



Title	Writing the City in and against the “Osaka Tradition”
Author(s)	村上スミス, アンドリュー
Citation	言語文化共同研究プロジェクト. 2024, 2023, p. 37-55
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://doi.org/10.18910/97341
rights	
Note	

The University of Osaka Institutional Knowledge Archive : OUKA

<https://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/>

The University of Osaka

Writing the City in and against the “Osaka Tradition”

Andrew Murakami-Smith

1. Ways of Understanding the City

Among the many concepts and metaphors that have been used to apprehend the modern city (the city as machine, as seductress, as disease, as octopus, etc.), two of the most basic are the city as image and the city as text. Both are problematic, but if we understand the nuanced ways in which they have come to be used in urban studies, we can see how scholars in the field have attempted to overcome some of those problems.

1.1 The City as Image

Even setting aside the ever-present possibility today that images have been digitally altered or faked, the image has always been problematic because of its illusory nature as a “sign that pretends not to be a sign” (W.J.T. Mitchell, quoted in Resina 2003, 15). Images purport to show unmediated reality. In Roland Barthes’s words, images present themselves as “uncoded,” leading to “the confusion of the object with its image” (quoted in Resina 2003, 14). Images pretend to be “message-free, or rather, to be their own message,” appearing to be “fragments of nature that can be perceptually appropriated without reference to any given code” (Ibid.). Think of the conceit that photographs show reality just as it is. This idea obscures the historical conditions of the photograph’s creation: Who was the photographer? Where and when was the photograph taken? Why was *this* scene, and not another, chosen to be photographed? Can the scene in the photograph really be unproblematically understood and interpreted? The illusion of immediacy lends images power, and allows them “to disguise intentionality and pass for universal statements of fact” (ibid.). Hence the rhetorical and ideological use of images in advertising and propaganda.

Joan Ramon Resina uses the term “after-image” to recuperate the image by exposing the fact that “images brim with the history of their own production and with the conflicts and traumas of their emergence” (Resina 2003, 15). *All* images are in fact after-images; when we see images in media such as maps, photos, or movies, and even when we see something directly with our eyes, we never perceive directly: “we turn... not only to our faculties of apprehension but also to the (private or public) imaginary within which the after-image is an image, but no longer an empirical one, [it is now] a processed bit of knowledge that would be very difficult to isolate from more abstract forms of the image, such as the concept or the metaphor” (Resina 2003, 2). Thus, while we *think* we apprehend the reality of images directly and unproblematically, in fact, “Acculturated interpretive dispositions and previously internalized cognitive patterns are fired by the image, which is thus connoted, turned into a visual aid for meanings that precede it in the social field” (Resina 2003, 14).

Resina’s after-image is “a visual sensation that lingers after the stimulus that provoked it has disappeared, and opens the idea of ‘image’ to a cluster of theoretical possibilities based on temporal displacement, sequentiality, supersession, and engagement” – it is “a temporalized, unstable, complex image brimming with the history of its production” (Resina 2003, 1-2). This “temporalization” allows the concept to be applied to an understanding of the modern city with its rapid pace of change, a use to which the image as it is traditionally conceived (static, direct) would be unsuited. A city is “a process, [a] unique, ongoing time/space event,” where “change is continual,” so that “the city changing through time has been likened to a palimpsest” (Wilson 1997, 128-129). Further, according to J. Hillis Miller, even when we try to visually imagine a city, “we cannot imagine space as such. What we imagine... is always an event or events taking place. Our imagination is inherently narrative” (quoted in Donald 1997, 183). Note the use of the textual metaphors of palimpsest (vellum that has been written on, incompletely erased, and written on again, so that traces of previous writing are still visible) and narrative. These metaphors anticipate the idea of “city as text” to be discussed below, but for now let us note that the concept of after-image is able to deal with the changing city because it is an image “opened up” to temporality and history.

There is another reason the after-image (image + temporality) and the palimpsest (multiple superimposed images) are powerful tools for apprehending the city. This is the *complexity* of the (post)modern city. While premodern cities were fairly clearly bounded (often within a city wall), the scale of the modern city and the sprawl of the “postmetropolis” or “edge cities” of today make it impossible to understand them in terms of a single, unified image: “comprehensive city images are no longer possible because the metropolitan area has

replaced the city” (Resina 2003, 6). As James Donald argues, “Unable to contain the unbounded spread of London, Paris, Berlin, or New York in an all-encompassing image, we recall the city through metonymic images and fleeting events. These include the stereotypes of the Eiffel Tower or the Manhattan skyline” as well as the images perceived through our own, direct experience of the city (Donald 1997, 181).

When one goes to the top of a tall building or mountain and looks down on the city, one has the illusion of obtaining a comprehensive view of the city. In Michel de Certeau’s view, this panoramic view of the city “allows the viewer to... look down on it in a thoroughly objectifying – scientific... – way” (Resina 2003, 7), giving an illusion of comprehensibility and “readability” – an idea that “immobilizes [the city’s] opaque mobility in a transparent text” (de Certeau 1984, 92). This view, totalizing and illusory, is likened to the official view of governments and authorities (“the bird’s-eye view of town planners, the zoning graphs of demographers, or the arrow mazes of the traffic statisticians,” Schlaeger 2003, 55). De Certeau opposes to it the idea of “practices,” defined as “‘ways of operating’ or doing things” (de Certeau 1984, xi) – in our case, the everyday actions and experiences of normal people as they live their lives in the city. The practices of city-dwellers can be conceptualized visually, as a “street-level gaze of ordinary inhabitants whose preferred routes through the city may challenge the directions of conventional maps” (Edwards 2012, 173). We could think of city-dwellers gleaning images in their daily practices that supplement or challenge “hegemonic” images propagated by governments and corporations, ones that “because they have been successfully socialized, seem more legitimate than privately acquired ones” (Resina 2003, 17).

Sarah Edwards explains the concept of “practices” using a visual metaphor: the “street-level gaze” of ordinary people as opposed to the elevated, totalizing gaze of authorities. But note that this explanation also expresses the object of the totalizing gaze as an ostensibly “readable” *text*, and references the movement and activities of city-dwellers as they negotiate their “preferred routes” through the city. Here we come to the second major concept that can be used to make sense of the city: the city as narrative; the city as text.

1.2 The City as Text

Roland Barthes writes in “Semiology and the Urban” that “The city is a writing. He who moves about the city, e.g. the user of the city... is a kind of reader” (quoted in Edwards 2012, 168). The text that dwellers “read” as they move through the city on their “preferred routes” every day is not only the physical city of streets and buildings, “brick and mortar” (or, in Japan, wood and paper or steel and reinforced concrete), but also a “soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare,” which is “as real, maybe more real, than the hard city” (Jonathan Raban, quoted in Prakash 2008, 7). The stuff of this “soft city” is narrative, both the received texts of local and national history, literature, government administration, and tourism, but also the texts each city-dweller or visitor creates through his or her practices in the city. (Recall that people’s image of the city is made up of “acculturated” or “socialized” images plus images gleaned from the “street-level gaze” of practices.) The city we experience “is constituted by the interplay between its spaces and its imaginations. The brick and mortar do not exist apart from representations, nor are our ideas without material consequences or take shape outside the hard city of maps, statistics, and architecture” (Prakash 2008, 7). Some of these representations or ideas are the narratives of literature: “The text is actively constitutive of the city. Writing does not only record or reflect the fact of the city. It has its role in producing the city for a reading public” (Donald 1997, 187). With regard to the novel, in particular, “How the city is narrated in novels – the structure and form of the genre – disseminates certain perspectives, certain ways of seeing, and so certain structures of imagination.” Some of the ways of narrating the city in the European novel have included:

The opposition between rural utopia and urban nightmare; the *Bildungsroman* narrative of heroic self-creation in the great city; the Dickensian search for the subterranean networks of community beneath the unreadable and irrational surface of the class-divided city; the social complexity of the city recorded through its demotic idioms and slang by French novelists from Balzac to Zola. (ibid.)

However, as we saw with images, narratives are also problematic when they aspire to a totalizing view. Regarding the 19th-Century novel of the city, James Donald writes that “the novel’s structural openness to the city’s multiple points of view and to the Babel of linguistic diversity gives the genre a semblance of democratic inclusiveness, an urban tolerance of difference” (Donald 1997, 187). At the same time, “the formal organisation of this plenitude often seems to embody a powerful will to domination, a desire to subjugate urban heterogeneity to the design of an omnipotent, panoptic narrator” (ibid.). Such totalizing,

“panoptic” narratives have been created, propagated, reinforced, and reproduced not only in literature, but also by the authorities, academia, the media, and corporations. The “master narratives” of patriarchy, the nation state, and empire have been criticized and interrogated by feminist and postcolonial theory. The creation of national languages and national literatures has been linked to the rise of the modern nation-state. In the Japanese context, the Japanese-language *monogatari* (tale, narrative) has been seen as inseparable from the Japanese nation and its emperor system (*tennōsei*) (Nakagami 1979/1990). In the modern period, the invention of a “standard (spoken) language” (*hyōjungo*) and a new written vernacular (*genbun itchi-tai*) were part and parcel of the rise of modern Japanese literature, and the modern Japanese novel was deeply implicated in the rise of the modern (and later Imperial) Japanese state (Treat 2018).

However, while narratives can be written, reproduced and reinforced, they can also be contested, re-written, and over-written (the palimpsest again). In Shanghai, for example, the revolutionary narrative of the communist period is being over-written by a new globalist narrative that draws “a line of continuity between the cosmopolitan culture of ‘old [prewar] Shanghai’ and the global, contemporary city to suggest that the present is the reappearance of the past” (Prakash 2008, 5). This narrative, however, is “selective;” it “skips over the city’s imperial and communist history” and “ransacks the past to suit the present... [it] glides over historical discontinuities and fuses the past and the present to create a single, spectacular image of Shanghai as a modern, global city” (ibid.). And it is not only global cities (or those that aspire to be global) that engage in this re-writing. In Hamilton, Canada, an industrial city not far from Toronto, the city government and local media engaged in a campaign in the 1980s to revamp the city’s former image as a “steeltown.” An article in a local newspaper read, in part:

This is a tale of two cities. Both are called Hamilton. One is the city you see and hear and smell when you pass without stopping on the Queen Elizabeth Way [a highway that bypasses most of the city]. The other is the whole city, the city of culture and parks, commerce and academics and scenery second to none. (quoted in Hall 1997, 206)

Although the article tries to justify its new narrative as true and complete (“the whole city”), it effects its modification of the existing narrative through a process of “enclosure and disclosure” – in other words, of downplaying or ignoring some aspects of the city while foregrounding and emphasizing others (Ibid.).

