

驚くして、乙女が懐手をしたまま、顔だけ襖巻の袖の上から露げ、

「湯たんぽ、まだ冷えないかい？」

ゆつくりした、一言一言に力をこめたやうな口調で夫の勉に訊いた。

同じテーブルに向つて正面のところには、家ちゆうただ一脚の腰椅子にかけて、勉が、やつぱり裾巻をドテラがはりにシャツの上から浴て頬杖をついてゐる。勉は、北窓生れの色白な顔に際立つて大きい口元を動かさし、口雷げに、

「いや……やうりうか？」

と云つた。

「いいえ、いい」

二人ながら小柄な體へ裾巻をかぶつた夫婦はまた黙りこみかけたが、今度は乙女が、

「――副父ちゃん、本當にミツ子こと小包にして送つてよこすかしんないね」

長い眉毛をつり上げたやうな表情で云ひ、不安さうに荒れてゐる自分の唇をなめた。

「ふむ……」

「副父ちゃん……何すつかしんないよ」

「……」

テーブルの上に、塵紙のやうな紙に灰燼で風暴に書いた貞之助の手紙があつた。年よりならき々と書きさうな目頭の文句も何もなしで、いきなり、度々手紙をやつたがいつ金を送つてよこすつもりかと書き出し、東京で貴様はどんな偉い運動をやつてゐるか知らんが、こつちでは一家五人が飢寒死にしかけてゐる。總領息子の貴様はどうしてくれ

小祝の一家

—

二月の夜、部屋に火の気というものが無い。

乙女は肩当てが傾いた模様様の襦袢をはおり、灰のかたまつた茶色の丸い瀬戸火鉢の上へへら台の貸んだのを渡したところへ腰かけ、ティーブルへ顔を伏せて凝つてゐる。厳しい寒気は、星の輝く黒い郊外の空から、往來や畑の土を渡らし、トタン屋根をとおし、夜と一緒に髪の流れにまでしみて来る。

ティーブルの前に低く下つた電燈のあなたかみが襦袢に照らされた。電燈はすぐ近くに乙女の腕のない髪を照し、少しはなれて隙間に消されたビールの空瓶の中の火山の氣の香りを照らし出している。ティーブルのニスが滑らかに光

つた。その光沢はいかにも凍げで、とても手を出す気がしない。——

留くして、乙女が懐手をしたまま、顔だけ襦袢の袖の上から揺げ、

「——湯たんぼ、まだ冷えないかい？」

ゆっくりとした、一言一言に力をこめたような口調で夫の袖に訊いた。

四ヒティーブルに向つて正面のところには、東じやうただ一脚の藤椅子にかけて、姉が、やっぱり襦袢をドナラがわりにシャツの上から着て煙草をついている。姉は、北国生れの色白な顔に際立って大きい口元を動かさず、口裏げに、「いや、……やろうか？」と云つた。

「いいえ、いい」

二人ながら小柄な体へ襦袢をかぶつた夫婦はまた黙りこみかけたが、今度は乙女が、

「——祖父ちゃん、本当にミツ子と小包にして送つてよこすかしんないね」

長い口元をつり上げたような表情で云い、不安そりに完れている自分の唇をなめた。

「ふむ……」