The municipal government of Birmingham, England, along with the local press, carried out a similar re-branding campaign as it constructed an International Convention Centre and Symphony Hall. In so doing, it was writing against a traditional “North-South” narrative in England, in which the North is constructed as “other” to the metropolitan South “in tones that reflect the construction of the ‘foreigner’ as other in early anthropological literature, concentrating on the strange accent, the alien landscape and unfathomable cultural practices” (Hall 1997, 209). Certain aspects of the traditional narrative were mobilized (the city’s industrial past contributing to the technological excellence of the Symphony Hall’s equipment, for example), but for the most part, the new narrative ignored the old by taking Birmingham out of a “North-South” dichotomy and “re-placing” it “centrally within certain positively valorised cultural spaces,” i.e., Europe and the world: the new Symphony Hall would be “the UK’s finest concert hall... Modelled on the great concert halls, such as the Musikvereinsaal, Vienna and the Concertgebouw, Amsterdam... Symphony Hall will provide a platform for the finest orchestras and artists in the world” (an article in a local newspaper, quoted in Hall 1997, 215).

In the preceding examples, note how the media joined the powers-that-be (the city governments) in re-writing the prevailing narrative. In fact, not only the media but many private citizens probably welcomed efforts to contest the stereotyped narrative of Hamilton as “steeltown” or of Birmingham and the North of England as peripheral, bleak, industrial, and working-class (Hall 1997, 209). Their “street-level gaze” as they negotiated their “preferred routes” through the city may have revealed to them a narrative that did not jibe with prevailing hegemonic narratives. The text of the city itself as lived by its inhabitants created an alternative narrative to those that had circulated in literature and the media. City-dwellers’ practices, rooted in “this, here, now” (Virginia Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, quoted in Donald 1997, 181), have the potential to “find a different poem by changing a single line” (Roland Barthes, quoted in Bryden 2012, 215). Every city-dweller (and visitor) is a “reader” of the city, who (as per reader reception theory) constructs his or her own reading. These alternative readings may reinforce or supplement, but they may also challenge the “official” narratives of city or national governments, the media, travel agents, etc. Further, the multiplicity of the city itself threatens to exceed any “master-narrative”: “narrative and the city offer potentiality; there are endless routes

to take” (Bryden 2012, 215). The city has been metaphorically seen as “a ‘babble of allusions,’ both architectural and linguistic,” and this babble can be seen as “frustrating the order of sequential, linear narrative” (Bryden 2012, 214).

In literature, too, narrative has the capacity to frustrate, destabilize, and resist other narratives and indeed itself. Mikhail Bakhtin posited an entire category of writing (distinct from epic and myth on the one hand and from poetry on the other) that, because of its “heteroglossia” and hybridity, possessed a quality (“novelness”) that made any single, totalizing reading impossible (see the essays in Bakhtin 1981). Even if we object to the breadth of Bakhtin’s definition of the novel, it is evident that there are certain kinds of novels, called “self-conscious” or “self-reflexive” by Michel Foucault, “reflexive” by Michael Boyd, “self-conscious” by Brian Stonehill, or “metafiction” by Patricia Waugh (quoted in Snyder 2000, 119-120) that go beyond or confound realist fiction. According to Michael Boyd,

The reflexive novelist will invent new techniques to shatter the illusion of realism. The intrusive narrator will take on new roles. Footnotes or rough drafts will be incorporated into the fiction. The reflexive novelist will use nonnovelistic material, space-time dislocation, collage, alternative endings, and parody to remind the reader that the novel is something made. (*The Reflexive Novel*, quoted in Snyder 2000, 144)

This category of novel includes not only Modernist and postmodern novels, but also older examples of the genre. Recall Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* with its metafictional references in the Second Part to the publication of the First Part, even though both parts are supposed to be translations of an old Arabic text; the narrator’s instructions to the reader in Lawrence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy* and the playful inclusion of a page printed solid black; Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* and its warnings on the danger of taking fiction for reality; or Melville’s *Moby Dick* with its obsessive incorporation of nonfictional material on whales and whaling. The reader of this kind of novel must take an even more active part than the reader of the realist novel in navigating the text and constructing his or her own reading. And many of these novels have been novels of the city: James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, Andrei Bely’s *Petersburg*, John Dos Passos’s *Manhattan Transfer*, Kawabata Yasunari’s *Asakusa kurenai-dan*, Yokomitsu Riichi’s *Shanghai*.

Another way in which the would-be totalizing narratives of literature are destabilized, diluted, and modified is through intertextuality. Any literary work uses the same resources of language – lexicon, expressions, metaphors, etc. – as previous works. Intertextuality (both intentional and unintentional on the part of the writer) is an inescapable feature of any literary work. Intertextual similarity will be even more evident in works that use the same register (consciously “literary” language, for example) or the same genre conventions (the epistolary novel, the confessional “I-Novel,” the detective novel, etc.), or when an author has been favorably influenced by a forerunner or mentor. Even in cases of negative influence – when a writer rebels against previous orthodoxy or consciously breaks with tradition – aspects of that orthodoxy or tradition may be reproduced, if only to be ridiculed or deconstructed. Thus, any work’s claim to a mastering authority is undermined by the traces of intertextuality in itself, which make it a work of multiple “voices.” And any work, no matter how seminal and authoritative, is open to modification, deconstruction, imitation, and outright parody by works that follow it.

1.3 Image and Text

To recap: First, the city has been understood in terms of image(s). The danger of the image is that it is a “sign that pretends not to be a sign” (W.J.T. Mitchell, quoted in Resina 2003, 15), something that appears to be an unproblematic, factual representation of reality, thus lending itself to use (or abuse) ideologically and in consumer capitalism by municipal authorities, national governments, the media, tourism, and corporations. These dangers are addressed by the concept of the “after-image,” which is “a temporalized, unstable, complex image brimming with the history of its production” (Resina 2003, 1-2). Thinking of the city in terms of after-images reminds us that images are created by agents, and allows us to address the great complexity and fast pace of change in the city.

Second, the city has been seen as a text. The dangers of text are potential mobilization of narratives for ideological use, and their possible reinforcement of hegemony’s “master narratives.” An antidote is provided by the alternative readings created by each and every city-dweller or visitor as he or she “reads” the text of the city anew each day. Authoritative narratives of the city can be contested, modified, and updated by other

narratives, and narrative itself becomes “many-voiced” through a process of intertextuality, in which each new narrative preserves traces of previous narratives, while simultaneously leaving itself open to possible “re-writing” by succeeding narratives.

It seems possible to see the modern/postmodern city as both image and text. In fact, each of these conceptualizations has “bled over” into the other. Recall that de Certeau’s “practice” was explained in terms of a “street-level gaze of ordinary inhabitants whose preferred routes through the city may challenge the directions of conventional maps” (quoted in Edwards 2012, 173). The mixed metaphors of this explanation – visual but also narrative – show how close, in fact, the two conceptualizations are. In explaining the “after-image,” which is “static image + time,” Resina references film, which is in fact narrative in nature (Resina 2003, 11). Meanwhile, Tim Hall calls the process of re-writing the city narratives of Hamilton, Canada and Birmingham, England (see above) “re-imagining” (Hall 1997, 204). It seems fruitful to explain the city as image while also likening it to text, or as text while also likening it to image. In fact, Resina writes, “the term ‘after-image’ applies to the interpretation of both visual and linguistic messages...” (Resina 2003, 15). Note that another concept we have met, the palimpsest, is both a visual and textual metaphor: an actual palimpsest is a text, in which traces of previous texts are visually apparent.

What is important to emphasize is that, whether the city is conceptualized as image, text, or palimpsest, these *mental* conceptualizations are integral to the *physical* city that we live in. Recall that for Resina, an image is always “a processed bit of knowledge” (Ibid., 2); they are never “purely sensorial, language-free icons” (Ibid., 16). After-images of a city are not isolated, static, direct representations of reality, but rather have a temporal and narrative aspect that is implicated in the various “histories” of the city, both official histories and the daily experiences of inhabitants. The city is the physical city outside of us *and* the mental city in our heads: “The *living* space of the city exists as representation and experience as much as it exists as bricks and mortar or concrete and steel” (Donald 1997, 182; emphasis in original). Or, as we have seen above, “The bricks and mortar do not exist apart from representations, nor are our ideas without material consequences...” (Prakash 2008, 7). Thus, the conceptualizations of a city in literature, and the way these conceptualizations are reimagined/rewritten by successive works, have important consequences for how the city is experienced by its “users,” both residents and visitors. Let us turn now to an example of the intertextual process by which a city’s (after-)image/narrative is created, referenced, contested, and modified: modern Japanese literary works set in Tokyo.

2. The City in Literature: Reimagining/Rewriting

Though Edo (which would be renamed “Tokyo” at the time of the 1868 Meiji Restoration) was the upstart among the three great cities of premodern Japan – Kyō (Kyoto), Osaka, and Edo – by the latter half of the Edo Period (especially after the Bunka/Bunsei Eras of 1804-1831), Edo had become the center for the production and consumption of culture, especially plays and fiction. It was this culture that was eulogized in the modern period by Nagai Kafū (1879-1959); for example, traditional music in “Fukagawa no uta” (1908) and “Ame shōshō” (1921), or plays in *Sumidagawa* (1909). But he also eulogized the traces of the old city that were still to be found in the modernizing Tokyo. Kafū never merely wallows in nostalgia; the traces of the old are always situated within the tissue of the new city. In “Kitsune” (1908), the old well with its attendant dead willow – a scene reminiscent of an Edo ghost story – are part of the garden of a former Edo mansion, now part of the grounds of the modern house of a Meiji bureaucrat, the father of the narrator. The map of old Edo is being overwritten by Meiji. In “Botan no kyaku” (1909; translated as “The Peony Garden,” 1965), the narrator and his geisha friend Koren take a traditional mode of transport – a hand-sculled boat – up an old canal to see a traditional “famous place,” the peonies of Honjo, but the traces of modern Tokyo are everywhere: the streetcars before they board the boat, the new houses at the mouth of the canal, the lumberyards full of materials for more building. And the narrator and his companion are disappointed by the peonies, concluding with the following exchange (Nagai 1997, 51):

“Famous places are always a disappointment.”
“Let’s go back.”
“Yes, let’s go back.”

The final exchange is ambiguous (even more in English translation than in the original Japanese), leaving open the possibility that they mean to “go back” to the past or to some idealized home, or to “go back” to the starting point of the boat journey, the modern intersection with its clattering streetcars. “Fukagawa no uta” is

another journey into the past, introducing the old neighborhood of Fukagawa only after a long journey by streetcar through modern streets of slapdash, mismatched modern construction.

As we will see below, Kafū adopted this backward-looking, nostalgic pose again in the much later *Bokutō kidan* (1937), now looking back on Meiji from the Shōwa era. More importantly, he continued to use the same “feet on the ground” approach to writing the city. A similar approach can be seen in works by Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972), though he is not usually considered an inheritor of Kafū. In *Asakusa kurenai-dan* (1930), the fragmentary structure of which certainly makes it one of those “reflexive novels” discussed above, Kawabata does many things, interweaving a melodramatic story (Yumiko’s machinations to avenge her sister’s rape by Akagi by poisoning him with an “arsenic kiss”) with “reporting” on the denizens of Asakusa, facts and figures on poverty and homelessness in Tokyo, history and legend pertaining to the Sensōji Temple, and reminiscences of Asakusa and its vaudeville culture before the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake. Although the novel is fragmentary and heterogeneous, its narrator’s primary pose is that of a guide introducing a little-known world to the reader. Names of streets, theaters, buildings, bus stops, and schools are specified, and we accompany the narrator several times on “walks” around Asakusa. At the beginning of the novel, after introducing the Edo-period figure of the bird-catcher, the supposed history of the Uma-michi road in Asakusa, and a midnight scene in the grounds of the Sensōji Temple in which Yumiko laughs at the narrator for being a “tourist,” the narrator assumes his role as guide:

Here, let me unfold it before you, dear reader, the newly revised “Showa Map” ... Look, right here the Asakusa motor bus runs along the asphalt road between Uguisudani in Ueno and the Kototoi Bridge. Walking north from the bus stop in back of the Sensō, the Asakusa Kannon Temple, you see Umamichi-machi is on the right and Senzoku-machi is on the left. Go on a bit, passing the Kisakata Police Station on the left, and the Fuji Elementary School on the right. Then, after the Sengen Shrine, you come to a crossroads. Walk along the stone wall of the shrine, and you pass the public market, then the Kamiarai Bridge, spanning the banks of the Yoshiwara canal. But before reaching the bridge, there is a certain alley... (Kawabata 2005, 4-5; tr. Alisa Freedman)

Despite the narrator’s being called a “tourist” by a local, the reader accepts the fiction that he is a knowledgeable guide. Although the fragmented, eclectic novel is disorienting upon the first reading, most readers are capable of reading it as a melodramatic narrative *and* as a sort of tourist guidebook *and* as nostalgic reminiscences of the pre-1923 Asakusa *and* as a syncopated, kaleidoscopic representation of Asakusa itself. In his attempt to “write” Asakusa, Kawabata has incorporated both narratives and images. The narratives are destabilized by being fragmented and interrupted by the narrator, by historical material, and by kaleidoscopic images, and the images are not static, “official” representations but dynamic, changing ones, superimposed on images from the past, pre-earthquake Asakusa. This novel of the city, like the city itself, is made up of diverse images and narratives, reinforcing, contesting, and replacing each other.

Kafū’s *Bokutō kidan* (1937; translated by Edward Seidensticker as “A Strange Tale from East of the River,” 1972) is no less reflexive a novel than *Asakusa kurenai-dan*. The conventional view of *Bokutō kidan* seems to be that it is an elegiac tale of the love between an aging writer (Ōe Tadasu) and a prostitute (Oyuki) in the run-down Tamanoi district to the east of the Sumida River. But any reduction of the novel to a simple “love story” is destabilized by the fragments of reportage, history, and personal reminiscence. Above all, other texts break up the narrative line: quotations from Ōe’s (actually Kafū’s) previous works, a letter received many years ago from a lover, a poem from *Dream of the Red Chamber*, *kanbun* (classical Chinese as written in pre-modern Japan) from Yoda Gakkai’s *Bokusui nijūyon keiki* (*Twenty-four Views of the Sumida*), old haiku of Ōe’s, and quoted passages from *Shissō* (*Whereabouts Unknown*), a novel-within-a-novel being written by the protagonist. According to Stephen Snyder, all this is not mere experimentation, but instead foregrounds *fiction*, pointing out inescapably the fictionality of any “love” between a prostitute and a paying customer, but emphasizing the fictional nature of the relationship between Oyuki and Ōe in particular (Snyder 2000, Ch. 5). Both characters dissemble, if they do not actually lie: Ōe changes his clothes before setting off for Tamanoi in what amounts to a disguise, “dressing down” to blend in in the more plebian districts. He hides the fact that he visits the area (at least in part) to gather material for his novel. Oyuki is quick to assume that he is an author of pornographic books. For her part, Oyuki answers Ōe’s questions about her background evasively.

Bokutō kidan's foregrounding of fictionality also cautions the reader against equating Kafū with his protagonist, and against seeing the descriptions of Tamanoi as factual recordings of Kafū's own peregrinations there. Nevertheless, large parts of the novel use a "feet on the ground" approach like Kawabata's in *Asakusa kurenai-dan*, guiding the reader into the little-known world across the Sumida River. In fact, *Bokutō kidan* almost seems to start from where Kawabata left off, beginning its explorations from Asakusa. The opening sentence of the novel is "I almost never go to a moving picture." The narrator prefers reading to movies, but as they are so popular, he makes a point of looking at movie billboards when he passes a movie theater, and "Asakusa is the part of town where one can see the most moving-picture billboards at a single viewing." (Nagai 1972, 106). Then begins the narration of the first scene of the novel:

It was on an evening when the wind was beginning to get less chilly.¹ I had looked at all the billboards and was walking from the edge of the park toward Sensōku. Kototoi Bridge was to the right, Iriya to the left. Which way should I go, I asked myself. . . . I remembered as I walked north that I knew a secondhand bookstore below the embankment.

(Nagai 1972, 106-107; tr. Edward Seidensticker)

This walk of the narrator's begins at almost exactly the same spot – north of the Sensōji Temple, walking north through an area bordered by the Sumida River on the right and the Yoshiwara on the left – as that of the narrator who guided us toward that "certain alley" in *Asakusa Kurenai-dan* (see above). Kawabata's narrator took us off the beaten path to show us the lair of the Scarlet Gang, but, ironically, *Asakusa kurenai-dan* made the popular entertainment district even more well-known: "It... created a kind of Asakusa vogue... Having read the novel, people started to come to see the place, and for a time it commanded the attention of what Kawabata disdainfully called the 'Ginza people'" (Ritchie 2005, xxix-xxx). Kafū's narrator sets off from Kawabata's now well-known "preferred route," but leads us into the world of the past in a used bookstore, and then, in succeeding scenes, across the river into Tamanoi. Whether Kafū consciously intended to update Kawabata's work or not, he ends up re-writing the textual city, from almost the same starting point.

3. An Intertextual "Osaka Tradition"

Although Kawabata's *Asakusa kurenai-dan* and Kafū's works were firmly grounded in the city of Tokyo, they were arguably some of the last Tokyo works to have their "feet on the ground." Especially in the postwar period, an increasing number of works are set in a Tokyo which is a metonym for "modern city life in Japan" or even "modern city life" in general. The names of Tokyo neighborhoods scattered throughout Tanaka Yasuo's *Nantonaku, kurisutaru* (1980), for example, like the numerous brand-names that also appear, serve merely to represent the trendy, modern lifestyle of the novel's characters in Tokyo. More often, the characters in postwar novels set in Tokyo inhabit anonymous city neighborhoods, which might be anywhere in Japan (or even anywhere urban in the world).

In contrast, many Osaka authors and works seem to be conscious of their setting in Osaka, and, more, that the setting is *not* Tokyo. Although the Edo period saw a "balance of power" among the three great cities – Kyō, the imperial capital; Edo, the seat of the shōgun's "military government"; and Osaka, the merchant capital or "kitchen of Japan" (*tenka no daidokoro*) – in which cultural and dialectal differences among the three cities were highlighted in works like Jippensha Ikku's *Tōkai dōchū hizakurige* (*Travels on the Eastern Seaboard*, 1802-1809) and in sayings like "Kyoto people bankrupt themselves on clothes, Osaka people on food, and Edo people on footwear" (*Kyō no kidaore, Osaka no kuidaore, Edo no hakidaore*), the "center" of production and consumption of culture (*jōruri* puppet plays, *kabuki*, and various genres of poetry, fiction, and other writing, woodblock prints, etc.), which had been in Kyō and Osaka up to Genroku Era (1688-1704), gradually shifted to Edo by the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-1830). This shift was solidified in the modern era by Emperor Meiji's relocation to Edo, which became Tokyo, the "Eastern Capital." Thereafter, modernization proceeded apace, not only in Tokyo but in every city (and indeed in the countryside, too), but there is a persistent idea that everything modern began in Tokyo and only subsequently proceeded to the other cities and regions of Japan.² Osaka built its own port (*chikkō*) from 1897 to 1929, and rebuilt the keep

¹ Translation amended from Seidensticker's, which has "It was on a late-summer evening when the wind was getting chilly..." The original Japanese is 「夕風も追々寒くなくなって来た或日のことである。」 (Nagai 1937/1991, 8). Interestingly, the English translation by Glenn Anderson also makes the same mistake: "It happened one day, around the time when the evening breezes had begun to grow ever cooler." (Nagai 2013, 7).

² On the Modern in the Hanshin region, see Kawauchi 1990, Ch. 4-5, and Hanshinkan Modanizumu-ten Jikkō Inkai 1997.

(*tenshu*) of Osaka Castle in reinforced concrete from 1930 to 1931, both largely financed by contributions from the business world and everyday citizens. The Edo-period merchant city with its many canals³ (called by one foreign observer the “Venice of the Orient”) refashioned itself into an industrial city (the “Manchester of the Orient”). Confident in its self-image as a modern, industrial city, neither capital nor countryside (thus falling outside the traditional binary configuration “the capital and the provinces”), Osaka was Japan’s second city, and, for a brief period from the expansion of the city limits in 1925 until Tokyo’s similar expansion in 1932, was the largest city in Japan in both population and area. All of this gave Osaka and Osakans a strong sense of identity and of rivalry with Tokyo.

Writers seem to have identified no less strongly with Osaka, but simultaneously felt an ambivalence toward their hometown due to its perceived unfriendliness toward and lack of understanding of the arts and literature. Regarding the mild climate and physical comforts of Osaka and the Kansai, Osaka native Koide Narashige (1887-1931), a Western-style painter and essayist, wrote:

If I were still the pampered son of a rich Osaka family, inheritor of the family property and successor to the generations-long family business, of a position that would allow me to spend my free the time in the pleasure quarters of Osaka North and South, and the time left over from that in dance-halls and hotels, and the time left over from that on golf and automobiles, and the time left over from that in becoming a city councilman, and the time left over from that preening my mistress, and spent the last little stingy bit of time quarreling with my wife, I would no doubt think that there is no place as free of straight-laced, stuffy social classes, as relaxed, as cheery, and with as mild a climate and as beautiful scenery as Osaka. (Koide 1936/1987; tr. Murakami-Smith)

“If” is the operative word here: although Koide was in fact the son of a prosperous pharmaceutical merchant, he chose the “somewhat melancholy pursuit” of painting (*ibid.*). For those interested in scholarship, literature, or art, Osaka is:

...too relaxed, too cheery, and uncomplicated, and also ... too upbeat. In a word, there are too many distractions to concentrate on studying. As a painter I often hear this kind of “compliment”: “What a great racket you guys got: dash off a few scribbles with a brush, and you’ve made a hundred or five hundred yen. What an easy life!” (*ibid.*)

According to Nabei Katsuyuki (1888-1969), another Osaka artist, “for artists from Osaka, the ‘Osaka Soul’ is a heavy burden, and all the artists we know from Osaka curse this ‘Osaka Soul’ within them” (quoted in Uno 1936/1973). And with regard to creating art *about* Osaka, Nabei asserts that “It is very difficult to write intoxicatedly of ‘Osaka’ while simultaneously thinking, ‘That vulgar stuff can go to hell.’ And *unless* one thinks, ‘That vulgar stuff can go to hell,’ one cannot be a truly artistic Osakan.” (*ibid.*)

This ambivalence toward their hometown and its lack of understanding of the arts and literature has led many writers to relocate to Tokyo to pursue their literary careers in the center of the literary world (the *bundan*): Uno Kōji and Kamizukasa Shōken before the war, Tomioka Taeko and Shōno Junzō in the postwar period, Murakami Haruki (from the Hanshin area between Osaka and Kobe), Machida Kō, Kawakami Mieko, Shibasaki Tomoka, and Nishi Kanako in recent years. Some alternate between writing stories set in Osaka and stories set in a nondescript contemporary city (Tomioka, Machida, Kawakami, Shibasaki); others mostly eschew Osaka and the Kansai for settings in the modern metropolis (Murakami Haruki) or newly-subdivided suburbia (Shōno Junzō). Others, however, continue to interrogate (write and over-write) what it means to be from Osaka and to compare Osaka and Tokyo. In doing so, they join writers who remained in Osaka and the Kansai (Oda Sakunosuke, the poet Ono Tōzaburō, Tanabe Seiko, Miyamoto Teru) in an “Osaka Tradition.”

There is no accepted genre of “Osaka Literature” as such within modern Japanese Literature, but I have previously argued in favor of such a category (Murakami-Smith 2014). Kobayashi Yutaka, too, in his *Osaka to kindai bungaku* uses the term “*Osaka mono*.” Literally meaning “Osaka things,” Kobayashi applies this label to not only to literary works but also movies and TV shows set in Osaka or written by Osakans (Kobayashi 1989, 37). Thus, we might translate the term as “Osaka Literature” or, more broadly, an “Osaka

³ Like the port and the keep of Osaka Castle, a majority of these canals had been financed by local merchants and not by the samurai government.

Tradition.” Osaka writers, like the rest of us (non-artistic Osakans, Tokyo natives, expatriate residents, tourists, etc.) have an image of Osaka, created from received images (official histories, municipal publicity materials, movies, TV, literary works, etc.) as well as our individual experiences living in the city. If, as Nabei argues, Osaka writers and artists have an ambivalent relationship with Osaka, we might expect that their relationship to various images of Osaka may also be conflicted. By writing about Osaka, authors reproduce and reinforce some of these received images, while rejecting, modifying, or replacing others. They both participate in and re-write an intertextual tradition of images and narratives of Osaka.

4. Writing in and against the “Osaka Tradition”

4.1 Kawabata Yasunari, Takeda Rintarō

We have seen how an intertextual thread seems to run from Kawabata’s *Asakusa kurenai-dan* (1930) to Kafū’s *Bokutō kidan* (1937), as Kafū’s narrator Ōe, setting off from Asakusa, extends the peregrinations of Kawabata’s narrator across the Sumida River to the Tamanoi district. *Asakusa kurenai-dan* was written during Kawabata’s New Perceptionist (*Shin Kankaku-ha*) phase in a fragmented, consciously Modernist mode. Kafū, too, can be seen as a Modernist who, in *Bokutō kidan*, wrote a thoroughly self-reflexive novel (Snyder 2000), despite the prevailing view of this book as an elegiac love story. Linking Kafū and Kawabata in this way can illuminate facets of both authors which have been elided in the traditionally prevailing views of the two: Kafū as an elegiac, cranky dilettante (a “scribbler” in the title of Seidensticker’s monograph); Kawabata as an ethereal, delicate, “traditional” writer who (in the words of the Nobel Committee upon awarding him the prize in Literature for 1968) expressed “the essence of the Japanese mind” (Österling 1968).

In the same way, we can also trace an intertextual thread from Kawabata to Takeda Rintarō (1904-1946). Takeda is usually classified as a Proletarian writer, while Kawabata began as a New Perceptionist. These two “schools” of literature in the Taishō and early Shōwa eras have been seen as antithetical, with the New Perceptionists championing “art for art’s sake” and the Proletarians espousing propagandistic content to advance the cause of the workers. But Kawabata and Takeda knew each other, and both were interested in Asakusa. “Nihon sanmon opera” (1932; translated as “Japan’s Threepenny Opera”), one of Takeda’s “city pieces” written after he moved away from the more overt ideological content of his “Proletarian” works, is set in a plebian apartment house in Asakusa, and the work’s fragmentary structure (the stories of each tenant are told in turn) and its focus on the lower-middle-class tenants are somewhat reminiscent of *Asakusa kurenai-dan*, serialized just two years before. Takeda’s “Kamagasaki” (1933), with its colorful cast of characters (the homeless, prostitutes, gamblers) seems even more akin to the Kawabata work. Like *Asakusa kurenai-dan*, this story follows a narrator on a walk through a city neighborhood, in this case the Kamagasaki district of Osaka. Like the narrator of *Asakusa kurenai-dan*, who is depicted as both a “tourist” and someone “in the know” about the members of the Scarlet Gang and other denizens of Asakusa, the main character of “Kamagasaki” is described as both an insider and an outsider. He was born and raised in Kamagasaki, but is now a novelist living and working in Tokyo. The story begins by quoting a certain “local history of Osaka” and its description of Kamagasaki: “In the past, a number of outsiders, it is said, without the services of a guide, strayed deep into this dense warren, and . . . disappeared without a trace.” After an explanation of the district’s location with reference to municipal streetcar and National Railway lines and the Kishu Post Road thoroughfare, the narrative begins: “On a winter evening in 1932, a small ‘outsider’ in Japanese dress walked alone along this main street...” (Takeda 1933/1978, tr. Murakami-Smith). The main character is also an “outsider” in that he is the member of a higher socioeconomic class than the denizens of Kamagasaki (a “gentleman,” in their words). Nevertheless, he guides the reader away from the main street and into the “dense warren” of Kamagasaki for a night’s sojourn, and then back out again the next morning. The story ends with another quotation, this time from “‘A History of Substandard Residential Areas of Osaka City,’ issued by the Osaka City Hall,” which emphasizes the poverty of Kamagasaki’s residents, the poor construction of their dwellings, the lack of adequate sanitation, etc. By using these “official” narratives to frame the personalized, “feet on the ground” account of the main character’s night in Kamagasaki, Takeda contests prevalent views of the district as a problem, a threat, or an embarrassment, depicting the destitute characters in a sympathetic light.

In “Kamagasaki,” Takeda also applies the methods Kawabata used to capture Asakusa to an Osaka neighborhood, thus not only highlighting Takeda’s status as a native of Osaka, but also reminding us that Kawabata himself was from Osaka (from a village in what is now part Ibaraki City). Seeing both writers as members of an “Osaka Tradition” can reveal similarities in their works, despite the fact that they are usually

classified as belonging to two opposing schools of literature. In the following sections, let us take a further look at authors and works that we could classify as belonging to this “Osaka Tradition.”

4.2 Kamizukasa Shōken, Uno Kōji, Oda Sakunosuke

The Osaka tradition in literature has roots that go back at least as far as the Edo period: Ihara Saikaku (1642?-1693) and Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725) were writing tales and staging plays set in Osaka in a period centered on the Genroku Era (1688-1704). The work Kobayashi Yutaka places at the beginning of the *modern* tradition of “*Osaka mono*” is Kamizukasa Shōken’s “Hamo no kawa” (1914, tr. “The Skin of the Pike Conger Eel,” Kamizukasa 2014) (Kobayashi 1989, 37). This work shows its debt to the pre-modern tradition by adopting a pair of (stereo)typical Osaka characters, the practical, hard-working woman with a good head for business and devoted to her man, and her good-for-nothing husband. This pair of characters can be seen (with some variation) in Chikamatsu’s plays, such as *Sonezaki shinjū* (1703) and *Shinjū ten no Amijima* (1720). In “Hamo no kawa,” Ofumi runs her family’s restaurant single-handedly, while her husband Fukuzō has incurred debts and run off to Tokyo. The setting also nods to the Osaka tradition in its setting on the Dōtombori, Osaka’s premier theater and entertainment district. The story begins with an image that resonates even today: “It was the time of evening when the lights along the Dōtombori begin to be worth looking at...” (Kamizukasa 2014, 1). If we view “Hamo no kawa” through the lens of the “Osaka Tradition,” we can see how the work provided elements that would be reproduced and reworked by later works in that tradition.

In his 1936 essay “Osaka,” Uno Kōji begins with the row house he lived in as a boy in Sōemonchō on the north side of the Dōtombori Canal, reproducing parts of his 1925 story “Jukken roji” (“Ten-House Alley,” Uno 1925/1972). He then recounts a walk during a visit to Osaka (he lived in Tokyo at the time), when he met a friend who took him to the former location of the ten-house alley. Reminiscing, he and the friend walked to the Dōtombori theater district, and down Hōzenji Alley, one of the scenes of Kamizukasa’s story. Uno introduces the *zenzai* (sweet red-bean broth) shop in the Alley and the *Otafuku* doll that serves as its sign, and quotes from “Hamo no kawa”:

“This Otafuku is pretty old, isn’t it? She’s always got the same expression no matter how many years pass... I bet she’s been here since you were a child, Uncle.”

... Ofumi thought the appearance of the statue ... had not changed at all since the first time she had seen it several decades before. From the first time she had seen this Otafuku statue as a child to today, countless things had happened, Ofumi thought. And in the future, she wondered, how long would this statue continue to show her smiling face?

“My old Granny, who’s dead now, said it’d been here since she was a child, so it’s gotta be pretty old,” said Gentarō. He tried imagining what it was like when his grandmother, who had died the year before last at age 71, had first seen this Otafuku statue.

(Uno 1936/1973, 128-9; translation from Kamizukasa 2012, 13)

In this conversation, both Ofumi and her uncle seem to see the Otafuku doll as something enduring that watches the chaotic, ephemeral lives of passers-by. Uno, too, seems to want to cling to something unchanging: his “ten-house alley” is gone, and even the environs are so changed that he had not recognized where he was. In the passage that follows the quote above, Gentarō continues his musings:

In those days, they say, Sennichi-mae was a cemetery, but was this place (a couple of blocks away) already as bustling as today, with people walking around smelling the aromas of the dishes ranged in the restaurants? Those dishes had all gone into the stomachs of people, and later those people had died one by one. Still later, new people came to make foods, range them on the counters, and walk around, and then they, too, had died one by one. How long would this Otafuku statue continue to watch this endless round?

(Kamizukasa 1914/1952, 44; translation from Kamizukasa 2012, 13)

In this striking vision of a kind of reincarnation (*tenshō rinne*) through food, Kamizukasa’s story uses its Osaka setting as a background that spotlights the uncertainty of the characters’ lives (especially Ofumi’s). And as Gentarō’s musings ask what remains unchanging and what is transformed in the history of a city, the modern reader cannot help but project the “endless round” of food and the people who eat it into the present day.

The shop with its Otafuku doll is the “*meoto zenzai*” shop that provides Oda Sakunosuke with the title and the final scene of his 1940 “Meoto zenzai” (tr. as “Hooray for Marriage, or Sweet Beans for Two” by Burton Watson). “*Meoto*” means “husband and wife” (the shop so named because the broth is served in a matching pair of bowls), and the “husband and wife” depicted in Oda’s story, Chōko and Ryūkichi, are a pair of Osaka characters on the pattern of Ofumi and Fukuzō in “Hamo no kawa.” Thus, Oda appears to have adopted the shop from Kamizukasa by way of Uno, and the characters from Chikamatsu by way of Kamizukasa. “Meoto zenzai” also mirrors its predecessor’s strong consciousness of the Osaka setting with its numerous names of Osaka places and restaurants. Oda’s story has its own “endless round” of food and people, as Ryūkichi guides Chōko to the cheap restaurants of Osaka South (*Minami*):

... soon she found she rather enjoyed racing around from spot to spot trying unglamorous dishes. And squeezing in among the customers until she found room enough to rest her back end wasn’t, she reflected, really so awful a pastime for one of the most sought-after geisha in the northern licensed quarter. ... And after she and Ryūkichi had eaten all they could hold, they would go off to the Kagetsu Theater in Hōzenji and listen to the storyteller Harudanji tell his funny stories and would laugh their heads off and hold hands till their palms were all sweaty.
(Oda 1994b, 11, tr. Burton Watson)

“Meoto zenzai” joins the Osaka Tradition by reproducing some elements that Oda found in the previous works of Chikamatsu, Kamizukasa and Uno. Another influence is that of Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693), seen in the lists (a list of *tempura* ingredients and one of bill collectors that pester Chōko’s parents both appear in the opening pages of the story), specific amounts of money, names of Osaka neighborhoods and eateries, and specific Osaka foods. Some of the Osaka foods may be unfamiliar to readers who are not Osaka natives; according to Maeda Ai, for Tokyo readers, “the impossibility of grasping the true nature of this low-class food is probably linked together as one with the strangeness of the bond that keeps the hard-working Chōko and the useless [*kaishō-nashi*] Ryūkichi together as husband and wife” (Maeda 1986; tr. Murakami-Smith). However, within the Osaka Tradition, that “bond” is not so strange: it is the same bond that linked characters in Chikamatsu’s plays, and the same that linked Ofumi and her absent husband Fukuzō in “Hamo no kawa.” Maeda does hazard that “what made Ryūkichi’s tie with Chōko possible must have been his limitless passion for eating.” (ibid.) This is exactly what we see in the passage quoted above, and, indeed, in “Hamo no kawa” as well, in which the pike conger eel skin of the story’s title is a tenuous link between Ofumi and her absent husband, a local Osaka food that serves as a reminder of home and that just might prove strong enough to bring him home.

Even if the non-Osaka reader of “Meoto zenzai” is unfamiliar with the particular Osaka foods that appear in the story, the idea of the importance of food and eating is a familiar part of the image (stereotype) of Osaka. Thus, Oda reproduces and reinforces at least this part of the stereotype. In other stories and essays, however, Oda often rejected typical images of Osaka and Osakans. The opening lines of his story “Ki no miyako” (1944; translated as “City of Trees” by Burton Watson) respond to an assertion of Uno’s in his essay “Osaka,” that Osaka is “a city without trees” (Uno 1936/1973; tr. Murakami-Smith). In “Ki no miyako,” Oda re-writes this image rather than reinforcing it: “People say that Osaka is a city with no trees, but when I think back to my childhood I find I have a remarkable number of memories that involve trees” (Oda 1994a, 107). Oda continues in this revisionist mode to explain that, although the area where he grew up was called “Uemachi” (“high town”), it was not a high-class area like the Yamanote district in Tokyo; rather it was a kind of “shitamachi” (“low town”/plebian district) even though it was physically located up on a bluff. The narrator revisits his childhood neighborhood to take care of some errands after the death of his parents, and re-writing or overwriting becomes a theme in the story: the eaves of the shops and houses in the narrator’s childhood neighborhood seem lower than in the past (because, he realizes he has grown up), and he discovers that a beloved bookstore has been replaced by a classical record shop. It turns out, however, that the shop is run by the former owner of a café the narrator used to frequent when he attended the Third Higher School in Kyoto (forerunner of Kyoto University), thus allowing him to re-connect with the “second phase” of his youth (Oda 1994a, 118). The family of the record shop owner becomes a kind of surrogate family for the narrator, replacing the family he has lost through the death of his parents, but in the end, the family relocates to Nagoya (the son has been drafted as a student factory worker in the war effort), and the narrator has to set aside nostalgia: “The pleasant recollections of my youthful years had come to an end, it seemed, and some quite new reality had now swung around into position to confront me” (Oda 1994a, 124). Given the date of composition of this story, 1944, it seems clear that the “new reality” is the war, which altered the circumstances of every citizen’s life, and, with the Allied bombing of the Home Islands, overwrote the very

streets of Osaka and other cities with destruction. (We will return to Oda's attempts to come to terms with the destruction of his beloved Osaka in the Conclusion.)

"City of Trees" responds to and resonates with not only Uno's essay "Osaka," but also with Kitao Ryōnosuke's nonfictional *Kindai Ōsaka* ("modern Osaka," 1932). Compare:

"... once, looking east from the balcony of a building somewhere in Sennichi-mae or Dōtombori, I saw – unusually for Osaka – wooded hills spreading across the eastern skyline, and from among that bushy greenery arising in layer upon layer the curves of surprisingly large tiled roofs, as if dozens of tents had been pitched there. I realized that it was the bluffs of Teramachi... 'So there are places like that even in Osaka...'"

(Kitao 1932/1989, 207-208; tr. Murakami-Smith)

"Try going up in one of the tall buildings in the Sennichi-mae area. If you look east toward the Kōzu bluff on the north and the Ikutama and Yūhigaoka bluffs that flank it on the south, you will see that, beyond the smoke and dust that smudge the air, there is still a mass of luxuriant green there, its depths peaceful and silent as they have been for centuries."

(Oda 1944/1970; tr. Oda 1994a, 107)

Oda's use of material from Kitao's *Kindai Ōsaka* in "Ki no miyako" has been noted by Miyagawa Yasushi, who points out the following example (Miyagawa 1999, 189).

Moss grew profusely on the house of a Buddhist sculptor bearing a sign carved in bas relief with the word "Artist," and an old well by the side of the road, now unused and neglected, also brought to mind days past. (Kitao 1932/1989, 217; tr. Murakami-Smith)

The streets connecting the temple and shrine areas were musty with the odor of the past, as symbolized by the almost perversely plain sign that hung in front of the sculptor of Buddhist images, a board carved in bas relief with the single word ARTIST.

(Oda 1944/1970; tr. Oda 1994a, 112)

In "City of Trees," by objecting to Uno's characterization of Osaka as a "city with no trees," and by echoing Kitao's description, Oda joins, reproduces, and rewrites an Osaka Tradition, rather than merely writing a story based on his own nostalgic recollections of his former neighborhood. Like the Osaka artists and writers alluded to by Koide and Nabei, Oda's attitude toward his hometown was also initially ambivalent. In the essay "Osaka, Osaka," Oda recalled that while studying for admission to middle school (equivalent to high school today), he "made great efforts to escape from Osaka dialect," and that when he lived in Tokyo for a few years (after graduating from Kyoto's Third Higher School), he "spent a foolish amount of effort learning Tokyo dialect" (Oda 1941; tr. Murakami-Smith). It was only after returning to Osaka after these years spent as a "wanderer" that his initial interest in writing drama turned to a desire to write fiction set in his native Osaka. He had overcome his formerly ambivalent attitude by rediscovering his hometown through new eyes refreshed by years spent away, and also through reading other writers who had written on Osaka – Saikaku, Kamizukasa, Uno, Kitao. However, despite the similarity between Oda's and Kitao's descriptions of the Uemachi Bluff quoted above, Oda did not merely reproduce previous works in the Osaka Tradition. As he did with Uno's essay, he also rejected or modified extant images of Osaka when they did not jibe with his own experience. His feet remained "on the ground" – in "City of Trees," each meeting with the family of the record store proprietor is introduced by the narrator walking up the Kuchinawa Slope, one of the routes from the busy districts below to the neighborhood atop the Uemachi Bluff. In the next section, we will see how Oda used other descriptive passages from Kitao's *Kindai Ōsaka* in his 1941 story "Uma jigoku," modifying them to suit his own purposes.

4.3 Kitao Ryōnosuke, Oda Sakunosuke

Oda's use of Kitao's *Kindai Ōsaka* as a source for his own fiction has been likened to "remixing" or "sampling" by Saitō Masao in his book *Shōsetsuka, Oda Sakunosuke* (Saitō 2020, part 2, Ch. 1-2). Kitao's book was volume 3 in his series *Kinki keikan* ("views of the Kinki region"), but, as pointed out by Unno Hiroshi in his "Afterword" to the facsimile reprint, *Kindai Ōsaka* is an anomaly in the series because it introduces scenes and vignettes of *modern* Osaka, rather than focusing mostly on traditional famous sites, as do the other

volumes in the series (Unno 1988). Thus, Kitao's work was already rewriting traditional, pre-existing images of Osaka. Kitao was also a photographer, and the book includes many photographs, but also introduces many scenes and locations not shown in photos, displaying Kitao's considerable descriptive and narrative ability. Saitō notes that the geographer Katō Masayoshi has pointed out Kitao's influence on several of Oda's essays. Saitō himself investigates the influence of the sections of *Kindai Ōsaka* entitled "Taminobashi fukin" ("near Tamino Bridge") and "Kawaguchi fūkei" ("views of Kawaguchi") on Oda's 1941 story "Uma jigoku" (Saitō 2020, 100-101).

Saitō first contrasts passages from Kitao's "Taminobashi fukin" and "Uma jigoku."

At about four in the afternoon, taxicabs gather at the approaches to the bridges. They lie in wait for the company workers who, at quitting time, spill out in all directions from the big buildings in the vicinity.

In fact, there are probably few other places that disgorge so many salaried workers all at once. At present the Osaka Building is the superlative large building in Osaka, and Osaka Imperial University, and the University Hospital, and the Central Telephone Office, and the Chamber of Commerce buildings are all filled with commuters. Try standing on Tamino Bridge for a while at dusk, and watch the steps of the young intelligentsia paint an urban scene here. You will no doubt smile to pick out among them lively examples of a certain class of modern women. High heels, felt hats, no stockings, bobbed hair, lipstick, purple *hakama* trousers and white nurse uniforms – groups of working women of every sort spread out white and red parasols toward the setting sun atop the bridge.

Walking quietly in a small planted area on the bank of the river in front of the Osaka University Hospital, I gaze on the inverted image of the Osaka Building reflected on the ripples of the river, divided by the Tamino Bridge...

(Kitao 1932/1989, 228-229; tr. Murakami-Smith)

Saitō contrasts this description by Kitao with the depiction of a similar scene from the nearby Tamae Bridge (the next bridge downstream – to the west – of Tamino Bridge) in Oda's "Uma jigoku."

From the east, the bridges over the Dōjima River are Ōe Bridge, Watanabe Bridge, Tamino Bridge, and then, when you come to Funatamae Bridge, the look of the bridges is suddenly shabby. At the approach to the bridge, looking as if it slid from somewhere and fetched up here, is a grimy, cheap tearoom and eatery. Its basement looks like it used to be some kind of office, but it has been deserted for a long time, making it somehow dismal. And of the various buildings of the gleaming white, modern Osaka University Hospital, only the structure at the approach to the bridge is forlorn, as if it has been forsaken. It's dingy; patients crouch dimly on the steps at the entrance. These things seem to make the look of this bridge even more despondent. The sky, dulled by the smoke from the vicinity of Kawaguchi, hangs heavily over the bridge. The water of the river is also cloudy.

(Oda 1941/1993, 249; tr. Murakami-Smith)

As Saitō points out, the vibrant, modern images of the "urban scene" – the taxicabs, the hurrying commuters, the modern women – of Kitao's depiction are absent from that of "Uma jigoku." Kitao was an observer, an "outsider" (from Nagoya) with an eye for the modern (while nevertheless not neglecting the traditional, as seen in his descriptions of the temples on the Uemachi Bluff), while the main character of "Uma jigoku" is a local resident who has worked in an unsatisfying job for more than 10 years without promotion. In order to highlight his main character's despondency, Oda picks and chooses which aspects of the scene to include in his description: "from nearby locations, the narrators of the respective works select different scenes" (Saitō 2020, 103).

Saitō points out a much closer resemblance between the "Kawaguchi fūkei" section of *Kindai Ōsaka* and another scene in "Uma jigoku." In both, the narrator/main character is accosted by a shabbily-dressed man who tells a sad tale, in sympathy with which the narrator/protagonist gives the man money. Several days later, the narrator/protagonist sees the same man at the same place, attempting the same scam again. In response, in Kitao's work, the narrator cannot suppress a wry, self-deprecating laugh, but in Oda's story, the main character merely turns away to watch the horses who struggle to climb the slope of the bridge. According to Saitō, Kitao's narrator's detached but celebratory view of the vibrant, modern scene has been rejected by

meeting the local man who tells a tale of straightened circumstances. But when he sees the same man again and realizes that he has been the victim of a swindle, the narrator finds that even this binary scheme is too simple. Oda's main character, on the other hand, had been wont to see his own sufferings mirrored in the struggle of the horses to climb the bridge, but now sees in the man's sad tale a human in worse circumstances than his own. Thus, compassion drives him to give the stranger money. However, when he then discovers the swindle, he realizes that his compassion was misplaced, and loses interest in the man. Saitō points out how the "surprised expression of agony" on the horses' faces echoes the surprised look of the man at being caught swindling. The horses, whose sufferings the main character has previously compared to his own, thus become a "medium" through which swindler and swindled are "superimposed" (Saitō 2020, 113). As the circumstances and feelings of the narrator of Kitao's work and the main character of "Uma jigoku" differ, so do the purposes of the two writers. Thus, although the incident of the swindler in "Uma jigoku" seems to have been lifted wholesale (along with other scenes) from Kitao, Oda's process is in fact one of writing by "gathering together and cutting and pasting" (Saitō 2020, 117). Oda not only reproduces but also rewrites.

We can see further influence from Kitao's *Kindai Ōsaka* on Oda's work when we compare the section "Nakanoshima Kōen yūkei" ("night scenes in Nakanoshima Park") to Oda's story "Ad Balloon" (1946).

... here [in Nakanoshima Park] you can lose yourself in observation as you enjoy the cool river breeze, without even getting up from your bench. The southern shore of Nakanoshima, along the Tosabori River facing Kitahama, is much more interesting than the north shore along the Dōjima River. Here a cross-section of human life, like a fault plane along an earthquake fault, is laid bare toward the river. The breadth of the river affords a wide view, and as the backs of the buildings face the park, no one bothers to put up things like bamboo blinds: people's lives are especially exposed in the summer. For instance, on the third floor of a Chinese restaurant, a rich young man from Semba or thereabouts is unpretentiously enjoying pork buns with his young wife. On the floor below, at a table ringed with diners, one has risen to his feet to address the party. One more floor below that, a Chinese cook, stripped to his loincloth, mops his brow and cuts meat, occasionally spitting into the river... and so on.

And beneath the electric lights on the second floor of another building can be seen a young woman quietly reading the *Women's Review*. The electric lights illuminate half the woman's face. And then, suddenly, in the basement of the same building, a door opens, and a naked man who appears to have just come out of the bath dries himself and urinates into the river... and so on. And on the third floor of the Kagai Japanese restaurant, it seems a banquet is about to begin: patrons are gathering in a waiting room, and a number of them are playing *go*. On the floor below, the varied kimono of about 10 geisha create a colorful panorama near the windows, as they critique their customers and wait to be called to the banquet.

(Kitao 1932/1989, 41-42; tr. Murakami-Smith)

...I walked from Osaka Station to Nakanoshima Park. Entering the park, I sat down on the riverbank and smoked a cigarette. Directly across the river from me, just about on the boundary between 3-chōme and 2-chōme of Kitahama, was the back of a Chinese restaurant, the basement kitchens of which, with windows thrown wide, were almost at the same level as the river water. In the kitchens the half-naked cooks wriggled and squirmed like silhouettes under the dim electric lights. Above that were the dining rooms, and by a window facing the river, a young couple were picking at their food. They were probably talking to one another, but since I could not hear their voices, it looked like a pantomime. The building next door seemed to be a dentist's office, and I could see in a room on the second floor a dentist in a white coat working away silently. The patient being treated seemed to be a housewife; wearing a Mother Hubbard dress, with her slippered feet neatly together, she was lying back in the dentist's chair. (Oda 1946; tr. Oda 2020)

Here, although the scenes depicted are similar, we might note again the differences between Kitao's and Oda's narrators. Kitao's narrator's somewhat voyeuristic gaze is that of a detached observer, interested in painting (i.e., recording through photographs and narratives) a broad panorama of Modern Osaka in all its guises. The detachment of the narrator of "Ad Balloon" from the scenes he sees across the river, emphasized by the explanation that he cannot hear their voices, is the detachment of one whose hardships have estranged him from the lives of what appear to be "normal," "happy" people. In fact, in this scene, the narrator is

contemplating suicide by throwing himself in the river as he watches the scenes in the windows across the river:

Later (I do not know how much time had passed), the lights in the dining rooms of the Chinese restaurant went out, the lights on the second floor of the dentist's office went out, the streetcars stopped running, the shapes of the boats could no longer be seen, and I still made no move to leave. ... as I stood gazing fixedly down into the river, a voice called out to me, "Hey!"
(Oda 1946; tr. Oda 2020)

The scenes of the seemingly happy people fade into darkness as the narrator hesitates, but he is prevented from committing suicide by the voice of a rag-picker. The rag-picker gives the narrator a place to sleep, and helps him look for work the next day, thus helping to turn his life around.

As we have seen, in works like "Ki no miyako," "Uma jigoku," and "Ad Balloon," Oda made use of material from Kitao's *Kindai Ōsaka*, but this material was leavened with Oda's own experiences growing up in Osaka, and tailored to Oda's own purposes in writing each individual work. Oda joins an Osaka Tradition running from Saikaku and Chikamatsu through Kamizukasa Shōken, Uno Kōji, and Kitao Ryōnosuke, recycling and sometimes reinforcing traditional images of Osaka and Osakans. But he also modifies, alters, rejects, and recreates extant images of Osaka. His "preferred routes" through the textual city of Osaka sometimes follow those of previous writers, but sometimes strike out in new directions.

4.4 Coda: Kitao Ryōnosuke, Ono Tōzaburō, Tomioka Taeko

The foregoing discussion has shown instances of intertextual influence – both positive and negative – as Oda adopts a pair of "Osaka characters" from Chikamatsu and Kamizukasa or objects to Uno's characterization of Osaka as a "city without trees." As a sort of coda to this discussion of writing "in and against" the Osaka Tradition, we could trace a few, more tenuous, intertextual resonances in the textual city of Osaka.

As we saw above, Kitao's *Kindai Ōsaka* went beyond received images of and traditional narratives about Osaka because he wanted to focus on Modern Osaka. Thus, in addition to sections on Sonezaki, Osaka Castle, Tennōji Temple, and the busy districts of Dōtombori, Sennichi-mae, and Shinsaibashi, he includes sections such as "Jōkū Ōsaka" ("an aerial view of Osaka"), "Takushii zakki" ("miscellaneous observations on taxis"), "Kōka-sen no Nakatsu" ("the elevated railway at Nakatsu"), and "Depaato shokudō fūkei" ("scenes in a department-store restaurant"), which catalogue the modern city of Osaka. But he also depicts scenes on the city's margins. In "Shin-yodogawa manpo" ("a stroll along the New Yodo River"), he describes a far view of the tall buildings at Umeda from the north bank of the broad "New Yodo River" (straightened and widened in the Meiji period). In "Sakurajima kara chikkō" ("from Sakurajima to the new port"), he visits the reclaimed land along Osaka Bay, riding a lonely train that was "mostly for freight, with a few people pulled along as an afterthought," and describing places that "even now are a wide expanse of grassy reclaimed land," or depicting a streetcar line whose "rails pass among some of the largest factories in Osaka" (Kitao 1932/1989, 376-378; tr. Murakami-Smith). In "Yodogawa Kōen kōkei" ("river views at Yodogawa Park"), he describes families living on "sand boats" that "make a living by getting sand from the bottom of the river in places upstream from Hirakata to Yamazaki, bringing it to Osaka, and selling it to construction companies. They have no houses anywhere, no family registrations, and no employers." Kitao writes that up to 200 or 300 families of these "water gypsies" live along the portion of the Ōgawa River lying to the east of Tenjinbashi-*suji* 6-chōme.

This "marginal Osaka" was also the subject of the Osaka poet Ono Tōzaburō. Ono got his start as an Anarchist poet during a stint in Tokyo (he attended but dropped out of Tōyō University), but after his return to Osaka in 1933, he was to become known as a poet of Osaka. In Ono's depictions of Osaka, one can find an occasional reference to office buildings along the Midōsuji or neon reflected in the Dōtombori Canal, but he chiefly focused on the same marginal areas along Osaka Bay that we have seen in certain sections of Kitao's *Kindai Ōsaka*. Ono called these areas the "Land of Reeds" ("*Ashi no chihō*"); his most famous poem has the same title.

"Land of Reeds" (1939)
Far off
The sound of waves.

Above the wide plain of reeds withering from their tips,
 The arc of high-tension wires sags low.
 On the horizon
 Fuel oil tanks.
 In the cold, clear, late-autumn sunlight
 Damselflies like euphausia flow with the wind
 And on the plain of ammonium sulfate and soda
 And electricity and steel
 A clump of *chrysanthemum japonense* shrivels
 And expires.

(Ono 1939a/2001, tr. Murakami-Smith)

In other poems we can see some of the same scenes depicted by Kitao, noted above.

“I Sing the Clouds of Summer” (1934) (excerpt)

[...]

Pricking up one’s ears in the buzzing stillness
 The shouts of the kids bathing at the distant sandbar can be faintly heard, like the buzzing of a
 cloud of mosquitoes
 It is like listening to something akin to sad music
 A row of poplars plastered together
 The riverbanks thickly overgrown with weeds
 A long board fence inscribed with the wide-spaced words Japan – Steel – Works
 A group of women and children picking over a mountain of coal cinders with hand-rakes and
 bamboo sieves
 Puffing out smoke is the huge smokestack of Kanebō
 Clustering along both banks like swept-up trash, dilapidated barges, tugboats, and roofed passenger
 boats
 The sun of 2:00 PM dries the flags of cloth diapers waving everywhere
 Pours down onto the sooty tin roofs
 Sets the clouds overhead ablaze
 This settlement of “floating mansions,” rocking with over 300 Koreans in 19 families
 In this lazy afternoon, raises not a voice.

(Ono 1934/2001, tr. Murakami-Smith)

“The Shore at North Port” (1939)

Shimaya-machi Sambon-matsu
 Through the vast reclaimed land
 Behind Sumitomo Steel and
 The locomotive works
 Raising sandy dust
 Comes a trolley car, nearly empty in this off-time of the day, and stops.
 The shore at North Port.
 Exposed to wind and rain, an arch, almost falling down, still stands in front of the streetcar stop.
 “Closed until Next Summer...”
 Glancing cursorily at the hard-times notice posted at the entrance to the salt-water baths
 One hears from within the flapping of waterfowl wings.
 Shuttters down, a diner, a shaved-ice shop, a shop selling souvenirs made of shells.
 In the dimness, dusty, unsold bottles of *ramune* soda, cider, beer wait for next year.
 Now there are no longer any impurities.
 From the sea, from the river
 The wind gusts with a whoosh through the reeds of the huge factory district.

(Ono 1939b/2001, tr. Murakami-Smith)

According to Tomioka Taeko, Ono ignores the traditional images of Osaka in favor of a “view from the sea” (Tomioka 1990). Tomioka was a poet mentored by Ono who later switched to writing fiction; she was born in the Dempō neighborhood of Osaka – in fact part of Ono’s “*Ashi no chihō*.” The reedy riverbank of this locale is the setting of “Oka ni mukatte hito wa narabu” (1970; tr. as “Facing the Hills They Stand,” 1991),

the first story Tomioka wrote after switching from poetry to fiction. This work is a multi-generational “family story,” not celebratory but honestly depicting the bad blood that can exist among family members, and the hardships of people on the lowest rungs of Osaka society. Tomioka also wrote the screenplay for the 1969 film version of Chikamatsu’s *Shinjū ten no Amijima*. Thus, like her former mentor Ono, like Kitao Ryōnosuke and Oda Sakunosuke, she joins the Osaka Tradition but also reworks it, extending the range of images of Osaka and Osakans.

5. Conclusion

In Kamizukasa’s “Hamo no kawa,” Gentarō’s reflections on the circle of life, death and rebirth centered on the restaurants of the Dōtombori (quoted in section 4.2 above) continue as follows:

... Gentarō felt light-headed, and said to himself, in a voice that even he himself could hear clearly, ‘There might be a fire, it might be burned up and destroyed this very night.’ He came to himself suddenly...” (Kamizukasa 2012, 13)

While textual images of the city can be passed on from writer to writer, the physical city seems subject to change and destruction. Uno Kōji’s “Jukken roji” described a fire prior to the time of the story called the Sōemon Burning, which left vacant lots along the north bank of the Dōtombori Canal (Uno 1925/1972), and Uno’s essay “Osaka” relates his visit to the same neighborhood years later, when the ten-house alley has been rebuilt after a “second Sōemon Burning” (Uno 1936/1973). And of course, Oda Sakunosuke was to witness even greater destruction as he lived through the war years in Osaka. Oda had worked in a nostalgic mode when he wrote of Osaka; his debut work of 1940, “Meoto zenzai,” depicts the Osaka of the 1920s. We have also seen how nostalgia is a thread running through “City of Trees,” but upon finding that his “surrogate family,” the Yanos, has moved away, the narrator reluctantly sets nostalgia aside. At the end of the story, as he trudges down the Kuchinawa Slope for the last time, he faces a “new reality” (Oda 1994a, 124). Stories like “Shinkei” (“Nerves”) and “Sesō” (tr. as “The State of the Times” by Burton Watson), both published in April, 1946, feature an author protagonist who mulls over various texts and bits of hearsay as possible material for writing, but worries that this material is outdated:

...those stories posed problems ... because they belonged to an era that was far removed from the present, an era quite different in mood. Rather than turning my back on the troubles of the present and pursuing dreams of the past, wouldn’t it be better to write about the way things are right now? (Oda 1994c, 179)

Oda also attempts to come to terms with the destruction of Osaka by allied bombing in March, 1945, in two essays, “Tachiagaru Osaka” (“Osaka Rises,” Apr. 1945) and “Eien no shinjin” (“Eternal Rookies,” Sept. 1945). Here he puts his faith in Osaka’s ability to literally “rise from the ashes,” and credits Osaka people with “tenacity and ... adaptability to new situations. ... Osakans at first appear conservative, but they also possess a flexible, resourceful adaptability” (Oda 1945/1970a, tr. Murakami-Smith).

And the city was in fact rebuilt: much of course is different from Oda’s Osaka, but much else bears a “family resemblance” to it. In a previous article, I wrote of a “DNA of the city” passed down through texts and their readers (Murakami-Smith 2008). I am now prepared to explain this “DNA” as being made up of *memes*. A meme is “a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*” (Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, quoted in Dennett 2017; emphasis in original). Memes are not merely passed down faithfully; they can be “copied, transmitted, remembered, taught, shunned, denounced, brandished, ridiculed, parodied, censored, hallowed” (Dennett 2017, 206). A meme is a “way of behaving or doing” something (Dennett 2017, 295); examples of memes include “tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches” (Dawkins, quoted in Dennett 2017, 207). Thus, words are memes, but so are ways of doing things, i.e., de Certeau’s “practices” (defined, recall, as “ways of operating’ or doing things” (de Certeau 1984, xi)). Textual formulations of a city, as well as city-dwellers’ “preferred routes” through the city, and what they do when they arrive at their destinations, can be passed on to others and modified by them. Visual images, the other half of our initial discussion of “city as text/image,” are often verbalized; as such, the visual scene witnessed by someone can be passed on to someone else verbally. And of course, representations such as woodblock prints, paintings, photographs, and videos can be shared and reproduced through publications, SNS, and the internet. Tourists, for example, can then go to the same site and take a similar photo of the same scene.

This article has examined an intertextual tradition of Osaka and how (verbal) images (i.e., memes) are handed down, reproduced, re-worked, and modified. This “DNA of the city” is not wholly a thing of the mind, however; it has real connections to the objective reality of the physical city. As we saw above, “The brick and mortar do not exist apart from representations, nor are our ideas without material consequences or take shape outside the hard city of maps, statistics, and architecture” (Prakash 2008, 7). The physical shape of the city is of course determined not only by textual representations, but also by forces such as natural disaster, war, economic conditions (real estate prices, interest rates, rent rates, salaries, and local and national recessions and booms), laws and ordinances (zoning, for example), urban planning by local, prefectural and national governments, and the policies and activities of the police and non-governmental organizations such as chambers of commerce and charitable organizations. But textual representations and images also exert their influence as they are filtered through all of these. The physical city and its imagined twin “evolve” in tandem. The gritty postwar Osaka of cheap eateries, dimly-lit alleys, and clanging trains passing overhead, for example, has been recreated as “Naniwa Kuishimbo Yokochō,” an area of tiny restaurants inside Tempōzan Marketplace next to the Kaiyūkan Aquarium, billed as a recreation of “the energetic Osaka of around 1965, when it was at its most energetic and glittering” (Osaka Aquarium Kaiyukan, n.d). Strolling along the Shinsaibashi covered arcade, once known as “Shin-bura” (the Osaka equivalent to “Gin-bura,” strolling on the Ginza), once the province of the well-to-do in the prewar period, shifts to the pastime of families in the postwar period, and to that of foreign tourists today. Dōtombori’s theaters become cinemas become restaurants and bars. Literature in the Osaka Tradition was and is written by Osaka natives – Chikamatsu, Saikaku, Kamizukasa, Uno, Oda, Miyamoto Teru, Tomioka Taeko, Shibasaki Tomoka, Nishi Kanako – but they are joined by non-natives fascinated by the city of Osaka (in its textual, visual, and physical manifestations): Tanizaki Jun’ichirō, transplanted to the Kansai after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1926; Aoki Yūji, author of the manga series *Naniwa kin’yūdō*, born in Kyoto and raised in Okayama Prefecture, and Morishita Hiromi, author of the manga *Osaka Hamuretto* (“Osaka Hamlet”), a native of Nara Prefecture. As an Other to Tokyo and a city constituted by multifaceted images, Osaka continues to fascinate, and the threads of the Osaka Tradition are extended, re-braided, and reworked as the palimpsest of the physical city is preserved, altered, replaced, and overwritten.

Works Cited

- Bakhtin, Mikhail (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.
- Bryden, Inga (2013) “There are different ways of making the streets tell’: narrative, urban space and orientation.” In Sarah Edwards and Jonathan Charley, eds., *Writing the Modern City: Literature, Architecture, Modernity*, London & New York: Routledge, 213-226.
- De Certeau, Michel (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*, tr. Steven F. Rendall. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: Univ. of California Press.
- Dennett, Daniel (2017) *From Bacteria to Bach: The Evolution of Minds*. Penguin Books.
- Donald, James (1997) “This, here, now: imagining the modern city.” In Sallie Westwood and John Williams, eds., *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, London & New York: Routledge, 181-201.
- Edwards, Sarah (2012) “Anonymous encounters: the structuring of space in postmodern narratives of the city.” In Sarah Edwards and Jonathan Charley, eds., *Writing the Modern City: Literature, Architecture, Modernity*, London & New York: Routledge, 167-177.
- Hall, Tim (1997) “(Re)Placing the city: cultural relocation and the city as centre.” In Sallie Westwood and John Williams, eds., *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, London & New York: Routledge, 202-218.
- Hanshinkan Modanizumu-ten Jikkō Iinkai (1997) *Hanshinkan modanizumu*. Kyoto: Tankōsha.
- Kamizukasa Shōken (1914/1952) “Hamo no kawa.” In *Hamo no kawa*, Iwanami Bunko, 33-60.
- Kamizukasa Shōken (2012) “The Skin of the Pike Conger Eel,” tr. Andrew Murakami-Smith. Online at “William F. Sibley Memorial Translation Prize Winners,” University of Chicago Center for East Asian Studies (<https://ceas.uchicago.edu/content/william-f-sibley-memorial-translation-prize-winners>).
- Kawabata Yasunari (1930/1996) *Asakusa kurenai-dan*. In *Asakusa kurenai-dan, Asakusa matsuri*, Kōdansha Bungei Bunko, 7-200.
- Kawabata Yasunari (2005) *The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa*, tr. Alisa Freedman. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: Univ. of California Press.
- Kawauchi Atsurō (1990) *Machi wa gekijō: Taishū to iu umi e no kōro*. Osaka: Kansai Shoin.
- Kitao Ryōnosuke (1932/1989) *Kindai Ōsaka*, Osaka: Sōgensha.
- Kobayashi Yutaka (1989) *Ōsaka to kindai bungaku*, Hōritsu Bunkasha.
- Koide Narashige (1936/1987) “Yōkisuiguru Ōsaka.” In Haga Tōru, ed., *Koide Narashige zuihitsu-shū*, Iwanami Bunko, 242-43.
- Maeda Ai (1986) *Gen’ei no machi: Bungaku no toshi o aruku*. Iwanami Shoten.
- Miyagawa Yasushi (1999) “Oda Sakunosuke ‘Ki no miyako’ sakuhin kaisetsu.” In Tōgō Katsumi and Yoshida Morio, eds., *Kindai shōsetsu “Toshi” o yomu*, Sōbunsha Shuppan, 189-190.
- Murakami-Smith, Andrew (2008) “The Rhetoric of Food in Pre-War Japanese Literary Works: Focusing on Works in the ‘Osaka Tradition.’” In *Metaphor and Schema* (Language and Culture Cooperative Research Project 2007), Osaka Univ. Grad. Sch. of Language and Culture.
- Murakami-Smith, Andrew (2014) “Alternative Reading: The Case for an ‘Osaka Tradition’ in Modern Japanese Literature.” In

- Toposu no retorikku: basho, teikei hyōgen, ninchi* (Language and Culture Cooperative Research Project 2013), Osaka Univ. Grad. Sch. of Language and Culture, 31-42.
- Nagai Kafū (1908a/1987) “Fukagawa no uta.” In *Sumidagawa, Shinkyō yawa*, Iwanami Bunko, 5-26.
- Nagai Kafū (1908b/1987) “Kitsune.” *Ame shōshō, Yukidoke*, Iwanami Bunko, 5-23.
- Nagai Kafū (1909a/1987) “Botan no kyaku.” In *Sumidagawa, Shinkyō yawa*, Iwanami Bunko, 232-244.
- Nagai Kafū (1909b/1987) *Sumida-gawa*. In *Sumidagawa, Shinkyō yawa*, Iwanami Bunko, 27-91.
- Nagai Kafū (1921/1987) “Ame shōshō.” In *Ame shōshō, Yukidoke*, Iwanami Bunko, 107-144.
- Nagai Kafū (1937/1991) *Bokutō kidan*, Iwanami Bunko.
- Nagai Kafū (1972) “A Strange Tale from East of the River,” tr. Edward Seidensticker. In *“A Strange Tale from East of the River” and Other Stories*, Boston, Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing.
- Nagai Kafū (1997) “The Peony Garden,” tr. Edward Seidensticker. In Theodore W. Goossen, ed., *The Oxford Book of Japanese Short Stories*, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 45-51.
- Nagai Kafū (2013) *Something Strange Across the River*, tr. Glenn Anderson. Long Island City, NY: One Peace Books.
- Nakagami Kenji (1979/1990) “Monogatari no keifu: Satō Haruo.” In *Fūkei no mukō e*, Tōjusha, 93-120.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1941/1970) “Osaka, Osaka.” In *Oda Sakunosuke zenshū*, vol. 8, Kōdansha, 281-184.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1941/1993) “Uma jigoku.” In *Chikuma Nihon bungaku zenshū: Oda Sakunosuke*, Chikuma Shobō, 9-12.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1944/1970) “Ki no miyako.” In *Oda Sakunosuke zenshū*, vol. 5, Kōdansha, 29-36.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1945/1970a) “Eien no shinjin.” In *Oda Sakunosuke zenshū*, vol. 8, Kōdansha, 299-303.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1945/1970b) “Tachiagaru Osaka.” In *Oda Sakunosuke zenshū*, vol. 8, Kōdansha, 293-297.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1946/1970) “Ado barūn.” In *Oda Sakunosuke zenshū*, vol. 5, Kōdansha, 295-317.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1994a) “City of Trees,” tr. Burton Watson. In *Stories of Osaka Life*, New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill, 107-124.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1994b) “Hooray for Marriage, or Sweet Beans for Two!” tr. Burton Watson. In *Stories of Osaka Life*, New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill, 3-65.
- Oda Sakunosuke (1994c) “The State of the Times” tr. Burton Watson. In *Stories of Osaka Life*, New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill, 125-188.
- Oda Sakunosuke (2020) “Ad Balloon,” tr. Andrew Murakami-Smith (unpublished).
- Ono Tōzaburō (1934/2001) “Natsu no kumo o utau.” In *Ono Tōzaburō chosaku-shu*, vol. 1. Chikuma Shobō, 108.
- Ono Tōzaburō (1939a/2001) “Ashi no chihō” In *Ono Tōzaburō chosaku-shu*, vol. 1. Chikuma Shobō, 148.
- Ono Tōzaburō (1939b/2001) “Hokkō kaigan” In *Ono Tōzaburō chosaku-shu*, vol. 1. Chikuma Shobō, 149.
- Osaka Aquarium Kaiyukan (n.d.) “Naniwa Kuishimbo Yokochō.” (<https://www.kaiyukan.com/thv/marketplace/kuishimbo/>)
Last consulted May 30, 2024.
- Österling, Anders (1968) “Award ceremony speech, Nobel Prize in Literature for 1968: Kawabata Yasunari” (<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1968/ceremony-speech/>)
- Prakash, Gyan (2008) “Introduction.” In Gyan Prakash and Kevin M. Kruse, eds., *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics, and Everyday Life*, Princeton & Oxford: Princeton Univ. Press, 1-18.
- Resina, Joan Ramon (2003) “The Concept of After-Image and the Scopic Apprehension of the City.” In Joan Ramon Resina and Dieter Ingenschay, eds., *After-Images of the City*, Ithaca & London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1-22.
- Ritchie, Donald (2005) “Foreword” in Kawabata Yasunari, *The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa*, tr. Alisa Freedman. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: Univ. of California Press, ix-xxxii.
- Saitō Masao (2020) *Shōsetsuka, Oda Sakunosuke*. Suita, Japan: Osaka Univ. Press.
- Schlaeger, Jürgen (2003) “London: Tomorrow’s Yesterday, Future Images of the Past.” In Joan Ramon Resina and Dieter Ingenschay, eds., *After-Images of the City*, Ithaca & London: Cornell Univ. Press, 49-60.
- Snyder, Stephen (2000) *Fictions of Desire: Narrative Form in the Novels of Nagai Kafū*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai’i Press.
- Takeda Rintarō (1932/2000) “Nihon sanmon opera.” In *Nihon sanmon opera*, Kōdansha Bungei Bunko, 68-97.
- Takeda Rintarō (1933/1978) “Kamagasaki.” In *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikai 70: Takeda Rintarō, Oda Sakunosuke, Shimaki Kensaku, Dan Kazuo*, Chikuma Shobō, 35-47.
- Takeda Rintarō (2008a) “Japan’s Threepenny Opera,” tr. Richard Torrance. In William J. Tyler, ed., *Modanizumu: Modernist Fiction from Japan, 1913-1938*, Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai’i Press, 462-481.
- Tomioka Taeko (1970/1998) “Oka ni mukatte hito wa narabu.” In *Tomioka Taeko shū*, vol. 2, Chikuma Shobō, 3-41.
- Tomioka Taeko (1990) “Umi kara mita tochi: Ono Tōzaburō.” In *Ono Tōzaburō chosakushū*, vol. 2, Chikuma Shobō, 575-86.
- Tomioka Taeko (1991) “Facing the Hills They Stand,” tr. Noriko Mizuta Lippit and Kyoko Iriye Selden. In Noriko Mizuta Lippit and Kyoko Iriye Selden, eds., *Japanese Women Writers: Twentieth Century Short Fiction*, Armonk, NY: East Gate/M. E. Sharpe, 138-167.
- Treat, John Whittier (2018) *The Rise and Fall of Modern Japanese Literature*. Chicago & London: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Unno Hiroshi (1988) “Kaisetsu: Modan shiti Osaka no manposha.” In Kitao Ryōnosuke, *Kindai Ōsaka*, Osaka: Sōgensha, 1-14 (after end of facsimile).
- Uno Kōji (1925/1972) “Jukken roji.” In *Uno Kōji zenshū* vol. 5, Chūō Kōron-sha, 7-33.
- Uno Kōji (1936/1973) “Ōsaka.” In *Uno Kōji zenshū* vol. 12, Chūō Kōron-sha, 122-167.
- Wilson, Elizabeth (1997) “Looking backward: nostalgia and the city.” In Sallie Westwood and John Williams, eds., *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*. London & New York: Routledge, 127-139.